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Athens Journal of History

Published by the Athens Institute for Education and Research (ATINER)

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The current issue is the second of the tenth volume of the *Athens Journal of History (AJHIS)*, published by the [History Unit](#) of ATINER.

Gregory T. Papanikos
President
ATINER



Athens Institute for Education and Research

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The [History Unit](#) of ATINER, will hold its **22nd Annual International Conference on History & Archaeology: From Ancient to Modern 3-6 June 2024, Athens, Greece** sponsored by the [Athens Journal of History](#). The aim of the conference is to bring together scholars and students of all areas of history, archaeology and other related disciplines. You may participate as a stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair of a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (<https://www.atiner.gr/2024/FORM-HIS.doc>).

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- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: **6 May 2024**

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- Mycenae Visit
- Exploration of the Aegean Islands
- Delphi Visit
- Ancient Corinth and Cape Sounion

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- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: 6 May 2024

Academic Member Responsible for the Conference

- **Dr. Stamos Metzidakis**, Head, [Literature Research Unit](#), ATINER & Emeritus Professor of French and Comparative Literature, Washington University in Saint Louis, USA.

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The Decline of the Eastern Empire and the Fall of Constantinople: An Omen for Europe?

*By Jacques Malherbe**

There is a theory, already outlined by Toynbee, that empires that have succeeded one another in a dominant position are seeing their centre of gravity shift from east to west. This theory has most recently been evoked in connection with the replacement of the European empire by the American empire, which now seems to be giving way to an Asian empire. If we want to analyse historically the mechanisms that lead an empire to its downfall, the best example to choose is undoubtedly that of the Eastern Roman Empire or Byzantine Empire in Western terminology. It is a world that has disappeared, but one that is close enough to us to allow us to understand it, and even to learn from its evolution, which only seems inevitable in retrospect. This story with its succession of internal and external causes of decline is summarized in the present study, leading to the disappearance of the Empire at the hands of the Ottoman dynasty. A parallel is drawn with the present situation of Europe.

The people of Constantinople never called their empire the Byzantine Empire. Until 1453, they considered it to be the Roman Empire. Constantinople had been built by Constantine I between 324 and 330 on the site of the former Greek colony of Byzantium.

When, after Theodosius I, the Roman Empire was definitively divided between the East, attributed to Arcadius, the emperor's eldest son, and the West, attributed to his youngest son, Honorius, the eastern part of the Empire pursued its own destiny. It successively lost Egypt, invaded by the Arabs, Spain, Italy and the African coast, despite the brief reconquests of Justinian's generals. Constantinople withstood several Arab sieges and even those by Bulgarians and Russians. The Empire that is the subject of our reflections is the one that, after the reconquests of the Macedonian dynasty at the end of the tenth century, was an immense territory straddling Europe and Asia, stretching from the Adriatic to the Euphrates and from the Danube to Armenia.¹ Reorganised into new administrative districts, the Themes, under Nicephorus I, the Empire suffered two defeats at the hands of the Seljuk Turks at Mantzikert in 1071 under Roman IV Diogenes and at Myrioképhalon in 1176 under Manuel I Comnenus. Attacked in the East, the Empire was also attacked in the West by Robert Guiscard's Normans, who had settled in Sicily. Alexis I Comnenus drove them back with the help of Venice, granting that republic the tax privileges that were to ruin the Byzantine tax system. He skilfully managed the First Crusade, recovering some of

*Professor Emeritus, UCLouvain, Belgium.

1. J. Malherbe, *Constantin XI, Dernier empereur des Romains* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Bruylant-Academia, L'Harmattan, 2001).

the cities conquered by the Turks, such as Nicaea, with the help of the Crusaders. The Fourth Crusade was to be the cause of a chaotic decline in the Empire. Diverted towards Constantinople on the pretext of re-establishing the pretender to the throne, Alexis IV Angelos, it led to the capture and sacking of Constantinople by the Crusaders, followed by the partition of the Empire. Baldwin of Flanders became the first Latin emperor of Constantinople and the contiguous territories. Venice took over the maritime ports of call. Greece was divided: Thessalonica to Boniface de Montferrat, Athens to Otto de la Roche and the Peloponnese to Godfrey de Villehardouin. Two national revivals were taking place at the same time. In Epirus, Michael Angelos established a despotate and in Nicaea, Theodore I Lascaris was crowned emperor. In Trebizond, two Comnenus princes established a small empire.

The Latin Empire of Constantinople was to be short-lived (1204-1261). Theodore II Lascaris had sent one of his generals, Michael Palaeologus, a member of the imperial aristocracy, against the despots of Epirus. Defeated, Palaeologus was arrested by the Emperor, while the despot Michael II of Epirus formed an alliance with Manfred, Frederick II's successor as King of Sicily, and William of Villehardouin, the Latin prince of Achaia. Elected emperor and tutor to the young John IV Lascaris, son of Theodore II, Michael Palaeologus defeated his allied enemies in the mountains of Pelagonia. William of Villehardouin was captured and the despot of Epirus fled.

In 1261, Constantinople was recaptured by chance. Alexis Strategopoulos, sent by Michael VIII on another mission, was informed by Greek farmers in the vicinity that the city was defenceless. The contingent entered without difficulty. Emperor Baldwin II of Courtenay fled on a Venetian merchant ship and took refuge with the King of Sicily, Manfred.

Michael VIII was awakened by his sister Eulogie and did not believe the news until a courier brought him the imperial insignia abandoned by Baldwin II. On 15 August, he entered the city. He then seized power and had his ward, Jean Lascaris, blinded. Excommunicated by Patriarch Arsene, he had him exiled.

To free William II of Villehardouin, he demanded the surrender of four Moraean fortresses. The consent of the High Court of the Lords of Morea was required. Composed mainly of the wives of the imprisoned knights, which earned it the name "Court of Ladies", it met and provided the consent.

Manfred was defeated and killed in 1266 at the Battle of Benevento by the troops of Charles I of Anjou, Saint-Louis' brother and the new King of Sicily. Michael VIII was faced with a new adversary. In a bid to bring peace to the region, Michael VIII sent ambassadors to the Second Council of Lyon in 1274 and accepted, in theory, the primacy of the Pope and the Roman faith. This initiative was very badly received in Constantinople. Michael VIII concluded a secret treaty with Peter III, King of Aragon, husband of Constance, daughter of Manfred and pretender to the throne of Sicily. The secret was so well kept that the text of the

treaty was never found. The chronicler Ptolemy of Lucca wrote: "Quem tractatum ego vidi"

The Sicilian Vespers led to the expulsion of Charles of Anjou from Sicily, with the island falling to the Catalans. While Michael VIII fought successfully in the West, the Turks invaded his states in Asia Minor, which were more effectively defended when Nicaea was the capital of the Empire. Thus was fulfilled the prediction of a noble Greek, Theodore Tomikios, who, on learning of Michael VIII's capture of Constantinople, exclaimed: "Alas! This is the ruin of Christianity". He explained: "Michael Palaeologus is going to transfer his capital to Constantinople. Our young nobles will run to the city with the Emperor and abandon the war against the Turks".

Andronic II (1282-1328)

Andronic II had his father buried at night in a monastery near the small town in Thrace where he had died, and completely renounced his unionist policy. He associated the son of his first marriage, Michael IX, with the Empire and married Yolande of Montferrat, who took the name of Irene. The Turks continued their advance into Asia Minor. The historian Ducas wrote: "They stripped the Queen of the Cities of her golden braids before cutting off her head". Andronic II then called on the Catalan Company, which had supported the Catalans in Sicily against the Angevins. Michael IX hated these mercenaries and had all their officers murdered during a meal on 7 April 1307, sparking revenge and plunder. The Catalans eventually took Athens by massacring in the marshes the French knights who were defending it.

Civil War of the Two Andronics (1321-1328)

A disagreement arose between Andronic II and his grandson, the future Andronic III, the eldest son of Michael IX. Michael IX died in 1320 and Andronic II deprived his grandson of his right to the throne.

Andronic III, who was essentially a soldier, opposed his grandfather and was supported by his friend John Cantacuzenes. Andronic III had married Joan of Savoy, who took the name Anne. Together with Cantacuzenes, he fought with some success against the dissident Greek states and the Emir Orkhan, son of Osman, founder of the Osmanli dynasty. However, Byzantine possessions in Asia Minor were reduced to a few isolated towns. At the same time, perhaps as a result of despair, the Hesychast doctrine was born in Byzantium, which claimed to achieve the vision of divine light through meditation and which the historian Gibbon saw as "the masterpiece of the religious madness of the Greeks". After presiding over a council and refusing to take a position between the classical

theologians and the Hesychasts, Andronic III died in 1341 at the age of 45. His successor was a 10-year-old child, John V, under the guardianship of a Latin empress, Anne of Savoy.

John VI Cantacuzenes (1341-1355): Second Civil War

John Cantacuzenes took action immediately against the enemies of the Empire, who were raising their heads. He met with hostility from the empress and her megadux Alexis Apocaukos. He then had himself proclaimed emperor in Thrace at Didymotichos, while respecting the titles of Empress Anne and Emperor John V. This new civil war led to catastrophic alliances. Cantacuzenes allied himself first with the Emir of Aydin, Umur Bey, and then with the Osmanli Emir, Orkhan, who himself sent troops to Thrace to lend him a hand. The Turks thus gained a foothold in Europe. Meanwhile, Cantacuzenes had entrusted the despotate of Morea to his second son, Manuel, thus inaugurating a policy of monopoly. John V revolted against John VI Cantacuzenes and succeeded, with the help of Genoese mercenaries, in reconquering Constantinople. John VI Cantacuzenus retired to a monastery, where he wrote a monumental history of his time.

John V (1355-1391)

The Turks completed their conquest of Thrace. They had already seized Gallipoli following an earthquake. John V, in despair, travelled to Hungary and tried to obtain the support of King Louis the Great, who encouraged him to convert to the Latin faith. A cousin of the Emperor, Count Amédée VI of Savoy, known as the Green Count, successfully undertook a crusade of sorts, recapturing Gallipoli and bringing back John V, who had been held prisoner in Bulgaria on his return from Hungary. In 1369, John V travelled to Rome, where he adopted the Latin faith on his own.

John V had three sons, Andronic, Manuel and Theodore. The Turks had conquered Serbia and Bulgaria. John V had to accept that he was the vassal of Orkhan's successor, Murad I. Curiously, Andronic, the Emperor's eldest son, and Saoudj, Murad's son, joined forces in a strange revolt against their respective fathers. They were defeated. Murad had his son blinded and he died. He demanded of John V that Andronic and John's own son, John, suffer the same fate. However, the operation was incomplete. John V then associated his youngest son Manuel, who was to become Manuel II, with the empire. Andronic, the future Andronic IV, was imprisoned but escaped and sought the support of the Turks, succeeded in entering Constantinople and imprisoned the imperial couple as well as Manuel and Theodore. Following obscure negotiations controlled by the Turks, the throne was divided between John V, with Andronic

IV as his heir, and John VII, his son, and Manuel II, while Theodore became despot of Morea.

In 1389, Prince Lazarus of Serbia attacked the Ottomans in the Kosovo plain, at the Field of Blackbirds. A Serbian nobleman assassinated Murad I in his camp. Bajazet I, who was to be nicknamed Ilderim, the Thunderbolt, succeeded him on the battlefield and defeated the Serbs. Etienne Lazarevic, Lazare's successor, became a tributary of the Turks and took part in all their campaigns from then on.

Manuel II (1391-1425)

Manuel II and his cousin John VII, now vassals of the Turks, were forced to take part in Bajazet I's campaigns in Asia Minor. As a learned man, Manuel would pass through towns that had once been Byzantine, asking about their names, to which the Turks would reply: "We have destroyed these places and time has destroyed their names". During a stopover in Ancyre, Manuel II found time for a theological controversy with a Muslim scholar. This "Dialogue with a Persian" was the subject of a much later misunderstood allusion by Pope Benedict XVI.

Outraged by the situation, the Grand Prince of Moscow, Basil I, wrote to the Patriarch of Constantinople, arguing that if there was still a church, there was no longer an emperor. The patriarch reproached him: "The church is not conceivable without the emperor".

Bajazet I summoned all his Greek and Slav vassals to Serres in 1394. He reportedly decided to have Manuel and his brother Theodore executed, but they managed to escape.

Manuel had married Hélène, daughter of the Serbian Prince Constantin Dejanovic or Dragas.

Nicopolis Crusades

Sigismund of Luxembourg, King of Hungary, feeling threatened by the Turkish occupation of Bulgaria, led an expedition reinforced by John the Fearless, son of the Duke of Burgundy, and the Vlachs of Mircea the Elder. They met the Turkish army at Nicopolis on 8 September 1396. Sigismund wanted to send the Hungarian infantry into battle first, but they were overtaken by the French cavalry led by Marshal Boucicaut, who was accompanying John the Fearless. The Crusaders were massacred or captured. Jean Sans Peur and Boucicaut were fortunate enough to be redeemed by a Franco-Burgundian embassy led by Jean de Châteaumorand.

Manuel II's Journey to the West

Solicited by an embassy from the Emperor, Charles VI, King of France, sent a flotilla commanded by Marshal Boucicaut against Bajazet's Turkish fleet which was besieging Constantinople. The city was cleared. Manuel II and John VII, whose son Andronic V had died, were reconciled and Manuel II allowed himself to be persuaded to set sail for France on Boucicaut's fleet. On his way, he left his wife and children in the care of his brother Theodore in Morea. He received a brilliant welcome in Charenton by a cavalcade of 2,000 Parisians and made his entry mounted on a white horse. Although he spoke only Greek, he befriended one of the King's uncles, the Duc de Berry. Manuel II and his retinue are depicted in the illuminations of the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, by the Limbourg brothers. Manuel then travelled to England, where Henry IV of Lancaster had just usurped the throne and merely presented the emperor with a substantial gift of money instead of military support. Manuel established contacts with other Western sovereigns, but without any concrete results.

An unexpected event was to temporarily alter the course of history.

Turkish Defeat at Ancyre (1402) and Turkish Civil War

Underestimating the power of Tamerlane's Mongols, Bajazet attacked his allies, the Turkish princes of Anatolia. He then led his army against the Tartars, placing himself in the middle of the European forces, made up mainly of heavily armoured Serbs and the Asian forces. He was defeated and died in captivity.

Civil war then broke out between Bajazet's sons, who killed each other. The Greeks played the Mohammed card. The latter won and killed his last surviving brother. As the historian Ducas writes, Manuel was transported from a rough and stormy sea to a calm and peaceful port. Mohammed restored to him Thessalonica and the coastal territories close to Constantinople. Manuel took the opportunity to fortify Morea by rebuilding the Hexamilion wall that protected it from mainland Greece. He pursued a policy of Latin union with his sons. With the authorisation of Pope Martin V, who was to put an end to the Great Western Schism, the Emperor's eldest son, the future John VIII, widower of a Russian princess, married Sophie, daughter of the Marquis of Montferrat, and was crowned co-emperor. The new empress was particularly ugly. The historian Ducas, not very gallantly, wrote that she looked like Easter from behind but like Lent from the front. Theodore, who became despot of Morea under the name Theodore II, married the daughter of a Malatesta of Rimini. Manuel II's other son, Andronic, became despot of Thessalonica. Manuel II and Mohammed I shared a curious friendship. They met again when Mohammed crossed the Bosphorus and died shortly afterwards, leaving Murad II as his heir. Some members of the Court, including John VIII, wanted to oppose Murad with a pretender they had kept in

reserve, the false Mustapha. Manuel II, tired, said to his son: "Do as you wish. I am old and ill, my son, and close to death; I have ceded sovereignty and its prerogatives to you". Murad easily defeated the pretender and laid siege to Constantinople on 8 June 1422, without success. He sent Turakhan Bey to ravage the Morea and destroy Hexamilion.

John VIII

In turn, John VIII, having lost all hope of making peace with the Turks, wanted to move closer to the West. He left for Venice and tried to make peace between the Duke of Milan, Philip Mary Visconti, and the King of Hungary, Sigismund. Meanwhile, Manuel II and his young son Constantine concluded a shaky agreement with the Turks. Manuel II died in 1425, having, according to tradition, first retired to a monastery. In the meantime, John VIII had separated from his ill-matched wife and married the beautiful Mary Comnenus, daughter of the Emperor of Trebizond. John VIII put his brother Constantine in charge of the despotate of Morea, while his other brother, Andronic, weak and ill, had to leave Thessalonica to Venice to defend it against the Turks. Constantine shared the despotate with his brothers Theodore and Thomas, enjoying a happy period that was exemplified by the strange philosophy of Pletho, a sort of revival of ancient ideas. Pope Martin V Colonna had urged the Emperor to come to Italy: "The Roman Church is the mother and the Eastern Church the daughter; the daughter should come to her mother". The Greeks, for their part, asked for assurances that Constantinople would be defended during the absence of its leaders.

Martin V died in 1431 and his successor, Eugene IV, encountered difficulties at the Council of Basel, thereby delaying the talks. If a solution had been found earlier, Constantinople might have been saved. The Pope sent three heavy Venetian ships to Constantinople under the command of his nephew Antonio Condulmaro, with 300 archers embarked in Crete. The fleet went to Euboea to fetch Constantine and his adviser Phrantzes. Constantine was to replace John VIII during his absence. The imperial galley and the papal vessels left Constantinople on 27 November 1437. The fleet arrived opposite Venice on 4 February 1438.

In his chronicle, Phrantzes wrote: "I wish to God he hadn't been there". As far as he was concerned, one main street, the Mese, led to Saint Sophia and, if another street had been discovered, he preferred to go there by the route of his ancestors. He believed that union with the "Franks" would drive the Turks to attack.

The Emperor and the Doge of Venice solemnly entered the city on a specially decorated vessel, the Bucentaure. The Emperor and his retinue stayed in the palace of the Marquis of Ferrara. The Council opened in Ferrara on 9 April 1438. Patriarch Joseph II led the ecclesiastical delegation, which included two prominent figures: Marc Eugenikos and Bessarion. The Council then moved from

Ferrara to Florence, where local bankers were able to finance it. Slowly, the theological discussions resolved the problems that divided the two churches: the procession of the Holy Spirit, of the Father and the Son or of the Father through the Son (*filioque*); purgatory; the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist. The decree of union was proclaimed on 6 July 1439: "Let heaven and earth rejoice (*laetentur coeli et terra*). On 19 October, the Greeks left Venice for Constantinople. Patriarch Joseph II had died in Florence. Empress Mary of Trebizond died before the return of her husband, John VIII. The delegation was poorly received in Constantinople. Some members sadly admitted: "We have sold our faith, we have exchanged piety for impiety". Marc Eugenikos refused to join. After his death, his position was defended by George Scholarios. In the meantime, the Pope created (named? Cardinals Isidore, the Metropolitan of Kiev, and Bessarion, who settled in Rome.

After his brother's return, Constantine returned to Morea, where he had the Hexamilion rebuilt for the last time. True to his word, the Pope launched the last crusade, known as the Varna Crusade. Murad II was indignant, considering that a peace treaty had been signed in Andrinople. The Hungarian army, led by Ladislas III, aged 15, the troops of John Hunyade, Voivode of Transylvania and a Wallachian contingent, without the support of the Serbs, met Murad II's army, which had hurried back from Anatolia to Varna on 10 November 1444. The crusaders were totally defeated. King Ladislas and Cardinal Cesarini, who represented the Pope, were killed.

For reasons unknown, Murad II temporarily relinquished the throne to his son, Mohammed II, who had a bad relationship with the Grand Vizier, Halil Pasha, who was in favour of the Greeks. John VIII died in 1448.

Constantine XI (1449-1453)

Pope Nicholas V, who had succeeded Eugene IV, was very unhappy. He wrote: "How many years have passed? And yet the decree of union still seems to be a dead letter for the Greeks". Murad II died on 2 February 1451. His son Mohammed II was determined to bring down Constantinople. He built a fortified castle, Rumeli Hisar, at the narrowest point of the Bosphorus, opposite the castle of Anadolu Hisar built by his predecessor Bajazet. "Whether he was walking, standing still, watching, sleeping, always anxious, he thought of Constantinople, so great was his thirst for the city". Constantine promised to bring about the union of the churches and asked the West for help. Meanwhile, George Scholarios shut himself up in his cell in the Pantocrator monastery, posting on the door: "Wretched Romans, why, by deceiving yourselves, have you strayed from the hope of God and placed your hope in the power of the Franks? Along with the city in which you must perish, you will also lose your piety".

