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Andrei Timotin et Mihail Mitrea

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Philologia et historia: Vasile Grecu (1885-1972) and the Development of Byzantine Philology[1]

Octavian-Adrian Negoiță

Abstract: This paper explores the life and scholarly activity of Vasile Grecu (1885-1972), one of the foremost representatives of the Romanian school of Byzantine studies in the twentieth century. Educated in Czernowitz and Vienna, Grecu emerged as a distinguished historian and philologist whose research made significant contributions to the understanding of Byzantine history, literature, and art. His career was marked by a rigorous interdisciplinary methodology that combined historical inquiry with philological precision. As his academic work laid the foundations for the institutional and intellectual advance of Byzantine studies in Romania, this paper investigates Grecu's contribution to the broader development of the discipline.

Keywords: Byzantine studies, Byzantine philology, Byzantine and post-Byzantine literature, Byzantine chronicles and historians, Byzantine art history, Romanian historiography, modern critical editions, Greek manuscript culture

[1] Since I began working on Vasile Grecu some time ago, I have incurred many debts to colleagues, to whom I would like to express my gratitude here – for their help in obtaining materials used in this study and for their generous discussions of various aspects of Grecu's work and legacy. My deepest thanks go first to Andrei Timotin, who invited me to take part in the International Colloquium "Le Centenaire des congrès des études byzantines (1924-2024). Le congrès de Bucarest (1924) et l'internationalisation des études byzantines". He read this study with a discerning eye and patiently waited for me to put my thoughts into words. I am also grateful to the late Ștefan Andreescu, Marian Coman, Ovidiu Cristea, and Ovidiu Olar, who offered valuable suggestions during my first lecture on Grecu, delivered at the Institute of History "Nicolae Iorga" (Romanian Academy) in 2018. I also thank Mihail Mitrea, Raluca Tomi, and Ionuț-Alexandru Tudorie for their very useful suggestions. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted. Needless to say, all remaining errors are entirely my own.

1. Preliminaries

> Travailleur acharné, passionné de sa discipline, il n'a jamais brigué les honneurs. Aimé et respecté de ses élèves qu'il a toujours dirigés et encouragés paternellement, sans jamais chercher à leur imposer ses vues ou ses préférences, Vasile Grecu n'en continue pas moins à 80 ans à suivre le mouvement des études byzantines en général et à se tenir au courant des progrès de cette science.[2]

With these words concluded Petre Ș. Năsturel (1923-2012) – a renowned Romanian historian and one of Grecu's most distinguished students – the portrait he wrote of his former professor on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. Indeed, Vasile Grecu was remembered by those who knew him not only as an erudite scholar but also as a remarkably courteous and gracious person. The history of Romanian Byzantinology is inseparable from the small circle of scholars who shaped the discipline in the first half of the twentieth century. Alongside the towering figure of N. Iorga (1871-1940), with his vast historical syntheses, Demostene Russo (1869-1938), the first to institutionalise Byzantine studies in Bucharest, Nicolae Bănescu (1878-1971), the great historian of Byzantine diplomacy, and Oreste Tafrali (1876-1937), known for his studies on Byzantine art, stands Vasile Grecu (1885-1972), whose name remains permanently inscribed in the pantheon of Romanian Byzantine studies. Unlike his predecessors, Grecu distinguished himself above all as a philologist, establishing his reputation through his rigorous editions of Byzantine texts.[3]

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[2] P. Ș. Năsturel, "Le 80e anniversaire du professeur Vasile Grecu", *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 3.3-4, 1965, p. 378.

[3] On Byzantine studies in Romania, see V. Grecu, "Abriß der rumänischen Byzantinistik", *Südost-Forschungen* 7, 1942, p. 164-201; A. Elian, "Die byzantinischen Studien in Rumänien: Bemerkungen und Ergänzungen zu einem 'Abriß der rumänischen Byzantinistik'", *Balcania* 5, 1946, p. 33-78; id., "Études byzantines en Roumanie, 1939-1945", *Byzantinoslavica* 9, 1948, p. 393-405; V. Laurent, "Les études byzantines en Roumanie, 1939-1946", *Revue des études byzantines* 6, 1948, p. 241-268; A. Elian, "La byzantinologie dans les préocupations de la théologie orthodoxe roumaine", in *De la théologie orthodoxe roumaine: Des origins à nos jours*, Bucharest, 1964, p. 85-210; E. Stănescu and Gh. Zbuchea, "Bizantinologia la Universitatea din București", *Analele Universității din București, Seria Istorie* 14, 1965, p. 111-123; E. Stănescu, "Les études byzantines en Roumanie, 1963-1968", *Byzantinoslavica* 3, 1971, p. 203-227; id. (ed.), *Nicolae Iorga – Istoric al Bizanțului: Culegere de studii*, Bucharest, 1971; S. Brezeanu and T. Teoteoi, "Byzantinische Studien in Rumänien: Rückschau und Perspektiven", *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 19.2, 1981, p. 289-299; E. Popescu, "Catedra de bizantinologie la Institutul Teologic Universitar din București", *Studii teologice* 33.7-10, 1981, p. 537-541; V. Muntean, "Bizantinologia românească", *Analele Universității de Vest din Timișoara, Seria Teologie* 1, 1995, p. 71-76; V. Merticariu, "Études et recherches de byzantinologie dans les années 1991-1995", *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* 3, 1997, p. 227-261; B. Maleon, "Istoria Bizanțului: Profesionalizarea unei discipline universitare la Iași (1834-1940)", in G. Bădărău, G. Cliveti, and M. Cojocariu (eds.), *Istoria – O meditație asupra trecutului. Profesorului Vasile Cristian la a 65-a aniversare*, Iași, 2001, p. 147-155; E. Popescu, "Deutschland und die Anfänge der rumänischen Byzantinistik", *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* 4, 2001, p. 327-341; N.-Ș. Tanașoca, *Balcanologi și bizantiniști români*, Bucharest, 2002; I.-A. Tudorie,

Although Vasile Grecu occupies a prominent place in Romanian cultural history as both a renowned Byzantinist and a committed advocate for the rights of the Romanian population of Bukovina – his intellectual authority matched by civic engagement – he has not been the subject of a comprehensive scholarly investigation. His presence in historiography remains mediated largely through encyclopaedic entries, commemorative notes, and scattered references in specialized studies devoted either to the history of Byzantine scholarship in Romania or to the editions of texts he produced.[4] While such works have ensured that his name endures within the Romanian school of Byzantinology, they rarely attempt to reconstruct his intellectual networks, his pedagogical influence, or the personal dimensions that informed his scholarship. The absence of a systematic study leaves our understanding of Grecu fragmentary and incomplete. A thorough inquiry into archival materials – correspondence, records from Czernowitz, Vienna and Bucharest, as well as Grecu's personal archive preserved in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest – remains a pressing desideratum.[5]

"Sinteze de istorie bizantină publicate în ultimul deceniu în limba română", *Studii teologice, Serie nouă* 1.3, 2005, p. 120-128; L. Rados, *Sub semnul acvilei: Preocupări de bizantinistică în România până la 1918*, Bucharest, 2005; R. Filip, *Institutul român de Bizantinologie*, Bucharest, 2006; N. A. Hales, *Bizantinologia românească de la origini până astăzi: Reprezentanți, opere, evaluare*, PhD thesis, University of Bucharest, 2009; A. Timotin, "La place des études byzantines dans l'histoire de l'Institut d'études sud-est européennes", in A. Timotin (ed.), *Un siècle d'études sud-est européennes en Roumanie: Bilan historiographique*, Brăila, 2019, p. 65-75.

[4] On V. Grecu, see P. Ș. Năsturel, "Le 80[e] anniversaire..."; N.-Ș. Tanașoca, "Vasile Grecu (1885-1972)", *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 10.4, 1972, p. 724-725; G. Cronț, "Vasile Grecu (1885-1972)", *Studii: Revistă de istorie* 25.5, 1972, p. 1127-1130; M. Bucur, *Istoriografia literară românească*, Bucharest, 1973, p. 218-222; J. Balacciu and R. Chiriacescu, "Grecu, Vasile", in *Dicționar de lingviști și filologi români*, Bucharest, 1978, p. 134-135; F. Constantiniu, "Grecu, Vasile", in Ș. Ștefănescu (ed.), *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*, Bucharest, 1978, p. 163-164; I. Pânzaru et al. (eds.), *Știința în Bucovina: Ghid biobibliografic*, vol. 1, Suceava, 1982, p. 63-65; V. Trebici, "Profesorul Vasile Grecu (1885-1972)", *Analele Bucovinei, Serie nouă* 2.1, 1995, p. 15-22; C. Șerban, "Vasile Grecu – Extrase din Jurnal (I), (II)", *Analele Universității 'Ștefan cel Mare' Suceava, Seria Istorie* 1.1, 1995, p. 270-273, and 2.2, 1996, p. 433-439; id., "Prezența la Constanța a bizantinologului Vasile Grecu în timpul Primului Război Mondial", *Analele Dobrogei, Serie nouă* 5.2, 1999, p. 194-200; H. Mareci, "Vasile Grecu (1885-1972) (Repere în destinul unui savant)", *Glasul Bucovinei* 11.1-2, 2004, p. 100-107; I. Moldoveanu, "Vasile Grecu, istoric al Bizanțului și al Bisericii Române", *Studii teologice, Serie nouă* 4.4, 2008, p. 55-73; H. Mareci, "On the Horizon of Byzantinology: Vasile Grecu", *Codrul Cosminului, Serie nouă* 14, 2008, p. 255-262; N. A. Hales, *Bizantinologia românească...*, p. 306-322; D. Rusu, "Grecu, Vasile", in *Membrii Academiei Române*, vol. 1, Bucharest, 2016, p. 706-707; E. Satco and A. Niculică, "Grecu, Vasile", in *Enciclopedia Bucovinei*, vol. 2, Suceava, 2018, p. 88-90; O.-A. Negoiță, "Grecu (Greciuc), Vasile", in V. Spinei and D. Rusu (eds.), *Enciclopedia reprezentanților scrisului istoric românesc*, vol. 2, Suceava, 2021, p. 365-366.

[5] The personal archive of Vasile Grecu was acquired by the Library of the Romanian Academy (BAR) (acquisition no. 48/1982) and is now preserved in the Manuscript and Rare Book Collections. It contains private and official correspondence, three notebooks of daily notes (I: *Notes from Vienna, 1907-1908*; II: *Daily Notes, 1939-1941 and 1943-1969*; and III: *Daily Notes, 1950-1954*), activity reports, Grecu's academic writings (some with autograph annotations in the margins), and various academic records. Further documentation concerning Grecu's life and activity is preserved in the

Such an analysis would illuminate not only the contours of Grecu's personality and his place within the cultural elite of interwar Bukovina, but also the enduring impact of his philological rigour, editorial program, and civic commitments on the development of Romanian Byzantine studies.

This article takes an important step toward a comprehensive analysis of Vasile Grecu's life, scholarship, and legacy, moving beyond the brief encyclopaedic sketches and scattered references that have so far defined his presence in historiography. By drawing attention to archival material that has received little scholarly attention, the study seeks to reconstruct Grecu's career and his contribution to the development of Byzantine studies. At the same time, it situates Grecu within the broader intellectual landscape of Romanian Byzantinology, thereby offering a wider perspective on the history of Byzantine scholarship in Romania. The article aims to demonstrate not only the significance of Grecu's scholarly achievements, but also how his career exemplifies the interplay of academic rigour, national identity, and international recognition in the evolution of the field. Finally, the appendices include a comprehensive list of Grecu's scholarly works.

2. From Suceava to Czernowitz *via* Vienna, and the Kingdom of Romania: Early life, education, and academic interests (1885-1938)

Vasile Grecu grew up as a member of the Romanian community of the Duchy of Bukovina, a province that at the time formed part of the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The imperial context in which he grew up shaped both his educational opportunities and his linguistic horizons: the coexistence of diverse ethnic and confessional groups in Bukovina exposed him early on to a polyglot environment, while also heightening his awareness of Romanian cultural identity within a contested

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Romanian National Archives — Suceava Branch, in the Archives of the University of Bucharest, and in the private correspondence of several contemporary historians (e.g., N. Iorga, *Corespondență*, vol. 2, ed. E. Vaum, Bucharest, 1986; A. Rădulescu, *Corespondență*, ed. D. Gruia Dufaut, Bucharest, 2024, p. 427, 437, 438). Thanks to the kind assistance of Raluca Tomi, who is researching the institutional archives of the Institute of History "Nicolae Iorga", I was able to confirm that there is only one document referring to Grecu, mentioning him as a collaborator of the committee for the publication of old Romanian juridical sources. Furthermore, following an official inquiry to the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archive (CNSAS), I was informed that no dossier exists under Grecu's name – indicating that he was neither a member of the Securitate nor monitored by it during the Communist period. I assume that additional materials may be found in private archives of other intellectuals or in the archives of the University of Czernowitz, but I have not yet been able to consult these sources. I am currently preparing a monograph on Vasile Grecu, which will include editions of the archival documents mentioned above and a comprehensive list of his publications. In this forthcoming work, I plan to pursue further archival avenues to complete the reconstruction of Grecu's life, scholarly and political activities, and legacy.

space.[6] He was born on 31 July 1885 in Mitocu Dragomirnei, near Suceava, into the family of Emanuel and Ana Greciuc, peasants of modest means. His intellectual promise became evident during his years at the Greek-Orthodox High School of Suceava (1897-1905), where he distinguished himself in the study of Greek and Latin, thus laying the linguistic foundations of his later philological career.[7] Crucial to his intellectual formation was the support of Simion Florea Marian (1847-1907), the renowned folklorist and professor of theology, who secured for him a scholarship and encouraged his scholarly ambitions, particularly after the death of his father.[8] For a student from Bukovina, the continuation of higher studies at the University of Vienna was a natural trajectory, given the political and intellectual milieu of the Habsburg Monarchy, which made Vienna the principal academic and cultural centre for the province's aspiring elites. Grecu departed for Vienna in 1905, having obtained his *Maturitäts-Zeugnis* (Baccalaureate diploma) that July. There, he devoted himself to classical philology, studying under eminent scholars such as Hans von Arnim (1859-1931), a specialist in ancient Greek philosophy, Paul Kretschmer (1866-1956), a renowned German linguist, Wilhelm Kubitschek (1858-1936), an expert in classical epigraphy and numismatics, and Emil Reich (1854-1910), a Hungarian-born literary historian.[9] After completing his studies in Vienna, Grecu returned to Czernowitz, where

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[6] For the history of Bukovina in this period, see, e.g., I. Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, Bucharest, 1991; E. Turczynski, *Geschichte der Bukowina in der Neuzeit: Zur Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte einer mitteleuropäisch geprägten Landschaft*, Wiesbaden, 1993; P. Cernovodeanu, *Basarabia: Drama unei provincii istorice românești în contextul politic internațional, 1806-1920*, Bucharest, 1993; I. Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building and Ethnic Struggle, 1918-1930*, Ithaca, NY, 1995; K. Scharr, *Die Landschaft Bukowina: Das Werden einer Region an der Peripherie, 1774-1918*, Vienna – Cologne – Weimar, 2010; id., *Der griechisch-orientalische Religionsfonds der Bukowina, 1783-1949. Kontinuitäten und Brüche einer prägenden Institution des Josephinismus*, Vienna – Cologne – Weimar, 2020.

