

## RESUMÉS

### **Ionuț Holubeanu, A less usual sin confession presented in the “Passion of St. Saba the Goth” (4<sup>th</sup> Century C.E.).**

One of the most important historical sources concerning Thervingian Gothia towards the beginning of the 370's is the «Passion of St. Saba the Goth». The martyr text particularly provides a detailed account of St. Saba's profile, deeds, and martyrdom, and also of his relations with his fellow-villagers and Gothic persecutors. One of the minor participants in the Passion is the presbyter Sansalas. The present investigation focuses on the theological interpretation of the events narrated by the Passion and especially on Sansalas' fate. It becomes clear that unlike Saba, Sansalas was not a perfect Christian. He was arrested at the same time with Saba, he was also put to the rack by the persecutors, but eventually he was not sentenced to death, as he was released. A closer examination of the source reveals that the spiritual ground of Sansalas' release was merely a sin he had performed. The author of the martyr text deliberately avoided pointing out the sin clearly, only suggesting that subsequently Sansalas begged forgiveness from God by penance. Some possible clues in the Passion would argue for the hypothesis that Sansalas had been involved in secular politics, by having been an informant of the Roman Empire in Thervingian Gothia.

**Keywords:** St. Saba the Goth, the presbyter Sansalas, Thervingian Gothia, Athanaric's anti-Christian persecution (369–372), St. Betranion/Bretanion of Tomis.

### **Andrei Timotin, Identités régionales et communautés religieuses dans l'Empire byzantin aux VIII<sup>e</sup>–XI<sup>e</sup> siècles (Regional Identities and Religious Communities in the Byzantine Empire in the 8<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> Centuries).**

Five case studies explore the religious dimension of the regional identities in the Byzantine Empire in the period from the end of the first iconoclasm to the Turkish penetration in the Empire (8<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries). The study of ten hagiographic texts from this period (Lives of Theodora of Thessaloniki, Euthymius the Younger, Irene of Chrysobalanton, Basil the Younger, Symeon the New Theologian, Mary the Younger, Grègentios, Constantin the Jew, Andrew Salos, and Niphon of

Constantiana) highlights the function of hagiography as vector of identity, its role in the preservation and promotion of the sense of regional and religious belonging to a community. The five studies show how some religious communities in Constantinople, Thessaloniki or Thrace build their regional and, sometimes, family identity in contrast with the local, political and ecclesiastical power, how they manage to get recognition of sainthood for their members, and the political dimension that this phenomenon can acquire. The article also scrutinises how these initiatives have led to a redefinition of traditional values of Orthodoxy and how hagiography could also be used to stigmatize a community (e.g. the Jewish communities) and to deprive it of its ethnic and religious identity.

**Keywords:** Byzantine Empire, Middle-Byzantine Hagiography, religious community, regional identity, sainthood, Orthodoxy.

**Șerban V. Marin, The Portrait of a 'Bad Guy'. Alexios Doukas Murtzuphlos in the Venetian Chronicles.**

This study has in intention to present the manner in which Emperor Alexios 'Murtzuphlos' was represented in the Venetian chronicles. Therefore, since these chronicles were written much later than the events of the Fourth Crusade, it does not deal with the perception of this character, but with his representation. Alexios V is represented by the Venetians in the following circumstances: as liberated by Alexios IV; as expressing his reluctance towards the payment of the financial debt promised by his predecessor; as assassinating of Alexios the Younger; as negotiating with Doge Enrico Dandolo; as making an attempt to set fire to the Venetian fleet; as leading the Byzantine resistance during the second siege of Constantinople from the part of the crusaders; as being blinded by former Emperor Alexios III; as being executed by the crusaders. Relying upon these episodes, the study follows the way of representing them and making comparisons among the various Venetian chronicles. In addition, it also emphasizes the manner in which Alexios' deficiencies and qualities are expressed, along with a linguistic investigation of his name.

**Key words:** Alexios V Doukas; Fourth Crusade; Venetian Chronicles; Enrico Dandolo; Alexios IV Angelos

**Alexandru Madgearu, The location of Vicina revisited. Is there any final solution ?**

The paper comments the recent opinions expressed by Virgil Ciocîltan and Denis Căprăroiu about the location of Vicina, the first one at Măcin, and the second one at Axiopolis. The etymology and the interpretation of the cartographic sources would plead for Măcin, while the proposal to locate at Axiopolis is based on the

