Imagining Byzantium
Perceptions, Patterns, Problems

Alena Alshanskaya · Andreas Gietzen · Christina Hadjiafxenti (eds)

Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz
Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident

Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident Veröffentlichungen des Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz

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Preface

Interest in the reception of historical »entities« and the corresponding construction of historical narratives during the process of modern nation-building has increasingly moved to the centre of research. In the face of new nationalisms, primarily in Eastern and Southeastern Europe and the associated politically inspired historical (re)constructions, the reception of Byzantium requires professional historical expertise not only for the sake of disarming the politically committed interpretation of history but also of securing the scientific integrity of history, especially of such »small« historical disciplines as Byzantine studies. Dimiter Angelov grasped the essence of the problem when he said: »[…] Byzantinism, originating from the stereotyping and essentializing of a medieval civilization, was transformed into a popular construct used by journalists and politicians, and detached from the original historical reality of Byzantium«[1]. Our research group »The Legacies of Byzantium«, situated within the key subject area »Contact and Discourse within Christianity« of the Leibniz ScienceCampus Mainz »Byzantium between Orient and Occident«, aims to investigate the impact and reception of Byzantine history and culture in 19th and 20th century Europe and its appropriation and use as an argument.

Following the intentions outlined by leading researchers in this field[2], who have already devoted much important research to phenomena of reception in literature, architecture and art history, music, philosophy and historiographical studies after 1453 and into the early modern age, we intended to carry out much-needed research on the reception of Byzantium in Eastern and Southeastern Europe up to the 19th and 20th centuries. To that end, we invited researchers from different regions and different scientific disciplines to share their visions and expertise during our conference »Imagining Byzantium, perceptions, patterns, problems«, which was held in Mainz from 2 to 4 March 2017. By focusing on the fields of historiography, theology and cultural studies, and linking yet transcending their approaches to research, we developed a perspective able to shed some light on the reception and utilisation of Byzantium in a highly volatile and ever-changing age. This volume represents the outcome of this conference and hopes to contribute to international and interdisciplinary discourse about the topic as well as providing an impulse for further studies on the »burdensome intellectual heritage«[3] of Byzantinism. This conference would not have been possible without the financial support of the Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft (Southeast Europe Association, Munich) and organizational support of the Leibniz WissenschaftsCampus Mainz »Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident« (Byzantium between Orient and Occident) and the Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (Mainz).

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1 Angelov, Byzantinism 11.
2 Cf. Ignjatović, Byzantium's Apt Inheritors. – Kolovou, Byzanzrezeption in Europa. – Marciniak/Smythe, Reception. – Mishkova, Afterlife. – Nilsson/Stephenson, Wanted: Byzantium.
3 Angelov, Byzantinism 18.

Jan Kusber

Imagining Byzantium: An Introduction

Since the 19th century, the peoples of Eastern and Southeastern Europe have faced phases of intensive nation-building. These processes were manifold, and they remain to this day the key topic not only of the national historiographies, but of current discourses within the societies. With the breakdown of socialism and the process of European integration, the question of the place of the own state and nation among others is discussed as intensively now as it was in the 19th century. Throughout the two hundred years discussed in this volume, contexts and patterns varied, but, all in all, these discourses had as common subjects processes of exchange, transfer and entanglement with central and western Europe. If we look at the already-historical model of nation-building so brilliantly outlined by Miroslav Hroch some forty years ago[1], the 19th century was the period of nation-building brokers, who tried to foster their specific project of a nation, some of them building it incrementally under a weaker and weaker Ottoman rule.

The nation as an »imagined community« and the role of elites in putting the ideas of imagined communities forward is still important[2]. In the vivid revival of the public discussion what a nation, what the »own nation« might be, the perspective of Rogers Brubaker seems important from an analytical point of view[3]. By shifting the analytical focus from identity to identifications, from groups as entities to group-making projects, from shared culture to categorization, from substance to process, Brubaker shows that ethnicity, race, and nation are not things *in* the world but perspectives *on* the world.

In our volume, we cannot and will not discuss all the patterns and all the traces of historical reference used for identification through time. The focus here is the use of Byzantium (in a very broad sense) in modern Eastern and Southeastern Europe. That the educated elites had to come to terms with the Byzantine past was obvious in the case of the new states in Southeastern Europe, but also for the states that, though they belonged to the Orthodox world, had never been part of the Byzantine realm, like the mighty Russian Empire.

During the rise of national movements in Europe, everywhere debates arose about history and the respective historical narratives, which aimed at establishing new political

orders[4]. At the same time, the meaning and significance of the Byzantine millennium were discussed as a possible reference point for imagining and constructing new collective and national identities in Eastern and Southeastern Europe. As contributors to this collection, we try to examine the impact and reception of Byzantine history and culture in 19th- and 20th-century Europe and its use as an argument. We are not so much interested in reconstructing what traces we find of Byzantine tradition, but in how people used this imagined tradition in a historical moment for a certain purpose, be it manifest or hidden in the discourse. Thus, we will try to deconstruct the purposes of actors and their texts.

The focus lies on Eastern and Southeastern Europe as a political, cultural and religious bridge between Orient and Occident. Therefore, we would like to discuss how scientific, ecclesiastical, and political elites dealt with (pseudo-)Byzantine items, narratives, and paradigms in various contexts in order to strengthen their own identity, to stage or legitimize their power, as well as to justify certain political strategies. In the awareness that some excellent work has already been done in the field[5], our conference touched – however briefly – upon at least five broad topics, which I would like to introduce here:

Orthodoxy

Eastern Orthodoxy spread throughout the Roman and later Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empires and beyond, playing a prominent role in European, Near Eastern, Slavic, and some African cultures. During the centuries of Christian history, most major intellectual, cultural, and social developments in the Christian Church took place within the Byzantine Empire or in the sphere of its influence, where the Greek language was widely spoken and used for most theological writings[6].

As a result, the term »Greek Orthodox« was sometimes used to describe all of Eastern Orthodoxy in general, with the word »Greek« referring to the heritage of the Byzantine Empire. However, the appellation »Greek« was never in official use and was gradually abandoned by the non-Greek-speaking Eastern Orthodox churches[7]. In the period

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1 See his classic study: Hroch, Vorkämpfer.
2 Anderson, Communities.
3 Brubaker, Nationalism. – and even more importantly: Brubaker, Ethnizität 19-95.
4 Calic, Südosteuropa 277-289, 315-328.

5 The following case studies may serve as examples: Kolovou, Byzanzrezeption. – Marciniak / Smythe, Reception. – Hösch, Byzanz. – Makrides, Byzantium.
6 On the example of Russia: Scheliha, Russland. – Kraft, Moskaus Jahrhundert.
7 Nitsche, »Nicht an die Griechen«.

addressed in the volume, the Patriarch of Constantinople was not the leading figure of Orthodoxy. The Russian Orthodox Church, wealthy and influential politically, especially in the Slavic-speaking world, tried to give protection and money as well. But from the viewpoint of tradition and reference »Byzantium« held its importance[8]. The transfer, metamorphosis, and endurance of liturgy, theology, monasticism etc. and their reflection in (Church) historical writing will be a topic in some of the papers. The connection of nation-building and Orthodox faith will be touched on as well. The functionalizing of an imagined Byzantine-Orthodox religion for nation- and state-building[9] can still be seen today.

Statehood, autocracy and patterns of Rule

This field may be summed up with the catchword »Byzantinism« or »Byzantism«. I include the political system and culture of the Byzantine Empire, and its spiritual successors, in particular, the Christian Balkan states (Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia) and Orthodox countries in Eastern Europe (Georgia, Ukraine, Belarus, and most importantly Russia). The term »Byzantinism« itself was coined in the 19th century and often used in the West to characterize an autocratic and reactionary form of rule. This, for example, was the perception of the reign of Nicholas I in the West. Thus, even the Crimean War was interpreted as an Orthodox crusade to restore autocratic rule in Constantinople[10]. The term retains its primarily negative connotations. This narrative foregrounded the confusing complexities of the Empire's ministries and the elaborateness of its court ceremonies – an abundance of bureaucracy headed by an autocrat. Whereas contemporaries did not necessarily see autocracy as a system of rule in Byzantium or early modern Muscovy negatively[11], the perception changed with the Enlightenment and the modern age. Autocracy was seen as not bounded by law and thus as a petrified form of absolute, often tyrannical rule. Likewise, the »Byzantine system« also suggests a penchant for intrigue, plots and assassinations and an overall unstable political state of affairs[12]. The term has been criticized by modern scholars for being a generalization that is not very representative of the reality of the Byzantine aristocracy and bureaucracy, but as a pejorative term which still exists and continues to be applied to authoritarian and autocratic regimes in our contemporary world.

Architecture

Architecture was something like a narrative of the Byzantine legacy built in stone. In contrast to the fine arts architecture, mostly in the form of church buildings, was present in the everyday life of the ordinary people. Neo-Byzantine architecture as a variant of historicism spread all over Europe and North America[13]. The Neo-Byzantine as an architectural revival movement, most frequently seen in religious, institutional, and public buildings, was a variation of historicism. It emerged in the 1840s in Western Europe and peaked in the last quarter of the 19th century in the Russian Empire and throughout Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

Neo-Byzantine architecture incorporated elements of the Byzantine style associated with Eastern and Orthodox Christian architecture dating from the 5th to the 11th century, notably that of Constantinople and the Exarchate of Ravenna. In the Russian Empire, for example, the revivalist fashion emerged in the 1850s and became the officially endorsed and preferred architectural style for church construction during the reign of Alexander II (1855-1881). Alexander III changed this policy in favour of what he thought could be a revival of Russian medieval architecture, but Neo-Byzantine architecture flourished during his reign (1881-1894) and continued to be in fashion until the outbreak of World War I[14].

The historical context was the persistent expansion of Russia – either in the form of colonization of territories acquired earlier in the west and south (partitions of Poland-Lithuania, Novorossiya, the Crimea, the Caucasus) or in the form of increasing intervention in the Eastern Question. The aforementioned Nicholas I shared his predecessors' aspirations towards the Bosporus and the Dardanelles and engaged in a dispute with France over control of shrines in the Holy Land, which provoked the Crimean War[15]. The eastern policies of the state aroused public interest and sponsored academic studies in Byzantine history and culture. The expansion of Russian Orthodoxy into the new territories created new large-scale construction projects that needed to be integrated into local environments.

The Imperial Academy of Arts supported studies of the Orient and specifically Byzantium, although Nicholas himself despised Byzantine architecture. Ivan Strom, one of the architects of the cathedral of Saint Vladimir in Kiev, recalled Nicholas saying »I cannot stand this style, yet, unlike others, I allow

8 In the Russian Church, too, the idea of Orthodox unity remained strong, despite the contradictory Latin and Greek influences. See Scheliha, Russland 17.
9 Brubaker, Grounds 85-119.
10 Echoed in: Figes, Krimkrieg, especially 29-58.
11 Runciman, Byzantine Theocracy 1-2, 162-163. – Philipp, Gedankliche Begründung.

12 For instance in Leont'ev, Byzantinizm.
13 An excellent introduction is: Bullen, Byzantium.
14 Savel'jev, Vizantijskij.
15 Figes, Krimkrieg 28-39.

it«[16]. Imperial approval was made possible by the academic studies of the architecture of Kievan Rus in the 1830s-1840s, which, for the first time, attempted to reconstruct the original shape of Kievan cathedrals and established them as the missing link between Byzantium and the architecture of Veliky Novgorod[17].

The cathedral of Saint Vladimir became the first neo-Byzantine project approved by the Czar (1852). The Crimean War, lack of funds (the cathedral was financed through private donations), and severe engineering errors delayed its completion until the 1880s. The first Neo-Byzantine project to be completed appeared after the death of Nicholas. Prince Grigory Gagarin, who had served in Constantinople and the Caucasus as a diplomat, became the most influential supporter of the Byzantine style through his published studies of vernacular Caucasian and Greek heritage as well as through his services to Empress Maria Alexandrovna and Grand Duchess Maria Nikolayevna (Alexander II's sister and president of the Imperial Academy of Arts). As early as 1856, Empress Maria Alexandrovna expressed her desire to see new churches executed in Byzantine style[18]. The first of these churches was built between 1861 and 1866 on the Greek Square of Saint Petersburg. Architect Roman Kuzmin (1811-1867) loosely followed the canon of the Hagia Sophia. Another trend was launched by David Grimm's design of Saint Vladimir's church in Cherson (1858-1879). The church, built on the ruins of an ancient Greek cathedral, was sponsored by Alexander II.

Church construction and the economy in general rebounded in the reign of Alexander III (1881-1894). In thirteen and a half years, the Russian Orthodox church grew by more than 5000 places of worship; by 1894 there were 47 419 churches and chapels, including 695 major cathedrals. The turn in state preferences can be traced in two architectural contests (1881-1882) for the design of the Church of the Saviour on Blood in Saint Petersburg. Both contests were dominated by Neo-Byzantine designs, yet Alexander dismissed them all and eventually awarded the commission to Alfred Parland, setting the stylistic preference for the next decade[19]. Highly publicized features of the Saviour on Blood – a central tented roof, excessive ornaments in red brickwork and a clear reference to Moscow and Yaroslavl relics of the 17th century – were instantly copied in smaller church buildings. But these church relics relied on the imagination of Byzantine architecture as well[20].

Initially, Neo-Byzantine buildings were concentrated in Saint Petersburg and the Crimea, with two isolated projects launched in Kiev and Tbilisi. In the 1880s Byzantine designs became the preferred choice for Orthodox expansion on the frontiers of the Empire – Congress Poland, Lithuania, Bessarabia, Central Asia, the northern Caucasus, the Lower Volga, and the Cossack Hosts; in the 1890s, they spread from the Urals into Siberia along the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway. State-sponsored Neo-Byzantine churches were also built in Jerusalem, Harbin, Sofia, and on the French Riviera, making the style an architecture of Empire. Thus, one might discuss how Neo-Byzantine architecture as a »national« style in Southeastern Europe[21] related to the imperial aspirations Russia expressed in financing such churches in Bulgaria and elsewhere in Southeastern Europe.

The Neo-Byzantine era of architecture in Russia was brought to an abrupt end by the revolution of 1917 but found an unexpected afterlife in Yugoslavia through the personal support of King Alexander Karadjordjević. Alexander sponsored Byzantine church projects by émigré architects in Belgrade, Lazarevac, Požega, and other towns. Serbia and Montenegro became a new home to over a thousand construction workers and professionals from Russia. The Yugoslav government welcomed Russian immigration as a means quickly to replace professionals killed in World War I[22]. Aleksandar Ignjatović will discuss the Serbian case further in this volume. Nevertheless, the imagination of Byzantium in the architecture of Modern times is a topic worth examining further in an interdisciplinary approach.

Establishment of Byzantine Studies

Without the establishment of Byzantine Studies as a discipline in its own right, deriving from history and classical studies in a broad sense, we could not gain a broader knowledge of what was transferred, remembered, and used as arguments in debates from the 19th and 20th centuries up to the present. It helps to deconstruct myths, for example the amalgams used in contemporary public discourse. An example is the documentary »Lessons of Byzantium« shown on Russian TV in 2008. On the other hand, Byzantine Studies have profited from political trends[23]. The foundation of a specialized institute in Istanbul before World War I by the Russian Empire and the establishment of the discipline in the German *Kaiserreich* or the British Isles did not come by chance, but due to a political interest in the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire, and the Near East. Nor is it by chance that the history of Byzantine Studies as an integrative, multidisciplinary approach will be addressed as such in the volume presented here. It concerns not only the treatment of Byzantium in historiographies[24], but on interaction between the disciplines of history, philology, art, and architecture as well as – and sometimes foremost – archaeology on the one hand and public discourse on the other.

16 Quoted in Savel'jev, Vizantijskij 28.
17 Kiškinova, »Vizantijskoe vozroždenie«.
18 Savel'jev, Vizantijskij 31-33.
19 Kirikov/Christova, K istorii, especially 204-245.
20 Kiškinova, »Vizantijskoe vozroždenie« 180-207.

21 Pantelić, Nationalism.
22 See for the Serbian tradition some of the articles in: Merenik/Simić/Borozan, Imagining the past.
23 Jeffreys/Haldon/Cormack, Byzantine Studies.
24 Leveque, La vision.

Narratives

Narratives, constructed in fictional or non-fictional texts, are in fact the focus of this volume, as they feature in all the four fields briefly sketched above. Just two examples of works that influenced the perception of Byzantium in very different ways should be mentioned here.

The first example cannot be overestimated in its effects. It is, of course, Edward Gibbon's »The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire«[25]. On the base of vast variety of sources, Gibbon offered an explanation for the fall of the Roman Empire, a task made difficult by the nature of these sources, specifically their lack of comprehensiveness[26], though he was not the only historian to attempt it. According to Gibbon, the Roman Empire had succumbed to Barbarian invasions in large part due to the gradual loss of civic virtue among its citizens. They had become weak, outsourcing their duty to defend their Empire to Barbarian mercenaries, who then established themselves in such numbers that they were able to take over the Empire. Romans, he believed, had been unwilling to live a tougher, military lifestyle. In addition, Gibbon argued that Christianity had created a belief that a better life existed after death, fostering indifference to the present among Roman citizens, thus sapping their willingness to make sacrifices for a larger purpose. He also believed that Christianity's comparatively prominent pacifism tended to hamper the traditional Roman martial spirit. Finally, like other Enlightenment thinkers and British writers of the age steeped in institutional anti-Catholicism, Gibbon held in con-

tempt the Middle Ages as a priest-ridden, superstitious Dark Age. It was not until his own era, the »Age of Reason«, with its emphasis on rational thought, that human history could resume its progress. Even contemporaries criticized Gibbon for this narrative. But neither they nor historians and writers of the 19th and 20th centuries could free themselves from his perspectives. John Julius Norwich for example, despite the admiration for his furthering of historical methodology, considered Gibbon's hostility towards the Byzantine Empire flawed and blamed him for having founded negative stereotypes that had continued to plague the subject throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries[27]. However, the Russian historian George Ostrogorsky writes, »Gibbon and [Charles de] Lebeau were genuine historians — and Gibbon a very great one — and their works, in spite of factual inadequacy, rank high for their presentation of their material«[28].

Gibbon may stand for historiography in an age of beginning professionalization. He also had an impact on writers of fiction, a very challenging field of perceptions and images of Byzantium in popular culture.

I just want to mention very briefly Felix Dahn's »A Struggle for Rome (Ein Kampf um Rom)«, a historical novel that appeared in 1876[29]. Far less than its racist and *völkisch* connotations it was the negative characterization of Byzantium, which had a lasting impact on me, when I read this piece of fiction in my youth.

The novel is, when it comes to Byzantium, centred not so much around the Emperor Justinian I and his scheming wife Theodora than his marshals Belisarius and Narses, who

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25 Original edition: Gibbon, Decline and Fall. See also: Roberts, Edward Gibbon.
26 See: Nippel, Gibbon.
27 Norwich, Byzantium. Especially in the last volume of his trilogy on Byzantium, Norwich seeks to rectify the negative impressions perpetuated by Edward Gibbon.

28 Ostrogorsky, History 5.
29 This book has appeared in countless editions. I used: Dahn, Kampf um Rom.

shaped the campaigns for the reconquest of the Italian peninsula. Throughout the military campaigns, historian Procopius was present to record the progression. He is in fact the main source of the Gothic War (535-552) and thus the main source on which Felix Dahn based his novel. Procopius's Secret History is loosely interwoven as a subplot about Theodora scheming and cheating on Justinian I. Dahn thus offers a reading of Gibbon and Procopius as well[30]. He warns his readers of decadence and evokes the competition among young nations to overthrow the old empires, which was of interest not only to German readers of the time.

The popularity of the book lasted well into the 20th century. The film producer Arthur Brauner wanted to compete on the field of the sword-and-sandal genre by adapting it as »The Last Roman«. Although it was filmed with international stars and directed by Robert Siodmak, the movie, released in two parts in 1968 and 1969, was a flop at the box office and was received as a piece of trash popular culture. Nonetheless, the many of its viewers saw a depiction of Byzantium and its ruling elite – for example Orson Welles as Justinian – they would have expected. Thus, such a film, too, is part of imagining Byzantium.

The brief consideration of the reception of an imagined Byzantium may serve to illustrate what this book is about. We are not interested in whether the depiction of Byzantium is true, justified, or logical. We are interested how Byzantium is used to argue for one's goal. These goals of authors, artists or politicians are inscribed in their texts, works, and actions, although their intention is not always as obvious as in the case of Vladimir Putin on Mount Athos in the end of May 2016 (**fig. 1**)[31]. The reference to Byzantium is quite often made to underscore the might of one's own nation.

One might add other narratives that were influential and that will be addressed in the following papers[32]. All of the case studies presented here will inquire into the context and the potential contribution to a given elite project, be it nation-building or empire-building. Thus, the book is a contribution on the deconstruction of popular myths and their political appropriation – beyond »Imagining Byzantium«.

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30 See: Dahn, Prokopius.
31 Dowe, Putin.

32 For an excellent overview see: Marciniak, Mythos.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Imagining Byzantium: An Introduction

The article is brief consideration of the fields, where an imagined Byzantium as an political argument played a major or minor role as an politcal argument in Eastern and Southeastern Europe. It is a sketch on the interests why and how Byzantium was used to argue for one's goal. These goals were inscribed in texts, works of art, archtiecture and even music. The reference to Byzantium was quite often made to underscore the might of one's own (mostly young) nation. The article serves as an introduction to whole volume and pleas for the deconstruction of popular myths and their political appropriation – beyond »Imagining Byzantium«.

Imagining Byzantium: eine Einleitung

Der Artikel ist eine kurze Erörterung jener Felder, auf denen ein »imaginiertes Byzanz« als politisches Argument in Ost- und Südosteuropa genutzt wurde. Es ist eine Skizze über die Interessen, warum und wie dieses Byzanz in der Argumentation für eigene politische Ziele gebraucht wurde. Diese sind eingeschrieben in gebaute, gemalte und geschriebene Narrative, in denen die Referenz auf Byzanz vor allem im 19. Jahrhundert, aber auch bis in unsere Gegenwart benutzt wurde, um Macht und Größe der (oft jungen) Nation zu unterstreichen. Zugleich dient der Artikel als Einleitung für den gesamten Band, der in Fallbeispielen eben jene Zusammenhänge vertiefen wird.

Günter Prinzing

Byzantium, Medieval Russia and the So-called Family of Kings. From George Ostrogorsky to Franz Dölger's Construct and its Critics[*]

On the origins of Dölger's construct

It was in 1940, during World War II, that the Byzantinist George Ostrogorsky (1902-1976)[1] first published his famous handbook »Die Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates«, which was, especially in its revised editions, to serve historians as *the* standard reference book for Byzantine history for the next 50 years or more[2]. Although outdated in some respects, it nevertheless remains an outstanding handbook[3].

Turning to our topic we read the following lines in the handbook's section I.1 about »The Christianised Imperium Romanum«:

»As heir of the Roman *imperium* Byzantium aspired to be the sole Empire and claimed control of all lands which had originally belonged to the Roman *orbis* and now formed part of the Christian world (*oikoumenē*). Hard reality thrust this claim further and further into the background, but the states which grew up within the Christian oecumenical jurisdiction on former Roman territory side by side with the Byzantine Empire were not regarded as being its equals. A complicated hierarchy of states developed and at its apex was the ruler of Byzantium as Roman Emperor and head of Christendom«[4].

From the handbook's second edition onwards, in the corresponding footnote, Ostrogorsky refers not only to his own article, »Die byzantinische Staatenhierarchie« (published in Prague in 1936)[5], but also to the article »Die Familie der Könige im Mittelalter« published by his German colleague Franz Dölger (1891-1968) in 1940[6] and thus in the very same year that Ostrogorsky's handbook appeared. There is no reason to doubt that Ostrogorsky would also have liked already to mention Dölger's article together with his own in the first edition, but obviously this was nearly as impossible then as it would be nowadays. As we shall see, it is important to bear in mind the sequence of both articles as well as their correlation in substance.

Turning to the key phrase »family of kings« of the present paper, it should be noted that it refers not only to Dölger's article from 1940 (and indirectly to three other articles by him of thematically similar or related content, a further article by his former student Otto Treitinger, who went missing in World War II, and an influential article by the art historian André Grabar)[7], but also to an article by Wolfram Brandes, published in 2013, which heavily criticized Dölger's construct[8]. Although I will go into more detail later on the (as it were) middle Byzantine section of Brandes' article, I may already here permit myself briefly to reflect on the article's final part, in which Brandes tries to prove that Dölger was so impressed by Hitler's concept of political rule in Southeastern Europe (and world dominion) that it was this which motivated him to develop his construct. In other words, according to Brandes' assumptions, Hitler's conception of political dominance formed the ideological background of Dölger's article[9].

1 See Ferluga, Ostrogorsky. – Hunger, Anzeiger. – Ferjančić, Ostrogorski. – Radić, Ostrogorski. – Maksimović, Ostrogorsky. – Korczak, Ostrogorski. – Karpov, Ostrogorskij.
2 Ostrogorsky, Geschichte. – Ostrogorsky, History.
3 See Cameron, Byzantine 40: »Many shorter histories of Byzantium have been published in recent years, but none has so far achieved the central position held by that of Ostrogorsky, nor do the current spate of handbooks and companions generally offer a comprehensive alternative analysis«.
4 Ostrogorsky, History 26. Cf. Ostrogorsky, Geschichte [1940] 17 (with n. 1); Geschichte (2nd and 3rd Edition) 23 with n. 1.
5 Ostrogorsky, Staatenhierarchie. – Ostrogorsky, Sistem (Serbian translation). – See also below n. 13.
6 Dölger, Familie. – On Dölger (not to be confused with the scholar Franz-Joseph Dölger) see Hose, Dölger. – Brandes, Familie 262-263. 275-279. – Müller, Athos im Nationalsozialismus 345-346. 368 and passim. – Prostko-Prostyński, Dölger. – Hausmann, Geisteswissenschaften 732. 740 f.
7 Dölger, Familie der Fürsten. – Dölger, Bulgarenherrscher (thematically related). – Dölger, Brüderlichkeit. – Treitinger, Staatsgedanke. – Grabar, Family.
8 Brandes, Familie.
9 See ibidem 261. 275. 277-279, particularly 278: »1939/1940 entwarf Dölger, so möchte man vermuten, ein Konzept für eine deutsche Suprematie auf dem Balkan – mit Adolf Hitler als ›Vater‹, befreundete Regime (Horty in Ungarn, Antonescu in Rumänien usw.) als ›Brüder‹ und dann die übrigen Nationen in untergeordneter Position (nicht zuletzt Griechenland, Serbien oder Albanien). […]. Da Franz Dölger in seinem Aufsatz über die ›Familie der Könige‹ an keiner Stelle *expressis verbis* auf zeitgenössische Vorgänge oder auf die NS-Ideologie eingeht oder auch nur anspielt, macht der Text einen objektiven Eindruck«. On the Athos expedition which took place in 1941, cf. now with a view to Brandes' remarks the exhaustive, excellent article Müller, Athos im Nationalsozialismus, who summarizes Dölger's role (368) thus: »[…] der Expeditionsleiter selber ›verfolgte‹ explizit wissenschaftliche Interessen. Allerdings hat er sich in seinen Publikationen nationalsozialistischen Intentionen aus wissenschaftlichen Gründen teilweise auf fatale Weise angenähert«.

Though at first glance this seems to be a convincing thesis[10], one should proceed with caution and not accept it hastily, without any reservation. For, in my opinion, it is much more likely that Dölger's construct was notably influenced by Ostrogorsky's article from 1936 (see also below): The latter had apparently inspired Dölger's article, a fact, completely overlooked by Brandes, although he does once quote Ostrogorsky's article[11].

Hence, one could regard Dölger's article, as it were, as a response to Ostrogorsky's article all the more as it must have been conceived c. 1938 considering its publication in 1940[12].

From this point of view, and bearing in mind the fact that Ostrogorsky never expressed any serious criticism of Dölger's construct before or after 1945[13], we may realize that things seem to be much more complicated. This is all the more true considering that Ostrogorsky, who was an Orthodox Christian born in Russia (Saint Petersburg), became in 1933, after the Nazis came to power, a victim of their discriminatory and racist legislation: At once the administration removed him from his university post on the basis of the so-called Aryan section (§ 3) of the »Statute for the Restoration of the Civil Service«[14]. Thus he was forced to leave Breslau (today's Wrocław), where he had taught as a *Privatdozent* since his habilitation there in 1928, for Prague and Belgrade[15]. Against this background, it seems appropriate, and even necessary, to revisit Dölger's construct and his argument for it, in this case with special regard to the inclusion of medieval Russia within it.

Dölger's construct

According to Dölger, the »family of kings« was an ideological construct (»Gedankenkomplex«), which proves that in the Middle Ages »not only the concept of an almost mystical relationship between all ruling sovereigns existed, but that this [the mystical relationship, G. P.] was also understood as a political ›*institution*‹, to which in certain circumstances […] legal consequences were attached«[16]. Dölger emphasized »that the official designation of the degree of kinship to the Byzantine emperor« was not simply a »metaphor, but a *title* to be taken seriously, and […] often assumed the role of a weighty *legal* title«[17]. Dölger therefore intended to explore »from what conceptual sphere this strange arrangement of a many-membered artificial royal family« had arisen »for Byzantium, which played a leading role in the construct's development and dissemination«[18]. Yet in trying to find a solution to this question he realized that »due to the lack of theoretical explanations of the composition of the *family of kings*« one was relied almost entirely on studying »the formulaic use of titles of kinship in letters written by the sovereigns«[19] or a suitable Byzantine source, from which the necessary information about the use of titles of kinship in accordance with the rules of protocol for correspondence with foreign rulers could be ascertained.

10 See Rapp, Brother-Making 214: »[…] Brandes has convincingly argued that Dölger's concept of the Familie der Könige was ultimately inspired by his vision for a new, hierarchical world order with Germany at its center«.
11 Brandes, Familie 263 n. 14.
12 See Dölger, Familie 36 n. 2, where he refers to Ostrogorsky as follows: »Über die hierarchische Gliederung der Fürsten der Welt nach byzantinischer Auffassung hat (doch ohne Rücksicht auf die uns hier beschäftigende Frage der Verwandtschaft) gehandelt: G. Ostrogorsky, [Staatenhierarchie etc., G. P.], besonders S. 49 ff«. – At any rate, Ostrogorsky as well, in the articles Staatenhierarchie 51 = Sistem 250 f.; and Emperor 11 f. (with n. 30 referring to Dölger's ›Family‹- articles) = Car 275 f., does briefly touch upon the spiritual kinship of foreign rulers with the Byzantine emperor. – Probably an additional source of inspiration for Dölger, written by a renowned medievalist and published 1938/39, was Holtzmann, Weltherrschaft.
13 See Ostrogorsky, Emperor 1. 6 f. 10-12. – Ostrogorsky, Car 263. 269 f. 373-275.
14 The statute was called »Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums« and was promulgated on 7 April 1933; cf. on its execution e. g. Gerstengarbe, Entlassungswelle 17-19. – Hausmann, Geisteswissenschaften 37. – Grüttner/Kinas, Vertreibung, esp. at 134 on § 3: »[…] der ›Arierparagraph‹ regelte die Entlassung von Beamten wegen ›nichtarischer‹ Abstammung. Unabhängig von ihrer Religionszugehörigkeit waren sie in den Ruhestand zu versetzen. Gemäß Nr. 2 zu § 3 Abs. 1der 1. DVO [Durchführungsverordnung, G. P.] vom 11. April 1933 galt schon als ›nichtarisch‹, wer von einem jüdischen Großelternteil abstammte«. See on the terminology also ibidem 129 n. 20, where the authors explain that the term »Nichtarier«, used by the Nazis, was a designation which characterizes an »identity that was externally imposed« (»eine von außen aufgezwungene Identität«).
15 Balzer, Osteuropa-Forschung 21: »Ein […] Vorteil der Historiker in Breslau war der glückliche Umstand, daß die ›Arisierung‹ fast vollständig an ihnen vorbeigegangen war. ›Nur‹ zwei Privatdozenten waren dem ›Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums‹ zum Opfer gefallen«, and ibidem n. 97: »Einer derjenigen, die als Nachfolger der beiden geschaßten Dozenten 1934 nach Breslau kam, war Georg Stadtmüller, der Georg Ostrogorsky folgte«. – Mühle, Volk 100 f.: »An der Schlesischen Wilhelms-Universität war das *Gesetz zur Wiedereinführung des Berufsbeamtentums* vom 7. April 1933 zügig und konsequent umgesetzt worden. Ohne nennenswerten Widerstand, ja begleitet vom Beifall eines großen Teils der Studierenden und Lehrenden wurden in einer er-

sten Entlassungswelle insgesamt 45 beamtete Professoren und Privatdozenten aus ihren Ämtern gedrängt. Unter den Amtsenthobenen befanden sich mit Richard Koebner und Georg Ostrogorsky zwei unmittelbare Fachkollegen Aubins« (my italics; read *Wiederherstellung* instead of *Wiedereinführung*), see also 73. 103-104. 220. – Stadtmüller, Erinnerungen 212: »Mein Vorgänger Georg Ostrogorsky hatte als Russe und ›Halbarier‹ nach der national-sozialistischen Machtübernahme aus der Universität ausscheiden müssen«. – See in addition Gerstengarbe, Entlassungswelle 22 (no. 27) and 33; and Grüttner/Kinas, Vertreibung, 126. – See also Ferluga, Ostrogorsky 540. – Ferjančić, Ostrogorski 648. – Maksimović, Razvoj 664. – Radić, Ostrogorski 148, and Korczak, Ostrogorski 205: All six authors still knew nothing of Ostrogorsky's removal from his post. – On Stadtmüller see also Hausmann, Geisteswissenschaften 731-733.
16 Dölger, Familie 35, with the quotations: »[…] nicht nur die Auffassung von einer Art mystischer Verwandtschaft aller regierenden Fürsten untereinander bestand, sondern daß dieser damals auch die Bedeutung einer politischen *Institution* zukam, an welche u. U. […] staatsrechtliche Folgerungen geknüpft wurden«. Shortly thereafter (35 f.) Dölger, alluding to Ostrogorsky's aforementioned article, states that one, by focusing on this Byzantine institution, will »recognize a whole system of a fictional arrangement of world domination, in the official hierarchical ranking of all princes of the world by degrees of kinship in relation to the βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων«. »Dort wird in einer offiziellen Abstufung aller Fürsten der Welt nach Verwandtschaftsgraden zum βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων […] ein ganzes System fiktiver Weltbeherrschungsorganisation sichtbar«.
17 Ibidem 36, with the following quotations: »daß die offizielle Benennung des Verwandtschaftsgrades zum byzantinischen Kaiser […]«; »Metapher, sondern ein ernst zu nehmender *Titel* ist, der […] nicht selten die Rolle eines anspruchsvollen Rechtstitels angenommen hat«.
18 Ibidem 36 (with quotes): »[…] aus welchen Gedankenkreisen diese merkwürdige Einrichtung einer vielgliedrigen künstlichen Königsfamilie […]«; »[…] für Byzanz, welches in der Durchbildung und Verbreitung der Institution die führende Rolle spielt«.
19 See Ibidem 36 f. (with quotes) »Da theoretische Ausführungen über den Bestand der Familie der Könige durchaus fehlen«; »auf den protokollarischen Gebrauch der Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen in den Briefen der Fürsten«, while several references to the sources follow there at 43-51.

The main source of Dölger's construct, its content and importance for his construct

Dölger found such a source in the so-called list of forms of address (for correspondence), contained in book II of the famous Book of Ceremonies of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (944-959) as chapter 48[20]. It belongs to those parts of book II, which were only after the emperor's death, probably in the period from 963-969, added to the Leipzig Codex of the Book of Ceremonies[21]. According to Dölger, this chapter provides information on »the Byzantine conceptions of rank and relationship« between foreign rulers and the emperor, in particular about »artificial kinship titles« awarded to each of them by the emperor[22]. Interestingly, though in light of my previous remarks not surprisingly, Dölger based his work on exactly the same key source as Ostrogorsky had used in his pioneering article on the hierarchy of states[23].

Dölger states that according to the list »the *oikoumenē* is ruled by the father of the ruling families and the family of the nations, the *Basileus tōn Rhomaiōn*«, that is the Byzantine emperor. Their »nearest *kin*« were independent »Christian rulers in neighbouring regions of the empire such as the rulers of the Armenians, the Alans and the Bulgars«. Designated »spiritual children«, they were »bound to the emperor […] through a particular duty to obey«. The next in line were the »Christian German and French rulers« who »had a […] close but less intimate relationship with the emperor« and were acknowledged members of the family as ›(spiritual) brothers‹. Then there were »several« ›friends‹, hence »those independent rulers and nations who had received this title by special agreement«. Christian and non-Christian rulers who did not possess the title »friend« and could not prove any degree of kinship with the emperor were subordinate. Their position was defined »by other characteristics of forms of address and protocol«. This was also true for »regional potentates«

who were, from the emperor's perspective, subjects (*douloi*, slaves / servants of the emperor): that group consisted of »the lesser rulers in Armenia, Serbia, southern Italy etc.«. Dölger saw in all this »not the arbitrary measures of the Imperial chancery, but rather the quite systematic, intricate graded structure of a *universal family of kings*«, which pointed to the emperor as the ›father‹ »with a *patria potestas*«[24]. Thus, Dölger was convinced that he had proved the existence of a »family of kings«. A family »in which individual rulers saw each other as *brothers,* while the […] emperor maintained the fiction of *fatherhood* for a whole series of neighbouring Christian rulers, dividing the rest into *brothers, friends* and *subjects*«[25]. As indicated above, Dölger substantiated his theory with further source material. However, because of its complexity this construct was often reproduced in a form much or indeed overly abridged, for example in Marie-Theres Fögen's well-known article of 1993, which refers to Dölger's construct as a »heuristic device for dealing with the Christian rulers in the West«[26], but unfortunately disregards the rulers in Eastern Europe, Asia Minor and the Caucasus contained in Dölger's construct[27].

The reception of Dölger's construct and the case of Medieval Russia

Dölger's construct, in whichever form, was as widely accepted as Ostrogorsky's (including by Ostrogorsky himself, as I demonstrated above) and remains so to this day[28]. This was also the case in connection with the baptism of the prince of Kiev, Vladimir I Svjatoslavič (980-1015), by Byzantine clerics in 988[29].

Admittedly, we lack sources to prove that Emperor Basil II indeed took on the role of godparent, which we would expect according to Dölger's construct. Merely circumstantial

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20 See Constantinus [VII], De cerimoniis I, 686-692; and (with translation): Constantine [VII], The Book, II/48, 686-692. – On the list see Ferluga, Adressenliste. – Nerlich, Gesandtschaften 69-73. – Dagron, Byzance, with Dagron, Introduction; and the following four articles dealing with special addressees of the list: Martin-Hisard, Constantinople. – Zuckerman, À propos. – Malamut, Adresses. – Martin, Occident. – Most recently see Komatina, King of Francia; and below n. 72.

21 Featherstone, Remarks 477-479.

22 Dölger, Familie 37 (with quotes: »die Auffassung der Byzantiner von dem ranglichen Verhältnis«; »künstlichen Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen«), while from this point to 42 there follows the listing of the categories of status and the addressees of the list.

23 See Dölger, Familie 37 with n. 4. – Ostrogorsky, Staatenhierarchie 49-52. – Ostrogorsky, Sistem 247-249. Cf. also Ostrogorsky, Emperor 11 f.

24 See Dölger, Familie 42 (with the quotes, of which I offer here only the latter: »nicht etwa willkürliche Einfälle der […] Kaiserkanzlei, sondern den ganz systematischen, verwickelt abgestuften Aufbau einer Weltfamilie der Könige […]«).

25 Ibidem 51, with the quote: »in der sich die einzelnen Fürsten gegenseitig als *Brüder* betrachteten, der […] Kaiser aber die Fiktion einer *Vaterschaft* gegenüber einer Reihe von benachbarten christlichen Fürsten aufrecht erhält und die übrigen in *Brüder, Freunde* und *Untertanen* gliedert […].« – Then (52) Dölger states with regard to the (51) aforementioned »*ideal* roots of this institution« (»die *ideellen* Wurzeln dieser Institution«) that the family of kings was based »auf der […] metaphorischen Übertragung eines Verwandtschaftsverhältnisses auf ein intimes Treueverhältnis«; yet was to be traced to »ganz

bestimmte Wurzeln institutioneller Art«. In this context he (52 f.) also refers to some formal observations about the position, function and use of terms of kinship in letters of address and presumes, the titles »*frater, filius* bzw. *pater*« in the references would express »ein ganz bestimmtes, auf Abkommen bzw. Verleihung beruhendes staatsrechtliches Verhältnis« (53).

26 Fögen, Denken 50, with the quote: »Hilfskonstruktion im Umgang mit den christlichen Herrschern des Westens«.

27 On these rulers see the corresponding contributions above in n. 20 mentioned after Dagron, Introduction.

28 See Prinzing, Byzanz 45 n. 12 for bibliographical references from the years 1956 to 2011, but add Wessel, Kaiserbild 734 f. 744. – Kazhdan, Notion 15 with his statement: »The ›family hierarchy‹ survived the decline of the federate system. It was in full swing in the tenth century, as is reflected in Constantine Porphyrogenitus's Book of Ceremonies and in the titles of the Bulgarian ruler. The father-son terminology can be traced even in late Byzantine diplomatic correspondence«; Macrides, Godfather 151. – Mureşan, Introduction 13. 16. – Guran, Fontières 83. 92 f. – Jakobsson, Legend 358 (based on Grabar, Family). – Jakobsson, Emperors 660. Regarding the family terminology see Rapp, Brother-Making 214: »In his letters to foreign rulers, the emperor addressed them according to a carefully calibrated hierarchy of proximity«; and particularly Gastgeber, Formular 216 f. and below n. 64.

29 See Nazarenko, Vladimir (Vasilij) 697. 699 f. – Shepard, Spreading 232 f. – Steindorff, Christianisierung 3. 10. – Poppe, Christianization 326. 331. 333; also here nn. 42. 78-79; for further references see Prinzing, Byzanz, 46 n. 13. On Vladimir see Podskalsky, Vladimir I.; and PmbZ II, 6, # 28433 (Vladimir I. von Kiev).

evidence is offered by a speech in honour of Vladimir written by the native Russian Ilarion, metropolitan of Kiev from 1051 to 1054. It attests that Vladimir was baptised with the name of Vasilij[30], thus the same name which Emperor Basil [pronounced Vasilios] II (976-1025) bore, too[31]. That this was surely no mere coincidence, and indirectly but clearly designates the emperor as Vladimir's spiritual father, that is his godfather (also indirectly including the patronage of the church father St Basil the Great)[32], is a more or less compelling consequence of the historical context. For the emperor had appealed to Vladimir for military help shortly before the baptism, when he was beset by rebellious generals. This offered Vladimir the chance to combine his offer to help with the demand that the emperor give him his sister Anna in marriage. The emperor finally agreed on the condition that Vladimir be baptised. This is, in short, the evidence from which Vladimir's acceptance in the »family of kings« is generally deduced[33].

Whether, however, *this* association tallies with current research on Dölger's construct is the central question and theme of this paper. My attempt to answer this question cannot examine the whole construct. This is far beyond the scope of a lecture. Therefore, I shall restrict myself to the Russian context. After making a critical evaluation of the state of scholarship, I shall attempt to reach at least a partial answer and would be delighted if the result were to stimulate further discussion.

Criticism of Dölger's theory

As far as I know, Dimitri Obolensky in his magisterial work on the »Byzantine Commonwealth« (1971) was the first to criticize Dölger's construct[34]. And it took another ten years before further critical voices were heard with regard to the validity of the construct: an article by Simon Franklin from 1983[35], three

articles by Evangelos Chrysos (1989. 1992)[36], the dissertation by Giasmina Mõyseidou (a student of Chrysos) from 1995[37], an article by Johannes Preiser-Kapeller from 2013[38], two works by Peter Schreiner[39], and finally the aforementioned article by Wolfram Brandes from 2013[40]. Each approach and the corresponding main arguments will be discerningly discussed here.

In Obolensky's opinion the main weakness of Dölger's construct lies in the one-sided emphasis on Byzantine superiority and in his disregard of the cultural bonds which strongly influenced relations between Byzantium and its Eastern European neighbours, despite changing political constellations[41]. According to Obolensky, »any attempt to define these relations in precise legal terms will probably oversimplify and distort their true nature«. In an endeavour to find an explanatory model for the problem of »how the political independence of the medieval peoples of Eastern Europe could be reconciled with their recognition of the emperor's supremacy«, Obolensky suggests that we should view »their links with the empire not from the standpoint of modern interstate relations, nor in terms of a conflict between ›nationalism‹ and ›imperialism‹, but in the context of the Byzantine Commonwealth«[42]. And here, in the same breath, he defines it as »that supranational community of Christian states of which Constantinople was the centre and Eastern Europe the peripheral domain«[43]. From his point of view the affiliation of a country to this community of states was based, in a loose fashion, on two preconditions: namely »its ruler's acceptance of Byzantine Christianity, and implicitly thereby of the emperor's sovereignty«[44].

Franklin, however, was very sceptical of the notion that the acceptance of Orthodox Christianity by Kievan Rus' implied the recognition of the emperor's supremacy (and thereby by extension his position at the apex of the »family of rulers«) in any way. In his opinion socio-cultural differentiation is necessary and, as far as the population of medieval Russia

30 Ilarion, Slovo (Moldovan) 186a VII 5-13. **Въ х͠а крьстивсѧ, въ х͠а wблѣчесѧ; и изиде ѿ коуπѣли бѣлоwбразисѧ, имѧ пріимъ вѣчьно [....] Василій, им же написасѧ въ къниг͠ы животныа.** cf. Ilarion, Slovo (Müller) 104 [= Slovo §39, line 16-20], cf. the Müller's comment 163 regarding § 39,19. – Müller, Taufe 103. – Podskalsky, Christentum 17. 111. 235f. 319. – Shepard, Coming 185-187. 199. 210-221. – Shepard, Christianities 149; and Rostkowski, Christian Names 187-189. – On Ilarion see Podskalsky, Christentum 84-86 (and index). 285 (in A. Poppe's list of Kiev's metropolitans); and Turilov, Ilarion.
31 On Basil II see PmbZ II,1, # 20838 (Basil II.).
32 On him see Kannengiesser, Basilius von Caesarea, and Murav'ev/Turilov, Vasilij Velikij.
33 See Poppe, Christianization 326. 331. 333; and Prinzing, Byzanz 46 n. 13; 48 n. 17 for further references. – Panagopoulou, Γάμοι 172-178. – Feldman, Research. – Interestingly, Maksimovič, Russia 241, in his statement »Toward the end of the tenth century [...] Kievan Rus' adopted Christianity and became a member of the European Christian community«, replaced the ›family of kings‹ by the latter.
34 Obolensky, Commonwealth 3. 272f. 277. Cf. my review BZ 71, 1978, 101-104, and Stephenson, Statement 201f.
35 Franklin, Empire 508-512.
36 Chrysos, Concepts 13-23. – Chrysos, Diplomacy 37. – Chrysos, Legacy.
37 Mõyseidou, Byzantium, with a summary in English 407-421.
38 Preiser-Kapeller, Eine Familie 258f.
39 Schreiner, Byzanz 82. – Schreiner, Familie, with »Addenda et corrigenda« in: Schreiner, Kultur 257.