[7] For Grecu's academic records from elementary and secondary school (*Schulnachrichten*, *Gymnasial-Zeugnis*, and *Maturitäts-Zeugnis*), see BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 3-23], *Acte de școlaritate, 1894-1905*.

[8] On S.-F. Marian, see, e.g., M. Boca, "Preotul folklorist Simeon Florea Marian", *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei* 33.3-4, 1957, p. 317-322; G. Ștrempel, "Simion Florea Marian și vechea slovă românească", *Studii și cercetări de bibliologie, Serie nouă* 13, 1974, p. 113-130; T. Filip, "Simion Florea Marian sau spațiul liric bucovinean în port național", in *Omagiu lui Iosif Constantin Drăgan*, vol. 1, Rome, 1977, p. 261-304; E. Dimitriu and P. Froicu, *Simion Florea Marian și corespondenții săi*, Bucharest, 1991; P. Leu, *Simion Florea Marian: Monografie*, Suceava, 1996; id., *Ctitorul etnografiei române: Simion Florea Marian*, 2 vols., Suceava, 1999; E. Satco and A. Niculică, "Marian, Simion-Florea", in *Enciclopedia Bucovinei*, vol. 2, Suceava, 2018, p. 487-490.

[9] On these professors, see F. Egermann, "Arnim, Hans von", in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 1, Berlin, 1953, p. 372; H. Kronasser, "Paul Kretschmer (2. Mai 1866 bis 9. März 1956)", *Archiv für Orientforschung* 17, 1954-1956, p. 479-481; M. Leumann, "Paul Kretschmer, 2.5.1866-9.3.1956", *Glotta* 35.3-4, 1956, p. 161-171; A. Betz, "Kubitschek, Wilhelm (1858-1936), Althistoriker, Epigraphiker und Numismatiker", in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon, 1815-1950*, vol. 4, Vienna, 1968, p. 314; G. Winkler, "Kubitschek, Wilhelm", in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 13, Berlin, 1982, p. 160; M. Pesditschek, "Kubitschek, Wilhelm", in P. Kuhlmann and H. Schneider

he pursued history and philology at the university (1907-1909). There, he studied with Ion Nistor (1876-1962) – who would later exert considerable influence on his academic career in both Czernowitz and Bucharest – and Sextil Pușcariu (1877-1948).[10] While enrolled at Czernowitz, Grecu undertook a research trip to Berlin, Potsdam, Leipzig, and Dresden (February-March 1908), during which he attended the lectures of the celebrated classicist Enno Friedrich Wichard Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848-1931), whom he greatly admired, and took the opportunity to explore the art galleries and cultural life:

> Today I spoke with the greatest classical philologist and the finest connoisseur of the classical Greek language: Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. I also listened to [Eduard] Norden [1868-1941] and to [Hermann Alexander] Diels [1848-1922]. At the Treptow Observatory near Berlin, I saw the Moon magnified 400 times and Jupiter magnified 40 times. – Berlin, 14. II. [19]08 V. Greciuc.[11]

After graduating from the university, Grecu taught Greek and Latin at the "Dragoș Vodă" High School in Câmpulung Moldovenesc (1910-1914). On 8 May 1911, he married Victoria Morariu, the daughter of the distinguished priest Constantin Morariu of Pătrăuți (1854-1927), a noted advocated for Romanian rights in Bukovina.[12] This marriage brought Grecu into one of the province's most prominent intellectual

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(eds.), *Geschichte der Altertumswissenschaften. Biographisches Lexikon*, Stuttgart – Weimar, 2012, p. 674-675; W. B. Owen, "Reich, Emil (1854-1910)", in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35712 (accessed 2 November 2025).

[10] On I. Nistor, see O. Bozgan, "Ion I. Nistor: Preliminarii monografice", *Revista istorică, Serie nouă* 5.3-4, 1994, p. 345-357; D. Huzdup, "Ion I. Nistor și rolul său în viața culturală a Cernăuțiului", *Analele Bucovinei*, *Serie nouă* 1.2, 1994, p. 243-262; D. Alexa, *Ion Nistor: Dimensiunile personalităţii politice şi culturale*, Rădăuţi, 2000; P. Michelson, "Ion I. Nistor and the Development of Romanian Historiography in Bucovina to the Union of 1918", *Codrul Cosminului, Serie nouă* 16.1, 2010, p. 59-81; id., "Ion I. Nistor in Romanian Politics, Scholarship, and Culture, 1919-1933", *Codrul Cosminului, Serie nouă* 17.1, 2011, p. 117-148; E. Satco and A. Niculică, "Nistor, Ion I.", in *Enciclopedia Bucovinei*, vol. 2, Suceava, 2018, p. 698-703. On S. Pușcariu, see M. Vaida, *Sextil Puşcariu, critic şi istoric literar*, Cluj-Napoca, 1972; E. Faiciuc, *Sextil Puşcariu (1877-1948): Biobliografie*, Cluj-Napoca, 1998; D. Vladu, "Sextil Pușcariu", in A. Corbea-Hoișie and R. Gräf (eds.), *Limbă şi cultură germană în România (1918-1933): Realităţi postimperiale, discurs public şi câmpuri culturale*, Iași, 2023, p. 347-340.

[11] BAR 48/1982 [I MSS 3], *Notes from Vienna, 1907-1908*, p. 26.

[12] BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 59], *Certificat de cununie* (8 August 1917). On Fr. Constantin Morariu and his political activities, see V. Grecu, "Constantin Morariu", *Gazeta Bucovinenilor*, Bucharest, 1935, p. 12-13; V. Loichița, *Preotul și românul Constantin Morariu (1854-1927)*, Czernowitz, 1938; C. Morariu, *Cursul vieții mele: Memorii*, ed. M. Iacobescu and C. Măciucă, Suceava, 1998; Șt. Purici, *Mișcarea națională românească în Bucovina între anii 1775-1861*, Suceava, 1998; E. Glodariu, *Asociațiile culturale ale tineretului studios român din Monarhia Habsburgică, 1860-1918*, Cluj-Napoca, 1998; E. Turczynski, "Czernowitz, eine vom Bildungsbürgertum errungene Universität im Dienst staatlicher Bildungs- und Wissenschaftsförderung", in P. Wörster (ed.), *Universitäten im östlichen Mitteleuropa: Zwischen Kirche, Staat und Nation – Sozialgeschichtliche und politische Entwicklungen*, Munich, 2008, p. 209-225; A. Popa, *Societatea Academică Arboroasa din Cernăuți,*

families, linking him to figures such as the literary historian Alexandru Leca Morariu (1888-1963), the pedagogue Victor Morariu (1881-1946), and the bibliographer and literary historian Ilie E. Torouțiu (1888-1953).[13] Grecu himself became deeply involved in the Romanian national movement in Bukovina, where his intellectual formation was inseparable from his civic and political engagement. His former professor Sextil Pușcariu recalled that, when it came to defending a cause, Grecu was "the most fanatic individual", one who wished to "change the face of Bukovina from one day to the next", though Pușcariu also emphasized that Grecu was "the most gentle man" he had ever met.[14] Closely connected to the Morariu family – whose members were all prominent voices in the struggle for Romanian rights – Grecu stood among the provincial elite who sought both cultural and political emancipation within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. He admired, and frequently invoked, N. Iorga, whose speeches and writings provided both inspiration and a model of national activism for young Bukovinian intellectuals.[15] In 1910, Grecu attended the renowned summer school organized by Iorga at Vălenii de Munte. In his journal, he recounted not only his admiration for Iorga's erudition but also his own fervent commitment to promoting Romanian national identity.[16] Moreover, in an autograph note written after Iorga's death, entitled "Remembrances about Nicolae Iorga" (*Aduceri aminte despre Nicolaie Iorga*), Grecu recounted an episode from that summer school that he regarded as emblematic of the Romanian historian's character and influence:

> At his courses in Vălenii de Munte, we also attended lectures by other invited speakers. Among them was Professor A. C. Cuza [1857-1947] from the University of Iași. On one occasion, he urged us to follow the example of the Saxons in Transylvania, who had

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1875-1877, Câmpulung Moldovenesc, 2008; E. Satco and A. Niculică, "Morariu, Constantin", in *Enciclopedia Bucovinei*, vol. 2, Suceava, 2018, p. 586-588.

[13] On these intellectuals and their political and academic activities, see T. Cantemir, *Leca Morariu, folclorist*, Bucharest, 1989; E. B. Steiciuc, "Directoratul lui I. E. Torouțiu la 'Convorbiri literare'", *Codrul Cosminului, Serie nouă* 3-4, 1997-1998, p. 297-300; P. Russșindilar, "Un eminent jurist, om politic și de cultură – Aurel Morariu", *Analele Bucovinei, Serie nouă* 7.1, 2000, p. 25-42; I. Filipciuc, "I. E. Torouțiu și proiectele sale", *Glasul Bucovinei, Serie nouă* 10.3-4, 2003, p. 109-113; E. Cristuș-Pascaniuc, "Ilie E. Torouțiu (1888-1953), un spirit bucovinean în cultura română", *Analele Bucovinei, Serie nouă* 10.1, 2003, p. 215-221; P. Țugui, "Ilie Torouțiu și arhiva sa de istorie literară", *Codrul Cosminului, Serie nouă* 10, 2004, p. 271-274; L. Papuc, *Leca Morariu: Studiu monografic*, 2004; E. Satco and A. Niculică, "Morariu, Aurel", in *Enciclopedia Bucovinei*, vol. 2, Suceava, 2018, p. 585-586; id., "Morariu, Lecca (Alexandru)", in *Enciclopedia Bucovinei*, vol. 2, Suceava, 2018, p. 588-590; id., "Torouțiu, Ilie E.", in *Enciclopedia Bucovinei*, vol. 3, Suceava, 2018, p. 653-655.

[14] S. Pușcariu, *Memorii*, Bucharest, 1978, p. 350-351.

[15] From the extensive literature on Iorga, see, e.g., B. Theodorescu, *Nicolae Iorga (1871-1940): Biobibliografie*, Bucharest, 1976; P. Michelson, "Nicolae Iorga between Paradox and Understanding", *Romanian Civilization* 1.1, 1992, p. 50-60; F. Guida, "Nicolae Iorga e il compimento dell'unità nazionale romena", *Quaderni della Casa Romena di Venezia* 1, 2001, p. 111-121; P. Țurlea, *Nicolae Iorga*, Bucharest, 2016; G. Țăranu, *Nicolae Iorga și seducția fascismului italian*, Bucharest, 2025.

[16] BAR 48/1982 [II MSS 3], *Notes from the summer school of Vălenii-de-Munte, 1910*.

> ingratiated themselves with the Hungarian authorities and thereby secured important cultural and economic advantages. By chance, Nicolae Iorga was also present at that lecture. He listened [in silence], though it was evident he could scarcely restrain his gestures of displeasure and impatience for the talk to end. As soon as it concluded, Iorga said that he regretted having to contradict the previous speaker. On the contrary, he firmly advised us to stand and remain always in opposition and struggle against foreign rule, for sooner or later the sword would fall into the balance between us and our oppressors, and that would decide the matter. These words proved truly prophetic, for that is exactly what came to pass.[17]

Grecu himself contributed extensively to the press of his time, publishing articles and commentaries in contemporary newspapers and cultural journals, some of which he signed under the pseudonyms "V. Oprea" and "G. Val.". Notably, he was an active member and vice-president of the "Junimea" Academic Society (1905, 1907-1909), the successor of the earlier "Arboroasa" society in which his father-in-law had been involved—imbued with a strong nationalistic character.[18] It is therefore unsurprising that, on 22 March 1921, Grecu was granted the title of *emeritus* by the members of "Junimea".[19] The articles he published reveal his political convictions and ideological commitments, testifying to a sustained dedication to the affirmation of Romanian identity in the multi-ethnic context of Bukovina.[20] Owing to his political views, however, the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 compelled Grecu to take refuge in the Kingdom of Romania, where he briefly worked as a *corrector* for the *Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeriile Statului* in Bucharest, and then he obtained a teaching position at the "Mircea cel Bătrân" High School in Constanța, where he remained until August 1916.[21] Following the Treaty of Buftea in 1918, Grecu faced the threat of deportation to the Habsburg authorities but ultimately managed to secure Romanian citizenship. He then left for Basarabia, where he continued his teaching career and actively promoted Romanian education. Later that year, he returned to Czernowitz and joined the National Romanian Council, serving as a delegate at the

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[17] BAR 48/1982 [I MSS 2], *Remembrances about Nicolae Iorga*, p. 6-7; this note was published in *Magazin istoric, Serie nouă* 36.11 (428), 2002, p. 20-21. After the summer school, Grecu remained in close contact with Iorga, who himself took an interest in the young Bukovinian historian's research (N. Iorga, *Corespondență*, vol. 2, p. 148).