Mohammed II arrived in Constantinople on 5 April 1453 "And when the spring of 857 (of the Hegira) came, the month of April, the zephyrs of spring had driven back the soldiers of winter; the Sultan unfurled his banners". He had an army of 50,000 to 100,000 men, and a huge cannon built by the Hungarian Orban. The Emperor closed the Golden Horn with a large chain. He was assisted by a Genoese captain, Giustiniani, and the crews of various ships in the port - in all, around 5,000 Greeks and 2,000 foreigners. The siege lasted 55 days. The Sultan had ships transported overland to the Golden Horn. The last imperial council met on 25 May. In the meantime, Lucas Notaras, the great admiral, was quoted as saying: "Rather the turban of the Turks than the Roman mitre". The city fell on 29 May 1453. The Emperor died in the battle.

An Omen for Europe

Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the future pope Pius II, wrote after the fall of Constantinople: "Nunc Turcorum inchoatur imperium". One must ask whether it is wise to draw from past events lessons for the present times and to try, so doing, to foresee or influence the future. Winston Churchill wrote that those who neglect history expose themselves to repeating the mistakes of the past. According to the author of the *History of the English-speaking peoples*, the exercise is well worthwhile.

Following Gibbon and Rostovtseff, it has been attempted several times, based on the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 and the following "dark ages". Why not give it a try by reading in the causes and effects of the fall of the more than 1000 years of the old Eastern Empire, which lasted from 395 until 1453, lessons for the 21st century?

The decadence of the Byzantine empire was characterized by the loss of rich provinces to *a.o.* Arab and Turkish invaders, a consecutive deprivation of tax revenues, aggravated by tax concessions made to Venetian and Genoese merchants, the decline of the frontier defences resting on the "akritai", the armed settlers living in those areas, the gradual disbanding of national troops to be replaced by mercenaries and the decrease in power of the national navy.

A considerable vitality in economic, social and cultural developments could not compensate the weakness of the state.²

A strong opponent, the Turkish Ottoman Sultanate, gradually encroached upon imperial territory. The West, represented by the Pope and the feudal sovereigns of Europe, made inefficient rescue attempts and was absent in the final conflict.

2. A. Laios, "The Byzantine Empire in the fourteenth century, ch. 14," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History VI, C.1300-C-145* (ed.) Michael Jones (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 795.

If we look at Europe today, it confronts a potential adversary, Russia, backed by other powers, such as China, while the countries formerly colonized by Europe remain indifferent. The American Nato ally, on which under-militarized Europe has relied since the end of World War II, may prove less committed than in the past, especially if a mistrusted candidate, Donald Trump, emerges in the next presidential election.³

Europe has developed and fortified its economic union but remains a weak military actor. Its colonized empire did not survive the fratricidal wars of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945. Its tax resources are, fortunately, intact but a high tax burden is already imposed on its population, coupled with a high public debt.⁴ The European population is declining and a much-disputed immigration plays a vital role in its economic survival.

Tax evasion deprives European treasuries from huge resources and the liberalization of financial markets has shifted control away from governments.

Political disputes about immigration control, agricultural and trade policy and globalization generally play the same role as religious divisions between Greek and Latin orthodoxy in the Middle Ages.

As leaders of the Roman and Byzantine empires in their later days, European leaders are facing what may be a decisive moment in history. "... if we can no longer believe that history guarantees us the right outcome, neither does it guarantee us the wrong one".⁵ We are, today, looking for leaders able to select the right options and an electorate ready to follow them.

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3. E. Todd, *La défaite de l'Occident* (Paris: Gallimard, 2024).

4. P. Heather, and J. Rapley, *Why Empires Fall, Rome, America and the Future of the West* (Allen Lane, 2023), 150.

5. E. H. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (Vintage Books, 1987), 340.

Stylistic Analysis of the Holy Icons from Saint George Church in Yenikoy, Istanbul

By Ruhiye Onurel* & Eva Aleksandru Şarlak[‡]

The main subject of the research is to analyse the multi-themed sacred proskynetarion icons in Yeniköy Ayios Yeoryios (St. George) Metochion Church, one of the three metochion churches of the Jerusalem Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul. Although it is known that the icons found in the metochion churches in Istanbul have not been studied before, the icons belonging to the church in Yeniköy from these structures were included in the research. Due to the limitations of the article, which prevented the evaluation of all the icons in the church, the research focused solely on the technical and stylistic features of the multi-themed proskynetarion icons. Proskynetarions, also known as the pilgrim icons, contain depictions of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem due to their characteristics. The presence of proskynetarions in this place is directly related to the fact that Yeniköy Ayios Yeoryios Church is a Metochion affiliated to the Jerusalem Patriarchate. Icons are accepted as important works of art in the frame of art history, as well as their liturgical role as manifestation and visual representations of the sacred. It is important to reveal such previously unpublished works, to evaluate them iconographically and to bring them to the art history literature with their semantic context. In the study, a brief historical overview of the status of the Jerusalem Orthodox Patriarchate and the relations between the two patriarchates is presented. At the same time, the location of the building, the architectural plan type, the periodical features in the exterior and interior decoration are mentioned.

The Jerusalem Patriarchate

The Jerusalem Patriarchate is considered the oldest Apostolic Patriarchate, the physical continuation of the first church.¹ The establishment date of the Church of Jerusalem varies according to different sources. While one source indicates the year to be 30 AD,² another accepts the year as 33 AD.³ The mentioned

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1. Αρχιεπισκοπου Ιοππησ Δαμασκηνου [Γκαγκανιαρα] (2008) Η Διοικητική Οργανωσις Του Πατριαρχείου Των Ιεροσολυμων, Διδακτορική Διατριβή υποβληθείσα εις τὸ Τμήμα Νομικῆς τῆς Σχολῆς Νομικῶν, Οικονομικῶν καὶ Πολιτικῶν Ἐπιστημῶν, τοῦ Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, p.7 (Archbishop Iorppis Damaskinos [Gaganiara] (2008) The Administrative Organization of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, Doctoral Thesis submitted to the Department of Law, School of Law, Economics and Political Sciences, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, p. 7).

2. Mircea Eliade (2009) Dinsel İnançlar ve Düşünceler Tarihi: Gotama Budha'dan Hıristiyanlığın Doğuşuna, vol. II, trns. Ali Berktaş, Kabcacı Publishing House, İstanbul, p. 391.

date represents the Pentecost,⁴ which is 50 days after the crucifixion of Christ according to Orthodox Christian tradition. According to another source on the establishment of the Church, it is mentioned that the Church of Jerusalem was founded by Ayios Iakovos (St. James) in the year 55.⁵

In 422, the Church of Jerusalem was separated from Rome in terms of administration and connected to the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople,⁶ and in accordance with the decision taken at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, it was elevated to the status of Patriarchate and became completely independent from Constantinople.⁷ The Patriarchate's contact with Constantinople was said to have persisted during this time, and delegates from Jerusalem were sent to the councils. It is claimed that when Jerusalem fell under Islamic administration in 638, Christian communities were safeguarded in exchange for taxes.⁸ The founding of the Latin Kingdom had a detrimental effect on the Patriarchate after the Crusaders conquered Jerusalem in 1099. The Greek patriarch was banished, and a Latin patriarch was assigned to the Patriarchate.⁹ The patriarchs were still appointed during this time, although they now lived in Constantinople.¹⁰ With the Ayyubid conquest of Jerusalem in 1187, the years of exile came to an end, and the privileges formerly accorded to the Patriarchate were also recorded.¹¹

Under Mamluk administration, the Latins seized control of Jerusalem's sacred sites from the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem, but during the Ottoman era, these privileges were reclaimed, and authority was once more established. The Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem came under Ottoman rule in 1516. It is stated

3. Archbishop Ioppis Damaskinos, 2008, p. 35.

4. Evangelia Aleksandru Şarlak (2001) *Post-Bizans Dönemi İstanbul Kiliselerinde Duvardan Bağımsız İkonalar/Post-Byzantine Icons -Unattached From Wall- in Istanbul Greek Orthodox Churches*, Doktora Tezi / PhD Thesis, Istanbul Technical University, Institute of Social Sciences, Istanbul, p. 33.

5. Yorgo Benlisoy-Elçin Macar (1996) *Fener Patrikhanesi*, Ayraç Publishing House, Ankara, p. 10.

6. İhsan Satış-Muhammed Ceyhan (2015). *Kudüs Rum Patrikhanesi*, *Belleten*, 79(675-712), doi:10.37879/belleten.2015. p. 677; İhsan Satış-Muhammed Ceyhan (2012). *Kudüs'teki Rum Cemaatine Ait Bir Defter: 10 Numaralı (Kamame) Kilise Defteri*. *Belgeler*, XXXIII(21-55), p.23.

7. Benlisoy-Macar, 1996, p. 10;

8. Steven Runciman (2008) *Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi*, vol. I, trns. Fikret İşıltan, 4th press, Türk Tarih Kurumu Publication, Ankara, p. 3.

9. Runciman, 2008, pp. 222, 228.

10. Satış-Ceyhan, 2015, p. 680.

11. It is recorded that the orders in the edicts issued since Caliph Umar are still valid. See. Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive (BOA), Kâmil Kepeci Tasnifi Piskopos Mukâtaası, Nr: 2539, p. 2; Karakoç Sarkis, Külliyyât-ı Kavânîn, Belge No: 2606. ; The Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives contain a copy of this assurance delivered to the Greek patriarch. In fact, without going into detail, such a guarantee is indicated in the orders and edicts that the Ottoman sultans delivered to the Jerusalem judge. Satış-Ceyhan, 2015, pp. 680-681.

in the archive records that Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem Athanasios traveled to Istanbul during the rule of Mehmed II the Conqueror (r. 1444-1446, 1451-1481) and asked for the renewal of his previous privileges, despite the fact that the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem in the Ottoman Empire came under Ottoman rule during the reign of Selim I (r.1512-1520).¹² In a decree issued in 1458 by Mehmed the Conqueror, the patriarchate was accorded a number of rights. The patriarchate and its members were exempt from *bac*,¹³ traditional tribute, and other taxes in the order, which also recognized the holy places belonging to the Greeks in Jerusalem. Furthermore, it is stated that following Mehmed's rule, concessions made by other Muslim sultans, including Caliph Umar (634-644),¹⁴ will still be legitimate.¹⁵

The authorities granted by Mehmed II the Conqueror to the patriarchate were renewed as they were, in the decree given by Selim I to the Jerusalem Patriarch Dorotheos (1506-1537) in 1516. The edict that was renewed without any change due to the attendance of the new patriarch during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (r. 1520-1566) was given to the new patriarch Germanos (1537-1579). In the following periods, with each change of sultanate, the rights and privileges given to the Greek Patriarchs of Jerusalem were renewed and continued.¹⁶ It was stated that the patriarchate was exempt from various taxes¹⁷ in the edicts given to the Greek patriarchs of Jerusalem by Caliph Umar and the Ottoman Sultans.¹⁸

The Greek Patriarchate of Istanbul also served as a representative for the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem due to the authorities bestowed by Mehmed II the Conqueror to the patriarchate, and their tight ties to the Sublime Porte.¹⁹ The Istanbul Greek Patriarchate grew more powerful than other patriarchates in the Orthodox world, particularly under Suleiman the Magnificent. Although the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem had the independency to communicate with the Ottoman Empire and go by their own authority, the Greek Patriarchate of Istanbul had the supervisory responsibility over the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem.²⁰

12. Satış-Ceyhan, 2015, pp. 675, 682.

13. Tithe or tribute and customs duty that were once levied from the public in the Ottoman Empire.

14. One of the most influential caliphs.

15. Benlisoy-Macar, 1996, p. 32; See. BOA, İrade-i Hariciye (İ.HR), 267/16056; BOA, HAT, 778/36478-B. Satış-Ceyhan, 2015, p.683.

16. Satış-Ceyhan, 2015, pp. 675, 684.

17. Such as *jizye*, *gafr*, *bac* and other allowances under the name of "mevacib".

18. See: BOA, A.DVNS. KLS. d, Nr: 9, p. 5-8. BOA, HAT, 1516/47. Satış-Ceyhan, 2015, p.689.

19. Benlisoy-Macar, 1996, p. 33.

20. Satış-Ceyhan, 2015, p. 685.

Although Jerusalem serves as the headquarters of the Jerusalem Greek Patriarchate, the patriarchs lived in Istanbul from 1645 to 1845.²¹ Nowadays, the Patriarch of the Holy City of Jerusalem and all Palestine, Syria, Arabia, and beyond the Jordan River, Kana of Galilee and Holy Sion is Theophilos III.²² The representative of the Patriarch of Jerusalem in Constantinople is Archbishop Anthidonos K. Nektarios. It is stated that the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem moved his residence from Jerusalem to Istanbul in order to strengthen their relations to the Ottoman Empire.²³ For centuries, there were conflicts between the Greek patriarch of Istanbul and the Jerusalem patriarchs who lived in Istanbul. These issues reportedly came to light and sparked disputes, particularly in relation to the election of the Jerusalem patriarchs and the exercise of their authority. The patriarch of Jerusalem, who resides in Istanbul, reportedly traveled frequently, rather than managing the business of Jerusalem and regularly attending the Synod Assembly of the Greek Patriarch of Istanbul.²⁴

It is stated that the Patriarchs of Jerusalem were elected by the Synod Assembly of the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople until 1844. It is recorded that the Synod Assembly in 1661, when Patriarch Nektarios was elected, included the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, the beyghs of Wallachia-Boghdan, metropolitans of the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople and Ottoman representatives.²⁵ In this election, it is said that Nektarios was chosen as patriarch after extensive deliberation and negotiations, and the decision was revealed to Jerusalem in a letter. Again, based on the reports, the election of Sophronios (1770), Parthenios (1739), Abhram (1775), Prokopios (1787), Polykarpos (1788), Polykarpos (1808), and Athanasios (1826) followed a similar procedure. Patriarchal elections began to be held by the Synod Assembly of the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem after the patriarchs of Jerusalem moved their residence to Jerusalem. In 1845, with the death of Patriarch Athanasios V, the Synod Assembly was held in Jerusalem, where Kyrillos II, Bishop of Lydda, was elected patriarch.²⁶

21. The Greek Patriarchs of Jerusalem are not the only patriarchs who live outside the patriarchate's geographic center, in Istanbul or elsewhere. According to a document from 1891, Damascus was the home of the Greek Patriarch of Antakya. See. BOA, Meclis-i Vükela (MV), 63/46; M. Macit Kenanoğlu (2017), *Osmanlı Millet Sistemi; Mit ve Gerçek*, 4th press, Klasik Publishing, Istanbul, p. 118.

22. Benlisoy-Macar, 1996, p. 11; The current (2023) Patriarch is Kyrios the third Theophilos.

23. Archbishop Ioppis Damaskinos, 2008, p. 64.

24. Satış-Ceyhan, 2015, pp. 691-692.

25. See: Anton Bertram & Harry Luke, *Report of the Commission Appointed by the Government of Palestine to Inquire Into the Affairs of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem*, Oxford University Press 1921, pp. 167-169. Cited by: Satış-Ceyhan, 2015, pp. 691-692.

26. See: BOA, İ. HR, 28/1320. Satış-Ceyhan, 2015, pp. 691-692.

Ayios Yeoryios Metochion Church in Yeniköy

As mentioned before, there are three churches in Istanbul dedicated to Ayios Yeoryios, affiliated with the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. These churches, in hierarchical order, are Fener Ayios Yeoryios Metochion Church,²⁷ Heybeliada Ayios Yeoryios Metochion Church and Yeniköy Ayios Yeoryios Metochion Church.²⁸

Metochions are the locations that serve as residency for priests and wandering monks and also in cooperation with the mother church. The word metochion does not appear in records from the period before the 9th century. It is known that metochions were established in rural areas, some distance from the monastery, or near monastic properties in cities, in order to facilitate the control of the manors. The monks and priests living there were under the authority of the abbot of the main monastery.²⁹ A metochion also contained a church or chapel. Metochions also contributed to the advancement of education through the schools and libraries they established. These libraries contained many liturgical books and sacred vessels.³⁰

The Antonis Paterakis³¹ list from 1604 is the first document mentioning Yeniköy Ayios Yeoryios Metochion Church.³² Clerk Paulus³³ discovered and noted the church's existence in 1652, followed by Kömürçyan³⁴ in 1690, Hovhannesyan³⁵

27. Zafer Karaca (2018) İstanbul'da Tanzimat Öncesi Rum Ortodoks Kiliseleri, 2nd press, Yapı Kredi Publishing, Istanbul, pp. 114-121.

28. Karaca, 2018, p. 69.

29. <https://fosfanariou.gr/index.php/2022/06/30/metoxia-panagiou-tafou-stin-poli/>

30. Alexander P. Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot, and others (Eds.)(1991) "Metochion" , The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, Vol 2, Oxford University Press, pp. 1356-1357.

31. This manuscript list of 55 churches, compiled by Paterakis of Athens, is now in the library of the Alexandrian Orthodox Patriarchate in Cairo. Karaca, 2018, pp. 16, 22.

32. Karaca, 2018, p. 583.

33. Paulus, who served as the Patriarch's Clerk in the Patriarchate of Antioch, accompanied the Patriarch on his journey to Istanbul in 1652. Karaca, 2018, p. 16; Paulus also mentions in his notes that the Patriarch held services in the churches in Yeniköy. Sophrone Petrides, (1901) "Eglises Grecques de Constantinople en 1652", Echos d'Orient, IV (1901): 42-50, p. 48.

34. Eremya Çelebi Kömürçyan (1988) "İstanbul Tarihi, XVII. Asırda İstanbul, trns. Hrand D. Andreasyan, Eren Publishing and Bookbinding, Istanbul, p.43; The poet, writer and historian Eremya Çelebi Kömürçyan (1637-1695), who was originally from Istanbul, based his book Istanbul History, written in Armenian, on his observations in Istanbul. Karaca, 2018, p. 17.

35. Sarkis Tibir Sarraf Hovhannesian (1740-1805), a respected educator from Balat district, describes the neighbourhoods of Istanbul in his book, "Payitaht İstanbul'un Tarihi", written in Armenian. Karaca, 2018, p. 17.

in 1800, and Inciciyan³⁶ in 1810. While K m rciyan and Hovhannesian state that the church belonged to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Inciciyan states that the Patriarch of Jerusalem often resided here.³⁷

It is known that the Patriarchs of Jerusalem reside in the Yenik y Metochion in Istanbul. Yenik y Metochion is considered a foundation in terms of its current legal status. Historical sources state that, in addition to the school in Yenik y, the Holy Sepulcher Metochion Printing House was founded by Patriarch Athanasios.³⁸

Yenik y (Neokhorion), where Ayios Yeoryios Metochion Church is located, is a coastal neighbourhood of Sarıyer district on the European side of Istanbul. According to the sources, the area was named "*Cautes Bacchae*" because the sounds made by the waves hitting the rocks in ancient times were likened to the cries of Baccha.³⁹

According to historical sources, Nikolaos Komnenos Hypselantes, a resident of Nikhor, donated a chapel dedicated to Ayios Yeoryios with its garden overlooking the sea and its surroundings, as a result of his friendship with Paisios, the Patriarch of Jerusalem. This chapel in Nikhor developed over time and became a summer residence for the Patriarchs of Jerusalem. In the historical notes regarding the Metochion of the Holy Sepulcher in the city, it is stated that it was a three-apsed basilica built of stone and reflected the Late Byzantine folk architecture of the early 19th century.⁴⁰

"This holy church of the Great Martis Ayios Yeoryios was fundamentally restored during the time of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Cyril II of Constantinople, at the expense of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre," is written⁴¹ in seven lines of Greek capital letters on the epitaph at the Ayios Yeoryios Metochion Church's entrance facing west. The Istanbul Encyclopedia published the church's obituary in Turkish.⁴²

The Ayios Yeoryios Metochion Church is a rectangular building with an east-west axis in the basilica plan. The church is situated in the courtyard's

36. Gugas V. Inciciyan (1758-1833) was an Armenian cleric from Istanbul who worked in the fields of history and geography. In addition to his two books titled "Boğaziçi Sayfıyeleri" and " XVIII. Asırda İstanbul", he also wrote a seven-volume work titled "Dünya Coğrafyası", Karaca, 2018, p. 18.

37. Karaca, 2018, p. 450.

38. <https://fosfanariou.gr/index.php/2022/06/30/metoxia-panagiou-tafou-stin-poli/>. (Accessed 20 May 2023.)

39. Karaca, 2018, p. 442.

40. <https://fosfanariou.gr/index.php/2022/06/30/metoxia-panagiou-tafou-stin-poli/> (Monitoring date 20.05.2023).