40 Brandes, Familie 262-275.
41 Obolensky, Commonwealth 3.
42 Ibidem 277; see also 201: »There is no doubt [...], that Russia after 989 was accorded a high status within the East European community. Though high, his status was of course a subordinate one; and it will be suggested [...], that, although Vladimir and his medieval successors were wholly independent of Byzantine control in political matters, they all, with one temporary exception, recognised that the emperor, as the head of the Orthodox Christian community, possessed by divine right a meta-political jurisdiction over Russia«; or 223, where Obolensky states: »And yet the relations between the princes of Russia and the emperors of Byzantium were not, and could not be, relations between equals. On the ideal, ›meta-political‹ plane the Russian princes, the *archontes Rhosias*, as they styled themselves in Greek on their seals, continued to acknowledge the emperor's supreme position in Christendom, which was at least tacitly recognized by Vladimir after his baptism«; or finally 268f.; and Obolensky, Culture 13-16.
43 Obolensky, Commonwealth 277. – For critical comments on this concept see (besides Franklin, Empire) Arnason, Byzantium 502f., for whom the analogy to the British Commonwealth is partly misleading; Raffensberger, Europe 10f. 41; and Kaldellis, Hellenism 109f. (overly critical). But cf. Shepard, Circles 17-28 and 53-55. – Shepard, Commonwealth 6-11. 33-36. 50-52, and below n. 52 for literature in which Obolensky's model or concept was convincingly modified or constructively discussed.
44 Obolensky, Relations 6 and, modifying, 8.

is concerned, the question is how far the reception of Byzantine texts has been filtered in varying ways by the recipients, so that they understood the texts very differently according to their education and profession. Franklin substantiates his theory with several texts[45].

Since among them is also the famous admonitory letter written by the Patriarch Antonios IV[46] in September 1393 to the Grand Prince Vasilij I Dmitrievič (1389-1425) of Moscow[47], I would like to examine this important source more closely. Vasilij I had indirectly provoked the patriarch to take this step because he, Vasilij, had forbidden Metropolitan Kiprian/Cyprian of »Kiev and the whole of Russia« (1375-1406) from commemorating the emperor in the liturgy[48]. The central passage of the letter with the reference to this instruction reads (according to John W. Barker's translation, with some modifications) as follows: »For you hinder, so they say, the Metropolitan from commemorating the sacred name of the Basileus [emperor, G. P] in the diptychs, a matter which would be at any time impossible; and that you say that: ›We have a Church, but we neither have a Basileus nor do we reckon one.‹ Now these things are not good. The holy Basileus holds a great position in the Church, for the Basileus is not thus also as are the other rulers and sovereigns of localities, since from the beginning the Basileus confirmed and established their piety in all the inhabited world. [...]. [...] Therefore, it is not a good thing, my son, that you should say that ›We have a Church, but not a Basileus‹. It is not possible among the Christians to have a Church and not to have a Basileus. For the Basileus and the Church have great unity and commonality, and it is not possible for them to be divided from each other«[49].

Regarding the controversy on the Russian attitude to the emperor, we must point out (following John Meyendorff, Obolensky and Guran), that Kiprian was probably the first metropolitan to introduce the commemoration of the emperor instead of the grand prince into the liturgy. If this was the reason for Vasilij's protest, then it is remarkable that he, after receiving Antonios's letter, should have accepted the emperor's commemoration, although it is not clear where and how long this new custom was practiced[50].

Does this evidence not contradict Franklin's theory, at least to a certain degree? He himself does not consider that the grand prince's authorisation of the liturgical reference to the emperor is any reason to revise his scepticism. But perhaps he is not quite so sure of this, for with his »neither« (the one nor the other) he gives a sibylline answer to the question whether the people of Kiev recognised the »Byzantine emperor's meta-political authority« (this too is Obolensky's formulation) or rejected it[51]. If, however, we extend the time period to 1453 then, in my opinion, the ecclesiastical and monastic links between Russia and Byzantium indeed support a (modified) version of Obolensky's position[52].

Let us now turn to Evangelos Chrysos: in a first article he points out that in official correspondence in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, the salutatory use of kinship terms had the same function as brother and friend have today in political and diplomatic circles. Although there were »diplomatic formulae which were strictly adhered to, there was never [...] a *political institution* like the ›family of rulers and states‹ or a ›hierarchical world order‹«[53]. In addition, he points out several weaknesses in Dölger's theory with regard to foreign policy treaties[54].

In his second article, which investigates relations between Byzantium and Russia on the basis of secondary literature, Chrysos justifiably points out that Byzantium not only never claimed territories beyond the Crimea, but also that Russia had never been a vassal of Byzantium, which in political terms generally operated defensively »towards its distant northern neighbours«. Hence the question arose for him as to what effect the »so-called political and metapolitical doctrine of the *byzantinische Staatenhierarchie*« had »on this policy« and whether the latter should be defined »as ›defensive

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45 Franklin, Empire 512-514. 518-537.
46 He held the office of patriarch in 1389-1389 and 1391-1397, see Talbot, Antony. – Žavoronkov, Antonij.
47 On him see Kučkin, Vasilij.
48 See Franklin, Empire 508. 536. On Kiprian see: Franklin, Kiprian. – Obolensky. – Cyprian of Kiev. – Salamon, Cyprian. – Florja, Kiprian. – Preiser-Kapeller, Episkopat 504-506, and Shepard, Shaping 304. 306-308.
49 Miklosich/Müller, Acta II, 188-192 No. 447, at 190 f.: [...] ἐμποδίζεις γὰρ, ὡς λέγουσι, τὸν μητροπολίτην ἵνα μνημονεύῃ τοῦ θείου ὀνόματος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τοῖς διπτύχοις, πρᾶγμα γενέσθαι ποτὲ ἀδύνατον, καὶ ὅτι λέγεις ὅτι ἐκκλησίαν ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς, βασιλέα δὲ οὔτε ἔχομεν, οὔτε λογιζόμεθα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔνι ταῦτα καλά. ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ ἅγιος πολὺν τόπον ἔχει εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔνι καθὼς οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες καὶ αὐθένται τόπων, οὕτω καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς, διότι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐστήριξαν καὶ ἐβεβαίωσαν τὴν εὐσέβειαν εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, [...]. / [...] οὐδὲν οὖν ἔνι καλὸν, υἱέ μου, ἵνα λέγῃς, ὅτι ἐκκλησίαν ἔχομεν, οὐχὶ βασιλέα, οὐκ ἔνι δυνατὸν εἰς τοὺς χριστιανοὺς, ἐκκλησίαν ἔχειν καὶ βασιλέα οὐκ ἔχειν. ἡ γὰρ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία πολλὴν ἕνωσιν καὶ κοινωνίαν ἔχει, καὶ οὐκ ἔνι δυνατὸν, ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διαιρεθῆναι. – For the letter's more or less partial translation in English see Barker, Social thought, 194-196. – Barker, Manuel II, 106-109 (with quotation at 107 f.). – Meyendorff, Byzantium 254 f. 264. – Geanakoplos, Byzantium 143 f. No. 105. – For a slightly abridged German translation see Hauptmann/Stricker, Kirche, 196-199 No. 51. – The date of this letter was erroneously given as 1389 by Prinzing, Byzantium, 50. – On the letter's content and its background see Darrrouzès, Regestes VI No. 2931.

– Ostrogorsky, Emperor 8 f. – Ostrogorsky, Geschichte³ 457 f. – Beck, Jahrtausend 97 f. – Meyendorff, Byzantium 103. 254-257. 264. – Obolensky, Cyprian 195-197. – Dagron, Emperor 311 f. – Mōyseidou, Byzantium 139-143. – Hinterberger, Relations 128 f. 134. – Pitsakis, Fin de temps 216 f. – Hilsdale, Art 268-270. 291. 328 f. – Mureşan, Introduction 14 and 19. – Guran, Frontières (most comprehensive). – Vetochnikov, Fonctions 344. – Vetochnikov, Pouvoir 154 f. – Maksimovič, Russia 253; further references in Prinzing, Byzantium 50 n. 31.
50 See Meyendorff, Byzantium 254-257 (in addition he advanced the hypothesis that the liturgical commemoration of the emperor was perhaps practiced by predecessors of Kiprian, while he attributed our ignorance in this matter to the loss of relevant source material or on the latter's still insufficient state of research). – Obolensky, Cyprian 196 f. – Shepard, Commonwealth 40. – and Guran, Frontières 82-94 (but he disputes Meyendorff's hypothesis).
51 Franklin, Empire 534. The question alludes to the quotation from Obolensky above in n. 42.
52 See Tinnefeld, Kirchenpolitik 382 f. – Meyendorff, Byzantium 103. 107. 111. 116-118. – Hösch, Byzanz 519-527. – Thomson, Communications. – Shepard, Commonwealth 28-33. 41-46. 50-52. – Mureşan, Introduction 13-16. – Vetochnikov, Pouvoir 154 f. – Tachiaos, Punkty 285-292. – Stephenson, Statement 204 f. – Shepard, Old Russia 378-383. – Shepard, Superpower 108-110 (important modification of Obolensky's model).
53 Chrysos, Concepts 16.
54 Ibidem 17-21.

imperialism‹ at all«[55]. His reply, as he puts it, is »very simple: In the Middle Ages, the Orthodox Christians of Eastern and Southeastern Europe certainly had a strong sense of solidarity and ›togetherness‹, which was focused on Constantinople and personified by the Emperor«. Emphasizing that only »in this sense, we are indeed entitled to speak of a ›Byzantine Commonwealth‹«[56] he affirmed his aforementioned negative statement concerning Dölger's and Ostrogorsky's constructs. According to Chrysos, designations such as »brother«, »son«, or »nephew« of the Emperor in the forms of address in official letters from the imperial chancery to foreign rulers are attributable to the needs of court ceremonial and were used in line with the traditions of diplomatic language. Even though, »of course, the Byzantine court supplemented this practice with the Christian concepts of spiritual kinship«, this custom and the related expressions »did not have any substantial effect on the legal and political relations between the empire and its neighbours«. A hierarchy of titles is not to be found and there is also no evidence that »brothers« or »sons« of the emperor addressed each other in this manner and by analogy considered the emperor's »brothers« to be their »uncles«. In sum, the investigation of Byzantine-Russian relations should not be influenced by the postulation of a seemingly »valid universalistic ideology«[57].

From the various results of Chrysos's third article I should like to offer the following: »[…] there is no evidence to support the widespread assumption that a ›hierarchy‹ or a ›family‹ of nations or princes existed, who were all linked together by ties of kinship with the Byzantine emperor as the head of the imaginary structure«, which is followed by the statement, that »notions of ›hierarchy‹ and ›family‹ are completely missing in the sources«[58].

Although Chrysos argues largely convincingly in his articles, there nevertheless remain some doubts with regard to his rejection of Ostrogorsky's and Dölger's constructs and Obolensky's concept of a »Byzantine Commonwealth«. For not only the existence of the aforementioned list of forms of address in the Book of Ceremonies in my opinion proves his categorical denial of the lack of »notions of ›hierarchy‹ and ›family‹« in the sources wrong, at least in part; but also the fact that his criticism of Obolensky's concept is, as we have learnt from historical research in the last two decades, to a certain degree superficial, if not one-sided, because it does

not sufficiently take in account the effect of various kinds of »Soft Power«[59].

Mōyseidou, then, in her dissertation, extensively substantiates, confirms and augments the issues criticized by Chrysos and includes the list of forms of address contained in the Book of Ceremonies. Yet relevant new points of view are, in my opinion, not apparent, not even in chapter 2, which initially discusses the independence of the Russian »archon« and then goes on to address the question whether through his Christianisation or his admission to the »family« of Byzantine emperors the Russian ruler became a vassal of the emperor[60]. As expected, the reply is negative, but this was also already well known, since Ostrogorsky's article from 1936 (revised in 1956) had made this clear. Hence neither he nor Obolensky, decades later, took the Russian princes or grand princes for a vassal of the Byzantine emperor[61]. As for Preiser-Kapeller, he investigates the use of kinship titles in the forms of address and salutation formulas in letters and documents to foreign Christian (and Muslim) rulers found in the Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (14th century)[62]. He also compares their use by the Patriarchal Chancery with the corresponding formulas from the *Ekthesis nea* of 1386, a compendium of standard forms of address for ecclesiastical, but also secular authorities within and without »the Byzantine sphere of influence […], indeed in part with a detailed indication of the addressee (by name)«[63].

As far as method is concerned, Preiser-Kapeller rightly emphasizes that from the material of the *Ekthesis nea* we cannot extrapolate »an established system« as Dölger had once done (with the list of the forms of address in the Book of Ceremonies) in order to deduce a »fully conceptualized foreign political ›doctrine‹« in the sense of »the […] phantom of Dölger's ›family of kings‹«. For the *Ekthesis Nea* does not, according to Preiser-Kapeller, convey more than »certain conventions« or »guidelines«. Instead the »composition of a salutation« in a letter and »its importance« for the »relationship« between the correspondents has to be redefined each time[64]. By means of the material listed in the appendix of his article, he, therefore, concludes that the »family of kings« in Dölger's categorical sense cannot be proved here. Nevertheless, Preiser-Kapeller cannot but confirm that the application of »spiritually fictive kinship relations«, by means of corresponding designations in forms of address, is »ubiquitous«[65].

55 Chrysos, Old Russia 243 (with quotes; my italics). On ›defensive imperialism‹ see Obolensky, Principles 52. – Chrysos, Imperium 624. – Shepard, Super Power 109 (with this interpretation: »a term that has some bearing about universalism's role in perpetuating empires, its capacity to make up for loss of militarist momentum with other sorts of ties that bind«).

56 Chrysos, Old Russia 243 (with the quotes).

57 Ibidem 244 (with quotes).

58 Chrysos, Diplomacy 37 (with quotes).

59 See for instance Shepard, Superpower 108-122 (with further references); cf. Cameron, Byzantine 38-40.

60 Mōyseidou, Byzantium 51-71 (Introduction: an instructive and critical report about the state of research with regard to her topic, from Dölger's and Ostrogorsky's constructs until Obolensky's concept of a *Byzantine Commonwealth*, based on the literature until 1993), ch. 2, 171.

61 Ostrogorsky, Staatenhierarchie 41. 58-61. – Ostrogorsky, Sistem 238 f. 258-262.

62 Preiser-Kapeller, Familie. – On the patriarchal register see Prinzing, Byzanz 52 n. 40; add most recently: Gastgeber, Patriarchate.

63 Preiser-Kapeller, Familie 258: »geistliche, aber auch weltliche Autoritäten innerhalb und außerhalb des byzantinischen Machtbereichs […], z. T. sogar mit der konkreten (namentlichen) Angabe des Destinatärs«. – Darrouzès, Ekthésis; on this formulary book see the highly important study Gastgeber, Formular; and below n. 67.

64 Preiser-Kapeller, Familie 258 (: »ein feststehendes Regelsystem«; »durchkonzipierte außenpolitische ›Doktrin‹«; »bestimmte Gepflogenheiten«; »Leitlinien«; »des […] Phantoms der Dölger'schen ›Familie der Könige‹«.

65 See Preiser-Kapeller, Familie 259 (»geistlich-fiktiver Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen« ; »allgegenwärtig«) and the summarizing paragraph (»Zur Auswertung«) 260-272, and the appendix with forms of address concerning foreign rulers 273-289 (»Verzeichnis der in den Urkunden des Patriarchatsregisters erwähnten nichtbyzantinischen Machthaber (mit Vergleichsbeispielen)« with regionally ar-

This is also true, as he shows, for all patriarchal and the (less well documented) imperial correspondence with the Russian (grand-) princes: the latter are generally designated as the (spiritual) sons and only twice as nephews of the patriarch or emperor. Thus, the choice of other epithets demonstrates for the records nuances in the degree of esteem[66]. (Meanwhile Christian Gastgeber significantly modified Preiser-Kapeller's observations through his lucid analysis of the sophisticated manner in which the *Ekthesis Nea*, as well as the patriarchal [and imperial] chanceries, made use of a »relational system of the family metaphor«. While he emphasizes the importance of Dölger's study on the »family of kings«, he succeeds in defining this complex of family metaphor more precisely: For according to him, »the examples [i.e. of the use of family metaphors, G.P.] from the secular and clerical sphere show that they do not imply the idea of a universal family or even a universal social model of unity, but a relational vocabulary expressing a social relationship or respect is used«)[67].

Yet it is not only this finding that emphasizes the persistence of the kinship concept. Equally important is that Patriarch Antonios IV wrote in another letter from 1393 – sent to Novgorod, its authorities and inhabitants – that he had dispatched letters in order to instruct them about their dangerous situation, by »admonishing and teaching, as *spiritual father* and lord of all Christians in the *oikoumenē*, appointed by God« (my emphasis, GP), hence of their respective Christian rulers, too[68]. This quotation demonstrates in an exemplary manner what is, from our perspective, the unrealistic and exaggerated image the hierarchy entertained of itself at that time. However, we must understand: The patriarchs derived their image of themselves – despite the predicament of the territorially reduced empire – from the nominal extent of their diocese, from their office and, until 1453, undiminished close connection with their ruler, the Byzantine emperor, whom

they (again according to Patriarch Antonios IV) unabashedly consider to be their »Basileus and Autokratōr of the Romans, and that is of all Christians«[69]!

Schreiner points out the frequent lack of accordance between »ideal and reality« in Dölger's construct and indicated his agreement with Chrysos's criticism »demonstrated by the example of the Russians«[70]. In his article on the imperial family he only mentions the »family of kings« very briefly, as explanation for the absence of all imperial journeys abroad before 1365: The main reason is to be found in the »ideology of superiority of the Byzantine Empire, expressed in the construct of the ›family of rulers‹. He rightly adds that »the conceptual field of the ›family of kings‹ must be reconsidered«[71].

Brandes can claim the credit for having been the first historian to critically take a systematic look at Dölger's construct, though he concentrates on the refutation of Dölger's interpretation of early and (early) middle Byzantine texts and the validity of his argumentation varies as far as the details are concerned. If we disregard his insufficient, only partially applicable comment on the list of the forms of address, he still fails to extend the verification of his criticism with source material from the 9th century to the Late Byzantine period. However, Brandes' legal-historical objections are in the main strikingly accurate: Indeed, the »Family of Kings« never possessed the quality of a »legal title« and never constituted a legally binding institution[72].

Yet at this point we must take a closer look at Brandes' article on baptism (published together with the »Family« article), which unfortunately only touches lightly on Vladimir's baptism and completely ignores the question of the emperor's godparenthood[73]. Brandes turns to the importance of the baptism of Vladimir or of the conversion of medieval Russia in the following passage: »What was perhaps more important [than the success of Byzantium's mission in Bulgaria, men-

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ranged rubrics, thus »1.1 Orthodoxe Machthaber im Sprengel von Konstantinopel«, and there at 1.1.8 those in Russia, arranged according to rank: Grand Princes; other Russian Princes; Novgorod; then »2. Orthodoxe Machthaber außerhalb des Sprengels [...]; 2. Nicht-orthodoxe christliche Machthaber; 3. Heidnische Machthaber – Der Großfürst von Litauen; 4. Muslimische Machthaber«.

66 Preiser-Kapeller, Familie 260-265. 276-281; see in addition Kuzenkov, Vizantija 228.

67 Gastgeber, Formular 216f.: (quotes: 216 »relationales System der Familienmetapher«; 217 »Jedoch zeigen die Beispiele, die sowohl den weltlichen als auch den klerikalen Bereich umfassen, dass damit *nicht* die Idee einer universalen Familie impliziert ist oder gar ein universales soziales Einheitsmodell, sondern ein relationales Vokabular zum Ausdruck der Sozialbeziehung bzw. des Respekts zur Anwendung kommt, [...]«).

68 Acta et diplomata, II, No. 446, 181-187, at 182: [...] παραινῶν καὶ διδάσκων, ὡς πατὴρ καὶ δεσπότης πνευματικὸς παρὰ θεοῦ κατασταθεὶς τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης χριστιανῶν [...]; see Darrouzès, Regestes VI, No. 2929; this letter was addressed to the bishop, the city officials, and the clergy and citizens of Novgorod. – In his letter, quoted above n. 43, Antonios IV even designates Vasilij I as a γνήσιον υἱόν [...] καὶ φίλον, that is as »genuine son and friend«, see Miklosich/Müller, Acta II, no. 447, 189 and Barker, Manuel II 106. In other words: The patriarch is going to construct his virtual ›family of rulers‹ in the context of his flock.

69 For the quote from Antonios IV's letter from 1493 see Miklosich/Müller, Acta II, No. 447, 190: εἰ γὰρ καὶ, συγχωρήσει θεοῦ, τὰ ἔθνη περικύκλωσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ μέχρι τὴν σήμερον τὴν αὐτὴν χειροτονίαν ἔχει ὁ βασιλεὺς παρὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τῷ

μεγάλῳ χρίεται μύρῳ καὶ χειρο<το>νεῖται βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, πάντων δηλαδὴ τῶν χριστιανῶν [...], translated by Barker, Manuel II, 107: »For even if, with the acquiescence of God, the Gentiles have encircled the realm and land of the Basileus, yet, up to this day, the Basileus has had the same election by the Church and the same prayers, and with the same great myrrh is he anointed and is he elected Basileus and Autokrator of the Romans, that is of all Christians«. – See on the universal claims of the Byzantine patriarchate, Beck, Geschichte 238f. – Meyendorff, Byzantium 112-118. – Malamut, Empire 173. – Shepard, Commonwealth 50. – Guran, Frontières 91-94.

70 See Schreiner, Byzanz 162. His following uncritical support for the doctrine of the so-called »limited oikoumene« (T. Lounghis) is not up for debate here.

71 Schreiner, Familie 747, referring to Chrysos, Concepts. – Schreiner, in the »Addenda and Corrigenda« to the reprint of his »Family« article, adds (referring to 747 n. 50) the following remark: »Research has been only much too eager, though often without sufficient reflection, to tackle the ›Family of Kings‹, ›invented‹ by Franz Dölger in 1940, so that a revision was long ago needed. For this a new starting point has been created by J. Preiser-Kapeller, Eine »Familie der Könige«? « (»Die von Franz Dölger 1940 ›erfundene‹ Familie der ›Könige‹ ist von der Forschung nur zu gern und oft wenig reflektiert aufgegriffen worden, so dass eine Revision längst nötig war. Dafür ist jetzt ein neuer Ausgangspunkt geschaffen von J. Preiser-Kapeller [...]«).

72 Brandes, Familie 263f. His comment on the list of forms of address ignores (*inter alia*) the contributions contained in Dagron, Byzance (see above n. 21). See on the list most recently the balanced description and comment by Lilie, Außenpolitik 315-317.

73 Brandes, Taufe 14. On the creating of spiritual kinship and godparenthood in general see most recently Rapp, Brother-Making 9-12 and (index).

tioned in the context before, G. P.] was the ›baptism of Russia‹ in 988. A cultural and also political precedence was thereby constituted in both states and, through the ›baptism‹, an incipient kinship of minds was created«[74]. Here Brandes refers to Gerhard Podskalsky's renowned handbook on »Christianity in Kievan Rus'« for the second sentence (including the quotation), where however we read: »The Byzantine precedence in the family of states was defined through the emperor's spiritual kinship with the newly converted princes/kings and their successors, which was based on godparenthood. Admittedly, this was at first a one-sided Byzantine view of the relationship, and there is no confirmation of it in Russian sources«[75].

Since Brandes explicitly talks of »a political and cultural precedence in both states«, he obviously thought here of the aforementioned Bulgaria, although the context of his quotation only refers to Russia. While this is a minor slip, the following points are more relevant: 1) Brandes quotes Podskalsky inaccurately (also without the additional sentence), 2) he ignores the whole question of the emperor's godparenthood and 3) his own reference to the (allegedly) constituted political precedence (sc. of the Byzantines) brings him unexpectedly, though unintentionally, so close to Dölger's position that he ends up in a position that is contrary to the referenced results even of his own research.

Attempt at a summary, with the inclusion of a visual source

Indeed, with a view to the reaction to and reception of Dölger's strict construct, at this point we should realize that it seems to be a »phantom« in various ways (though not completely so), because Dölger himself not only called some of the elements fictitious, but also largely ignored the perspective (and response) of the »family's« foreign members. But the omnipresence of kinship designations in address and salutatory formulas in the foreign correspondence of the emperor (here hardly referred to at all) and in the patriarchate's correspondence proves the consistent prevalence of

the Byzantine patriarchal way of thinking when structuring their relations with foreign powers and with the periphery of their empire. The emperor and (increasingly) the patriarch indisputably saw themselves as the head of an ideally familial structure differentiated by rank. Its flexibility allowed them to react flexibly to changes in (ecclesiastical-)political circumstances. According to these findings, Dölger's construction is not completely but largely inadequate for an understanding of the (ecclesiastical-)political web of relationships between Byzantium and its closer and more distant neighbours.

So let us return to the question raised above: Can we still uphold the frequently made link between Vladimir's baptism and his acceptance into the »family of kings« in the face of current research? As we have seen, this link is (and could be) based on Vladimir's recorded baptismal name of Vasilij *and* Emperor Basil's conjectured, though historically most probable, spiritual godparenthood for his newly baptised brother-in-law[76]. Despite Vladimir's well-known Byzantinism[77] we should, however, be very careful, because we have no clear proof from either the Byzantines or the Russians of Vladimir's status as the emperor's spiritual son, nor any personal testimony that he bore the name Vasilij[78]. Regarding the political significance of Vladimir's baptism, it therefore seems preferable to follow Obolensky's concept and to speak of Vladimir's acceptance, at least to some degree, into a sort of »Byzantine Commonwealth«. Accordingly, medieval Russia became a member of the group of independent (Orthodox) territories in which the Byzantine emperor, enhanced by the spiritual legitimation by the Church, traditionally enjoyed the highest respect, while in pragmatic terms he had no direct political power over the corresponding rulers, thus also the (grand) princes of medieval Russia until 1453. For, from his point of view, the latter enjoyed a rank equal to the Emperor[79].

This complicated relationship, by the way, found its perfect visual expression in the iconographic design of the famous »Major Sakkos« of Photios, the metropolitan of »Kiev and All Rus'« (1408-1431)[80] who arrived in 1410 at Moscow accompanied by an embassy sent by the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425)[81] to Grand Prince Vasilij I Dmitrievič in order to devise the marriage between Manuel's

74 Ibidem 83 with n. 111, with the quotation »Vielleicht noch wichtiger war die ›Taufe Russlands‹ im Jahr 988. Dadurch wurde ein kultureller und auch politischer Vorrang in beiden Staaten konstituiert und durch die ›Taufe‹ eine beginnende geistige [sic, G. P.] ›Verwandtschaft‹ geschaffen«.

75 Podskalsky, Christentum 41: »Der byzantinische Vorrang in der Staatenfamilie war durch die in der Taufpatenschaft begründete geistliche Verwandtschaft des Kaisers mit den neubekehrten Fürsten/Königen und deren Nachfolgern festgelegt; freilich war dies zunächst nur die einseitig byzantinische Sicht der Beziehungen, deren Rezeption in den russischen Geschichtsquellen nirgends bestätigt wird«; for the quotation in the Russian edition see Podskal'ski, Christianstvo 69.

76 According to Schmalzbauer, Herrscheronomastik 217 the goodparenthood of Baseileios II for Vladimir could be excluded as forbidden by canon-law, because Basil II was the brother of Vladimir's bride Anna. The argument is unconvincing, because the Byzantine emperor could infringe/break the norm for reasons of state, see for example Macrides, Marriages 275.

77 Kämpfer, Bildwelt 126-135 (also on Vladimir's self-testimonies). On the various meanings of the term »Byzantinism« see: Angelov, Byzantinism. – Bodin, Whose Byzantinism.

78 Also later he was worshiped only as St Vladimir, not Vasilij, see Poppe, Sainthood 48 f. Admittedly, in the so-called »Ustav Vladimira« (Vladimir's Statute), a church statute allegedly issued by Vladimir, the Kievan Prince is nearly regularly calling himself »knjaz velikij Vasilei« [or Vasilii]. But all existing versions of this text originated in the post-Mongolian era, see Podskalsky, Christentum, 191. – Podskalsky, Christianstvo 312. Thus this statute cannot – pace Rostkowski, Names 188 n. 20. – serve as evidence for Vladimir's real use of his Christian name Vasilij after the baptism itself.

79 See above n. 42, cf. also Kämpfer, Herrscherbild 115.

80 On him see PLP No. 30322 and Preiser-Kapeller, Episkopat 506; Photios had his seat at Moscow. On the term *sakkos* see Kazhdan, Sakkos. – Hilsdale, Art 300 f. (also particularly on Photios' Sakkos).

81 On him see most recently Prinzing, Manuel II.

Fig. 1 Front of the Major Sakkos. Kremlin Museums, inv. No. TK-4. – (After Medieval Embroidery 45).

Fig. 2 Detail of the Major Sakkos' Front: Co-Emperor John (VIII) and his bride Anna Vasil'evna. The inscription reads: IΩ(αννης) ЄN X(PICT)Ω TΩ Θ(ε)Ω ΠΙϨΟC ΒΑCΙΛЄVC O ΠΑΛЄΟΛΟΓΟC – ÁN(ν)A Ḣ ЄVCЄΒЄϨΑΤΗ AVΓȢϨΑ Η ΠΑΛЄΟΛΟΓΙΝΗ (John in Christ the God faithful Emperor the Palaiologos. – Anna the Most Pious Empress the Palaiologine). – (After Medieval Embroidery 48).

Fig. 3 Detail of the Major Sakkos' Front: Grand Prince Vasilij I Dmitrievič and his wife Grand Princess Sof'ja (Vitovtovna). The inscription reads: **КНАЗЬ ВЄЛНКЪІ БАСНЛНГЄ ДНМНТРНГЄВНЧЬ КНАГЪІ(НІА) ВЄЛНКА СОФІА**. – (After Medieval Embroidery 49).

son (Co-)Emperor John (VIII) Palaiologos (b. 1392, ruled 1425-1431)[82] and the daughter of Vasilij I and his wife Sof'ja Vitovtovna, Anna Palaiologine (b.1403 or 1400?, d. 1417)[83]. The marriage alliance, concluded with the aim of strengthening the weak position of the Byzantines as they became ever more beleaguered by the Ottomans, was, after the couple's engagement (1411), sealed through the wedding, which took place at Constantinople, most probably in 1414[84].

Turning to the Sakkos of Photios (see **figs 1-3**), it was a gift, sent (probably) from the »Byzantine authorities to the Muscovite Church«[85] and presumably produced for his inauguration service in Moscow or, more importantly, for

the liturgical celebration of the imperial wedding. The vestment's highly complex and sophisticated iconography was most probably designed by Photios himself[86], and represents a masterpiece of late Byzantine church embroidery. This precious piece of art was (among others) acquired by the Kremlin Museum (i. e. in the *Oružejnaja Palata*) in 1920 from the Patriarchal Vestry[87].

But why or to what extent is the aforementioned »complicated relationship« expressed in the front design of the Sakkos? It is its front, which shows in the central part of its lowest register, above the hem and on the same level, the following four figures: On the left (as seen by the observer) co-emperor

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82 See PLP 21481. He became uncrowned co-emperor 1406/1407, and was crowned as such in January 1421, see Schreiner, Kleinchroniken II, 410f., and Ferjančić, Savladarstvo 370-372, both also with reference to the Sakkos.

83 On her see PLP 21349.

84 Schreiner, Kleinchroniken II, 406f. (who erroneously corrects the date of the wedding to »etwa 1411«). – Dukas, Ἱστορία, 222/223 (with n. 78, fixing 1411 for the engagement, and 1414 for the wedding); 1414 is likewise given as the date for the wedding by Obolensky, Notes 141-142. – Kämpfer, Herrscherbild 150. – PLP 21349 (on Anna). – Kučkin, Vasilij 109. – Barkov, Sakkos 505. – Hilsdale, Art 297. – Kolditz, Johannes VIII 636.

85 Obolensky, Notes 141. – Kämpfer, Herrscherbild 150. – Hilsdale, Art 293. According to Barkov, Vestments 457 it is not clear, »whether they [the Sakkoi and other Byzantine pieces] were presented by the Byzantine emperors to metropol-

itans of Moscow for their particular services, or whether they were brought to Moscow from Constantinople or made in Moscow by visiting craftsmen. There is not even unanimity about the time when they were made«. On the reconstruction of the Major Sakkos (including the so called Minor Sakkos and other ones) see Kachanova, Reconstruction, also taking into account the replacement and additions of depictions, parts of liturgical texts and of inscriptions in Greek and Old Russian, all apparently carried out in Russia: see her summary at 465.

86 Barkov, Sakkos 512. On the complex iconography of the Major Sakkos' front see ibidem 488-496. 502-505. – Bogdanović, Canopy 249-266 and Hilsdale, Art 301-316. 325-332 (both still ignoring the results of the studies by Barkov and Kachanova). – Photios is also depicted on the front of the Sakkos.

87 Barkov, Vestments 452. – Barkov, Sakkos 488.

John (VIII) Palaiologos and his Russian bride Anna Vasil'evna, both depicted with a halo as sign of their official (imperial) sanctity[88] and each of them standing upon a *soupedion* (Latin: *suppedaneum*); on the right the bride's parents, Vasilij I and his wife, both without a halo and not standing upon a *soupedion*. All four figures, depicted in the same size and labelled by their official titles[89], are vested in their official garments and wear a crown, while the rulers hold additional insignia[90]. With regard to the ranking of both rulers (and their spouses) it is important, indeed decisive to realize that, on the one hand, only a spiritually based supremacy of the Byzantine couple is clearly marked by the halo and the standing on a *soupedion*[91], while, on the other hand, the political equal ranking of *both* couples, particularly of the rulers, is a further »hypothetical designate« of the compositional context, as the late Frank Kämpfer put it in his detailed interpretation of the Sakkos[92]. This equal ranking is, in my opinion, indeed clearly expressed through the couples' position on the same level. The importance of

this compositional element has been if not overlooked, then at the very least underestimated by Obolensky, Hilsdale and Barkov[93], though it ultimately confirms Obolensky's concept (cf. above, text between notes 41-44) and even facilitates the understanding of Vasilij's acceptance of the expressly depicted spiritual supremacy of the Byzantine Imperial couple.

To conclude with an ecclesiastical outlook: Since Vladimir's baptism also initiated the broad Christianisation of the Kievan Rus' and led to the establishment of ecclesiastical structures in the metropolitanate of Kiev, medieval Russia became an integral part of the ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople[94]. And it remained more or less within the patriarchal sphere of influence until Grand Prince Vasilij II attained the desired autocephaly in 1448[95], but not (or only very conditionally) under the influence of the Byzantine emperor. The conclusion of this development was the foundation of the Russian patriarchate in Moscow in 1589, which was also accepted by the ecumenical patriarchate[96].

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88 See most recently Kolditz, Johannes VIII 636 referring here also to the Major Sakkos, and 638; on the emperor's sanctity in general see for instance Pitsakis, Sainteté.
89 The titles of the Byzantine couple in Greek, and those of the Russian couple in Old Russian: Kämpfer, Herrscherbild 150. – Barkov, Sakkos 494. – Hilsdale, Art 294 f.
90 Mayasova, Embroidery 44-50 (with excellent photos). – Barkov, Sakkos 488-496 offer detailed descriptions of the front of the Sakkos; cf. also Hilsdale, Art 293-311.
91 Obolensky, Notes 145. – Hilsdale, Art 293-295.
92 Kämpfer, Herrscherbild 150, 155-156 where he states: »The princely Russian couple stands undoubtedly for other than family reasons besides the Byzantine co-imperial couple. A programmatic reference to the overall iconographic program is added to the compositional context with the designate of the equal ranking in the ›Family of Kings‹«. (»Unzweifelhaft steht das russische Fürstenpaar aus anderen als familiären Gründen neben dem Paar der byzantinischen Mitkaiser. Zum kompositorischen Zusammenhang mit dem hypothetischen Designat der Ranggleichheit in der »Familie der Könige« tritt ein programma-

tischer Bezug zum ikonographischen Gesamtprogramm des Sakkos« 155). Unfortunately, Mayasova, Barkov, Bogdanović and Hilsdale overlooked Kämpfer's important book.
93 Obolensky, Notes 145-146. – Barkov, Sakkos 502, 511. – Hilsdale, Art 293, 298 (with n. 85), with her final remark 327: »The *sakkos* places the contemporary royal effigies in the forefront of the composition, celebrating family unity and the intertwined histories of Palaiologan and Muscovite dynasties, but beyond this it ultimately emphasizes the source of family unity as Orthodoxy that binds them all and that is centered in imperial Constantinople. The Byzantine vision of – or really desire for union in the service of the Queen of Cities«.
94 Preiser-Kapeller, Episkopat 489-497 offers an overview on its history. – On the titles of the metropolitans, who kept their title »Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia«, even after 1328, when Moscow became their seat, see Vetochnikov, Titre 274. 282-284. 295. 298-302.
95 On the establishment of the autocephaly of the Russian Church see Abelenceva, Mitropolit.
96 Preiser-Kapeller, Patriarchat 76. – Mureşan, Introduction 15.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Byzantium, the Rus and the So-called Family of Kings. From George Ostrogorsky to Franz Dölger's Construct and its Critics

This essay engages with the discussion surrounding the historical applicability of the construct of the »Family of Kings in the Middle Ages«, which has had much influence in Byzantine Studies and Medieval Studies. It was articulated by the Munich Byzantinist Franz Dölger (1891-1968) in an article which appeared in 1940 (and reprinted in 1953 and 1964). After increasing amounts of criticism on the concept were voiced from the 1970s onwards, the Frankfurt Byzantinist Wolfram Brandes subjected it to a fundamental critique at the Historikertag of 2012 in Mainz: first in a historical-source critical respect with the thesis, that it lacks almost any basis whatsoever in the source material, and thus is obsolete; second, with regard to the history of scholarship with the observation, that it was supposedly based on Dölger's sympathy for Hitler's plans of world domination. Upon closer inspection, however, it proves that Brandes' criticism applies primarily to the early medieval sphere. Indeed, with regard to the contemporary historical context, Brandes completely overlooked the fact that Dölger's essay was a reaction to the article »The Byzantines Hierarchy of States« (»Die byzantinische Staatenhierarchie«), which appeared in 1936, of the Byzantinist Georg Ostrogorsky, who had finished his doctorate in Göttingen and his habilitation in Breslau in 1928. After the rise to power of the National Socialists, he lost position due to their repressive and racist legislation, which forced him to emigrate to Belgrade via Prague. It is thus worth taking into consideration that Ostrogorsky never felt compelled to voice any notable critique of Dölger's construct. Furthermore, it is a matter of the question whether in connection with the »baptism« of Kievan Rus' under Prince Vladimir (988) one can still speak of his entry into the »Family of Kings«. The answer lies, as is demonstrated, in a modification of the model of the Byzantine Commonwealth developed by Obolensky.

(Transl. Z. Chitwood, Mainz)

Byzanz, die Rus' und die sogenannte Familie der Könige. Von George Ostrogorsky zu Franz Dölgers Konstrukt und seinen Kritiken

Der Beitrag befasst sich mit der Diskussion um die historische Tragfähigkeit des Konstrukts der »Familie der Könige im Mittelalter«, das in der Byzantinistik und Mediävistik eine starke Wirkung entfaltete. Konzipiert wurde es von dem Münchner Byzantinisten Franz Dölger (1891-1968) in einem 1940 erschienenen Artikel (nachgedruckt 1953 und 1964). Nachdem man seit den 1970er Jahren zunehmend Kritik an dem Konstrukt geübt hatte, unterzog es der Frankfurter Byzantinist Wolfram Brandes auf dem Mainzer Historikertag 2012 einer fundamentalen Kritik: Erstens in historisch-quellenkritischer Hinsicht mit der These, das Konstrukt entbehre fast jeglicher Quellenbasis, sei somit obsolet; zweitens in wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Hinsicht durch den Hinweis, es verdanke sich Dölgers Sympathie für Hitlers Weltherrschaftspläne. Näher betrachtet, zeigt sich aber, dass Brandes' Kritik hauptsächlich im Hinblick auf frühmittelalterliche Aspekte zutrifft. Doch im Hinblick auf den zeitgeschichtlichen Aspekt übersah Brandes völlig, dass Dölgers Beitrag eine Reaktion auf den 1936 erschienenen Artikel »Die byzantinische Staatenhierarchie« des in Göttingen promovierten und 1928 in Breslau habilitierten Byzantinisten Georg Ostrogorsky darstellt, der 1933, gleich nach Machtübernahme der Nationalsozialisten, durch deren repressive und rassistische Gesetzgebung seine Stellung verlor, was ihn in die Emigration über Prag nach Belgrad zwang. Es sollte also zu denken geben, dass sich Ostrogorsky nie veranlasst sah, an Dölgers Konstrukt nennenswerte Kritik zu üben. Des Weiteren geht es um die Frage, ob man im Zusammenhang mit der »Taufe« Altrusslands unter Fürst Vladimir (988) noch von seiner Aufnahme in die »Familie der Könige« sprechen könne. Die Antwort liegt, wie sich zeigt, in einer Modifikation des von Obolensky entwickelten Konzepts des Byzantine Commonwealth.

Hans-Christian Maner

»Byzance après Byzance« – Nicolae Iorga's Concept and its Aftermath

The »Voltaire of Romanian Culture«, an »overwhelming personality« – these characterisations by the literary critic and critical contemporary George Călinescu already indicate the problem: How can one approach Nicolae Iorga (**fig. 1**) with his many and diverse activities, which not only include a large number of tasks in public life, but also concern his first profession, history? It appears indispensable to refer to just one of his numerous fields of historical interest, namely his studies of Byzantium. Even to restrict oneself to just this topic leaves a vast body of work to deal with: 24 publications of separate sources, including editions, 19 general works, 95 specialist monographs and articles, as well as 120 book reviews[1]. It may thus help to concentrate on the idea of Byzantine continuity after the fall of the Empire, which is already articulated in Iorga's early works, notably his two-volume »Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes im Rahmen seiner Staatsbildungen« (History of the Romanian People Within the Context of its State-Formations), which appeared in Gotha in 1905, or his five-volume »Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches« (History of the Ottoman Empire), also published in Gotha between 1908-1913. Several other studies, which deal more intensively with the concept of »Byzantium after Byzantium«, are dated to the years of the Balkan Wars 1912/1913. The basic lines of the concept and, by the way, also the title, were presented by Iorga finally at the Congress for Byzantine Studies in Sofia in 1934. A year later the book »Byzance après Byzance« appeared in French in Paris[2].

As the reason for his consideration of the history of Byzantium in general, Iorga once cited the great – not least the geographic – span of the topic. But then his main concern was a revaluation of this history: The East was not an appendix, not a periphery of the West, went Iorga's plea against the positions of Western European historians. Throughout his entire work the question »What is Byzantium?« preoccupied him. In the foreword to his book »Byzance après Byzance«, he does not equate Byzantium with a dynasty or a ruling class. For him Byzantium meant a complex of institutions, a political system, a religious formation, a type of civilisation, the intellectual Hellenic inheritance, Roman Law, the Orthodox religion and

art. This Byzantium, according to Iorga, »did not disappear, it could not disappear with the fall of its capitals, Constantinople, Mistra and Trapezunt in the 15th century«[3].

His definition of »Byzantium« finally appeared in a contribution published in French in the »Byzantinische Zeitschrift« of the year 1929/1930, in a special issue dedicated to the German Byzantinist August Heisenberg, who died in 1930. In it, Iorga states: »Byzantium is a synthesis of very different elements which come from everywhere, and which always remain open until the Byzantine idea in the end itself disappears«[4]. Byzantium was explained, as it were, as an »open [i.e. by no means closed or even concluded] structure« that possessed the continuous possibility of assimilation and synthesis.

In the following discussion, at first I shall turn to the structure and argument as Iorga develops them in his book »Byzance après Byzance«. Finally, I shall look at some of its after-effects in the Romanian scholarly context.

Iorga first makes clear the continuing expression of the Byzantine idea in emigration. The steady advance of the Ottoman Empire and finally the conquest of Byzantium, drove numerous scholars of Greek language and culture to the West, to Venice, Paris, Geneva and to various regions of the Holy Roman Empire. They brought with them not only their ideals, including their love of Byzantium, but also shaped Western European culture. Iorga gives a whole series of examples, referring, among other things, to the German philosopher and historian of the 16th century, Martin Crusius. Yet his is far from being the only name cited:

Manuel Chrysoloras, former Byzantine ambassador to Venice, who has spread Greek language and literature during the »lifetime« of the empire in the lagoon city; the humanist Johannes Argyropoulos, who travelled through Italy after 1453, taught Greek philosophy and drew attention to the fate of the Greeks among the Ottomans; Konstantinos Laskaris, a student of Argyropoulos, who wrote a Greek grammar. They were followed by the humanist Andreas Johannes Laskaris, who also taught in Italy. Educated at Byzantine schools, they all spread the Greek language and culture.

1 Pippidi, Bibliografia 235-250. The entire anthology is also fundamental: Stănescu, Nicolae Iorga. See also Zub, Nicolae Iorga; Zub, De la istoria critică. – On Iorga's life and writings see Theodorescu, Nicolae Iorga; Netea, Nicolae Iorga; Valota-Cavallotti, Nicola Iorga; Zamfirescu, N. Iorga; Nagy-Talavera, Nicolae Iorga; Oldson,

The historical and nationalistic thought; Pearton, Nicolae Iorga; Țurlea, Nicolae Iorga; Maner, Die Aufhebung des Nationalen 239-263.
2 Cândea, Postfață 256-260.
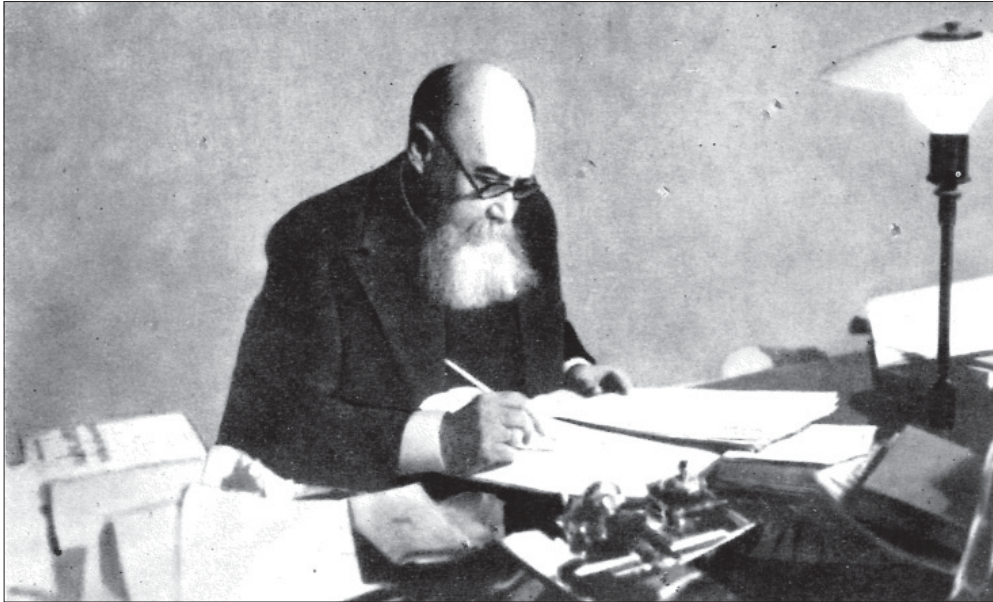3 Iorga, Bizanț 5.
4 Iorga, Ce e Bizanțul 16.