[18] T. Cantemir, "Principiile ideologice ale revistei 'Junimea literară'", in id., *Studii și cercetări științifice*, Bacău, 1970, p. 331-342; A. Popa, *Societatea Academică „Junimea" din Cernăuți, 1878–1938*, Câmpulung Moldovenesc, 1997.

[19] BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 86], *Official Address to V. Grecu regarding his recognition as emeritus of the society* (no. 139, Czernowitz, 22 March 1921).

[20] BAR 48/1982 [I MSS 3], *Notes from Vienna, 1907-1908*, p. 50-136, contains an autograph list of Grecu's 1312 publications, among which he also included the articles expressing his political views.

[21] C. Șerban, "Prezența la Constanța...", p. 194-200; BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 79], *Address of appointment from the Ministry of Instruction and Cults – Department of Education to V. Grecu* (no. 113024, Bucharest, 13 December 1914); BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 78], *Address of appointment from the Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeriile Statului to V. Grecu* (no. 014358, Bucharest, 10 December 1914).

National Congress of Bukovina on 28 November 1918, where he voted in favour of the union between Bukovina and Romania.[22] This political engagement illustrates the deep interconnection between his intellectual trajectory and the broader national project of Greater Romania. But apart from these activities, Grecu also translated classical authors – including Cicero and Plato – in order to sustain himself financially.[23]

After returning to Czernowitz, Grecu briefly taught as a *secondary teacher* at the "Aron Pumnul" High School, but his career took a decisive turn with the completion of his doctoral thesis on 28 June 1919. Written in German and titled *Platons Verhältnis zur Tier- und Pflanzenwelt* (*Plato's Relationship to the Animal and Plant World*), the dissertation opened the path to his academic career.[24] In 1920, with the support of his former professor Ion Nistor, Grecu joined the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at the University of Czernowitz, where he initially taught in the Department of South-East European Studies, reorganized two years later as the Department of Byzantine Studies. Following the union of 1918, the University of Czernowitz came under the royal patronage of King Ferdinand I of Romania (1914-1927) and underwent a process of reformation, being inaugurated with great pomp on 24 October 1920.[25] During his tenure there, which lasted until 1938, Grecu helped to consolidate Byzantine studies as an academic discipline. He first served as a *substitute professor* (29 November 1919 – 1 October 1921), then as an *associate professor* (1 October 1921 – 21 January 1925), and finally as a tenured *professor* (21 January 1925 – 1 December 1938).[26] His academic leadership was recognized

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[22] V. Grecu, "Gânduri din ziua cea mare a Unirii", in I. Nistor (ed.), *Amintiri răzleţe din timpul Unirii, 1918*, Czernowitz, 1938, p. 140-143.

[23] See Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Cuvântarea pentru M. Marcellus (Pro Marcello)*, tr. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1915; Cornelius Nepos, *Căpitani străluciţi ai neamurilor străine şi vieţile lui Marcus Porcius Cato şi a lui Titus Pomponius*, tr. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1915; Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Cuvântarea de apărare pentru Titus Annius Milo (Pro Milone)*, tr. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1915; Platon, *Criton sau despre datoria cetăţeanului*, tr. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1916; Platon, *Apărarea lui Socrates (Apologia lui Socrates)*, tr. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1916; Platon, *Ospăţul sau discuţiuni asupra iubirii*, tr. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1920.

[24] The doctoral thesis is still in manuscript: BAR 48/1982 [III MSS 8], *Griechische Hausarbeit: Platons Verhältnis zur Tier- und Pflanzenwelt*, signed V. Greciuc, Czernowitz, 90 p.; BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 2a], *Doctoral Diploma* (Czernowitz, 5 June 1919).

[25] On the University of Czernowitz, see E. Turczynski, "Die Universität Czernowitz", in F. Lang (ed.), *Buchenland: Hundertfünfzig Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina*, Munich, 1961, p. 321-355; G. Stourzh, "Die Franz-Josephs-Universität in Cernowitz, 1875-1918", in R. Plaschka and K. Mack (eds.), *Wegenetz europäischen Geistes: Wissenschaftszentren und geistige Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Mittel- und Südosteuropa vom Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, Vienna, 1983, p. 54-59; V. Trebici, "Relațiile dintre societățile studențești române și germane de la Universitatea din Cernăuți ca model de înțelegere interetnică (1875-1938)", *Analele Bucovinei, Serie nouă* 4.2, 1997, p. 281-286; M.-Șt. Ceaușu, "Universitatea din Cernăuți: De la modelul cultural german la cel românesc de sorginte franceză", *Analele Bucovinei, Serie nouă* 29.2, 2022, p. 439-453 [repr. in Gh. Iacob and O. Buruiană (eds.), *Societatea românească și concurența modelelor de dezvoltare (1859-1939)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2022, p. 98-112].

[26] On Grecu's activity as an academic in Czernowitz, see *Anuarul Universităţii Regele Ferdinand I din Cernăuţi pe anul de studii 1923-1924*, Czernowitz, 1925; University of Czernowitz, *Programa*

when he was elected Dean of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy for 1927-1928 and 1928-1929.[27] In his report for the 1937-1938 academic year, Grecu described his teaching, showing that his dual expertise as historian and philologist enabled him to train students not only in the political and cultural history of Byzantium, but also in the rigorous methods of textual criticism and Greek palaeography:

> I began my courses on 1 November 1937, at 6:00 P.M., and continued them every Monday and Tuesday from 6:00 to 7:00 P.M., in Room no. 40, covering the history of the Byzantine Empire from 1204 to 1453. The seminar sessions I held on Friday, 12 November 1937, and continued every Friday from 10:00 to 12:00 in Room no. 40, interpreting Byzantine historical texts by Niketas Choniates, George Akropolites, and Doukas, using the texts published by G. Soyter, *Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber und Chronisten*, Heidelberg, 1929, p. 20-27. We then did exercises in Byzantine palaeography using plates nos. 12, 21, 27, and 44 from *Specimina codicum graecorum vaticanorum*, edited by P. Franchi de' Cavalieri and Joh. Lietzmann, Bonn, 1910. Finally, we discussed the interpretations and papers presented by the students—Eduard Strutynski, Maria Prelipceanu, Maria Tomașevschi Haiducescu, Dumitru Ioanițescu, Vasile Mândruțeanu, Despina Dimitriu, and Livia Gemeniuc.[28]

In October 1920, Grecu submitted his habilitation at the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Cluj, on the topic of the influence of the *Erotokritos* by Vikentios Kornaros (17th c.) in Romanian literature. The study was subsequently published in *Dacoromanica* in Cluj-Napoca. Grecu's habilitation was certified by Nicolae Bănescu, who would later become his colleague at the University of Bucharest in 1938.[29] Yet, despite these achievements, Grecu's private life was marked by profound tragedy. In May 1923, his wife Victoria suffered a mental breakdown during which he murdered her mother, Elena, before taking her own life on 26 May 1923. The event

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cursurilor pentru anul de studii 1930-1931, Czernowitz, 1930, p. 11, 19, 25; University "King Carol II" of Czernowitz, *Programul cursurilor și lucrărilor în seminarii, institute și laboratoare pe anul școlar 1936-1937*, Czernowitz, 1936, p. 15; I. Nistor (ed.), *Anuarul Universiății Regele Carol al II-lea din Cernăuți pe anul de studii 1936-1937*, Czernowitz, 1937, p. 121-122; id. (ed.), *Anuarul Universității Regele Carol al II-lea din Cernăuți pe anul de studii 1937-1938*, Czernowitz, 1938, p. 212-213, 233-234; id. (ed.), *Anuarul Universității Regele Carol al II-lea din Cernăuți pe anul de studii 1938-1939*, Czernowitz, 1939, p. 114. See BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 80], *Official Address from I. Nistor to V. Grecu on his university appointment* (no. 144/C, Czernowitz, 5 December 1919).

[27] BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 93], *Official Address from the Ministry of Higher Education to V. Grecu in which he is appointed dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters* (no. 100867, Bucharest, 8 August 1927).

[28] I. Nistor (ed.), *Anuarul Universității Regele Carol al II-lea din Cernăuți pe anul de studii 1937-1938*, p. 233-234.

[29] V. Grecu, "Erotocritul lui Cornaro în literatura românească", *Dacoromanica* 1, 1920-1921, p. 9-72, with an additional note with the same title in *Codrul Cosminului* 1, 1924, p. 574-576. See BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 85], *Official Address from N. Bănescu to V. Grecu* (no. 238-1920/21, Cluj-Napoca, 4 January 1921).

left Grecu widowed with two sons, Viorel (1912-1980) and Victor (1914-1941).[30] In the following years, he sought refuge in scholarly work. He eventually remarried, taking Olga Tomorug as his wife on 6 March 1927.[31]

A turning point in Grecu's career was the First International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held in Bucharest in 1924 at the initiative of N. Iorga, an event that also proved decisive for the consolidation of Byzantinology as an independent field of research. From an international perspective, the congress marked the recognition of Byzantine studies as a distinct discipline; for Romania, it provided a unique opportunity to showcase the vitality of its scholarly tradition and to affirm the place of Romanian Byzantinists within the European academic community. Grecu participated as a member of the Romanian organizing committee, delivering two papers in the Philology and Archaeology Section: *Antike Philosophen in der Kirchenmalerei des Morgenlandes* (18 April) and *Neue Quellen zu der Ἑρμηνία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης des Dionysios von Phourna* (19 April). Both presentations sparked lively discussion among participants, notably Oreste Tafrali, Louis Bréhier (1868-1951), Nikodim Kondakov (1844-1925), Gabriel Millet (1867-1953), and Matija Murko (1861-1952).[32] Grecu did not let the event pass without reflection: he later published an article dedicated to the congress, though it drew criticism from his colleague at Iași, Oreste Tafrali,

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[30] The younger son, Victor, died at the age of 27 from wounds sustained on the battlefield of Odessa in September 1941. Grecu mourned this loss in the dedications to his editions of *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab* and *Viața Sfântului Nifon*. Another family tragedy befell his sister Domnica, who emigrated with her husband, Irimia Cazacu, to the United States; she died prematurely at 24, and her two children were subsequently raised by Grecu. See C. Morariu, *Cursul vieții mele*..., p. 159, 164; S. Pușcariu, *Memorii*, p. 630.

[31] BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 60], *Excerpt from the Ledger of Marriage* (Czernowitz, 5 February 1940).

[32] See C. Marinescu, *Compte-rendu du premier Congrès international des études byzantines, Bucarest, 1924*, Bucharest, 1925, p. 54-57, 73-74. From the extensive literature on the Bucharest Congress, see L. Bréhier, "Le premier Congrès international des études byzantines à Bucarest", *Revue internationale de l'enseignement* 78, 1924, p. 266-275; id., "Le premier Congrès international des études byzantines à Bucarest", *Byzantion* 1, 1924, p. 735-744; P. Graindor, "Le premier Congrès des études byzantines", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 3, 1924, p. 673-675; H. Grégoire, "Le Congrès byzantine de Bucarest", *Revue archéologique* 20, 1924, p. 243-246; G. A. Sotiriou, "Α΄ Συνέδριον τῶν βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν", *Θεολογία* 2, 1924, p. 184-190; S. Maufroy, "Les premiers congrès internationaux des études byzantines: Entre nationalism scientifique et construction international d'une discipline", *Revue germanique internationale* 12, 2010, p. 229-240; M. Nystazopoulou-Pélékidou, "L'histoire des congrès internationaux des études byzantines – Première Partie", *Βυζαντινὰ Σύμμεικτα* 18, 2008, p. 11-33; F. Fodac, "Le premier Congrès international d'études byzantines (Bucarest, 14-20 avril 2024): Prémisses et context historique d'organisation", *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* 5, 2006, p. 509-522. Grecu later published his papers presented at the Congress as: V. Grecu, "Eine Belagerung Konstantinopels in der rumänischen Kirchenmalerei", *Byzantion* 1, 1924, p. 273-289 [repr. in id., *Byzantinische und neugriechische Forschungen*, ed. O.-A. Negoiță, Brăila, 2020, p. 121-130; hereafter *BNF*], and id., "Darstellungen Altheidnischer Denker und Schriftsteller in der Kirchenmalerei des Morgenlandes", *Bulletin de la Section Historique – Académie Roumaine* 11, 1924, p. 1-68 [repr. in *BNF*, p. 11-80].

a specialist on Byzantine art.[33] According to Tafrali, while summarizing the papers presented at the congress, Grecu had mistakenly attributed to Iorga the publication of a Greek inscription found on one of the liturgical described by him, although it had in fact been previously published by Konstantin Jireček (1854-1918) and Eugen Kozak (1857-1933).