41. Karaca, 2018, p. 451.

42. "This holy church was constructed from the ground up in 1851, under the direction of Cyril II of Constantinople, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, in memory of Ayios Yeoryios, who gave his life in the service of the Christian faith, using all the funds donated by the church of the Jerusalem 'Jesus' cemetery." Reşad Ekrem Koçu, (1960) İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, vol. 3, Neşriyat / Publishing Collective Company, Istanbul, p.1598; Karaca, 2018, p. 451.

northernmost corner, and it is encircled by railings. The facade of the church is covered by a rectangular narthex in the west and a half-domed apse in the east. The external dimensions of the church are 28.25 meters in length, 15.10 meters in width, and 10.10 meters in height.

It is observed that the walls in the interior of the church, which were previously completely plastered,⁴³ are now covered with natural marble from the windowsills to the wooden ceiling. In the three-nave church, the central nave is separated from the side naves in the south and north by five opposing columns each.

In the eastern part of the naos, there is a wooden iconostasis, also known as the templon, with five doors opening to the Bema. The Holy Door (Orean Pili) is located in the center, aligned with the main nave, while the other doors are symmetrically positioned at the level of the side naves. From the early period until the 14th century, the sacred area where the apse is located in Orthodox Christian churches were separated by a wooden curtain or a series of columnar architraves. After this period, this area was decorated in more monumental dimensions, with systematic placement of icons.⁴⁴

Proskynetarions of the Metochion Church in Yeniköy

As mentioned before, the church contains a large number of icons. Therefore, the iconographic and technical analysis has focused on two proskynetarion icons. Among the proskynetarions⁴⁵ identified to date, the oldest is the proskynetarion dated 1704, located in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Saumur, France.⁴⁶ Proskynetarions are rectangular oil paintings on large-scale canvas, usually 1.5 m x 2 m in size. The use of canvas cloth allowed the icons to be easily wrapped, transported and placed in frames after returning home.⁴⁷

The fact that Jerusalem has a sacred importance in the history of Christianity and is a center of pilgrimage points to a production process aimed at pilgrims, especially in the 19th century.⁴⁸ Between the 18th and 19th centuries, these canvases were prepared for sale in Jerusalem and targeted Greek Orthodox pilgrims from

43. Karaca, 2018, pp. 451-452.

44. Şarlak, 2001, p. 56.

45. For further reading, see: Mat Immerzeel, - Waldemar Deluga, - Magdalena Laptas, (2005) Proskynetaria: Inventory, Series Byzantina 3, 25-34.

46. Mat Immerzeel, (2014) Souvenirs of the Holy Land: The Production of Proskynetaria in Jerusalem, *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, Ed. Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt, Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium. (pp. 463-470), p. 463.

47. Rostislava Todorova (2015) Icons as Maps: Cartographic icons in Orthodox art, *Eikón Imago* 7 (2015/1) ISSN-e 2254-8718, p. 15.

48. Immerzeel, 2014, p. 468.

Ottoman lands (the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean).⁴⁹ Depictions of Jerusalem in proskynetarion icons appear as theological representations rather than a topographic map.⁵⁰ Undoubtedly, the origin of such icons can be traced back to cartographic maps of Western origin.⁵¹ The role of the proskynetarion was different from other Palestinian pilgrimage memories. As one of a series of pilgrimage events, the proskynetarion (Jerusalem, as pilgrims called it) was the culmination of the pilgrimage experience and transformed a person into a "*pilgrim*".⁵² This information is given by Mikhail Madzharov, who visited Jerusalem in 1868-1869:

At that time, people considered hajjis only those who, after having bathed in the Jordan River, received a certificate [patent] from the Patriarchate, and bought a 'Jerusalem' icon, were present at the Church of the Resurrection on Easter and saw with their own eyes the '*nur*' [Holy Fire] that comes out of the tomb [of Jesus Christ] and from which pilgrims light their paschal candles.⁵³

Memories of pilgrimage depicting the holy places of Palestine are intended to serve as reminders or substitutes for the holy lands in distant places, and to give their owners a kind of aura as former pilgrims.⁵⁴ According to the sources, a significant number of these artefacts were originally made for pilgrims from Russia.⁵⁵ Researchers consider the presence of Cyrillic inscriptions on some examples as evidence of this. This inscription indicates the practice of workshops to leave a space where the name of the purchaser could be inscribed, and the pilgrim would thus be documenting his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.⁵⁶ Immerzeel

49. Pnina Arad (2018) Landscape and Iconicity: Proskynetaria of the Holy Land from the Ottoman Period, *Eastern Christian art, The Art Bulletin* December 2018, (pp. 62-80), p.63.

50. Immerzeel, 2014, p. 466.

51. Rehav Rubin (2013) Greek-Orthodox Maps of Jerusalem from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, *e-Perimetron*, Vol. 8, No. 3, [106-132], p. 106.

52. Arad, 2018, p. 64.

53. Mikhail Madzharov, quoted in Valentina Izmirlieva, "Christian Hajjis: The Other Orthodox Pilgrims to Jerusalem," *Slavic Review* 73, no. 2 (Summer 2014): 332. Madzharov (1854–1944), a prominent Bulgarian politician and journalist, went on a family pilgrimage to Jerusalem as a teenager in 1868–69. Cited: Arad, 2018, p. 65.

54. Rand Abou Ackl (2019) "Kharetat al Mousafer, an 18th Century Proskynetarion of Jerusalem and the Holy Land from Saydnaia", *Chronos Revue d'Histoire de l'Université de Balamand*, Numéro 40, 2019, (pp.95-118) ISSN 1608, p. 96.

55. Majna Parijez- Ana Munk (2021) Iconographic and Stylistic Analysis of the Holy City of Jerusalem Icon from the Studenica Monastery, *DPUH Peristil*, 64/2021, 49-63. DOI: 10.17685/ Peristil.64.4; pp. 50-51.

56. Émilie Girard - Felicita Tramontana (2018) La fabrication des objets de dévotion en Palestine, de l'époque moderne au début du XIXe siècle Le témoignage des maquettes et d'une icône de pelerin récemment acquises par le MuCEM, *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, 183, (juillet-septembre 2018), pp. 247-260, p. 256.

points out that this cartouche practice is an indication that the icons were prepared in advance.⁵⁷

According to Arad, scholars have generally tended to regard proskynetarions as low-quality religious folk art. However, a closer examination reveals a sophisticated image. In this context, the proskynetarions not only create a sacred landscape, but also give it a theological interpretation.⁵⁸ Arad states that these icons are important for three reasons. Firstly, they constitute a unique fusion of Western and Eastern religious iconography, giving rise to a new type of icon; secondly, they show the meaning of the biblical landscape in Christian thought; and thirdly, they symbolise the role of the depicted landscape in the formation of cultural concepts and identities.⁵⁹ For this reason, when analysing the proskynetarion icons iconographically, it is necessary to consider their theological character.

The first of the multi-themed icons on the south wall is the proskynetarion icon (Figure 1.) that depicts the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The multi-figured icon, which predominantly incorporates shades of blue and red, consists of various scenes and was created by an unknown artist using the oil painting technique on a canvas measuring 130 x 165 cm. in size. At first glance, the icon, which may appear complex, consists of three main vertical sections that can be evaluated independently; the depiction of the Holy Sepulchre Church in Jerusalem in the center, the portrayal of Theotokos (Virgin Mary) on the right, and the representation of Christ on the left. It is observed that the depictions of Christ and Theotokos, portrayed in the composition's right and left wings, are symmetrically positioned to each other within elliptical frames. The two most prominent figures in terms of size in the entire composition are Christ, located at the center of the left ellipse, and Theotokos, portrayed in the Odegetria iconography,⁶⁰ positioned at the center of the right ellipse.

57. Immeerzel, 2014, p. 466.

58. Arad, 2018, p. 65.

59. Arad, 2018, p. 66.

60. Şarlak, 2001, p. 15.



Figure 1. *Proskynetarion*, Anonymous, Undated, Oil on Canvas, 130 x 165 cm., Ayios Yeoryios Methokhion Church, Yeniköy, İstanbul. (Photo: R. Onurel)

The upper part of the right vertical section, where Theotokos is located, contains four circles depicting Old Testament subjects. From right to left, these include the Creation of Eve, Adam and Eve before the Tree, the Expulsion from Paradise, and the Deluge of Noah. The whole composition appears to have been designed in a hierarchical order of importance.

The icon of Theotokos within the ellipse, which has angels in its four corners, is surrounded by a border consisting of 20 circles, each containing different depictions. In the five circles, which are larger than the others, scenes from the lives of Christ and Theotokos; clockwise with the themes of Annunciation, Joseph and Virgin Mary, the Three Magi and the Journey to Jerusalem. The remaining fifteen circles depict saints and prophets, each holding an ilitarion in their hands.

Four subjects have been depicted in each of the square and rectangular shapes at the bottom of the composition. The first square on the far right portrays the Koimesis (Dormition of Mary), while the second square depicts the subject of Zoodohos Pigi (Life-giving Spring). In the horizontal rectangle in the bottom right corner, there is a scene from the life of Ayios Prodromos (St. John the Baptist), and in the vertical rectangle right next to it, Salome⁶¹ is depicted with the severed head of Ayios Prodromos.

Christ, depicted to the left of the central depiction of Jerusalem, is the largest figure in this section. The Christ and Theotokos sections are not only located on

61. For Salome's narrative, see, Markos 6:14-29; Matta 14:1-12; Luka 9:7-9.

the right and left of the main composition in a symmetrical order, but also each section creates a geometric symmetry in the composition with the arrangement within itself.

The figure of Christ, seen within the oval frame with angels in each corner, is surrounded by twenty circular medallions. Among these medallions, five are larger than the others and depict New Testament subjects in clockwise order, including the Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, and the Meal at Emmaus. The other fifteen medals depict saints, portrayed with ilitarions in their hands.

The top left section of the icon is adorned with four oval medallions depicting scenes from the life of Ayios Petros (St. Peter). It culminates in a square that represents the Crucifixion of Ayios Petros. Descending from the square on the left side is a band where nine Old Testament prophets can be seen alongside the leaves of the Jesse Tree, each holding an ilitarion in their hands. A similar arrangement can be observed symmetrically on the outer band to the right of Theotokos.

Just below the large composition on the left side, two squares depict the subjects of three holy Church Fathers and the Baptism of Christ. At the bottom of the icon, there is a rectangular section that concludes with the Arrest of Christ and portrays several simultaneous subjects.

The center of the icon is the most prominent section, depicting the interior of the Holy Sepulchre Church in Jerusalem. This portrayal represents different scenes from the Easter cycle⁶² and various moments from the life of Christ. The church is depicted as a six-part architectural structure in these depictions.

On the far right, there is the Church of Constantine and Helen. The Patriarch is depicted holding a candle, symbolizing the act of receiving and passing on the Holy Fire,⁶³ which represents the flame of faith.

In the second row, the scene of Anastasis is depicted in the rotunda, showing the moment that Christ rises from the tomb. In the section depicted on the left, the dome of the Katholikon and the red Anointing Stone (Stone of Uncion) at the entrance can be seen, while Constantine and Helen hold the "True Cross" between the two domes. In the fourth section, Crucified Christ is portrayed in the Chapel of Golgotha, with Theotokos on the right and Ayios Prodromos (St. John the Baptist) on the left.

Above the Crucifixion scene, the depiction of Abraham sacrificing Isaac is shown in front of the Chapel of Abraham. Above the double-arched entrance of the Holy Sepulchre Church, Christ is seen with bound hands, wearing a red garment. In the sixth compartment on the left, the top section portrays the Descent from the Cross, while the bottom section depicts the Burial of Christ. Below them, there are images of monasteries from the Holy Land. Beneath all these scenes, in the five rectangular sections, probably Ayios Minas is depicted in

62. Ackl, 2019, p. 101.

63. Ackl, 2019, p. 102.

the center, Ayios Yeoryios on the right, Ayios Demetrios on the left, and two symmetrical depictions of two female saints on either side. One of them could be Ayia Barbara, while the other could be Ayia Catherine.

In the upper portion of the depiction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, is the Last Judgment scene,⁶⁴ which represents the final stage of the apocalypse. The depiction of the Last Judgment within two horizontal bands presents a simplified version of the characteristic iconography. In this section, following the iconographic tradition, Christ is seated on a throne, with twelve apostles arranged in groups of six on both sides; on His right, Heaven is depicted, while on His left, Hell is shown, reached by the fiery sea emerging from beneath the throne. Archangel Michael is separating the righteous and the wicked in front of the throne with a scale.

The second proskynetarion is located west of the south nave wall of the church. This icon, dominated by blue and orange colors, measures 121 x 218 cm., and is produced using oil painting technique on canvas (Figure 2). The icon is surrounded by fifty-six small rectangular scenes depicting various subjects and individuals. The sections within this frame can be examined in three main groups. Theotokos on the right and Christ on the left are the first subjects that catch the eye in the composition of the Holy Jerusalem in the center. At the top of the Jerusalem depiction, the Last Judgment can be seen, while scenes from the New Testament can be observed at the bottom.



Figure 2. *Proskynetarion, Anonymous, Undated, Oil on Canvas, 121 x 218 cm., Ayios Yeoryios Methokhion Church, Yeniköy, İstanbul. (Photo: R. Onurel)*

64. For further information: Ruhiye Onurel (2018) *Kıyamet ve Son Yargı Tasvirlerinde Hibrit İkonografisi/Hybrid Iconography in Apocalypse and Last Judgement Depictions*, unpublished PhD Thesis, Institute of Social Sciences, Işık University, İstanbul.

In the squares surrounding the icon, subjects from the Old Testament and the New Testament are depicted. The scenes in the top row, from right to left, are the Formation of the World, the Creation of Adam, the Creation of Eve, the scenes of the Expulsion from Heaven, the Prophet Jonah in the right frame, the Crucifixion of Ayios Petros, the subjects that attract the attention at first glance.

In the center of the lower frame, there are three squares that are related to Ayios Prodromos (St. John the Baptist) and Salome. In each of the squares on either side of Salome, church scholars can be seen wearing ceremonial garments and holding books in their hands. In the order from right to left, the depiction goes as follows: Ayios Basilios (St. Basil), Ayios Hrisostomos (St. John Chrysostom), Ayios Grigorios (St. Gregory), Ayios Spiridon (St. Spyridon), Ayios Kirillos (St. Cyril), Ayios Nikolaos (St. Nicholas), Ayios Kosmas (St. Cosmas), Ayios Triphonos (St. Tryphon), Ayios Damianos (St. Damian), Ayios Athanasios (St. Athanasius), Ayios Timoteos (St. Timothy), Ayios Dionysios (St. Dionysius), Ayios Haralambos and Ayios Seraphim.

The depiction of the city of Jerusalem in the center of the icon is remarkable for its large size and the portrayal of multiple subjects simultaneously. The city walls, indicated by the inscriptions of gate names, cover a significant area and are represented by a yellow band with straight lines at the top and bottom and zigzag patterns on the sides. Within the walls, the complex structure of the Holy Sepulchre Church can be seen. In this section depicting the Easter cycle, on the far right, Constantine and Helen are holding the "True Cross" in their respective churches named after them. In the bottom frame, is seen Ayios Iakovos (St. James).

In the rotunda, Christ rising from His tomb is depicted with a red cloth covering His right shoulder and partially His body, while being surrounded by ring-like clouds. In the Crucifixion scene, there are two more crosses on the right and left behind Christ. Underneath the composition, there is the scene of the Burial, and above it, Abraham, his son Isaac, and an angel bringing a lamb for sacrifice can be seen. Outside the city walls on the left, there is the Baptism of Christ, below it, the Church of the Nativity, and the Massacre of the Innocents. On the right side of the city of Jerusalem, outside the walls, there is the scene of the Transfiguration of Christ, and below it, the depiction of Baruch.

At the bottom of the Jaffa Gate and the sailing ships scene, the band starts with Ayios Yeoryios as cavalry, who kills the dragon with a spear in his hand, and ends with the image of Ayios Demetrios on a horse on the left. On the band between the two cavalry, from right to left, Prophet Abraham's sprouting to Prophet Lot, Lot watering the sprouts and devil drinking water are depicted. The Prophet Solomon is sitting on a throne next to the growing tree, who ordered the

tree to be cut down. In the sources, it is stated that the Cross of Christ was made from this tree, and no one was able to cut down this tree.⁶⁵

At the top of the city depiction, the Last Judgment, which is the last stage of the apocalyptic cycle is depicted. Christ is sitting on his throne in the clouds, the Sea of Fire coming out from under the throne flows towards Hell on His left. On the right of Christ, who is depicted with angels and apostles on both sides, two gates of Heaven are seen. The dead are resurrected, and the judged are sent to Heaven and Hell to receive reward or punishment.

On the left side of the composition, Christ is depicted with his hands bound in front of him, wearing a long orange garment and sandals on his feet. The figure is seen from the front, with the head slightly tilted towards the right shoulder and the gaze directed in the same direction. In the background, to the right and left of Christ, are portrayed Theotokos and Ayios Prodromos, as smaller figures. At the corners of the rectangle, along with their respective symbols, the four Gospel writers (Four Evangelists) are depicted: Ioannes (John) at the top, Matheus (Matthew) on the right, Markos (Mark) on the left, and Loukas (Luke) at the bottom, each holding their own books. At the upper part, within a horizontal rectangle, surrounded by religious scholars, the High Priest Christ is seen seated on his throne (Despotikon). Surrounding these two squares is a band with 24 circles, depicting scenes from Christ's life, including His miracles, Arrest, Trial, Torture, Crucifixion, and more.

On the right side of the depiction of Jerusalem, within a vertical rectangle, there is a central scene featuring Theotokos and Christ. Above them, there is the scene of Zoodohos Pigi (the Life-giving Spring), and below them, there are the scenes of Virgin's Entrance into the Temple and the Koimesis (Dormition of Virgin Mary). Surrounding these four scenes is an outer band with 24 circles depicting scenes from Virgin's life, creating a complete symmetry with those around Christ. In the inner band, within small circles, there are 24 depictions of Old Testament prophets surrounding Theotokos.

Conclusions

It has been determined that the icons, which constitute the main subject of the research, differ significantly from other icons in the church by containing a large number of figures. The most distinctive feature of these depictions is that

65. Magdalena Laptas (2004) A Proskynetarion from the Collection of the National Museum in Warsaw: A Preliminary Description, in: *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium*, Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden, August 27 - September 2, 2000, (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, vol. CXXXIII) eds. M. Immeerzeel J. Van der Vliet, Leuven, Paris, Dudley, MA 2004, (pp. 1349-1355), p. 1353.

they reflect a complex iconography. In the iconographic evaluation, it is seen that both of the proskynetarions include Old and New Testament subjects, as well as depictions of the holy places in Jerusalem and scenes from the life of Christ within the framework of the Easter cycle. The subjects in proskynetarion icons are composed in a systematic order.

The fact that they were painted on canvas cloth instead of wooden surfaces for easy portability is an indication that they were produced in accordance with changing conditions and for the target audience. Especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, proskynetarion icons, which were preferred by pilgrims returning from pilgrimage, indicate that they turned into a kind of production industry product in the conditions of that day.

The depiction of subjects within squares in the prosynetarion icons indicates influences from Russian icon art. In this context, the impact of the preferences of Russian pilgrims can also be observed in these icons.

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Tractus Errores Graecorum: Polemics of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople against the Greeks

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This paper examines the Latin text entitled Tractus Errores Graecorum: De Processione Spiritus Sancti. De Animabus Defunctorum. De Azymis Et Fermentato, De Obedientia Romanae Ecclesiae, most probably written and published in 1252 in Constantinople, attributed to the deacon Pantaleone. Attention will be specifically given to the argumentation utilized by Pantaleone to attack the theological and liturgical positions advocated for and defended by his Byzantine opponents. This paper is the first examination of the text by modern English-language scholarship. The analysis of the Tractus Errores Graecorum put forward in this paper provides crucial insights into the history and development of Latin polemics against the Byzantines during the 13th century in the context of the Latin Empire of Constantinople.

Introduction

The Latin Empire of Constantinople, which lasted from the fall of Constantinople to the forces of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 to the reconquest of Constantinople by the Nicene Empire in 1261, receives limited attention from both Byzantinists and Medievalists occupying a 'No Man's Land' between these two fields of academic scholarship. To my knowledge, little or no recent scholarship examines the polemical nature of the theological/ecclesiastical debates between the Latin and Byzantine Churches that took place in this period. This article does not seek to comment on the debates regarding the origins and outcome of the Fourth Crusade, neither does it seek to comment on the social and political affairs of Greece between 1204–1261. Rather the goal of this paper is to substantially engage with the polemical literature that was produced by ecclesiastics of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople against the theological positions held by their Byzantine contemporaries. The Latin text of the polemical work *Tractus Errores Graecorum: De Processione Spiritus Sancti. De Animabus Defunctorum. De Azymis Et Fermentato, De Obedientia Romanae Ecclesiae* will be closely examined in order to determine and discuss the forms argumentation that were utilised by the author of the *Tractus Errores Graecorum* against his Byzantine interlocuters. Importantly, this paper is the first time that the *Tractus Errores Graecorum* will be examined in modern English-language scholarship.