Fig. 1 Nicolae Iorga (1871-1940). – (After Pippidi, Nicolas Iorga 404-405.

Even later, there were artists who gained fame among them. As an example, Iorga cites the Cretan icon painter Dominikos Theotokopoulos, who became famous in Toledo in the 16th century under the name of »El Greco«.

What united many of them was hatred of the new Ottoman rulers and a love of Byzantium. From these circles came the tireless call to a new Crusade. This widespread mood prevailed, e. g. in the writings of Crusius in the 16th century, who published *Turcogræciæ* and *Germanogræciæ* in Basel in 1584 and 1585 respectively. From the latter, Iorga quotes as follows: »We sorrowfully owe you, Athens, now oppressed by unlawful and cruel Barbarians. The free spirit no longer exists: neither schools nor scholarship; The old treasures have disappeared«[5]. In the dedication of *Turcogræciæ* to the Landgraves of Hesse, Crusius expresses the wish that the Greek Empire still existed and flourished[6].

The next thing Iorga did was to take a look at Constantinople, the centre and capital of the Byzantine Empire. After the conquest, Mehmed II had striven to repopulate the city and did so, among other things, by inviting Greeks who had previously gone into exile. Constantinople remained or became once again a very mixed city in which lived, apart from Syrians and Arabs, a considerable number of Jewish residents, as well as Italians and other western Europeans. It is true that imperial Constantinople had been plundered, though it was »destroyed to a lesser extent«[7], thus a series of churches with their frescoes had remained standing. Iorga presented several sultans of the 15th and 16th centuries as protectors of the Christian population; in addition, they had used the Greek language in contacts with the Balkan provinces under Western influence. Furthermore, the Ottomans had left Byzantine basic structures, such as local autonomy rights, intact where they existed, for instance in the islands of the Aegean, the colonies in Italy or on Mount Athos.

The Ottoman Empire was regarded by Iorga as the restorer and ultimately the continuation of the Byzantine Empire. This »Turkish world« was nothing other »than a new edition of former Byzantium, with another religion, with other dignitaries and with the support of a different military class«[8]. In his history of the Ottoman Empire, one encounters this continuity again and again. In many fields the Ottomans had adopted Byzantine terms. This topic would require a paper of its own, which is why I must here restrict myself to these comments.

In the further course of the book, apart from the monasteries, Iorga saw the ecumenical patriarchate in particular as the institution in which a Byzantine life of its own continued in the 15th and 16th centuries, including all its machinations: »Despite all the patriarchs' intrigues and catastrophes, the church retained its high standing«[9]. And Iorga described the relations with the new rulers in the 16th century as a »friendly life together«, in which the patriarch even had a chancellery, similar to that of a head of state[10]. Terms such as »the Byzantium of the Church« or »Patriarchal Byzantium« are used here. The patriarchy had thus taken the place of Byzantium, something which was also shown in foreign relations, e. g. with Western Europe. »It was not possible to drive out the memory of imperial Byzantium: Its eagle was on the patriarch's chest; it was still possible to see the pictures of the emperors on the walls of the Pammakaristos church«[11].

Under the heading »Archontes«, the fifth of a total of ten chapters examines Greek families and persons who all occupied outstanding social positions in the Ottoman Em-

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5 Iorga, Bizanț 33.
6 Ibidem.
7 Ibidem 43.
8 Iorga, Ce e Bizanțul 17.

 9 Iorga, Bizanț 85.
10 Ibidem 89. 92.
11 Ibidem 97.

Fig. 2 Bogdan Lăpuşneanu (1553-1574) at Dochiariou monastery, Mt Athos, 16th century. – (After Iorga, Bizant, 135).

Fig. 3 Ruxandra Lăpuşneanu (1538-1570) at Dochiariou monastery, Mt Athos, 16th century. – (After Iorga, Bizanț 127).

pire: the families Kantakuzenos, Palaiologos, Argyropulos, Skarlatos, Dukas, Mavrokordatos or Rosetti with their various branches. This Byzantine aristocracy, which still had great wealth at its disposal, had not come to an end, Iorga emphasised. These great Byzantine families had »emigrated to the Romanians«[12].

Iorga thus manages the transition to the heart of his story, which is to be found again in chapter headings such as »The imperial Byzantine idea through the Romanian rulers«, »The protection of the Byzantine Church and civilisation by the Romanian rulers«, »Phanar« or »The end of Byzantium«.

Initially, Iorga establishes that the Archontes »in their wildest dreams were perhaps striving for the imperial crown, though they would never attain it«. Therefore, they sought for support, in order to help towards a »truly Byzantine Church«, to quote Iorga.

»But where could monarchs ›crowned by God‹ be found in accordance with the strict rules of a thousand years of Orthodoxy?«[13] That was the historian's main question. And the answer, so to speak as the thesis of the study, follows swiftly:

»Under these conditions, the Orthodox world turned to the Romanian rulers, whose authority over their subjects was of imperial character and who were depicted in ecclesiastical

frescoes with the crown on their heads using the formula ›by the grace of God‹ in their documents«[14].

Particular attention is paid to the close connections of the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia to the monasteries of Athos and Metéora, as well as to the Phanar quarter of Constantinople. This is illustrated by the portrayals of two frescoes of Mother and Son Lăpuşneanu from the Athos monastery of Dochiariou (**figs 2-4**). In this connection the close connections and links of the rulers or the future rulers of the principalities in the 16th century to Constantinople or to the former Byzantine empire are emphasised. From their, in part lengthier, enforced stays in areas formerly under Byzantine rule, Iorga concludes that these present and future rulers were imbued with »everything that constitutes Byzantine tradition«[15]. Thus Iorga is of the opinion that the appointment of the first prince of Wallachia by the Sultan in Constantinople in 1535 had taken place using the imperial ceremonial. Radu Paisie (as the monk Paisie or Petru de la Argeş) had left »Constantinople in an imperial manner, together with the Turkish head groom, 50-60 companions and with his five flags, as well as almost 1500 soldiers in his personal service«[16].

Further parts of the ceremonial in Constantinople involved the new prince going from the Grand Vizier in a solemn pro-

12 Ibidem 117.
13 Ibidem 124.
14 Ibidem 126.

15 Ibidem 132.
16 Ibidem 134.

Fig. 4 View from Docheiariou monastery, Mount Athos, Greece. – (Photo Kočev; Wikimedia commons CC BY-SA 4.0).

cession to the Patriarchate's church. In the second volume of his »History of the Romanian People«, which appeared in Gotha in 1905, Iorga expresses this as follows: »In the church, the Romanian prince, who is the only Christian ruler embellished with a crown and sceptre remaining in the Orient subjugated by the heathens, is received with the honours to which the emperors of the Orthodox East used to be entitled«. Iorga continues by giving more detail: »A throne had been erected for the prince, and when he crossed its threshold, – just like once for the long since vanished Christian *basileus* – prayers for him, for his victory, the long period of his reign, health and salvation […] were spoken; as for that Caesar of the East in his honour the Polychrónion, the Byzantine ›God preserve you‹, was sung from the practised psalters of the *Patriarcheion*«[17].

Several of the princes, Iorga sums up in his »Byzance après Byzance«, were »truly crowned monarchs with imperial manners that had been formed in the Empire and in particular in Byzantium, who had brought social practises with them from there, who had adopted certain fashions from the capital, who spoke Greek in their families and were married to Greek or Levantine women«. These »brought into their country, apart from the habits adopted of course from the Turks,

traditions that were not Greek, neither from a national nor a popular point of view, but Byzantine, imperial. The items of information, which we have from this period, prove this sufficiently«[18].

After the »givers«, i. e. those who brought the imperial, Byzantine idea with them to the princedoms, Iorga turns to the »protectors«, among which he first concentrates on Michael the Brave, the prince of Wallachia at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century (**fig. 5**). As the son of a Greek woman, Teodora, as a friend of Archbishop Dionysios of Trnovo, and coming from the milieu of the patron Andronic Kantakuzenos, Michael, according to Iorga, brought together »all the Byzantine trends of that time«, namely those handed down by the Church, as well as those that came from the secular Constantinopolitan milieu of the great families, and finally those that came from the West. The so-called »Long Turkish War« of 1593-1606, in which Michael fought on the Hapsburg side against the Ottomans, was really, according to Iorga, a matter of the restoration of the Byzantine Empire. The historian quotes from various sources that Michael was striving to get to Constantinople in order to place himself as emperor at the head of the Empire. In addition, he was compared with Alexander the Great[19].

17 Jorga, Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes 40 f.
18 Iorga, Bizanț 134.

19 Ibidem 144-146.

Fig. 5 Portrait of Michael the Brave (1558-1601), contemporary engraving by Aegidius Sadeler, Prague 1601. – (Courtesy of Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig).

Fig. 6 Vasile Lupu (1634-1653), contemporary engraving, by Willem Hondius, 1651. – (Courtesy of Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig).

Iorga saw one of the climaxes of *Byzance après Byzance* in the period of the rule of Vasile Lupu (Prince of Moldavia 1634-1653, **fig. 6**) who, he felt, explicitly followed the example of Byzantine rulers. Born Lupu Coci, with Greek roots, he married into the Kantakuzenos family and adopted the name »Vasile« (basileios) on his accession to the throne[20]. As a result, the prince continued in the tradition of the Byzantine emperors of the 9th-11th centuries and took up the title of *basileus* as a mark of imperial power. In a supposedly autocratic style of government, he also used imperial symbols. These became particularly noticeable in his construction programme, in iconography (the monastery of Golia, the church of the Trei Ierarhi [Three Hierarchs]) and in particular in the crown. Vasile Lupu introduced the title of *Basileus tōn Romaiōn* from 1638, with the consent of the Porte as well as of the Patriarch. His massive influence on the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire was also counted as part of Vasile Lupu's »imperial project«. According to Iorga, Lupu exercised the Church's patronage over the patriarchate in a similar manner to that of Byzantine rulers. He established foundations far beyond the principality and intervened in political affairs of the Orthodox Church by taking a crucial influence on the deposition and appointment of patriarchs, for example in the deposition and subsequent execution of Kyrillos Loukaris in the year 1638. He also had an influence on dogmatic disputes. Thus in 1642 he called a council in the church of the Trei Ierarhi in Iaşi, which he chaired himself, in the manner of his Byzantine models[21].

Iorga also saw a similar way of dealing with the Church and tendencies of exerting influence in the case of the Wallachian Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714). The cultivation of Byzantine traditions was expressed by Brâncoveanu in his intense building activity in the so-called »Brâncoveanu« style, which is regarded as a development of the Byzantine style[22].

This leads us to the next thematic complex in Iorga's book, which is briefly addressed here, the Byzantine rebirth through schools. At the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries,

20 Wasiucionek, Die Simulation von Souveränität 112-115.
21 Ibidem 114.

22 Theodorescu, Studii brâncoveneşti; Drăguţ/Săndulescu, Arta brâncovenească. – Iorga, Viaţa şi domnia.

according to Iorga, the Romanian principalities adopted the »Byzantine« precedence from politics and applied it to schools and to cultural policy. Bucharest and Iași became centres in which Greek scholars taught philosophy, history, literature, grammar and other subjects. The curriculum of the school in Iași was said to have formed the Byzantine program in its entirety[23].

As the final great exponents of the *Byzance après Byzance* phenomenon, the Phanariots enter the scene. These were a circle of individuals from the Phanar quarter who grouped around the Patriarch and the patriarchate church at the Golden Horn in Constantinople[24]. From this Greek-speaking, Orthodox elite there emerged firstly dragomen, then grand dragomen and finally princes of Moldavia and Wallachia in the 18th and 19th centuries[25]. Nikolaos Mavrokordatos made the start here in 1709, first as prince of Moldavia (1709-1716) and then also as prince of Wallachia (1716-1730). Then followed princes from the Ghika, Kallimachi, Karazá, Soutzo, Mourousi, Mavrogheni and Ipsilanti families. In their appearance and bearing, as well as in their ideology, they strove, on the one hand, for the continuation of Byzantine traditions and dreamt of the refoundation of a Byzantine Empire, but on the other hand they were at the same time the gravediggers of Byzantium.

Byzantium and the Southeast European Orthodox community disappeared, according to Iorga, only in the 19th century with the powerful emergence of the modern nation-state and modern nationalism. He saw the year 1821, in which the Greek revolution had begun, as the turning point. Iorga accused the Phanariots of having brought about the end of Byzantium through their contradictory behaviour: on the one hand by being representatives of Byzantine traditions and on the other hand of having been supporters of the most exclusionary spirit of the modern nation[26].

The after-effects

It is thanks to Nicolae Iorga's study of the history of Byzantium, and in our case in particular of its reception, that the title of his book »Byzance après Byzance« has remained a really familiar quotation until the present that is proverbial to this day, though admittedly even specialists often use it as a mere formula, detached from its underlying content and the argumentation developed by Iorga.

In Romania, the topic is still very much present in the minds of the specialist public. In a round of discussions organised by the Institute for Defence Political and Military Historical Studies in 2010, Romanian historians were asked for

their opinion, among other things, on the following question: What is the present perception of »Byzantium after Byzantium« as a result of the historiographical contributions from 1935 until today[27]? Whereas some repeat Iorga's theses and thus confirm and emphasise their continued validity and national importance[28], others see in them a still valid model for explaining the contrasts between East and West or a model for a better understanding of Eastern Europe[29]. In a negative respect, »Byzantium after Byzantium« today is seen as the continuation of certain cultural forms, as the perpetuating imitation of clichés, coupled with economic and intellectual stagnation. A striking example in this direction is the book by the political scientist Daniel Barbu »Byzance against Byzance, Explorations in Romanian Political Culture«, published in the year 2001.

For Barbu, Iorga's concept is nothing but a profile of the expectation horizon of Romania, a systematic inventory of post-Byzantine cultural imports. But these imports remain nothing but forms without content *(forme fără fond)*. The Romanians have thus, according to Barbu, indeed taken on the formula of the act of government as well as the cultural equipment of Byzantium, but only superficially. Their underlying meaning *(homoetheia)* remained foreign to Romanians. They had not taken on the Byzantine self-understanding connected with it. Barbu thus opposes Iorga's formula. The princedoms were by no means a new Byzantium, which had let itself be formed after the models of the Byzantine Empire, but places that were in fact opposed to Byzantium and its forms[30].

One of the most detailed and intensive discussions of Iorga's concept comes from the pen of his grandson, the well-known historian Andrei Pippidi, in his book published in 1983, The Political Byzantine Tradition in the Romanian Lands from 16th to 18th Century.

By concentrating on the political aspect, Pippidi examines and at the same time widens the view of his grandfather's work. Behind the respect for Byzantine tradition as an ideal form of government after the fall of Byzantium, Pippidi saw a myth, a political model. Consequently, the political Byzantine tradition in the Romanian princedoms had been a powerful idea and an unfulfilled dream[31]. At the same time he emphasises the influence of the people »in between« (Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs) and takes up an idea of Iorga's, according to which it was not about a continuation of Byzantium exclusively among the Romanians, but about Byzantine forms and aspirations in the whole European part of the former Empire.

Thus Pippidi examines the influence of Serbian refugees or Byzantine ideas from the court of the Serbian despots before their incorporation into the Ottoman Empire in the case of

23 Iorga, Bizanț 213.
24 Zamfirescu, Bizanțul XLVII.
25 On this see also Maner, Dragoman 665-680.
26 Iorga, Bizanțul după bizanț 132.
27 Ionescu, Bizanț versus Bizanț 22.
28 Ibidem 58, Ginel Lazăr, Historian in the National History Museum of Romania in Bucharest; Ibidem 70, Alexandru Madgearu, Historian at the Bucharest Institute

for Defense Policy Studies and Military History; ibidem 144, Răzvan Theodorescu, Historian and Politician.
29 Ibidem 34, 112 f. thus e. g. Neagu Djuvara, Ioan-Aurel Pop.
30 Barbu, Bizanț.
31 Pippidi, Tradiția 22.

Alexandru Lăpuşneanu, father of Bogdan and husband of Ruxandra. In the case of Michael the Brave, the persistence of the »mental clichés« and of legends regarding the restoration of the Byzantine Empire become especially clear. It also becomes clear that these ideas did not only circulate in the princedoms, but were also to be found to the south of the Danube and came together to a certain degree in the person of Michael the Brave[32]. According to Pippidi, many influences also came together in the person of Vasile Lupu. Thus he was a typical representative of the new Balkan class of boyars who virtually embodied the head of an ecumenical monarchy in Iaşi, of course with a great deal of self-staging[33].

Conclusion

Iorga's preoccupation in the first third of the 20th century with the entangled themes of *Byzance après Byzance*, as well as the reactions to his thoughts on the subject, cannot be seen detached from the spirit of the respective age. In dealing with the history of Byzantium, in particular with the afterlife of Byzantium, Iorga placed two fundamental aspects to the fore: the exemplary model of the union, not just on a regional basis, which Byzantium had offered in his opinion and – embedded in this model – the Romanians' role of leading the way. The latter was, of course, connected with his life-long activity, the construction of a Romanian nation justified by history. These thoughts are to be found, for example, in his »History of the Romanian People« of 1905. In 1912/13, political developments add further context, leading to the questions: What is happening to the Ottoman Empire and what is intended to take its place? Or: How is the area to be shaped in the future? In particular, during the Second Balkan War, there were thoughts in Bucharest of acting towards the Balkans in the form of a civilising mission. In addition, after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, there were plans for regional mergers, with the Byzantine Empire always present as the idea and model, also in Iorga's reflections, which, for example, he presented in a contribution in 1931 regarding federal structures in Southeastern Europe[34]. The project of a Balkan union occupied the Balkan conferences that took place from 1930 to 1934, which in 1934 led finally to the Balkan entente concluded between Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Romania.

The need for dealing with Iorga's book in the Bucharest round of discussions in 2010 is based on the search for validation and an atmosphere of general security after the attack of 2001 as well as after the shaping of new architecture in Eastern Europe with NATO and the EU as key players. No less is also the activity of the well-known political scientist Daniel Barbu with the topic caused by developments, or much rather faulty developments of politics in Romania in the 1990s.

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32 Ibidem 262-273.
33 Wasiucionek, Die Simulation von Souveränität 112-115.

34 On this see also Campus, Ideea federală 100 f.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

»Byzance après Byzance« – Nicolae Iorga's Concept and its Aftermath

The studies about Nicolae Iorga and the history of Byzantium, and especially his reception, can largely be explained by the fact that the title of his book »Byzance après Byzance« has become almost a proverbial figure of speech. The phrase is used today, detached from the underlying content and the argumentation developed by Iorga. The original work of Byzance après Byzance will therefore be placed at the centre of attention, analysing and explaining its structure, before finally looking at some after-effects in the Romanian academic context.

»Byzance après Byzance« – Nicolae Iorgas Konzept und seine Nachwirkungen

Untersuchungen über Nicolae Iorga und die Geschichte von Byzanz und insbesondere dessen Rezeption lassen sich weitgehend damit erklären, dass der Titel seines Buches »Byzance après Byzance« fast schon zur sprichwörtlichen Redewendung geworden ist. Der Ausdruck wird heute in der Regel verwendet, ohne den Inhalt und die von Iorga entwickelte Argumentation vor Augen zu haben. In den Ausführungen wird daher das Werk »Byzance après Byzance« im Mittelpunkt der Aufmerksamkeit stehen und seine Struktur analysiert sowie erläutert, bevor schließlich noch einige Nachwirkungen im rumänischen akademischen Kontext betrachtet werden.

Dimitris Stamatopoulos

The Western Byzantium of Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos

Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos was the founder of Greek national historiography in the 19th century, and the man who consolidated the schema of the unbroken continuity of Hellenism from antiquity to the modern age, incorporating Byzantium – a Byzantium rejected by representatives of the modern Greek Enlightenment like Adamantius Korais – into this narrative framework[1].

Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos transformed the philosophical schema of the continuity of the Greek nation[2] proposed by Spyridon Zampelios[3] into a unified historical narrative by incorporating into it the Greek Middle Ages, i.e. Byzantium. The tripartite scheme of Greek temporal continuity legitimised the mid-19th century demand for confirmation of spatial unity, and such unity could not be confirmed unless Constantinople replaced Athens as the capital city of Hellenism. However, manifestations of the Megali Idea during that era were extremely varied and frequently contradictory, running the gamut from »civilizing the East« to political irredentism. For this reason, perhaps, it was not sufficient for someone to be proclaimed the Greek »national historian« simply because he represented the visionary tendencies of the Megali Idea. And this was even more so if he remained the sole »national« historian even after the inglorious end of the dreams of the Megali Idea in the wake of the Asia Minor disaster in 1922. It is more probable, as shall be maintained here, that he met the qualifications for being proclaimed »national historian« only once he could be sufficiently all-encompassing so as to include simultaneously both the dominant version of the national narrative as well as potential criticisms of this narrative.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate, as representing »living« Constantinople during the 19th century, and as a surviving element of Byzantium within the Ottoman Empire, would logically have formed one of the essential scholarly subjects for a »nationally thought-out« historical treatment. But was that true?

Constantinople against Athens?

Manuel Gedeon, one of the most important scholars of the 19th century Ecumenical Patriarchate and ideological proponent of a particular group of pro-Russian patriarchs in Constantinople (Joachim II, Joachim III) for half a century (1870-1921), would disagree. Gedeon was an expert at collecting sources, which he used to compose short stories of churches, monasteries, or prominent figures of the Greek community – but never a complete history of the Ecumenical Patriarchate[4]. In fact, the essential difference between the two men was that Paparrigopoulos invented a unified history of the Greek nation, while Gedeon offers us bits and pieces of the history – never the entire history – of the Orthodox (Rum) millet (rendered in Greek with the word γένος)[5].

An ironic distancing from or even astringent allusions to the work of Paparrigopoulos are often noticeable in Gedeon's

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1 Dimaras, Paparrigopoulos. – Stamatopoulos, Ethnos.
2 Paparrigopoulos, Istoria ethnous 5.
3 The scheme of Zambelios was inspired by the Hegelian philosophical triad: if the antiquity played the role of »thesis« and the Byzantine Christanism represented its »antithesis«, modern Hellenism should be considered as their »synthesis«, the result of their dialectical confrontation. See especially the introduction to Zambelios, Asmata.
4 As early as the late 1980s, quite a number of historians in Greece had turned to the analysis of the process of nationalization of the Orthodox populations outside the borders of Greece but (primarily) within the Ottoman Empire, with the object of deconstructing the dominant narrative of the Greek national historiography. It was thus natural for them to discover the significance of Gedeon's work, though for many, its different theoretical aim was not apparent. The solution offered by most of them was to see different processes of nationalization related to the Christian Orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire. In these accounts, Constantinople had taken its proper place next to Athens, and the identification of these populations with different aspects of the Ottoman imperial ideology was emphasized against the irredentist agenda of the Greek state. Expressed in works dealing with specific topics rather than in large synthetic works (here, I call to mind only the names of Veremis, Kingdom 203-212; Kofos, Joachim 107-120; and Kitromilidis, Communities 149-192), this historiographical tendency reserved a different treatment for the role of the patriarchate, and Orthodoxy in general, within the framework of the Empire. The patriarchate is now considered the successor to the Byzantine Empire and precisely for this reason does not represent the Greek

nation but instead the *Romaiko genos* (Rum millet). The meaning of *Romios*, however, is identified with the designation »Orthodox Christian«; in the same fashion, the meaning of *Romios* is distinguished from that of *Greek*, while Byzantium is »re-Christianised«, so that there is an emphasis on the religious and cultural dimension and not on the national or political. This historiographical tendency reached its zenith at the end of the 1980s with the works of Paschalis Kitromilidis. His 1989 article describes what he calls the »antinomy between Orthodoxy and Nationalism«, a contradiction which, in his view, was culminated with the proclamation of the 1872 schism (Kitromilidis, Communities 177-185). Later refinements include the suggestion that we understand the role of the patriarchate and the primary position it occupied within the framework of the »Orthodox commonwealth«, here referring not only to the Orthodox world of the Ottoman Empire but that of the rest of Eastern Europe and, above all, Russia. The term »Orthodox Commonwealth« was naturally inspired by the corresponding term »Byzantine Commonwealth« coined by Obolensky, Commonwealth. Thus, a bipolar historiographic schema was established: Athens-Constantinople, nationalism-ecumenism, and a place of honour for national identity's dominance over religious identity. The monolithic nationalist paradigm revealed its limitations within a process of its critical deconstruction. However, the bipolar scheme has been also criticized by a new generation of historians as encapsulated in the dominant paradigm of Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (see Stamatopoulos, Historiographer).
5 Gedeōn, Mneia 239: Let me add here that the word γένος should be considered the much more precise translation of the concept of »nation« than the word ἔθνος.

writing. There was something odd about this: Why would the most important intellectual in the patriarchate at the end of the 19th century look with suspicion upon the Greek »national historiographer«, from the moment that the latter was essentially performing the re-legitimisation of the Byzantine past in Modern Greek history? Why would the representative of Constantinople oppose the narrative of embracing Constantinople / Byzantium?

He did so for the very simple reason that the Byzantium of Paparrigopoulos was turned towards the West. Normally, we think of Paparrigopoulos as a romantic who, like that other important antiquarian of the era, Spyridon Zambelios, sought to re-establish the unity of Hellenism that had been lost over time. However, although Zambelios was strongly influenced by Hegel, we could say that Paparrigopoulos retained something of the pragmatism of the Phanariote environment in which he grew up: He was born in Istanbul, his father was a banker who was killed by the Ottomans when the Greek Revolution broke out, and when he left Istanbul, he came to Greece as heterochton, without basic privileges like eligibility for tenure at the Greek University. The same of course was true of Gedeon, but from the early 1850s Paparrigopoulos fashioned a scheme of continuity for Hellenism that went as follows: In the course of its history, Hellenism had suffered two major conquests and discontinuities, that of the Romans and that of the Ottomans. The first of these Hellenism had confronted with (the Greek) language, while it had confronted the second with (the Orthodox Christian) religion: Antiquity – Byzantium – Modern Greece, interrupted yet simultaneously united. This schema led to the thought that, if the Greek language saved us from becoming Romans, then could not language itself – quite independently of religion – have been the basic characteristic of Hellenism under Byzantium? It was (the Christian Orthodox) religion that separated the Greeks from antiquity, but oddly enough the »heresies« that were condemned by the seven Ecumenical Councils are considered to connect them with the ancient world through paganism or better through different versions of the ancient philosophy! And strangely enough, the Byzantium of Paparrigopoulos was not only Phanariote, but also »heretical«.

On the Question of Iconomachy

Despite the fact that he was naturally very careful in his remarks about Orthodoxy, in many facets of his work Paparrigopoulos demonstrates an excessive affection for heretics, above all in his stance toward the Iconomachy and its emperors. According to Paparrigopoulos, the Byzantine Iconomachs had attempted to do what Luther and Calvin did in the West – six centuries earlier, however! The risk taken by the

Iconomachy was the same as that involved in the Protestant Reformation. Indeed, Paparrigopoulos employed this favourable approach to the Iconomachy as »Reformation« to distinguish his position from that of Zambelios, who considered the Iconomachy to have been a conspiracy of the monarchy against the people.

By 1853, in the abridged version of The History of the Greek Nation, Paparrigopoulos summarises his views on how Hellenism, in its centuries-long journey through history, had coped with foreign domination. Roman domination is offset by the superiority of the Greek education and, implicitly, language has an important role in this[6]. On the other hand, preserving its faith saved the Greek nation during the years of Ottoman rule[7]. Paparrigopoulos's judgment has two prerequisites, one implicit and one explicit. In both cases he admits that the means for the Greek nation's survival were accepted by each respective conqueror. They were not imposed upon the conquerors by sheer force of their cultural superiority but rather chosen by them: The Romans had begun to share in Greek learning before their conquest; the Ottomans, and particularly Mehmed II (the Conqueror) had set up the horizontal organization of the millet system. The final prerequisite for Paparrigopoulos's argument is not explicitly stated but can be inferred: The earlier conquests of the Greek nation are but the springboard for the new phase in the dynamic rebirth of the substantialized subject.

Byzantium and religion are inextricable. Thus the question is how the Eastern Roman Empire, as Paparrigopoulos described it early on in his writings, became gradually Hellenized. The answer is not as »easy« as it appears in Zambelios's account. Paparrigopoulos could not resort to a »philosophical« approach to the issue. And even though his approach is not philosophical, it can claim to be dialectical. This means that, for one thing, Paparrigopoulos realizes that Hellenism and Christianity coexisted within Byzantium in a contradictory manner. The initial solution he adopts is to frame Hellenism mainly through the philosophical and theognostic means provided by language.

But this solution does not suffice to explain the process of Byzantium's Hellenisation for one simple reason: Language may have been the solution to the problem of continuity in the case of the Roman conquest, but this makes it hard to re-employ it in order to Hellenize something that had already been »Hellenized« to whatever degree.

The Iconomachy is widely considered a key period for interpreting all of Byzantine history. It marks, among other things, the end of the war against »heresies«, that is, the ending of the Ecumenical Councils, the origin of the schism with the West, the beginning of Byzantium's civilizing work in the Slav world, and, primarily, the start of a new period which many historians compare to the »Hellenization« of

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6 Paparrigopoulos, Eikonomachoi 89: »What saved the Greek nation is its exceptional diligence with the arts and letters«.

7 Ibidem 119: »What ultimately saved the Greek nation was its loyal devotion to its fathers' faith«.

the Roman period with regard to the empire's civil identity. Thus, all 19th-century historians and scholars seeking to take a position against Byzantium had to confront the Iconomachy.

Zambelios also views the Iconomachy within the framework of bolstering the Byzantine emperor's »absolutism«. For Zambelios, Iconomachy was only apparently a religious issue[8]. In actual fact, it was a political issue, in which what was at stake was precisely the curtailment of the absolutism that had peaked during Justinian's reign. The Roman monarchy in Constantinople had »forgotten« the tradition of »Latin liberty« as it had existed back in Rome. Understandably, resistance on the part of the demoi (δῆμοι) and Church continuously escalated. The monarchy responded with the Iconomachy. Yet in Zambelios's view, the Iconomachy – which marked Romanism's collapse and Hellenism's total dominance – was merely the result of an »abominable plan« aimed at »sowing discord« between the clergy and the people. This »malicious religious reform« was nothing but a contrivance by those in power aimed at weakening the other two members of the Holy Trinity. And the pretext for this: »the alleged abusiveness of the worship of divine images«[9].

The Iconomachy appears merely as a heresy fomented by »malignant« emperors, starting with Leo III, the Isaurian. When analysing the basic coordinates along which Zambelios perceives Byzantium, reference was made to an excerpt from Hegel's Philosophy of History in which Hegel clearly joins the Gibbon camp. This excerpt is also cited by Zambelios. But further along in the same text, Hegel refers to Leo as »brave«[10]. Hegel juxtaposes the mystical and superstitious Byzantium with the historical trajectory of the West, comparing the Seventh Ecumenical Council, which vindicated iconolatry, with the Council of Frankfurt in 794, which censured »the superstitions of the Greeks«.

Paparrigopoulos's criticisms of Zambelios[11] in 1852 are the theoretical springboard for the tenth volume of his History, which is dedicated in its entirety to the Iconomachy. This time Paparrigopoulos does not content himself with highlighting the positive characteristics of the iconoclast emperors' political administration, but defines the entire period of the Iconomachy as a »Reformation«. Here, too, Paparrigopoulos follows Gibbon, who believed that the efforts of the »brave« iconoclast emperors to lift Byzantium out of the »long night of superstition« had heralded, in a way, the 16th-century Reformation, when »liberty and knowledge spread through all aspects of human life«[12]. There is no need to reverse Gibbon's line of argument this time – it had already taken a secular turn. Thus Paparrigopoulos does not limit his analysis to a single iconoclast emperor like Theofillos (829-645)[13], who already enjoyed favourable reports from the iconolatric chroniclers (»[…] he was an iconomach but for political reasons, not by conscience […]«)[14], but focuses on the first generation of iconoclast kings like Leo III, the Isaurian, and his son Constantine V, who were iconomachs by conscience[15].

In the third volume of his History of the Greek Nation (book ten), Paparrigopoulos attempts to highlight the Isaurian dynasty's work as the last significant effort to restructure the Byzantine state before it enters the phase of irreversible decline. It may not be an exaggeration to mention that the way Paparrigopoulos presents the Isaurians seems to be the ideal model on the basis of which he defends the institution of the Byzantine monarchy. To this end, however, he had first to adopt a secular perspective.

Indeed, the tenth book of Paparrigopoulos's History begins with a direct attack on what he calls the »ineptitudes« of Byzantine monasticism and its aberrant turns towards superstition and religious fanaticism[16]. He believes that Leo II did not seek confrontation but was forced into it by an already existing clash between the iconoclast minority and iconolatric majority. He thus found a historical opportunity to restructure the state and limit the powers of the Church, and especially the monks.

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8   Here one sees the substantive difference between Paparrigopoulos and Zambelios in their historiographical approach to Byzantium. Zambelios strikes a rather ambivalent stance on the Iconomachy, on one hand calling it »religious reform« but on the other viewing the defeat of the iconoclasts as the climactic point of the Hellenisation process. Paparrigopoulos takes a clearly positive position, viewing it as »reform« while in reality seeking the prerequisites for Byzantium's inclusion into the West's dominant narrative; in Byzantium, efforts to secularize the state had preceded the Protestants' corresponding reform of Catholic Rome by seven centuries. Cyril Mango (Byzantinism 41) was of the first to highlight the importance of Paparrigopoulos's approach to the Iconomachy. Mango recognizes that such an approach to the Iconomachy would create uneasiness in a modern perspective trained to view it as »an Eastern movement« closer to Islam than to Western culture. To understand Paparrigopoulos's choice we must thus look at it in relation to the conditions set by the opposing force. In Fallmerayer, Elli Skopetea identifies two very important points: the Austrian historian's anti-Byzantinism did not oppose the growth of Byzantine Studies in the West but rather presumed it – anti-Byzantinism is not incompatible with the incorporation of Byzantium's history into the Western narrative (81 passim) – and, secondly, that Fallmerayer viewed the Iconomachy as a prospect for Byzantium's internal evolution that did not work out (»just like Paparrigopoulos!,« notes Skopetea, Phallmerayer 91). On this same topic, see also Kitromilidis, Nationalism 25-33.
9   Zambelios, Asmata 301.
10 »The brave Emperor Leo the Isaurian in particular, persecuted images with the greatest obstinacy, and in the year 754, Image-Worship was declared by a

Council to be an invention of the devil. Nevertheless, in the year 787 the Empress Irene had it restored under the authority of a Nicene Council, and the Empress Theodora definitively established it […]«. See Hegel, Philosophy 357.
11 In an article published in the same issue of Nea Pandōra and immediately after Paparrigopoulos's book review, Papadopoulos-Vrettos underscores, albeit sympathetically, the most problematic element of Zambelios's attempt at narrating the history of Medieval Hellenism: »[…] and wishing to always appear, to the extent my meagre abilities allow, beneficial to my fellow Hellenes, I hasten to correct a very important bibliographic error of S. Zambelios; and I say *very important* error because correcting it will destroy from its foundations an entire chapter of his treatise«. What is this error? That »[his] apparently total reverence and piety offers a *religious* explanation of the eve of the Greek race's *rebirth* and attributes Greece's liberation from the [Ottoman] yoke to the Holy Mother of God« (author's emphasis). Papadopoulos-Vrettos refers to Zambelios's use of an excerpt from Ilias Maniatis's work. See Papadopoulos-Vrettos, Paratērēseis 403-406. What is of importance here is the theoretical position taken rather than the example cited.
12 Gibbon, however, does not abandon his interpretation of the Reformation as the result of the »West's strength in spurning the ghosts that dominate the sick and servile weakness of the Greeks«, see Gibbon, Decline 6, 186f.
13 Paparrigopoulos, Eikonomachoi 15-21. 65-71. 130-137. 175-182.
14 Ibidem 176.
15 Ibidem.
16 Paparrigopoulos, Istoria ethnous 3, 406-409.

Paparrigopoulos had already criticized Zambelios for viewing the Iconomachy as an attempt by the monarchy to divide clergy and people with the ultimate goal of limiting the clergy's authority. But what does an interpretation of the Iconomachy as a proto-Reformation mean? While Paparrigopoulos had forced Zambelios to abandon his position (the reduction of the nation to religion), he himself approaches the period – and essentially of all of Byzantine history, for the reasons outlined earlier – from a »religious« perspective; having forced Zambelios to reconsider whether the Iconomachy was a conspiracy by the monarchy, Paparrigopoulos conceptualizes it in a way that effectively accepts that what was at stake in this confrontation was to secure the authority of Byzantine absolutism.

Was, then, Zambelios de-constructed for no reason? On the contrary. The difference between the two viewpoints is in their handling of the West. Zambelios's Hegelian scheme doesn't simply place Greek history outside History, but also in contradistinction to the West. Conversely, Paparrigopoulos's scheme is beset by the anxiety of inscribing Greek history into European history. This is why he demolishes the self-referential scheme devised by Zambelios. And he does not attempt this by relating the two sides in a »positive« manner, but rather in an »apophatic« way. For example, he compares the two cases not at the level of the Renaissance or the Enlightenment, but at that of the end of the Middle Ages, to the extent that it marked the eruption of religious wars in the West.

Paparrigopoulos addresses the following question: What allowed the emergence in the West of the »wonderful civilization of modern times«, despite the fact that both the West and the East witnessed the manifestation of heresies and great misunderstandings in the Gospel's interpretation. For Paparrigopoulos, the key to interpreting the different path followed by the West was the religious Reformation that took place in the 16th century. Long before Max Weber's Protestant Ethic and in the footsteps of Thomas Babington Macaulay's analysis of this historic event, he observes:

»And while the countries accepting reform – northern Germany, England, North America – continued advancing in the field of culture and to this day are leaders in this, those countries remaining under Papal dominance – southern Germany, Italy, Spain, and South America – rather lost, by and large, their edge, declined or even withered, like Spain«[17].

It can easily be seen that such a view of Byzantium would have been unacceptable both to the patriarchate and to Gedeon. And it was not simply a question of interpreting the past, but also of political allegiances in the present. Someone speaking of »reform« in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century would have been thinking of the Tanzimat reforms, and the patriarchate was extremely cautious both towards reforms that lessened its own influence as well as generally

towards the processes of Westernization and modernization the reforms sought to bring about. Gedeon understood that the assault against the Phanariote or Western Byzantium of Paparrigopoulos would have to be made at the same point that the latter had employed to distinguish his views from the philosophical or Hegelian Byzantium of Spyridon Zambelios, namely, the interpretation of the Iconomachy. It would seem that it was easier to discern the differences between the two founders of Greek national historiography from the vantage point of Constantinople.

Gedeon began his assault on Paparrigopoulos within a broader project of constructing an ideological schema for religious ecumenism. Gedeon's ecumenism had a strongly Pan-Orthodox dimension, and this meant that it was favourably disposed towards the Orthodox Slavs, i.e. the Serbs, Bulgarians, and Russians. He opposed the patriarchate's decision to condemn supporters of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1872, and had entered into dialogue with the opposing side, members of the Bulgarian conservative faction like Marko Balabanov and Gavril Krstovic.

However, Gedeon's departure from Paparrigopoulos's historiographical scheme is not limited to his dim view of the latter's criticism of what he saw as the patriarchate's inability to promote the Hellenisation of the Balkan peoples in the 18th century. In other words, it was not limited to the years of Ottoman rule – which in any case, Gedeon viewed as a continuation of Byzantium – but to the Byzantine Empire itself and thus the manner in which Paparrigopoulos understood the inclusion of the »intermediate link« in the construction of the scheme of national continuity. Gedeon's disaffection with how the national historiography handled its medieval period would become evident through the differing approaches to the Iconomachy, which by the 19th century was considered a key issue in the internal evolution of Byzantine society and, ultimately, in its historiographical »Hellenisation«. In any case, for many historians the Iconomachy was not simply the peak of religious conflict in Byzantium, but also paved the way for the clash between the Byzantine East and the Catholic West over leadership of the Christian world and cultural influence over this delicate region of Eastern Europe.

The problem of the millet's multinational character

Moreover, it is well known that in volume five of his History of the Greek Nation, Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos accused the Ecumenical Patriarchate of not having fulfilled its historical mission, i.e. the Hellenizing of non-Greek speaking (primarily Slavic) populations in the Balkans. However, such a stance towards the patriarchate, despite the fact that it fell within

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17 Paparrigopoulos, Istoria ethnous 3, 416. France was the only one among the Catholic countries that could be excluded from the rule. And yet, the authority of the Catholic Church had already been severely curtailed there.

(or if you prefer, »helped to form«) the first stage of Greek historiography, with the patriarchate in the role of »ark of the nation«, is nonetheless based on an explicit admission: the recognition of the multi-national character of the millet. Supported by the narrative of Frantzis, Paparrigopoulos would maintain that Gennadios Scholarios (Gennadius Scholarius) became patriarch due to his anti-unionist beliefs, while at the same time he was the recipient of extensive privileges granted by Sultan Mehmed II, privileges that would finally make him the Ethnarch, i.e. the simultaneously religious and political ruler of all Romioi. Although Paparrigopoulos would employ the term ethnos to describe what we call the Rum millet, he nonetheless fully accepted its multi-ethnic character:

»And since that time, and in any case until recently, there was no differentiation into ethne of the non-Muslim subjects of the (Ottoman) state, and all of them were called Romioi, the patriarch's jurisdiction extended over the entire Orthodox Christian ›congregation‹ of the East, including not only Greeks, but Albanians, Bulgarians, Serbs and the other Slavic peoples […]«[18].

At another point in his work, Paparrigopoulos, starting from the discussions among historians about the origins of Skenterbeğ (Skender Bey), would relate:

»We believe that it is truly unworthy of scholarship, as it is of no value, to transpose into earlier eras the racial passions that have been produced in our own time between the Slavs of the East on the one hand, and the native inhabitants on the other. In those times, these divisions did not exist; Slavs, Albanians, and Greeks were considered brothers, with a single common enemy and common desire and wish, their salvation from that enemy. Since such was the case, the historian of this age must approach them in this way. It is thus a matter of indifference to us whether Kastriotis was a Slav or an Albanian in origin; it is also a matter of indifference whether he was Orthodox or Catholic; it is sufficient that he was Christian, and as such was considered a brother […]«[19].

Of course, Paparrigopoulos would at the end point out that the unquestionably Greek etymology of the name Skenterbeu could be explained by the cultural dominance »in those countries« of Hellenism.

However, Paparrigopoulos's acceptance of the multi-national character of the millet had the peculiar result of undermining perceptions of the patriarchate as the »ark of the nation«, since in any case the nations of the millet not only were preserved through the course of history, but began to come into conflict with one another for the trophies to be had from the disintegration of the Empire. It is interesting that this undermining of the millet's »Greekness« (which certainly existed for him at the level of language, i.e. »linguistic Hellenisation«), was connected with an undermining of the concept of the »privileges«. That is, Paparrigopoulos, while he accepted that these were awarded as early as the period after the fall of Constantinople, questioned whether they were actually in effect during the ensuing periods. This is because in his opinion, the unscrupulous and irresponsible policies of many patriarchs led to the betrayal or selling-out of many of these privileges – primarily in regard to the self-governance of the patriarchate, and to the adjudication of cases involving family law, which were assumed by Islamic religious courts. However, it was precisely this inability to maintain the privileges that corresponded (again, precisely) to an inability to fulfill the program of Hellenizing the non-Greek populations included among the patriarchate's Orthodox congregation. Thus, he observed: »We do not wish to return to the undisputed fact that many of our Church leaders personally did away with the various and important privileges that the conqueror had awarded the patriarchate. But how can we deny that this same authority [i.e. the patriarchate], particularly as it was during the 17th and 18th centuries, could still have offered services to Hellenism, which, alas, it did not take care to offer to the extent it ought?«[20]. And he then continues in an even more scathing tone: »This is the greatest censure we could set forth against the patriarchate for the period from the time of the fall of Constantinople until our own day. As for ourselves, we can tolerate all its [i.e. the patriarchate's] other sins – the sacrifice of privileges, humiliation, greed – if it had [only] taken care to serve to its utmost the [best] interests of Hellenism […]«[21].

According to Paparrigopoulos, the patriarch should have employed whatever privileges Ottoman authority had granted him as »battle armour« to promote the Hellenisation of non-Greek speaking Christians in his flock. Control of Church governance, monastery properties, and the Church's wealth, in addition to the legal handling of family law cases, allowed the patriarchate to serve as the guarantor for all Christians in the Empire – Serbs, Bulgarians, Albanians, Armenians – before the Sublime Porte. According to Paparrigopoulos, all these were treated as a single body by the Ottoman administration, and a proof of this was that »they called them all Romious, indiscriminately«[22]. Indeed, again according to the historian, never had the Christian peoples of the East felt such unity and like-mindedness – not even in the era of the Byzantine emperors – as they had experienced under Ottoman rule, when even the racial conflicts among them had subsided or disappeared altogether. As proof of this, he offers the fact that the Serbs and Bulgarians accepted without complaint

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18 Paparrigopoulos, Istoria 5, 510. A parenthetical observation may be permitted here: It is interesting that in all the relevant passages, Paparrigopoulos includes the Armenians among Christian populations subject to the patriarchate, while always omitting the Moldavians and Vlachs. We should recall that Paparrigopoulos was a type of Phanariot, familiar with Constantinopolitan reality during the 19th century, including the fierce economic rivalry between Romioi (Greek) and Armenian bankers (and besides this, his father, Dimitris, was a money-changer and lender). On the other hand, the Romanians, Moldavians, and Vlachs were perhaps not so distant and foreign, in contrast to the Balkan Slavs, as to require »Hellenizing«. They were themselves bearers of medieval »Greekness«.