The year 1924 was also a turning point for Grecu in terms of his academic topics and future publications. One of the defining features of his scholarship was his sustained interest in the ways Byzantine traditions permeated Romanian literary and artistic culture. He explored the reception of Byzantine chronicles in medieval Romanian literature. His research extended as well to Byzantine painting manuals that shaped local ecclesiastical art. By comparing texts preserved in Greek and Romanian manuscripts – especially the *Manual of Dionysios of Phourna* (18th c.) and its 1805 Romanian translation by Archimandrite Macarie of Căldărușani Monastery – with frescoes and decorative cycles in Romanian churches, Grecu demonstrated the continuity and creative adaptation of Byzantine iconographic norms in the Romanian context.[34] He also paid close attention to the presence of classical or "pagan" motifs in church painting – such as the figures of ancient philosophers and Sibyls depicted on exterior walls – interpreting them not as deviations but as signs of a layered dialogue between ancient heritage, Byzantine tradition, and local artistic innovation. As a member of the editorial board of *Candela* (the journal of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Czernowitz) and *Codrul Cosminului* (the journal of the Institute of History and Language, for which he served as secretary from 1924 to 1939),[35] Grecu found effective venues for disseminating his research. He would also present his scholarly work at the subsequent international congresses of Byzantine studies

[33] V. Grecu, "Congresul bizantinologilor", *Junimea literară* 13, 1924, p. 81-89; O. Tafrali in *Viitorul*, no. 4881, 18 June 1924; V. Grecu, "Supărare fără rost", *Junimea literară* 13.7-8, 1924, p. 380-381. On Tafrali, see L. Ciupercă, *Oreste Tafrali*, Iași, 2016; I. Asăvoaie, *Oreste Tafrali: Activitatea istoriografică, didactică și publică*, Iași, 2016; L. Nastasă, "Orest Tafrali și studiile de bizantinologie", *Cercetări istorice* 16, 1997, p. 157-172; L. Rados, "'Supliciile' profesorului Oreste Tafrali la Universitatea din Iași: O poveste despre vanități și incompatibilități culturale", *Archiva Moldaviae* 9, 2017, p. 97-120; and Mihail Mitrea's contribution in this volume.

[34] *Cărți de pictură bisericească bizantină: Introducere şi ediție critică a versiunilor româneşti atât după redacțiunea lui Dionisie din Furna tradusă la 1805 de Arhimandritul Macarie cât şi după alte redacțiuni mai vechi traduceri anonime*, ed. and tr. V. Grecu, Chernivtsi, 1936 [initially published in *Candela* 42-46, 1932-1935]. See also BAR 48/1982 [V Varia 1], *Autograph notes about Dionysios of Phourna*, 77 p.; BAR 48/1982 [V Varia 11], *Diverse autograph notes on the Manuals of church painting*, 14 p.

[35] On these journals, see I. Hangiu, "Codrul Cosminului", in *Dicționarul presei literare românești, 1790-1990*, 2nd ed., Bucharest, 1996, p. 96-97; D. Valenciuc, *Candela: Revistă istorică și bisericească. Seria a II-a (1923-1946), Ghid bibliografic*, Suceava, 1999; M. Păcurariu, "Candela", in id. et al. (eds.), *Enciclopedia Ortodoxiei românești*, Bucharest, 2010, p. 151.

in Belgrade (1927), Athens (1930), Sofia (1934), and Rome (1936) – that became foundational for the next generations of art historians and scholars of literary studies.[36]

His assiduous work brought him also other positions in the institutions of research of Bukovina. In August 1924, Grecu was elected member of the Commission of the State Archives in Czernowitz; on 30 November 1925, the Metropolitan of Bukovina appointed him as diocesan representative to the National Church Congress in Bucharest for a six-year term. Owing to his interest in ecclesiastical art, he was also appointed member of the Czernowitz Branch of the Commission for Historical Monuments and subsequently elected to the historical-cultural department of the "Carol II" Museum of Czernowitz on behalf of this commission.[37]

One of the most significant recognitions of his academic career came on 23 May 1936, when Grecu was unanimously elected a corresponding member of the Historical Section of the Romanian Academy (29 members).[38] While at Czernowitz, his scholarly

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[36] See V. Grecu, "Perspectiva în pictura bizantină", *Codrul Cosminului* 2-3, 1925-1926, p. 618-620; id., "Originea cronicelor românești", in *Omagiu lui I. Bianu din partea colegilor şi foştilor săi elevi*, Bucharest, 1927, p. 217-223; id., "Die Hermeneia τῆς Ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης im Rumänischen", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30, 1929-1930 [= *Festgabe A. Heisenberg zum 60. Geburtstage gewidmet*, ed. F. Dölger, Munich, 1929-1930], p. 619-622 [repr. in *BNF*, p. 241-256]; id., "Volksbewusstsein rettete das byzantinische Reich in seinen Anfängen vor den barbarischen Häuptlingen", in *III^me Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Athènes, 1930*, ed. A. Orlandos, Athens, 1930, p. 137-144; id., "Contribuţii la studiul izvoarelor Manualului de pictură bizantină", in *Închinare lui Nicolae Iorga cu prilejul împlinirii vârstei de 60 de ani*, Cluj-Napoca, 1931, p. 189-195; id., "Manualul de pictură al lui Dionisie din Furna în românește", *Codrul Cosminului* 7, 1931-1932, p. 49-59; id., *Influența bizantină în literatura românească: Conferință ținută la Universitatea Liberă din București în ziua de 23 Noemvrie 1932*, Czernowitz, 1933; id., "Byzantinische Handbücher der Kirchenmalerei", *Byzantion* 9, 1934, p. 675-701 [repr. in *BNF*, p. 81-99]; id., "O ediție critică a Cărţii de Pictură Bisericească Bizantină", *Codrul Cosminului* 9, 1935, p. 103-128; id., "Influenţe sârbeşti în vechea iconografie bisericească a Moldovei", *Codrul Cosminului* 9, 1935, p. 233-242; id., "Neue Handschriften der Ἑρμηνεῖα τῆς Ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης", in *Εἰς μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου*, Athens, 1935, p. 303-310; id., "Eine kritische Ausgabe der Ἑρμηνεῖα τῆς Ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης", *Известия на Българския Археологически Институтъ – Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 9, 1935 [= *Actes du IV^e Congrès International des études byzantines, Sofia, septembre 1934*, ed. B. D. Filov, Sofia, 1935], p. 225-237 [repr. in *BNF*, p. 101-115]; id., "Pretinse urme ale cultului lui Mithra în vechea noastră iconografie bisericească", *Codrul Cosminului* 10, 1936-1939, p. 504-506.

[37] BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 88], *Official Address from the Ministry of High Education to V. Grecu confirming his membership in the Commission of the State Archives* (no. 79587, Bucharest, 22 August 1924); BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 89], *Official Address from the State Archives in Bucharest to V. Grecu confirming his membership in the Commission* (no. 267, Bucharest, 23 August 1924); BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 90-91], *Official Addresses from Metropolitan Nectarie about Grecu's appointment* (Czernowitz, 30 November 1925) [according to BAR 48/1982 (IV Acte 106), this position ended only on 31 March 1949, according to an official address sent by the Patriarch Justinian Marina]; BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 94-95, 99], *Documents of appointment of V. Grecu as member of the Commission* (9 November 1928; 14 February 1937 – reconfirmation of new appointment); BAR 48/1982 [VII Varia 2], *Official address about V. Grecu's appointment at the Museum* (no. 45/36, Czernowitz, 28 august 1936).

[38] D. Rusu, *Istoria Academiei Române în date (1866-1996)*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 263.

work continued unabated: he undertook two research trips to Greece and Mount Athos, in 1934 and 1937, during which he visited the monasteries of Dionysiou, Panteleimon, Pantokrator, and Agiou Pavlou in search of manuscripts about the Byzantine sources of the old Romanian literature and the manuals of church painting.[39] At the Agiou Pavlou Monastery, after collating manuscripts from its library—Grecu's archival work during the 1937 visit is well documented in a journal containing notes from Athonite manuscripts[40] – with Bucharest, Library of the Romanian Academy, ms. gr. 500, which preserves the Byzantine original of the *Book of Wisdom* published by Deacon Coresi (1581), namely the homilies of Patriarch John XIV Kalekas (1334-1347), Grecu was able to complete his edition and Romanian translation of the Greek text. In doing so, he once again underscored the close interconnections between Byzantine literature and early Romanian literary culture.[41]

3. Research and teaching in Bucharest: Byzantine texts and old legal codes

After the retirement and subsequent death of Demostene Russo on 5 October 1938, Vasile Grecu moved from Czernowitz to Bucharest, where – most probably at the recommendation of Ion Nistor – he was appointed on 1 December 1938, to the newly reorganized Chair of Byzantine Studies at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of the University of Bucharest.[42] Until his retirement in 1947, Grecu devoted his teaching primarily to Byzantine literature, complementing Nicolae Bănescu's courses on Byzantine history.[43] Grecu's approach to teaching was grounded in the

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[39] BAR 48/1982 [IV Varia 1-2], *Permissions to visit Mount Athos* (Karyes, 29 March 1934; Karyes, 23 May 1937).

[40] See BAR 48/1982 [II MSS 4], *Journal with notes from Mount Athos* (1937).

[41] V. Grecu (ed. and tr.), *Izvorul principal bizantin pentru Cartea cu Învățătură a diaconului Coresi din 1581: Omiliile patriarhului Ioan XIV Caleca (1334-1347)*, Bucharest, 1939.

[42] For lists of Grecu's teaching activities and publications while at the University of Bucharest, see *Anuarul Universității din București, 1937-1938*, Bucharest, 1939, p. 97 (Grecu's appointment was sanctioned by the order of the Ministry of National Education, no. 231.155 of 8 December 1938, according to the law of 4 November 1938; see *Monitorul Oficial*, 257, November 1938); *Anuarul Universității din București, 1938-1939*, Bucharest, 1940, p. 82-83; *Anuarul Universității din București, 1939-1940*, Bucharest, 1941, p. 88-89; *Anuarul Universității din București, 1940-1941, 1941-1942*, Bucharest, 1943, p. 209-211. For the "promotion mechanisms" of academics in Romania, see L. Năstasă, *„Suveranii" universităților românești: Mecanisme de selecție și promovare a elitei intelectuale*, vol. 1: *Profesorii Facultăților de Filosofie și Litere (1864-1948)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2007, especially p. 509-510. See BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 101], *Official Notification from University of Czernowitz to V. Grecu about his appointment at the University of Bucharest* (no. 342, Czernowitz, 13 December 1938).

[43] On Bănescu, see S. Brezeanu, "Bizantinistul Nicolae Bănescu (100 de ani de la naștere)", *Revista de istorie* 31.12, 1978, p. 2221-2233; Biblioteca Centrală Universitară „Carol I" din București, *Nicolae Bănescu, 1878-1971: Biobibliografie*, Bucharest, 2010; Bănescu was invited to teach Byzantine studies at the University of Bucharest alongside Grecu, thus assuming the position previously held by Russo,

direct engagement with primary sources. He introduced students to the works of Byzantine chroniclers, guiding them through the linguistic subtleties of Greek and the conventions of Byzantine historiography. Rather than offering only broad overviews, he emphasized close reading, textual analysis, and the comparison of manuscript traditions, instilling in his students the philological discipline that underpinned rigorous Byzantine scholarship.[44] His lectures also explored the reception of Byzantine texts in the Romanian Principalities, showing how Greek literary traditions intersected with local cultural expressions and thus making Byzantine literature meaningful within the framework of the national intellectual heritage. Through this pedagogical method, Grecu established a model of instruction that combined erudition with cultural contextualization, ensuring that the study of Byzantine literature was not a detached philological exercise but a living inquiry into the shared past of Byzantium. While at the University of Bucharest, Grecu had one of the most fruitful periods of his career: he published extensively on Byzantine chroniclers in leading academic journals[45] and collaborated closely with other research institutes in Bucharest, particularly

with whom he had maintained a fierce polemic (see N. Bănescu, *O „celebritate" a ştiinţii româneşti (D. Demosthenes Roussos)*, Bucharest, 1915; id., *O misterioasă reputaţie ştiinţifică*, Bucharest, 1915; id., *Rătăcirile ştiinţifice ale D-lui Dem. Roussos: Bizantinist neimprovizat şi professor de recentă improvizaţie la Universitatea din Bucureşti*, Bucharest, 1916); M. Hariuc, "Nicolae Bănescu", in A. Corbea-Hoişie and R. Gräf (eds.), *Limbă şi cultură germană în România (1918-1933): Realităţi postimperiale, discurs public şi câmpuri culturale*, Iaşi, 2023, p. 353-354.

[44] For Grecu's university manuals, see V. Grecu, *Introducere în Bizantologie*, Bucharest, 1940-1941; id., *Literatura istorică bizantină (continuare dela 650 înainte)*, Bucharest, 1940-1941; id., *Literatura istorică bizantină: Epoca a III-a de la Constantin al VII-lea Porfirogenetul (913-959) pînă la venirea în domnie a Comnenilor (1081), adică de pe la anul 900 pînă la anul 1080*, Bucharest, 1942-1943; id., *Literatura istorică bizantină: Epoca a IV-a a Comnenilor*, Bucharest, 1942-1943.