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Literature Review

The Fourth Crusade is an event that excites both Medievalists and Byzantinists alike. This has since resulted in the subsequent development of scholarly narratives in the 19th and 20th centuries including the suggestion that the Fourth Crusade was cunningly co-opted into the political machinations of the Doge of Venice Enrico Dandolo. It is asserted, that Dandolo had been seeking an opportunity to take revenge on the Byzantines since the massacre of Latins at Constantinople in 1182 during the reign of Andronicus I. The arrival of an army of Latin crusaders in Venice who were low on funds presented Dandolo with an irresistible opportunity.¹ This story of the deliberation diversion of the Fourth Crusade to attack Constantinople at the urging of the old scheming Doge has been challenged by academics, most notably Donald E. Queller who advanced a 'theory of accidents' in order to explain the events of leading up to the fall of Constantinople to the crusaders.² Queller's position has become the dominant opinion in modern scholarship. However, there are still those who still advocate for older theories although they are almost entirely limited to the realm of popular histories discussing the Fourth Crusade.³

Whilst this intense debate over the causes and the ultimate outcome of the Fourth Crusade is of interest for the purposes of this paper two other fields of study must be focused upon. These are the ecclesiastical history of the Φραγκοκρατία post 1204, particularly in regard to the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople and the examination of Medieval polemical/heresiological literature. Concerning the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, there exists a body of scholarship from the 20th century that examines the various historical, political and ecclesiastical developments of the Latin Patriarchate during the lifetime of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. In this area a scholar of particular note is the American academic Robert Lee Wolff (1915–1980) whose scholarship discussed various facets of the Latin Patriarchate as an ecclesiastical and political body within the Latin Empire.⁴ However, whilst there has been much scholarly work dealing with various aspects of the society and culture of Medieval Greece from

1. J. Godfrey, *1204: The Unholy Crusade*, pp. 56-66; E. Pears, *The Fall of Constantinople being the Story of the Fourth Crusade*, pp. 233-244.

2. D. E. Queller, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, pp. 1-205.

3. T. F. Madden, 'Outside and Inside the Fourth Crusade', pp. 734-738; A. Maddison, *Contours of the World Economy, Essays in Macro-Economic History*, p. 238; J. Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople*, pp. 102-126.

4. R. L. Wolff, 'Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261', pp. 225-303; R. L. Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans', pp. 213-237; R. L. Wolff, 'The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261: Social and Administrative Consequences of the Latin Conquest', pp. 33-60; R. L. Wolff, 'Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: The Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria', pp. 319-328.

1204–1261 as well as the role played by the Latin Church, to my knowledge following the 1970s there has been little to no scholarship dealing extensively with the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople itself as well as its relations with the Byzantine successor states and their ecclesiastics. A welcome exception to this is the work of Filip Van Tricht published in English in 2011 which discusses the interactions between the Latin Emperor and Patriarchate.⁵ However, broader Medieval scholarship focusing on the ecclesiastical interactions between the Latins and the Greeks, including Bernard Hamilton's *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, focuses almost exclusively on the Latin Church in the context of the Holy Land during the 12th century.⁶ General works produced in the domain of Byzantine studies provide better depth in regards to the topic of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople and its relations with the Greeks. For example, J. M. Hussey directly discusses the ecclesiastical relations between the Latins and the Byzantine successor states following the Latin conquest.⁷

The second field of scholarship that must be mentioned in that of Medieval polemical/heresiological literature. Regrettably this particular genre of literature has been subject to much scholarly neglect by recent scholarship. This has in part been driven by the collapse of the major scholarly narratives from the 20th century and the antipathy that many scholars exhibit towards polemical/heresiological literature as a historical source. Often works that are classified as polemical or heresiological in nature are seen by current scholars as unreliable due to the supposedly untrustworthy nature of this material presented in the text. This 'sceptical' perspective in the wider study of Medieval heresy has produced work such as that of Peter Biller who argues in his work on the Cathar heresy that the 'Cathars' as traditionally understood never existed but were instead local communities resisting the impositions of the Papacy. This point is put forward similarly in the popular sphere by Tom Holland.⁸ However, work such as that of Averil Cameron, who argues for the need to engage seriously with the content polemical/heresiological literature in order to provide a nuanced understanding of the forms typology of polemical and heresiological literature from the Medieval/Byzantine period.⁹ Recently a positive development is seen in the edited volume *Contra Latinos et Adversus Graecos* that was published in 2020. This volume covers a number of polemical texts surrounding the debates on the union of Rome and

5. F. V. Tricht, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium: The Empire of Constantinople (1204–1208)*, pp. 61-101.

6. C. MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance*, pp. 100–177; B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 1-40.

7. J. M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in Byzantium*, pp. 184-192.

8. T. Holland, *Dominion: The Making of the Western Mind*, pp. 240-243.

9. A. Cameron, 'How to read Heresiology', pp. 471-492.

the Greek churches, such as that of Eustratios of Nicaea.¹⁰ Returning to the specific context of the Latin Empire of Constantinople the first major study of the *Tractus* was produced in German by Andrea Riedl in 2020. However, it is apparent that outside the discussion of particular authors and texts, such as Nikolaos of Otranto and his writings, little to no in-depth study has been undertaken on the vast majority of the Latin and Greek polemical literature composed between 1204–1261.¹¹

Latin and Greek Polemics in the 12th and 13th Centuries: An Overview

The 12th and 13th centuries were a period of time that saw escalating conflict between the Latin and Greek churches. This ecclesiastical struggle (brought about by the expansion of Latin influence into the Eastern Mediterranean following the success of the First Crusade) necessitated the production of polemical texts on the part of both Latin and Greek. This was done by ecclesiastics on both sides in order to support their different understandings of various theological and liturgical topics, such as the inclusion of the *Filioque* or the usage leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist. An example of 12th-century Byzantine polemics against the Latins in the wake of the First Crusade can be seen in the anti-Latin tract written by John the Oxite (the Greek Patriarch of Antioch from 1089 till 1100).¹² The consternation produced by Greek attacks against Latin theological/liturgical positions during the 12th century can be seen in the exchange of letters between the Latin Patriarch of Antioch Aimery of Limoges (1140–1193) and was one of the foremost Latin anti-Byzantine controversialists of the 12th century Hugh Etherianus (1115–1182). In his reply to Hugh's letter Aimery relates that:

Quanto enim Graecis viciniore sumus, tanto sub vestrae protectionis elimata scientia reddimur securiores. Propterea libros de processione Spiritus sancti, quos tam Graece quam Latine scriptos misistis, cum magnam suscipimus cordis alacritate... Non solum autem vivitis vobis, sed nobis et universali Ecclesiae, proque tota Latinitate vos antemurale fortissimum opposuistis, unde non immerito, sicut diximus, nobis gaudendum est, utpote qui talem habemus mediatorem, cui nec docta Graecia resistere, nec fabricatis sophismatum objectionibus potest obviari.¹³

10. A. Barmin, 'The Refutation of Petrus Grossolanus: The Λόγοι ἀντιρρητικοί by Eustratios of Nicaea' in Bucossi A., and Calia A. eds. (2020), *Contra Latinos Et Adversus Graecos: The Separation Between Rome and Constantinople from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 199-216.

11. J. M. Hoeck and R. J. Loenertz eds., *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, Abt von Casole: Beiträge zur Geschichte der ost-westlichen Beziehungen unter Innozenz III. und Friedrich II*, pp. 50–70; A. Riedl, *Kirchenbild und Kircheneinheit: Der Dominikanische Tractatus Contra Graecos (1252) in Seinem Theologischen und Historischen Kontext*, pp. 1-238.

12. A. E. Sicienski, *Beards, Azymes, and Purgatory: The Other Issues That Divided East and West*, pp. 130-140.

13. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae Tomus CCII*, p. 231.

For the more we are brought closer to the Greeks, the more secure we are made under the protection of your perfect knowledge. On that account you dispatched books to us on the procession of the Holy Spirit, which were composed in both Greek and Latin, we received them with a great fervour of the heart... But you do not live for yourself alone, but for us and the Universal Church, and with the entirety of Latin Christendom you opposed their strongest defence, whence not undeservedly, as we have said, we rejoice, since we have so excellent a mediator, whom neither the learned Greeks can withstand, nor can he be met by constructed sophistic objections.

Following this epistolary exchange is the polemical work composed by Hugh Etherianus *De Haeresibus Graecorum* (*On the Heresies of the Greeks*) that is perhaps the Magnum Opus of Latin polemical works composed against the Byzantine church in the 12th century on the topic of the Filioque. At the very least Hugh Etherianus writings (some of which that have not all survived) had a significant impact on later Latin polemicists against the Byzantines. This influence is demonstrated by the *Tractus Errores Graecorum* where Pantaleone writes concerning the topic of rendering obedience to the Roman Pontiff: 'Quae ex dictis magistri Hugonis Ætheriani nuper extracta, huic operi duximus inserenda' (Since we have recently taken extracts from the sayings of Master Hugh Etherianus and inserted them into this work).¹⁴

The 13th century saw an uptake in the amount of polemical material produced in Latin and Greek. The drivers of this polemical interaction were two-fold. Firstly, rather than simply being on the fringes of the Byzantine Empire between the Byzantines and the forces of Islam the Latins had erected a Crusader State in Byzantium's heartland. As such, interactions between the Latin and Greek churches were unavoidable. The second driver was the attempts of the Papacy, culminating in the Second Council of Lyon (1274), to attempt to unify the Byzantine Church with Rome. Much of this polemical material from the 13th century between Greeks and Latins, such as the *Ερωτήματα του Φραρ Φραγκήσκου Προς τον Μέγαν Πήτορα* (*Questions of Brother Francis to the Great Orator*), remain under studied.

Who was Pantaleone the Deacon?

At the conclusion of the *Tractus Errores Graecorum* is added by Pantalenone the Deacon himself:

*Quod ego Pantaleon, cum essem ibi Constantinopoli, ubi hoc actum est, hoc idcirco memomrabile feci, quo legentibus pateat sernitatis institutio, et nemo audeat talia praesumere.*¹⁵

14. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, pp. 487-488.

15. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, p. 574.

That I Pantaleone, when I was in Constantinople, where this act was done. I made it memorable, for this reason, wherein I made a serene manner clear to the readers and let no one dare to presume otherwise.

This information leads to two possibilities as to the identity of Pantaleone. The first is based upon Jacob Basnagi's assertion in his foreword discussing the *Tractus Errores Graecorum Graecorum* found in volume 140 of *Patrologia Graeca* (PG) that this Pantaleon (Pantaleone) is considered to have been a deacon and chartophylax of the Church of Constantinople.¹⁶ Following the accord reached between the Venetians and non-Venetian Crusaders after the conquest of Constantinople the Venetians became one of the most dominant factions in the ecclesiastical politics within the city and throughout the Latin Empire. An example of the influence wielded by the Venetians in ecclesiastical affairs is seen in their attempts, despite action from Pope Innocent III, to prevent any but Venetian clerics from being elected to the position of Latin Patriarch of Constantinople.¹⁷ Due to the fact that the name Pantaleone is historically popular in the region of Venice where a church dedicated to St. Pantaleone existed at least from 1161 in Venice. Pantaleone can be confidently considered to be a Venetian ecclesiastic present in Constantinople in the last decades of the Latin Empire of Constantinople.¹⁸ Since Pantaleone is said to have held the position of deacon and chartophylax within the Church of Constantinople it is reasonable to assume that he was part of the cathedral chapter of Hagia Sophia. Furthermore, if the traditional dating for the composition of the *Tractus Errores Graecorum* (approximately in the year 1252) is accepted alongside the assumption that he served at Hagia Sophia, then Pantaleone would have been active in Constantinople at least during the Patriarchates of Nicholas of Castro Arquato (1234–1251) and Pantaleone Giustinian (1253–1286). There is also the prospect that Pantaleone may have held ecclesiastical office under preceding Latin Patriarchs, such as Simon of Tyre (1227–1234). The interpretation of Pantaleone as being a deacon and chartophylax at Hagia Sophia seems to be confirmed in the titles given by to Pantaleone in the text following the *Tractus*. This text, entitled *Narratio Miraculum Maximi Archangeli Michaelis* (*An Account of the Miracles of the Archangel Michael*), Pantaleone is designated, '*Diaconi et Chartophylacis Magnae Ecclesiae*', "A Deacon and Chartophylax of the Great Church (Hagia Sophia)". In support of this characterisation of Pantaleone, Basnagi cites the Nanius Codex in the footnotes to the edition of the *Narratio* produced in Migne's PG.¹⁹ Although, the possibility should be considered that rather than being attached directly to the cathedral chapter of Hagia Sophia Pantaleone may

16. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, pp. 485-486.

17. F. V. Tricht, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium: The Empire of Constantinople (1204–1208)*, pp. 219-222; R. L. Wolff, '*Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261*', pp. 234-244.

18. R. L. Wolff, '*Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261*', pp. 253-282.

19. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, pp. 573-574.

have acted as a deacon at one of the other Venetian churches operating in Constantinople prior to 1204, specifically the churches of St. Mark, St. Akindynos, St. Nicholas, and St. Mary.²⁰

However, a second interpretation to be considered is founded upon Pantalone's admission that he wrote his *Tractus*, "when...in Constantinople".²¹ Based on the fact that Latin rite churches operated by Venetian clergy throughout the Byzantine Empire where Venice possessed colonies, such as islands of Crete and Euboea, it could be argued that Pantaleone was not part of the Latin Patriarchate in Constantinople but was instead a deacon of a Venetian church outside of Constantinople who then travelled to the capital and whilst there he then wrote the *Tractus* in 1252. However, it is known that the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople was never able to fully exercise its ecclesiastical authority throughout the entirety of the Latin Empire often being undermined by the Papacy. An example of Papal interference in the ecclesial affairs of the Latin Empire is seen in the feud between the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople Gervais of Heracleia (1215–1219) and the Latin bishop of Thessalonica over Achaia. In this controversy Pope Honorius III supported the bishop of Thessalonica. Although, at other times the Papacy supported the rights of the Patriarch of Constantinople, such as during the Patriarchate of Matthew of Equilio (1221–1226).²² During the period that the Latin Patriarchs were present in Constantinople they were never able to establish supremacy over the Latin rite churches of the Italian colonies in the former Byzantine Empire. An example of this Italian independence from the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople is seen in the Venetian colonies of the *Stato da Màr*, such as Crete. The dioceses of these Venetian possessions were placed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Grado rather than the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople. This ecclesiastical oversight of Venetian colonies in the Eastern Mediterranean followed the agreement made between the Patriarch of Grado Benedict Falier (1201–1207) and the then newly appointed Latin Patriarch of Constantinople Thomas Morosini (1204–1211) in 1205.²³ Therefore, the question must be asked is why would Pantaleone, as a Venetian cleric supposedly outside of the purview of the Latin Patriarch, travel to Constantinople?

This understanding of Pantalone's concluding remark presenting himself as a Venetian colonial ecclesiastic also poses issues for interpreting the circumstantial and the direct evidence that appears to contradict this position. For example, one may accept, and attempt to argue for the position that Pantaleone was a Venetian deacon coming to Constantinople from some Venetian colony or outpost and perhaps even the city of Venice itself in the year 1252 or possibly earlier 1250/1. What then is one to do with the direct manuscript evidence that can be brought

20. R. Janin, 'Les sanctuaires des colonies latines à Constantinople', pp. 163-177.

21. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, p. 574.

22. R. L. Wolff, 'Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261'.

23. R. L. Wolff, 'Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261', pp. 234-236.

against this position? Additionally, I would argue that this interpretation runs against the natural reading of Pantaleone's statement:

*Quod ego Pantaleon, cum essem ibi Constantinopoli, ubi hoc actum est.*²⁴

That I Pantaleone, *when I was in Constantinople*, where this act was done.

Pantaleone's statement that he wrote the *Tractus* in Constantinople combined with his status as a deacon implies that he was part of the Venetian ecclesiastical establishment of Constantinople. Therefore, I believe we can conclude from the available evidence that Pantaleone was a Venetian deacon of the church of Hagia Sophia (or at least one of the Venetian churches in Constantinople). He also served as the chartophylax of the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople most likely discharging his duties under the Patriarchs Nicholas of Castro Arquato and Pantaleone Giustinian, although the probability that he served earlier Latin Patriarchs, such as Simon of Tyre, should not be discounted.

The Structure of the *Tractus Errores Graecorum*

Basnagi considers in his foreword that the *Tractus Errores Graecorum* is not a single unified text but rather can be divided into three separate 'sections' differentiated on the basis of the respective author/s of each part.²⁵ The first third of the text Basnagi identifies as being the product of the Dominican editor/s who are credited in the by-line of this edition of the text 'Editus Constantinopoli, in aedibus Fratrum Prædicatorum, anno Domini 1252', "Edited in Constantinople at the House of the Dominicans, in the year of the Lord 1252".²⁶ This authorial division is apparently confirmed by the testimony of the Dominican editor/s themselves within the *Tractus* itself when he/they state that:

*Haec autem scripta sunt anno Domini millesimo, ducentesimo quinquagesimo secundo in civitate Constantinopolis, a fratribus Prædicatoribus, ad ædificationem Ecclesiae, et profectum animarum, ad laudem et gloriam Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen.*²⁷

These things were written in the year of our Lord 1252 in the city of Constantinople, by the Brotherhood of Preachers (Dominicans), for the edification of the Church and the protection of Souls, to the praise and glory of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Amen.

24. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, p. 574.

25. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, pp. 485-486.

26. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, pp. 487-488.

27. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, p. 540.

However, it may be possible to interpret the statement made by the Dominican editor/s that “These things were written”, etc not as being an admission that wholly new material to the *Tractus Errores Graecorum* (as proposed by Basnagi) has been added, but rather as a declaration of the role of the editor/s in copying the text of the *Tractus*. The second partition of the *Tractus* is identified by Basnagi as material that is derived by the Dominican editor/s from the works of Hugh Etherianus.²⁸ Again this delineation is demonstrable in the text where the Dominican editor/s state:

*Quod licet jam quantor dictis articulis demonstretur, tamen adhuc in his, quae subjecta sunt ostenditur. Quae ex dictis magistri Hugonis Ætheriani nuper extracta, huic operi duximus inserenda.*²⁹

Although this has been already demonstrated by what has been considerably expressed in the above points, *nevertheless again here, are these subjects clarified. Since we have recently taken extracts from the sayings of Master Hugh Etherianus and inserted them into this work.*

The quotation from the *Tractus* (possibly an editorial note from the manuscript tradition that was then included in the main body of the printed edition?) confirm the presence of the second textual division as mentioned by Basnagi’s foreword. Interestingly, it also casts light onto the editorial history of the *Tactus* in the 13th century. Specifically, this passage indicates that at the time the Dominican editor/s in Constantinople were editing the text during the year of 1252 the exact composition of the *Tractus* was in considerable flux. As shown in the above quotation the Dominicans working on the text saw the need when undertaking the editing process to supplement what had already been written (either by themselves or Pantaleone) with quotations from Hugh Etherianus’ writings in order to further support the previous argumentation against the Greeks. In regard to the exact work of Hugh Etherianus’ that the Dominicans are referring to as the source for their “extracts from the sayings of Master Hugh Etherianus” the most likely candidate from Hugh Etherianus’ surviving works is the *De Haeresibus Graecorum*. The influence of Hugh Etherianus’ writings is confirmed in both direct and indirect citations and allusions included by the Dominican editor/s of the text. An example of the Dominican editor/s drawing upon the *De Haeresibus Graecorum* can be seen the reference made to Hugh Etherianus’ discussion of the First Council of Constantinople (381),

28. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Tomus CXL*, pp. 485-486.

29. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Tomus CXL*, p. 375.