19 Paparrigopoulos, Istoria 5, 379.
20 Ibidem 538.
21 Ibidem 540.
22 Ibidem.

the abolition of the archbishoprics of Peć and Ohrid in 1766-1767.

That is, if one were to read Paparrigopoulos in reverse, one could produce the entire argumentation of the Balkan nationalists in the late 19th century, who in turn accused the patriarchate of being an agent of Greek irredentist policy. Besides, many of these individuals had read the historian, and a smaller number had attended his courses at the University of Athens. Except that here, as we said, we are confronted with the odd phenomenon of Paparrigopoulos also accusing the patriarchate of an inability to fulfil its ethnic role and of being incapable of taking advantage of the homogeneity imposed by Ottoman rule in administration as well as in the cultural and social life of Balkan Christians.

If Paparrigopoulos had stopped there, we could say that the pressure he was exerting on the world of the patriarchate should have been interpreted politically: Since the latter had failed in its historic mission, the only solution would have been its support for the cause of Greek nationalism. However, some of the positions he supported at various points in his History, with respect to both the Byzantine as well as Ottoman period, constitute more profound ideological differences with what the leading institution of the Orthodox East represented.

A brief reference to four examples from the Byzantine period of the patriarchate will suffice to clarify his distance from what the latter represented ideologically:

1. Paparrigopoulos would make extensive reference to the means by which the Patriarch of Constantinople – in this case, the 6th-century patriarch, John Nesteutes (the Faster) – pursued the title of »Ecumenical«. When John chose the title »Ecumenical Patriarch«, it was synonymous with »Christian« and was not an actual claim for »ecumenical« status vis-à-vis the pre-eminent role played by Rome, a view which Paparrigopoulos adopted from the works of Pichler, whom the Greek historian characterized as a »moderate Catholic«.

2. In referring to the differences between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, he defended the model of the latter; in contrast to the former, which had been attracted by the exercise of political power, the Orthodox Church had attempted to situate itself in a collaborative relationship with the state. Paparrigopoulos responded to the arguments by Catholics that the Orthodox Church was dependent upon state authority in the following interesting fashion: if the Orthodox Church had been uncontrolled and beyond the jurisdiction of the Byzantine emperors, this would have resulted in the most unrelenting condemnation possible of the various heretical groups in the East, with incalculable consequences for the state's cohesion. In other words, it would have done what the Catholic Church had done to the Protestants during the 16th century. Thus, in an indirect manner he not only posed the issue of the Church's subjugation to the will of the state (here,

the presumably »romantic« Paparrigopoulos appears much closer to Pharmakidis than to Oikonomos) but also expressed his sympathy for the persecuted heretics of all eras, in a desire to impose a regime of religious tolerance.

3. This fondness for the heretics of Byzantium would reach its apogee with his favourable approach to the phenomenon of the Iconomachy, as I described above. Paparrigopoulos viewed the Iconomachy as a potential Reformation, and the Iconomach emperors as precursors of Luther and Calvin.

4. Finally, when he recounted the great controversy between Unionists and Anti-Unionists in the Late Byzantine period, he made it very clear that he took the part of the Unionists, i. e. the part of Constantine Paleologus, who opposed the Ottomans, against Gennadius Scholarius, who collaborated with them. And most importantly, he faulted the West for refusing at that eleventh hour to offer assistance in confronting the Eastern enemy. Indeed, he seriously considered the possibility that if the West had come to the assistance of the Byzantines, the new form of state emerging from this would have constituted an experimental laboratory for the gradual rapprochement and reunification of Catholic and Orthodox Christianity.

Conclusions

For all the above reasons, Paparrigopoulos's History was not simply a means of pressuring the world of the patriarchate to align itself with the new age; for it also established the dividing lines about how the representatives of religion should adjust to the new secular political regimes. As was natural, the patriarchate not only did not accept Paparrigopoulos's ideological arguments, it even refused to accept his narrative of Byzantium, since the Byzantium of Paparrigopoulos had one basic flaw: it was oriented towards the West[23].

And here is the point that interests us directly: If it is the case that Paparrigopoulos contributed to the creation of the first movement of Greek historiography that viewed the patriarchate as the »ark of the nation«, even if in an inconsistent way, what I would maintain is that Paparrigopoulos was also the source of inspiration for the second movement in Greek historiography. I believe that the two fundamental elements we saw in his work – an acknowledgement of the multi-national character of the Genos millet, and the secularized viewpoint from which he viewed the Byzantine past – exercised a very great attraction for representatives of this (second) movement, although this was never openly stated. I think the explanation for this attraction may be sought in the fact that most of the authors of this movement came from liberal backgrounds, both politically as well as theoretically. The explanation for their silence on Paparrigopoulos as their source of inspiration may be owing to the fact that they attempted

23 Stamatopoulos, Ethnos.

to compare Athens and Constantinople, not for the purposes of deconstruction, but in order to highlight the limits to the formation of national identity within the framework of the nation state. But Paparrigopoulos had discussed the relationship of Athens with Constantinople in terms of the Megali Idea, and at the same time in terms of a twin common denominator: the instrumental employment of national identity, and the secularized approach to the Byzantine past. It would thus seem that this double influence comprised a constant for the production of works that were at one and the same time a critique of Paparrigopoulos and a starting point for a series of critical approaches that would highlight the complexity of 19th century reality. For example, the genealogical descent of Paschalis Kitromilidis's expression in his article on the »Orthodox Commonwealth« during the period of Ottoman rule (an expression inspired by its correspondence to the »Byzantine Commonwealth« of Dmitri Obolensky) that »[…] the patriarchate of Constantinople became genuinely Ecumenical at the ideological level after 1453, while up until 1453 it was the Empire that was ecumenical« should be sought in passages of Paparrigopoulos such as the following:

»And so in general, the dignity with which the patriarch was surrounded immediately upon the fall [of Constantinople] was at least outwardly similar, and on occasion even superior, to that which the patriarchs had had under the Byzantine emperors, as Meletios rightly observed in the 17th century. But the Patriarchal History has confirmed that people during the previous century also bowed before the patriarch as ›master‹ and ›king‹«[24]. And in fact, Meletios Pigas would be one of Kitromilidis's citations on the following page.

In conclusion, we might say that the first and second major trends in Greek historiography reproduced the schema established by Paparrigopoulos, precisely because his treatment of the patriarchate had to do with an orientation towards the West, whether in the phase of creating the basic mechanism for founding the nation state, or in that of broadening its horizons within the framework of broader Europe and its fulfilment. And since Paparrigopoulos not only acknowledged the multi-ethnic character of the congregation of Ottoman Christians, but above all treated the patriarchate as a »flawed« ark, chiefly through the ideological prisms of Westernisation and modernization, he would also provide in essence the mold from which would arise criticisms of that which had been modelled as official historiography. Perhaps it is not so odd after all that conservative and liberal approaches to the Ottoman past have a common starting point, that of the »national historiographer«.

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24 Paparrigopoulos, Istoria 5, 510.

Summary / Zusammenfassung

The Western Byzantium of Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos

Paparrigopoulos's interpretation of the Iconomachy as a Reformation corresponds to a comprehensive reinterpretation of Byzantine history: what he describes as reform is no more than the need to make Byzantium palatable to the West. But such a perspective would retroactively vindicate the Iconomachy – not only on the issue of the icons but with regards to the hegemonic role accorded the clergy in Byzantine society after the Seventh Ecumenical Council – and wouldn't be acceptable to the Patriarchate. This is especially true given that what Paparrigopoulos dubs »reform« is a lot like what the Ottoman Empire tried to enforce during the Tanzimat in the 19th century. The article will deal with the Westernised perspective of Byzantium proposed by Paparrigopoulos as well as with the reaction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate's intellectuals, for example Manouil Gedeon and Ioakeim Foropoulos, to the re-interpretation of Iconomachy.

Das Westliche Byzanz des Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos

Paparrigopoulos' Interpretation des Bilderstreits als Reformation entspricht einer umfassenden Neuinterpretation der Byzantinischen Geschichte. Denn diesen als Reform zu beschreiben, entspringt lediglich dem Bedürfnis, Byzanz dem Westen schmackhaft zu machen. Da aber eine solche Perspektive rückwirkend den Bilderstreit verteidigen würde – und zwar nicht nur in der Frage der Bilder, sondern auch bezüglich der hegemonialen Rolle, die dem Klerus in der byzantinischen Gesellschaft nach dem siebten Ökumenischen Konzil zugebilligt wurde –, musste dies dem Patriarchat als inakzeptabel erscheinen. Insbesondere deswegen, weil das, was Paparrigopoulos »Reform« nennt, ziemlich genau dem entspricht, was das Osmanische Reich in der Zeit der Tanzimat-Reformen im 19. Jahrhundert durchzusetzen versuchte.

Der Beitrag befasst sich mit der von Paparrigopoulos vorgeschlagenen »verwestlichten« Sicht auf Byzanz sowie mit der Reaktion der Intellektuellen des Ökumenischen Patriarchats, namentlich Manouil Gedeon und Ioakeim Foropoulos, auf die Neuinterpretation des Bilderstreits.

Przemysław Marciniak

Oriental like Byzantium
Some Remarks on Similarities Between
Byzantinism and Orientalism

Norman Davies, a renowned Oxford historian specializing in Polish history, recently published a book entitled »Vanished Kingdoms«. Irritatingly but understandably, one of its chapters is called »Byzantion – The Star-lit Golden Bough«[1]. In this mostly derivative and partly erroneous chapter[2], Davies records an interesting anecdote from his times travelling to Poland as a student:

»As their train approached Warsaw, the tall outline of a huge, ugly building appeared on the horizon. Unbeknown to the student-traveller it was the much-hated Palace of Culture which Joseph Stalin had donated to the Polish capital a dozen years earlier. Braving the language barrier, a gentleman in the compartment pointed through the window to explain what the building was. He tried in Polish; he tried in German; he tried in Russian; all to no avail. But then he found the one word that conveyed his meaning. ›Bizancjum‹, he cried with a broad Eureka grin. ›To jest Bizancjum‹ (›This is Byzantium‹)«[3].

This anecdote shows that Polish Byzantinism is, at least partly, mediated through Polish perceptions of Russia. As has been frequently argued, Polish Byzantinism was born in the 19th century during the partitions of Poland, and more precisely in the part of Poland which was seized by Russia[4]. The word »Byzantine« almost inevitably began to mean »Russian / Orthodox« for 19th-century Poles. Russification of Polish lands included, among other things, the construction of Orthodox churches and the transformation of existing buildings into the »Byzantine« style[5]. Accordingly, Polish Byzantinism in the 19th century is not about Byzantium – it is rather about contemporary Russia, whose medieval prefiguration became Byzantium. The Palace of Culture has in fact nothing in common with either Byzantine or Russian architecture. But its very existence evokes a similar uninvited Russian interference in the 19th century. This peculiar understanding of Byzantinism, and Byzantium as the medieval version of Russia in the Polish public awareness (at least until very recently) differs from a common understanding of Byzantium as oriental and exotic. In what follows, I intend to discuss the »oriental« nature of the imagery of Byzantium and to what extent it might be beneficial to study the reception of Byzantium as a form of what Edward Said called »orientalism«. I will also explore the possible meanings and implications of the use of the term Byzantinism, understood as a sort of Foucauldian discourse of power which posits an unequal relationship between the Byzantine / Oriental and European / Occidental cultures.

It is well known that the 19th century was a crucial period for developing the image of Byzantium both in the popular imagination and in academic debate[6]. Byzantium, in East and West, might have been condemned following the footsteps of Gibbon, or rehabilitated as later historians attempted to do; it might have been linked to the past of a given country[7], or, where there was no direct link with Byzantium, used in a more creative way, as in the Polish case. Therefore, appropriating Byzantium was a multi-layered and complicated process, which to a great extent depended on local factors, both historical and political. This process is mirrored in the various meanings of the word »Byzantium« and its cognates. With very few exceptions (notably in French, Bulgarian and, to some extent, Russian), »Byzantium« and »Byzantine« have consistently denoted negative, undesirable phenomena of culture, discourse and literature[8]. Even the rare positive uses of these words are ambiguous. The French phrase »ce n'est pas Byzance« in fact connotes the notion of luxury, which is one of the prevailing associations with Byzantine culture[9]. Remieg Aerts rightly argues that the pejorative use of the word »Byzantine« (and by extension, Byzantinism, coined only in the 19th century), which first seemed to be semantically neutral, crystallised in the 19th century[10]. Byzantinism is therefore a constructed notion that very often brings together all negative (and in some cases positive) ideas about Byzantium, which may or may not correspond to »the real Byzantium«.

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1 Davies, Vanished Kingdoms 536.
2 Apparently Davies has never even looked at Voltaire's »Irene« and thought that the play was about the ninth-century empress while in fact it tells the story of the Komnenian coup d'état.
3 Davies, Vanished Kingdoms 536.
4 Dąbrowska, Byzance source de stéréotypes 43-54 and more recently Marciniak, Byzantium in the Polish Mirror 213-223.
5 Dąbrowska, Byzance source de stéréotypes 46.

6 Leveque, La Vision de Byzance.
7 See for instance Niehoff, To Whom Does Byzantium Belong? 139-151. – Angelov, Byzantinism 3-23.
8 For a discussion on these terms in Bulgarian see Karaboeva, Semantikata 276-307.
9 Marciniak, Ikona dekadencji 41-51. See also Havliková, Ach ta naše povaha byzantská 425-432.
10 Aerts, Dull Gold and Gory Purple 311-324.

Yet there is not and cannot be a universal definition or understanding of Byzantinism. As Helena Bodin recently noted, Byzantinism is, to use the term borrowed from the theory of semiotics, »a floating signifier«, that is a signifier without a single fixed meaning[11]. Its understanding and use are predicated upon various factors – temporal, cultural, and geographical. Byzantinism is a polyphonic term, as it can simultaneously include various, and very often contradictory, meanings. Byzantinism may also encompass yet another multi-layered concept strongly associated with Byzantium: decadence[12].

Herbert Hunger, in his article »Byzantinismus. Nachwirkungen byzantinischer Verhaltensweisen bis in die Gegenwart«[13], argues that other -»isms« used to describe either ideologies or political movements are ideologically pregnant, but Byzantinism is different in that it describes only Byzantine behaviour (»Tatsächlich besteht der Byzantinismus im Wesentlichen aus Verhaltensweisen des Byzantiners in seiner politischen und gesellschaftlichen Umwelt«[14]). In other words, this expression has no underlying political or ideological agenda. At first glance, Hunger seems to be right. The modern definitions of Byzantinism highlight mostly negative generalisations of Byzantine culture. The »Routledge Dictionary of Cultural References in Modern French« defines Byzantinism as follows:

»This term originated to describe the Byzantine theologians who debated the sex of angels while their city, Constantinople, was attacked by the Turks in 1451. It implies a tendency for hair-splitting and overly precise interpretations«[15].

This definition encapsulates popular thinking about Byzantium, but its source is not really Byzantine[16]. In fact it is, more or less, a quotation from Montesquieu's »Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence«[17]. During the Hundred Days, Napoleon expressed a similar thought, which Larousse later quoted in the entry for »Byzance« in the »Grand dictionnaire universel«[18]. This term did not arise from the disputes of Byzantine theologians but from French misconceptions about such disputes. The definitions in other languages are similar, describing Byzantinism as a tendency for hair-splitting (Dutch), excessively ceremonial and slavish behaviour (German), for endless and purposeless debates (French, Italian) and even for hypocrisy

and the presentation of the bad as good (Polish), therefore mostly focusing on the Byzantine (mis-)behaviour. What they have in common is their expression of a mediated opinion, which, in most cases, dates back to the medieval period and is a result of the observations of medieval chroniclers[19]. However, contrary to Hunger, Byzantinism can sometimes be construed as a more complex issue with a clear political agenda, as was of course the case with Russian terms such as »vyzantinism« and »vyzantism«[20]. After all, the beginnings of Byzantine studies (and consequently, to some extent the reception of Byzantium) are inextricably connected to politics. As Roderich Reinsch recently noted, Hieronymus Wolf's translation of Byzantine historians sponsored by the Fugger family was prompted by an imminent Ottoman danger[21]. As John Haldon put it, »it was to Byzantine authors and texts that Renaissance scholars and leaders turned when they wanted to find out about the Ottomans and how to deal with them«[22]. Feliks Koneczny (1862-1949), a Polish historian and historiosopher, coined the term »German Byzantinism« to refer to a movement he saw as already emerging in Germany in the 10th century[23]. Its fully developed, modern form was characterised by a highly perfected bureaucracy, which granted a marginal role to civil society. In Koneczny's own words »The administration of the Eastern Empire did not change from the third century onward«[24]. Koneczny believed that German Byzantinism, which ended with the fall of the Reich in 1945, was the most powerful emanation of Byzantine civilisation in history. Andrew Kier Wise, saw Koneczny's Byzantinism as similar to Said's concept of Orientalism[25].

To compare Byzantinism with orientalism and to look at Byzantium as the Oriental other is by no means a new idea[26]. »Oriental« is a charged term in today's scientific discourse. Its use evokes the Saidian concept of the Orient and its understanding in Western scholarship. However, it may (and it certainly did in the earlier period) also simply denote a spatial location. Before the Eastern Empire became Byzantium for good[27], it was just this – the eastern part of the former Roman Empire. In most cases it is mentioned as such and there is no underlying ideology hidden in such a description. Whenever Madame de Sévigné, a 17th-century aristocrat and

11 Bodin, Whose Byzantinism – Ours or Theirs? 11-42.
12 Pontani, A margine di »Bisanzi e la décadence« 285-307. The very notion of decadence regarding Byzantium/byzantinisme and its influence on literary aesthetics attracted the attention of scholars quite recently see for instance Palacio, Les nacres de la perle 163-171.
13 Hunger, Byzantinismus 3-20.
14 Ibidem 4-5.
15 Mould, The Routledge Dictionary 177.
16 See for instance the 8th edition of the Dictionnaire de l'Académie française s. v. byzantin: 2. Expr. fig. et péj. Querelle discussion byzantine d'une subtilité excessive et sans intérêt réel par allusion aux controverses grammaticales ou théologiques des derniers temps de l'empire de Byzance.
17 »La fureur des disputes devint un état si naturel aux Grecs que lorsque Cantacuzène prit Constantinople il trouva l'empereur Jean et l'impératrice Anne occupés à un concile contre quelques ennemis des moines; et quand Mahomet II l'assiégea il ne put suspendre les haines théologiques; et on y était plus occupé du concile de Florence que de l'armée des Turcs« Montesquieu, Considérations 258.
18 Guéroult, Byzance.

19 Runciman, The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus 27: »Ever since our rough crusading forefathers first saw Constantinople and met to their contemptuous disgust a society where everyone read and wrote ate food with forks and preferred diplomacy to war it has been fashionable to pass the Byzantines by with scorn and to use their name as synonymous with decadence«. For a more detailed analysis see Carrier, L'image du Grec.
20 Stamatopoulos, From the Vyzantism 321-340.
21 Reinsch, Hieronymous Wolf 45-46.
22 Haldon, Taking a Leaf 143.
23 Skoczyński on the other hand attributes the invention of this term to Edward Quinet. See Skoczyński, Koneczny 142.
24 Koneczny, Cywilizacja bizantyńska 89 (transl. A. Kier).
25 Kier, The European Union 207-239.
26 The usefulness of Said's concept was already suggested by Averil Cameron in her paper »Byzance dans le débat sur orientalisme«.
27 On this change on the vocabulary level see for instance Argyropoulos, Les intellectules grecs à la recherché de Byzance 30.

writer, mentioned Byzantium in her letters, she referred to it as »l'empire oriental«[28]. Of course, at that time Byzantium was not perceived as »a historical reality in itself« but rather as a continuation of the Roman Empire[29].

Yet, in the same period, in a different part of Europe one can find an example of a more politically charged use of the term oriental or Eastern. The imminent Turkish danger was a reason for Christian Gryphius, a playwright and pedagogue from Breslau, then part of the Hapsburg Empire, to write a play entitled *Graecorum imperium a Muhamede secundo eversum* (»The Greek Empire Destroyed by Mohammed the Second«). This play, performed in 1682, details the history of the fall of Constantinople[30]. The author presents Constantinople and its last Emperor in a highly favourable light. However, interestingly, he seems deliberately to avoid using the adjective *orientalis*, or eastern, and the play always refers to *Imperium Graecorum*, and not *Imperium Orientale*. Only the program of the play is extant – the text itself is lost – so there is no way to say for sure whether the author consciously creates an opposition between the Orient, represented by the Turks, and the Occident, represented here by Byzantium. However, it may be supposed that the author refers to the old opposition between Europe (Greece) and Asia (Turkey).

Interestingly enough a similar thought can be found in a text written centuries later. The French translation of Dimitrios Vikelas's »Les Grecs au moyen age« (1874) is introduced by Alfred Rambaud, an eminent French historian and Byzantinist. For Rambaud, Byzantium is oriental mostly because its location is oriental, in this case meaning eastern. Yet, Byzantium is by all means a European state: »Aucun État européen […] n'a eu plus souvent à combattre pour l'existence«[31]. He juxtaposes civilised Byzantium with the oriental enemies attacking the Empire: beginning with Goths, to Huns and then Pechenegs, and finally the Turks[32]. Byzantium is a natural successor of Greece in the old conflict between Europe and Asia. When Rambaud states that »Constantinople était le Paris du moyen âge oriental« (Constantinople was the Paris of the eastern middle ages) it shows that he saw both capitals as focal cities in their respective times. Rambaud's motivation was certainly different from that of the 17th-century author. In the 19th century, imagery grew of Byzantium-turned-Orient, even though some historians and Byzantinists – like Rambaud – attempted to build a different set of connotations. Once again it is obvious that Byzantinism may have been modified according to the needs of those who referred to the Byzantine heritage.

Orientalism, understood as a cultural discourse in large part constructed by scholars of the Orient, is a set of stereotypes in which Europe (understood as the West, the self) is seen as essentially rational, developed, humane, superior, authentic, active, creative and masculine. At the same time the Orient (understood as the East, the other) is viewed as a sort of surrogate, underground version of the West or the self which is irrational, backward, despotic, inferior, inauthentic, passive, feminine and sexually corrupt. These binary notions are designed to dominate, structure and exert authority over »the Orient«. Orientalism is basically an artificial construct in which text-based knowledge plays an important part. Therefore, there is no need to engage empirically with the world described or actually to observe it, as all that is important and relevant can be found in the books[33].

There are obvious similarities between Orientalism and Byzantinism on a very general level. Byzantinism tends to present Byzantium as inferior to western cultures by ascribing to it a series of derogatory stereotypes. Byzantinism is also, to some extent, a product of scholars of Byzantium. The famous scholar Romilly Jenkins, in his lecture entitled »Byzantium and Byzantinism«, delivered in memory of Louise Taft Semple and purportedly aimed at making Byzantium more accessible, spoke of the subject of his studies with what could be described as bordering disdain[34]. His statements, such as, »[b]ut from the period of the Crusades onwards the advance of Western Europe was such as hopelessly to distance its eastern rival«, inscribe Byzantine culture in the discourse of »inferior Byzantium«[35]. To support his claims he quotes Alexios I's alleged statement, »olim sapientia deducta est de oriente in occidentem […] nunc e contrario de occidente in orientem latinus veniens descendit ad graecos«[36]. There are many similar examples, such as Paul Speck's odd theory about Byzantine cultural suicide in the ninth century (Speck unwittingly repeats almost verbatim the words of the great 19th century Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz)[37], or Topping's views on Byzantine literature[38], In the words of Margaret Mullett, a multitude of Byzantine scholars loved to hate Byzantium[39].

Perhaps it is no coincidence that Byzantine studies developed, after a long hiatus, during the 19th century, when orientalist studies also flourished. Some scholars even combined these two interests. Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866), a poet and orientalist, penned a cycle of 31 poems entitled »Hellenis. Sagen und Legenden aus der griechischen Kaisergeschichte«, which covers Byzantine history between the 4th and 10th centuries[40]. The image of Byzantium in Rückert's poems blends a

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28 See for instance her remark about »The Alexiad« Madame de Sévigné, Correspondance 527, ep. 600: »Nous lisons une histoire des empereurs d'Orient écrite par une jeune princesse fille de l'empereur Alexis«.
29 Spieser, Du Cange and Byzantium 207.
30 Das Breslauer Schultheater 93-96.
31 Vikelas, Les Grecs au Moyen Age 5.
32 Ibidem.
33 Said, Orientalism 10. The summary above is taken from Macfie, Orientalism 8.
34 Jenkins, Byzantium and Byzantinism 137-178.
35 Ibidem 150-151.

36 Ibidem 153: »Once wisdom was derived from the Orient to the Occident […] now on the contrary from the Occident a Latin arrives and descends to the Greeks«. One such Latin is Peter Chrysolanus see Bloch, Monte Cassino 111.
37 Speck, Byzantium, Cultural Suicide 73. 82-84.
38 Topping, The Poet-Priest 40: »From the fourth to the fifteenth century for a thousand years the poet priest voiced the ideals and aspirations of Byzantium. While secular poets busied themselves with imitating ancient models only to produce correct but dry verses the poets of the church wrote vital original and significant poetry.«
39 Mullett, Dancing with Deconstructionists 258-275.
40 Koder, Friedrich Rückert 7-117.

stereotypical view of Byzantium and his fascination with the real modern Orient[41]. 19th-century writings offer a plethora of examples of authors who use imagery traditionally connected with orientalism to describe Byzantium. Amadee Gasquet, in his book »L'empire Byzantine et la monarchie Franque« published 1888, called Constantinople a »caravanserai«[42], while Victor Duruy, in »Histoire du Moyen Âge depuis la chute de l'Empire«, published 1877, used the term »les Orientaux« interchangeably with »the Byzantines«[43]. In a lecture on the history of Byzantium from 1900, Frederic Harrison described Byzantine governance as semi-Oriental[44]. Byzantium was thus located in the same conceptual space as the modern Orient and was accordingly transferred to the Asian side of the eternal binary opposition of Asia–Europe. To the best of my knowledge, this thinking was challenged only once: during the Greek irredenta, when the fall of Constantinople was interpreted as a prefiguration of the Greek War of Independence[45].

Byzantinism, like orientalism, is a primarily text-based construct. Perhaps the best-known, but by no means the only example of such an approach is the (in)famous work of Edward Gibbon. Gibbon, of course, never visited Constantinople, so he did not see the Hagia Sophia, which he describes at length in his book. It was argued that some of Gibbon's conclusions regarding the military exploits of the Byzantines were wrong simply because he had never seen the places he described[46]. This illustrates that for many scholars, Byzantium is a textual world and, as such, does not demand any kind of empirical approach.

Byzantium, like the Orient, tends to be presented as backwards and passive, and above all stagnant. It had played no active role in the development of human culture but merely acted as a bridge between antiquity and the Renaissance. In the early 19th century, German historian Johannes von Müller wrote that Constantinople had been primarily a shelter for literature and culture exiled from Western Europe[47]. Choiseul, in a history of the crusades published in Paris in 1809, described Constantinople as a depository for ancient artworks, later returned by the crusaders to their proper place to Italy[48]. Finally, Jules Zeller, in his 1871 »Entretiens sur l'histoire. Antiquité et Moyen Age«, called the Byzantines the librarians of

humankind[49]. We know today that such opinions are unjustified. In addition to the obvious facts that the Byzantines were much more than the librarians and depositaries of ancient works, Byzantine literature was read and translated in the period after the fall of Constantinople. However, these historians' works present an extremely unflattering picture in which the Byzantines appear as no more than keepers, and even the crusaders' sack of Constantinople in 1204 can be justified in these terms, because the crusaders had simply returned the artworks to their proper owners. Byzantium, to use the term introduced by Victor Turner, lies in a liminal state, is an entity in between that has no real value except for its power to transmit and to recreate[50]. Even more fascinatingly, the Turkish narrative about Byzantium can be constructed in a very similar way. Ahmet Mithat Efendi (1844-1912), a writer, journalist and a publisher, compared the vigorous, young Ottoman state with the Byzantine Empire, which he saw as representing rotten antiquity and the Middle Ages. Efendi pointed to the ways in which the Ottomans had contributed to global history, putting mercifully end to the dying Empire and thus ending the Middle Ages in both West and East. Consequently, Byzantine scholars who left Constantinople for Italy also helped put an end to the western Medieval Ages. This is a highly subversive view of the roles of both Byzantium and the Ottoman state, which plays on Western phobias of the Empire and positions the Ottoman Empire as the real force behind the Renaissance[51].

Oriental sexuality also made its way into the notion of Byzantinism. Averil Cameron has remarked on the orientalising descriptions of Byzantine empresses[52], and Panagiotis Agapitos has shown how Theophano in Kostas Palamas's »Royal Flute« is built upon biblical images of Delilah, Salome and Judith[53]. Similarly, I think that the fascination with Eastern sexuality and femininity was also the main reason behind the enormous popularity of the Empress Theodora. The wife of Emperor Justinian is one of the few figures in Byzantine history of whom non-Byzantinists are likely to have heard. However, the reasons for her career in the popular imagination are not obvious. Other empresses were far more important. In Marmontel's highly politically influential novel Belisaire (1767), Theodora is a rather unimportant figure[54].

41 Ibidem 116.
42 Gasquet, L'empire byzantine 7.
43 Duruy, Histoire du Moyen Âge 72.
44 Harrison, Byzantine History 16: »No doubt it was semi-Oriental it was absolutist it was oppressive it was theocratic«.
45 Roessel, In Byron's Shadow 36-37: »The fall of Constantinople in 1453 which for Greeks constitutes the defining moment of their history was the single event of Byzantine history that had any currency in philhellenic writing. Felicia Hemans described the fall of the city and the death of Constantine XI in Modern Greece (1817) and at greater length in ›The Last Constantine‹ (1823). But in both works she made numerous allusions to the Persian Wars. […] Hemans placed the capture of the city in the context of the Herodotean struggle between Europe and Asia. Like many early philhellenic writers, she appropriated the fall of Constantinople and subsumed it into the desire to revive Athens. So did Shelley in Hellas where his vision of the recapture of Constantinople by the Greeks was set within the framework of The Persians.«

46 This was already observed in the 19th century see Walsh, Narrative 31: »Balta was the name of the admiral and this little port retaining his name is considered proof of the fact. From hence to the harbor the distance is ten or eleven miles which induced Gibbon to say for the sake of probability that „he wished he could contract the distance of ten miles and prolong the term of one night«. Now had Gibbon visited the spot he might have spared his wish and established the probability«. See also Howard-Johnston, The Middle Period 74.
47 Müller, Histoire universelle 334.
48 Choiseul, De l'influence des croisades 146.
49 Zeller, Entretiens 393: »Les Byzantins deviennent seulement […] les bibliothécaires du genre humain«.
50 Turner, From Ritual to Theatre 113.
51 For a more detailed analysis see Ursinus, Byzanz 166 and also Ursinus, Byzantine History 211-222.
52 Cameron, Byzance dans le débat 243.
53 Agapitos, Byzantium in the Poetry 10.
54 On Marmontel's novel see Renwick, Marmontel.

Her real career starts in the 19th century and follows the pattern inadvertently set by the 16th century Cardinal Baronius, who called her a new Eve and compared her to Delilah and Herodias[55]. This comparison is exactly what made Theodora, viewed through the lenses of Procopius' malicious Secret History, such an attractive figure for 19th-century writers: she embodied the mysterious, sexual and sensual East. When Sardou claimed in the interview about his play »j'ai respecté absolument l'histoire«, he was right[56]. From his perspective, he depicts Theodora exactly as she was perceived by 19th-century readers[57].

The question remains, therefore, is Byzantinism like orientalism? In many ways it can be perceived as quite similar because both are artificial constructs created to make a certain phenomenon (be it »the Orient« or Byzantium) more understandable and to position it in a certain, and in this case inferior, way. And this usually involves a great deal of simplification and prejudice. Byzantium became inferior because there was no need to include it in the 19th-century vision of the development of Western culture, and since it was not really needed, it became the Other. Agapitos notes that this orientalised view of Byzantium permitted Western Europeans to place the origins of European states in the Latin Middle Ages and to claim the heritage of ancient Greece civilisation through Rome and the Renaissance[58]. In other words, this narrative presented modern Europe and ancient Greece as a continuum without the need to refer to a rather strange political entity. The image of Byzantium was also hindered by the fact that it was neither completely ancient Greece, nor Rome, nor even a »proper‹ Christian state (meaning Roman Catholic), and above all it simply did not fit with the cult of the newly discovered »ancient Greece«. The curious attempts to find a certain function for Byzantium and the Byzantines (as curators, librarians), to describe it by using the words taken from other contexts (Byzantium is both retronym and exonym), were mostly prompted by the fact that Byzantium and its heritage were forgotten and largely misunderstood. It is well known that before the 19th century, Byzantine literature was translated and imitated[59]. Therefore, in 19th-century Europe Byzantium became a cultural and political Other. As Angelov has argued: »As a discourse of ›otherness‹, Byzantinism evolves from, and reflects upon, the West's worst dreams and nightmares about its own self«[60]. The philosophers of the Enlightenment period treated Byzantium as a mirror in which they saw vices of their past, projecting their own fears and disdain upon Eastern Empire[61]. The situation in what Bodin defined as the »Eastern semiosphere« was partly different, but the educated elite to some extent transferred the disdain towards Byzantium to their own countries[62]. But while the Orient could have actually been studied – since it existed at the time — this was not the case with Byzantium. Byzantine stereotypes are based mostly on the impressions of medieval Western chroniclers. And this created a double filter – popular imagery of Byzantium or the Eastern Roman Empire was perceived through the texts of writers less alien to the Europeans than the medieval Greek ones, and was therefore more accessible and understandable. Therefore, I argue that Byzantinism is not a valid methodology or a well-defined ideology, but rather a useful way of understanding how the imagery of Byzantium was created in Western Europe. In a way, Byzantium was mentally colonized and subjected to the same process as the physically and politically colonized Orient. In this sense, I believe the process of re-appropriating Byzantium, be it in the modern scholarship or on the part of the countries of the Eastern semiosphere, does to some extent resemble the process of decolonization, of de-filtering Byzantium and its heritage from the Western European mode of thinking.

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55 Translation after Brittain / Carroll, Women of Early Christianity chap. 11: »a detestable creature, a second Eve too ready to listen to the serpent, a new Delilah, another Herodias, revelling in the blood of the saints, a citizen of Hell, protected by demons, inspired by Satan, burning to break the concord bought by the blood of confessors and of martyrs«.
56 Interview in L'Univers Illustré no. 1554, 3 Janvier 1885, 10.
57 For a survey on the reception of Theodora in later times see Carlà, Historische Quellen 31-62.
58 Agapitos, Byzantine Literature and Greek Philologists 238.
59 Nilsson, Les Amours d'Ismène & Isménias 171-211.
60 Angelov, Byzantinism 3.
61 Palágyi, Une suite ininterrompue 149-171 (about Voltaire and Byzantium).
62 Bodin, Whose Byzantinism – Ours or Theirs? 16-20.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Oriental like Byzantium. Some Remarks on Similarities Between Byzantinism and Orientalism

This paper follows the footsteps of scholars such as Averil Cameron who argue that Orientalism might be a useful approach to studying the reception of Byzantium. Therefore, it discusses the »Oriental« nature of the imagery of Byzantium – especially in the 19th century – and to what extent it might be beneficial to study the reception of Byzantium as a form of what Edward Said called Orientalism. It is argued that, contrary to what some scholars have claimed, Byzantinism can sometimes be construed as a rather complex issue with a clear political agenda. Byzantinism is thus understood here as a polyphonic term, which can simultaneously include various – often contradictory – meanings. The paper shows that Byzantinism was used in certain cases to express the same ideas and prejudices as evoked by the term Orientalism.

Orientalisch wie Byzanz. Einige Bemerkungen über Ähnlichkeiten von Byzantinismus und Orientalismus

Dieser Beitrag folgt den Spuren von Wissenschaftlern wie Averil Cameron, der behauptet, dass Orientalismus ein nützliches Konzept für das Studium der Rezeption von Byzanz sein könne. Daher wird hier die »orientalische« Natur der Metaphorik von Byzanz – insbesondere im 19. Jahrhundert – diskutiert und inwiefern es sich als dienlich erweisen könnte, die Rezeption von Byzanz als eine Form dessen zu studieren, was Edward Said Orientalismus genannt hat. Es wird dabei argumentiert, dass im Gegensatz zu dem, was einige Forscher geltend machten, Byzantinismus zeitweise als ein ziemlich komplexes Problem mit einer klaren politischen Agenda aufgefasst werden kann. Byzantinismus wird hier als ein polyphoner Begriff verstanden, der gleichzeitig verschiedene und oft widersprüchliche Bedeutungen beinhalten kann. Der Beitrag zeigt, dass Byzantinismus in bestimmten Fällen dazu benutzt wurde, die gleichen Ideen und Vorurteile auszudrücken, die der Begriff Orientalismus hervorrief.

Kirill Maksimovič

The Collection of Byzantine Canon Law (»Kniga pravil«, 1839) as a Legal Basis for the Russian Orthodox Church in the 19th and 20th Centuries: Paradoxes, Problems and Perspectives

The »Book of the Divine Canons of Holy Apostles, Holy Ecumenical and Local Synods and Holy Fathers« (*Kniga pravil*) today constitutes the principal code of canon law of the Russian Orthodox Church. It was first published by the Holy Synod in 1839 to replace the previous code, the so-called »Printed Pilot Book« (*Pečatnaja kormčaja*). Though the latter was first published in Moscow under Patriarch Nikon in 1653, most of its legal texts dated back to the 13th century and were long outdated by the 19th century[1]. The issue of publishing Church canons (**fig. 1**) was put on the agenda in both cases due to the official codification of Civil Law that first took place under Czar Aleksej Michailovič in 1649 and then under Nicholas I (**fig. 2**) in 1830-1832.

In the 17th as well as in the 19th century, Russian canon law had to be codified along with Civil Law since it was, just like in Byzantium, an integral part of the state legal system. The monumental »Code of Laws of the Russian Empire« (*Svod zakonov Rossijskoj imperii*) was published in 15 volumes in 1832 under the supervision of the outstanding Russian statesman, Count Michail Michailovič Speransky (1772-1839) (**fig. 3**).

It took seven more years to prepare a new edition of Church canons as an appendix to the new »Code of Laws«. In 1836, the Holy Synod entrusted management of this project to the Metropolitan of Moscow, Philaret (Drozdov) (**fig. 4**).

Unlike the »Printed Pilot Book« of 1653, the »Book of the Divine Canons« contained neither Byzantine civil regulations, such as official or semi-official legal codes of the 8th and 9th centuries (the »Ecloga« and the »Procheiros nomos«, the »Mosaic Law«) and ecclesiastical novels of Byzantine emperors, nor Church legislation of lower rank than the canons, such as conciliar and patriarchal decrees, canonical (partly anonymous) treatises on various topics of spiritual life, the canonical »Collection of 87 Titles« of the 6th century, selected chapters of the »Nomocanon in 14 Titles« (in Patriarch Photios's version of the 9th century), canonical answers of Byzan-

tine hierarchs, and canonical comments of three outstanding Byzantine canonists of the 12th century, Alexios Aristenos, John Zonaras and Theodore Balsamon. Moreover, the »Book of Canons«, also omitted canonical texts of Russian origin , so that the new codification of canons completely neglected the rich canonical tradition of the Russian Church of previous centuries[2].

Choosing to ignore the later Byzantine tradition of canonical thought as well as the Russian canonical heritage, Metropolitan Philaret reduced the legal basis of the Russian Orthodox Church to approximately seven hundred Church canons of the 4th to 8th centuries, which were published in chronological order of synods and Holy Fathers without any attempt to adapt this material to legal proceedings by presenting it in any kind of thematic order. The point at issue is why Philaret disregarded the secondary, but nonetheless very honourable canonical tradition of late Byzantium as well as the almost six hundred years-old canonical tradition of Russia in favour of the most archaic heritage of the Early Church. To answer this question and to demonstrate the implications of the Philaret's decision will be the goal of this paper.

First of all, it should be borne in mind that the »Printed Pilot Book« of 1653 was based upon the Serbian Nomocanon of the early 13th century, which contained a strongly abridged version of Church canons with comments. Those abridged canons were indeed insufficient for managing Church affairs, including more or less complicated ecclesiastical lawsuits. According to Philaret, the canonical comments by Aristenos and Zonaras were partly too short and therefore less informative, or they sometimes distorted the sense of canons. Furthermore, the Slavonic language of the translation also appeared archaic and less comprehensible to Philaret. For these reasons, he considered it helpful to return to an old, long-forgotten project of the Holy Synod: to produce a new, full Slavonic translation of Church canons and publish it alongside their Greek originals[3]. In 1836, the Chief Procurator of the Holy

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1 On the composition of the Printed Pilot Book see: Žužek, Kormčaja Kniga 64-101.
2 Barsov, O sobranii 11, 281-319. 581-619; 12, 754-784 (esp. 754-766).

3 Ibidem 12, 754-755.

Fig. 1 Cover of »Printed Pilot Book« (1912-1913).

Fig. 2 Portrait of Emperor Nicholas I (1852). – (Painter: Franz Krüger oil on canvas, Hermitage Museum).

Synod, Count Nikolay Protasov (1798-1855) submitted a report on behalf of the Holy Synod to Czar Nicholas I, in which he argued the necessity of publishing Church canons in full.

Philaret's and the Holy Synod's arguments, referred to by Count Protasov in his report, were as follows:

1. Ecclesiological: Strength and constancy of the Orthodox Church is secured solely by original and genuine Church regulations, which are free from later additions and interpretations, that is, by Church canons in their full wording.

2. Theological: Unlike Civil Law, whose source is the legislative power of human institutions, the Church canons have their source in divine revelation. Therefore, unlike civil laws, which can be altered or replaced in the course of time, Church canons reflect the divine truth and are per se unchangeable, eternal and divine[4].

3. Political: a) The later canonistic interpretations, whose goal is to adapt the eternal and divine truth of canons to the temporal conditions that are restricted to specific times, places and persons, may awaken the distrust of official powers because the latter would profane God's eternal truth by interpreting it according to earthly needs. This might lead some »audacious minds« to revise the very foundations of Orthodox faith[5].

b) A codification of later Church tradition must be accepted by four traditional Orthodox Patriarchates, since the Orthodox Church is only a gathering of a number of autonomous Churches. To guarantee their unity, only traditional canons recognized by other Churches should be codified, since any innovation could bring about dissension or even schism within Orthodoxy[6].

Having read this report, Czar Nicholas considered it helpful to consult the chief editor of the Russian civil code, Count Michail Speransky. The latter supported the idea of Philaret and the Holy Synod fervently. Afterwards, on 14 November 1836, Czar Nicholas officially approved the report of Count Protasov and the technical work on the edition of the »Book of the Divine Canons« began[7]. After three years, the edition was completed to become the only code of canon law of the Russian Orthodox Church up to this day.

It is worthwhile at this point to assess the arguments of Philaret and the Holy Synod in favour of the type of ecclesiastical codification that was realized in 1839.

4 »Первые [i.e каноны] от Бога и, как вечная правда Его, должны быть неизменны« (Barsov, O sobranii 12, 756).
5 Ibidem.
6 Ibidem.
7 Ibidem 758.

Fig. 3 Portrait of Michail Speransky (1824). – (Painting A. Varnek).

Fig. 4 Portrait of Metropolit Filaret. – (Nach: Russkie dejately 41-42).

First, the ecclesiological argument, whereby the Church was founded on the original Church canons. The Church as the Body of Christ could not be founded on anything but Christ Himself and the grace of the Holy Spirit. If only Old Church canons are supposed to have the power of salvation, this would mean that only the Old Church had been endowed with God's grace, which then for reasons unknown stopped working in the Church after the 9th century. This consequence must evidently be discarded as ecclesiological nonsense. Therefore, Philaret's assumption that the strength and constancy of the Church would dwell in the full text of canons also belongs to the realm of fantasy. It can also not be ignored that Church canons did not exist until the late third century, and that the lack of canons had by no means weakened »the strength and constancy« of the primitive Church.

The theological argument of Metropolitan Philaret, in my opinion, does not withstand critical analysis either. To ascribe to Church canons divinity and, therefore, eternity means nothing but equating canons to scripture or to the creed. Indeed, the scriptures and the creed alone reflect divine revelation and must remain forever unmodified. All other genres of Christian writing are also »divine«, but to a much lesser extent than the scriptures, which possesses the highest grade of divinity. Being less divine than Holy Writ, other genres enjoy much more freedom regarding modifications in wording and composition or the creation of new texts. With this literary background, a proclamation of the infallibility, eternity and divinity of canons means to claim that they are inherently unchangeable, just like scripture or the creed. But this idea radically contradicts the legal practice of the Church over its entire history, for the canons, along with other legal texts, could and did undergo serious changes and revisions, including full abrogation of those which had become obsolete or otherwise appeared inappropriate. For example, many canons concerning heresies, schisms or alternative religious movements become redundant after these heresies and schisms had been suppressed. The anti-Judaic canons also became obsolete from the time that the Christian Church completely had rejected surviving Jewish rites, i. e. from the late 8th century onwards[8]. Such instances are legion in canon law. In the entire history of the Byzantine Church, I could find just a single example of a canonical collection being equated to the Bible: In a marginal scholion to the »Nomocanon of

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8 The last anti-Judaic canon is apparently conc. Nic. II cn. 8 of 787.

Fourteen Titles«, it is said that »in the Church the Nomo-canon is considered to be like the divinely written tablets«[9].

Finally, the political arguments of Philaret, including his concerns about unspecified »audacious minds« as well as about the recognition of the new code of canon law by four Orthodox patriarchates, appear unsubstantiated inasmuch as there were no attempts from his side to clarify this issue to either the Russian ruling elite or to the Eastern patriarchates. Hence, these arguments must be regarded as secondary to the ecclesiological and theological ones.

Such was the theoretical reasoning on which the publication of the »Book of the Divine Canons« was based. The question remains: Was this »Book« with its canonical material predating the 9th century applicable in Russia some thousand years later? One can safely assume that not every canon of the Early Church could be applied in Russian ecclesiastical courts, primarily for historical reasons.

First of all, the Eastern Roman Empire and czarist Russia were very different polities. In Byzantium, the Church had not been integrated into the state as one of its departments, as it was in nineteenth-century Russia. Moreover, the very system of Orthodoxy had undergone significant changes over the course of centuries. In Byzantium, there was the one and undivided imperial Church, which consisted of roughly five patriarchates. In the 5th and 6th centuries, the ruler of the Eastern Roman Empire possessed full administrative sovereignty over the whole Church, from Rome to Jerusalem. The canons formulated at the Church councils of that time reflected this situation and served to uphold its *status quo*. More than one thousand years later, the situation of Orthodoxy had changed radically. Instead of the undivided Church under the sway of one emperor, there appeared many autonomous Orthodox sister Churches in new nation-states, of which the Russian Orthodox Church was only one. In the old canons, however, neither the Russian empire nor the Russian Church had been mentioned. Paradoxically, Metropolitan Philaret and the Holy Synod of the Russian Church published a Code of Canon Law in which not a single word was said about Russia, but a great many about Constantinople.