[45] See, for instance, V. Grecu, "Die Darstellung des Καιρός bei den Byzantiner", *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 6, 1940, p. 147-154 [= *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini, Roma, 20-26 Settembre 1936*, vol. 2: *Archeologia e storia dell'Arte–Liturgia e Musica. Cronaca del Congresso*, Rome, 1940]; "Scrisoarea de dedicaţie a istoricului Critobul către Mohamet II Cuceritorul", in *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire et de littérature comparée offerts à Charles Drouhet par ses amis, ses collègues et ses anciens élèves à l'occasion du XXX^e^ anniversaire de son enseignement à l'Université*, Bucharest, 1940, p. 197-202; "Die Abstammung des Historikers Petros Patrikios", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 40, 1940, p. 448; "Menander Protiktor und der Persische Gesandschaftsbericht Petros' Patrikios", *Bulletin de la Section Historique – Académie Roumaine* 2.2, 1941, p. 78-84; "Un vechi motiv de folklor italian în româneşte", *Revista istorică română* 11-12, 1941-1942, p. 35-45; "Abriß der rumänischen Byzantinistik", *Südost-Forschungen* 7, 1942, p. 164-201; "Das Geburtsjahr des byzantinischen Geschichtschreibers Nikephoros Gregoras", *Bulletin de la Section Historique – Académie Roumaine* 27, 1946, p. 56-61; "Zu den Interpolationen im Geschichtswerke des Laonikos Chalkokondyles", *Bulletin de la Section Historique – Académie Roumaine* 27, 1946, p. 92-94; "Istoricul bizantin Duca: Omul şi opera sa: O ediţie critică a cronicii lui. Importanţa lui Duca pentru istoria românilor", *Analele Academiei Române – Memoriile Secţiunii Istorice* 29.16, 1946-1947, p. 591-662; "Bemerkungen zu Prokop's Schriften", *Bulletin de la Section Historique – Académie Roumaine* 28.2, 1947, p. 233-240; "Hat Georgios Synkellos weite Reisen unternommen?", *Bulletin de la Section Historique – Académie Roumaine* 28.2, 1947, p. 241-245; "Bemerkungen zu Theophanes Homologetes", *Bulletin de la Section Historique – Académie Roumaine* 28.2, 1947, p. 246-251.

the Institute of Byzantine Studies and the Institute of Universal History, where he delivered several lectures.[46] Grecu also maintained contact with the French Institute for Byzantine Studies, run by the Assumptionist fathers, which had relocated from Kadiköy (Istanbul) to Bucharest in 1937, being in contact with Fr. Vitalien Laurent (1896-1973) until the autumn of 1947 and publishing his research and being reviewed in the journals of the institute.[47]

In June 1939, Grecu embarked on a third research trip to Mount Athos, especially to the monasteries of Dionysiou and Koutloumousiou,[48] in search of new manuscripts related to two texts of paramount importance for Romanian history: the *Teachings of Neagoe Basarab to His Son Theodosie* and the *Life of Saint Niphon*. Yet, his work there was not without obstacles:

> 3 June 1939. Saturday […]
> After the formalities with the police and the *Epistasia*, I go down to Koutloumousiou. I cannot see the testaments of Metropolitan Chariton, as they are kept in the archive, to which several fathers hold keys, and of whom one is always absent – unless you have special interventions and permissions. In the library, Fr. Maxim, who lived in Romania between 1842 and 1914 and speaks Romanian well, gives me the extremely unpleasant and frankly absurd news that nothing may be photographed without special permission, even though I only wish to photograph a summary from Matthew of Myra [*fl.* 1596-1624], which is of almost no importance. I rush to obtain this permission. With great difficulty, the deputy governor accepts my request and tells me to come the next day at 9:00 A.M. Here, professors of the monastic seminary, with only 35 pupils,

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[46] On these institutes, see R. Filip, *Institutul Român de Bizantinologie*; A. M. Ciobanu, B. Popa et al. (eds.), *Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga", 1937-1948*, Bucharest, 2009; C. Vasile, *Un turn de fildeș în comunism? Institutele umaniste ale Academiei RPR în România lui Gheorghiu-Dej*, Bucharest, 2004.

[47] See Paris, Institut Français d'Études Byzantines [IFEB], *Postcard from V. Grecu to Fr. V. Laurent* (4 May 1938) in which Grecu apologises for not honouring the latter's invitation to take part in the opening of the Institute in Bucharest (8 May 1938) – I thank I.-A. Tudorie for bringing this document to my attention. However, Grecu marked this event in a brief article: V. Grecu, "Institutul francez de studii bizantine", *Codrul Cosminului* 10, 1936-1939, p. 667. Grecu published two articles: V. Grecu, "Autour du *De Signis* de Nicétas Choniate", *Revue des études byzantines* 6, 1948, p. 58-66 [rep. in *BNF*, p. 179-186], and id., "Nicétas Choniatès a-t-il connu l'*Histoire* de Jean Cinnamos?", *Revue des études byzantines* 7, 1949, p. 194-204 [repr. in *BNF*, p. 187-196]. For reviews of Grecu's publications, see V. Grumel, "Review of *Cărți de pictură bisericească*", in *Échos d'Orient* 36, 1937, p. 251; J. Gouillard, "Review of *Izvorul principal bizantin*", *Échos d'Orient* 39, 1940, p. 232-234; V. Laurent, "Review of *Istoricul bizantin Duca*", *Revue des études byzantines* 7, 1949, p. 140. For the history of the French Institute of Byzantine Studies in Bucharest, see I.-A. Tudorie, "Academic Research and Cultural Diplomacy: The French Institute for Byzantine Studies in Bucharest (1937-1947)", in M.-H. Blanchet and I.-A. Tudorie (eds.), *L'apport des assomptionistes français aux études byzantines: Une approche critique (Actes du colloque de Bucarest, 25-27 septembre 2014)*, Paris, 2017, p. 169-211. On Fr. V. Laurent, see J. Darrouzès, "Le Père Vitalien Laurent (1896-1973)", *Revue des études byzantines* 32, 1974, p. 3-14; "Bibliographie du Père Vitalien Laurent", *Revue des études byzantines* 32, 1974, p. 343-379.

[48] BAR 48/1982 [IV Varia 4], *Permission to visit Mount Athos* (Karyes, 21 May 1939).

tell me that the Holy *Epistasia*, the monastic committee of Athos, does not allow one to own a radio set. And to think that the Pope delivers sermons to his faithful over the microphone. […]

5 June 1939. Monday
At St. Panteleimon (Rossikon), I came across a painter from Athens, who promised me for Wednesday a meeting at Dionysiou, to make me a watercolour copy of Neagoe's portrait from the reliquary of St. Niphon. It would be a pleasant reward in place of the prohibition against photographing. […]

7 June 1939. Wednesday
[…] From 6:00 A.M. I collated the *Teachings of Neagoe*. [...] Around 1:00 P.M. I found myself with the Russian painter, Veresinsky, rather drunk. I could not make out whether he had come of his own accord or had been sent by the abbot. I told him to lie down on the bench. He said he never [*jamais*] sleeps, but a few moments later he was snoring, sitting with his head propped somewhere. I do not know what outcome this will bring me; I see trouble lies ahead with him. Outside, it rained like in autumn. My painter went to see what copy he might make for me. He came back saying that the work was very difficult and that Neagoe's likeness was *magnifique*, but that he could not do it for 200 drachmas. I gave him 300. He went, returned, and told me that the monk who had to stay with him also demanded 300 drachmas in advance. I understood what he was after and refused to let myself be fleeced, to give them the money and then have to chase after them.

9 June 1939. Friday
[…] Between 8:00-9:00 A.M. I photographed the pages I had gathered from codices λ 221 and 199. With the Russian painter, whom I could hardly ever find sober, I could achieve nothing. The abbot told me he would allow me to photograph Neagoe's portrait, provided the sun did not hide again, for then it would shrink. I photographed it around 4:00 P.M.; I am curious how it will turn out. It is a very realistic portrait, and it would be a pity if nothing could be seen, as the light was rather dim, and the colours dull. I also photographed the *Life of St. Niphon* in its entirety from manuscript 715, written toward the end of the 18th century. Then from manuscript 610, ff. 148r-154r, containing a *logos didactikos* [*sic*] very similar to, if not indeed the source of [*The Teachings of*] *Neagoe Basarab*, and ff. 163-172 of the 1843 edition. Also from manuscript 610, ff. 19r-21r and 39r-69v, again the *Life of St. Niphon*. On its last folio the manuscript bears the Greek inscription: "Ἐγράφη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον παρ' ἐμοῦ Σαμουὴλ τοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἐν μοναχοῖς καὶ οἱ ἀναγινόσκοντες [*sic*] εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ˛αψνδ΄ [1754] ἐν μηνὶ Ἀπριλίου ις΄" [i.e., "This book was written by me, Samuel, the least among monks, and you who read it, pray for me the sinner, in the year 1754, in the month of April, on the 16th"].[49]

[49] BAR 48/1982 [II MSS 1], *Daily Notes, 1939-1941 and 1943-1969*, p. 2r, 3r, 4r-v, 5r-v. For the Greek note, I offer the exact rendering of Grecu.

However, these editions were not published until 1942 and 1944, under the auspices of the Romanian Academy.[50] Grecu's later career was overshadowed by profound hardships that left a lasting imprint on his life and scholarship. The outbreak of the Second World War and the unstable political climate in Romania created an atmosphere of uncertainty and disruption for academic life. On a deeply personal level, he suffered the tragic loss of his son, Victor, who died on 16 September 1941, from wounds sustained on the battlefield at Odessa. The memory of this loss accompanied him throughout his subsequent work, finding poignant expression in the dedications to his editions of the *Teachings of Neagoe Basarab* and the *Life of Saint Niphon*, which he offered as tributes to his fallen son. But the texts edited by Grecu continued to attract a sustained scholarly attention in Romania over the following decades – which also opened room for academic polemics especially on matters of authenticity and authorship[51] – since both texts are deeply connected to the spiritual and cultural history of the Romanian lands.

The establishment of the Communist regime at the end of 1947, following the abdication of King Michael I (1921-2017), had a profound impact on Romanian scholarship. Ideological control, censorship, and institutional purges curtailed intellectual freedom and severed many of the traditional channels of academic exchange, forcing scholars to work under severe constraints.[52] Grecu's position at

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[50] *Învăţăturile lui Neagoe Basarab, domnul Ţării Româneşti (1512–1521): Versiunea grecească*, ed. and tr. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1942; *Viaţa Sfântului Nifon: O redacţiune grecească inedită*, ed. and tr. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1944.

[51] For instance, Grecu's work on the *Teachings of Neagoe Basarab* was opposed by P. P. Panaitescu (1900-1967). Beside Grecu's edition, see V. Grecu, "Izvor sau prelucrare a uneia din Învăţăturile lui Neagoe Voevod", in *Omagiu lui Ioan Lupaş la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani, August 1940*, Bucharest, 1943, p. 207-227 [repr. in excerpt with the title *O versiune nouă a unei Învăţături a lui Neagoe Basarab*, Bucharest, 1941]; id., "Și totuși Învățăturile lui Neagoe Voevod", *Convorbiri literare* 77, 1944, p. 477-481, 740-767. See also BAR 48/1982 [VI Varia 1], *Notes and articles about the Teachings of Neagoe Basarab*, 1 notebook and 133 p. See P. P. Panaitescu, "*Învăţăturile lui Neagoe Basarab*: Problema autenticității", *Balcania* 5.1, 1942, p. 137-205; and id., "Review of *Omagiu lui Ioan Lupaș*", *Convorbiri literare* 77, 1944, p. 379-383, who believes that "there is no argument that proves that these texts [i.e., the *Teachings of Neagoe Basarab*], fairly contested so far, belong to the Wallachian ruler". For a detailed discussion of the historiography of this text, see G. Mihăilă, "Originalul slavon al *Învăţăturilor lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie*", in id. (ed. and tr.), *Învăţăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie: Ediție facsimilată după unicul manuscris păstrat*, Bucharest, 1996, p. xlvi-cxiv; see also D. Zamfirescu, *Învăţăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie*, Bucharest, 1970; id., *Neagoe Basarab şi Învăţăturile către fiul său Theodosie: Probleme controversate*, Bucharest, 1973; D. Zamfirescu and I. Mihăilă (eds.), *Învăţăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie*, Bucharest, 2020.

[52] See, e.g., L. Boia, *Mitologia ştiinţifică a comunismului*, Bucharest, 1999; A. Zub, *Orizont închis: Istoriografia română sub dictatură*, Iași, 2000; F. Müller, *Politică şi istoriografie în România, 1948-1964*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003; I. Opriș, *Istoricii şi Securitatea*, 2 vols., Bucharest, 2004; *Anuarul Institutului de Investigare a Crimelor Comunismului în România*, 4, 2009 [= *Intelectualii şi regimul comunist: Istoria unei relații*, Iași, 2009]; N.-Ș. Tanașoca, *Balcanologie şi politică în România sec. XX*, Bucharest, 2010; C. Vasile, *Literatura şi artele în România comunistă, 1948-1953*, Bucharest, 2010;

the University of Bucharest ended on 1 September 1947, after which he retained only the title of *honorary professor*. In 1948, under the pretext of a "reorganisation" of the Romanian Academy, the Communist authorities revoked the membership of numerous intellectuals, including Grecu.[53] Nevertheless, he succeeded in continuing his research as an employee of the Romanian Academy, working under the aegis of various affiliated research institutes.

One of the most enduring legacies of Grecu's scholarly career was his collaboration with the eminent classical philologist Haralambie Mihăescu (1907-1985)[54] in founding the series *Scriptores byzantini*, launched under the auspices of the Romanian Academy in 1958.[55] Conceived at a moment when Byzantine studies in Romania were undergoing both institutional consolidation and political constraint, this editorial project quickly acquired significance well beyond national borders. Its aim was twofold: to produce critical editions of major Byzantine historians, accompanied by reliable Romanian translations, and thus to make accessible to scholars and students

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L. Boia, *Capcanele istoriei: Elita intelectuală românească între 1930 și 1950*, 2nd ed., Bucharest, 2012; S. Stoica, *Istoriografia românească între imperativele ideologice și rigorile profesionale, 1953-1965*, Bucharest, 2012; C. Vasile, *Un turn de fildeș în comunism?*

[53] On 28 June 1990, Grecu – together with many other intellectuals who had been expelled from the Romanian Academy in 1948 – was posthumously reinstated as a member. See D. Rusu, *Istoria Academiei Române*..., p. 476-479.

[54] On H. Mihăescu, see T. Diaconescu, "H. Mihăescu: In memoriam (1907-1985)", *Philologica Jassyensia* 3.1, 2007, p. 289-297.