Table 1. Comparison of *De Haeresibus Graecorum* with *Tractus Errores Graecorum*

| <i>De Haeresibus Graecorum</i> (1173) | <i>Tractus Errores Graecorum</i> (1252) |
|--|---|
| Is enim est, cui oves et agni commissi sunt, et idcirco non solum scripti recitator esse debet, virorum interpres illorum quæ ascripta non sunt: ut caput ovium Dei pastor, <i>quod sancta et universalis secunda synodo, his verbis sancivit: episcopus quidem Constantinopoleos habeto primatum honoris post Romæ episcopatum quod ista sit nova Roma.</i> ³⁰ | Vocat autem se οἰκουµενικὸν patriarcham, id est <i>orbicularem patriarcham</i> : et licet in quarta distinctione hujus operis, satis de eo disputatum sit, tamen adhuc, in detestationem et sugillationem hujus super nominis, pauca repetemus. <i>Canon iste de ambitione dictæ sedis editus fuit in secunda synodo, clam summo pontifice, ut magister Hugo Etherianus refert, vir utique sapiens, et peritus in utraque lingua.</i> ³¹ |
| For he is, to whom the sheep and the lambs have been committed, and for that reason he should not only be a reader of the Scriptures, but also an interpreter of those men who are not written about: as the head shepherd of the sheep of God, <i>that the holy and universal second council sanctioned by these words: That the bishop of Constantinople has the first rank of honour after the bishop of Rome since it is the New Rome.</i> | He calls himself an οἰκουµενικὸς Patriarch, that is a Universal Patriarch: and although in the fourth division of this work, enough has been debated about it, yet nevertheless, for the detestation and humiliation of this exalted name we repeat a few things. <i>This canon concerning the ambition of the mentioned See was published at the second council in secret from the Supreme Pontiff, as reports Master Hugh Etherianus, a wise man indeed and proficient in both languages.</i> |

The final division advocated by Basnagi is a short section of the text that retells the account of a Eucharistic miracle that is identified within the *Tractus* as taking place during last year of the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–1055) and in the Patriarchate of Michael Cerularius (1043–1059),

Tempore, quo victoriosissimus imperator Constantinus, cognomento Monomachus, imperii per spicaciter moderabatur, dignitatibus, erat quidam Michael Constantinopolitanae sedis patriarcha...Haec vero gesta sunt anno ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo quinquagesimo quino, indictione octava.³²

During the time that the most victorious Emperor Constantine, surnamed Monomachus, sharply governed the empire through his dignitaries, there was a certain Michael (Cerularius) as Patriarch of the See of Constantinople...These events took place in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1055 during the eighth indiction.

30. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae Tomus CCII*, p. 375.

31. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Tomus CXL*, p. 571.

32. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Tomus CXL*, pp. 572-574.

In his analysis Basnagi identifies this section as the only part of the text that may be genuinely considered as being authored by Pantaleone the Deacon rather than being the result of interpolations made by the Dominican editor/s working from the manuscript/s of Pantaleone's *Tractus* that they possessed in 13th-century Constantinople.³³ From his examination of the work Basnagi concludes that the text known as *Tractus Errores Graecorum: De Processione Spiritus Sancti. De Animabus Defunctorum. De Azymis Et Fermentato, De Obedientia Romanae Ecclesiae* is falsely attributed to Pantaleone the Deacon.³⁴

Basnagi's remarks concerning the *Tractus* thus may be summarised as follows: the *Tractus* is in the majority of the text was composed at the latest in 1252 by Dominican editor/s writing their own refutations of Greek theological positions. In order to strengthen their own writings, the Dominicans appealed to the authority of the writings of the theologian Hugh Etherianus, such as *De Haeresibus Graecorum* from the 12th century. These additions (whilst considerably extensive) built upon and heavily modified an already extant core text authored by Pantaleone the Deacon. This text existed in some form in the 13th century and at the very least contained the narrative of a Eucharistic miracle that took place during the reign of Constantine IX Monomachus in 1055. Further discussions of the manuscript tradition and the historical transmission of *Tractus Errores Graecorum* of Pantaleone the Deacon are outside the scope of this paper. However, based upon the preliminary observations made in this article it appears that further investigation of these two areas will produce significant scholarly results.

Polemical Argumentation against the Greeks in the *Tractus Errores Graecorum*

Four major topics of debate are addressed in the *Tractus*. These are: the question of the Filioque, disagreements over the Latin teaching concerning Limbo and Purgatory, the use of either leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist and issue of Greek churches submitting to the ecclesiastical authority of the Pope in Rome. The remainder of this article will examine the different forms of argumentation that are deployed within the *Tractus* in order to defend the theological positions taken by supporters of the Latin rite and to attack their Greek opponents.

33. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Tomus CXL*, pp. 485-486.

34. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Tomus CXL*, pp. 485-486.

De Processione Spiritus Sancti (On the Procession of the Holy Spirit)

The first error of the Greeks that the *Tractus* addresses is the Filioque,

*Quorum primus, quia ab ipsa divina majestate inchoans, ore polluto affirmat contra opinionem, imo fidem catholicam, tertiam personam in Trinitate, id est, Spiritum sanctum “a Filio minime procedere”, vel spirari, aut existentiam habere.*³⁵

The first of these, commencing with the divine majesty itself, is that they affirm with unclean mouths contrary to reason, nay the Catholic Faith, that the third person of the Trinity, this is Holy Spirit “does not proceed from the Son”, or by Spiration, nor does he have existence from the Son.

Table 2. *Polemics on the Procession of the Holy Spirit*

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|--|---|
| <p><i>Illos vero qui dicunt: Spiritus sanctus procedit quidem a Patre, sed non a Filio, vel aliter, et plus a Patre, quam a Filio: aut prus a Patre, quam a Filio, et similia, ratione fidei adversantia: et hoc asserendo credunt, prædicant et scribunt, sicut jam dudum defiaitum est a sanctis Patribus, tanquam hæreticos a catholica Ecclesia abjicimus, et vitamus, maledicimus et reprobamus.</i>³⁶</p> | <p>Indeed those who say: Certainly, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, but not from the Son, or in another way, more so from the Father than from the Son: or to a greater extent from the Father, than from the Son, and similar, in opposition to the doctrine of the faith: by asserting this they believe, preach, and write what has long since been rejected by the Holy Fathers. We condemn, shun, revile and renounce them as heretics from the Catholic Church.</p> |
| <p><i>Et constant similiter, in cunctis Scripturis authenticis, et receptis conciliis, hoc quod prædiximus, scilicet, quod Spiritus sanctus est essentialiter a Filio, et procedit ab eo, manifestius contineri. Quæ scripta ita recepta et approbata sunt per concilia generalia, ut qui eorum aliud contrarium sentit vel prædicat, ipso facto et jure sit excommunicatus.</i>³⁷</p> | <p>They agree likewise, upon all the authentic Scriptures and the received councils, this fact we proclaim clearly, that the Holy Spirit is essentially from the Son, and proceeds from Him, is to be avowedly maintained. These Scriptures were received and approved by the Ecumenical Councils, that whoever expresses or preaches anything contrary to them is to be automatically and rightly excommunicated.</p> |

As evident by the above quotations, the Dominican editor/s of the *Tractus* attacked their Greek adversaries on two fronts. Firstly, they appealed to the authority of the Church Fathers. The Dominicans focused not only those Church Fathers highly regarded in the West (such as Augustine and Gregory the Great) but also the Fathers that were particularly respected in the East (including John of Damascus and John Chrysostom). It is worth noting here that in the citations

35. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Tomus CXL*, p. 487.

36. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Tomus CXL*, p. 509.

37. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Tomus CXL*, p. 508.

from Patristic sources provided by the Dominicans of Constantinople significant attention is given to providing a response to the John of Damascus whose work was being used by the Greek opposition of the Dominicans to refute the Latin stance on the Filioque.³⁸ The second source of authority to which the Dominicans appealed to against the Greeks was the authority of ecclesiastical councils. This is seen in how the *Tractus* cites the First Council of Constantinople alongside a quotation from Pope Innocent III from the Fourth Lateran Council.³⁹

De Animabus Defunctorum (Concerning the Souls of the Dead)

The second error that the *Tractus* attributes to the Greeks concerns their rejection of the Latin theological speculations of Limbo and Purgatory,

*Secundus autem, secundum theologos, virtutem numero secundam, id est spem fidelium, virulento conamine interimere studens, asserit, "defunctorum animas nec Paradisi gaudiis perfrui, nec infernorum suppliciis, vel igne purgatorio", citra dem iudicii, aut ante latam sententiam extremam, iudiciis posse subjacere.*⁴⁰

The second, according to theologians, is the second virtue in number, which is the hope of the faithful, that by virulent effort they (the Greeks) aim to destroy. They assert 'the souls of the dead do not rejoice in the delights of Paradise, neither suffer the punishments of Hell, nor the fire in Purgatory', before they receive judgement, or prior to the enduring the Last Judgement, they are able to be subject to punishment.

It is demonstrable in literature from the 12th century, such as the exchange between Hugh Etherianus and Patriarch Aimery of Limoges that the debate concerning the theological reality of Purgatory and Limbo was a point of disagreement between Latin and Greek ecclesiastics.⁴¹ The text of the *Tractus* therefore provides further insights into how Latin ecclesiastics defended their stance regarding Limbo and Purgatory whilst in return attacking their Greek opponents. The Dominican editor/s in their elaborations on the defence of Limbo and Purgatory provided two main points in order to attack the objections of the Greeks.

38. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Tomus CXL*, pp. 506-508.

39. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Tomus CXL*, pp. 550-568.

40. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Tomus CXL*, p. 487.

41. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae Tomus CCII*, pp. 229-230.

Table 3. Polemics Concerning the Souls of the Dead

| | |
|--|--|
| <p><i>De tertio respondebit Athanasius vice nostra. In prædicto siquidem libro Quæstionem suarum, movetur iterum a quærente quæstio talis: Ubi, quæso, sunt, vel perveniunt pueri defuncti, vel in tormentis, vel in regno?...Et licet huic loco Pater sanctus nomen non imposuerit, sancti tamen Latini, ut Augustinus, Gregorius et cæteri, quippe qui eodem spiritu repleti fuerunt, determinantes de nomine loci, hunc locum sinum Abrahæ, sive limbum nominaverunt, in quem ante adventum Chriti sancti Patres descendebant.</i>⁴²</p> | <p>On the third point Athanasius will respond in our place. Accordingly in his aforementioned book <i>Question</i>, he is moved again by such an inquiry from the questioner: <i>Where, I pray, do the dead children arrive, either unto torments or to the kingdom?...Although, on this place the holy father did not impose a name, however Latin saints, including Augustine, Gregory, and others, since they had been filled with the same spirit, determined the name of this place, calling it the 'bosom of Abraham' or Limbo, into which the holy fathers descended before the coming of Christ.</i></p> |
| <p><i>De quarto loco, id est purgatorio, multa sanctorum Patrum testimonia reperimus. Et primo in Epistola ad Corinthios, ubi loquitur Apostolus... Sancta quoque Macrina, soror beati Basilii, cum esset liberalibus studiis imbuta et Spiritu sancto repleta, inter alia, quæ de sacris eruditionibus divinarum Scripturarum exposuit, de igne purgatorio talia testata est dicent...</i>⁴³</p> | <p>Concerning the fourth point, that is Purgatory, we discover many testimonies of the Holy Fathers. Firstly, in the Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Corinthians) wherein the Apostle says... Saint Macrina, the sister of the blessed Basil, when she was trained in the liberal studies and filled with the Holy Spirit, among the different things, which she expounded on from the sacred teachings of the divine Scriptures, they say that she testified regarding the fire of Purgatory...</p> |
| <p><i>Secundo respondemus, quod præpositio verbi hujus, per, sumiur aut causative, aut instrumentaliter. Quocunque istorum modorum sumatur, nusquam adamas salvatur secundum eos per ignem; quia non habet hoc ab igne...</i>⁴⁴</p> | <p>Secondly, we respond, that this word, <i>per</i>, placed in front (of igne) should be taken as either causative or instrumental. Whichever of these moods are taken according to them Adam is never saved through fire; because he does not have salvation by fire...</p> |

As with the defence of the Filioque the part of the *Tractus* defending the Latin concepts of Limbo and Purgatory are dependent upon the citation and exegesis of Patristic sources. The Dominican editor/s specifically cite Athanasius of Alexandria alongside Augustine and Gregory the Great in defence of the concept that the phrase 'bosom of Abraham' found in the Gospel of Luke 16:22 refers implicitly to Limbo.⁴⁵ This merging of the bosom of Abraham with Limbo accelerated in the literature of the Latin West during the 12th century however; there are indicators

42. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Tomus CXL*, p. 514.

43. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Tomus CXL*, pp. 514-515.

44. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Tomus CXL*, p. 517.

45. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Tomus CXL*, p. 514.

of this process going back to Augustine as acknowledged in the *Tractus* itself.⁴⁶ Following their polemical defence of Limbo, the Dominican editor/s turn to the subject of Purgatory. Regarding Purgatory the *Tractus* quotes the writings of Greek Fathers (including Basil the Great and John of Damascus) and refers to other figures such as Macrina, the sister of Basil the Great in support of Purgatory.⁴⁷ The second tactic taken by the Dominicans does not rely on explicit quotations from the Fathers but is instead an argument based on the interpretation of 1 Corinthians 3:11–15 and particularly the grammatical meaning of the preposition *per* in the Vulgate in 1 Corinthians 3:15. This pro-Purgatory exegesis of 1 Corinthians 3:15 provided by the Dominicans is in line with the Latin exegesis of 1 Corinthians 3:15 in the preceding centuries.⁴⁸

De Azymis et Fermentato (Respecting Unleavened and Leavened Bread)

The third error that the Greeks are chastised for concerns the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist.

*Tertius vero ipsam omnipotentis Dei potentiam fermenti termino volens coarctare, voce praedicat, non nisi in fermentati panis materia perfici posse mysterium sacramenti. His itaque fidei, et charitatis, speique virtutibus, a cordibus fidelium dicto studio et ordine deletis.*⁴⁹

The third indeed is that wishing to constrain the power of the Almighty God to the bounds of the leaven; they preach loudly, that the mystery of the sacrament is only perfected in the form of leavened bread. Therefore, with all faith, charity, hope and virtue I declare that they destroy zeal and order in the hearts of the faithful.

As with the dispute between Latin and Greeks, this polemical issue goes back to the time of the Great Schism between West and East. The Dominican editors utilise three main witnesses to substantiate that it is proper to use unleavened bread in the Eucharist:

46. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Tomus CXL*, p. 514; A. Goldhammer trans., *The Birth of Purgatory*, pp. 52-96.

47. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Tomus CXL*, pp. 514-516.

48. A. Goldhammer trans., *The Birth of Purgatory*, pp. 133-153.

49. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, pp. 487-488.

Table 4. Polemics Respecting Unleavened and Leavened Bread

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| <p><i>Ad primum igitur objectum respondemus sic: Quod fecit Dominus Pascha tempore et modo debito, aut non. Si dicant, non: contra Joannes Chrysostomus homilia octuagesima quarta super Matthaeum, ita dicit: "Non enim Christus transgreditur Pashcae tempus, sed Judaei, qui omnia praesumunt, Christum conculcant et leges; quia diligenter fervebant furore, et saepe conantes interficere, non valuerunt: tunc accipientes ipsum ex insperato, voluerunt etiam Pascha dimittere, pro homicida sua voluntate implenda. Propter quod congregati sunt omnes, etc."⁵⁰</i></p> | <p>Therefore, to the first objection we respond thus: the Lord appointed at Passover the due time and manner, or not. If they say no: contrary to John Chrysostom who in his eighty-fourth homily on Matthew, says thus: "For Christ did not transgress the time of the Passover, but the Jews, who presume on all things, the despise Christ and the Law; since they conscientiously burned with wrath, and often attempted to slay him, in this they had not prevailed. At that time they unexpectedly accepted him because they wished to dismiss the Passover in order to fulfil their murderous desires. For this reason they were all assembled, etc.</p> |
| <p><i>Ad secundum objectum de auctoritate de Joannis: Ipsi non introierunt, etc., dicimus, quod Pascha multipliciter accipiatur... Pascha igitur, in praemissa auctoritate, accipitur pro azymis: quo necessariario concesso, cessat adversariorum objectio.⁵¹</i></p> | <p>To the second objection concerning the authority of John: <i>They did not enter, etc.</i>, we say, that the Passover is to be received in many different forms... Therefore the Passover, in the aforementioned authority, should be understood as referring to unleavened bread. Where this necessary concession is made the reproach of adversaries ceases.</p> |
| <p><i>Ad tertiam, quod dicunt, quod ἄρτος supponitur pro fermentato, dicimus, quod multum discrepant a veritate: quia ἄρτος in sacra Scriptura non solum pro azymo, verum etiam pro quodlibet, pane sumitur, prout in sequentibus apparebit.⁵²</i></p> | <p>On the third point, since they say, that ἄρτος is supposed to be leavened bread, we say, that they are at a great variance from the truth. Since ἄρτος in the sacred Scripture does not refer to unleavened bread alone, but moreover is to be understood as any type of bread, as will become visible in the following.</p> |

As discussed previously regarding the Filioque as well as the proofs for the existence of Limbo and Purgatory the Dominican's argumentation fundamentally depends on the use of citations derived from the writings of Latin and Greek Church Fathers as well as to the interpretation of certain Biblical passages and appeals to the grammatical meaning of certain words. Concerning the argumentation for the usage of unleavened bread in the Eucharist the Dominican editor/s cite a number of Biblical verses, such as from the Gospel of John and the Acts of the

50. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, p. 519.

51. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, pp. 521-522

52. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, p. 522.

Apostles in order to condone the use of unleavened bread. As demonstrated above, the Patristic homilies of John Chrysostom on the Gospel of Matthew are also quoted alongside a number of other authoritative authors, including Theophylact of Ohrid (1050–1107), in support of the Latin rite's Eucharistic practice.⁵³ Finally, the Dominican editor/s debate the meaning of the word ἄρτος (meaning bread) claiming that ἄρτος refers to not only leavened bread but also unleavened bread.⁵⁴

De Obedientia Romanae Ecclesiae (On Obedience to the Church of Rome)

The last error of the Greeks that the authors of the *Tractus* attack is the refusal of the Byzantine Church to submit to the ecclesiastical authority of the Pope in Rome:

*Ultimo, in totius consummationem nequitiae, quartum eam (ad quam horum et similium errorum spectat correctio), id est, sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam, aggreditur; nec ei obediendum communiter asserendo praedicat, moribus affirmat, et factis dicit.*⁵⁵

Finally, in the full summing-up of wickedness, a fourth error (to which the correction of these and similar errors relate), that is, *they attack the holy Church of Rome, nor alas does they preach the maintaining of a common obedience, they attest to this by their character, and display it by their deeds.*

Regarding Pantaleone's argumentation for the supreme authority of the Pope over the whole of Christendom he puts forward the proposition that,

*Sciendum vero, quod probandam obedientiam et debitam reverentiam Ecclesiae Romanae oportet nos quaerere primo: "A quo habuit Ecclesia istam potestatem? Secundo, quando? tertio, an super omnes universaliter, as particulariter? Quantum ad primum, distingue: Quia aut habuit a Deo, mediante Petro, aut a principibus saecularibus; aut simul ab istis tribus; aut a conciliis generalibus: aut simul ab istis tribus; aut a nullo istorum: sed usurpato sibi honore utitur Ecclesi violenter et indigne.*⁵⁶

However, it is understandable, that in proving obedience to and due reverence for the Church of Rome it is necessary that we ask firstly: 'From where does the Church have this power? secondly, at what time? and thirdly, over all universally, or only a small part?' As to the first point: since the Church of Rome possesses it from God, through Peter, either from secular princes, or from these three together; or from the Ecumenical Councils: or from these three together or none of these. Yet the Pope makes use of the honour usurped by the Church of Rome violently and shamefully.

53. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, pp. 517-526.

54. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, pp. 522-524.

55. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, p. 488.

56. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, p. 526.

As evidenced by this above quotation, in order to attack the objections of their Greek interlocutors to the concept of Petrine supremacy the Dominicans appeal to three lines of argument. Specifically, that the supremacy of the Papacy is provable from the Scriptures alongside attestations from secular rulers and the canons and decrees of universally accepted Church councils.