Indeed, only one of the seven (actually, eight) ecumenical councils took place far from Constantinople, in Ephesus. The remaining six convened either in Constantinople or in the neighbouring cities of Chalcedon and Nicaea. It is not surprising, therefore, that the canonical legacy of those councils should be strongly influenced by the bishop (from the 5th century onwards, patriarch) of Constantinople. The canons of the second and the fourth ecumenical councils (Const 3, Chalc 9 and 28) gradually accorded the bishop of Constantinople a status equal to bishop of Rome. Down to the Great Schism of the 11th century, there were only five patriarchates in all of Christendom (Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem), which enjoyed mutual autonomy and formally equal rights in affairs of the Church (the so-called »pentarchy«). At the time of conversion of Russia to Christianity, the three oriental Patriarchates were long under Muslim rule and played no part in common ecclesiastical affairs. The Russian Church, which had received the Christian faith and worship from the Greeks, from the very beginning was only a metropolitanate (or, in official usage, a daughter Church) of Constantinople, and it preserved this status until the late 16th century. All in all, by accepting the Church canons of the ancient epoch as its own canon law, the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church automatically recognized the traditional primacy of the patriarch of Constantinople in Russian ecclesiastical life. To proclaim the canons of the 4th and 5th centuries »divine« and »eternal«, as Philaret did, might lead to the false conclusion that the administrative system of the Church had remained unmodified throughout the centuries and that even in the 19th century the »pentarchy« of five patriarchates was in force[10].

But adopting the »Book of Canons« as the Code of Canon Law meant committing more than just a practical error. I will enumerate other cases of that kind. For instance, many canons of the Early Church were directed against surviving pagan rites and oriental ascetic practices as well as against magic, astrology and diverse superstitions, for these were flourishing at that time and could and did influence the Christian flock and the hierarchy[11]. Since the Russian Church of the 19th century was safe from hazards of that kind, dozens of the corresponding canons, however »divine« and »eternal« they might have been in Philaret's eyes, were completely inapplicable in Russian soil. As for the Church itself, in early Byzantium a heresy or a schism arose every now and then and required an immediate canonical reaction[12], whereas in multi-ethnic Russia the situation had long been under government control and relations between Orthodoxy and other Christian denominations, such as Catholicism or Protestantism, and non-Christian faiths, such as Judaism, Islam or Buddhism, were managed by state laws rather than by completely outdated canons. To give but one example: from the nine canons of the third ecumenical council of Ephesus in 431, only one canon could be applied in the Russian Orthodox Church of the 19th century, namely canon 7 which prohibits the formulation of a creed other than the Nicene Creed. The remaining eight canons address the figures of the heresiarch Nestorios (patriarch of Constantinople in 428/431 AD) and Pelagian, Celestios, who were relevant only in the era of Christological disputes, but not for the Russian Church 14 centuries later.

Another case concerns the penitential discipline of the Church. In the canons of the first centuries, a very archaic

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9 Nom. 14 tit., I.9: ἐν τῷ νομοκάνονι […] τῷ ὡς θεογράφους πλάκας παρὰ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ λογιζομένῳ (Rhallēs/Potlēs I, 49-50, Scholion).
10 Canons dealing especially with Constantinople: Conc. Const. 3; Chalc. 28; Trul. 36; Nic. II 10. 15.

11 Cf. Conc. Anc. 24; Carth. 58. 60-61. 63. 67. 84; Trul. 24. 60-62. 65. 71. 94 etc.
12 Cf. Conc. Laod. 33; Carth. 47. 66. 68-69. 91-92. 95. 99. 106. 117-118. 121. 123-124 (on the Donatists and Pelagians); Carth. 22; Trul. 72. 81-82. 95; Bas. 1, 47 etc.

penal system of four degrees of public penitence was applied, according to which offenders – i.e. sinners who had been condemned to public penitence upon their confession to the bishop – were divided into the following categories according to the extent of their exclusion from the mass: 1) »the weepers« (lat. *flentes*), who were not allowed to enter the church and had to express their repentance by weeping at the entrance, 2) »the listeners« (*audientes*), who were permitted to enter only the church narthex and had to leave the mass after the gospels were read, 3) »the kneeling« (*genuflectentes*), who were allowed to enter the church itself but had to kneel all the time and leave the mass together with catechumens, and 4) »the standing together« (*consistentes*), who were allowed to stand upright together with the faithful during the whole mass but were excluded from the Eucharist. Most of the ecclesiastical punishments of that time stipulated that the culprits would pass successively either through all or several of these stages of repentance. This system persisted more or less unmodified until the 8th or 9th century, when it was replaced by the sacrament of confession. It is self-evident that archaic public penitence was completely obsolete in the 19th century, but in the »Book of the Divine Canons« this archaic system was formally declared obligatory for the Russian Orthodox Church. This represents one more example of the dozens of canons that turned out to be inapplicable, and this in such a sensitive sphere of the everyday life of the Church as the punishment of sinners.

In the early Church, there had been some hierarchical degrees that gradually fell into disuse, specifically the office of rural bishop (*chorepiscopus*) as well as lower ranks of female church servants such as virgins, widows and deaconesses (Chalc. 15; Carth. 44; Bas. 18. 20. 24 etc.). The Russian Church from its very beginning did not have any of these ecclesiastical ranks, so that the relevant canonical norms of the Old Church no longer related to reality.

Regarding fasting discipline and the calendar, there were many differences in the Russian Church compared with that of the first Christian centuries. In the old canons, only Lent is mentioned as a time of fasting. In the course of time, from about the 11th century onwards, three more times of fasting were added – the fast of the Apostle Peter, the fast before the Assumption of the Mother of God and the Christmas fast. All three fasting periods were in use in the Russian Church, though there is no mention of them in the old canons. Moreover, even the duration and the food taboos of the traditional Lent varied widely from epoch to epoch and country to country. The Russians of the 19th century observed quite a different Lent compared with the believers of Early Byzantium or the canons of the Ancient Church. For instance, canon 50 of the local synod at Laodicea required abstention from cooking and eating only uncooked food (ξηροφαγοῦντας) for the duration of Lent[13]. This norm was still in force as late as the 12th century, since the famous canonist Alexios Aristenos mentions it in his commentary on this canon[14]. In the Mediterranean with its fertile soils and warm climate, fasting with olives, bread and vegetables appears relatively unproblematic, whereas in Russia Lent took place in early spring with still frosty weather and a complete lack of fresh vegetarian food. It was thus quite impossible to observe the dietary prescriptions of Laodicea in the northern regions, and they were for that reason tacitly ignored by the Russian Church. However, even the Byzantines sometimes neglected to observe them, for in the same 4th century when the synod of Laodicea was summoned, Epiphanios of Salamis recommended uncooked food only for Holy Week, but not for the entirety of Lent[15].

Returning to the canons on fasting included in the »Book of Canons«, if old canons prescribing only one fast in a year had been as »divine and eternal« as Metropolitan Philaret and the Holy Synod claimed, the Russian Church after the publication of the »Book of Canons« should have immediately abandoned the »superfluous« fasts to restore primitive fasting discipline with only one – Lent, before Easter. However, this was not the case. The »eternal« canons had to remain in eternity, their lack of contact with reality notwithstanding.

As a final remark on the discrepancies in fasting discipline, I would stress the strong canonical prohibition against fasting on Saturdays and Sundays (Ap. 64, Trul. 55). In the Russian Church, this prohibition was never observed and is still not observed today. Thus, if these canons were eternal and divine, the Russian Christians would have to be anathematized, since that is the punishment clearly prescribed in these canons for fasting on Church feasts, including Saturdays and Sundays.

One more canonical problem arises with regard to divine services. In early Byzantium, there existed no unity in liturgical forms between local Churches, so that many regulations of the divine service had to be introduced by Church canons for the sake of unification[16]. The Russian Orthodox Church at Philaret's time already used unified liturgical books, the so-called *Typikon* and the Ritual (*Trebnik*), so that the old liturgical rules inevitably lost their practical efficacy.

As has been stated above, though the Christian Church has always regarded canons as »divine«, they were never officially defined as »eternal« or »unchangeable«. Only the canons of the seven ecumenical councils enjoyed full »immutability« and (with quite a few exceptions[17]) could not be altered or abrogated[18]. All other canons were treated as common legal texts whose goal was to administer justice in the Church by means of extant administrative entities and whose wording could be changed in accordance with

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13 Rhallēs/Potlēs III, 217.
14 Ibidem 218.
15 Theodore Balsamon in a comment to Conc. Laod. 50; cf. Rhallēs/Potlēs III, 218.
16 Cf. Conc. Laod. 16-19. 48. 49; Carth. 37; Trul 52. 59. 81 and many more.

17 Conc. Chalc. 28 abrogates Conc. Const. 3; Conc. Trul 20 modifies Chalc. 29.
18 Emperor Justinian even proclaimed canons of ecumenical councils equal to laws of the state, cf. Cod. Iust. I, 3. 44; Nov. Iust. VI, 1. 8; CXXXI, 1.

changes occurring in those entities in the course of time[19]. Not only tacitly, in practice, but also officially, in theory, the Church recognized that the divine canons might be modified »as far as strengthening and progressive development of the Church« was evident (cf. canon 40 of the ecumenical Council in Trullo). It should be obvious even to the non-specialist in theology that if the Church is able to issue divine canons with the help of the Holy Spirit, it certainly falls within the authority of the Church to modify those canons by adapting them to new circumstances and conditions. For instance, the centralized Catholic Church undertook a massive reform of ancient canon law and created a monumental »Corpus Juris Canonici«, into which many, but by no means all of the ancient canons were incorporated. In the world of Orthodoxy, full of rivalries between local Churches, such a project of a unified Church codification continues to appear impossible. Nevertheless, each Orthodox Church, if it claims to be blessed with the grace of the Holy Spirit, has the right to compile its own code of canon law, which would reflect the traditional customs and spiritual experience of this Church. Of course, it would mean a break with some (not all!) ancient traditions of early Byzantium, but, nonetheless, at the same time it would supply the Church with a really effective means of administering justice.

Metropolitan Philaret and the Russian Holy Synod, however, made their choice in favour of meticulously preserving fossilized ancient traditions in the »Book of the Divine Canons«. Two negative implications resulted from this seemingly very »pious« act.

1) For one thing, the Russian Orthodox Church through this act virtually recognized its inability to create a code of canon law of its own. The attribution of divinity and eternity only to ancient canons, primarily dictated by Constantinople, along with the omission of the genuine Russian canonistic tradition from the codification of the »Kniga pravil« meant that the Holy Synod did not consider the Russian Orthodox Church an equal partner of Constantinople as a beneficiary of God's grace.

2) What is more, the choice of ancient canons that mostly could not be applied in nineteenth-century Russia meant that the Russian Orthodox Church discarded the very idea of effective institutions of justice within the Church. For institutions cannot function effectively without clear, transparent and appropriate rules. Mostly long outdated rules of the »Kniga pravil« were neither clear nor transparent, nor were they appropriate to Russian reality, so that their codification failed to create an effective administrative system, including reliable ecclesiastical courts. It is regrettable that the »Kniga pravil« with its archaic canonical material even nowadays constitutes the Code of the Russian Orthodox Church. This problem still awaits a solution.

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19 Conc. Trul. 6 abrogates Conc. Anc. 10; Conc. Trul. 16 abrogates Conc. Neoc. 14; Conc. Trul. 29 modifies Conc. Carth. 41; Conc. Trul. 31 abrogates Conc. Laod. 58. Many canons of Holy Fathers of the 4th century contradict the later canons of Church Councils and were virtually invalidated by the latter (Bas 18 was abrogated through Conc. Trul. 40 etc.).

Summary / Zusammenfassung

The Collection of Byzantine Canon Law (»Kniga pravil«, 1839) as a Legal Basis for the Russian Orthodox Church in the 19th and 20th Centuries: Paradoxes, Problems and Perspectives

The »Book of the Divine Canons of Holy Apostles, Holy Ecumenical and Local Synods and Holy Fathers« (Kniga pravil) today constitutes the principal code of canon law of the Russian Orthodox Church. It was first published by the Holy Synod in 1839 at the behest of Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow, to replace the previous code, the so-called »Printed Pilot Book« (Pečatnaja kormčaja). Unlike the »Printed Pilot Book«, the »Book of the Divine Canons« contained neither Byzantine civil regulations nor Church legislation of lower rank than the canons. Moreover, canonical texts of Russian origin were also omitted in the »Book of Canons«, so that the new codification of canons completely neglected the rich canonical tradition the Russian Church had developed in the previous centuries. The goal of this article is to demonstrate Philaret's approach to Byzantine canon law as being holy, eternal and unchangeable, thus supposing that canonical regulations from the first Christian centuries could also meet the needs of the Russian Church in the 19th century. Philaret's ecclesiological, theological and political arguments in favour of this approach are analysed and finally rejected as untenable.

Die Sammlung des byzantinischen Kirchenrechts (»Kniga pravil«, 1839) als Rechtsgrundlage für die russisch-orthodoxe Kirche im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Paradoxien, Probleme und Perspektiven

Das »Buch der göttlichen Kanones der heiligen Apostel, der heiligen ökumenischen und Ortssynoden und der heiligen Väter« (Kniga pravil) ist heute der Hauptkodex des Kirchenrechts der Russischen Orthodoxen Kirche. Es wurde zuerst von der Heiligen Synode im Jahre 1839 auf Geheiß von Philaret, Metropolit von Moskau, veröffentlicht, um den vorherigen Kodex, die sogenannte Pečatnaja kormčaja (»gedrucktes Steuermannsbuch«) zu ersetzen. Anders als die Pečatnaja kormčaja enthielt die Kniga pravil weder byzantinische Zivilgesetze noch kirchliche Legislation von niedrigerem Rang als die der Kanones. Darüber hinaus wurden auch kanonische Texte russischer Herkunft in der Kniga Pravil weggelassen, sodass die neue Kodifizierung der Kanones die reiche kanonische Tradition, die die russische Kirche in den vergangenen Jahrhunderten entwickelt hatte, völlig vernachlässigte. Das Ziel dieses Artikels ist es, zu zeigen, dass Philaret das byzantinische Kirchenrecht als heilig, ewig und unveränderbar empfand und dabei unterstellte, dass kanonische Vorschriften aus den ersten christlichen Jahrhunderten auch die Bedürfnisse der russischen Kirche im 19. Jahrhundert erfüllen könnten. Philarets ekklesiologische, theologische und politische Argumente zugunsten dieses Ansatzes werden analysiert und schließlich als unhaltbar zurückgewiesen.

Alena Alshanskaya

The Reception of Byzantium
in Russian Church Historiography

In the last twenty years, speaking about Russia as the legitimate and direct successor of the Byzantine Empire and its culture has become received wisdom in Russian political discourse. After the breakup of the Soviet Union and the collapse of its normative order, a great need has arisen for a new personal and collective identity in Russian society and a demand for integrative narratives capable of reconciling the most contradictory elements of Russian history. The public opinion makers labelled this situation an »ideological vacuum« and immediately proposed a wide range of concepts for a state ideology, stretching from the restoration of the monarchy to that of the Soviet Union. The appeal to history has become dominant, and with it the promise that the »humiliating« condition of the once great country could be overcome through understanding history in a wider, more interconnected perspective. In this constellation of a public demand for narratives about the »great Russia«, Byzantium or Byzantine heritage has re-appeared at the centre of public interest, reminiscent of the situation at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. At said time, an attempt was made to shift discussions about the Byzantine legacy as they had appeared in the middle of the 19th century from poetic-philosophical metaphors and myths to one of profound knowledge based on the standards of scientific research, specifically the standard set by western historical science[1].

The Russian Orthodox Church is the central actor, consistently claiming an interest in Byzantium as its natural discourse. In the last two decades, it has become an inseparable partner of the Russian state in accordance with its understanding of the Byzantine ideal of relations between state and church powers, called »symphony«. Since 2008, some representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church have been at the fore-

front of the (re)construction of Byzantine narratives and the instrumentalisation of Byzantine history for political goals[2].

After the annexation of Crimea and Russia's military actions in Syria, speaking about Russia's »Byzantine roots« has acquired a new function of historically justifying particular (geo-)political interests. It is argued that in Crimea, Russia returned to its spiritual homeland and the protection of Christians in the Middle East is considered to be a continuation of a genuine Byzantine mission in the Middle Ages[3].

»Constantinople is a spiritual homeland, a bridge between the Earthly (Rus') and the Heavenly homeland (the City of God). For this reason, the longing for and gratitude towards Byzantium is so very distinctive for us. This longing is like the yearning of a child whose parents died before its historical adulthood was reached. For a Russian, this is difficult to reflect upon, but easy to feel. In fact, this very child-parent complex of ideas was substituted by the Western idea, through the interpretation of the West (instead of Byzantium) as a ›country of saintly wonders‹. However, as everybody knows, one cannot choose one's parents«[4].

The entire perception of Byzantium in this quotation deals with feelings and historiosophical speculations and metaphors rather than with historical facts, and it therefore works as a tool aimed at public persuasion, but not as scientifically relevant argument. Yet if we want to answer the question when Byzantium became a constitutive element of Church consciousness, we should look at Church historiography as a reliable source of evidence, at least from when it attempted to develop into scientific historiography and use scientific methods such as the study and criticism of sources. And if we proceed with the assumption of today's Church spokesmen that Byzantine heritage of the Russian Church is rooted in the Church's long-term memory, then we must examine the

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1 Meaning the development of Byzantine Studies at the end of the 19th c. at Russian universities. On this topic, see the article by Lora Gerd in this volume and Medvedev, Nekotorye razmyšlenija. – Medvedev, Peterburgskoe vizantinovedenie. For more about public discussions in the 19th c., see: Brüning, Von »Byzance après Byzance«.

2 For more about actual Byzantine discourses, see: Alshanskaya, Das Erbe von Byzanz. – Berezhnaya, Longing for the Empire. – Briskina-Müller, Das neue »neue Rom«. – Domanovskij, Mif Vizantii. – Hagemeister, Der »Nördliche Katechon«. – Ivanov, The Second Rome.

3 See e.g.: Ščipkov, Vizantija. Consider also the visit to Mount Athos on 28 May 2016, the date of the millennium of Russian monasticism on the Holy Mount, by the President of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Putin. According to Russian mass media, during his visit, he was »enthroned« on the emperor's throne. Additionally, for some media representatives, the fact that he visited Mount Athos just one day before the anniversary of the Fall of Constantinople was not incidental.

It was neither the first nor last public reference Putin made to Byzantine heritage as a political rhetorical figure – some examples are his dive to the bottom of the Black Sea to see the remains of a Byzantine trading ship in 2015 and his speech in 2014 proclaiming the »crucial civilizational and sacral meaning of Chersonesus and Crimea for Russia« (Putin, Poslanie).

4 Ščipkov, Russkij mir. »Константинополь – духовная Родина, мостик между земным отечеством (Русью) и отечеством небесным (градом Божьим). Отсюда характерная для нас вечная благодарность Византии и вечная тоска разлучённости, тоска ребёнка, чьи родители умерли до его исторического совершеннолетия. Русскому это трудно отрефлексировать, но легко ощутить. На самом деле именно этот детско-родительский идейный комплекс подвергся подмене со стороны западнической идеи – трактовкой Запада (вместо Византии) как «страны святых чудес». Хотя, как известно, родителей не выбирают.« (Translation of this and following quotations by A. A.).

Fig. 1 Metropolitan Platon (Levšin). – (Magnitskij, Platon II, 3).

Fig. 2 Archbishop Filaret (Gumilevskij) of Černigovskij and Nežinskij. – (Litography by P. B. Boreľ, 2nd half 19th c.).

Fig. 3 Painting in the icon style »Moscow the Third Rome«, 21th c. – (unknown painter, www.runivers.ru/gal/gallery-all.php?SECTION_ID=7641&ELEMENT_ID=462777 [20.08.2018]).

appropriate sources, like academic Church historiography. The latter is not altogether susceptible to changing political trends and can be considered as a continuous attempt to register the most dominant attributes of the institutional self. In my article, I will focus on the use of the Byzantine argument in the most famous historiographical writings of the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as on the more specialized research concerning Byzantium and church history, with the task of examining the speculative constructions of Byzantium as a reference point and instrument in the process of the self-identification of the Russian Church.

General Church history

Russian Church historiography begins in the early 19th century, after the first publications of the histories of the Russian state[5]. The first history of the Russian Church was written in 1805 by the Metropolitan Platon (Levšin) (**fig. 1**), whom some scholars consider to be the first »Russian orthodox enlightened intellectual«[6]. »A Brief History of the Russian Church« still had similarities with chronicles, but he tried to tell the whole history from the beginnings of the Russian Church

5 Puškarev, Istoriografija.
6 Wirtschafter, Religion and Enlightenment.

The Reception of Byzantium in Russian Church Historiography | Alena Alshanskaya

rather than merely describing some of its aspects[7]. Unlike previous Russian history writings, as the history of the church was inseparable from the history of the state, the author intended to write ecclesiastical history as an institutional history. Next, Archbishop Filaret (Gumilevskij) (**fig. 2**) presented Russian Church history systematically and completely, divided into five periods, in the 1840s[8]. As far as the Byzantine argument is concerned, in both of these fundamental Church history writings, which immensely influenced subsequent Church historiography, the »Byzantine legacy« is immaterial to the writers. Instead, they accentuate the independent and self-sufficient character of the history of the Russian Church. So for these authors, the guiding hand of God's providence provides sufficient ground for the identity of the Russian Church and ensures the exclusive position of Russian Orthodoxy as the dominant religion in particular region. There were no reasons, as for Western Christians, to develop an identity in competition with another Christian identities.

It was Metropolitan Makarij (Bulgakov), who in his »History of the Russian Church« in twelve volumes (1857-1883) alluded to the idea of »Moscow as the Third Rome« (**fig. 3**) for the first time with reference to establishing a Patriarchal See in the 16th century. He explained this decision as follows:

»The reason for this [establishing a patriarchal see] was an awareness people shared with their czar that, as was often said, the old Rome with the Western churches fell because of the Apollinarian heresy. The new Rome, Constantinople, and all patriarchal Eastern Churches were in the grip of the godless Turks. But the Russian great czardom expanded, flourished and thrived, and the Orthodox faith shone for all like a sun. Hence the czar considered it fair to honour the Russian Church and to raise it to a patriarchate«[9].

So we notice that Makarij made no consideration about Byzantine influence on Russian Church.

The first to mention the idea »Moscow as the Third Rome«, formulated in the letter of Monk Filofej of Pskov in the 16th century, was Professor Petr Znamenskij in his »Manual for the Study of Russian Church History« (1871), after Filofej's letters were first published in the 1860s[10]. Znamenskij made no conclusions as to the meaning of the idea of Moscow being the Third Rome and the role of Byzantium and Byzantine culture in Russian history or the history of the Russian Church, but considered this letter only as a historical ev-

idence of the struggle of the monk and intellectual Maximos the Greek with astrological superstitions widely propagated among Russian believers and churchmen:

»The well-known expectation of the end of the world was reflected in the astrological nonsense of Nikolaj Nemčin and was upheld until 1492. The opinion that Moscow was the last apocalyptical czardom, the Third Rome, and the fourth Rome would never come, was expressed in the chronicles and the letters of Monk Filofej of Pskov written to the great Prince Vasilij and Diakon Munechin and was a widely-known view«[11].

He also mentioned the legend of Monomakh and stressed explicitly that it was a legend, according to which »in the person of Aleksej Komnen, the empire handed over the czar's regalia, the crown and mantle, to the Russian prince, and the Greek Metropolitan Neophitus anointed him. This legend carried a great weight in Rus' and indicated the succession of the Russian autocracy from the Greek autocracy«[12].

These two brief mentions exhausted the references to the Byzantine legacy by Znamenskij in his textbook, which is still the main source for studying Church history in Russian seminaries and academies and has formed the collective consciousness of the modern Russian Orthodox priesthood.

It is thought that with the work of Professor Evgenij Golubinskij the new age in the writing of the Church history began, namely the scientific writing of Church history, which meets e.g. requirements of source criticism. Two volumes, which include the history of the Russian Church to the beginning of the 16th century, were written in the 1880s, but the second volume was published only at the very beginning of the 20th century. The author was widely criticized by churchmen because he deconstructed some fundamental historical myths of the Russian Church, e.g. the legend of Apostle Andrew visiting Rus'. Especially the Chief Procurator of the Most Holy Governing Synod, Konstantin Pobedonoscev, sought to prevent the publication of the second part in every conceivable way. Hence, the history was not completed, so that the period of the supposed *translatio imperii* could not be expounded by Golubinskij. But despite his scientific approach, Golubinskij presented the idea of Moscow as the Third Rome without further criticism. In the introduction to his Church history, he wrote: »Under Ivan IV, Rus' became a new state, from a grand duchy it was transformed into a

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7 Platon, Kratkaja istorija.
8 Filaret, Istorija.
9 Makarij, Istorija 2180. »Основанием ее послужило сознание, которое вместе с царем разделяли и его подданные, что ветхий Рим с подчиненными ему на Западе церквами, как выражались тогда, пал от ереси Аполлинариевой, новый Рим, Константинополь, и все патриаршие Церкви на Востоке находились во власти безбожных турок, а великое царство Русское расширялось, процветало и благоденствовало, и православная вера в нем сияла для всех, как солнце. И потому царь находил справедливым почтить Церковь Русскую учреждением в ней патриаршества«.
10 For more about the writings of Monk Filofej of Pskov and the reception of his thoughts about »Moscow as the Third Rome«, see e.g.: Briskina-Müller, Das neue »neue Rom«. – Duncan, Russian Messianism. – Poe, Moscow. – Sinicyna, Tretij Rim.

11 Znamenskij, Istorija 424: »В астрологических бреднях Николая Немчина нашло себе отголосок знакомое нам ожидание скорой кончины мира, не пропавшее и после 1492 года. Распространилось мнение, которое высказывается в летописях и в посланиях псковского елеазаровского монаха Филофея к великому князю Василию и дьяку Мунехину, что Москва есть последнее апокалипсическое царство, третий Рим, а четвертому уже не быть.«
12 Ibidem 107: »[…] империя в лице императора Алексея Комнена передала русскому князю знаки царского сана, венец и бармы, а греческий митрополит Неофит совершил над ним обряд царского помазания. Это предание имело потом большой вес на Руси, указывая на преемственность русского самодержавия от греческого лице императора Алексея Комнена передала русскому князю знаки царского сана, венец и бармы, а греческий митрополит Неофит совершил над ним обряд царского помазания. Это предание имело потом большой вес на Руси, указывая на преемственность русского самодержавия от греческого«.

czardom with the great role of the second Byzantium and the Third Rome« [13].

This was the first time that this kind of statement appeared in a general Church historiography. Yet the author postulated the idea of the succession of Russia from Byzantium as a given and a widely known and accepted fact among contemporaries, but he wrote nothing about the factual credibility of such statements.

As a result, we can see that Byzantium as well as Byzantine heritage was marginal for Church historians in Russia within the given period; it had little or just no influence on the identity of the Imperial Church. The absence of Byzantine heritage in Church narratives could partially be explained by the fact that at the time, when the grand Church narratives appeared, Byzantine studies were not yet fully developed and consequently there was a lack of material for such constructions.

Specialized Research into Byzantium and Church History

If we look at the specialized research focusing on the question of Byzantine influence on Rus', we can find similar statements to the above already a few years before the work of Professor Golubinskij, and may thus assume that he merely relied on the conclusions of previous investigations in this field.

Parallel to the development of Byzantine studies and especially research into old Russian sources at the universities, the interest in Byzantium arose in Church academies. The best example of such research into Byzantine influence on Rus' was the doctoral dissertation by Philipp Ternovskij entitled »A Study of Byzantine History and Its Biased Application in Old Rus'« from 1875. Speaking in defence of his dissertation, he defined his task as a historian of Byzantium as follows: »The object of my research is the history of Byzantium, but solely insomuch as it was familiar to our ancestors in Old Rus' until Peter the Great« [14]. Ternovskij was one of the few Russian historians who reflected on the end of historiography as a universal instrument of people's identity formation. He accepted the pragmatic task of history as the main strategy to justify the changes in a particular society at a time when the idea of the progress of the historical process was largely unknown in Russia. For him, history was as manipulated – also in Rus' – as was deemed necessary at particular times. Byzantium was the nearest »world-historical material« available to Russians to be used for practical ends. Ternovskij underlined that the »spirit of intolerance« by which Russians hoped to shield their Orthodox faith from any contamination made it impossible

for them to accept other sources of historical inspiration, be they pagan or Latin Christian.

He found the circumstances of life and problems of Byzantine and Old Russian societies to be similar and hence came to the conclusion that »our ancestors not only naturally, but also absolutely applied the available Byzantine patterns« [15]. Such groundless analogies brought Ternovskij criticism from opponents like Vladimir Ikonnikov [16]. And finally he concluded: »It may be said that Byzantium, already having finished its political existence, bequeathed the title of the *second Byzantium* and the *third Rome* to Moscow in connection with the duty to follow it and resurrect it in its [Moscow's] own history« [17].

One more prominent example of a construction of the probable influence of Byzantium on Rus' is the work by Nikolaj Kapterev, professor of Church history at the Moscow Church Academy, »The Character of Russia's Relationship with the Orthodox East in the 16th and 17th Centuries« 1883 [18]. Kapterev's work can be considered as a history of mentalities – he describes and analyses the ways in which Russians adopted and imitated the culture and religion of Byzantium and then, after the birth of national consciousness, distanced themselves from the »Greek heritage« for the sake of the national and religious missionary role of Moscow. According to him, the »Greeks«, i.e. the Byzantines, exerted an immense influence as a state with a perfectly organized social and cultural life on Russians and their formation as a Christian nation and state. For Kapterev, this was not only a positive influence – in some cases, it had clearly been destructive, as when Russians adopted the hatred of Latin Western Christianity from Byzantium. Even the concept of Moscow as the third Rome Kapterev explained as a feature adopted from the excessive attention Byzantines paid to purity, and to the rigidity of the Orthodox faith and its liturgy. The last was also a reason why and how Russians changed their attitude towards the Greeks after the Union with Rome, when they lost their leading role as a Christian people in the eyes of the Russians. As a result, a widespread lack of respect for Constantinople ensued among the Russians. Kapterev claimed it was the main reason (among others) for Russian chroniclers to invent legends such as the one about the Apostle Andrew's visit with the aim of tracing the foundation of Russian Christianity bypassing Byzantium and going back to the common and immediate origin of eastern Christianity. Due to this unpleasant and critical picture of the Russians, Kapterev suffered a similar fate to his teacher Professor Golubinskij: both were persecuted by clerical and state powers. But to this day, he is one of the most influential Church thinkers.

13 Golubinskij, Istorija XV. »При Иване Васильевиче IV Русь стала новым государством – из великого княжества царством, с великой ролью второй Византии и третьего Рима«.

14 Ternovskij, Doktorskij disput 14. »Предмет моего сочинения - история Византии исключительно в том размере и виде, в том духе и направлении, как она была известна на Руси нашим предкам в период допетровский.«

15 Ternovskij, Izučenie 3.

16 For the reception of Byzantium by Ikonnikov, see: Ikonnikov, Opyt.

17 Ternovskij, Izučenie 3. »Можно сказать, что, окончившая свое политическое существование, Византия завещала Москве вместе с названием второй Византии и третьяго Рима – обязанность идти по ея следам и воскрешать в своей жизни ея историю. второй Византии третьяго Рима«.

18 Kapterev, Charakter.

At the same time, some historians in Church academies devoted themselves to investigating the problem of the relationship between secular and Church powers in Byzantium and the so-called »symphony«. These were, amongst others, Professors Fedor Kurganov[19], Nikolaj Skabalanovič[20] and Ivan Sokolov[21]. Among them, the ideas of Ivan Sokolov deserve the most attention. Along with philosopher Konstantin Leont'ev, who in 1875 wrote a book entitled »Byzantism and Slavdom«, Sokolov is considered to have elaborated the concept of Byzantinism. And whereas Leontjev developed his Byzantism as a historiosophical idea, Sokolov presented it within the scientific community – during the inaugural lecture as a professor of the history of the Greek Eastern Church at the Church academy in Saint Petersburg, entitled »Byzantinism from the perspective of Church history«, in 1903[22]. Sokolov aimed at providing a historical and philosophical analysis of the term Byzantinism, which according to his teacher Kurganov had definitely had a pejorative meaning in the 19th century. In the lecture, Sokolov retold the common facts of the history of Church-society-relations in Byzantium and created a highly idealized image on the basis of the uncritical appreciation of primary sources. At the conclusion of his lecture, he himself acknowledged this fact, but defended the appropriateness of such an approach as an attempt to show the best side of Byzantium, not the worst that surely existed. Sokolov claimed: »The historical truth will be clearer if the positive phenomena are clearly named and principles and ideals are outlined and illustrated«[23]. He stated his credo as a scientist: Byzantium had accomplished great cultural and political achievements and created an ideal of Byzantinism, which actually meant the »churched state«, »independent of how perfectly it was realized in practice«, as he carefully noted.

Although he made no reference to the Byzantine legacy in Russia in his programmatic lecture, in general he tried to demonstrate how the realization of the principle of Byzantinism, namely the crucial role that the Orthodox Church should play in all spheres of society, could lead to the creation of a similarly perfect society as Byzantium had been. He explained the fall of Byzantium as having occurred only due to external causes. And this lecture by Sokolov can be considered as a culmination of ideologically instrumentalised Byzantinism and Byzantine studies, which echoes and is perceived in Orthodox discourse to this day. Yet it was probably not the occasion on which Ivan Sokolov, along with archbishop Antonij Chrapovickij, was charged with preparing a note for the ministry of foreign affairs in 1915 in the name

of the Holy Synod[24]. It was to contain the justification for the future government of Constantinople, assuming Russia was able to conquer the city. Sokolov created a detailed historical preface concerning the position of the Church in Byzantium. In his estimation, it was quite possible to restore the Byzantine Empire under the rule of the Russian czar and Constantinople could be one of the residences of the Russian czar. It is noteworthy that Sokolov is very moderate in this text compared to some of his contemporaries and colleagues concerning the future of the ecumenical patriarchate. For Sokolov, it should ideally stay independent under the protectorate of the Russian czar, who would be its patron and defend Orthodoxy not only in Constantinople but also in Palestine. It seemed the most appropriate moment to write about the crucial Byzantine influence on the Russian Church, but he did not offer any arguments in favour of this. It can be explained by the lack of arguments suitable for such an official document or, even more probably, by the irrelevance of the Byzantine legacy for the national self-consciousness of the Church.

Church History Writing in Emigration

The flourishing and fully developed reference to Byzantine legacy can be found in the last full Russian Church history, published in Paris in 1959[25]. It was written by the last chief procurator of the Holy Synod, the emigré professor of Church history, Anton Kartašev, who was one of the founders of the theological institute of Saint-Serge in Paris. Kartašev summarized a lot of the previous Byzantium discourse in his »History of the Russian Church« without modifications and references to contemporary Byzantine studies. He explained the fact of the baptism of Rus' with Vladimir's desire to ennoble his origins by »becoming related to ›blue bloods‹ of the one and only Porphyrogennetos«: »Only this relationship gave birth to hopes of receiving all the benefits and secrets of its pre-eminent culture around the world from Byzantium and that an awakened Russian barbarian could join the Christian family of peoples as an equal member«[26]. According to Kartašev, when Prince Vladimir introduced Christianity to Rus', he had hoped to make of his people an »enlightened, cultivated and brilliant nation like that of Byzantium«[27].

Kartašev explained the overwhelming authority of the Moscow prince, growing rapidly over Russian metropolitans, when he adopted the title of Czar by following the Byzantine idea of patronage over all Orthodox Christians: «Church

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19 Kurganov, Otnošenija.
20 Skaballanovič, Vizantijskoe gosudarstvo.
21 Lebedeva, Russkie istoriki.
22 For more about Sokolov, see the article by Lora Gerd in this volume. Furthermore, see: Gerd, Russian policy and Stamatopoulos, From the Vizantinism.
23 Sokolov, O vizantinizme 775. »Историческая правда будет яснее, когда будут точно указаны явления положительного порядка, намечены принципы и идеалы и представлены фактические к ним иллюстрации.«

24 Sokolov, Konstantinopol'.
25 Kartašev, Istorija.
26 Ibidem 144. »Лишь это родство открывало надежды на получение от Византии всех благ и секретов ее первенствующей во всем мире культуры и прочного вхождения проснувшегося русского варвара в круг равноправных членов христианской семьи народов«.
27 Kartašev, Istorija 313.

hierarchy, which fostered Moscow's autocracy in word and deed, had to bow humbly under the authoritative hand of its own offspring«[28]. He wrote that it was the clergy that had transferred Byzantine ideas about state authority from the beginning of the Christian Church to Rus' and implemented them. Moreover, the Russian Church promoted the rise of the Moscow princes' authority because of the substance of this idea: »The Moscow princes ought to emulate the ecclesiastical position of Byzantine emperors«[29].

Kartašev described the so-called *translatio imperii* as a conviction that emerged in Moscow after the fall of Constantinople, according to which »the Orthodox faith of the Greeks was mutilated and remained in its purity only in Rus', and that instead of the destroyed Constantinople, Moscow must be the world capital of Orthodoxy ruled over by the true faithful Czar chosen by God«[30].

»After the Ferrara-Florence Union and the Fall of Constantinople, the idea of the transfer of the rights and privileges of the Byzantine emperor to the Moscow prince rose among Russians and found its realization in the marriage of Ivan III (1462-1505) and Zoe Paleologina, the niece of the last Byzantine emperor. […] By this marriage, it appeared as if the Moscow prince had acquired the formal legal rights to the Byzantine crown«[31].

So Kartašev regarded this and other transferred symbols such as the two-headed eagle or the title »autocrat« as affirmations of the »vehement belief among Russian authorities and society as to transferring the world-historical role of the Byzantine Christian kingdom to Moscow that thus became a ›Third Rome‹ by Divine Providence«[32]. Kartašev claimed that the monk Filofej had only formulated a view prevalent among the majority of the people in his famous concept. Kartašev's conclusion about the reliability of this historical construction seems to be even more implausible than most previous historiographical narratives from a time when critical source studies were not as commonly used as they were in the middle of the 20th century when Kartašev was writing.

He stated that after the Russian Church had become *de facto* autocephalous, Moscow should have been, but was not, satisfied with its emancipation from the Greek Church and dared to go further.

»After 250 years of the Tatar yoke, the leading Russian tribe gathered around Moscow and developed an awareness which today is called the imperial consciousness. […] The fact is that they [the Russians] did not give up, but boldly persevered [….]. The natural impulse had encouraged Russians fearlessly to discover their Russian mission in the context of global history and indicated the trueness of Muscovite pretensions to the providential transfer of the leading role of eternal Rome to Muscovite Orthodox czardom, which after the fall of the second Rome became the Third and Last Rome«[33].

All other alternative narratives such as that of Michail Gruševskij for general Ukrainian historiography or Professor Albert Ammann for a Church historiography, which Kartašev called »secular Ukrainism« and »Church Uniatism« respectively, he rejected as »defective historiography« that had »failed to challenge the irreversible Primate of Great Russia«. According to the author, all these attempts at alternative historiography were very instructive to future generations of historians who should avoid and moreover combat any doubts as to the imperial nature of Russia[34]. He advised Church historians not to judge ancient Russian history in modern terms and valuations, but »to accept the course of Russian history as organically inevitable according to the unfailing instinct of biological self-affirmation«[35]. Even today, may Russian historian use this mode of argument, referring to Russia as the recipient of a »providential transfer«, as well as other exclusive historical metaphors.

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28 Kartašev, Istorija 354. »Церковная иерархия, словом и делом воспитавшая московское самодержавие, сама должна была смиренно подклониться под властную руку взлелеянного ею детища.«

29 Ibidem 459. »Московские князья должны были явиться заместителями церковного положения византийских императоров.«

30 Ibidem 462. »Итак, после падения КПля на Москве сложилось убеждение, что у греков православная вера подверглась искажениям, что в чистейшем виде она сохранилась только на Руси, что всемирной столицей православия поэтому вместо разрушенного Царьграда должна стать Москва, управляемая истинно правоверным, богоизбранным царем.«

31 Ibidem 477 f. »Возникшая у русских после Флорентийской унии и падения КПля идея о переходе прав и привилегий византийских императоров на московского князя нашла себе реальное основание и поддержку в браке великого князя Ивана III Васильевича (1462-1505) с племянницей последнего греческого царя Зоей Палеолог […] С этим браком московский государь как будто приобретал и формальные юридические права на византийскую корону.«

32 Ibidem 478. »[…] убеждение в переходе всемирно-исторической роли византийского христианского царства на Москву, которая, по благоволению Промысла, стала ›Третьим Римом‹.«

33 Ibidem 488 f. »Изжив 250-летнее татарское иго, ведущее из русских племен, собравшись около Москвы, достигло того, что в новое время называется имперским самосознанием. Дерзнув отбросить греческий соблазн унии с Римом (это дерзновение веры), Москва решилась логически и на меньшее (дерзновение каноническое) – стать де факто автокефальной. При всей формальной скромности и осторожности Москвы, при твердом признании за греками исторического примата, новоявленные идеологи этой, отныне совершенно независимой и свободной Москвы этим могли бы и удовлетвориться, на этом и остановиться. И вот то, что они на этом не остановились, а смело двинулись в неожиданную ширь и даль, не смущаясь недвижностью мысли у других собратьев по православию, – этот именно инстинктивный позыв к дерзновенно смелой разгадке своего русского призвания в масштабе всемирной истории и стал навсегда признаком безошибочности претензий - утверждать провиденциальный переход на Московское православное царство ведущей роли вечного Рима, ставшего теперь, после падения Второго Рима - Римом Третьим и Последним.«

34 Ibidem 491.

35 Ibidem 510. »[...] признать органически неизбежным генеральный ход ее по безошибочному инстинкту биологического самоутверждения.«

Conclusion

In conclusion, contrary to the actual public discourse of Russian Orthodox spokesmen, there are no sufficient grounds to speak about the active reception and use of the Byzantine argument in Church historiography in any of its central works – except that of Kartašev. These authorized writings on Russian Church history provide no evidence for Byzantine heritage having been of formative moment in the development of a Russian Orthodox consciousness before the very end of the 19th century. It indicates also that there was no continuous self-attribution and self-reflection on the part of the Russian people as heirs to the Byzantine Empire and the Russian mission as the Third Rome. It was a notion newly invented at the end of the 19th century, partly due to newly discovered and popularized sources and partly following trends in public thinking, which were to some extend provoked by the political constellations of the time. Only the last Church history by Kartašev contains a sophisticated narrative of Byzantine influence, and it was, oddly enough, written after the Russian Empire collapsed, doing away with the Russian Orthodox czar. Kartašev brought all forms of historiosophical speculation about Moscow as a successor of Constantinople to the historiography of the Russian Church. How stable this narrative is will only become clear when a new textbook on the history of the Russian Church will be written making a statement with regard to this problem. To date, »The History of the Russian Church« by Kartašev, along with Znamenskij's work, are still the main sources for the educational institutions of the Russian Orthodox Church.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

The Reception of Byzantium in Russian Church Historiography

In the last twenty years, the depiction of Russia as the le-
gitimate and direct successor of the Byzantine Empire and
the Russian Orthodox Church as the genuine bearer of its
religious culture has become received wisdom in Russian
public discourse. These discussions actually hark back to the
situation at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th
century, a time when Byzantium and Byzantine heritage also
appeared at the centre of public interest. The article focuses
on the use of the Byzantine argument in the most famous
historiographical writings of the Russian Orthodox Church
as well as on the more specialized research concerning Byz-
antium and Church history, closely examining the speculative
constructions of Byzantium as a reference point and instru-
ment in the process of self-identification on the part of the
Russian Church in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Die Rezeption von Byzanz in der russischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung

Die Rede über Russland als direkten und legitimierten Nach-
folger des Byzantinischen Imperiums sowie über die Russische
Orthodoxe Kirche als authentische Trägerin der byzantini-
schen Religionskultur ist in den letzten zwanzig Jahren im
russischen politischen Diskurs landläufig geworden. Diese
Diskussionen verlaufen nach dem gleichen Muster wie am
Ende des 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts, als Byzanz
und das byzantinische Erbe ins Zentrum des öffentlichen In-
teresses gerückt war. Dieser Beitrag widmet sich der Nutzung
des byzantinischen Arguments in den bekanntesten Werken
der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung in Russland sowie in der
Forschung, die sich gezielt mit der Frage des byzantinischen
Einflusses auf die Geschichte der Russischen Kirche beschäf-
tigte. Insbesondere werden die spekulativen Konstruktionen
von Byzanz als Instrument in der Gestaltung der kirchlichen
Identität im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert analysiert.

Dimitrios Moschos

Approaching the Byzantine Past in the Historical Work of Dositheos of Jerusalem and Meletios of Athens*

The use of the Byzantine past in Orthodox Church history – that is, the process of historicizing the past of the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman East – is a complicated case. It involves drawing the outlines of a proto-national identity against the Other, which is mainly a religious identity ruling out Moslems and the non-Orthodox Westerners[1]. Secondly, it reflects the deep inner quest for the reason of losing control of one's own history and the means of regaining it. The mainly moralistic and didactic access, which begun already in the closing decades of the 14th century (see, for example, the work of Iosif Bryennios) is encapsulated in the motto ὁ κανών τοῦ γένους (»the punishment of the nation«). The Ottoman rule was penance »for our sins« (διά τάς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν), which was an old cliché since dating from the Byzantine era[2].

On the other hand, textual and historical criticism, which was already highly developed in late Byzantium in the 14th century, was transplanted to and evolved further in Italy in the 15th century, becoming a cornerstone of the later Enlightenment, and in turn affected Greek scholars and thinkers (mainly Churchmen) under Ottoman rule. An example is Michael Trivoles (1470-1556) who studied in Italy close to Pico della Mirandola, then became a monk (1504) and travelled 1516 to Russia under the name of Maxim Grek in order to purge liturgical Slavonic texts of errors, an enterprise for which he was rewarded with many years of prison, between approximately 1525 and 1551[3]. This alternation between moralistic narratives focused on theodicy and historical criticism characterized post-Byzantine Greek historical works, and especially the Anonymous Chronicle of 1570 which re-elaborated historical material from the Italian work of Paolo Giovio and old Byzantine works during the 16th century. The polemic on two fronts against the non-Orthodox Other culminated after the first decades of the 17th century, when the battle between Reformation and Counter-Reformation reached the Orthodox Christians under Moslem rule, and each side tried to win over the Orthodox Church[4]. Shortly after that, that is, after the middle of the 18th century, the Enlightenment posed a challenge to all Christian denominations, and reflection on what went wrong in the past of Orthodox Christians as well as apologetics against hostile Westerners had to be combined with a more synthetic view of the history of Christianity, as a response to the challenge of an anti-clerical or even anti-Christian historical narrative put forth by the representatives of the Enlightenment. It is this phase that forms the background to the use of the Byzantine past in two major synthetic works of Orthodox Church history, those of Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem (focusing on Jerusalem) and that of Meletios Mētros, bishop of Athens.