[55] Grecu and Mihăescu published nine volumes in the *Scriptores byzantini* series between 1958 and 1985, the year of Mihăescu's death, which also marked the suspension of the series. However, it was revived in 2015 and is currently hosted by the Institute of South-East European Studies. The volumes of the series are as follows: Ducas, *Istoria Turco-Bizantină (1341-1462)*, ed. and tr. V. Grecu (Scriptores byzantini 1), Bucharest, 1958; Laonic Chalkokondil, *Expuneri istorice: Creșterea puterii turcești – Căderea împărăției bizantine și alte istorii despre felurite țări și popoare*, tr. V. Grecu (Scriptores byzantini 2), Bucharest, 1958; Procopius din Cezareea, *Războiul cu goții*, tr. H. Mihăescu (Scriptores byzantini 3), Bucharest, 1963; Critobul din Imbros, *Din domnia lui Mahomed al II-lea: Anii 1451-1467*, ed. and tr. V. Grecu (Scriptores byzantini 4), Bucharest, 1963; Georgios Sphrantzes, *Memorii, 1401-1477: În anexă Pseudo-Phrantzes – Macarie Melissenos, Cronica, 1258-1481*, ed. and tr. V. Grecu (Scriptores byzantini 5), Bucharest, 1966; Mauricius, *Arta militară*, ed. and tr. H. Mihăescu (Scriptores byzantini 6), Bucharest, 1970; Constantin Porfirogenetul, *Carte de învățătură pentru fiul său Romanós*, tr. V. Grecu (Scriptores byzantini 7), Bucharest, 1971; Procopius din Cezareea, *Istoria secretă*, ed. and tr. H. Mihăescu (Scriptores byzantini 8), Bucharest, 1978; Teofilact de Simocatta, *Istorie bizantină: Domnia împăratului Mauricius (582-602)*, tr. H. Mihăescu (Scriptores byzantini 9), Bucharest, 1985. After its renewal in 2015, two further volumes have appeared: *Manuel Paleologul, Sfaturi pentru educația împărătească*, ed. and tr. S. Nicolae (Scriptores byzantini 10), Bucharest, 2015; *Antologia Palatină. Cartea a V-a: Poemele iubirii*, ed. and tr. S. Nicolae et al. (Scriptores byzantini 13), Bucharest, 2022. For the history of this series, see S. Nicolae, "*Scriptores byzantini*: histoire d'une collection", in A. Timotin (ed.), *Un siècle d'études sud-est européennes en Roumanie: Bilan historiographique*, Brăila, 2019, p. 77-87. T. Diaconescu, "H. Mihăescu...", p. 297, notes that Mihăescu's editions and translations of Niketas Choniates and Kekaumenos remain in manuscript.

alike a corpus of texts that had previously circulated only in foreign editions. The importance of the series lay first in its dual orientation. On the one hand, it addressed a national scholarly need, providing Romanian readers the linguistic tools and textual foundations necessary for engaging with Byzantium in their own language; on the other hand, by adhering to the methodological standards of international philology – collating manuscripts, providing textual apparatus, and situating each work in its historical context – *Scriptores byzantini* entered into dialogue with the broader academic community.[56] The series soon gained international recognition as a major contribution to Byzantine studies, attesting to the mastery of Romanian philology. For his outstanding work on the edition of Kritoboulos of Imbros, Grecu was awarded the "Vasile Pârvan" Prize of the Romanian Academy on 4 February 1965.[57]

The emergence of this series under the Communist regime in Romania is all the more remarkable. Access to foreign libraries and manuscripts was restricted, and scholarly exchange was tightly controlled. Yet, within these constraints, the editors succeeded in producing editions that combined accuracy with accessibility. Their work reflects not only philological rigour but also a remarkable resourcefulness, drawing on the materials available in Romanian collections and relying on painstaking editorial labour. In this sense, *Scriptores byzantini* stands as a testament to the resilience of Romanian scholarship under adverse political conditions, a quiet assertion of intellectual continuity in a period otherwise marked by ideological rupture. The scholarly achievement of the collection is confirmed by its long-term utility. Several of the editions published within *Scriptores byzantini* continue to be cited and used today in academic circles, both in Romania and internationally.[58] More than sixty years

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[56] I find R. Maisano's criticism of Grecu's work somewhat harsh, considering the historical conditions under which the Romanian scholar produced his edition; see R. Maisano (ed.), *Giorgio Sfranze, Cronaca*, Rome, 1990, p. 79-80. It is, however, worth noting that in Grecu's personal archive preserved at BAR, there survives a copy of his edition of Doukas that features his autograph notes upon the printed text, indicating his intention to prepare a revised version of the text. See BAR 48/1982 [IX impr. 2].

[57] BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 70], *Diploma* (2 February 1965).

[58] Since the publication of Grecu's and Mihăescu's editions, new editions and translations into modern languages were published. See, e.g., H. J. Magoulias, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks by Doukas*, Detroit, MI, 1975; M. Philippides (tr.), *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire: A Chronicle by George Sphrantzes, 1401-1477*, Amherst, MA, 1980; D. R. Reinsch (ed.), *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, Berlin, 1983; M. Carroll (tr.), *A Contemporary Greek Source for the Siege of Constantinople 1453: The Sphrantzes Chronicle*, Amsterdam, 1985; R. Maisano (ed.), *Giorgio Sfranze...*; N. Nicoloudis (tr.), *Laonikos Chalkokondyles: A Translation and Commentary of the "Demonstrations of Histories", Books I-III*, PhD thesis, King's College, London, 1992; J. Dayantis, *Doukas, Histoire Turco-Byzantine: Introduction, traduction et commentaire*, PhD thesis, Université Paul Valéry – Montpellier III, 2004; A. Kaldellis (tr.), *The Histories of Laonikos Chalkokondyles*, 2 vols., Cambridge, MA, 2014; D. R. Reinsch (ed.), *Dukas, Chronographia: Byzantiner und Osmanen im Kampf um die Macht und das Überleben (1341-1462)*, Berlin, 2020. Currently, the following editions have been announced for publication in the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* series: S. Kotzabassi (ed.), *Ducae Historia: Prolegomena, Textus et Indices*, Berlin, 2026; see her preliminary

after its inception, the series has not lost its relevance, embodying both a milestone in the history of Byzantine studies in Romania and an input of lasting significance to the global community of Byzantinists.

Grecu's work as an editor of Greek texts is also shown in his activity as a member of the Committee for the Study of Old Romanian Law, an academic body established within the Romanian Academy and presided over by the distinguished jurist Andrei Rădulescu (1880-1959), former president of the High Court of Cassation and Justice and a leading authority on Romanian legal history.[59] The Committee's purpose was to recover, edit, and publish the fundamental juridical texts of the premodern Romanian Principalities, thereby providing scholars with the documentary foundations for the study of institutional, social, and legal history. Within this framework, Grecu contributed his philological expertise to the preparation of critical editions of important codes such as *Carte românească de învățătură* (1646), *Îndreptarea legii* (1652), *Pravilniceasca condică* (1780), *Sobornicescul hrisov* (1785, 1835, 1839), *Manualul juridic al lui Andronachi Donici*, *Codul Calimah* (1817), and *Legiuirea Caragea* (1818). These publications, issued in carefully annotated editions, offered for the first-time reliable access to sources that had long circulated only in manuscript form or in defective printings, and they remain indispensable for historians of law and society.

Grecu's involvement in the Committee thus demonstrates the breadth of his scholarly activity: while his international reputation rested on Byzantine philology, he also made decisive contributions to the understanding of Romania's legal heritage, bridging classical erudition with the demands of national historiography. Although he worked with the Committee since 15 May 1950, it was only on 1 June 1951 that he was appointed *scientific referent* by decision of the Romanian Academy (no. 60/1951) at the recommendation of Andrei Rădulescu.[60] In 1957, he became *principal researcher*

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studies: "Der Kopist des Geschichtswerkes von Dukas", in F. Berger et al. (eds.), *Symbolae Berolinenses für Dieter Harlfinger*, Amsterdam, 1992, p. 307-323; "Ist der Kopist von Dukas Dukas selbst?", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 96, 2003, p. 679-683; "Doukas and Codex Vat. gr. 12", *Travaux et mémoires* 23.1, 2019 (= *Mélanges Bernard Flusin*, ed. A. Bingelli and V. Déroche), p. 399-406; "The Narrative Techniques of Doukas' *History*: Anachrony and Synchronicity", in I. Grimm-Stadelmann, A. Riehle, R. Tocci, and M. Vučetić (eds.), *Anekdota Byzantina: Festschrift für Albrecht Berger anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstags*, Berlin, 2023, p. 335-344; and "Textkritische Bemerkungen zum Geschichtswerk von Dukas", in G. De Gregorio, G. Prinzing, and R. Tocci (eds.), *Folia Byzantina: Schrift- und Buchkultur in Byzanz und in der Frühen Neuzeit. Festschrift zu Ehren von Erich Lamberz*, Berlin, 2025, p. 451-460; see H. Wurm and M. Grünbart (eds.), *Laonikos Chalkokondyles, Historiarum demonstrationes*, Vienna, forthcoming.

[59] On A. Rădulescu, see id., *Pagini de Jurnal*, Bucharest, 1993; id., *Amintiri*, ed. I. Rădulescu-Valasoglu, Bucharest, 1995; D. Rusu, "Rădulescu, Andrei", in *Membrii Academiei Române, 1866/2003: Dicționar*, 3rd ed., Bucharest, 2003, p. 710; D. Berindei, "Locul lui Andrei Rădulescu în istoriografia română", *Academica: Revistă de știință, cultură și artă* 16.45, 2005, p. 22-23; D. Gruia Dufaut (ed.), *Andrei Rădulescu, 1880-1959: Album*, Bucharest, 2015; D. Gruia Dufaut (ed.), *A. Rădulescu, Corespondență*, Bucharest, 2024. On this Committee, see M. Duțu, "Izvoarele vechiului drept românesc", *Pandectele romane* 2, 2019, p. 245-247.

[60] BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 107-108], *Official documents from the Romanian Academy* (10 May 1950).

of the Committee, a position he accepted immediately, while on 1 March 1960 he was appointed in the same position by transfer from the Committee to the Institute of Juridical Studies of the Romanian Academy (decision no. 77/960).[61] Grecu's private archive at BAR preserves several documents attesting to his work for the Committee. In one of his journals, which served rather as a report-notebook, Grecu summarized his daily activity concerning the edition of *Caragea's Law*:

> 17 July 1950: I worked, in the morning and afternoon, on the notes and the critical apparatus for the Greek and Romanian texts of the *Law of Caragea-Vodă*, Part I, Chapter 3: "On the elderly and the young"; Chapter 4: "On those without reason"; Chapter 5: "On spendthrifts"; and Chapter 6: "On those free".
>
> 18 July 1950: I continued, in the morning and afternoon, the notes and the critical apparatus for the Greek and Romanian texts of the *Law of Caragea-Vodă*, Part I, Chapter 7: "On slaves or gypsies"; and Chapter 8: "On the freed".
>
> 19 July 1950: I wrote, in the morning and afternoon, the notes and the critical apparatus for the Greek and Romanian texts of the *Law of Caragea-Vodă*, Part II: "On things"; Chapter 1: "On the ownership of things"; Chapter 2: "On servitude", §§1-2. […]
>
> 31 July 1950: Before lunch, I worked in the Library of the Academy, the manuscript section, collating the Greek and Romanian texts transcribed from the *Law of Caragea-Vodă* with the original official manuscripts, nos. 2322 and 2323, in the repository of Romanian manuscripts. I finished collating Part I: "On persons." After lunch, I worked on the notes and the critical apparatus for the Greek and Romanian texts of the *Law of Caragea-Vodă*, Part III, Chapter 2: "On sales", §§43 and 44, 1-9.[62]

These repetitive brief reports by Grecu were approved by Rădulescu, as attested by the jurist's monthly signature in Grecu's notebook, and by his reports on Grecu's activity in the Committee.[63] Grecu's work on the Greek texts relevant for the Committee's activity has received confirmation within the Romanian academic circles by two diplomas granted by the Ministry of Education of the Popular Republic of Romania that conferred Grecu the title of *doctor of historical sciences* (no. 766, 4 September 1964) and *doctor of sciences* (Ser. MI-SI, no. 791, 8 September 1964), respectively.[64]

Grecu also played an active role in the institutional life of the Romanian Society of Byzantine Studies, serving as one of its chief international representatives – he was president of the Society starting with 1963. His international role is further reflected in the correspondence preserved between 1959 and 1960 with leading Byzantinists

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[61] BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 109], *Official document from the Romanian Academy* (25 July 1957); Grecu confirmed the position by writing his answer with pencil on the bottom of this official address. BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 110], *Official document from the Romanian Academy* (17 March 1960).

[62] BAR 48/1982 [II MSS 2], *Daily Notes, 1950-1954*, p. 1, 4.

[63] BAR 48/1982 [II MSS 2a], *Activity Report on the 3rd Trimester: April, May, June 1953*, 2 p.

[64] BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 70], *Diplomas* (4 and 8 September 1964).

such as George Ostrogorsky (1902-1976), Đurađ Bošković (1904-1990), and Nikolaj Mandić, in the context of preparations for the 12th International Congress of Byzantine Studies held in Ohrid in 1961.[65] In this exchange, Grecu was invited to put forward proposals for themes of interest on behalf of the Romanian committee, and he responded by transmitting both his own suggestions and those of Nicolae Bănescu, which were subsequently considered in shaping several of the congress sessions. In the aftermath of the 13th International Congress of Byzantine Studies held in Oxford in 1966 – about which he also corresponded briefly with Joan M. Hussey (1907-2006)[66] – Grecu sent a report about this congress and its sessions, stating that, at the proposal of the Romanian delegation, the next congress of Byzantine studies should be organized in Bucharest, considering the "Romanian tradition of Byzantine studies, the results of the new Romanian school of historiography, and that the next Congress would commemorate also fifty years since the first Congress of Byzantine Studies in Bucharest". Grecu added that the date of the next Congress in Bucharest would coincide with the centenary of Iorga's birth, which ought to be taken into consideration by the organizing committee.[67] In a second report, Grecu also outlined the main themes proposed for the congress: (1) *Society and Intellectual Life in the 14th c.* (I. Ševčenko, E. Werner, H. G. Beck, and H. Hunger); (2) *Issues of Historical Geography in Byzantium: The Frontiers and the Frontier Regions (7th-12th c.)* (H. Ahrweiler, D. Obolensky, N. Oikonomides, N. Pigulevskaya, and C. Mango); (3) *Prophane Art in Byzantium* (A. Grabar, J. Beckwith, W. F. Volbach, C. Estopanian, and A. Geiger); (4) *Byzantium and Romania* (participants were to be announced).[68] Grecu was elected honorary vice-president of the International Association of Byzantine Studies in 1971 and presided over the fourteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held in Bucharest between 6-12 September 1971.[69]

Grecu passed away only a few months after the congress, on 26 May 1972.[70] Throughout his career, he produced an impressive corpus of scholarship that is

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[65] BAR 48/1982 [VII Varia 14], *Official correspondence* (Belgrade, 5 May, 26 June, 23 July, 7, 16 October, 8 November 1959; 28 January, 22 March 1960).