Table 5. *Polemics on Obedience to the Church of Rome*

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| <p><i>Petrus autem habuit praerogativam dignitatis super apostolos, et plenitudinem potestatis super omnes homines. Quod probatur sic: In Evangelio Joannis, cum Dominus ter requisisset a Petro singulariter et specialiter, an ipsam diligeret, audivit: Pasce oves meas.</i>⁵⁷</p> | <p>Peter himself had the prerogative of rank superior to the other Apostles, and the fullness of authority over all men. This is proved thus: In the Gospel of John, when the Lord had asked of Peter three times singularly and specifically whether he loved him, he (Peter) heard: Feed my sheep.</p> |
| <p><i>Quem in favorem Ecclesiae ponendum decretum Constantini, quo post receptam gratiam in urbe Romana beato Petro et Papae successoribus condidit, et tam Latinis quam Graecis litteris cunctis fidelibus in aeterna memoria reliquit.</i>⁵⁸</p> | <p>The decree of Constantine which placed him in the favour of the Church, wherein after receiving grace he established in the city of Rome the blessed Peter and the Pope's successors, and he left behind letters in both Latin and Greek unto the eternal memory of all the faithful.</p> |
| <p><i>Qui legati auctoritatem summi pontificis functi, sic in concilio locuti sunt: 'A beatissimo et apostolico episcopo Romano, qui est caput omnium Ecclesiarum, mandata habemus, ut Dioscorus, patriarcha Alexandriae, in concilio non sedeat. Quod si sedeat expellatur.'</i>⁵⁹</p> | <p>The legates discharging the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, spoke thus unto the council: "From the blessed and apostolic bishop of Rome, who is the head of the Universal Church, we have commanded, that Dioscorus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, shall not sit in the council. If he is seated, he shall be expelled".</p> |

The Dominicans then provide these proofs that they rhetorically demanded in the *Tractus*. As with much of the material discussed above these evidences of the Dominicans fit within the established Medieval Latin traditions that were appealed to in the 11th and 12th centuries in order to buttress the authority of the Pope over the Universal Church. Appeals to the interpretation of Biblical passages such as John 21:15–19 as well as the usage of quotations from the Donation of Constantine and appeals to various Ecumenical Councils, such as Chalcedon, were part of a pre-established polemical repertoire that sought to demonstrate Papal supremacy over the entirety of Christendom.

57. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, p. 527.

58. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, p. 536.

59. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca Tomus CXL*, p. 531.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the conquest of Constantinople in 1204 by the Fourth Crusade and the subsequent rise and fall of the Latin Empire during the 13th century are areas of scholarly interest that do receive academic investigation. However, there is a great imbalance between these fields of research and others such as the study of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople and the heresiological/polemical literature produced in the 13th century. The text of the *Tractus Errores Graecorum: De Processione Spiritus Sancti. De Animabus Defunctorum. De Azymis Et Fermentato, De Obedientia Romanae Ecclesiae* discussed in this article is a demonstration of the polemical literature that was produced within and between Latin and Byzantine theologians and communities during this period. Regarding the argumentation utilised by the Dominican editor/s of the *Tractus* to attack their Greek opposition, little if any of the arguments that it presents can be said to be 'original' in nature. As demonstrated above the text's author/s produced a work that was in line with the common Latin defences of these theological positions in previous centuries. However, further study of this type of literature should be carried out as it will provide historians with a clearer picture of the developments in heresiological/polemical literature between Latins and Greeks in the 13th century.

Concerning the structure of text itself, the above analysis highlights how the Dominican editor/s took great liberty with the form of the *Tractus* by adding their own material alongside extracts from the work of Hugh Etherianus to the 'original' text that they had inherited from Pantaleone the Deacon. These liberties were so extensive that little of Pantaleone's original treatise can be said to have survived the editing process according to the analysis of the text by Jacob Basnagi in the 19th century. The exact extent to which the original text may have survived alongside further textual-critical questions, such as the textual transmission of the *Tractus* are areas requiring further research beyond the scope of this article. The discussion of Pantaleone the Deacon's origins provided in this article are only preliminary observations. In light of these remarks, it seems to me that a careful study of surviving evidence from the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople should be undertaken in order to attempt to further verify and clarify this article's comments regarding Pantaleone the Deacon. A text that may be fruitful in relation to investigating further the figure of Pantaleone the Deacon is the hagiography *Narratio Miraculum Maximi Archangeli Michaelis (An Account of the Miracles of the Archangel Michael)* that as previously mentioned is attributed to Pantaleone.

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On Interferences between the Pannonian-Finnish Corridor and the Silk Road

By Ștefan Starețu *

Connections between the Balkan-Serbian-Pannonian corridor and the Pannonian-Finnish corridor extending to the Silk Road are multiple and complex. Thus Stefan Vladislav, son of Stefan Dragutin (King of Serbia) is depicted holding an axe by Hieromonk Stefan, symbol of his Árpáadian ancestry, his Árpáadian position, related to his victorious ancestor at Kerlés. In Wallachia, the saint popularly known as Philothea is depicted with the axe of St. Ladislaus. St. Catherine, depicted next to a breaking wheel, symbol of gnosis, but also the instrument of her death, or the martyrs, depicted by the Cross, symbol of Christ's divinity, but analogously, way of our death and redemption, give us a glimpse of St. Philothea's axe double meaning. Catherine, in her lives in Greek and in her hymnography, is called Philothea, the one who loves God. St. Philothea of Argeș is depicted in her lay attire, and she is not a nun, and by tradition she lived in the 13th century. St. Philothea, the historical one, lived in the 4th century, and was a nun. It is clear that it is another character. Although Euthymius of Tarnovo wrote about the life of this holy nun, there is no evidence that her relics existed at Tarnovo. In correlation with Ladislaus cycle, archetype for that, the earliest representation of the concept of liberating the state from a false emperor or illegitimate conqueror, is in Constantine's cup (dated after 300 AD), where Constantine liberates Sofia as a state from the pagan Licinius. The model monarch of Moscow, the monarchical ancestor of the era when Moscow became a state, is the main character of Skazanie o Drakule voievode. He is Vlad the Impaler. The ultimate expression, on European level, of the imperial nature of the Nemanjić branch who inherited the Árpádians in Ungrovlachia. The branch that preserved the name of the Árpáadian imperial succession through the Nemanjić. Hungarian Vlach. And national consciousness. Dynasty symbolized by the axe of St. Ladislaus, which for this reason appears on Hungarian-Vlachian coins, including those of Mircea the Elder, next to the holy ancestor, as well as on the first coinage of Moscow, from the time of Ioan III. The presence of Ladislaus in that context on the Moscow coinage with Matthias Corvinus' weapons but the name of Ioan III and the name of Moscow in the legend, shows us a possible archaic alternative genealogy of the rulers of Moscow, visible in the systematic election of the Hungarian kings, including Matthias' in the Chronicle of Faces, whose death is depicted in detail there with Orthodox priests present and Serbian nobility next to him with the title of tsar. Roman and Vlahata is not only a text about Moldova, but also about the founding of Moscow, Caraș (the land of Criș), Maramureș and Moldova being landmarks of entrance to a north Pontic and north Caucasian corridor leading to Moscow. It is the mechanism of the Third Rome foundation, and the Romanovich family name, which later got linked to the Romanov dynasty, and archaically also added the history of the ancient Rurik family, also using that name, and the history of the Moldavian lords bearing these names and the city founded, confirms that yes, Moscow had become somewhat of a Hungarian-Wallachia.

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This ideology led to the adoption of the tree of Jesse in Moscow, but also to the somehow ethnic name of medieval Serbs, as rumâni, old Romans. The name game of Roma, Roman and Vlahata, and the ethnic name of the Serbs at St. Sava, rumâni, linked to the existence of a parallel medieval Hungarian legend about the eponymous heroes Hunor and Magor, which include, as in the case of the Romanovich, the names given at the time to the Hungarians (Hungarians and Magyars, respectively Romanians and Vlachs) shows us that the Hungarian-Wallachian ideology that inherited through Dragutin the Árpádians and the Nemanjić was also the state ideology of Moscow at the time. Basically these two chronicles, Hunor and Magor and Roman and Vlahata show us the history of the Jewish-Khazar world on the Moscow-Pannonia route. They came as Hunor and Magor, as Hungarian-Magyars, and returned as Serbs, as Roman and Vlahata, as Romanian-Wallachians. From Moscow to Pannonia-Ilyria and back again.

Introduction

The survival of the identity as *Maurovlahia-Maurovlahia* of Moldavia, a name used at the time mainly for the areas of Bosnia subject to Stefan Dragutin (King of Serbia between 1276-1282 and of North-Serbia between 1282 and 1316) and then for the state structure created by his matrilineal descendants therefrom (Kotromanich) can also be seen in the classical Kotromanich coat of arms of Bosnia, golden lilies on a blue background, at Dragomirna in Moldavia (Figure 1), coat of arms that updates the origin of these dynastic branches from Helen of Anjou, mother of Stefan Dragutin.



Figure 1. Coat of Arms with Golden Lilies on a Blue Background in the Scene of Herod asking for the Infants' Killing, from the Church of Dragomirna Monastery (Moldova, Romania)¹

1. *Frescele Mănăstirii Dragomirna/Frescoes of Dragomirna Monastery* (Holy Dragomirna Monastery, 2015), p. 218.

Over the years it is significant that St. Nicodemus was canonized in the era of great political interventions of Stephen the Great (Voivode of Moldavia between 1457 and 1504) in Wallachia (Hungarian Wallachia), an era of exploring the imperial potential of the great Moldavian, of kinship with the Wallachians, and involvement of the two Wallachian ladies at Putna Monastery. However, in order to develop it as a research direction, it is necessary to deepen the sources about the great saint of Gorj, whose spiritual children we all are. The canonization of a monk claimed to be a relative of Knez Lazarus at the time of bringing the great Serbian imperial embroideries to Putna, here is the lost background of what became the cult of St. Daniel the Hesychast.

Vladislav, son of Stefan Dragutin (King of Serbia) is depicted holding an axe by Hieromonk Stefan², symbol of his Árpáadian ancestry, his Árpáadian position, related to his victorious ancestor at Kerlés. In Wallachia, the saint popularly known as Philothea is depicted with the axe of St. Ladislaus. St. Catherine, depicted next to a breaking wheel, symbol of gnosis, but also the instrument of her death, or the martyrs, depicted by the Cross, symbol of Christ's divinity, but analogously, way of our death and redemption, give us a glimpse of St. Philothea's axe double meaning. Catherine, in her lives in Greek and in her hymnography, is called Philothea, the one who loves God. St. Philothea of Argeş is depicted in her lay attire, and she is not a nun, and by tradition she lived in the 13th century. St. Philothea, the historical one, lived in the 4th century, and was a nun. It is clear that it is another character. Although Euthymius of Tarnovo wrote about the life of this holy nun, there is no evidence that her relics existed at Tarnovo.

It seems to us that originally we had a Katalina (wife of Stefan Dragutin), of Árpáadian lineage, depicted with hatchet-axe, St. Ladislaus' weapon, the Árpáadian's symbol, also called Filothea because of the Filothea attribute of St. Catherine, old, and represented by virtue of the homage to her with her symbol, not the wheel, but the symbol of her lineage, the axe, which acquired the dual meaning of martyrdom weapons, not by death, but by her disinheritance from the throne precisely by the Catholic logic of the family that by the right of first birth conferred the Hungarian crown to her. Thus, symbolically yes, her father, in a demiurgic role, disinherited her through the possible use of Catholic mechanisms by the pope who excluded her son, Stefan Vladislav Dragutinovich, from Hungarian succession in favour of her younger sister's descendant, Charles Robert of Anjou. In Bărăția church of Câmpulung, in a commemoration list, as we know, Katalina is certainly called the wife of the Black Voivode, and in Arilje, she is represented with a halo. Probably, under the pressure of the militant Orthodoxy of the 15th century, Katalina kept the dynastic Árpáadian attribute, Ladislaus' axe,

2. *Hieromonk Stefan, Viața Prea Cuviosului Părintelui Nostru Nicodim Sântitul, Arhimandritul Lavrei din Sfânta Mănăstire Tismena/ Life of the Most Venerable Our Father Nicodemus the Holy, Archimandrite of the Holy Monastery of Tismena Lavra, Typography of Church Books, Bucharest, 1883.*

like her son Stefan Vladislav in the life of St. Nicodemus, turned into an iconographic attribute in the logic of the specific interpretation of her patroness by name, St. Catherine of Alexandria, and her relics were placed in Argeş, because it was through her that the Nemanjić, the Orthodox, the Basarabs, reached Argeş. In the church Sf. Nicolae Domnesc, the painter Pantelimon depicted the life of St. Philothea, her father in the likeness of a king, the Árpáadian King Stephen V, and the poor comforted in the likeness of Hungarian-Wallachian boyars. The poor were also called the Christians of Jerusalem, the servants of the Lord, the Ebionites, and the Serbian word seems to have had a similar meaning and origin as the word Islam. The poor comforted by the saint are the Hungarian-Wallachian nobles, who by this gift, her marriage to the Serbian king, gave them the right to confess Orthodoxy against the heresy that blocked the native right to the Hungarian throne of this branch after the death of Andrew III, a king whose

As already mentioned Katalina, the wife of Stefan Dragutin, is called the wife of the Black Voivode in the commemoration list of Bărăția church in Câmpulung. She is depicted in Arilje, without the dynastic weapon, together with her husband, in their edifice there, near a village called Negrişori. Likewise Saint Ladislav, in the Orthodox churches of Transylvania where he appears, does not show his weapon. But in Catholic context, in the Szekler narrative cycles, the weapon is not absent, similarly in the statuary representations.

The Cup of Constantine the Great and its Significance

In correlation with Ladislaus' cycle, an archetype for it, the earliest representation of the concept of liberating the state from a false emperor or illegitimate conqueror is found in Constantine's cup (dated after 300 AD) - see Figure 2, where Constantine (Roman emperor 306-337) liberated Sofia as a state from the pagan Licinius (Roman emperor 308-324). Both Constantine and Licinius appear in the Nemanjić genealogy. We see in the girl in the cycle Constantine's sister, wife of Licinius. Likewise in the cycle of Ladislaus, Ladislaus freed the girl (who, as we have seen, played the role of the state, of the Árpáadian monarchy and of Dragutin's Árpáadian wife Katalina, the rightful heir) from the usurper (the Angevin). The same here, Constantine, with the spear, replaced by an axe in Ladislaus, freed Rome, and consequently his sister from the pagan Licinius, sister mentioned in the parallel lives written by Danilo. Likewise Katalina, freed from the bondage of Árpáadian Catholicism, metaphorically the unjust father who wants to kill her, in the secular stance of her life where she appeared as Philothea, was liberated by Stefan Vladislav, heir of Ladislaus the Holy. And she gave posterity to the holy Nemanjić-Davidic genealogy. Just as Christ, who, resurrecting, fulfilled Sophia, His Mother, Mary, in the mystical wedding of the Trinitarian coronation, which confirms the dynastic meaning of the Eucharist. This is why the Constantinian cup mentioned changed colour once raised up into the light, to

red, proof of its Eucharistic use. The change of colour from green to red is profoundly Eucharistic because of the symbolism of Christ crucified in the serpent suspended by Moses on the pillar to which the people in the desert looked for healing, analogy found in many canonical and apocryphal Judeo-Christian texts. The green of the serpent pierced on the cross became the red of Christ's divine redemptive dynastic blood. The green-red chromaticism reappeared in Christianity in the time of the Order of the Dragon, when the green dragon was superimposed on red shields and the cross on the dragon's back was red, dragon heraldry reactivating the issue of Christ crucified as Moses' serpent. Thus, from green to red, icon of Eucharistic change, present in the fundamental battle for Constantine's triumph, we see the assimilation of the military and nuptial triumph allowing the perpetuation of Constantinian dynasty already symbolized in Davidic fashion with the sacrifice of perpetuation of the Christic dynasty on the great altar of the Temple, the Cross, on the Day of Atonement, the day when the king perpetuated his family tree, autocracy, Yahwistic church, orthodoxy.

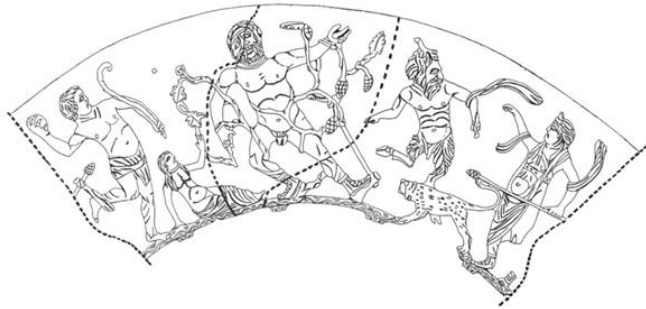


Figure 2. *The Cup that Belonged to Constantine the Great: Change of Colour under the Influence of Light and Representation of the Unfolded Circular Frieze*³

Thus, in the period of Nemanjić claim to the Árpáadian succession, we see how the basic theme of founding the Constantinian dynasty, the victory over the pagan Licinius, and the rescue of Constantine's sister, were applied to the

3. <https://pbs.twimg.com/media/EEK6oErWwAAmWYq.jpg>.

struggle of Dragutin and his wife, the daughter of a Catholic, axe-wielding Philothea, Katalina, in the Eurasian Cumanokhazar Hungarian corridor to the Árpáadian throne. We see how the typology of iconography, identical in Ladislaus' cycle, was adapted to Danilo's Nemanjić narrative of the Holy Dynasty with Eucharistic connotation. The narrative continued the theology of Constantine's cup mentioned. And which assimilated Constantine's and his sister's personal experience with the Sophianic liberation of Christ through Resurrection and sacrificial offering of the Eucharistic Body and Blood for resurrection and mystical engagement. The change of colour was also mentioned in the case of the string which turned red to signal the end of the sacrifice at the temple by Yom Kippur, which shows us the deep continuities of the ideology of the Holy Dynasty as Eucharistic theology and justifies the presence of Ladislaus' cycle in churches, liturgical context, where the Body and Blood are drunk, but also its presence with the Eucharistic weapon of the axe in the Szekler, Argeș or even Moscow iconography. In the cup, the genealogical triumph was assimilated to the Eucharistic triumph. The two are one. The blood of the Constantinian dynasty is the blood of the Eucharistic Christ, the blood in the cup. Theology was intact in the Nemanjić era, and that blood was what the Nemanjić offered to Hungary as genealogical triumph and eucharistic apotheosis in the prodragutinian cycle of Ladislaus (Figure 3) in liturgical spaces Szekler and of Hunedoara.



Figure 3. *Ladislaus and the Girl with Weapon in Fresco at Gelinta, Covasna, Romania (personal photo collection)*

In the Catholic milieu of Câmpulung, where there may have been an icon of St. Catherine of Alexandria with the wheel, Katalina's patroness in question, there

may have been a depiction of her in which the wheel is substituted with Ladislaus' axe/hatchet, who in the epic cycle anyway gave the weapon to the girl rescued from the hands of the barbarian to kill him. It is interesting that Bărăția in Câmpulung is dedicated to St. James, the very saint who led the Ebionite church in Jerusalem, the one called kinsman of the Lord, and in Câmpulung there was also a Catholic church dedicated to St. Catherine, on the site of which today stands the Negru Vodă Monastery, at the entrance to which there is still a stylized lion embedded in the wall, quite certainly from the old Árpádián church.

The association of the old foundation probably built by Katalina, bearing the name of her husband, the Black Voivode, after conversion to Orthodoxy, shows us that there may have been a prototypical portrait of Katalina, in the image of her patron Saint, with the wheel substituted for the axe, and this is probably where her relics were before they were taken to Argeș and venerated in a Nemanjić context, similar to the relics of Helen of Anjou or St. Anastasia, the wife of St. Simeon Nemanja, brought from Kraljevo to Studenica, under St. Sava. Nicholas Alexander could make the move on the occasion of his daughter's wedding to the son of Stefan Dušan. Personally, it seems to us that the description of the baptism of the Cnez Lazarus in the life of Paisius Janayevitch, written for Uros Nejak, son of Dušan, and son-in-law of Nicholas Alexander, suggested that Lazarus was the biological son of Uros Nejak and Anna Basarab, not just a baptismal godson. Thus Nicodemus of Tismana was supposed to be his brother, and thus through Anka, Nicodemus' ties to both Dušan and Nicholas Alexander could be explained.