The work of Dositheos of Jerusalem

Dositheos of Jerusalem (1641-1707) represents the Church leader who resists the mighty attack of the Roman Catholics who, under French protection, sought to establish themselves in Ottoman territory and especially in the Holy Land. Dositheos was born in the Peloponnese in today's Greece and ordained a deacon in 1652. After being consecrated as Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1669 (a year that marked the eclipse of Venetian dominance in the Aegean with the loss of Crete to the Ottomans and the appointment of the first Ottoman foreign minister of Greek origin, Panayiotis Nikoussios), he tried to strengthen the position of the Orthodox Church under the Ottomans against both Catholics and Protestants by convening a Council in Jerusalem in 1672, rejecting the crypto-Calvinist aspects of the then-circulating Confession of Faith by the late Patriarch of Constantinople Cyrill Lucaris, who had been murdered by the Ottomans in 1638. In his whole literary work and Church administration, Dositheos sought to counter the increasingly widespread image of Orthodox teaching as being close to Calvinist predestination and the rejection of the veneration of saints. At the same time he tried to reorient the polemic against the Catholics towards the known dividing issues of the *filioque* and especially the primacy of the Roman See, while he fought constantly with

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1 See mainly Demacopoulos / Papanikolaou, Postcolonial esp. 8-10.

2 Cf. the use of this expression to explain the Byzantine Civil War of 1341-1347 in the document Nr. 129 (Miklosich / Müller, Acta 1, 286).

3 See about Maxim, Geanakoplos, Maximos 445-468.

4 See the political aspect of this struggle in Hering, Patriarchat 97-145.

the Franciscans who strove to gain control over the Holy Sepulchre and Bethlehem.

In his »History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem«, posthumously edited (1721) by his nephew Chrysanthos Notaras (1663-1731), who divided the book into 12 chapters (hence is its often called the Twelve Books, Δωδεκάβιβλος), Dositheos tried to give scholarly support to his church-political goal of the reassertion of the identity of Orthodox Church. To this end, he narrated the historical continuity of the Orthodox Church in the East and the resilience of that identity in past and present[5]. At the same time, he tries to build bridges to anti-papal forces within the Catholic Church, like the Gallican theologians (who are also explicitly mentioned in Chrysanthos's foreword to the book)[6]. Research has focused on the connection of this work with the emergence of a whole genre of sacred *Historia* in Western Europe during the Confessional wars in the 16th century. In this »war of books«, Dositheos refutes detail by detail the Catholic narrative about the permanent centrality of Rome in the historical course of the Christian Church and the illegitimacy of the schism which the Greek Orthodox Church had provoked, notably according to Leo Allatius (a »uniate« Greek Catholic writer)[7], who had already produced an extensive book about the Schism[8]. In our perspective, the polemical character of the presentation of historical material can be related to the scholastic technique of exposing and refuting the arguments posed regarding every historical issue. Therefore, the detailed narration is frequently interrupted by accounts of the Roman position (e. g. the placement of Rome in the first centuries, the authority of convening Ecumenical Councils, the story of the female pope etc). Accordingly, Byzantine history becomes an organic part of Orthodox identity against Roman claims in aspects of ecclesiology, notably papal authority, the rank of the patriarchate of Jerusalem and the like. Dositheos insists that the »God-beloved emperors« (θεοφιλεῖς αὐτοκράτορες) had convened all ecumenical councils; this serves as an argument against Roman primacy based on the fact that the emperors and not the Roman See were entitled to summon an ecumenical council[9]. Commenting further on the administration of Constantine I, he justifies his title as bishop of God as being of a higher degree than the general priesthood of lay Christians, because of his measures in favour of Christians and against the pagans. He lists 26 such measures, including the summoning of councils and the war against the Persians in defence of Christians there, and concludes: »use now this measure and see the next emperors, Theodosiuses, Marcian, Justin, Justinian, Constantine the Bearded and other emperors, and learn which of them appear imitators of Constantine and through him of our Lord Jesus Christ«[10]. There are exceptions, of course. The iconoclastic emperor Constantine V is called a »hard-hearted Pharaoh«[11]. At the same time, he praises Justinian II who sent capitals to Avimelech (i. e. Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan), thus preventing him from stripping the Church of Gethsemane in order to build his temple in Jerusalem[12]. Dositheos states that »so much did the pious emperors care for the Holy Land«[13], giving a hint that connects his own jurisdiction with its Byzantine heritage. In his seventh book, he gives a rather detailed albeit not particularly accurate account of important political and Church-political events concerning the Byzantine Empire until the 11th century. He refers to Nicephoros I (802-811) as Phocas, which is the family name of Nicephoros II (963-969), and accuses him of introducing capital tax, which served as a model for the Ottoman haraj[14]. He closely follows the events recorded in the Chronography of the Byzantine monk Theofanes, reproducing the same inaccuracies[15]. Yet his main concern is to state that the accumulating challenges and external enemies of the Empire did not affect the Church as much as the apostasy of the Roman See had done, which turned the defender of the Church to a traitor[16]. From this short overview we can conclude that the traditional polemical historical narrative at the peak of the confessional controversies uses Byzantium more or less as a stage in order to outline the unbreakable continuity of the Eastern Church with the original One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. Any other information or historical criticism of facts and persons in Byzantine history are motivated by this larger purpose.

The »Ecclesiastical History« of Meletios of Athens

The other historian whose views are discussed here is practically contemporaneous (1661-1714) with Dositheos – indeed the two are known to have corresponded – but was closer intellectually to the Enlightenment. Meletios was born in Ioannina and was trained in Padua like most of his educated contemporaries. After heading a school in his hometown of Ioannina, he was elected metropolitan of Nafpaktos (Lepante, in the western part of today's Greece) in 1692 but he was overthrown in 1697, accused of involvement in a conspiracy against the Ottoman authorities. Nevertheless he was protected by his friend, the aforementioned Chrysanthos Notaras[17], which contributed to his being compensated by

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5   For Dositheos see the fundamental work of Todt, Dositheos 659-720 and relevant literature in the older Podskalsky, Theologie 283-284. Among other works the monograph of Dură, Dositheos ought to be underscored.
6   Dositheos, History, Prol. Chrys.: 1, 12-13.
7   Sarris, Historia.
8   See Podskalsky, Theologie 213-217.
9   Dositheos, History 5, 355-378.
10 Dositheos, History 2, 11.

11 Dositheos, History 3, 443.
12 A story unknown to me from elsewhere. About the project of the Dome of the Rock see Nasser, Dome.
13 Dositheos, History 3, 449.
14 Dositheos History 4, 76.
15 Dositheos, History 3, 438.
16 Dositheos, History 4, 265.
17 About Chrysanthos Notaras, see Stathi, Chrysanthos.

his election as metropolitan of Athens in 1703. He left Athens ten years later because of various allegations originating from internal strife in the city. Until his premature death in 1714, he wrote books on the natural sciences, in which he proclaims adherence to the Copernican system[18], and well as a history of the Church consisting of three volumes. The most thorough study of his work can be found in the doctoral dissertation of Konstantinos Kyriakopoulos[19]. While Dositheos was a Church leader, Meletios is more of a scholarly priest, who presents a panoramic view of a global history of the Church, assessed by historical criticism and divided into chapters for every century, most likely following the model of the Magdeburg Centuries. It has been pointed out that the way Meletios quoted his sources (among which one finds Bellarmin and Baronius)[20], his sober manner of expanding on difficult, controversial issues, like the emergence and the character of Islam in the 7th century[21], put his work clearly in the Enlightened historiographical tradition, perhaps that of the Catholic Enlightenment of the Jansenists, of whom he knew[22]. More interesting is the effort to print it in a more elaborate way some decades after his death in 1784, by people who obviously were engaged in the so-called Neohellenic Enlightenment, namely Polyzois Lampanitziotis and Georgios Vendotis (1757-1795). The latter added a volume during his editing of the manuscript of Meletios. Vendotis was a scholar who lived in Vienna and edited Greek books or translated books from French into Greek for the printing house of Jacob Baumeister. His interests involved works of the French Enlightenment and later he became friend and companion of Rhegas Velestinlis (1757-1798), who was a prominent political thinker and a propagator of a democratic and free state that would replace (after an insurgence of all peoples) the authoritarian Ottoman Empire. Although Velestinlis was arrested by the Austrian police, handed over to Ottoman authorities and murdered in Belgrade[23], it is obvious that the small group of Vienna was firmly committed to the proliferation of ideas of Enlightenment among the Greeks. Why did this circle support the work of Meletios?

To return to Meletios, he was known for another work that was definitely a product of Enlightenment, namely his »Geography«. Geographical works pioneered the dissemination of the maxims of Enlightenment in education. Meletios is no exception, and he states in the prologue of this work that »nothing pleases the cosmopolitan man (κοσμοπολίτην ἄνθρωπον) more than geography«, for »if this world is nothing but a big city of man, what would be more disgraceful and humiliating for the citizen of this city, that is man, to ignore the gates, the streets or the squares of that city«[24]. This metaphor proved to be very popular in other geographical works of known advocates of the Enlightenment[25] and

testifies to the innovative thinking of Meletios. It is important to note, though, that in this same prologue, in order to invoke ancient authoritative minds, he quotes the relevant prologue of the Byzantine writer and philosopher Nicephoros Gregoras to his *Rhomaikē Historia*, written in the 14th century in which Gregoras also praises knowledge of Geography as a necessary supplement to history[26]. For us it is significant to observe the conjunction of a Byzantine authority with a project participating in the spirit of the Enlightenment, and it will help us to understand his notion of the Byzantine past in his historical work.

Bearing in mind the above remarks, we can now situate Meletios' »History« within the broader picture of the Enlightenment. This becomes clearer in the foreword to the »History« by the aforementioned editor Georgios Vendotis, who begins by praising the rule of law. He stresses the importance of abiding by the law for every community, adding that laws irrigated human actions like water, helping them improve and consolidating the close bonds necessary for human prosperity. Moreover, they contribute to the skills and institutions that are necessary in the short lives of humans. In their absence, the commonwealth would be driven by the corrupted instincts of its members to catastrophe. If this is a general principle, how much more applicable must it be to the sacred community, that is the Orthodox Church, which must learn the law of God in order to understand and pursue salvation? And after this introduction, Vendotis underscores the value of Church history in order to introduce properly to the work of Meletios[27].

Meletios himself opens his lengthy work with preliminary definitions of history, notions and persons of sacred history (e. g. the Old Testament), then he recapitulates older Church historians since Eusebios (a sort of *status quaestionis*), after which he expands on historical periods and political titles. He repeats the old definition of the king as »the lawful overseer on all subjects, neither benefiting nor harming according to subjective wishes, but setting goals and rewarding everybody equally, see for his duties in Greco-Roman Law chap. 4«. The reference here is ultimately to the Byzantine text of *Epanagoge/Eisagoge*, written at the end of 9th century[28]. Further, he explains that Romans did not adopt the title after the reign of Tarquinius Superbus although they aspired to maintain the monarchy, which was considered very effective in military terms. Hence they devised other names as *Augustus* (as if he were something divine rather than human) and *Imperator*, which practically means the same and was translated as *Basileus* in Greek[29]. He adds that Christian kings were the shepherds of Christ's legacy and then mentions that this title was never used by Greek chronographers to designate rulers outside Constantinople, as they named other European kings

18 Nicolaides, Science 138.
19 Kyriakopoulos, Meletios.
20 Meletios History 1, XXXII.
21 Meletios History, VIIc, chap. 3,1-9: 2, 154-157.
22 Sarris, Historia 380-383.
23 See generally on Rhigas, Woodhouse, Rhigas.

24 Meletios Geography, Prol. 3.
25 See Papageorgiou, Geographies 362.
26 Gregoras, Historia I, 1 5.
27 Meletios, History 1, XII-XIV.
28 See Scharf, Quellenstudien 77-78.
29 Meletios, History, Prol. chap. 3: 1, 55-56.

reges. He further explains, though, that »*Rex* is the lawful ruler. And the one whom the Latins call Emperor of Romans, we call *Rex Alamanorum*. This prevailed after Theoderic etc.« Finally, he analyses why Greeks are called ›Romans‹, citing Chalkokondyles[30]. According to him, Rome became a powerful empire, which conquered Byzantium, among other cities. Although this city (Byzantium) was predominantly Greek in language and habits and later became the capital, the Emperors chose not to use the title »King of the Greeks« but to maintain the Roman name for the imperial title[31].

This programmatic clarification of relevance to Church history also has, I think, a very concrete political meaning. If we follow the logical consequence of these definitions backwards, from the end to the beginning, we may note that Meletios (a) stresses that the Roman (Byzantine) empire is Greek but inherited the Roman legacy; (b) he does not deny the lawful claim of other European monarchs to royal power; (c) he identifies the Roman *Imperator* with the Greek king; and (d) Greek (or Roman) royal power is, according to Meletios, subject to the rule of law. An additional aspect relevant for the Church historian is that Christian kings have an important role as shepherds or housekeepers of Jesus Christ. Although we can detect a certain criticism of the use of the title *Augustus* (ὡς ὢν πλέον τι παρὰ ἄνθρωπος – as if he were something more than human), the general picture is that this Medieval and Byzantine system of political power is, its shortcomings notwithstanding, subject to the rule of law. Byzantine history is hence not apart from the history of the European Enlightenment. On the top of that there is an echo of the propagator of the narrative about the unbroken continuity of the Greek nation: The historian Constantinos Paparrhegopoulos (1815-1891). In this same passage of Meletios' History, he refers to the Byzantines as the ἡμέτεροι (our people)[32], the same way Paparrhegopoulos would do in his authoritative »History of the Greek nation« a century later (e. g. his description of the once byzantine northern Italy which was conquered by Lombards and regained by the King of Franks Pippin as »the lands belonging once to us in Northern Italy«[33]. This puts him in clear contrast to other scholars of 19th-century Greece, who (still under the influence of Classicism) spoke of an »occupation« of Greece by the Byzantines (βυζαντινή δυναστεία – that is the case of Professor of Constitutional Law Nikolaos Saripolos 1817-1887!)[34].

Meletios's preliminary remarks gain weight when they are examined parallel to other works of Greek thinkers or writers within the Church who also stress the importance of the rule of law. That is the case with Theophilos Papaphilou (1715-1793), bishop of Campania (Verroia, NW Greece)[35]. In the foreword to his *Procheiron Nomikon* (Handbook of Ecclesias-

tical Law), published after 1750, he stresses the importance of the rule of law, which must characterize every form of public authority, in contrast to mere tyranny. He drew his examples from classical Greek and Roman antiquity[36]. Nevertheless, the work of Theophilos concerned canon law, and it would make sense to outline its importance for readers who were mainly administrative functionaries within the Church mechanism. In the case of Meletios, on the other hand, we have a theoretical work recording the history of the Church, and I think one cannot see any other purpose than a kind of political declaration situating him against the horizon of the Enlightenment and connecting the Byzantine past with the whole of European history seen as an evolution of the Greco-Roman heritage.

The reception

Although the »Dodekavivlos« of Dositheos used the network of the patriarchate of Jerusalem and found its way into many libraries[37], the real breakthrough was the Church history of Meletios. Of course, the process of financing the project or even a second edition, which was inaugurated in 1853 but never completed, was full of obstacles. Obviously circles within the Church found the work too sober, too »dry«, inappropriate for apologetic purposes[38]. Yet, in the end, Manuel Gedeon, the famous Constantinopolitan historian of the 19th century (1851-1943), wrote that school textbooks of Church history had for many years, until his lifetime, been based on summaries of the Church History of Meletios[39]. It was translated into Romanian in 1841-1843. Moreover, Meletios' History was specifically cited in later historical works like that of Anastasios Diomedes-Kyriakos published in 1874, and in its later editions[40]. This also affects how Byzantium was perceived in the Greek-speaking Church history.

It seems that the rejection of the Byzantine period during the zenith of Neoclassicism before 1860s affected Church history to a lesser degree, not only out of interest in the defence of dogmatic identity, but also because of the impact of the legacy of this work of Meletios, which strove to reconcile at a very early moment the Oriental, despotic image of Byzantium created by Voltaire and Edward Gibbon (who published his book roughly at the same time as that of Meletios) with the maxims of early modern critical history and political philosophy. Presenting Byzantium as an early heir to Greco-Roman political theory is an approach typical of Enlightenment ideas and also found in other works by Greek Orthodox clergymen.

Moreover, this short analysis of two Histories by Dositheos und Meletios reveals that the image of the alleged homogeneity and purity of the literature of Orthodox Greeks, which

30 Chalcocondyles, Historia, I, 1 6.
31 Meletios, History, Prol. chap. 3: 1, 56-57.
32 See Meletios History, Prol. chap. 3: 1, 56.
33 ἀνήκουσαι ἄλλοτε εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐν τῇ Ἄνω Ἰταλίᾳ. Paparrhegopoulos, History 3, 515.
34 More about that in Demetrakopoulos, Byzantion 68.

35 See Podskalsky, Theologie 354-356.
36 Theophilos, Procheiron 12-14.
37 Podskalsky, Theologie 294.
38 Sarris, Historia 654-656.
39 More in Sarris, Historia 657.
40 Diomedes-Kyriakos, History 13. 17. 48. 87. 102. 200.

is supposed to have grown in isolation from Western influence, has to be replaced by a far more complicated process of evolution and synthesis that moves from the situation of mere theological polemics against the West (Dositheos) to a kind of dialogue with later intellectual currents of the West, specifically the Enlightenment, as we can also discern in other works of Meletios of Athens. This dialogue affects obviously the perception of Byzantium.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Approaching the Byzantine Past in the Historical Work of Dositheos of Jerusalem and Meletios of Athens

The paper examines the account of Byzantium in the History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem by Dositheos, patriarch of Jerusalem, edited posthumously in 1721 by his nephew, and the Ecclesiastical History written by the metropolitan of Athens, Meletios Mētros, a contemporary of Dositheos, whose work was edited in 1784, many years after his death. Dositheos uses Byzantium quite indiscriminately as a source of material for arguments to combat the dogmatic, ecclesiological, canonical and even property claims of the Western Church against the Orthodox. Meletios uses his contemporary historical works and methods to suggest an insight into Byzantium through the eyes of the Enlightenment, which probably explains why his work was edited by circles promoting the so-called »Modern Greek Enlightenment« in Vienna.

Annäherung an die byzantinische Vergangenheit im historischen Werk des Dositheos von Jerusalem und des Meletios von Athen

Der Aufsatz untersucht die Darstellung von Byzanz in der Geschichte der Patriarchen von Jerusalem des Dositheos, selbst Patriarch von Jerusalem, die von seinem Neffen 1721 posthum herausgegeben wurde, sowie die Kirchengeschichte des Metropoliten von Athen, Meletios Metros, eines Zeitgenossen des Dositheos, dessen Werk erst 1784, viele Jahre nach seinem Tod, herausgegeben wurde. Dositheos benutzte Byzanz durchaus unterschiedslos als Materialquelle für Argumente zur Bekämpfung der dogmatischen, ekklesiologischen, kanonischen und auch Eigentumsansprüche der Westkirche gegen die Orthodoxe Kirche. Meletios dienten seine gleichzeitig entstandenen historischen Arbeiten und Methoden dazu, ein Verständnis von Byzanz anzuregen, das von der Perspektive der Aufklärung ausging. Wahrscheinlich war dies auch der Grund dafür, warum sein Werk in den Kreisen einen Herausgeber fand, die sich in Wien für die sogenannte »neugriechische Aufklärung« einsetzten.

Christina Hadjiafxenti

Byzantium in Greek Church Historiography of the 19th Century: Between German Protestant Influence and Greek Orthodox Confession

The use of Byzantium as a paradigm in the description of the relationship between Church and state in Greece after 1833

After gaining its independence in 1830, the Greek state was restricted territorially to Thessaly. Most other Greek-speaking areas were still under Ottoman rule. The Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, which until then had preserved the religious identity of all Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire, was also subject to Ottoman rule. Therefore, some Greek intellectuals, with Adamantios Korais as the most prominent representative of the Greek Enlightenment, believed that a free state should also have a free Church[1]. The Greek Church should no longer fall under the ecclesiastical authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople[2]. The Greek Church achieved its independence in 1833, during the reign of the first king of Greece, Otto of Bavaria. The decision for independence was also a decision promoted by England and France in order to cut off the Orthodox clergy of the newly established Greek state from Russian influence, of which they considered the Ecumenical Patriarchate to be a bearer[3]. The Ecumenical Patriarchate did not accept the autocephaly of the Greek Church until 1850.

According to the royal edict of 1833, the king of Greece was now the head of the Greek Orthodox Church. Thus, the Catholic Otto and his council, including the protestant Georg Ludwig von Maurer, who was actually, together with Theoklitos Farmakides[4], the ideological instigator of the autocephaly of the Greek Church, were able to make important decisions in ecclesiastical matters. In all the synods of the

Greek Church, a royal commissar was to supervise every decision on the part of the Church[5]. The state thus made many drastic changes within the Church. In subjects like marriage, divorce, the training of the clergy, the ownership of the monasteries and even the ordination of priests, the state had to have the last word. In this way, the Church became dependent on the state. Many monasteries were closed by the state and their property confiscated, in order to raise funds, among other purposes, for schools and the newly established university[6].

In his Church history of 1898, the Athenian theologian Anastasios Diomedes Kyriakos wrote the following on this matter: »The relationship between the Church and the state was designed in such a way that neither was the state oppressing the Church, nor was the Church a state within a state. The state leaves the Church free to act according to its spiritual power, only acting in a supervisory capacity, as it would towards everything else that happens in the state in the common interest. It offers protection and assistance and works with the Church, intervening only in cases in which the worldly, material interests of the citizens are at stake. Their relationship is not like the relationship between state and Church in the Byzantine era, where the Church was subject to the state«[7]. In the footnotes, he also explains that the system in which the Church was subject to the state had existed in late antiquity and in the Byzantine era[8].

Some years later, the clergyman of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and theologian of the Theological School of Chalki, Filaretos Vafeides, had this to say on the subject of the autocephaly of the Greek Church:

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1 Therianos, Koraes ρλα: Ὁ κλῆρος τοῦ ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἀπελευθερωθέντος μέρους τῆς Ἑλλάδος δὲν πρέπει νὰ ἀναγνωρίζῃ πλέον ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἀρχηγὸν τὸν Πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ἄρχουσιν αὐτόθι Ὀθωμανοί. ὀφείλει δὲ νὰ κυβερνᾶται ὑπὸ συνόδου ἱερέων, ἐκλεγομένης ἐλευθέρως ἐξ ἱερέων καὶ κοσμικῶν, ὡς ἐποίει ἡ ἀρχαία ἐκκλησία καὶ ἐπὶ μέρους ποιεῖ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν Ῥώσσων. Cf. for example also Stamatopoulos, Church 37-38; Frazee, Greece 102-103.
2 Cf. Vafeides, Nea istoria 510. – Kyriakos, Ekklēsiastikē istoria² III, 154.
3 Stamatopoulos, Church 34-35. – Stamatopoulos, Metarruthimise 367-370. – Stamatopoulos, Minorities 257. Regarding the relations between the European powers and of Russia with the Patriarchy of Constantinople and what kind of role does the Autocephaly of the Greek Church play in this situation cf. also in detail

Frazee, Greece 89-124 and from a theological point of view Metallinos, Paradose 227-257.
4 About Farmakides cf. Mpalanos, Istoria 5-6. About the king as a leader of the church administration of the Greek state, cf. Metallinos, Paradose 233. Regarding the autocephaly of the Greek Church there are many works. Cf. for example in detail Stamatopoulos, Church 34-64; Frazee, Greece 101-124; Wittig, Griechenland 79-140 and from a theological perspective Metallinos, Paradose 227-257; Moschos, Kirche 77-79.
5 Cf. also Stamatopoulos, Church 35.
6 Cf. Vafeides, Nea istoria 500-514. In contrast to Vafeides, Kyriakos, 3. Istoria 156-158 does not criticise the state for these policies.
7 Kyriakos, Ekklēsiastikē istoria² III, 156.
8 Ibidem 156.

»The people who developed this innovative state-Church-system and its supporters did not stop proclaiming that by the constitution of 1833, the relationship between Church and state was designed in such a way that neither was the state oppressing the Church, nor was the Church a state within a state, though they admit of course that the synod is selected by the king and it is under the guardianship of the government through the royal commissar, who controls everything. [...] We find such a subjection of the Church to the state neither under the Byzantines nor during the Ottoman period. It is not true when it is said that matters concerning marriage, divorce, the inventory of monasteries and training of the clergy were solved with the help of the state. Because the state provided only protection to the Church, the relationship between the two was like tangent circles [i. e. circles that intersect in some points but are not congruent]. If Byzantine emperors interfered in Church business, which is to say not only its worship and life but also in matters concerning dogma, then the Church protested through its spiritual shepherds and put an end to such abuses«[9].

The second passage by Filaretos Vafeides – who believes that the Church of the newly established Greek state is subject to the state, but not the Church in the Byzantine period to the Byzantine state, as Anastasios Diomedes Kyriakos claimed – functions like an answer to and review of the latter's text[10]. Nevertheless, what is particularly noteworthy and of great significance here is how the two theologians used the Byzantine paradigm for the construction of their theological and historical interpretations in this narrative context. The use of the Byzantine paradigm in these Church historiographical discourses constitutes a very interesting issue, which has not yet been examined, even though a lot has been written about the autocephaly of the Greek Church and its Western European or Russian influence, the position of the patriarchate of Constantinople and the issue of nationalism[11].

In what follows, I would like to analyse the historical context in which the two theologians lived in order to understand their diametrically opposed opinions and their use of the Byzantine paradigm. Second, I shall discuss Byzantine history in the Church historiographical work of Filaretos Vafeides and Diomedes Kyriakos. For this reason, I will also focus on

the different sources they used and the different academic environments where they completed their study.

University education and Theology in 19th century Greece

After the establishment of the first university of Athens in 1837 and throughout the 19th century, the opinion was widespread in Greek society that people who had studied in Germany were better qualified for academic positions than others. Therefore, there was a tendency for professors at the Athenian university to have studied in Germany. The German government of the Greek state promoted the study of young men at German universities. The professors of the Athenian University proudly referred to their academic degrees gained in Germany and preferred to draw upon German literature in their works[12].

This was also the case with Greek theologians. Their contemporaries and later scholars often criticised them for having been influenced by the West and adopting foreign ideas and beliefs uncritically[13]. According to Timothy Ware, it was also possible to tell from the works of the Greek theologians if they had graduated from a Catholic or a Protestant university[14]. Most of them had, in fact, completed their PhDs at German Protestant faculties[15].

Among these theologians, we find Anastastios Diomedes Kyriakos, who studied from 1863 to 1866 at the universities of Erlangen, Leipzig and Vienna, and later became professor at the University of Athens[16].

Filaretos Vafeides, the second theologian to be discussed here, completed his PhD in Leipzig in 1875 and afterwards held a position in the administration of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. At the same time, he was professor at the Theological School of Chalki until 1888[17].

Byzantium in Greek Church Historiography

Anastasios Diomedes Kyriakos

Diomedes Kyriakos, who said that it was impossible for a theologian of his time not to be familiar with German theology, exemplifies Greek admiration for German scholarship. Even

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9 Vafeides, Nea istoria 512-513, esp. 502: ἥ τε Ἐκκλησία καὶ ἡ Σύνοδος τοῦ βασιλείου τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατεδουλώθησαν τῇ πολιτικῇ ἐξουσία. Regarding Church events of the 19th century in the Greek state in Vafeides's description cf. Ibidem 498-522.

10 There are also some other passages by Anastasios Diomedes Kyriakos regarding the independence of the Greek Church that Filaretos Vafeides tries to refute (cf. Vafeides, Nea istoria 498-499. 510), but here I restrict myself to the Byzantine passages, since this is the subject of the present article.

11 A great deal has been written concerning the ecumenical ideology of the patriarchate of Constantinople, its pan-Orthodox role and the preservation of the old imperial model in the face of the fragmentation of the millet and the creation of the different nation-states and national churches, especially the Church of Greece. Characteristic works include the following: Stamatopoulos, Discourse 64-72; Stamatopoulos, Millet 201-241; Kitromilides, Communities 149-192; Kitromilides, State formation 31-50.

12 On the organisation of the Theological Faculty of the University of Athens according to the models of German protestant faculties cf. Giannaras, Orthodoxia 303-305; Metallinos, Einflüsse 83-91. On the German influence on the University of Athens, cf. Tsirpanles, Ausbildung 250-272. Moschos also mentions the German influence on the Church historiographical production: Moschos, Blinkwinkel 90. On the use of German literature and references to their studies in Germany cf. Fasoulakes, Katavoles 102.

13 Giannaras, Orthodoxia 305-308.

14 Ware, Eustratios 15-16.

15 Cf. for example Mpalanos, Istoria 4-19 regarding the education of the professors of the University of Athens; Moschos, Blinkwinkel 90.

16 Cf. Mpalanos, Istoria 8-9.

17 Regarding the studies of Filatos Vafeides cf. Staurides, Chalki 175; Savvides, Vafeides 18-21; and briefly Moschos, Blinkwinkel 92.

though for Anastasios Diomedes Kyriakos a dogmatic unification between the Protestant and the Orthodox Churches was a utopia[18], »the German nation was the nation of the great thinkers and philosophers of the modern age, as the Greeks had been for the classical period«[19]. In the first and second volumes of his Church history, published in 1881, Diomedes Kyriakos used especially the German Protestant authors Karl von Hase, – whom he also called »the Thucydides of Church historiography« and regarded as the best church historian of all time[20], – Johann Matthias Schröckh, August Neander, Johann Karl Ludwig Gieseler and Johann Heinrich Kurtz as his main sources[21].

When we look more closely at his Church historiographical work, the split of the Church due to dogmatic and Christological disputes and the continuous interference of the state in ecclesiastical matters characterizes the Church from the time of Emperor Constantine until 860. The mob and the monks were involved in the disputes, and the government, instead of trying to stay out of these problems, interfered and supported first one side and then the other, making things worse, an instrument of the court theologians and eunuchs. Emperors arbitrarily ruled on Church dogma. The patriarchs, who usually depended on the emperors and were forced to give in to their wishes, were deposed and installed according to the emperors' will. The interference of the emperors continued throughout the Byzantine period, until the fall of Constantinople in 1453[22].

Although Diomedes Kyriakos makes some important changes in the second edition of his work almost twenty years later, which are due to incorporating Karl Krumbacher's work on Byzantine literature, his opinion regarding the relationship between Church and state remains completely the same, as we will see in what follows.

Filaretos Vafeides

Like the Athenian theologian Diomedes Kyriakos, the theologian Filaretos Vafeides of the Theological School of Chalki draws, among other sources, on the protestant German Church historians of the 19th century, August Neander, Johann Karl Ludwig Gieseler, Heinrich Ernst Ferdinand Guericke, Karl von Hase and Johann Heinrich Kurtz in his work[23].

The influence of Kurtz on Filaretos Vafeides' work has already been remarked on in the research literature, albeit very briefly[24]. There has not yet been a detailed analysis and comparison of the two texts. Many passages by him are indeed simply translations of the German theologian. Of great importance, however, is Vafeides' treatment of the relationship between Church and state. After a careful comparison of the two, it emerges that this chapter is the only one to have been drastically changed by the Greek theologian. Here he gives an opinion completely contrary to that of Kurtz.

According to Filaretos Vafeides, state and Church were two distinct and independent powers. There were some efforts by the emperors to control the Church and impose their views and will, but political power faced the protest and resistance of the Church[25]. The Church, as Filaretos Vafeides puts it, was not subject to the state. »Then, the state's illegal interference in Church matters was neither accepted by the Church, nor did it succeed in making decisions regarding dogma, as some modern [German] theologians believe. Such interventions were repelled by the Church's worthy clerics«[26].

This opinion, expressed with very careful and precise formulations towards his German models, covers the whole of Byzantine history. We have plenty of examples of his defensive attitude vis-à-vis the German theologians when speaking about »our Church« and »our« Church Fathers[27]. When, for instance, he speaks about mediaeval Church history, he argues that »our Eastern Church, due to various adverse conditions, did not act as efficiently and was not as rich as before, but it is neither dead nor decadent, as the theologians of the West claim«[28]. The Athenian theologian Diomedes Kyriakos, for example, nowhere expresses such an opinion.

Thus, the work of Filaretos Vafeides has an apologetic and defensive tone with regard to his German models. By contrast, his Athenian colleague Diomedes Kyriakos never defends the Byzantine state and Church so explicitly. He shows the Byzantine Church, as we have seen before, being subjected to the state, which is in constant decadence in a context of political corruption. The moral decadence of society, the fanaticism of the monks and the almost stagnant level of theological production and religious worship after the fifth century are the other elements of the picture, exactly as it is drawn in the Protestant theological works of the 19th century[29].

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18 Kyriakos, Protestantismus 149.
19 Ibidem 148.
20 Kyriakos, Ekklēsiastikē istoria² III, 358: Ὁ Χάζε εἶναι ὁ Θουκυδίδης τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστοριογραφίας. His words are also mentioned by Heyer, Emanzipation 221.
21 Kyriakos, Ekklēsiastikē istoria¹ II, ε. For the time 1-860 he uses also the Catholics Johann Baptist Alzog and Ignaz von Doellinger and for the time 860-1453 also Alloys Pichler.
22 Ibidem 201. 214. 248. 273. 341-343. 373-375. 384.
23 Vafeides, Archaia istoria ε, 8. – Vafeides, Mesē periodos ε.
24 Janin, Constantinople 705. – Savvides, Vafeides 293. – Staurides, Chalki 176. – Moschos, Blinkwinkel 92.
25 For example Vafeides, Istoria 62. 90. 94. 113. – Vafeides, Archaia istoria 274.

26 Ibidem 274.
27 About »Our Church« and »Ours« cf. for example Vafeides, Istoria 107-109. 116. 122. 137.
28 Ibidem 79.
29 For example Kyriakos, Dokimion 115. 128. 142. 160. 172-174. – Kyriakos, Ekklēsiastikē istoria¹ II, 201. 214. 248. 273. 315. 341-342. 373-374. 384. – About the Protestant theologians cf. Gieseler, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte 479-480. 484-485. – Gieseler, Kirchengeschichte 12-13. 395. – Gieseler, Lehrbuch 664. 667. – Kurtz, Kirchengeschichte 19-20. 24. 71-72. 74-75. 77-78. 100. 106. 438-439. 441. 542. – Kurtz, Lehrbuch 30-31. 199-200. 204. 215-216. 226-227. 266. 327-328. 343. – Hase, Kirchengeschichte 21. 135. 150-151. 155. 158-162. 285. 287. – Neander, Geschichte 73. 277-278. 280-281. 285. 287. 323-325. 327-328. 351-353. 364-365. 375. 389.

Comparison of Anastasios Diomedes Kyriakos and Filaretos Vafeides

Thus, even though both Greek theologians under investigation obviously admired the German church historians of the 19th century, they treated their German sources differently. Their respective positions may help explain why: Diomedes Kyriakos was a professor at the first university of the Greek state, which was secularized and under the control of the German-dominated government of Greece[30]. The Theological School of Chalki, on the other hand, was a Church institution under the supervision of the patriarchate of Constantinople. The Theological School of Chalki made a great effort to preserve the common religious identity of the ecumenical Balkan Orthodox community and thus of all the Orthodox subject peoples of the Ottoman Empire. This was also the goal of the patriarchate of Constantinople, which during the 19th century encountered attempts on the part of different national groups on the Balkans to cultivate their own ethnic identity. Therefore, they demanded the independence of their Churches. The Church of Greece was the first to do so, and the Churches of Romania (1865), Bulgaria (1870) and Serbia (1870) followed.

I return to the topic discussed in my introduction, the autocephaly of the Greek Church, in order to make some remarks regarding the use of Byzantium as a paradigm in this narrative context. After the historical explanation just given, it is now possible to understand why Filaretos Vafeides tried to defend the position of the patriarchate of Constantinople and therefore the relationship between state and Church in the Byzantine Empire. However, if we investigate the historical context of the patriarchate and the criticism Filaretos Vafeides levelled against the new model of the Greek Church more precisely, further explanations emerge.

The second half of the 19th century was a time of reform not only in the Ottoman Empire, but also in the patriarchate of Constantinople. The reforms carried out in the Ottoman Empire during this period (1839-1876), the so-called Tanzimat[31], aimed to promote equality between the different religious communities or millets[32] of the Ottoman Empire. After the Crimean war, the Ottoman edict Hatt-ı Hümâyûnu of 1856 – in part dictated by the British, French and Austrian ambassadors – tried with its reforms to exclude every possibility of foreign policy and thus of Russian intervention in the Ottoman Empire after the Crimean War[33].

However, Hatt-ı Hümâyûnu also promoted the reorganisation of the millets and demanded the separation of temporal from spiritual jurisdictions in the patriarchate of Constantinople through the abolition of Gerontism and the participation of laymen in the administration according to the »General Regulations«[34]. Consequently, the absolute power of the patriarchate as a spiritual and political leader of the rum millet, as milletbaşi, as an ethnarch, could be restricted and disputed and the political administration of the Ottoman Empire could find opportunities to interfere with the patriarchate. Thus, even though it was a time of reform in the patriarchal administration, some reforms sparked opposition on the part of the clerics in the course of the century, or at least were treated with scepticism. Most of the time, the introduction of reforms within the administration of the patriarchate depended on feelings of the patriarch towards Russia.

Moreover, Filaretos Vafeides completed the first volume of his Church history in 1884, writing in the last decades of the 19th century, a time of dispute regarding the privileges of the Church of Constantinople. The privileges were first given to the patriarch of Constantinople, Gennadios Scholarios, after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 by Sultan Mehmet II and were recognized by subsequent sultans. These privileges related to the rights that Orthodox Christians in the rum millet had in the largely Muslim society of the Ottoman Empire. They remained valid throughout the centuries, unaffected by the various Ottoman edicts. However, after Abdul Hamid II became sultan in 1876, the policy of the Ottoman state towards the millets changed. In 1883 – the year before Vafeides published his first volume – Sultan Abdul Hamid II questioned and tried to rescind these privileges and transfer power from the patriarchate to the Ottoman state, thus reducing the freedoms of the orthodox Christians, the rum millet of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, a new period of problems started between the Church of Constantinople and the Ottoman rulers. Within the Orthodox clergy of the patriarchate, there also appeared a split between those who sympathised with the Russians and the Slavic peoples of the Balkans and those who held nationalist ideals and were against Russian influence[35]. All these conflicts within the patriarchate and during the crisis in the relationship with the Ottoman Empire led to the fall of Patriarch Ioakeim III in 1883. Ioakeim was a patriarch known for his »pan-Orthodox« policies and thus well-disposed towards Russia. His fall was a result of opposition among nationalist circles within the patriarchate, which reacted to Ottoman efforts to challenge the privileges of the patriarchate in the first phase of the controversy 1883-1884 and who accused Ioakeim III of being overly friendly towards Russia and failing in his duty to defend the privileges[36]. It may be supposed that Vafeides was against

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30 Podskalsky, Theologia 203. – Metallinos, Einflüsse 84-85.
31 Stamatopoulos, Minorities 256; Stamatopoulos, Metarruthmise 19-20. – On the doctrine of equality of the Christians with the other confessions in the Ottoman Empire during the Tanzimat period, cf. Davison, Attitudes 844-864.
32 Cf. for example Stamatopoulos, Minorities 253-255. Regarding the Orthodox millet seen as a power network within the Ottoman Empire cf. Stamatopoulos, Networks 83-86.
33 Cf. Davison, Attitudes 850. 857. – Stamatopoulos, Minorities 258-260.

34 Cf. esp. Stamatopoulos, Politeia 183-220. – Stamatopoulos, Metarruthmise 35. 37. 67. 70.
35 Cf. Stamatopoulos, Minorities 265-266.
36 About Ioakeim III and his policy in the Patriarchate, especially to the Privilege issue and the Russian influence on him and his spiritual father Ioakeim II cf. Stamatopoulos, Ioakeim 189-224. About the correspondence of Ioakeim III cf. also Kardaras, Ioakeim III 15-285 and esp. its historical context 15-55.

the abolition of the privileges of the patriarchate and used the text to criticise the patriarchate, including Ioakeim III, for its handling of the issue[37].

The presence of a royal commissar at the synod of the Greek Church, as discussed above, was actually a Russian practice dating from the 17th century[38]. Filaretos Vafeides' claims thus constitute an indirect attack not only on the changes in the newly established Greek Church, but also on the Russian model. Vafeides' anti-Russian stance is connected with Russian foreign policy, which changed after the Crimean War. It tried to interfere in the affairs of the patriarchate of Constantinople, but not in order to protect the Christians, as had been its intention before the war, but as part of its policy of Pan-Slavism, in order to increase its power and support the Slavs of the Eastern Balkans, particularly the Bulgarians[39]. To sum up, Vafeides belonged to the conservative circles of the patriarchate, which were opposed to the reforms of privileges and to Russian interference in its affairs.

All this happened only one year before the first of Filaretos Vafeides' books of Church history appeared, in which he described state and Church during the Byzantine period as two distinct and independent powers. This was also, as already shown, his thesis relating to the whole Byzantine period. In this way, he wanted first to criticise the Church of Greece, which followed the Russian model. Second, he wanted to say that this exemplary relationship between state and Church, which started in the Byzantine Empire and continued until the second half of the 19th century, had been interrupted by the abolition of patriarchal privileges by Sultan Abdul Hamid II.

That is why Filaretos Vafeides, even though he plagiarized Johann Heinrich Kurtz in almost every chapter, tried to set himself apart from his German models and propounds the Orthodox Church's official opinion concerning the relationship between Church and state, the claim of »symphony«, of the harmonious coexistence between Church and state. In accordance with this, his goal was to show the important role of the Church, and hence of the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople, for the preservation of Orthodox Christianity, from the Byzantine through the Ottoman Empire up to his own day, despite the administrative changes made within the patriarchate but also by the sultans of his time.

For Filaretos Vafeides, then, as an employee of the patriarchate of Constantinople, the story of Church and state during the Byzantine period was fundamentally linked to the story of the patriarchate of Constantinople in the 19th century and beyond. In his capacity as a cleric and professor of the patriarchate he expressed not only his scepticism regarding the new national Church of Greece, but he was also able to

examine and interpret the ecclesiastical changes made by the Greek state's German government in a different and more critical way than Diomedes Kyriakos.

Diomedes Kyriakos, however, belonged to the non-conservative theologians of Athens, who were in favour of the independence of the Greek Church. Like the intellectuals of the Greek Enlightenment in the 18th and 19th centuries who had been under Western influence, he viewed the Byzantine state as despotic and decadent.

This negative perspective, however, was already out of date. It had been fashionable in the first half of the 19th century, almost 50 years before Kyriakos published his Compendium of Church history in 1872 (second edition 1878) and the first edition of his larger three-volume work of Church history in 1881[40]. But in the middle of 19th century, Byzantine history had already become part of Greek history through the efforts of Greek national historiographers. Byzantium was used in Greek national historiography in order to construct Greek national identity in a positive way. Diomedes Kyriakos did not attempt to do this. Even more impressive is the fact that he knew and sometimes referred to the work of the Greek national historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos. Nonetheless, he was not influenced at all by Paparrigopoulos' historical interpretations and generally by his whole historical ideology.

Thus, in the first edition of his work Diomedes Kyriakos does not understand Byzantium as a part of his own national history, of Greek history. If his work does contain some efforts to construct a national identity and a national character for the Greek Church, they certainly were not based on Byzantine history. Instead, he rather tries to distance himself from Byzantium. In his description of the fall of Constantinople in 1453 for example, he remarks that – unlike the Byzantines – the Greek population emerged from the revolution and war against the Ottomans in 1821 poor and illiterate, but with a fighting and patriotic spirit[41].

To Diomedes Kyriakos, the Byzantine state was something resembling the Ottoman Empire. Both meant foreign rule for the Church, which functioned as a mechanism of Ottoman authority to control its Christian subjects. That is why he supported the national character of his state as well as his Church. After all these contradictions or anachronisms in his work, it seems that Diomedes Kyriakos just used the theses of his German theological models about Byzantine history uncritically and without trying to compare them with the Greek national historiographical works of his time and hence revise them. Already in the 19th century, the theologians of the University of Athens were criticised for reusing German works and obtaining academic positions at the University

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37 According to Savvides, Vafeides 22-29, Vafeides was intitally in favour of Io-akeim III but probably against his policy after 1904. Cf. also Vafeides' description of Ioakeim's personality: Vafeides, Nea istoria 251-252 and his description concerning the reforms within the Patriarchate, like the General Regulations, and some criticism of the Russian policy and of Ioakeim III: Vafeides, Nea istoria 227-229. 236-240.
38 Frazee, Greece 113-114.

39 Cf. Stamatopoulos, Metarruthmise 102-103. 113. 116. – At this point, I would like to thank Prof. D. Stamatopoulos for the kind remarks regarding the policy of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the relevant possible interpretation of the text by Filaretos Vafeides.
40 Unfortunately, I was unable to find the first edition of the third volume.
41 Kyriakos, Ekklēsiastikē istoria¹ II, 48.

of Athens just because they had studied in Germany[42]. The case of Diomedes Kyriakos was quite similar, since he too had studied in Germany and used his German sources quite freely.

Yet a dramatic change seems to have taken place in the second edition of his work, published in 1898. Diomedes Kyriakos, probably influenced by his academic environment, now tries to ascribe a Greek national character to Byzantium, a feature entirely absent from the first edition. The transfer of the capital of the Roman Empire to the East was followed by the Hellenisation of the Empire[43]. When he speaks about the great Church fathers of the first centuries, the Three Holy Hierarchs – Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom –, he speaks about the importance of their work for Greek literature and theology[44].

When speaking about Hagia Sophia, he says: »Within this magnificent church the most important memories from the political and religious life of the Greeks from the present to the future [...] are joined [...]. For 400 years the Greek population has remained in hope and anticipation that it will sing again in Greek the divine service[45]«.

When speaking about the crusades, he claims that the Franks had destroyed this strong and »flourishing« state, and that only »its shadow survived«[46] – a state which in Kyriakos' previous descriptions had been described only as decadent and corrupt. Therefore, whereas the picture of the Byzantine Empire in the first edition is one of decadence, the second edition tells of a past of which the Greek nation could be proud.