[66] BAR 48/1982 [VII Varia 16], *Official correspondence* (Oxford, 26 May 1966).

[67] BAR 48/1982 [VII Varia 16], *Report I* (without date), p. 2-3.

[68] BAR 48/1982 [VII Varia 16], *Report II* (without date), p. 1-2.

[69] See M. Berza and E. Stănescu (eds.), *Actes du XIVe Congrès international des études byzantines, Bucarest, 6-12 septembre 1971*, 3 vols., Bucharest, 1974. According to the testimony of the late professor Irfan Shahîd (1926-2016), who attended the congress in Bucharest in 1971 and met Grecu on that occasion, the Romanian scholar – due to his advanced age – was unable to contribute more than a brief opening remark; he also did not take part in the funeral of his colleague and friend Nicolae Bănescu, who died on 11 September 1971 (testimony given to the author of this paper in 2014 at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.).

[70] BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 62], *Copy of the death certificate* (Bucharest, 27 May 1972). For condolences received by Grecu's family from Mihai Berza, Alexandru Elian, and others, see BAR 48/1982 [VII Varia 6], *Condolences*, 4 p.

foundational for many generations of historians. Apart from many distinctions received – the Order *Coroana României în grad de ofițer* (1922), the Medal *Ferdinand I cu spade pe panglică* (1931), the Order *Ferdinand I în grad de ofițer* (1935), or the Medal *Răsplata Muncii* (1944)[71] – Grecu remained throughout his life a devoted scholar and a gracious individual who left a distinctive and lasting mark on the development of Byzantine studies.

4. Conclusions

Vasile Grecu's legacy occupies a pivotal space in the development of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies in Romania and, more broadly, in South-Eastern Europe. At a time when the academic study of Byzantium was still in the process of institutionalization, Grecu established himself not only as a translator and commentator of Byzantine texts but as a system-builder, helping to shape the very contours of the field in Romania. His work provided the philological and methodological foundations upon which later generations of Romanian Byzantinists would build. Grecu's deep engagement with primary Greek sources and his insistence on rigorous philological precision enabled him to produce scholarly editions that remain of reference value today. By editing and translating texts by Doukas, Kritoboulos, Sphrantzes, and Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus or both Romanian and international audiences, he expanded the historiographical horizons of scholars who had previously relied on uncritical translations of Byzantine sources. Furthermore, his translations were not neutral or mechanical; they were interventions designed to mediate between linguistic traditions and historical narratives, often accompanied by extensive commentary, critical apparatus, and contextual essays that helped situate these works within the broader tapestry of Byzantine political, intellectual, and ecclesiastical life.

Grecu's role as a bridge between classical Greek philology and Modern Greek Studies is equally significant. While his primary scholarly identity was forged within the domain of Byzantinology, his translations and interpretative studies also provided important linkages between ancient, medieval, and modern Greek literary and linguistic traditions. His scholarly attention to the continuity and transformation of the Greek language from classical antiquity through the Byzantine and post-Byzantine eras allowed him to contribute to the larger European discourse on Hellenism and cultural identity. In particular, his translation of Neagoe Basarab's *Teachings* from Greek into Romanian not only exemplified his philological prowess but also illuminated the reception of Byzantine political theology in early modern South-Eastern Europe. Moreover, his discovery and analysis of Byzantine sources behind Romanian liturgical and didactic texts demonstrated a method of source criticism and textual genealogy that anticipated many of the techniques that would only later become standard in comparative philology and reception studies. In doing so, he anticipated current trends

[71] For these distinctions, see BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 65-68], *Diplomas of investiture from Kings Ferdinand I and Carol II* (Bucharest, 30 December 1922; 4 December 1931; 8 June 1935).

in transnational and intercultural scholarship by decades, showing how Greek philology could serve as an instrument for exploring wider questions of identity, transmission, and historical memory in Eastern Europe.

In assessing Grecu's overall contribution to Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, one must consider not only his scholarly output but also his broader institutional and pedagogical influence. As an academic, Grecu was committed to fostering a Romanian school of Byzantinology capable of engaging on equal terms with its Western and Slavic counterparts. His leadership roles – as professor of Byzantine Studies in Bucharest, as dean in Czernowitz, and as a founding member and president of the Romanian Society for Byzantine Studies – demonstrate a lifelong dedication to academic institution-building. His efforts to integrate Romanian research into international scholarly networks culminated in his position as Vice-President of Honour of the International Association of Byzantine Studies. Yet his contributions extended beyond the university. Through his editorship of journals such as *Candela* and *Codrul Cosminului*, and through active collaboration with renowned journals as *Byzantinoslavica* and *Revue des études byzantines*, Grecu created forums for intellectual exchange across ideological and linguistic borders. At a time when the academic world was increasingly fragmented by nationalist politics and, later, by Cold War divisions, Grecu's scholarship embodied a cosmopolitan ethos grounded in shared humanistic values. In today's academic climate, where the value of the humanities is frequently called into question, Grecu's life and work stand as a compelling reminder of the enduring importance of scholarly dedication, cross-cultural engagement, and institutional commitment to the pursuit of knowledge.

Appendices: The List of Vasile Grecu's scholarly works

The following list includes only Vasile Grecu's scholarly works, excluding his articles on politics and nationalism in Bukovina, published in newspapers and other magazines (whether under his own name or pseudonyms), which could easily make the subject of a separate article. To better illustrate Grecu's contribution to Byzantine studies, the entries are organized by type of publication and, within each section, arranged chronologically. Due to Grecu's non-standardized formats for the titles of the books and articles he reviewed, I have chosen in the section "Reviews and Book Presentations" to reformulate the entries, providing concise and consistent bibliographic information in order to offer a coherent reading that would align with modern academic standards.

University manuals

Introducere în Bizantologie, ed. R. Şoimescu, Bucharest, 1940-1941.

Literatura istorică bizantină (continuare dela 650 înainte), ed. R. Şoimescu, Bucharest, 1940-1941.

Literatura istorică bizantină: Epoca a III-a de la Constantin al VII-lea Porfirogenetul (913-959) pînă la venirea în domnie a Comnenilor (1081), adică de pe la anul 900 pînă la anul 1080, Bucharest, 1942-1943.

Literatura istorică bizantină: Epoca a IV-a a Comnenilor, Bucharest, 1942-1943.

Critical editions

Cărţi de pictură bisericească bizantină: Introducere şi ediţie critică a versiunilor româneşti atât după redacţiunea lui Dionisie din Furna tradusă la 1805 de Arhimandritul Macarie cât şi după alte redacţiuni mai vechi traduceri anonime, ed. and tr. V. Grecu, Czernowitz, 1936 [initially published in *Candela* 42-46, 1932-1935].

Izvorul principal bizantin pentru Cartea cu Învăţătură a diaconului Coresi din 1581: Omiliile patriarhului Ioan XIV Caleca (1334-1347), ed. and tr. V. Grecu (Academia Română – Studii şi Cercetări 35), Bucharest, 1939.

Învăţăturile lui Neagoe Basarab, domnul Ţării Româneşti (1512-1521): Versiunea grecească, ed. and tr. V. Grecu (Academia Română – Studii şi Cercetări 60), Bucharest, 1942 [repr. in an anastatic edition by Teșu Publishing House in 2007; the Greek text is reproduced in *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie – Neagoe Basarab's Teachings to His Son Theodosie*, Oiești Pământeni, 2021, p. 550-653].

Viaţa Sfântului Nifon. O redacţiune grecească inedită, ed. and tr. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1944.

Legiuirea Caragea, ed. and tr. A. Rădulescu, V. Grecu et al. (Adunarea izvoarelor vechiului drept românesc scris 1), Bucharest, 1955.

Pravilniceasca condică (1780), ed. and tr. A. Rădulescu, V. Grecu et al. (Adunarea izvoarelor vechiului drept românesc scris 2), Bucharest, 1957.

Codul Calimah (1817), ed. and tr. A. Rădulescu, V. Grecu et al. (Adunarea izvoarelor vechiului drept românesc scris 3), Bucharest, 1958.

Sobornicescul hrisov (1785, 1835, 1839), ed. and tr. A. Rădulescu, V. Grecu et al. (Adunarea izvoarelor vechiului drept românesc scris 4), Bucharest, 1958.

Ducas, Istoria Turco-Bizantină (1341-1462), ed. and tr. V. Grecu (Scriptores byzantini 1), Bucharest, 1958.

Manualul juridic al lui Andronachi Donici, ed. and tr. A. Rădulescu, V. Grecu et al. (Adunarea izvoarelor vechiului drept românesc scris 5), Bucharest, 1959.

Carte românească de învăţătură (1646), ed. and tr. A. Rădulescu, V. Grecu et al. (Adunarea izvoarelor vechiului drept românesc scris 6), Bucharest, 1961.

Îndreptarea Legii (1652), ed. and tr. A. Rădulescu, V. Grecu et al. (Adunarea izvoarelor vechiului drept românesc scris 7), Bucharest, 1962.
Critobul din Imbros, Din domnia lui Mahomed al II-lea: Anii 1451-1467, ed. and tr. V. Grecu (Scriptores byzantini 4), Bucharest, 1963.
Georgios Sphrantzes, Memorii (1401-1477). În anexă Pseudo-Phrantzes: Macarie Melissenos, Cronica (1258-1481), ed. and tr. V. Grecu (Scriptores byzantini 5), Bucharest, 1966.

Translations into Romanian

Pietari Paiverinta, *Nuvele finlandeze*, tr. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1914.
Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Cuvântarea pentru M. Marcellus (Pro Marcello)*, tr. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1915.
Cornelius Nepos, *Căpitani străluciţi ai neamurilor străine şi vieţile lui Marcus Porcius Cato şi a lui Titus Pomponius*, tr. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1915.
Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Cuvântarea de apărare pentru Titus Annius Milo (Pro Milone)*, tr. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1915.
Platon, *Criton sau despre datoria cetăţeanului*, tr. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1916.
Platon, *Apărarea lui Socrates (Apologia lui Socrates)*, tr. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1916.
Platon, *Ospăţul sau discuţiuni asupra iubirii*, tr. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1920.
"Strigoaica fată de împărat", *Junimea literară* 28.1-12, 1939, p. 8-17.
"A. Carcavitas, *Superstiţiosul*", *Junimea literară, Serie nouă* 13.7-8, 1924, p. 330-331.
Laonic Chalcocondil, Expuneri Istorice: Creşterea puterii turceşti, căderea Împărăţiei bizantine şi alte istorii despre felurite ţări şi popoare, tr. V. Grecu (Scriptores byzantini 2), Bucharest, 1958.
Constantin Porfirogenetul, Carte de învăţătură pentru fiul său Romanós, tr. V. Grecu (Scriptores byzantini 7), Bucharest, 1971.

Studies and articles

"Erotocritul lui Cornaro în literatura românească", *Dacoromanica* 1, 1920-1921, p. 9-72 [an additional note with the same title in *Codrul Cosminului* 1, 1924, p. 574-576].
"Urme nouă de influenţă bizantină în literatura românească", in *Lui Nicolae Iorga Omagiu 1871-5/18 iunie-1921*, Craiova, 1921, p. 131-135.
"Versiunile româneşti ale Erminiilor de pictură bizantină", *Codrul Cosminului* 1, 1924, p. 107-174.
"Latin. *morem*", "Latin. *Aestimatum*", *Codrul Cosminului* 1, 1924, p. 569.
"Manuscrise inedite privitoare la istoria românească", *Codrul Cosminului* 1, 1924, p. 576-578.
"Eine Belagerung Konstantinopels in der rumänischen Kirchenmalerei", *Byzantion* 1, 1924, p. 273-289 [repr. in *BNF*, p. 121-130].

"Darstellungen Altheidnischer Denker und Schriftsteller in der Kirchenmalerei des Morgenlandes", *Bulletin de la Section Historique – Académie Roumaine* 11, 1924, p. 1-68 [repr. in *BNF*, p. 11-80].
"Cronograful lui Doroteiu al Monembasiei: Probitatea ştirilor contemporane", *Codrul Cosminului* 2-3, 1925-1926, p. 535-556.
"Perspectiva în pictura bizantină", *Codrul Cosminului* 2-3, 1925-1926, p. 618-620.
"Din frumuseţile vechilor noastre biserici", *Calendarul Glasul Bucovinei* 8, 1927, p. 12-25 [repr. fragments with the title "Mănăstirile Bucovinei", *Magazin istoric, Serie nouă* 34.11, 2000, p. 25-28].
"Originea cronicelor româneşti", in *Omagiu lui I. Bianu din partea colegilor şi foştilor săi elevi*, Bucharest, 1927, p. 217-223.
"Chipul ctitorilor model pentru icoanele sfinţilor", *Codrul Cosminului* 4-5.1, 1927-1928, p. 569-570.
"Nume vechi însemnând Basarabia", *Codrul Cosminului* 4-5.1, 1927-1928, p. 570.
"Alimoni", *Codrul Cosminului* 4-5.2, 1927-1928, p. 311.
"Ursprung der altrumänischen Chroniken", in *Deuxième Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Belgrade, 1927*, ed. D. Anastasijević and Ph. Granić, Belgrade, 1929, p. 176-184 [repr. *BNF*, p. 271-279].
"Die Hermeneia τῆς Ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης im Rumänischen", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30, 1929-1930 [= *Festgabe A. Heisenberg zum 60. Geburtstage gewidmet*, ed. F. Dölger, Munich, 1929-1930], p. 619-622 [repr. in *BNF*, p. 241-256].
"Volksbewusstsein rettete das byzantinische Reich in seinen Anfängen vor den barbarischen Häuptlingen", in *III^me^ Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Athènes, 1930*, ed. A. Orlandos, Athens, 1930, p. 137-144 [Romanian version: "Ce a salvat Imperiul bizantin de la invazia popoarelor barbare", *Codrul Cosminului* 6, 1929-1930, p. 480-484].
"Contribuţii la studiul izvoarelor Manualului de pictură bizantină", in *Închinare lui Nicolae Iorga cu prilejul împlinirii vârstei de 60 de ani*, Cluj-Napoca, 1931, p. 189-195.
"E autentic locul din Fl. Josephus despre Domnul Iisus Hristos?", *Studii teologice*, *Seria* II, 3, 9-10, 1931, p. 559-562.
"Manualul de pictură al lui Dionisie din Furna în româneşte", *Codrul Cosminului* 7, 1931-1932, p. 49-59.
"Genealogia Hurmuzăcheştilor", *Codrul Cosminului* 7, 1931-1932, p. 478.
Influenţa bizantină în literatura românească. Conferinţă ţinută la Universitatea Liberă din Bucureşti în ziua de 23 Noemvrie 1932, Czernowitz, 1933.
"Cetăţeanul roman din Priscus dela curţile lui Attila", *Codrul Cosminului* 8, 1933-1934, p. 432-438.
"O scrisoare a lui Grigori Ghica Vodă din 26 Dec. 1765", *Codrul Cosminului* 8, 1933-1934, p. 438-440.
"Lat. *si* > *să* = *dacă*", *Codrul Cosminului* 8, 1933-1934, p. 457.