Serbian Vlach Imprint in Moscow

The context of what has already been presented allows us to address another closely related issue, namely the spread of the Nemanjić ideology along the Pannonian-Finnish corridor to Moscow. It is most likely that Imperial Russia was not created by the Viking-Varangian population, but by a group of Vlachs and Magyars who migrated along the Cuman- Petchenegian Tatar corridor and founded Moscow as a trading point. Moscal, today's pejorative name for Russians, may come from Moscovlach, just as the name Morlachi, the pejorative name for Serbs that Croats give them, comes from Maurovlach, Dinaric Vlachs. The sounds compress, but the meaning remains the same. A medieval Putnean priest, Vartolomei Măzăreanu, translated Aesopia, a fable-like work from *Moscovian* into *Moldovan*, as he wrote in his foreword. Then the first rulers who appeared attested in Moscow had names different from the names of the Varangian-Rurikid rulers, names that contain forms of the particle Kaloian, Kalos, Ioan

Kalita⁴ and Ioan the Handsome, names specific to Serbovlachian dynasties such as the Asen, where we have Ioniță Kaloian, or the Basarabs where we have Radu the Handsome (also Kaloian). The first church built in Moscow is the one called *Vlahernaia*, in the first form dated around 1360, (Figure 4), and *Vlahernele*, with their feast, was the Vlach district of Constantinople, where people came to the feast day of the Vlachs of the city, with the emperor, on October 1, hence the idea with the miracle that took place there. The miracle reactualized Maria's patronage over Constantinople that the Latin-speaking population lost after the empire was taken over from the emperors of Vlach-Balkan origin (the Dinaric emperors, Diocletian, Constantine, Justinian until Phocas, the last Roman emperor) by the Greek emperors of Sicily-Tunisia (Heraclius), who monothelitised inaugurated themselves a Marian patronage, the idea that the city was saved from the Avars by the Mother of God through the prayers of Patriarch Sergius.



Figure 4. *Vlahernaia Church*⁵

This patriotic Vlach counter-narrative became the patron saint of the first church in Moscow, at a time when this patronage was not given. Then Moscow tsars issued coins with Serbian kings (King Vladislav/Ladislav) and quickly became related to Moldavian or Serbian rulers (Stephen the Great's daughter Helen became tsarina but was killed by the pro-Varangian party as a so-called Judaizer, and Ivan the Terrible's grandmother was Anna of the Jaksic family of

4. Timea Botor, *Hogyan oroklodott a nagyfejedelmi hatalom a 14-15. századi Moszkvai Ruszban*, in Tamas Krausz(Editor), *Apologia Historiographiae-Az orosz tortenelem evszazadai*, Martin Opitz Kiado, Budapest, 2023:93-104.

5. *Sviatini Pravoslavnoi Moskvi*, Ruskaia Pravoslavnaia Tserkov, Moskva, 1997: 69.

Nădlac-Serbian Banat, descended from Serbian despots). After this dynasty died out, instead of choosing a tsar from among the Varangian descendants of cnez Vladimir (princes Trubetskoi, Dolgoruki, Obolensky, Sheremetov, etc.), they chose Boris Godunov, of Hungarian-Wallachian origin as a tsar (later called Tatar by confusion) and then the Romanovs, who seem to be from Moldavia, their ancient genealogy being unclear. At the same time Moscow developed a narrative, the *Roman and Vlahata*⁶ narrative, which is about a mythological origin of a Romanian Serbo-Vlach population, which left the Balkans betrayed by both the papal Old Rome and the Greek New Rome, and founded first Moldova and then Moscow, the third Rome.

The model monarch of Moscow, the monarchical ancestor of the era when Moscow became a state, is the main character of *Skazania za Drakula Voivoda*. It is Vlad the Impaler (Voivode of Hungarian-Wallachia in 1448, 1456-1462 and 1476). The ultimate European expression of the imperial nature of the Nemanjić branch that inherited the Árpádians in Hungarian-Wallachia. The branch that preserved the name of this Árpáadian imperial succession through the Nemanjić. Hungarian-Vlach. And the national consciousness A dynasty symbolized by the axe of St. Ladislaus, which for this reason appeared on the Hungarian-Vlach coins, including those of Mircea the Elder (Voivode of Hungarian-Wallachia between 1386 and 1394-1395 and between 1397 and 1418), next to the holy ancestor, as well as on the first coins of Moscow, from the time of Ivan III, Grand Tsar-Cnez between 1462-1503 of all Russia (Figure 5 and 6).



Figure 5. Coins from the Time of Ioan III ⁷ with Coins from the Time of Matthias Corvinus as Models ⁸

6. P. P. Panaitescu, *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI, publicate de Ion Bogdan/Chronicles of the 16th century. XV-XVI, published by Ion Bogdan, revised and completed edition*, Editura Academiei R.P.R., Bucharest, 1959: 158-161.

7. Jannic Durand, Dorota Giovannoni, Ioanna Rapti, *Sainte Russie, L'art Russe des origines a Pierre le Grand*, Musee du Louvre Editions, Paris, 2010, p. 423.

8. Krisztina Bertok, Csaba Toth, *Sanctus Ladislaus in nummis*, Martin Opitz Kiado, Budapest, 2019, p. 93.



Figure 6. Coin from the Time of Matthias Corvinus, Model for Coins from the Time of Ivan III⁹

On the first Moscow coin we can see the coat of arms of Hungarian-Wallachia, the eagle raven, the Tur bird, the coat of arms of the Árpáadian succession of the Basarab Dragutin Nemanjić, and the holy ancestor Ladislaus, agglutinated as in *Roman and Vlahata*, to which reference has already been made, with Stefan Vladislav Basarab, son of Dragutin and Katalina¹⁰, the one with the axe, who became Philothea in the late hagiographies after peasant liberation. Yes, they are the ones who did not make a compromise. The ones who preserved the Templar's Nemanjić-Davidic Zionist succession of the Dragutins who defended the Templars from the Angevins. The second wave, the wave of the armistice, those who refused among the Serbovlachs to participate in the Dragutin project in Hungarian-Wallachia, deceived by the false nontemplar orthodoxy of the Ruthenians (9th century Byzantine), formed the structures of Maramureş-Bereg and Moldova. But dragged by the Galicians who gave up their independence becoming slaves of the Polish Angevin monarchy, they ended up in the area of Galicia and Volinia and Podolia, where they were lost to the Serbovlach nation as well as to the Magyar one, no longer being Hungarian Vlachs (a name which the Moldovans had already given up because of the nature of the armistice), but becoming the pagan serf population of the brilliant Judaism of the settlement perimeter of Catherine the Great's Russia. Lacking identity, traitor both to the Templar Zionist Nemanjić ideal and to the universal call of Orthodoxy in the Finno-Ugric north of Europe. But this Orthodoxy, keeping as *Gesta Hungarorum* shows links with Hungary, including that great Hungarian city mentioned in the gesta which may be Moscow, made the connection through Voloshanka, through Fyodor Kurytsin, with the Hungarian Vlachs, Nemanjić Árpádians, the only Árpádians who did not betray the Templar ideal, like the Angevins, who abandoned the ineptly created colonies in Angevin Poland and Galicia to create a

9. *Ibidem*.

10. Bagi Daniel, *Wittelsbach Otto „havasalfoldi” fogsaga a Stajer rimes kronikaban*, in Tamas Krausz(Editor), *Apologia Historiographiae-Az orosz tortenelem evszazadai*, Martin Opitz Kiado, Budapest, 2023:55-66.

non-people, an antination, and got to the Hungarian Vlach national identity. That is why the ancestral saints of the Hungarian Vlachs are represented in the Kremlin, the Holy Nemanjić, and Voloshanka, killed by the Kievan Mitropolis refugee party in Moscow for pragmatic reasons, was rehabilitated as a model of Russian monarchy by Ivan the Terrible. For Ivan was the one who killed the metropolitan of Kievan ideology who came around in Finno-Ugric, already Hungarian Vlach Moscow, the one who used the Hungarian Vlach cavalcade linked to the heroic cycle of Ladislaus the Holy, agglutinated with the heroic cycle of the Romanovs of *Roman and Vlahata*, Hungarian Vlachs, who became holy ancestors of the already Hungarian Vlach Moscow, Finno-Ugric in the past, in order to show the recapture of the old Hungarian-Khazar homeland of Kazan, reaching as far as Bugeac. Ivan, who had most of his blood from Banat, through his grandmother from Serbo-Vlach Banat. It reached the aesthetic forms of the Templarist style, the style inspired by the Dome of the Rock, *The Templum Domini*, which inspired Neagoe in Argeş, the style of a primary Hungarian-Khazar land Christianized in Nemanjić fashion. That is why *The Templum Domini* in Argeş and Moscow, in the art of the Silk Road established by the Templars to be the art of the temple, has within it the genealogy of the Davidic lineage, the dynasty of Christ, of Judea, of Israel, the Nemanjić. And Moscow's patron saint monarch is Ladislaus the Holy, joined as in *Roman and Vlahata* with Ladislaus Nemanjić son of Dragutin, and his coat of arms is the raven, the Hungarian-Khazar Tur bird, which has become, along with Ladislaus' axe, the symbol of the legitimate Árpáadian succession through the Nemanjić. The Angevins lost their Árpáadian territories, and Árpáadian descendants, gathered around Dragutin claim, established centres of the Empire in Hungarian Wallachia and Moscow. Which finally coalesced in the glorious age of Peter the Great, when the capital of Moscow moved to Finno-Ugric base areas of great monasteries founded by Serbian hermits, such as the Valaam of St. Antipas Albotă of Calapodeşti, descendant of the noble Nemanjić Hungarian Vlachs of Albotă family.

It was not by chance that the man who developed the theology of the Third Rome, Pachomii the Serb, was from Oradea, come at a time when Stefan Lazarević had influence in Oradea, the city where Ladislau's tomb and axe are. The king, who joining Stefan Vladislav Dragutinovich, appeared on a coin as founder of Moscow. Hero and patron saint of the Hungarian Vlach, Hungarian Serb Moscow. Pachomii the Serb may also be the author of the non-Moldovan Haţegan-Maramureş prototype of the *Roman and Vlahata* gesta, rewritten by Ovidiu Pecican¹¹. The meeting of the two traditions was achieved through the association between Cantemir and Peter the Great, which led to the foundation of modern Orthodoxy.

11. Ovidiu Pecican, *Românii: stigmat etnic, patrii imaginare. O căutare istorică.*/Romanians: ethnic stigma, imaginary homelands, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 2022.

One may wonder if the Third Rome implied in *Roman and Vlahata*, where there is talk of the two Romes, the two religious obedient of Serbia, and the two Constantinian imperial functions, and where the creation of the Hungarian Wallachian Romanovich appeared as the Third Rome, is not really Moscow, the end of the liberation of the ideology of Constantinian Zionism of which Daniel Boyarin¹², spoke, and which in the Middle Ages was the Nemanjić fashion that inherited the Árpádians. And if not on the Hungarian-Cuman corridor, royal descendants of the Dragutin Basarabs (with whom the Moscow cnezes share names like Milosh/Dmitry or Alexander or John) reached a part of Cumania that still depended on the Cumania of Hungary, of Elizabeth the Cuman, at Moscow the one mentioned in the *Gesta Hungarorum*. The coin, interpreted intertextually with *Roman and Vlahata*, on which the founding hero appears, the Hungarian king of the lineage of St. Sava, the one represented in the Kremlin as a dynastic saint ancestor of the necropolis of the Moscow tsars, where they became the ancestors of the Moscow sovereigns and founded the Muscovite nation, as early as the 15th century of the Hungarian Wallachian, Dragutin-Basarab ideology. And of Templar art. Of the Temple as it was conceived in the Crusades, in the shape and splendour of the *Silk Road*.

This explains why the *Nomocanon* of St. Sava, called in Moscow the *Pedalion*¹³, was the first constitutional law of Moscow, unknown in Kiev, it was adopted with a national sense, the law of another character mentioned in *Roman and Vlahata* the one who baptized the Hungarian king, which is notorious for the duet Cantemir-Peter the Great. Moscow's Serbo-Hungarian, Hungarin-Wallachin identity was established beyond doubt. In the constitution, it was somehow the Hungarian Serbia of the nomocanon, of Dragutin. That is why Ivan the Terrible ordered in the history of Moscow the history of Serbian holy kings and St. Sava.

Thus, the presence of the Ladislaus of *Roman and Vlahata* on the first coin of Moscow and St. Sava, also from *Roman and Vlahata*, in the codes of laws, shows that *Roman and Vlahata* could be adopted as the foundational gesta of Moscow (which has no other foundational text as the Third Rome) by the fact that it describes the beginning of the entry of the Serbovlachs, the Hungariaan Vlachs on the Cumano-Khazar road, which may have brought descendants of the Árpádian-Nemanjić fusion to Moscow and stimulated the theology of the Templar restoration of Khazaria (Kazan) to Christian Zionism, freed from Islamic drift by the cavalcade of the Serbo-Vlach king Ivan the Terrible.

Moscow lies where Ugra River flows in the Moskva River. Ugra, Ugrici, Ugro, Hungarian. The Magyars are also known as *ugrici/uglici* (hence the village of Uglea in Maramureş and St. Job Uglea, a Serbian saint from Transcarpathia).

12. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/rep.2004.85.1.21>.

13. Olga B. Strakhov, *The Byzantine Culture in Muscovite Rus': The Case of Evfimii Chudovskii (1620-1705)*, Bohlau Verlag, Koln, Weimar, Wien, 1998 and Korogodina, M. V., *Kormicie kingi XIV-Pervoi polovinci XVII Veka*, Tom 2, Moskava-Sankt Petersburg, 2017.

And the family of noble Moldovan Ulea (Sorin Ulea). Hence the Pro-Moscow identity of the Serbian-Wallachian of Transcarpathia as Magyar-Vlachs, still today in continuous struggle with the claims of Kiev.

The fact that the first known monk in the area of Kievan Russia is named Moses the Hungarian shows that the Judeo-Hungarians, the Judeokhazars of the Kazan corridor, brilliantly liberated by Ivan the Terrible in the 16th century, from the Islamic drift, as the first step in the Serbian Nemanjić-Zionist Christianization of the Silk Road, which would end in Chinese Orthodoxy, and that they were the first to attempt cohabitation with the recalcitrant Kievan population.

The fact that Hungarian Wallachian Moscow, in its heyday, somehow subordinated the cnez Vladimir of Kiev to the Saint with Hungarian Wallachian Judeo-Khazar name, Moses the Hungarian - see the 17th century icon-Figure 7 (at the very time when both Hungarian Wallachia and Moldova had rulers named Moses: Moses Vodă and Moses Movilă father of Peter Movilă), shows us the resistance of Serbian Hungarian Wallachia ideology to the pressures of Kiev-centred ideology. And that Moscow's origins are Hungarian Wallachian, and as such are entitled on the Serbo-Czarist Zionist Christian Templar line to tutelage over the Kiev area.



Figure 7. Icon of Moses the Hungarian, Vladimir and Arcadie – 17th Century, from Tver¹⁴

14. Tibor Imrenyi, *Moștenirea Ortodoxă a Ungariei/ Hungary's Orthodox Heritage*, Ecclesiast Publisher, Sibiu, 2012, p.225.

Saints George and Ephrem, brothers of Moses the Hungarian, played a key role in the Christianisation of Russia in the time of Boris and Gleb, who held them in high esteem. The letter of the Hungarian-Khaz community in Kiev¹⁵-Figure 8 (with the letters of the Szekler alphabet) to rabbis in the Middle East shows us the context of the origin of St. Moses the Hungarian's patronage and of his brothers George and Ephrem as true mentors linked to the Khazar corridor from Hungarian Wallachia to Moscow over minor local Kiev rulers.



Figure 8. Letter from the Hungarian-Czech community in Kiev¹⁶

It is important that the veneration of all three Hungarian saints who tutored the timid beginnings of Kiev was initiated by Ivan the Terrible, the one who unearthed their relics, who reaches the Finno-Ugric north of Moscow, and put them in the shrine¹⁷. We can see the correlation with the Hungarian Wallachian message in *Roman and Vlahata* and with the ideology of the Holy Dynasty which then appears to dominate the depictions of autocracy in Moscow iconography. The fact that Ivan baptized Tatars in the name and next to the relics of the Hungarian saints mentioned above shows us a certain Hungarian Wallachian identity of Moscow, anti-Kievan, and Nemanjić-Árpádian. Hence the existence of the translation of Serbian and Árpádian kings' lives of into Moscow Slavonic. The fact that Ivan III used the coat of arms of the Corvins as his personal coat of arms

15. Jannic Durand, Dorota Giovannoni, Ioanna Rapti, *op. cit.*, p.53.

16. *Ibidem*.

17. <https://hodigitria.wordpress.com/2009/08/18/szenteletu-magyar-efrem/>.

shows the connection with the Nemanjić-Basarab Dragutin roots of the Moscow emperors-tzars and elites there. The coin referred to above proves that practically the tsar's family coat of arms (Ivan III) was the same as the coat of arms of the Basarab Dragutins Hungarian Wallachian Corvins, and that Moscow's national identity was similar to that of a Hungary (or that Moscow belonged to Hungary's area of influence, as an extreme point in the Khazar corridor of the Hungarian Wallachian colonization started by Dragutin in Hungary and Cumania towards Khazaria (Kazan), a process celebrated by Ivan in the cavalcades he commanded.

Chronicle of Faces and its Importance

Important scenes in the great chronicle of Moscow (*Chronicle of Faces*) published by Ivan the Terrible are: the worship of St. Sava as a Templar at the Dome of the Rock, the baptism of the Templar king Andrew II next to the sketch depicting the Dome of the Rock (Figure 9), the genealogy of the Nemanjić saints and the whole cycle of the battle of Kossovopolije.

In Ivan the Terrible's chronicle, Hungary and England are said to have been Orthodox. It is wonderful that Ivan's plan to marry Elizabeth of England, which helped to restore Voloshanka, is connected to Voloshanka's Hungarian-Wallachian origin as the offspring of the Nemanjić Hungarian-Dragutin orthodoxy restoring the primordial Árpadian condition¹⁸. At a time when sacred texts were being translated into the living languages in Hungary and England, in Hungary with its centre in Hațeg, the mention in the chronicle of Ivan the Terrible that the Hungarians and the British fell into the Latin heresy because they did not have the scriptures in their own language shows solidarity with movements of Serbian origin in Hungary, but which ultimately failed in Calvinism. Ivan, as a genealogical descendant of a Hațeg Serb, invoked his Hungarian Wallachian ancestry to justify his marriage to Elizabeth Tudor, Queen of England, who was in process of reforming and translating sacred texts into English.

We are convinced that the presence of the scenes about Elena Voloshanka and Dmitry in the chronicle, as well as the allusions to the martyrdom of the two, juxtaposed with the astonishing importance of Dmitry's coronation, and the presentation of the Serbian anti-Ottoman crusade struggle of Stephen the Great, with direct references to scenes depicting the similar crusade struggle of St. Stefan Lazarevich¹⁹, have deep ideological purposes.

18. <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-02087325/document>.

19. <http://manasija.rs/istorija/despot-stefan/si> in special http://manasija.rs/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/LLDS_thumb_18.jpg http://manasija.rs/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/LLDS_thumb_14.jpg http://manasija.rs/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/LLDS_thumb_12.jpg http://manasija.fabricatidiem.rs/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/LLDS_thumb08.jpg http://manasija.rs/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/LLDS_thumb_04.jpg http://manasija.rs/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/LLDS_thumb_02.jpg http://manasija.fabricatidiem.rs/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/LLDS_thumb_02.jpg



Figure 9. St. Sava Giving Baptism to King Andrew II—sequence from the *Chronicle of the Faces under Ivan the Terrible*²⁰

Outstanding as genuine, the genealogical succession between Stephen the Great and Stefan Lazarevich and their belonging to the same Crusader type, whose paradigm is illustrated by the Kosovo cycle²¹, as well as the taking up of some motifs from the martyrdom of St. Stefan Decanski in the scenes of condemnation of Elena Voloshanka (the motif of tears, pseudo-doorburials and the death of the righteous Dmitry), we have a first proof of the structuring of the autocratic ideology of the Moldavian dynasty, carried out with the obvious aim of showing that the Russian tsar is its sole heir, but also with the aim of discreetly rehabilitating some so-called Judaizers.

The scenes concerning the history of Moldavia and the descendants of St. Stephen the Voivode in Russia are contained in volumes (Runivers numbering): 16, 17 and 18. In volume 16 there is the wedding of Ivan Ivanovich to Elena

tent/uploads/2015/03/LLDS_thumb_35.jpg http://manasija.rs/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/LLDS_thumb_31.jpg http://manasija.rs/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/LLDS_thumb_27.jpg.

20. Milenka Vitezovici, *Sveti Sava i riscom tzarkom letopis*, Beograd, 2012, p. 73.

21. https://issuu.com/ocigledno/docs/sveti_sava_u_ruskom_carskom_letopis.

Voloshanka, and the siege of the Moldavian Belgrade (Cetatea Albă/White Fortress), in which Stephen the Great is depicted with a sword (Figure 10), the scene being a parallel of the scenes related to Belgrade on the Danube, where Stefan Lazarevic had his capital, the ideological purpose being to give clues about the family and the status of the bride by integrating her into the succession of the Serbian dynasty (the siege scene appears a few pages after the wedding scene).