distance mentioned in the portolan *Il compasso da navigare*. Any attempt to locate Vicina must be in agreement with what results from the Genoese sources: the amplitude of the trade fulfilled there, which indicates terrestrial relations with markets and with supply places for stuff exported by Vicina to Hungary and to the Golden Horde. Taking into account this necessary condition of the terrestrial connection, Axiopolis is excluded, because a road by Bărăgan to Cernavodă is not conceivable. The pair of harbors Măcin-Brăila could match this condition because Brăila took the function of Vicina after its disappearance. No coins dated between the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries were recovered by archaeological researches or by stray finds after the destruction of the buildings in Măcin. Such coins should have to exist in such a commercial center. The second objection which excludes Măcin is the position of Vicina on the frontier between the Byzantine-Genoese statal organization and the Golden Horde. Therefore, I consider that Vicina was a place developed near Isaccea, or even Isaccea. A large concentration of coins dated to the period when Vicina flourished exists there. Another worthy proposal, according to Marcu Botzan, is an island near the Danube bend, which was later destroyed by the water.

**Keywords:** Brăila, Cernavoda, trade, Danube, historical geography, Isaccea, Măcin, harbors, Păcuiul lui Soare, Vicina.

### **Sergiu Iosipescu, Le Paristrion/Paradunavon/Podunavia depuis le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle.**

The study presents the steps of the evolution to East of the principality of Wallachia from the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in the context of the Golden Horde presence on the Lower Danube. After the conquest of Vicina by the Mongolians at 200 miles in amount from the Danube Delta, according to the Italian *Compasso da Navigare* (second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century), the failed plan of the great khan Özbeq permitted to Basarab I (around 1316–1351/1352) to join the Catholic Crusade of Hungarian and Polish kings. The Romanian Reconquista reached Ialomitza river, but here it was stopped by a Hungarian corridor from the south-east Carpathians to the Danube between Ialomitza and Sereth, a master piece of the Louis of Anjou's politics, covered by a Catholic bishopric of Milcovia (1347). As a pursuit of the victory in the war against Hungary (1368–1369), a joint force of Wallachia principality and of despot Dobrotitza (1348–1384/85) conquered the territories of the formal bishopric of Milcovia, the domain of Chilia (1369–1372), and northern Dobroudja. During 1376–1382, especially in the time of the Chioggia war, this situation was contested by the Hungarian-Genoese's alliance, but after king Louis' death (1382), the Wallachian principality under Radu the Ist (around 1374–1384) resumed its conquests, step by step, beginning with the Dristra – Vicina despoteia. Under prince Mircea the Old

(1386–1418), the territories of the Lower Danube from Dristra to the Black Sea were covered by the name of Podunavia, inspired from the Byzantine theme of Paristrion/Paradunavon. New documents from the Cozia monastery archive illustrate the territorial realities from Podunavia in the inner delta of the Danube (Ialomitza and Brăila morass). Even if the Ottoman conquest of the Balkan Peninsula reached the Danube, the principality of Wallachia preserved the taxation of the principal fords and, according to new documents, a monastery of Basaraba and its domain on the Lom river. Only in 1503 the principality was deprived of its possessions on the right bank of the Danube. According to the tradition of the Serbian despots, introduced in Wallachia by a group of Serbian émigrés lead by the former despot George Branković, the monk Maxim, the word Podunavia from the title of the Romanian princes signified the frontier of Wallachia on the left bank of the Danube.

**Keywords:** Podunavia, Paristrion/Paradunavon, Cozia monastery, Radu the Ist, Mircea the Old, Wallachia, Danube, frontier.

**Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu, The Social Status of Romanian Orthodox Noblemen in Late-medieval Transylvania according to Donor Portraits and Church Inscriptions.**

À travers le Moyen Âge, le Voïvodat de la Transylvanie et les comtés voisins du Royaume Hongrois représentaient une région de frontière, où quelques groupes ethniques (Hongrois, Valaques/Roumains, Saxons et Székelys) ont coexisté. Deux cultures (latine et slavo-byzantine) et confessions (catholique et orthodoxe) s’y sont rencontrées. Intégrés formellement dans la structure administrative du voïvodat et du royaume, les territoires habités par une population valaque/roumaine compacte bénéficiaient en effait d’une autonomie administrative, juridique, religieuse et culturelle en leur conferrant de l’individualité. Les églises que la noblesse roumaine orthodoxe avait fondées pendant les XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles sur ses propriétés des terrae de Haţeg et Zarand (sud-ouest de la Transylvanie) et qu’elle avait bâties, décorées et dotées selon ses modestes moyens, sont les indicateurs pas seulement de la culture particulière slavo-byzantine et des possibilités financières précaires de leurs fondateurs, mais aussi des leurs réalités sociales et aspirations. En examinant les portraits des donateurs et les inscriptions de ces églises, l’auteur analyse les aspects économiques et sociaux derrière la fondation des églises. Premièrement, il cherche à comprendre les raisons des patrons (soit membres d’une seule ou de quelques familles, soit simplement membres d’une certaine communauté) de rejoindre leurs efforts pour accomplir la tâche difficile de la fondation religieuse qui s’étendait parfois sur quelques générations. Deuxièmement, le patronage religieux illustre souvent les relations sociales complexes des acteurs, tout aussi comme la position de la noblesse roumaine orthodoxe dans la hiérarchie sociale et

politique d'un royaume catholique, en révélant simultanément le statut social réel et désiré de cette noblesse.