"Byzantinische Handbücher der Kirchenmalerei", *Byzantion* 9, 1934, p. 675-701 [repr. in *BNF*, p. 81-99].
"O ediţie critică a Cărţii de pictură bisericească bizantină", *Codrul Cosminului* 9, 1935, p. 103-128.
"Influenţe sârbeşti în vechea iconografie bisericească a Moldovei", *Codrul Cosminului* 9, 1935, p. 233-242.
"Neue Handschriften der Ἑρμηνεῖα τῆς Ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης", in *Εἰς μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου*, Athens, 1935, p. 303-310.
"Eine kritische Ausgabe der Ἑρμηνεῖα τῆς Ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης", *Известия на Българския Археологически Институтъ – Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 9, 1935 [= *Actes du IV^e Congrès International des études byzantines, Sofia, Septembre 1934*, ed. B. D. Filov, Sofia, 1935], p. 225-237 [repr. in *BNF*, p. 101-115].
"Ion I. Nistor ca istoric", in *Omagiu lui Ion I. Nistor (1912-1937)*, Czernowitz, 1937, p. 22-48.
"O anchetă în legătură cu o cerere din Ţara-românească de a tipări cărţi în Viena", *Codrul Cosminului* 10, 1936-1939, p. 455-456.
"Pretinse urme ale cultului lui Mithra în vechea noastră iconografie bisericească", *Codrul Cosminului* 10, 1936-1939, p. 504-506.
"Evanghelia lui Mircea Ciobanul din Mănăstirea Dionisiu în Muntele Athos", *Codrul Cosminului* 10, 1936-1939, p. 512-513.
"Păreri contemporane despre Constantin Mavrocordat (1730 de mai multe ori până la 1763), Alex. Ghica (1834-1842) şi Mihail Sturza (1834-1849)", *Codrul Cosminului* 10, 1936-1939, p. 526-529.
"Prima ediţie a lui Stavrinos şi Matei al Mirelor", *Codrul Cosminului* 10, 1936-1939, p. 544-547.
"Un letopiseţ al Ţării Moldovei la Muntele Athos", *Codrul Cosminului* 10, 1936-1939, p. 547-549.
"Îndreptări şi precizări la textul bizantin al Învăţăturilor lui Coresi", *Codrul Cosminului* 10, 1936-1939, p. 612.
"Manuscrisul din «1654» pretins pierdut al Învăţăturilor lui Neagoe Basarab", *Convorbiri literare* 72.10-12, 1939, p. 1851-1865.
"Filosofi păgâni şi sibile în vechea noastră pictură bisericească", *Artă şi tehnică grafică* 10, 1939-1940, p. 29-41.
"Die Darstellung des Καιρός bei den Byzantiner", *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 6, 1940, p. 147-154 [= *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini, Roma, 20-26 Settembre 1936*, vol. 2: *Archeologia e storia dell'Arte–Liturgia e Musica. Cronaca del Congresso*, Rome, 1940] [repr. in *BNF*, p. 133-140].
"Scrisoarea de dedicaţie a istoricului Critobul către Mohamet II Cuceritorul", in *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire et de littérature comparée offerts à Charles Drouhet par ses amis, ses collègues et ses anciens élèves à l'occasion du XXX^e anniversaire de son enseignement à l'Université*, Bucharest, 1940, p. 197-202.

"Die Abstammung des Historikers Petros Patrikios", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 40, 1940, p. 448.
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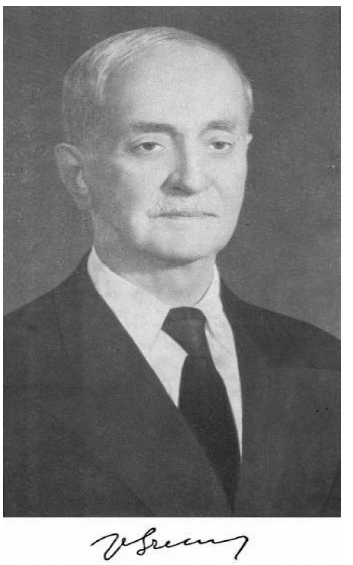


Fig. 1. Portrait of V. Grecu from P. Ș. Năsturel, "Le 80e anniversaire du professeur Vasile Grecu", image placed before the study

Fig. 2. V. Grecu's *Meldungsbuch* from his studies in Vienna. © BAR 48/1982 [IV Acte 24], 6 October 1905

Fig. 3. V. Grecu's portrait from I. Nistor, *Amintiri răzlețe din timpul Unirii*, Czernowitz, 1938

Fig. 4. V. Grecu with N. Iorga during the summer school of Vălenii de Munte. © BAR 48/1982 [VII Varia 2], 12 July 1909

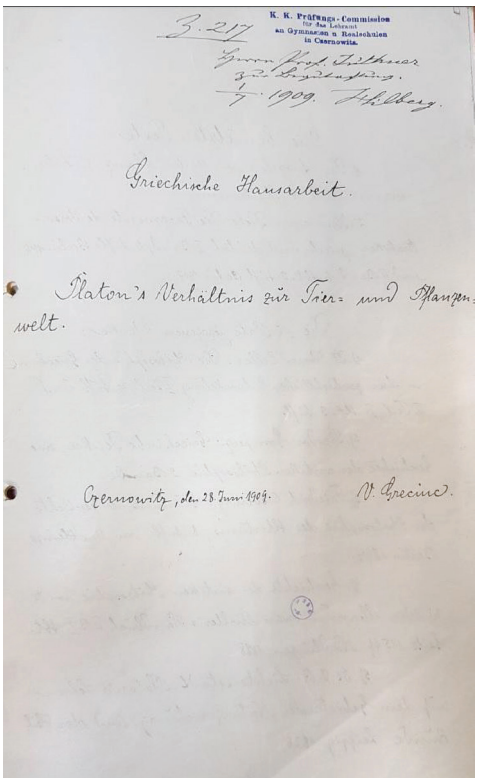


Fig. 5. Title page of V. Grecu's doctoral thesis *Platons Verhältnis zur Tier- und Pflanzenwelt*. © BAR 48/1982 [III MSS 8], Czernowitz, 28 June 1919

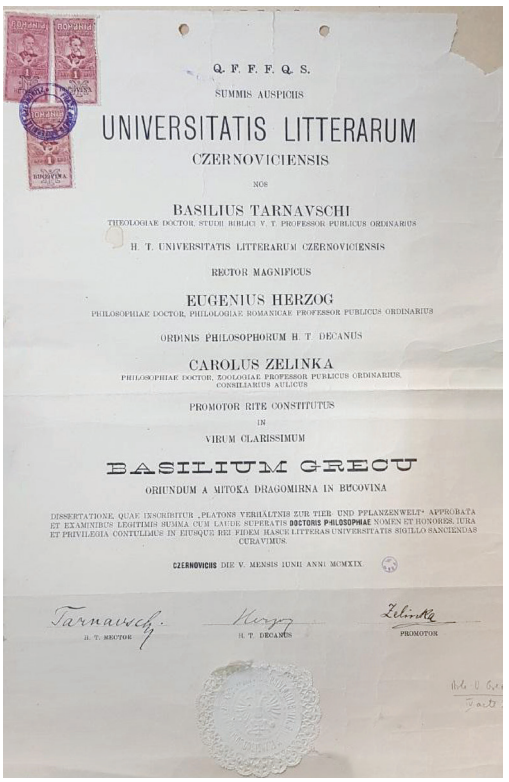


Fig. 6. Doctoral diploma of V. Grecu. © BAR 48/1982 [III Acte 2a], 5 June 1919

Fig. 7. A group of scholars at the First Congress of Byzantine Studies in Bucharest. V. Grecu is the third person on the second row from right to left. © C. Marinescu, *Compte-rendu du premier Congrès international des Études Byzantines, Bucarest, 1924*, Bucharest, 1925

Fig. 8. A group of scholars of the First Congress of Byzantine Studies in Bucharest in front of the Romanian Academy. V. Grecu is the third on the second line from left to right. © C. Marinescu, *Compte-rendu du premier Congrès international des études byzantines, Bucarest, 1924*, Bucharest, 1925

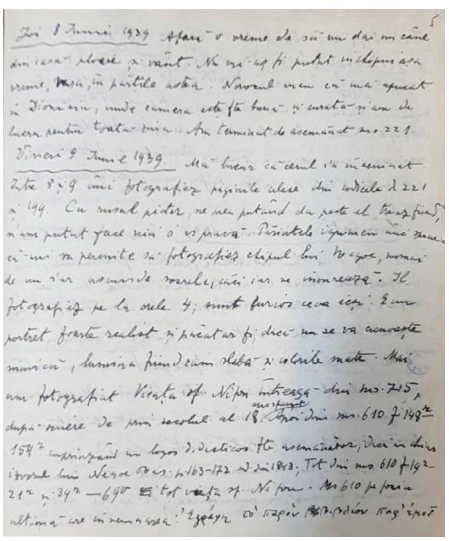
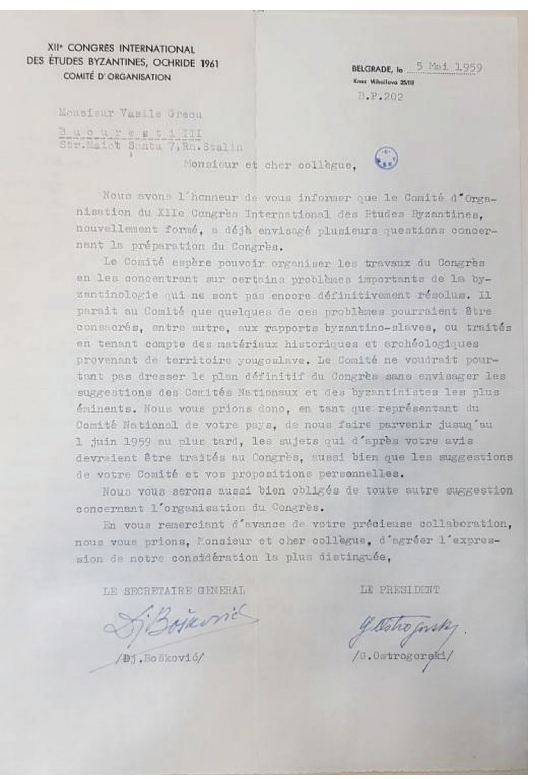


Fig. 9. Page 5r of V. Grecu's *Journal* of 1939-1941, 1943-1969. © BAR 48/1982 [II MSS 1]



XII^e CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL
DES ÉTUDES BYZANTINES, OCHRIDE 1961
COMITÉ D'ORGANISATION

BELGRADE, le 5 Mai 1959
Knez Mihailova 35/II
B.P.202

Monsieur Vasile Grecu
B u c a r e s t
Str.Maiot Santu 7,Rn.Stalin

Monsieur et cher collègue,

Nous avons l'honneur de vous informer que le Comité d'Organisation du XIIe Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines, nouvellement formé, a déjà envisagé plusieurs questions concernant la préparation du Congrès.

Le Comité espère pouvoir organiser les travaux du Congrès en les concentrant sur certains problèmes importants de la byzantinologie qui ne sont pas encore définitivement résolus. Il paraît au Comité que quelques de ces problèmes pourraient être consacrés, entre autre, aux rapports byzantino-slaves, ou traités en tenant compte des matériaux historiques et archéologiques provenant de territoire yougoslave. Le Comité ne voudrait pourtant pas dresser le plan définitif du Congrès sans envisager les suggestions des Comités Nationaux et des byzantinistes les plus éminents. Nous vous prions donc, en tant que représentant du Comité National de votre pays, de nous faire parvenir jusuq'au 1 juin 1959 au plus tard, les sujets qui d'après votre avis devraient être traités au Congrès, aussi bien que les suggestions de votre Comité et vos propositions personnelles.

Nous vous serons aussi bien obligés de toute autre suggestion concernant l'organisation du Congrès.

En vous remerciant d'avance de votre précieuse collaboration, nous vous prions, Monsieur et cher collègue, d'agréer l'expression de notre considération la plus distinguée,

LE SECRETAIRE GENERAL — LE PRESIDENT

/Dj.Bošković/ — /G.Ostrogorsky/

Fig. 10. Official letter to V. Grecu from Dj. Bošković and G. Ostrogorsky. © BAR 48/1982 [VII Varia 14], Belgrade, 5 May 1959