Figure 10. Representation of Stephen the Great in the Battle of the White Fortress (The First Time an Unknown Representation of Stephen the Great in Romanian Historiography)

In volume 17 we have a succession of scenes describing diplomatic relations and messages between Ivan and the Voivode Stephen, and a remarkable scene about the death of Matthias Corvinus (Figure 11), depicted as a Serbian tsar in the granatza.



Figure 11. *Death of Matthias Corvinus (a Hitherto Unknown Representation in Hungarian and Romanian Historiography)*

We also mention the representation of Dmitry's birth, the death of Ivan III (with the presence of a Jewish doctor, whose itinerary probably passed through Suceava), Stephen's battles with the Poles, among which the defence of Suceava stands out (Figure 12), images created according to the model of his life.



Figure 12. *The Defence of Suceava*

Stefan Lazarevich from the same chronicle, the coming of Ioan Tăutul, of Fedor, ruler of Hotin and of Paisius the Short, abbot of Putna Monastery, to the court of Moscow, an extensive cycle on the coronation of Dmitry, modelled on that of Stefan Dusan, and ending with the arrest of Elena Voloshanka (Figure 13-her tears parallel the tears of Milica in the Vidovdan cycle of the same chronicle, the only women shown weeping).



Figure 13. Arrest of Elena Volosanka

In volume 18 we have the death (passing) of Elena Voloshanka (Figure 14) and of Dmitry.



Figure 14. Elena Volohsanka's Passing

Parallels, despite the smaller scale of the Stephanian cycles, give us a glimpse of the compilers' intentions. It is a question of linking the Russian dynasty both to the Greek tradition, united with Rome, the crusade, and the Serbo-Hungarian, religiously anti-papal, conciliarist tradition, the expression of which were Stefan Lazarevich and Sigismund of Luxembourg, with his policies.

This tradition, more prestigious than the Greek one, unquestionably part of the Slavic world, provides access to a heritage of Jewish Christianity from Jerusalem. This symbolism, highlighted by the explicit mention of Elena's death on Saturday, by the chronicle's equivocal attitude towards the so-called Judaizers and by the rehabilitation of Dmitry (Figure 15), who appeared to be a good believer, dead in prison, a martyr's allusion that takes up the theme of St. Stefan Decanski's cycle, of his death in prison (put there following a noble revolt), remains to be developed.



Figure 15. The Rehabilitation of Dmitry Usin the Title Goodfaith Dmitry, as well as Elena Voloshanka's

The coronation ceremony included complex scenes of the anointment, the mystique of the crown, family unity, the symphony between the autocrat and the archbishops, being marked by authentic festivism and the experience of joy. It must be based on a description, even pictorial, of the contemporary coronation.

The battle scenes stand out by their parallelism with Lazarevich's battle scenes with the Turks, emphasizing the dynastic unity and the idea that a kind of Moldavian Serbia is the symbol par excellence of the battles with the Turks (it is regrettable that fragments of the chronicle are known to have been definitively lost, which may explain the absence of a Vlad Impaler cycle in this sense).

The birth scenes are stereotypical, as are the details of military equipment, fortifications, weapons (however, the cannons at the siege of Suceava are reminiscent of the scenes of the siege of Belgrade at Olomouk and the fresco of the siege of Tsarigrad at Moldovitsa).

In two scenes Stephen is called *Mușat* (Figure 16), which gives clues to the external image of his dynasty's name, as it had become established in the world of international diplomacy, without being attested in any internal act.



Figure 16. Mention of the Name *Mușat* for the Moldavian Dynasty of Stephen the Great

The boyars who appear, Ioan Pitar, presumably Ioan Tăutul but perhaps another (Oană Vornicul, etc.. with related anachronisms, because there must have been some great ruler sent there), and Fedor Isaiev (well documented, Hotin's ruler, Theodor, with a potential anachronism, but based on the diplomatic chancellery's records), and Paisie the Short, who leads a Wallachian (Moldavian) messenger group to which three Athonite abbots (easily identified as the abbots of Hilandar, Zograf and probably the protos) were also attached, are evidence of the fame of the Moldavian aristocracy in the diplomacy of the Orthodox world.

Potential sources for historical information, text and visual context are difficult to reconstruct, except for messenger groups that are clearly known from the foreign ministry's chancellery sources. The military scenes may have the same origin (Stephen's letters announcing his victories) or may have, as in the case of the similar ones from Lazarus and Lazarevich, sources in a Stephanian *CHRONICLE* sent to Moscow (such existed, evidence *Roman and Vlahata*, chronicle of arrival of ancestors of Moldavians from Dalmatian Serbia in Hungary, which ends exactly where the Putna chronicles begin, i.e. at Dragoș, surely there must have been the continuation), but possibly also sources in an illustrated chronicle (or a hagiographic cycle similar to those in Serbia about Serbian saints-kings). The illustration could also have been done ad hoc, without pictures, only from the intuitions of the compilers who had in front of them the diplomatic letters or the respective scenes (the reception of the messengers was clearly exclusively written, from the reports of the foreign ministry and the archive of diplomatic correspondence). The cycle of Dmitry's coronation suggests to me the existence of a contemporary illustration of it, although it may also be reconstructed (after *Roman and Vlahata*, in *Voskresenskaya*, there was a mention of the coronation with related details, which was probably the source). The birth and death scenes are recorded from the commemoration lists, obituaries at royal cathedrals, necropolises, palace archives, and probably imagined. It is clear that the people who compiled the Stephanian cycle of the *Chronicle of Faces* had similar scenes about Serbian holy kings as models, with the aim of associating this tradition of Orthodoxy with the universal legacy of Russian autocracy. The typology of Stephen as a brave warrior, as in Lazarevich, and of Elena as a martyr, as in Milița and Lazarus or Stefan Decanski, are the components of the presentation of Dmitry as an autocrat, with reflections in the coronation scenes of St. Stefan Prvovencani by St. Sava and of St. Stefan Decanski (the scenes of association to kingship have a precedent in the scene of association to kingship of St. Stefan Dusan by his father or St. Stefan Decanski²²), as well as the scenes of the coronation and the anointing²³. It is known that the ritual of coronation used in Dmitry was a Serbian one, probably originating in Moldavia. Elena Voloshanka's wedding to Ivan Ivanovich is depicted identically to the wedding of St. Stefan

22. <http://sloven.org.rs/srb/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/14-591x1024.png>.

23. <http://sloven.org.rs/srb/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/10.png>.

Milutin, after which St. Stefan Decanski was born. Both the son of the first royal couple, Dmitry, and the son of the second were martyrs.²⁴

Regarding the idea of illustration, there is a unique court scene in earlier Russian art. It is called *Palm Sunday Procession*²⁵. It was dated and attributed to the court of Elena Voloshanka. The Vidovdan crosses, similar to the crosses on the tombs in Tver (where she, as wife of Ivan Ivanovich, was a *chiajna*, being the last *chiajna* in the history of Tver, the title being later merged into the titles of the Moscow crown)²⁶, confirmed this attribution, but there are also opponents of the idea. However, the scene represents Elena Voloshanka among the characters there. Thus, such plays testify that at the court of Moscow, as well as at the court of Serbia, aulic scenes were performed in real time, and that this Serbian custom was directly linked to the person of Elena Voloshanka. Other such plays might have existed, and their echo may be in the representations of the *Chronicle of Faces*.

The Chronicle of Faces is the only chronicle of great importance in which Moldova is systematically called Wallachia. We believe that there are very deep meanings attached to this choice. As a first observation, the term appears in the messenger scenes, which as we have seen, are taken from foreign ministry's codicils. It is clear that in the messages, the name of the country was Moldova. However, Wallachia is listed. The Ruler of Moldavia becomes the Ruler of Wallachia. Serbia was periodically called Wallachia²⁷. Also, in the scenes at Vatican concerning the reception of the rose, the king of Wallachia and Bosnia appear²⁸, with possible reference to Stephen. We know that the south-Dunarean principality in Russia is called Muntenia and derived forms. Thus, the term Wallachia, although it can be interpreted as a Polish contamination, applied to such a precise level of the messages, makes us see another manifestation of the Serbian succession in Moldavia. By Wallachia we mean Serbia (in French reports of the battle of Kossovopolije, Serbia is repeatedly referred to as Wallachia). Correlated with the chronicle of Benjamin of Tudela, and the quotation that follows, the term has implications for the issue of the so-called Judaizing heresy, when describing inhabitants of Ravanica-Tudela's commentaries were translated in the Russian renaissance into Slavonic. Also, in the *Chronicle of Faces*, a speech of Ivan III takes up the theme of fall of Balkan tsars, with Serbia Bosnia being

24. <http://sloven.org.rs/srb/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/1-580x1024.png>.

25. Acte, 1897; Sepkina, 1954; Svirin, 1963; Maasova 1971; Sevcenco 1991; Sevcenco 1995 toți au fost pentru atribuirea atelierului Volosankai, dar Bojcov 2004 s-a exprimat împotriva.

26. <https://sites.google.com/site/lubitelkultury/Home-1/1-3>.

27. Thomas A. Emmert, *Serbian Golgotha: Kosovo, 1389*, East European Monographs/ Columbia University Press; 1st edition (April 1, 1990).

28. Liviu Pilat, *Observații în legătură cu roza din stema lui Ștefan cel Mare și contextul de după victoria de la Vaslui/ Observations about the rose in the coat of arms of Stephen the Great and the context after the victory at Vaslui*, Putna Chronicles, XIV, 2018, 2, p. 101–114.

mentioned one after the other, as in the known letter of Stephen, with the meaning royal office inheritance.

The text from Benjamin de Tudela : "in Sefer Masa'oth, at a distance of only one day from "Rabonica" (Ravennika). This (place) lies at the foot of the Vlach mountains (blkyh), in which mountains dwells a nation of people called Vlachs (blkzyn). They are swift like deer, coming from the mountains to plunder and plunder the land of Greece (Yavan). And no one can go up (to the mountain) to fight with them, and no king can reign over them, and they do not hold strongly to the religion of the Christians, and they call each other by Jewish names. And they are said to be Jews, and they call the Jews 'our brothers', and when they meet them, they rob them, but they do not kill them, as they kill the Greeks, and they accept no religion"²⁹, is suggestive in the context of the present study.

Voloshanka therefore means *Jewess*, just as the opponents of Sophia Palaiologina called her *the Greek*. The outcome of the situation contained in the *Chronicle of Faces* is not a happy one, although it is quite cleverly disguised. The Serbian dynastic tradition, with strong Judeo-Christian roots, of Elena was violently (though temporarily, Ivan the Terrible's representation of the Knez Lazarus on the same pole as Manuel Paleologus at Uspenia being evidence of a rehabilitation and equalisation but postfactum) overturned by the gentile Christian tradition, with its Pauline source, of Byzantium. It is clear what happened. Elena felt that she represented an original Christian tradition, the oldest Judeo-Christian one. But she found a court that did not share these values. The echo of this suffering can be seen in the parallel between the temporary blindness of St. Stephen Decanski by the Byzantines, and in the scene of St. Simeon's imprisonment by the Byzantines in the same chronicle, and Elena's tears. Judeo-Christians are blinded, persecuted and replaced by gentile Christians of the post-Pauline (and post-Marcionite) tradition. Byzantium had a huge international status, and Elena was marginalized at court, considered primitive with her society's ideas of a holy Davidic dynasty, the image of which is the tree of Jesse (interestingly also adopted by Ivan the Terrible massively in Russian painting). Thus, she became radicalized. She met other radicals, of similar or diverse origin to hers. The result was confusion, and the outbreak of gentile hatred of the chosen nation, here in its Serbo-Vlach Judeo-Christian expression.

29. Florin Curta, *Imaginea vlahilor la cronicarii cruciadei a IV-a. Până unde răzbate ecoul discuțiilor intelectuale de la Constantinopol?* / The image of the Vlachs in the chroniclers of the 4th Crusade. How far does the echo of the intellectual discussions in Constantinople reach?, *Arheologia Moldovei*, XXXVIII (2015), p. 25 – 68, p. 48.

Conclusions

As we said, the mention in the *Roman and Vlahata* gesta of Pope Formosus is intertextualizable with the history of the white *monk hat* of the hierarch of Moscow, which is said to be linked to this pope as well, and to the theology of the three Romes. We see how *Roman and Vlahata* thus constitutes an ethnogenetic text of Moscow. In this context, it is interesting that Ivan III wrote to the bishop of Roman at the time of Stephen the Great, Basil, about typiconal indications concerning the circumambulation of the church. The roman is mentioned in *Roman and Vlahata*, as the prototype of the third Rome, the symbol of the Serbovlach's passage into Hungary and the entrance of the Hungarian Wallachian into the Cumano-Khazar corridor leading to Moscow (the coat of arms of Roman is the same as the boar coat of arms of Serbia, which was the dominant coat of arms at the time). In the context of the emergence of this literature about a certain Hungarian Wallachian ethnogenesis of Moscow, we understand why the first truly imperial crowned ruler of Moscow was Elena Voloshanka's son, Dmitry, and why the text of the coronation ceremony from Hilandar, used by the last Serbian kings, clearly got there via Moldova. In addition, the fact that in the chronicle of Ivan the Terrible, the king of Hungary is called *tsar*, shows us that the procession towards empire implied by the Nemanjić succession of the Árpáadian was well understood, in contrast to the recession of international status which, with the exception of Sigismund, followed through the Angevins.

In the impressive text on the holy king Ladislaus written by Pachomius the Serbian, to which we have already referred, we are told that he fought with Batie the khan of the Tatars and pushed him to the east. The same names, Batie and Ladislaus, also appear in the *Life of St Nicodemus of Tismana*, where Ladislaus is identified with Stefan Vladislav Dragutinovich, and in *Roman and Vlahata*, where he is part of the holy dynasty of which St Sava is also a member. This shows us that Ladislaus on the coin issued in Moscow during the time of Ivan III is indeed Stefan Vladislav Dragutinovich, agglutinated with Ladislaus Árpád, and thus inheriting the hatchet so characteristic of him. In this context, the correlation of the presence of the name of Pope Formosus also in the *Life of Nicodemus* and in *Roman and Vlahata* and in the legend of the *white kamilavka*, which justifies the papal status of the Patriarch of Moscow (which inherits that archaic ancient papacy that still depended on Constantinian and pre-Constantinian Illyria) as well as the presence of the name of the city of Roman in the text, an allusion to the heraldry of the boar, state symbol of Serbia, leads us to identify the Third Rome, of Moscow, with the city founded at the end of the Serbovlachs' triumph once they entered, through Dragutin's Árpáadian pretension, the Khazar Cuman corridor linking the Pannonian steppes and the Lower Danube with Moscow via Cumainia, Khazaria. The ideology of the emphasis placed by Serbian ancestors on Ivan the Terrible at the time of the conquest of Kazan and the revival of the cult of ancient Hungarian saints also linked to the modest beginnings of Kiev at

that time correlated with the rehabilitation of Volochanka and the identification of Ivan the Terrible with the reform in the homelands of his female ancestors in Banat-Hațeg in order for him to present himself as an exponent of the reform in his attempt to marry Elizabeth of England, which led to the presentation of the information that both Hungary and Britain were originally Orthodox but fell into the papal heresy for not having their scriptures in the vernacular language, the primary thesis of the Reformation, confirms that at that time Moscow, as the Third Rome, was already somewhat similar to a Hungary of the Hungarian homelands. The presence of Ladislaus in this context on the Moscow coinage with the weapons of Matthias Corvinus and the name of Ivan III and the name of Moscow in the legend shows us a possible archaic alternative genealogy of the rulers of Moscow, visible in the systematic appointment of the Hungarian kings, including Matthias in the *Chronicle of Faces*, whose death is depicted in detail there with Orthodox priests and Serbian nobility next to him with the title of *tsar*. *Roman and Vlahata* is not only a text about Moldova, but also about the founding of Moscow, Caraș (the land of Criș), Maramureș and Moldova being landmarks of the entrance to a north Pontic and north Caucasian corridor that leads to Moscow. This is the mechanism of founding the Third Rome, and the title of the Romanovichs with this name, which later was linked to the Romanov dynasty, and archaically agglutinated the history of the ancient Rurikids, as they also used this name, with the history of the Moldovan rulers bearing these names and with the city founded, confirms that yes, Moscow had become somewhat of a Hungarian Wallachia. This ideology led to the adoption of the tree of Jesse in Moscow, but also to the ethnic name in a way of medieval Serbs, Rumâni, Old Romans. The onomastic interplay between the names Roma, Roman and Vlahata, and the ethnic name of the Serbs of St. Sava, Rumâni, linked to the existence of a parallel medieval Hungarian legend about the eponymous heroes *Hunor and Magor*, which, like the Romanovichs, includes the names given to the Hungarians (Hungarians and Magyars, Romanians and Vlachs) at the time, shows that the Hungarian Wallachian ideology inherited by Dragutin from the Árpádians and the Nemanjić was also the state ideology of Moscow at the time. Basically these two gestas, *Hunor and Magor* and *Roman and Vlahata* show us the history of the Judeo-Khazar world on the Moscow-Pannonia route. They came as *Hunor and Magor*, as Hungarian Magyars, and returned as Serbs, as *Roman and Vlahata*, as Romanian Vlachs. From Moscow to Pannonia-Ilyria and back. Because of the onomastic difference that appears between the rulers of Moscow and the rulers of the Kyivan principalities, it is clear that there is also an ethnic difference. The possibility that some Basarabs followed the Cuman corridor to the east is not excluded. A certain Dmitry, a prince of the Tatars, possibly Basarab, appears to have ruled not only in Orhei, where he would have been annihilated by Lațcu. He also appears further east. However those Tatar parts of Mircea the Elder's property we do not know how far they extended. But we do know that once someone entered this corridor, they could retreat vast distances to the east. Even

the Romanian migrations that gave rise to the Romanians of the Bug-Nipru-Volga area, organized under Theodor Ushakov in Novo and Slavo Serbia show us this phenomenon. Shepherds from Săcele arrived in the Caucasus. Who knows who is at the real origin of the Muscovites cnezes, especially since their Rurikid genealogy, recorded in late sources, forces the family trees by ancestry from the last sons over several generations. The assumption of the name Basarab by the Dragutin Nemanjić through women for the control of the Cuman Khazar corridor of Wallachia and the Lowland/ Țara de Jos-Bugeac-North Black Sea was re-enacted by Stephen the Great, who, devoting most of his reign to the annexation of this Cuman corridor, of which he kept Vrancea, still interested in Râmnicu Sărat to Olt, repeated what the Dragutin Nemanjić had done, namely the adoption of the name of ruler in this corridor, Basarab, by women. Stefan, as a Nemanjić, named his son destined to rule this corridor, Bogdan - Vlad (a corridor including Buzău where a Bogdan from Popești dominated political life until his neutralization by someone, Neagoe, who to neutralize him reiterated the use of the name Basarab on the female line). Bogdan Vlad illustrated how a Nemanjić without Cuman blood, Stephen the Great, on the corridor, to claim that he owned the Cuman-Magyar corridor, named his son after his wife, the mother of the son, who had rights to the corridor, Voichița. So did Stefan Vladislav and that is why he had his heir named Ioan Basarab. They were Nemanjić who claimed the same corridor, leading to Moscow. The world of these legends in which Ladislau Árpád is agglutinated with Ladislau Nemanjić Stefan Ladislau, the world of Hungarian Wallachian heroism, which includes legends of deer showing their antlers like a menorah (Judeo-Magyar), with apophatic apparitions in the Bugeac (reminds of the tomb of Radu of Afumați), with battles that explain the name of the first capital of Moldavia, Siret, when Ladislau said *so I like it*, referring to the advance along the Cuman corridor, or with the iconographic cycle with the girl and the Cuman and the axe, which appears persistently in the folklore of the Hungarian Csángós and in the art of the residences of the Moldavian rulers (as in Baia pe cahle - Figure 17) and other representations, and in saints' celebrations days in Moldavia (in the village of Vizantea Mănăstirească, the patron saint of the Hungarian church is Ladislaus, but the date of foundation of the Orthodox monastery is the feast day of St. Simeon Nemanjić, and the village is dedicated to the monastery, which was dedicated to Hilandar, keeping the old feast day of the Diocese of Cumania, the Holy Cross, wherefrom the name of the village comes, the Cross near Adjud, as Radu Rosetti said).



Figure 17. Terracotta from Baia (1477) with Sequence from the St. Ladislaus Cycle³⁰

It is not by chance that the centre of the cult of the Orthodox saints of Ladislaus is in Hațeg, the area to which Ivan the Terrible, nephew of Anna of the Jacshici family, also related.

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