**Key Words:** Church Foundation; Religious Patronage; Byzantine Iconography; Donor Portraits; Church Inscriptions; Old Church Slavonic Epigraphy; Hybrid Art; Cross-cultural Encounters; Late-medieval Transylvania; Late-medieval Hungary.

**Elisabeta Negrău, The Double-Sided Icon in Dintr-un Lemn Monastery (L'icône à double face du Monastère Dintr-un Lemn).**

L'icône de la Mère de Dieu du Monastère Dintr-un Lemn (Vâlcea, Roumanie) n'a pas été étudiée jusqu'à présent, en raison de le revêtement d'argent qui a couvert le panneau depuis 1812 jusqu'au début des années 2000, quand on a commencé la restauration de son peinture. À cette occasion, on a découvert que l'icône a une double face, sur une côté étant peinte la Vierge Hodegetria du type de la Passion, et sur l'autre, le Jugement Dernier. Il semble que le Jugement, encadré par rames sculptées, a été peint le premier. L'icône était probablement destinée aux processions du Dimanche de Jugement Dernier, qui précède le début du Grand Carême. Plus tard, il a été peint on revers la Vierge de la Passion, par un autre peintre, sans doute pour être utilisé aussi dans les processions de Grand Carême. Cette pièce est la seule icône à double face connue de contenir une scène du Jugement Dernier.

L'icône de Jugement contient des inscriptions en dialecte ouest-bulgare, écrites avec des nombreuses erreurs. Une autre curiosité est l'inscription des cinq noms vulgarisés des archanges. Ils reflètent une certaine réminiscence bogomilique, discernable dans la vénération populaire exagérée des archanges apocryphes apparente dans l'icône. En termes d'iconographie, la composition est inspirée, probablement indirectement, par celle de Dečani, le Christ étant représenté sur le trône et non pas sur l'arc en ciel.

La posture de la Mère de Dieu dans l'icône sur le revers ressemble à certaines icônes du Mont Athos, datant du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. La composition contient des bustes d'apôtres sur les côtés, appartenant à un type iconographique existant de la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le type de la Vierge de la Passion n'est pas celui-là développé par le peintre Andreas Ritzos, mais une variante encore archaïsante. Les inscriptions sur l'image sont un mélange de grec et slave, mais l'auteur ne semble pas d'avoir une bonne connaissance de la langue et de l'écriture grecque. Considérer l'iconographie et les arguments philologiques, l'icône du Monastère Dintr-un Lemn peut être attribuée à deux peintres ouest-bulgares, probablement moines. Le Jugement est datable au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, et l'icône de la Vierge, vers le milieu du siècle. Destinée à une communauté monastique,

l'icône a été apportée en Valachie possiblement par quelques moines bulgares qui ont migré ici au XV<sup>e</sup>–XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles.

**Key words:** bilateral icon, processional icon, Bogomilism, cults of angels, Virgin of the Passion, Late Byzantine art, provincial art, Mount Athos, western Bulgaria, Macedonia, Wallachia.

### **Ștefan Ionescu-Berechet, Informations inédites et nouvelles interprétations au sujet des églises Marina et Valea de Câmpulung Muscel.**

L'absence ou la disparition des sources historiques sûres qui attestent les débuts de l'église Marina de Câmpulung-Muscel a été supplée par une tradition locale qui situe la première édification du saint lieu en 1215. Soutenue par quelques auteurs des XIX<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècles, en commençant par C.D. Aricescu, cette tradition fut rejetée catégoriquement par les chercheurs qui, au cours du siècle dernier, ont étudié l'histoire de cette église, à cause de la date considérée inacceptable car trop précoce. Prenant comme point de départ l'identification et l'analyse d'une source ignorée et oubliée depuis longtemps, un obituaire de l'église datant des premières décennies du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, la présente étude amène au premier plan toute une série d'informations inédites et propose une nouvelle perspective sur les débuts de l'église Marina. Tandis que l'an 6723 mentionné par l'obituaire indique un lien évident et surprenant avec le monastère Negru Vodă, en échange, les noms des fondateurs anciens de Marina suggèrent une intéressante corrélation avec l'église voisine Valea, démolie au cours des premières années du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Certaines informations fournies par les fouilles archéologiques (partiellement inédites jusqu'à présent) entreprises en 1968–1969 à ces deux saints lieux, par l'analyse du susdit obituaire, de quelques inscriptions votives et documents historiques permettent la formulation de l'hypothèse selon laquelle les deux églises, situées au maximum de proximité et de colinéarité sur l'axe E–O, faisaient partie d'un vaste ensemble, édifié et successivement refait par une série de fondateurs appartenant à une importante famille du patriciat urbain de la ville, la famille Focan. Le sort des deux églises sœurs est suivi en parallèle, jusqu'au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, étant passées en revues les nombreuses étapes de réfection qu'elles ont traversé au long du temps et mises en évidence les multiples et significatives parentés existantes entre les fondateurs et les desservants des deux églises.