Only at the end of the 19th century, specifically in 1898 did the Byzantine past become a part of the national consciousness and of the Greek Nation in the work of Diomedes Kyriakos. This perhaps due to the Greco-Turkish War one year previously, in 1897, and the nationalist movement that followed in its wake. Diomedes Kyriakos could probably not stay indifferent to all this and was lead to edit his work for a second time. Thus, Kyriakos actually reflects the paradigm shift, albeit very late compared to other contemporary historians. However, his opinion about the relationship between Church and state remains completely the same: during the Byzantine era, the Church remained subject to the state. Kyriakos does not hesitate to describe its emperors as despotic, arbitrary rulers, who interfered in the Church matters and controlled the decisions of the bishops, who became the emperors' »instruments«. These parts of his descriptions give a picture starkly contrasting with that of the glorious time of the Byzantine Empire and of the Greek nation.

For Diomedes Kyriakos, »the Church in the Byzantine time was subject to the state. What happened in the East was the very opposite of what was happening in the West. In the West, the Church subjugated the state, (where) the powerful popes imposed their will on countries by installing or unseating the emperors [...]. Both systems, that of the subjection of the Church to the state as well as that of the state to the Church, are absurd, as is the complete separation of Church and state as it happens nowadays in America. The right regulation of the relationship between the two, according to the logical nature of the things, is that the Church should be free in a free state. The rule should thus be that the church be completely free in its spiritual sphere and the state not depend on the Church in order to perform its political duties. The state [...] should have the right only to supervise the Church, and only in matters concerning both the state and the Church should it have the possibility and the right to work with the Church, like in the case of marriage«[47].

In this passage, Kyriakos remains loyal not only to his German church historical models, but also to his contemporary German government of Greece, which he, like many other professors of the Greek University of Athens, supported. In this respect, he adheres to his earlier principles, as discussed above.

However, one may wonder why the interference of the Byzantine state in Church affairs was supposedly a sign of a decadent and corrupt state whereas the interference of the German government in the secular and free Greek society of the 19th century could be explained as legal and just.

Based on the Church historiographical works of the Greek theologians Filaretos Vafeides and Diomedes Kyriakos, we have seen the complexity of the perception of Byzantium, its many contradictions, forms and functions during the 19th century. We have dealt with two historiographical discourses that interpret the Byzantine past in opposite ways. Then the paradigm of Byzantium could function as a vehicle for different political ideologies and historical beliefs. It was legitimized and politicized in different historical and ideological contexts, as well as in narrative hermeneutics, between the national centre of Athens and the patriarchate of Constantinople, which was the de facto centre of the Empire.

Filaretos Vafeides' work shows how the legitimization of the Byzantium paradigm could be used to support the pan-Orthodox role of the patriarchate of Constantinople, which sought to prevent the division of the millet into different nations, and which had to strike a balance between the Ottoman Empire, the Greek state, Russia and the Great Powers[48]. Vafeides' work defends the patriarchate of Constantinople against the supporters of the national character

42 Cf. for example Fasoulakes, Katavoles 102 and Vernardakes, Eleghos 411-415.
43 Kyriakos, Ekklēsiastikē istoria² I, 239. Some examples about the Greekness of the Byzantine Empire and its importance: Ibidem 239. 311-312. 356-360. – Kyriakos, Ekklēsiastikē is'oria² II, 35. 54-55.
44 Kyriakos, Ekklēsiastikē istoria² I, 356-360.
45 Ibidem 490.
46 Kyriakos, Ekklēsiastikē istoria² II, 35-36: Ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν Φράγκων τότε κατάληψις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ κατάλυσις τῆς βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας καὶ διαρπαγὴ

τῶν χωρῶν αὐτῆς ὑπῆρξε μεγάλη συμφορὰ τῷ ἔθνει ἡμῶν καὶ προπαρεσκεύασε τὴν τελικὴν τοῦ κράτους καταστροφὴν διὰ τῶν Τούρκων μετὰ δύο αἰῶνας. Οἱ Φράγκοι ἐπήνεγκον τότε κατὰ τῆς βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας τοιοῦτον καίριον τραῦμα, ὥστε ἐκ τοῦ ἄλλοτε κραταιοῦ καὶ ἀκμαιοτάτου κράτους δὲν ἔμεινεν εἰ μὴ μόνον σκιά τις.
47 Ibidem 127-128.
48 Cf. Stamatopoulos, Metarruthmise 363.

of the Church of Greece and its independence from the Patriarchate.

In Diomedes Kyriakos' work, the first edition rejects Byzantine heritage as a part of national identity, but in the second edition, published shortly after the war of 1897, we can witness a paradigm shift regarding the national character of Byzantine history. The relationship between Church and state, however, remains negative in his work, in order to justify the independent character of the Greek Church as well as the actions of the German-dominated government during the Bavarian regency over Greece. All this took form and shape through the adoption and modification of German church historiographical models of the 19th century.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Byzantium in Greek Church Historiography of the 19th Century: Between German Protestant Influence and Greek Orthodox Confession

Both Anastasios Diomedes Kyriakos, professor of theology at the newly established University of Athens and Filaretos Vafeides, professor of theology in the School of Chalki, which belonged to the patriarchate of Constantinople, studied at Protestant German universities in the 19th century. Their analysis of Church historiographical work was influenced by German historians. In this text, I examine how the two theologians, under German influence, described the relationship between state and Church in the Byzantine period in their work. I also analyse the way they interpret the relationship between state and Church in the newly formed Greek state of the 19th century by using the Byzantine paradigm. This provides an analysis of their historical context and how they reached their interpretations.

Byzanz in der griechischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung des 19. Jahrhunderts: zwischen deutschem protestantischem Einfluss und griechisch-orthodoxem Bekenntnis

Sowohl Anastasios Diomedes Kyriakos, Professor für Theologie an der neu gegründeten Universität Athen, als auch Filaretos Vafeides, Professor für Theologie an der Schule von Chalki, das zum Patriarchat von Konstantinopel gehörte, studierten im 19. Jahrhundert an protestantischen deutschen Universitäten. Ihre Auswertungen kirchenhistoriographischer Arbeiten wurden von deutschen Historikern beeinflusst. In diesem Text untersuche ich, wie die beiden Theologen, geprägt von deutschem Einfluss, die Beziehungen von Staat und Kirche in byzantinischer Zeit beschrieben. Außerdem analysiere ich, wie beide unter Verwendung des byzantinischen Paradigmas das Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche im neu gebildeten griechischen Staat des 19. Jahrhunderts interpretierten. Der Artikel zeigt, in welchem historischen Kontext sie arbeiteten und wie sie zu ihren Interpretationen gekommen sind.

Mihai-D. Grigore

Byzantium for Priests. Image of Byzantium in Romanian Theological Textbooks of the Late 20th Century

Preliminaries

In Romania's last national census, held in 2011, 81 % of citizens declared themselves to be of the Orthodox faith[1]. Of course, not all of them actively participate in the life of the Romanian Orthodox Church but still, most of them keep the important religious holidays and use the religious and liturgical services of Eucharist, marriage, baptism, extreme unction, and house consecration. All of these, not to speak of the Sunday liturgy, are connected with the priest's preaching. Therefore, the Romanian Orthodox clergy is very influential and enjoys a broad social basis to which to spread ideas. It is thus important to know what discourses and narratives the theological education system conveys to its trainees, the future priests, in order to form an idea of the Church's cultural and social impact, specifically on shaping opinion on national level.

In the following study, I will address the image of the Byzantine Empire or Byzantium in Romanian textbooks for theological instruction and education. Before doing so, however, I shall briefly discuss the history of this phenomenon, beginning with the 19th century.

Historical overview

Up to the end of the 18th century, the training of priests in the Romanian Principalities was the task of the monastery schools in the various bishoprics of these countries. The first specialized seminaries appeared only at the beginning of the 19th century: Socola-Jassy in 1803, Sibiu in 1811, Arad in 1822, Bucharest, Buzău and Argeș in 1836, and, finally, Râmnic in 1837[2]. The schools moved from monasteries in the countryside to the episcopal centres of the Danubian Principalities Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania.

The first Romanian universities and their theological faculties were established later, after the unification of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859, in the capital cities of these two provinces, Jassy in 1860 and Bucharest in 1864. They continued the tradition of these countries' old academies[3]. In Transylvania, there was no Romanian university; the first was established in Cluj in 1918, after the armistice. The academies of Jassy and Bucharest, which were later transformed into universities, were founded in the 17th century and their official language of instruction was Greek. The first step on the way to a national education system in the 19th century was to change it to Romanian (Jassy in 1814, Bucharest in 1818) before the institutions adapted themselves to the standards of Western European universities[4].

In this context, the need emerged for specialized textbooks for these institutions' various curricula. At the beginning of specialized theological instruction, so-called »historical theology« included only the history of the universal Church (*Istoria Bisericească Universală* or *Istoria Bisericii Universale*), which meant the history of all Christianity from the beginning to the 19th century. The diversification of historical theology occurred only in the 20th century, when the discipline was split in three: history of the universal Church, history of the Romanian Orthodox Church and, finally, Byzantine studies. The teaching of Church history in the 19th century had thus combined universal Christianity, Romanian Christianity and Byzantine history[5].

The first textbooks were translations of consecrated Greek authors. For instance, the Metropolise of Wallachia's Greek secretary, Alecsandru Geanoglu-Lesviodax, in 1845 translated into Romanian the *Church History* of Stephanos Kometas, which in turn was a shortened version of Meletius', the Metropolitan of Athens (1661-1714), *Church History* of 1783-1785[6]. Geanoglu-Lesviodax published his little manual under the title *Short Ecclesiastical History, Including the Most Noteworthy Events of the Holy Eastern Church* (»Istorie bisericească pre scurt, cuprinzătoare de cele mai vrednice de știut întâmplări a sfintei Biserici răsăritene«)[7]. He supplemented the book with information regarding the Christian history of the Danubian Principalities. The first »professional« textbook of Church History was also a translation. Athanasie Mironescu

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1 INSEE, Recensământ 2011.
2 Păcurariu, IBOR theological faculties 1, 45.
3 Iacob, Universitatea din Iași 10. – Varlaam Ploieșteanul, Teologia Ortodoxă 484.
4 Livescu, Entstehung 21-22.
5 Păcurariu, IBOR theological faculties 1, 44.
6 Meletios of Athens, Historia. See also the contribution by Dimitrios Moschos to this volume and Păcurariu, IBOR theological faculties 1, 45.
7 Geanoglu-Lesviodax, Istorie.

and Gherasim Timuș translated the collected teaching scripts of Eusebiu Popovici (1838-1922), their professor of historical theology at Czernowitz, in two volumes in 1900 and 1901 under the title *Universal Church History and Ecclesiastical Statistics* (»Istoria Bisericească Universală şi Statistica Bisericească«; one further edition in four volumes, [2]1925-1928)[8]. It was the most complete academic Church history to have appeared in the Orthodox world to date, written according to the discipline's Western standards, and subsequently translated into Bulgarian and Serbian[9].

As already mentioned, the History of the Romanian Orthodox Church emerged as a separate discipline at the beginning of the 20th century. Professor Nicolae Dobrescu (1874-1914) of the University of Bucharest in 1911-1912 published a teaching script for the history of the Romanian Orthodox Church[10]. This was also published in 1912 as a textbook for seminaries, running to three further editions ([2]1921, [3]1923, [4]1926)[11]. These are only a few examples from a longer list of works on both universal and Romanian Orthodox Church history used in institutions of theological instruction. It should be mentioned that, although there was no centralized curriculum, Popovici's enjoyed the status of a definitive work and was widely used in the teaching of Church history.

From the beginning of theological education in 19th century until the middle of the 20th century, there were calls to standardise instructional material, but the first successful implementation of such measures came only in the context of the pedagogical reforms in Romania after 1945[12]. This time, not only was the material carefully adapted to the students' age, but also, centralized curricula for the whole of Romania were enforced.

Therefore, we have now the first textbooks for theological faculties, one for universal and a separate one for Romanian Orthodox Church history. In the beginning, they were also used for teaching in seminaries. Professors from the universities of Bucharest, Sibiu and Cluj, Teodor M. Popescu, Teodor Bodogae and George Gh. Stănescu, together wrote the textbook of *Universal Church History* in two volumes (1956)[13]. Professors from the same three universities, Alexandru Filipaşcu, Gheorghe I. Moisescu and Ioan Lupaş, the textbook of *Romanian Orthodox Church History*, also in two volumes (1957)[14]. It seems they waited for the manual of universal Church history to appear, in order to contextualize in it their Romanian Orthodox Church history.

New textbooks appeared in the 1970s. The new *Universal Church History* by Ioan Rămureanu, Milan Şesan, and Teodor Bodogae was published in 1975[15]. In a condensed form, it was also used, beginning in 1992, as a textbook for theolog-

ical seminaries, with only Rămureanu credited as author[16]. In 1972, a new textbook of *Romanian Orthodox Church History* appeared by Mircea Păcurariu[17]. This became the standard manual for this discipline and was translated into German[18]. This textbook, which formerly had been used only in seminaries, was expanded to three volumes between 1980 and 1981 and became the new manual of Romanian Orthodox Church history for university use.

These last two manuals, the *Universal* and the *Romanian Orthodox Church History* by Ioan Rămureanu and Mircea Păcurariu respectively, in their condensed form for seminaries, are the focus of this study because of their centrality to theological instruction in contemporary Romania. It should be noted that after 1989, Romania saw a boom in theological instruction, with almost every bishopric establishing not only a seminary but also a theological faculty. That is why the editions, both legal and illegal, of the textbooks of Rămureanu and Păcurariu are by now uncountable.

Ioan Rămureanu's »History of the Universal Church«

Before proceeding with this discussion, it should be pointed out that, in Romanian theological instruction, the discipline of universal Church history deals mainly with the history of Eastern Orthodox Christianity and only incidentally with other Christian confessions inasmuch as they concern and interact with the Eastern Orthodox Churches. It is easy to see why Byzantium, the Eastern Roman Empire, should play a crucial role in this approach.

In the following, I will paraphrase the main ideas, clustering them according to the narratives they feed.

Relations between Emperor and Church: The Constantinian »revolution« in Christian affairs is seen as an altogether positive event. The important role of »Holy Constantine« (306-337) and Theodosius I (379-395) in forging a unified Christian religion throughout the Empire, without heresies that might have undermined the state's religious, social and political stability, is accorded a special position in Ioan Rămureanu's historiography. To these emperors fell the merit of officialising Christianity and elevating it to the rank of state religion, making the Roman Empire a »Christian Empire«, as Rămureanu puts it[19]. That is why these two emperors were deservedly sanctified by the Church. Of course, Constantine's questionable decisions are blamed on inept counsellors at his court, as is his problematic religious policy after the First Council of Nicaea in 325, when Arian bishops influenced him.

8 Popovici, Istoria.
9 Păcurariu, Dicţionarul 392.
10 Dobrescu, Istoria BOR.
11 Dobrescu, Istoria seminar; Păcurariu, Dicţionarul 157.
12 Păcurariu, Învăţământul teologic seminarial, ch. 5.
13 Popescu/Bodogae/Stănescu, IBU.
14 Moisescu/Lupaş/Filipaşcu, IBOR.

15 Rămureanu/Şesan/Bodogae, IBU.
16 Rămureanu, IBU.
17 Păcurariu, IBOR seminaries; in the following, I use the 4th edition of the book (see bibliography).
18 Păcurariu, Geschichte.
19 »Imperiul roman devine imperiu creştin« (the Roman Empire becomes a Christian Empire), Rămureanu, IBU 101; see also 103 and 106.

A critical reference to Constantine and all emperors after him is that they, due to their closeness to religious matters, also became masters of the Church[20]. Ioan Rămureanu repeats this point when he describes the reign of Justinian I: »The Orthodox Church found in this emperor a protector, but at the same time also a master, because the ruler interfered far too much in Church business, even when it was a matter of dogma and liturgy«[21]. However, the Eastern Roman emperors are given a positive assessment: Even the heretic emperors are excused by being »laymen«, unfamiliar with high theological speculation[22].

The Romanian people in international arena: Ioan Rămureanu already uses the ethnonym »Romanian people« (*poporul român*) in the lesson concerning the first four centuries of the Christian era. He points out that »the Romanian people resulted from the fusion of Geto-Dacians with the Romans south and north of the Danube. This people emerges in history, already in the beginning, as a people both Romanic and Christian, in short, as the Geto-Daco-Roman people«[23]. The sloppy syllogism aside, this theory does not consider the ethnic variety in the region between the 1st and 4th centuries[24].

This Geto-Daco-Roman people was supposedly Christianized by the Apostle Andrew himself, after he left Byzantium[25], so the Romanian people was a factor in civilizing all other migrating peoples that traversed the area, like the Goths, Slavs, Moravians or Magyars. The vigorous Christian faith among Geto-Daco-Romans was the result of the strong bonds with the »Oriental *latinitas*«, as Ramureanu calls it, meaning of course the Eastern Roman Empire and the attraction and influence it exerted[26]. The Christianization of the Magyars in the 10th century provides an example: »In the Pannonian and Tiszan Basin, [the Magyars] made contact with the Christian population, from which they borrowed some *Orthodox* (?) terms and some *Orthodox* (?) customs. […] The important historical fact is that the Hungarians adopted, at the beginning of their Christian existence, the Orthodox faith, which they received from the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople«[27]. Geto-Daco-Roman Christianity, south and north of the Danube, in a highly dynamic way supported not only the Christian mission of the Empire among the migratory peoples but also the Orthodox dogma against heretics as well as Constantinople's ecclesiastical jurisdiction against the Papacy[28].

Ioan Rămureanu underscores the contribution of regional synods to fight heresy. He proudly mentions the participation of the bishops from the Danube area at the Ecumenical Councils in the Empire[29] or lists the region's Christian authors who made major contributions to the Christian faith in Europe: John Cassian (ca. 360-435), Dionysus Exiguus (470-540) or Nicetas of Remesiana (d. ca. 414). All of them are considered to have been »Geto-Daco-Romans« from the Danube basin. For example, Rămureanu's account of the third ecumenical council against Nestorius (June 431) proudly reports that »from *our lands* the Bishop of Tomis, Timotheos from Scythia Minor took part. He signed Cyril's [of Alexandria] anathemas against Nestorius [Patriarch of Constantinople] on the seventeenth position in the list. Other bishops from territories south of the Danube were on Nestorius's side«[30]. Leaving aside the anachronism, Rămureanu strongly contrasts the orthodoxy of the bishops in »our lands« with the heresy of the »others« elsewhere.

The Danube principalities also played an important role in the Middle Ages, sending representatives to »international congresses« as part of Byzantine delegations[31]. By »congresses«, Rămureanu means the councils of Constance (1416-1418) and Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439). He stresses that the Moldavian Metropolitan Damian, who signed the union with the Latins in Florence, was no »Romanian« but a »Greek«[32], so no blame fell on Romanians for compromising the Orthodox faith.

Byzantium and the Orthodox faith: Although Ioan Rămureanu speaks about the decadence of Christian life after the 4th century compared to the first centuries[33] – which also happens to be a common trope in Protestant historiography[34] –, his textbook stresses throughout the role of the Byzantine Empire in building the Orthodox faith, especially in the context of the seven Ecumenical Councils. He points out several times that the seven Ecumenical Councils, summoned by wise Byzantine emperors on the advice of the Ecumenical Patriarchs, were *all* held in the eastern part of the Empire and that no pope had ever attended one of them[35], which implies that the popes deserved little merit in the development of Christian dogma. In sum, the Eastern Empire fulfilled the fundamental task of maintaining Christian life and spirituality as well as purifying the Christian faith from heresy and Latin deviation. The Eastern Empire exported important Christian cultural features, such as monastic culture, education and arts, all under the auspices of the Ecumenical Patriarchate[36]. In this regard, the Byzantine Empire and the Orthodox Church merge and are used synonymously in Ioan Rămureanu's text-

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20 Ibidem 102.
21 Ibidem 108.
22 Ibidem 144.
23 Ibidem 109.
24 Tacheva-Hitova, Eastern Cults 58-62. 152-154. 210f. 244-248. – Ehrensperger, Paul 63-100. 105-140. – Kaiser, Mittelmeerwelt 20-29. 168-172. – Mitchell/Greatrex, Ethnicity. – Derks/Roymans, Ethnic Constructs. – Ligt/Tacoma, Migration.
25 Rămureanu, IBU 109.
26 Ibidem 113f. 211.
27 Ibidem 211f.
28 Ibidem 168. 235.

29 Ibidem 124f. 130f
30 Ibidem 139.
31 Ibidem 260.
32 Ibidem 265.
33 Ibidem 223.
34 See for instance Gieseler, Kirchengeschichte 12f. This idea of decay and decadence of the Christian life after the first four centuries could be a direct Protestant historiography's influence on Rămureanu, who studied in several Protestant institutions, for instance the Faculties of Protestant Theology in Paris and Strasbourg (Păcurariu, Dicţionarul 411).
35 Rămureanu, IBU 170; see also 124 and 144.
36 Ibidem 224-227.

book, sometimes as the »Orthodox Empire« and sometimes as the »Byzantine Church«[37]. The destiny of the Church depended, according to Rămureanu, was inseparable from the political situation of the Empire[38].

»*The confrontation between Orthodoxy and Catholicism*«[39] is also one of the main topics of Rămureanu's textbook. In his account, the Latins bear most of the blame for the Great Schism because they sent the arrogant, violent and supercilious cardinal of Silva Candida to Constantinople, where he caused trouble. From the Latins, »nothing good could have been expected« (*nu se poate aștepta la nimic bun*)[40]. The Latin crusaders had undermined the political unity of the Byzantine Empire in the Near East due to their perfidy, disloyalty, obsession with power, greed and violence[41]. Ironically, these were also the epithets used in Latin sources when speaking of the Byzantines[42]. The Church unions from 13th to 15th centuries between the Churches of Constantinople and Rome were in fact, according to Rămureanu, a form of blackmail by the Latins, who bet on the weak position of the Empire under the pressure of Turkish populations[43].

Rămureanu harshly condemned the emperors pushing for union with the Latins. For instance, while quoting Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos (1353-1354 and 1364-1376), Rămureanu judged emperor John V Palaiologos (1341-1391) to have been a »traitor to Orthodoxy«[44]. Elsewhere, Rămureanu refers to the Empire – contrasting it with »pravoslavic Russia« (*Rusia pravoslavnică*) – after the Union of Ferrara-Florence as »apostate Byzantium« (*Bizanțul apostat*)[45]. The conquest of Constantinople was in part caused by the »blameful myopia« (*miopia condamnabilă,* as Rămureanu puts it) of the Western powers, who watched Byzantium be destroyed while busy with their own »petty interests« (*interesele lor înguste*)[46]. Rămureanu concludes his account of the Byzantine period with an emotional statement against the Turkish conquerors of Constantinople of a kind that should have no place in a scientific treatise: »Time wears down and wrecks everything, even the glory of Barbarian and bloodthirsty conquerors whose name, during their lifetime, filled the whole world with butchery and terror. Only Asia Minor, Constantinople and a little territory around the Dardanelles are now left under Turkish rule for all the conquests and military victories of Mohammed II, which he won by tremendous bloodshed«[47].

In conclusion, the image of the Empire in Rămureanu's textbook is largely positive. He describes, for instance, the fall of the Constantinople in 1453 in very dark terms, concluding that in its millennium-long history, the Byzantine Empire had fulfilled a great political, religious and cultural mission, spreading Christianity in throughout the southern Mediterranean, North Africa, Eastern Europe and Asia. The Empire »defended and shielded the Christian faith against all heresies and Islam, representing Orthodoxy and supporting it with all its power. Byzantium was a lodestar of culture and radiated civilization upon all European peoples«[48]. This neatly encapsulates the main narrative transmitted in the textbook discussed here: the polarisation between civilized and Orthodox Byzantium on the one hand and the barbaric (and occasionally non-Orthodox) rest of the world.

The focus falls upon relations between the Eastern Roman Empire and the Christian Church. The period of the ecumenical councils is discussed in detail – also because Ioan Rămureanu's own field of expertise lay here[49]. He emphasises and approves of the symbiosis, almost the confusion, between state and Church, and celebrates the fact that with Theodosius the Great began the existence of a »Roman Christian Empire«. Of course, Rămureanu does not omit to criticise the interference of the emperors in Church business, especially when they were non-Orthodox – Arian, Monophysite, Iconoclast. However, in sum, he exalts this tutelage as a form of *cura religionis*, a term that also denotes the Christian mission towards the barbarians, as well as the protectionist policy towards other Christian denominations.

Another goal of Rămureanu's *History of the Universal Church* was to contribute to the national narrative of the Romanians, namely their ethnogenesis from victorious Romans and conquered Dacians. The Romanians were a historical miracle, the only ethnicity to combine a Romance language with the Orthodox faith. »Geto-Daco-Romans« living north and south of the stream assisted the Empire and the Ecumenical Patriarchate in their struggle to civilise the barbarians and preserve the Orthodox faith. Universal Church history, as Rămureanu intends to write it, means to show how Romanians influenced universal Christian history.

Mircea Păcurariu's History of the Romanian Orthodox Church

The main difference from Ioan Rămureanu's textbook is that Byzantium does not take as prominent a place in Mircea Păcurariu's analysis. As before, the main narrative arguments shall be summarised below.

The ethnogenesis of the Romanians: Mircea Păcurariu declares that before the 9th century, there existed not a »Ro-

37 Rămureanu, IBU 233.
38 Ibidem 239.
39 Rămureanu titles one of his subchapters that way: »Confruntarea dintre orthodoxie și catolicism« (139), with no regard to the anachronistic terminology.
40 Ibidem 234.
41 Ibidem 246-248.
42 Herbers, Nikolaus I. – Schreiner, Byzanz und der Westen. – Geanakoplos, Byzantium 356-381. – Carrier, Greeks. – Tyerman, Crusades 111.
43 Rămureanu IBU 256-260.

44 Ibidem 259.
45 Ibidem 266.
46 Ibidem 351.
47 Ibidem 355.
48 »El a apărat [creștinismul] contra ereziilor și islamismului, a reprezentat Ortodoxia și a susținut-o cu toate forțele lui, a fost un centru de cultură și civilizație care a iradiat asupra tuturor popoarelor Europei«. Ibidem 355.
49 Păcurariu, Dicționarul 411.

manian Church« but a »Daco-Roman Church, which is to say, the Church of the Romanian people's forefathers«[50]. The successful fusion of Roman conquerors and Geto-Dacians formed a new ethnic entity at the middle and lower Danube, which Mircea Păcurariu calls »Danube Romanity« (*romanitatea danubiană*), »Oriental Romanity« (*romanitatea orientală*) or »the Daco-Roman population« (*populație daco-romană*)[51].

St. Andrew, who is known to have preached in Scythia, is supposed to have Christianized the Geto-Dacians living in the Danube region in apostolic times[52] – that is, before the Roman conquest. Mircea Păcurariu calls St. Andrew the »apostle of the Geto-Dacians«[53]. The Romanian scholar devotes much effort to arguing that by »Scythia«, the ancient sources in fact meant »Scythia Minor«, what today is Dobruja in Romania, on the Black Sea coast[54]. In this way, the ancestors of the Romanians were from the beginning part of fundamental international developments, unlike other peoples.

Moreover, these early-Christianised inhabitants of the Danube area contributed themselves to further civilizing the barbarians, Goths, Slavs, Avars or Magyars, i. e. Christianising them. To give an example, after a general discussion of the Latin origins of Romanian Christian terminology[55], Mircea Păcurariu concludes that »all these terms prove the Romanian people had been completely Christianized by the time Slavs reached this area. It [i. e. the Romanian people] even contributed to the Slavs' Christianisation when they settled in the provinces of the Eastern Roman Empire (which became the Byzantine Empire)«[56]. This way, Păcurariu creates the »happy link« between Christianity, Daco-Romans / Romanians and Byzantium.

All of these migratory peoples first made contact with the Christian religion when they settled north of the Danube; therefore, it was a much easier task for missionaries from Constantinople to disseminate the word of God among them[57]. Important Christian personalities in the region, for instance the aforementioned Nicetas of Remesiana in the 5th century, were Daco-Romans[58]. The fact that the name itself is Greek seems not to bother Mircea Păcurariu. We encounter the same arguments when Păcurariu introduces the »Daco-Romans« John Cassian and Dionysus Exiguus[59]. He concludes that the activity of Cassian and Exiguus are »the Daco-Romans', the fathers of the Romanians', first manifestations and cultural achievements on a continental level«[60]. (Ironically, on page 151 of his more elaborate *Church History* for theological faculties, Păcurariu argues that the John Cassian was of *scythica natio*, which means »Daco-Roman« from Scythia Minor. Only eight pages later, when analysing Chris-

tian epigraphy from Scythia Minor in the 4th and 5th centuries, he mentions an inscription speaking of »Simplicius, the son of Cassian, of Syrian nation« [p. 159])[61]. For instance, he has no hesitation in giving one of his chapters the absurd title »Archaeological proofs of the antiquity of Romanian Christianity«, when speaking of fourth-century Christian history[62].

Byzantium as protector: In the introductory chapter of his *History of Romanian Orthodox Church* for theological faculties, Mircea Păcurariu enumerates the auxiliary disciplines called on to help write the history of the Romanian Church. The first and most important is Byzantine studies[63], which testifies to the importance Romanian Church historiography ascribes to Byzantium for the religious past of the Romanians. The Eastern Roman Empire or the Byzantine Empire – Mircea Păcurariu's terminology is fluid – Christianized the Romanians' ancestors and kept them from falling under the papacy's jurisdiction. »The proto-Romanian Church never stood under Rome's jurisdiction, as some scholars have tendentiously declared. […] In the sixth century – along with the administrative organization of the Eastern Roman Empire –, all bishoprics of the Danube or Oriental Romanity came under the jurisdiction of Constantinople«[64].

Romanians and Orthodoxy: The natural alliance, forged by Roman-ness and the Orthodox faith, between Eastern Roman Empire and the old inhabitants of the Danube region manifested itself in the protective policy of the Empire in this area. The consequence was the preservation of a pure Orthodox Christianity in contrast to many newcomers who were heretics or of Latin faith. In this context, one of Mircea Păcurariu's favourite expressions when referring to the Danube Christians is that they were a »bastion«, an outpost of Orthodoxy in these parts of the continent. To give an example, the regional Synod of Sardica in 343 against the Arian heresy was one of the major moments in the history of the Christian dogma. Although there is no such information in the sources, Mircea Păcurariu cannot help but speculate that this Synod was of central importance for the Christians north of the Danube and that those Romanized populations rejected the heresy with few exceptions[65].

There is a broad discussion of the Ecumenical Councils in Mircea Păcurariu's textbook, although they are connected only distantly and indirectly with Christian history north of the Danube. Nevertheless, he discusses them meticulously, always emphasising their major influence on Danube Orthodoxy or, conversely, the important role Danube bishops played in the Ecumenical Councils – the bishop of Tomis being the favourite[66]. The terminology used by Mircea Păcurariu in discussing

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50 Păcurariu, IBOR theological faculties 1, 18. Compare to Păcurariu, IBOR seminaries, 58.
51 Păcurariu, IBOR seminaries 19. 25. 29, and passim.
52 Ibidem 21-24.
53 Ibidem 20.
54 Ibidem 19-21.
55 Ibidem 24-30.
56 Ibidem 30.
57 Ibidem 58.

58 Ibidem 42 f.
59 Ibidem 49-51.
60 Ibidem 51.
61 See Păcurariu, IBOR theological faculties 1, 151. 159.
62 Păcurariu, IBOR seminaries 30.
63 Păcurariu, IBOR theological faculties 1, 21.
64 Păcurariu, IBOR seminaries 56.
65 Ibidem 41.
66 Ibidem 46-49.

the Christian cultures of the Danube area supports the intrinsic link between Romanians and the Orthodox faith. Păcurariu adopts Rămureanu's narrative about the positive role of the Romanians in universal Christian history (see above) and concludes one of his chapters: »It has to be noted that the Orthodox Romanians are, after the Greeks, the oldest Christian people in Eastern Europe. The inclusion of the Daco-Roman bishoprics under Constantinople's jurisdiction preserved the Orthodox rite. Therefore, the Romanian people is to this day the only one of Roman origin and Orthodox faith, or to put it another way: a people linked to Rome by its language and to Constantinople by its faith«[67].

Conclusions

The stereotypical narratives regarding Byzantium in the Romanian manuals for the instruction of priests-in-training in Church history show, on the one hand, how important the analysis of such media of reception is; unlike the scholarly products of scientific elites, textbooks mediate images of Byzantium to the common people. Discussion of Byzantium's reception is, on the other hand, important not only for the reconstruction of historiographical traditions, but also for insights into mechanism of opinion formation by influential actors like the Church. Such mechanisms are efficient, firstly, by *simplifying complexity* and, secondly, using *reception as a pretext for the creation* of socio-political narratives.

The terms for the Byzantine Empire used in Romanian textbooks are complex and ever changing. Ioan Rămureanu uses, for instance, »Roman Empire«, »Eastern Roman Empire«, »Byzantine Empire«, the »Greeks« and so on, without concern for historical periods (Old, Middle, or Late Byzantium), as is usual in modern accounts, although »Greeks« is used only for the Empire after the 7th century, when it »was Hellenised«, as Rămureanu emphasises[68].

The Romanian textbooks need the ethnogenesis narrative in order to create the image of the »historical marvel«[69] they attribute to the Romanian people: the mixture between Romance language and Orthodox faith. Their Roman origins link the Romanians with the »Oriental *latinitas*«, as Ioan Rămureanu called it, and hence with Byzantium, the Eastern Roman Empire. The common Roman-ness of Romanians and the Byzantine *Romaioi* is the central justification of the religious option of the Danube regions for Constantinople's Orthodoxy.

Another method for elevating the international role of the »proto-Romanians« in the Christian oecumene is to refer to significant events abroad, outside the lower Danube region,

like the Ecumenical Councils or the union councils of Lyon and Ferrara-Florence, in which »Romanians« also participated and to which they made major contributions. Mircea Păcurariu – to give an example – points to the part »Romanians« played in establishing Christian dogma against heresies: »Therefore, the bishopric of Tomis – the oldest diocese on Romanian soil – fulfilled a central function in the Christian Church from the 4th to the 6th century, when major Christological disputes took place. The bishops of Tomis made significant contributions to the first five Ecumenical Councils, where they fought for the true faith and for the Church's unity. At the same time, they protected their flock from heretical doctrines, keeping the true faith as proclaimed by the Ecumenical Councils. We should note that many of the Tomitan hierarchs were renowned scholars of their times, who wrote theological treaties and cultivated contacts with the major personalities of the Orthodox community«[70].

The civilizing task of the Romanians as Eastern Empire's loyal allies applies to all major events across the history: from the Christianization of the Slavs in 7th century to that of the Magyars in the 10th century. This is a way of demonstrating the consistency of the Romanians' historical greatness, as well as sustaining their claim for nation-statehood in the Danube basin. Ultimately, this approach to history serves to underpin, bolster and implement the political goals of the modern Romanian state. The manuals for religious instruction followed the secular textbooks for historical instruction that had already appeared in the 19th century. Secular textbooks openly served the national narrative of the modern Romanian state and were ready to sacrifice the historical truth to the higher purpose of Romanian national consciousness[71]. On their publication, the theological textbooks took on the same goal and made no secret of their mission in the service of Romanian nationalism.

It is remarkable that national policy and discourses in Romania display such continuity across the caesura marked by the year 1945. The theological education system – which enjoyed a high status before 1945, then lost its privileges to regain them after 1989 – continued to feed and entertain classical national narratives throughout the history of the modern Romanian state with little regard for political regimes[72].

It is clear that the disciplines of Romanian Orthodox Church History and Byzantine Studies originate in the older History of Universal Church. Because the latter, in 19th century, emerged as a history of Romanian Christianity in an international perspective. The general history of Christianity only framed the religious history of the Romanians, as the striking similarities between the two textbooks discussed in

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67 Păcurariu, IBOR seminaries 58.
68 Rămureanu IBU 231.
69 The Romanian historian Gheorghe I. Brătianu used this concept for the first time in 1940; see Brătianu, Miracol. It made a great career in Romania's nationalist historiography until today.
70 Păcurariu, IBOR seminaries 51.

71 Iutiş, Literatura didactică 293.
72 This is why I used the 2009 edition of Păcurariu's *Church History* as an example of how nationalist discourses survived unaltered in Romania after dictatorship had ended (Ibidem 102).

this paper show. Of course, the modern disciplines of history of the Romanian Orthodox Church and Byzantine studies now each have their own identity and deal in depth with specific historical phenomena. However, when dealing with the topic of Byzantium, they still contribute to the History of the Universal Church, and together, all three serve the Romanian national narrative.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Byzantium for Priests. Image of Byzantium in Romanian Theological Textbooks of the Late 20th Century

The chapter approaches Romanian textbooks used in the second half of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century in the instruction of future priests at high school and university levels. The case study focuses on the image of Byzantium mediated through this kind of literature and aims to show how this image is put to use in the national narrative of the modern Romanian state. The chapter reveals the close entanglement of discourses between scholarly research, mediation strategies, opinion formation, politics and power in Romanian society, where, through its clergy, the Romanian Orthodox Church is one of the most influential institutions.

Byzanz für Priester. Das Byzanzbild in rumänischen theologischen Lehrbüchern des späten 20. Jahrhunderts

Anhand des Byzanzbildes in Schulbüchern für Allgemeine Kirchengeschichte (Istorie bisericească universală) und Geschichte der Rumänisch-Orthodoxen Kirche (Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române) des 20. Jahrhunderts für Priesterseminare und theologische Fakultäten untersucht der Beitrag, wie religiöse Motive Nationsnarrative unterfüttern und somit zu Instrumenten der rumänischen Nationsbildung werden, wenn man sie unter ihrer hauptsächlichen Funktion der Pflege eines nationalen Wertigkeitsgefühls betrachtet. Der Aufsatz möchte somit u. a. zu der noch untererforschten Frage des Schulbuchs als religiöses Medium und seiner soziopolitischen Funktion in Modernisierungsprozessen nationaler Erweckung im 20. Jahrhundert beitragen.

Lora Gerd

Russian Imperial Policy in the Orthodox East and its Relation to Byzantine Studies

The first half of the 19th century is known as the period of penetration of the Great Powers into the Near East. Thus the famous Eastern question was born, which focused mainly on two items: first, control over the Straits, the Bosporus and Dardanelles, and the city of Constantinople; and second, establishing a presence in Palestine and Jerusalem. France and Great Britain started activities in both directions long before the 19th century, by direct political actions, and by missionary work among the local Christian population. After several successful wars against the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, Russia also joined this rivalry. Without having the economic and naval potential of the western powers, Russia had a strong ideological weapon, the Orthodox faith it shared with several million Eastern Christians[1].

The links between Kievan Rus' and Byzantium had led to the former's Christianization under Prince Vladimir in the 10th century. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the Russian learned clergy started regarding the Muscovite principality as the only keeper of the Orthodox faith. This idea, formulated in the 16th century as the theory of »Moscow, the Third Rome«, at first was purely theoretical. Nevertheless, the proclamation of the Russian czardom by Ivan the Terrible and the establishment of the Patriarchate of Moscow in 1589 moved the idea closer to practical implementation. Finally, with the military confrontation with the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 17th century, the Third Rome theory was once again revived. The extraordinary position of the Russian state towards the Christian churches under Ottoman domination was constantly stressed by the numerous abbots, monks, and bishops who arrived in Moscow during the 16th and 17th centuries asking for material aid. For their part, they brought icons and relics of saints, which often remained in Russia. According to the mentality of that time, the sacred sense of the centre of the only true Orthodox kingdom was thus translated and transferred to Moscow, the heir of Byzantine glory; thus, a new messianic ideology developed[2].

In the 18th century, under the reign of Peter I, the Russian state and Church were radically reformed. The flow of dona-

tions was placed under control, but it did not cease. In parallel to the general spirit of westernization, it was in the second half of the 18th century that Russians first came into contact with Ottoman Christians on a large scale, during the Russo-Ottoman wars under Catherine II. Their success seemed obvious, and it was in the first decades of the 19th century that Russia had maximum of influence over the affairs of the Near East. In the 1830s and especially 1840s, however, the situation changed, and the czar's government could hardly oppose the British and French offensive. Actually Russia did not lose control over the Orthodox Patriarchates of the East till the very end of the 19th century, manoeuvring between intrigues, bribery, exploiting their internal rivalry, and above all sending enormous sums of material aid.

By the beginning of the 1840s, Russia was the only great power not to have an ecclesiastical representative in Palestine. Catholics and Protestants, financed and supported by France and Britain, created a whole network of schools and charitable institutions. Many Arab Christian families converted and left the church they had been baptised into. As the traditional supporter of Orthodoxy in the East, Russia felt obliged to counteract Western proselytism. Thus, the Russian ecclesiastical mission in Jerusalem was founded in 1847, with Archimandrite Porphyrij Uspenskij at its head[3] (**fig. 1**). Porphyrij was a well-educated clergyman, whose main idea was that no Church policy in the East was possible without a serious study of the history and archaeology of Eastern Christianity. Due to the uncertain status of the first mission, his practical activities in Jerusalem were limited, and left him enough time for research work on the Christianity of Byzantium and the Near East. Porphyrij is famous for his long journeys to Mount Athos and his work in the libraries there. He was one of the first learned Europeans to visit Mount Sinai and the library of its monastery. He travelled to the Egyptian desert and explored the ancient ruins of Palestine and Syria. Being both a scholar and Church diplomat, Porphyrij wrote detailed reports on the state of the Orthodox Church in the East, its history and perspectives. His ideals of a common Orthodox »house«, which would include all Eastern Christians under

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1 Saul, Russia. – Jelavich, The Ottoman Empire. – Jelavich, St. Petersburg and Moscow. – Sumner, Tsardom. – Kinjapina, Balkany. – Nežinskij, Rossia i Černomorskie prolivy. For a long time, the ideological factor in Russian policy in the Near East was either neglected or underestimated in the scholarly literature. Meanwhile, it played an important role till the October Revolution of 1917. See: Gerd, Russian Policy 20-39.

2 Kirillov, Tretij Rim. – Toumanoff, Moscow the Third Rome. – Schaeder, Moskau das Dritte Rom. – Rowland, Moscow. – Sinicyna, Tretij Rim (see especially the bibliography on pp. 372-395).

3 Stavrou, Russian Interest. – Dmitrievskij, Ep. Porphyrij Uspenskij. See also the recent publication of documents on the history of the Russian mission in Jerusalem: Lisovoj, Rossija v Svjatoj Zemle.

Fig. 1 Portrait of Porphyrij Uspenskij. – (After Cat. Moscow 2011, 29).

Fig. 2 Antonin Kapustin, ca. 1860. – (After Gerd, Archimandrit Antonin, frontispiece).

the patronage of the Russian czar, were in fact in keeping with the old Byzantine ideas of a Christian *oikoumene*, and with the mainstream of Russian foreign policy of that period. Moreover, Porphyrij was looking forward to converting to Orthodoxy the non-Orthodox peoples of the East, i.e. the Copts (both Abyssinian and Arab), Armenians, etc. After his return to Russia in 1854, Porphyrij made research on his rich collections of manuscripts and copies he had made during his stay in the East, and wrote and edited many articles and texts. His manuscript collection was finally acquired by the Imperial Public Library in Saint Petersburg in 1883[4]. Most of his papers were edited in the late 19th and early 20th century; nevertheless, his rich and well-preserved archives still attract the attention of all specialists on the Christian East[5].

The Crimean War interrupted the activities of the Russian mission in Jerusalem and paralyzed any further projects. After 1856, however, interest in the Orthodox East in Russian educated society revived, for which there were several reasons. First of all, the bitter experience of the war provoked an analysis of mistakes in foreign policy. The lack of attention

paid the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean was among the first factors to be mentioned. Grand Duke Constantine Nikolaevič became the main actor in the revival of the interest in the Near East. With his assistance, and especially after his journey to the Mediterranean in 1859, the Russian mission in Jerusalem was restored. Another organization for the exploration of Palestine, the Palestine Committee, was founded at the same time, as was the Russian Shipping and Trade Society, aiming at further exploration of the Near East. All these activities had several aims at the same time: better organization and promotion of Russian pilgrimage to the Holy Land, creating closer links with the Orthodox population and especially with the clergy, and research on the history and archaeology of the Near East.

Since 1850, the Russian Church in Athens had been headed by a prominent priest, Archimandrite Antonin Kapustin (**fig. 2**). During the ten years of his tenure in Greece (1850-1860), he systematically studied the history, Church rites, and archaeology of the Balkans. Later he became the Russian priest in Constantinople (1860-1865) and head of

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4 Innokentij, Pamiati Episkopa Porphyrija. – Gerd, Ep. Porphyrij Uspenskij.
5 Porphyrij's papers (now preserved in St. Petersburg department of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences, fond 118) and activities in the Near East became a focus of attention already a few years after his death. A special commission was appointed by the Imperial Academy of Sciences for systematization

of his archives, and by the beginning of the 20th c. a catalogue of his archives with a list of his published works had been edited (Syrku, Opisanie bumag). This publication was followed by the edition of two volumes of Porphyrij's official reports and eight volumes of his journals (Uspenskij, Kniga. – Bezobrazov, Materialy).

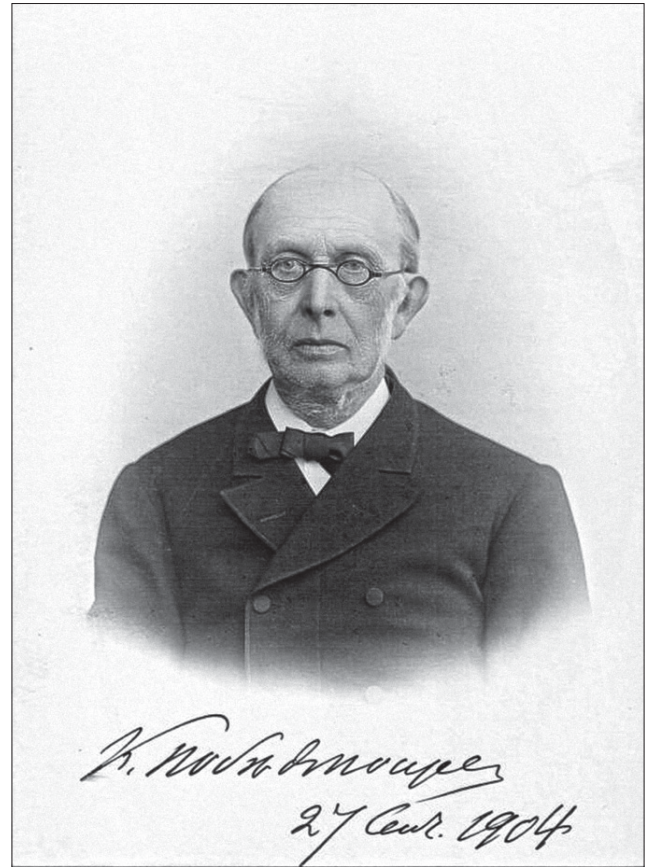**Fig. 3** Petr Sevast'janov. – (Photo N. N., private property).