**Mots clé:** tradition locale, 1215, obituaire, inscription votive, fondateurs, Focan, fouilles archéologiques.

## **Mihail-George Hâncu, The Chaoskampf Motif in the Lives of the Military Saints.**

One of the most popular and, simultaneously, one of the most unusual motifs in hagiography is that of the battle against the dragon. Although it is generally perceived as a late addition to Christian culture, namely through the interpretatio Christiana of older pagan myths, late 19<sup>th</sup> century scholars such as Hermann Gunkel have identified a similar image in the Old Testament, where God is said to have fought a sea-monster. According to Gunkel, this motif stemmed from the Near Eastern tradition of the Chaoskampf, the primordial battle against the forces of Chaos. This theory proved to be popular, although later scholars criticized its adherents for failing to properly define this “Chaos”.

The purpose of this paper is to interpret the hagiographical motif as a battle against Chaos, which is defined in the terms of its first attestation, in Hesiod's Theogony: a boundless and formless primordial entity that generates timeless evils like Death and Plague, but not concrete and mortal monsters like the Hydra. While the Old Testament dragon is simply bound by God, the military saints' opponent is killed outright. While the hagiographical motif is not a Chaoskampf on a concrete level, most versions of the story point out that the dragon is, in fact, a symbol of paganism or, more generally, of evil, which means that the military saints are expected to fight a perennial enemy. This is furtherly confirmed by the folkloric traditions associated with these saints, whose holidays mark the triumph of order over disorder, one way or another.

**Keywords:** hagiography, Chaoskampf, Old Testament, Near Eastern mythology, interpretatio Christiana, Hesiod, Byzantine literature, Metropolitan Varlaam of Moldavia, Balkan folklore, military saints.

## **Ion Croitoru, The defence of the Orthodoxy by means of the printing press. Zeal of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu and State concern during his reign.**

The Romanian Countries were, for a long time, the only ones that used the art of the printing press in South-East Europe, due to the autonomy they had in relation to the Ottoman Empire, where the printing press was first rigorously forbidden, with certain exceptions, and then tolerated in the Christian communities of the Near East. The use of the printing press generalized the use of the printed books in the Romanian society, bearing the seal of the Reign and of the Church, as the only guarantees able to chase away any doubt regarding their Orthodox content. This is why the books were meant to quench the thirst for culture and especially for spiritual life, but also to defend the ancestral law, identified with the Orthodox

faith. Actually, Saint Martyr Constantine Brâncoveanu stood out as a great protector of the Romanian culture and of the Orthodoxy from everywhere, by writing and printing, five printing centers functioning in his time (Bucharest, where two printing presses operated, the princely printing press and the metropolitan printing press, while two more were delineated during the life of the reigning Prince, namely, the printing press of Saint Martyr Anthimus the Iberian from the Monastery of All the Saints and the printing press from the Monastery of Saint Sabbas (Sfântul Sava); Buzău, where a princely printing press functioned; Snagov, where a princely printing press is first met, then the private printing press of Saint Anthimus the Iberian; Râmnic, where an episcopal printing press functioned; Târgoviște, where a private printing press of Saint Anthimus the Iberian operated). In these centres were printed, on the decision or by the will or on the order and at the expense of the Ruler, to be given as a gift to those thirsting for Jesus Christ's teaching, scores of books in the languages in which the Orthodox faith was being expressed and lived (Slavonic, Greek, Arabic and Romanian). The entire printing activity undertaken in Wallachia under the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu has often been praised by the Greek and Romanian scholars, be they typographer masters or reviewers, lay people or clerics, who called him a second Zorobabel and another Ptolemy of the latter times.

**Keywords:** Saint Martyr Constantine Brâncoveanu, Saint Martyr Anthimus the Iberian, Church, printing press, Orthodoxy, Reformation, Counter-Reformation.