Fig. 4 Konstantin Pobedonoscev. – (After Vach, Pobedonoscev, frontispiece).

the Russian mission in Jerusalem (1865-1894)[6]. His numerous research works on Byzantine manuscripts, coins, and seals, as well as his archaeological research, greatly contributed to the Byzantine and Bible studies of that time. The Russian church of the Holy Trinity in Athens was restored under his guidance in 1852-1855. This medieval monument, actually rebuilt by Antonin and the German architect Tiersch, is a vivid demonstration of the tastes of the Europeans of the middle of the 19th century. Very few of the original Byzantine frescoes inside were preserved, being replaced by Italian-style paintings; the exterior was, however, not radically modified. Antonin planned to organize a school of Byzantine studies in Athens, similar to the French Archaeological school, which had already been founded in 1847. In his mind, this school was to foster not only Byzantine studies, but spread the Byzantine style of architecture and icon painting throughout Russia[7]. During the years spent in the Orthodox East, Antonin travelled several times, observing the remains of Byzantine churches and other historical monuments in Greece and around Constantinople. In 1859, together with Petr Sevast'janov, he worked on

Mount Athos, exploring Byzantine church architecture and especially the manuscript collections[8]. During his service in Constantinople, Antonin was constantly busy with research on old Greek and Slavonic manuscripts, acquired by him on Mount Athos and the markets of the Ottoman capital. Antonin's vision of Church life was strongly influenced by his Byzantine studies. In the second half of the 1850s, he proposed to the Russian Holy Synod a number of projects of possible reforms in the Russian Church, its administration, liturgical practices, and ecclesiastical education. All these projects, in fact rather conservative and orientated along the Greek and Byzantine lines, were nevertheless regarded as rather revolutionary by Metropolitan Filaret Drozdov (the highest authority in the Russian Church of that time) and completely rejected. One of Antonin's strongest ideas was creating more active links between the Russian Church and the Churches of the East. At the same time already in Athens he started creating Russian »islands«, small monastic compounds. Thanks to generous donations in the 1870s and 1880s, and being head of the Russian mission in Jerusalem,

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6 Dmitrievskij, Načal'nik. – Kyprian, O. Antonin Kapustin. – Frary, Russian missions. See also the edition of Antonin's journals and reports from Constantinople: Lisovoj/Butova, Archimandrit Antonin. – Gerd/Vach, Archimandrit Antonin 1. – Gerd/Vach, Archimandrit Antonin 2. – Gerd, Archimandrit Antonin. More on Antonin's research work in Byzantology see: Fonkič, Antonin Kapustin. – Dmi-

trievskij, Naši kollekcionery. – Guruleva, Archimandrit Antonin. – Gerd, Naučnaja dejatel'nost.
7 On Antonin's activities in Athens (1850-60) see: Gerd, »Attičeskie noči«.
8 Antonin, Zametki.

he managed to purchase a number of estates where Russian monasteries and pilgrimage houses were founded.

The expedition of Petr Sevast'janov (**fig. 3**) to Mount Athos in 1859 was the first attempt to carry through a large-scale exploration of the treasures of the Holy Mount, and one of the first times that Byzantine monuments and documents were photographed. The expedition received financial support from several official bodies, including the Synod, as well as Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaevna, who also shared an interest in ancient Christianity in the 1850s. The impressive results of the expedition (hundreds of photos and drawings, as well as a collection of original Byzantine icons) were demonstrated at exhibitions in Moscow and St. Petersburg that attracted wide circles of educated society[9].

After the Crimean War, Russian foreign policy turned to support the South Slavs of the Balkan Peninsula. Thus, the romantic and theoretical Slavophile ideas of the 1830s and 1840s came into practical policy under the name of Pan-Slavism. Alexander II's government followed the line of protecting the South Slavs: Slavonic committees were founded all over Russia, and huge amounts of material aid were sent to the Balkans. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 was the summit of these activities[10]. During the period of Panslavism in Russian political thought, the Byzantine background of Russian culture and history was never forgotten[11]. At the same time, a parallel current of traditional support of the Greeks and the patriarchate of Constantinople also continued. In the 1850s it was represented by the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, Count Aleksandr Tolstoj, and the priest of the Russian mission at Constantinople, Archimandrite Petr Troickij[12]. In fact, Antonin Kapustin was also close to these ideas. In the 1870s, the pro-Greek line in Russia was shared by the statesman Tertij Filippov and the diplomat, writer, and philosopher Konstantin Leont'ev. Without being a scholar, Leont'ev was one of the most popular conservative authors of the 1870s, famous for his publications on the Byzantine legacy in ecclesiastical and public life of the Balkans and Near East of his time[13]. While Russian public opinion and diplomacy were wavering between the traditional pan-Orthodox concept on one side and Pan-Slavism on the other, the rapidly rising nationalism in the Balkans lead to an open conflict. The outbreak of the Greek-Slavic controversy came in the 1860s and 1870s and ended in the proclamation of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870 and the schism of 1872[14].

The congress of Berlin of 1878 brought frustration to Russian politicians. The idea of pan-Slavic union under Russian patronage had failed. After the assassination of Alexander II in 1881 came a new wave of the revival of Byzantinism. The ideologue of the new policy was the Chief Procurator of the Synod, Konstantin Pobedonoscev (**fig. 4**). According the new concept of foreign policy, Russia was large enough to dispense with further territorial expansion and should concentrate on its internal affairs. So imperial nationalism and neo-Byzantine universalism came to replace pan-Slavism. In Near Eastern policy, a conservative line of general non-interference was proclaimed. Nevertheless, the idea of pan-Orthodox unity was revived during the reign of Alexander III. Russia was the only great power to have an Orthodox monarch, and all the other Orthodox nations, both independent and under Ottoman rule, should be concentrated around the glory of the northern empire. St. Petersburg would thus replace Constantinople[15].

It is not surprising that in the place of the wave research in Slavic history and culture of the 1860s and 1870s, an outbreak of Byzantine studies should begin in the 1880s. It would be completely wrong to suspect a »state order« in this case. The representatives of the golden age of Byzantine studies in Russia were independent scholars of quite different political views – right monarchist, liberal, and even left. Starting with the »father« of this academic school, the professor at St. Petersburg university Vasilij Vasil'evskij, they explored all sides of Byzantine history: liturgy (Aleksej Dmitrievskij), canon law (Vladimir Beneševich), acts and documents (Vasilij Regel), social and economic history (Fedor Uspenskij), literature and manuscripts (Athanasios Papadopoulo-Kerameus), and art history (Nikodim Kondakov). More engaged in Church policy were some professors of the theological schools. Ivan Troickij, professor in Byzantine studies of St. Petersburg Theological Academy, was at the same time the closest advisor of Pobedonoscev in the East church affairs, keeping in touch with correspondents in Constantinople[16]. Ivan Sokolov, a professor at the same institution and editor-in-chief of the journal *Cerkovnye vedomosti*, wrote regular articles on the present-day ecclesiastical policy in the Near East and Balkans. An extreme philhellene, he held Byzantium to be an ideal of a theocratic monarchy and a model for the reorganization of the Russian empire[17]. Aleksej Dmitrievskij, professor of Byzantine liturgy at the Kiev Academy, became secretary of the Imperial Palestine Society in 1907, and wrote articles about Russian Church policy and its actors in the Near East in the 19th century[18].

In the last decade of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the activities of Byzantine studies in Russia culminated

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9 Dovgallo, Sobiratel'skaya dejatel'nost'. – Kyzlasova, Novoe o kollekcii. – Pjatnickij, Proizchoždenie ikon. – Pivovarova, Ešče raz.

10 Nikitin, Slavjanskie komitety. – Kohn, Panslavism. – Petrovich, Emergence. – Walicki, The Slavophile Controversy. – Milojkovic-Djuric, Panslavism.

11 It found its reflections in the works of famous Russian poets and writers, F. Tjutčev and F. M. Dostoevskij. – Pigarev, F. I. Tjutčev. – Florovsky, The Historical Premonitions. – Dostojevskij, Dnevnik pisatelja. See: Skotnikova, Vizantijskaja tradicija.

12 P[etrov], Vzgljad očevidca. – Gerd, »V delach Vostoka«.

13 See a selected bibliography on Leont'ev in: Dmitriev/Dmitrieva, Christianstvo. – Stamatopoulos, To Byzantio.

14 Boneva, Bălgarskoto cărkovno-nacionalno dviženie.

15 Gerd, Russian Policy 20-39. – Vovchenko, Containing Balkan Nationalism.

16 The history of Russian Byzantine studies in St. Petersburg was during a research project in the 1990s: Medvedev, Archivy. – Medvedev, Rukopisnoje nasledie. – Medvedev, Mir.

17 Stamatopoulos, From the Vyzantinism. – Stamatopoulos, To Byzantio 244-252, 282-285. – Gerd, Russian Policy 30-36.

18 Dmitrievskij, Graf. – Dmitrievskij, Očerk. – Dmitrievskij, Ep. Porphyrij Uspenskij.

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in two major events: the foundation of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (1894) and the annual periodical for Byzantine studies, *Vizantijskij Vremennik* (1895). The idea of founding of a Russian research institution in the Ottoman capital was born among the staff of the Russian embassy. In his note of 1887, Pavel Mansurov stressed the necessity of such institution for raising the authority of the country in the Near East. Moreover, all great powers by that time already had their own research centres in Constantinople. Russia should not leave studying the history of Orthodoxy to her Western rivals. The initiative was supported by different Russian institutions, who presented their own projects. In all of them, written by historians and archaeologists, the political side of the question was always kept in mind. The East could be conquered not by military force, but »by spreading the light of the true knowledge and revealing the spiritual links which connect us with it«, the author of one of such note proclaimed[19]. The founders of the institute, a group of professors of Novorossijsk (Odessa) University – Fedor Uspenskij, Nikodim Kondakov, and Aleksandr Kirpičnikov – also stressed the contribution in the »moral influence« of such an institution to the success of Russian policy in the Near East[20]. The project of a new Russian institution in Constantinople provoked the suspicion of the British diplomats; however, they lost interest after finding out that the Russians were preoccupied mainly with Byzantine monuments and not with ancient ones. The institute worked under the direct protection of the Russian embassy, and the diplomats regularly attended its sessions and took part in some of its activities. Nevertheless, director Fedor Uspenskij carefully avoided any suspicion of engaging in political propaganda. Thanks to this line, an impressive body of research accrued, and 16 volumes of the journal of the institute (*Izvestija Russkogo Archeologičeskogo instituta v Konstantinopole*, 1896-1912) were published[21] (**fig. 5**), as well as work conducted in cooperation with French and other foreign Byzantinologists in the Ottoman capital. At the same time Fedor Uspenskij, maybe more so than his colleagues in the archaeological institute, was interested in a wider reception of Byzantine studies in Russia. His foundational *History of the Byzantine Empire* (vol. 1 published in 1913) starts with an explanation of the term »Byzantinism« as a cultural phenomenon. During the discussions on the project of the institute, Uspenskij published a work on the Eastern question in Russia[22].

The development of Russian messianism and neo-Byzantinism peaked during the First World War. After October 1914, the idea of »Constantinople patrimony« and »Russian Constantinople« became extremely popular. During the Dardanelles operation of the Allies in the first months of 1915, political romanticism took on fantastic forms. While liberal and left-oriented journalists concentrated on the future colonial acquisitions of Russia in the Near East, the right royalists and
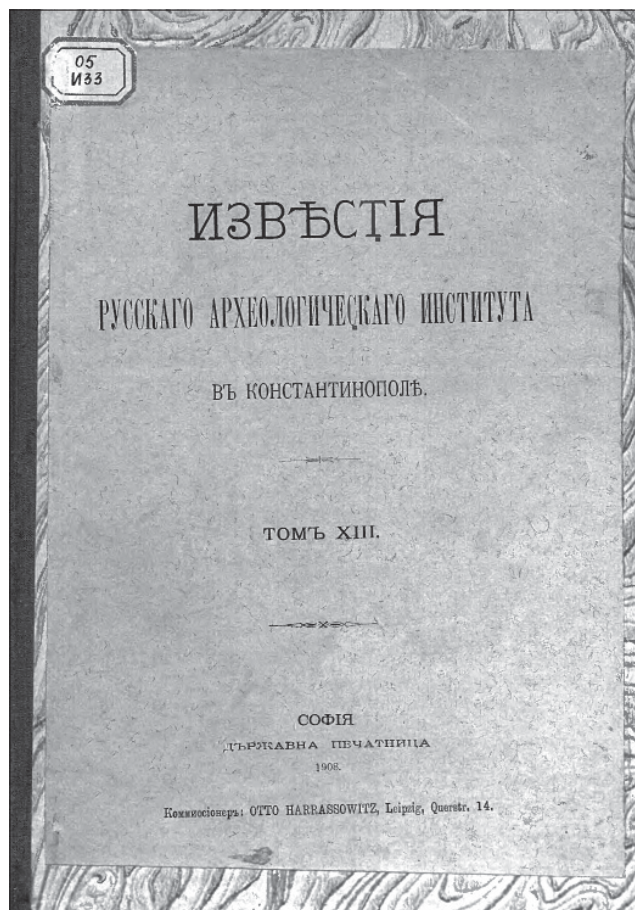
Fig. 5   Front page of the journal »Izvestija Russkogo Archeologičeskogo instituta v Konstantinopole«, Vol.13, 1908.

Church politicians were dreaming about the restoration of the Byzantine Empire. Leading articles in the press proclaimed imminent victory, calling the war »the last crusade«. According to some authors, liberated Constantinople would become the cradle of the Kingdom of Christ on Earth, and the appearance of a cross on St. Sophia would heal the division of the Christian world. It is not surprising that in this atmosphere money started being collected for this cross throughout the Russian provinces. After the secret treaty of March 1915 between Britain, France and Russia, when the future division of the Ottoman Empire was agreed upon, so-called »Russian Constantinople« became a matter of discussion on the governmental level. Leading specialists in economics and education, as well as high-ranking military officers, were asked to contribute opinions. The Holy Synod ordered the composition of a note on the future ecclesiastical organization of the great city from a professor of Petersburg Theological Academy, Ivan Sokolov. In his text, »Constantinople, Palestine and the Russian Church«, Sokolov drew a broad picture of the Byzantine background of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the double power of the

19   Project of the Oriental commission of Moscow Archeological society (Basargina, Russkij archeologičeskij institut 24).
20   Ibidem 25.

21   Papoulidis, To Rōssiko.
22   Uspenskij, Kak voznik.

ecclesiastical and temporal heads of the Empire. The Ottoman period concentrated the whole administration over the Orthodox population of the country in the hands of the Patriarch. In future Russian Constantinople the Ecumenical Patriarch should preserve, in the opinion of Sokolov, his first place among all bishops of the Eastern Church. The Russian czar was expected to replace the Byzantine emperor as the chief protector and keeper of the Orthodox faith and Church. Thus, the desired ideal Orthodox universal empire would be reconstructed and, Sokolov adds, the Russian Emperor might make Constantinople if not his main residence, then at least a temporary one[23].

Other Russian Byzantinologists were also involved in the discussion. Fedor Uspenskij, the former director of the archaeological institute in Constantinople, found possible to express his point of view in a special note, as well as in two articles in the newspapers. He concentrated on the cultural importance of St. Sophia as a symbolic church for Eastern Christianity. This church should be specially protected, and Orthodox liturgy should be celebrated there. The author warned about plans of unification of the Patriarchate of Constantinople with the Russian Synod, and other infringements of canon law. At the same time Uspenskij did not hesitate to express his own opinion that the Patriarch of Constantinople, as a Turkish official, would be better advised to retreat to central Asia Minor, sharing the fate of his government[24].

The »Byzantine dream« found its reflection in the articles of the influential Archbishop Antonij Chrapovickij. Without being a professional scholar, Antonij was in correspondence with many Greek bishops and deeply interested in the life of the Eastern Church. He proposed that after the »liberation« of Constantinople, the city should be given to the Greek kingdom, St. Sophia to the Patriarch, and thus the Byzantine Empire would be restored[25].

The second centre of the Christian world, Jerusalem, also became a matter of passionate discussion. During several decades after the Crimean War of 1853-56, due to generous donations and the activities of the Russian ecclesiastical mission and the Imperial Palestine society, a number of Russian compounds were built on the estates acquired in Jerusalem and Palestine; the Society ran many schools for Christian Arabs. The Russian properties and institutions in the Holy Land were a subject of special attention and worries during the First World War. Most specialists and journalists understood well enough that in this complicated situation, the best outcome for Russia would be an international condominium over Palestine. Nevertheless, even this option seemed rather doubtful. The secretary of the Imperial Palestine society, Aleksej Dmitrievskij, in his public speech before the Slavonic benevolent society in Petrograd on 2 March 1915, discussed two possibilities – a British or a French protectorate – and was inclined to support the former. The reason he gave was that the British showed themselves more moderate towards Orthodoxy and, in his opinion, would not create difficulties for Russian pilgrims and institutions in the country[26]. In this situation, the messianic calls of Antonij Chrapovickij or of some other clerics that Russia should do its best to »liberate« Jerusalem and install a Russian Patriarch there sounded completely fantastic[27].

The revolution of 1917 put an end to Byzantinism in Russian political thought and to using a medieval political ideology in 20th-century foreign policy.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Russian Imperial Policy in the Orthodox East and its Relation to Byzantine Studies

In the first half of the 19th century, the period of Great Power rivalry in the Near East, Russia also founded an Orthodox mission in Jerusalem with Porphyrij Uspenskij at its head. His research in the history and archaeology of Eastern Christianity was the first serious research in Byzantine studies in Russia. The beginnings of a school of secular Byzantine studies in Russia in the 1870s and 1880s coincided with »Imperial Byzantinism« in Russian policy. The heritage of the Third Rome and messianic ideas were developed by some Russian scholars. The peak of this political romanticism came in 1915, with the plans for a »Russian Constantinople« and restoration of the Byzantine Empire.

Russische imperiale Politik im orthodoxen Osten und ihre Beziehung zur Byzantinistik

In der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, der Zeit der Rivalitäten der Großmächte im Nahen Osten, gründete Russland eine Orthodoxe Mission in Jerusalem, an deren Spitze Porphyrij Uspenskij stand. Seine Forschungen zur Geschichte und Archäologie des östlichen Christentums waren die ersten ernsthaft betriebenen byzantinistischen Forschungen in Russland. Die Anfänge einer Schule weltlicher byzantinistischer Studien in Russland in den 1870er und 1880er Jahren fielen mit dem »imperialen Byzantinismus« in der russischen Politik zusammen. Von einigen russischen Gelehrten wurde der Gedanke vom Erbe des Dritten Rom sowie messianische Ideen entwickelt. Der Höhepunkt dieser politischen Romantik wurde 1915 mit den Plänen für ein »russisches Konstantinopel« und die Wiederherstellung des Byzantinischen Reiches erreicht.

Andreas Gietzen

Bad Byzantines: A Historical Narrative in the Liberal Conception of Vladimir Jovanović*

When, on St Andrew's Day in 1858[1], the people of the semi-autonomous principality of Serbia came together in the national assembly (the *Skupština*), several Western-educated minds formed a united front to encourage liberalism, the protection of civil rights and the elevation of this body to the status of a constitutional parliament. Among this first generation of Serbs to have been educated abroad on scholarships was one exceptional mind who thought that with the introduction of liberalism, which he took to be »the idea of national liberty and independence«[2], economic and social change in Serbia could be induced to unite the nation and raise it to Western standards of civilization as a purpose to liberate it from foreign – meaning Russian, Ottoman and Hapsburg – influence.

This person was Vladimir Jovanović, born in 1833 in Šabac, educated at both the Agricultural Academy at Altenburg (Mosonmagyaróvár) and the Württemberg Royal Agricultural and Forestry Academy in Hohenheim[3] (**fig. 1**). To implement his liberal conception, he had to prove that Serbia possessed the same or similar structures and institutions as Western countries, which could be cultivated to establish and internalise his liberal ideas. To this end, he tried to legitimize a genuinely Serbian democratic tradition by constructing a historical narrative in which the Byzantines had imposed their monarchical system on Serbian »grassroots democratic forms« like the Skupština, *pobratimstvo* (brotherhood)[4] and the *zadruga* (a form of extended tribal family)[5].

Interestingly enough, the development of this theory of history was facilitated by the first failure of the liberal movement in Serbia: After Jevrem Grujić and Stevča Mihailović, two other outstanding Serbian liberals, had successfully orchestrated the fall of the Ustavobranitelj and Prince Alexander

Karađorđević in 1858, and established the principle of periodic meetings of the Skupština with elected representatives[6], Miloš Obrenović, who had already ruled between 1815 and 1838, returned to power with quite a different agenda for the future of Serbia. After returning from exile, he used the Assembly's decision to replace councilors and ministers to »cleanse« the country of all people he deemed unfit to serve under his despotic autocracy. Ironically, this hurt the liberals the most, although this act of »wholesale housecleaning«[7] had been their own idea. Hence, instead of laying the first stepping stone towards a liberal future, they almost dug their own early graves.

Vladimir Jovanović, who had initially gained Miloš's trust to run the influential newspaper Srpske Novine – which acted as a political mouthpiece of the prince at the time – was expatriated by his former sponsor due to his connections with »all kinds of troublemakers«[8]. For Jovanović, this was further evidence that it was too soon to implement »liberalism« in Serbia, because in his view, stemming from the nations »Byzantine heritage«, the principality, its institutions and people, lacked the democratic political and social capital to do so.

While other liberals like Milovan Janković fled to Russia, Jovanović moved to England, where he first came into contact with both the utilitarianism of John Stuart Mill and prominent expatriates from other countries, as well as distinguished English politicians and thinkers of the time[9].Three years later, after the death of Miloš Obrenović, the political climate changed again with the enthronement of his son Mihailo: Although, contrary to liberal principles, he intended to rule Serbia like a central European autocracy, he was recognized as the »only legitimate source of political authority« by some

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1 For the St Andrew's Day Assembly see Sundhaussen, Serbien 129. – Stokes, Legitimacy 18-22. – Jelavich/Jelavich, Establishment 62. – Pavlowitch, Serbia 44. 49. – Bataković, French influence 101-102.
2 Jovanović, Serbian Nation 1. On Jovanović's »liberalism« see also Milosavljević, Vladimir and Slobodan 134-138. Cf. Mishkova, Balkan Liberalisms for a more general view of contemporary Balkan liberalism in the 19th century.

3 Stokes, Legitimacy 12.
4 Cf. Jovanović, Serbian Nation 12: »[...] a sacred union between Serbs of different families, founded upon a resolution of reciprocal self-sacrifice, and sanctioned by an oath [...]«. Cf. Irby, Putovanje 483.
5 His interpretation of this patriarchal institution is best explained by himself in Jovanović, »Über Bosnien« (About Bosnia), an unpublished manuscript in the Historical Archive of Belgrade: »Als eine uralte südslawische Sitte hat sich [...] auch die sog. Zadruga, oder die Hauskommunion, noch heutzutage erhalten. Die Zadruga besteht in der Regel aus einer Anzahl von Blutsverwandten, welche mit ihren Nachkommen in Gütergemeinschaft unter einem freigewählten Starešina (Oberhaupt) in einem Hause leben«. Cf. from today's perspective Naumović/Pavković, Historische Anthropologie 107-109.
6 Sundhaussen, Serbien 126.
7 MacKenzie, Ilija Garašanin 221.
8 Stokes, Legitimacy 31.
9 Cf. Ibidem 30-31.

Fig. 1 Vladimir Jovanović. – (After Stipčević, Material 121).

liberals, including Jevrem Grujić and Vladimir Jovanović[10]. While other liberals, headed by Milovan Janković, went into full opposition to the new prince, Jovanović's group decided to win the ruler for their own purposes by presenting themselves as »dutiful members of the civil service«, although they disagreed with his style of regency[11]. In that capacity, Vladimir Jovanović was sent to England again, this time as a special envoy to help resolve the diplomatic crisis of 1862.

Mihailo's approach of introducing reforms without the approval of the Sublime Porte had led to the Ottoman bombardment of Belgrade[12], to which the prince reacted by mobilising the newly-formed national militia. It was Jovanović's task to win over the English public and its leading politicians to intervene at the Porte on behalf of the Serbian cause. As a »private propagandist«[13], he tried various ways to fulfill this task: First he succeeded in obtaining an invitation from the Archbishop of Canterbury for the new Metropolitan of Belgrade, who was to have promoted the cause of the Balkan Christians if Prince Mihailo had let him go.

Second and more effective, Jovanović, together with Mihailo's wife Julia and Filip Hristić, the former prime minister, who were dispatched by the prince instead of the clergyman, incited a parliamentary debate on the Eastern Question in which at least some better-known politicians spoke in favour of the Serbian cause, which now also included the possibility of full independence. But the English government, even though at that time led by Lord Palmerston as prime minister and William Gladstone, could not be persuaded[14]. Although the diplomatic effort went awry, the trip was a great personal success for Jovanović, who established and defended a foreign policy which he would pursue for most of his active political career:

On 14 March 1863, a little pamphlet appeared entitled »The Serbian Nation and the Eastern Question«, consisting of only 46 pages. In it, Jovanović laid out his fundamental outlook on Serbian history and politics to prove that »constitutionalism and representative government were a part of the Serbian past«[15] and to »demonstrate the ability of the Serbian nation for an intimate union with its liberal brethren, by proof drawn from history and from the political life of the Serbian people«[16].

Starting with a concept of history that harked back to the time long ago when the Serbs had moved from »White Serbia« to the Balkans »in the grey dawn of time« before they were converted to Christianity, Jovanović outlines a glorious Serbian past which would become tainted by Byzantine autocracy and would eventually succumb to the allure of its sumptuousness. But first Byzantium is introduced as both benefactor and beneficiary of the Serbian arrival in the Balkans: Emperor Heraclius (610-641) rewarded the newcomers with territory for their help against the Avars, »which [had] devastated these regions of his empire«[17]. Thus, the Serbs had settled »on the soil of the Byzantine Empire [and] acknowledged the supremacy of the Emperor of the East«[18]. In this narrative they were able to re-establish their independent national government with Heraclius's death in 641, but the »first germs of the monarchical form of government, as it existed at Byzantium«[19] had infested the originally democratic structures of the Serbian nation.

According to Jovanović, the Great Župans – originally elected as a kind of president of a democratic National Assembly, which in turn was formed of freely elected chiefs of the Serbian tribes and leaders in times of war – had accumulated all political power in peacetime. Initially, they used it in accordance with the »general will of the nation«[20], but after they accepted the faith of Christ, these Great Župans, in contrast to the lower Župans and *Bans*, yielded to the influence of the neighbouring courts of Greece and Bulgaria.

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10 Stokes, Legitimacy 42.
11 Ibidem 44.
12 For a contemporary accout see Ubicini, le bombardement 6-19.
13 Stokes, Legitimacy 54.
14 Ibidem 55.
15 Ibidem 52.

16 Jovanović, Serbian Nation 2.
17 Ibidem 3.
18 Ibidem 4.
19 Ibidem.
20 Ibidem 5.

While the latter is mentioned as the first machinator of foreign intrigues that had inspired the Great Župans to »neglect the interest of the people and separate themselves from the national cause«[21], Byzantium was the final puppeteer, who lurked in the shadows behind both thrones and waited for both to become exhausted. Thus Serbia became, at least from the point of view of Jovanović – who again tried to provide historical legitimisation to the Serbian nation on the cusp of its political maturity and transformation – patient zero of the plague called »Byzantine supremacy«, which became terminal in the early tenth century.

According to Jovanović, the Serbs thereupon regained national independence under the heroic Voyslav[22] in the 11th century, but true unity was only achieved under the rule of Stefan Nemanja, who »relieved the country from the presence of foreign enemies by the capture of several fortresses from the Byzantine empire«[23].

However, Jovanović omitted the fact that these fortresses were regained not much later by Isaac II Angelos and that Nemanja, although under rather fortunate circumstances, had to renew his oath of fealty to the Byzantine emperor[24]. In the historical construct of the Serbian liberal, who employed a *locus communis* of contemporary national historiography, Nemanja's descendants completed the first independent Serbian empire starting with Stefan the First-Crowned and culminating in Czar Stefan Dušan as the apex predator to the Byzantine rule in a »golden age« of Serbian statehood[25]. Quoting the English translation of Ranke's *Serbische Revolution*, which had been published in London in 1853[26], to show the extent of Dušan's rule, Jovanović agreed with Ranke on the terms of Dušan's crown:

»As a Serbian kraly (king), Dooshan could neither ask nor expect the obedience of the Greeks; therefore he called himself Emperor of the Roumelians – the Macedonian Christ-loving Czar – and began to wear the tiara«[27].

He ended this narrative stating that the Serbian Empire had been »reduced to a small despotic state«, because of Byzantium's »thirst of conquest […] at the expense of the neighbouring countries«[28]. Ultimately, it had been the revenge of the Byzantines on the Serbs, who had dared to offer resistance, that drove John Cantacuzenos to invite the Ottomans to the Balkans. Analysing his own construct, Jova-

nović ultimately blamed the fall of the Serbian Empire on the »Byzantine System« that had been introduced into Serbian structures. Even Stefan Dušan, the seemingly infallible czar, had erred by imposing »government decentralisation«[29].

Both these measures had allowed the now empowered *Vojvodas* and a newly emerged class of nobles to indulge in quarrels among each other rather than protecting the country from foreign influence and direct attacks. Jovanović further argued, following another ideological topos commonly employed by national historiography, that despite the fall of the Serbian state, the national spirit remained unbroken and lived on in two entities: On the one hand the Montenegrins, as »the flower of the Serbian heroes«, had endured Turkish siege like martyrs for over 400 years and therefore could not adopt the results of European progress, but at least preserved »excellent qualities of their national character«[30]. The other still living part of Serbia was that part of the population which had migrated to Austria in 1690. But their first attempts at national literature and national intentions were hindered by an »anti-liberal« policy of the House of Hapsburg. According to Jovanović, they had it worse than the Montenegrins because the machinations of the »Ballhausplatz« had left them undefended after they fought the Ottomans on the Hapsburg side[31]. The Serbs within the Pašalik survived by dint of their »hope in God«. Again it had been »the Serbian cloisters, isolated in the depths of forests and in the gorges of the mountains, [that] contained both religious and political altars«[32].

With their successful rebellion against the Ottomans at the dawn of the 19th century, the Serbs achieved the re-establishment of »their original form of self-government«, meaning the National Assembly, which elected Karageorge as supreme leader as well as further deputies and in short »exercised all the rights of a sovereign nation«[33]. But it all went downhill, according to Jovanović, when these »leaders« had to look to Russia for help due to Napoleon's agitation in Europe. With the treaty of Bucharest of 1812, the Russians had imposed an alien kind of government on the Serbs: the *Sovjet*, where only a few *Sovjetniks* started to form parties favouring or disfavouring the role of Karageorge and his actions. Like the *Vojvodas* in the past influenced by the Byzantines, the *Sovjetniks* of his time, swayed by the Russians, quarrelled with each other instead of working together to build a nation[34].

21 Ibidem.
22 As to Stephan Vojislav cf. Obolensky, Byzantine Commonwealth 220. – Ćirković, The Serbs 24-25.
23 Jovanović, Serbian Nation 6. – Ostrogorsky, Geschichte 329 shares a similiar view.
24 Ćirković, the Serbs 32. – Stephenson, Balkan Borderlands 688. – Obolensky, Byzantine Commonwealth 221-222: Nemanja had been defeated before by Manuel I Komnenos in 1172 who forced him to participate in his triumphant entery into Constantinople after he had to perform an »Unterwerfungsgeste« barefoot and empty-handed, before the emperor. Now, with Isaac II, Nemanja, apart from the fact he had to return the conquered cities, he retained extensive autonomy.
25 There is much to be said for this interpretation, see Fine Jr., Late Medieval Balkans 286-344. See also Stephenson, Balkan Frontier 289-270 for the depiction of the Serbian Grand Župan in Byzantine literary works: »The Serbian veliki

župan is portrayed consistently as the emperor's counterpoint: the vanquished to his victor; the shade to his light; the coward to his hero. However, the central motif of all portraits, literary and graphic, is that of the veliki župan as the emperor's doulos, his political subordinate in the hierarchy of rulers«.
26 Ranke, History of Servia.
27 Ibidem 10-11. – Jovanović, Serbian Nation 7.
28 Jovanović, Serbian Nation 7.
29 Ibidem 8.
30 Ibidem 10. Cf. the subsection on »The Violent Balkan Highlands« in Anzulović, Heavenly Serbia 45-50.
31 Jovanović, Serbian Nation 11.
32 Ibidem.
33 Ibidem 14.
34 Ibidem 15.

So while the Serbian people had every disposition to adopt liberalism, it held true that, whether in the glorified past of the medieval state or in the present time of Vladimir Jovanović:

»Whenever [...] they were directed by foreign influence, or when the home government assumed despotic power, this people have remained stationary, and sometimes even retrograded«[35].

In historicizing the nation itself, which had preserved its democratic potential into the modern age of his own time, Jovanović could rationalize the liberal option for Serbia, its perception from outside as a »lowermost«[36] country in »Turkey-in-Europe«[37] notwithstanding. But ultimately, through Bucharest, Serbian autonomy was not achieved by Serbia's own diplomatic efforts or by a free elected National Assembly, but constructed in Constantinople with the aid of the Russians.

Evidently, Jovanović spins a broad narrative connecting »historical« events and processes to argue why the Serbs were, in fact, able to develop and adapt liberal structures but were hampered by external circumstances. In doing so, he twists the role Byzantium played for the Serbian people in the Middle Ages. The other side of the relationship between Stefan Nemanja and Emperor Isaac II Angelos has already been mentioned, but not only in this respect does Jovanović deviate from what we know today from the sources. While Jovanović situates the beginning of Serbian independence in the Middle Ages, culminating in the reign of Stefan Dušan, it rather marked the occasion which initiated the final merging of the Serbian state with the Byzantine political and cultural commonwealth.

The first alliance marriage was already forged after the clash of the aforementioned rulers: Stefan Nemanjić – the son of Stefan Nemanja – was married off to Eudokia Angelina, the niece of Isaac II and daughter of Alexios III Comnenos[38]. A few years later, the same Stefan, now the »First-Crowned« king, held the title of *Sebastokrator*, which leads to Obolensky's judgement that »this title, no less than the marriage alliance, symbolised Serbia's incorporation [...] into the Byzantine Commonwealth«[39]. Stefan Radoslav, born of the marriage of Stefan the First-Crowned and Eudokia, married

the daughter of Theodore I Angelos, prince of Epirus[40], and deepened integration into the Byzantine commonwealth by founding further monasteries[41] and imitating the Byzantine regal style[42]. Stefan Uroš II Milutin married the purple-born daughter of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1328)[43]. He already had adopted the byzantine system of *pronoia*[44] and under his rule, the court ceremonial of Constantinople found its way into the regal performance of the Nemanjid dynasty[45].

It should be noted that such cultural transfer was limited to the »high culture« of the court as well as that of the cities along the most important trade and communication routes[46]. Great parts of the general population remained at first unaffected, but because of the »monastic, hagiolatric, iconodul and canonic aspect of its Christianity«[47], the cultural substance of Byzantium was able to penetrate and synchronize the every daylife in the Serbian territory to the heartland of the Byzantine Empire. In the words of the late Ihor Ševčenko:

»Thus while the most sophisticated products of Byzantine literature were never translated into medieval Slavic, the Bulgarian words for onions [*kromid*] and cabbage [*lahana*] and the Serbian expression for fried eggs [*tiganisana jaja*] have been taken over from Greek«[48].

If we can speak today, after many decades of systematic Byzantine studies, of a genuine Byzantine-Serbian synthesis in the Middle Ages and the Incorporation of the latter into the commonwealth of the former, how and where did Vladimir Jovanović obtain the »knowledge« to construct the narrative of the »Bad Byzantines« decades before the first impartial and scientific Byzantine studies in Germany and France?

Gale Stokes has already shown that Jovanović was heavily inspired by John Stuart Mill[49] when it comes to his liberal body of thought. And in fact, Mill mentions the Byzantine Empire in a less positive way in his 1859 treatise »On Liberty«, when he talks about the possibility that even great ideas and practices might fail, »as in the Byzantine Empire«[50]. But first, this is not enough to inspire or even buttress Jovanović's view, and second, he had not absorbed Mill's liberal ideas directly but through »continental sources«[51], especially Frédéric Bastiat[52], Wilhem Roscher and Karl Rau. The son of the latter was Jovanović's favourite professor at Hohenheim[53], and the most

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35 Jovanović, Serbian Nation 13.
36 For »lowermost« as a term see Turner, Dramas, Fields Metaphors 237.
37 Todorova, Imagining the Balkans 18-19.
38 Ćirković, the Serbs 32-33. – Fine Jr., Late Medieval Balkans 26.
39 Obolensky, Byzantine Commonwealth 222.
40 Ducellier, Balkan Powers 785.
41 Stefan Nemanja had already founded Studenica. The Hilandar monastery on Mount Athos was initiated by his son Rastko/Sava. Cf. Podskalsky, Theologische Literatur 87.
42 Kämpfer, Herrscher, Stifter, Heiliger 431-433.
43 See Reinert, Fragmentation 260 for the context.
44 A *pronoia* was a grant that »temporarily transferred imperial fiscal rights to an individual or institution«. Orginially neither transferable nor hereditary, this changed after the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261, which aligned the Byzantine Empire more closely to the western feudal states. Cf. Kazhdan/Podskalsky, Pronoia. – Bartusis, Pronoia.

45 Ducellier, Balkan Powers 801. – Ostrogorsky, Problémes. – Anzulović, Heavenly Serbia 21.
46 Above all, the *Via militaris* should be mentioned, which linked Belgrade to Constantinople via Niš and Sofia. Its significance was already emphasised by Constanin Jireček in 1877. Cf. Jireček, Heerestraße. Equally important for the Balkans were the *Via Egnatia* and the path along the Danube *limes*. Cf. Lolos, Via Egnatia. – Werner, Via Egnatia.
47 Vryonis, Byzantine Legacy 258.
48 Ševčenko, Byzantium and the Slavs 299.
49 Stokes, Legitimacy 31.
50 Mill, On Liberty 116.
51 Stokes, Legitimacy 31.
52 Here we should mention that Bastiat worked with Adam Smith's ideas on »harmony« and that the »idea of social harmony« appealed to Serbs because of the Orthodox church and their kinship loyality. »One of the underlying concepts of Orthodoxy is harmony and community«. Cf. Stokes, Legitimacy 40.
53 Stokes, Legitimacy 36.

important political economists in Belgrade in the 1850s, like Milan Janković, had been students of Rau himself[54]. No, for his concept taken as a whole Jovanović transferred a theory of English history onto the local Serbian narrative, a theory which had already been adapted a few years earlier by Alexander Herzen for Russia. In the original Whig interpretation, it had been the »Norman yoke« that stifled English progress, while Herzen blamed a wide range of alien people like »the Mongols, [and] the Polish-Lithuanians« as well as »the imported Byzantine autocracy and a German bureaucracy«[55].

Also, the negative stereotype of the Byzantine Empire in this concept reverberates too strongly with the »Byzantinism« of that time in Western Europe not to assume an influence of this notion on Jovanović. As Dimitar Angelov defines it, this »essentialist and negative understanding of a medieval civilisation [...]« emanated from a medieval set of negative stereotypes about Byzantium and a reductionist view of the Empire on the part of the Enlightenment[56]. Scholars like Herder, Voltaire and Hegel, following a tidal Enlightenment wave of seeing »Byzantinism« as a negative European other, passed hard judgment on Byzantium as the »crippled other« in the cultural construct of Europe, with no signs of »progress of human spirit«, which permeated even Mill's discourses as shown above[57]. Furthermore, Hegelian philosophy was well-known and discussed in Jovanović's liberal environment before he made contact with the now »popular construct [of Byzantinism] widely used by journalists and politicians« in Germany and England[58], as shown by articles in the *Srbske Novine* and textbooks, the first of them already published in 1851[59].

Moreover, the dismissive conclusion of Gibbon – apparently the »Karl May« of Byzantine historiography[60], which became the main historical paradigm on Byzantium in the 18th century and beyond, had already infiltrated the thinking of Serbian intellectuals and nation-builders from the get-go by reading Johann Christian von Engel's *History of Servia and Bosnia* from 1801 onwards. The simplistic portrayal of Byzantium as an outdated ideology of imperialism and expansionism was even used in 1844 by Ilija Garašanin in his *Načertanije* to create a construct of political and imperial weakness

that should have been ousted by the Serbian Empire[61]. Thus Jovanović's claim that the ideas of liberalism, national unity and liberty were inherent to the Serbian people fell onto fertile ground[62]. Supported by »historical«, para-scientific arguments he succeeded in instilling the idea that the liberals represented the nation. With it, they managed to legitimise their political position and grew even stronger to the point in 1869 when they, after the assassination of Mihailo Obrenović, were seen as influential enough to be considered for a role in the new regency[63].

Meanwhile, Jovanović had to support and steer the movement from abroad, because – after a short stint as a professor at the Velika Škola – he was exiled again in 1864 due to repercussions after a failed assassination attempt on Napoleon III. He settled in Novi Sad, then in Austria, where he followed a Ciceronian path and repeatedly committed his liberal ideology to paper. In 1870 he elaborated and finalised his narrative both in »Osnovi Snage i veličine Srbske« (»The Foundations of Serbian Strength and Greatness«) and »Les Serbes et la mission de la Serbie dans l'Europe d'Orient«:

Pavel Josef Šafárik, a Slovak philologist and historian, replaced Leopold von Ranke as the leading authority on early Serbian history and with him Konstantin VII Porphyrogennetos was exploited for leads on the Serbian antiquity[64]. Jovanović also struck out on a new path in his view on liberalism, now taking a view more Hobbesian than Hegelian[65]. But essentially, the pattern of using Byzantium as an argument for the suffocation of the Serbian liberal and democratic progress remained the same[66]. What was new was the altered self-perception of the Serbs in Jovanović's view. Now, only the inhabitants of Bosnia, Hercegovina and Metohija were still considered the »Serbs of Turkey«, who had to be freed by the Principality of Serbia as the most suited and natural heir, alongside Greece, to the crumbling and collapsing Ottoman Empire[67]. But to achieve that the Serbs had to shake off the Byzantine system that had been imposed upon them, which had divided the Serbs into social classes and estranged them from their fundamentally democratic spirit. Although he again claimed that the Serbian institutions of his day were unfree because they too were in thrall to foreign influences,

54 Ibidem 35. It seems that he even inspired Petar Karadjordjević to translate »On Liberty« into Serbian in 1868. Interestingly, Jovanović himself translated and published Mill's »Considerations on Representative Government« only in 1876. Cf. Pantelić, Mill in Serbia 86; 88.

55 Stokes, Legitimacy through Liberalism 57-58. – Malia, Alexander Herzen 399-400.

56 Angelov, Byzantinism 6.

57 Ibidem 7-8.

58 Ibidem 11.

59 Dimitrije Matić, a relative of Jovanović and later minister of education and justice was a pupil of Karl Ludwig Michelet, see Milosavljević, Vladimir and Slobodan 134 n. 10. In 1851 Kosta Cukić, another influental liberal and pupil of Rau, translated the lessons of his teacher into Serbian. See Stokes, Legitimacy 35 with n. 4.
After the liberals gained control of the »Society of Serbian Letters«, they also used its *Glasnik* as a platform for the distribution of liberal thought. Cf. Stokes, Legitimacy 49-50. Among those was a »short overview on Hegelian philosophy«, published in 1863 by Alimpije Vasiljević. Cf. Vasiljević, Hegelian Philosophy.

60 Like the well-known Germany author of adventure novels, Gibbon has never been to the scenes of his topics he described. Cf. Marciniak, Oriental as Byzantium in this volume.

61 Stokes, Legitimacy 50.

62 Even the curriculum of the reformed Velika Škola in Belgrade shows that in 1867, not the »history of Byzantium« but »Byzantinism« was taught: Alongside such topics as the »change of the imperial position towards the Serbs and the South Slavs« or the »shift in the condition of the state after the iconoclasm« there were lectures on »corruption, absence of patriotism and the political fate of the Byzantine empire« or »adventurous trades and skullduggery« (AS, VŠ 1867, 10). It was composed by Panta S. Srećković.

63 Cf. Sundhaussen, Serbien 130.

64 Jovanović, Les Serbes 8-10.

65 Milosavljević, Vladimir and Slobodan 135 n. 11.

66 Jovanović, Osnove Snage 26. – Jovanović, Les Serbes 11-12. 22.

67 Jovanović, Les Serbes 263.

Jovanović had become more positive. He now believed that the same institutions – the constitutional monarchy with its centralized bodies – had the power »to achieve the goal which the general progress of civilisation and humanity tells them to achieve«[68].

Hence, two decades before Panta Srećković appeared to have launched the Serbo-Byzantine-historiographical Discourse, which gave a positive assessment of medieval Serbia as »the heir to the then culturally decayed and politically deteriorated Byzantium«[69] that had preserved its cultural, political and material accomplishments, Vladimir Jovanović already employed a diverging topos with a slightly different assessment of the distribution of power between Serbia and Byzantium.

While the subsequent historians of the late 19th and early 20th century considered the whole political entity of Serbia as the vivid and strong parvenu that would sooner rather than later have succeeded the Byzantine Empire but for the Ottomans, Jovanović declared the Serbs of the Middle Ages to have been »weaker than the Turks« – a result of the introduction of the Byzantine System into Serbia[70]. Whereas Garašanin utilised the competition between a strong Serbia and a deteriorating Byzantium to legitimise his imperialist concept of irredentist expansionism against the Ottomans, Jovanović acknowledged that there was a weak part of a strong Serbia, which had, in fact, all assets for liberal nation-building had not the Byzantines grafted their monarchic system onto Serbian institutions by manipulating the emergent political elite. From Jovanović's point of view, their modern equivalent, the first generation of Serbian politicians and nation-builders (to which Garašanin belonged), perpetuated this deficiency by submitting to Ottoman, Russian or Hapsburg dominance[71]. The weakness thus persisted into modern times. The alien oppressors had changed, but not the problem of atrophied natural liberal structures. To combat this debility, Jovanović advocated the education and intellectual elevation of the people, so they could liberate themselves from foreign influence. He concentrated on the domestic political sphere to alter the attitudes and mentality of the Serbian people in order to achieve »a powerful, independent, and liberal Christian state« within »an active fraternal co-operation with other nations« of the West[72]. Ultimately, however, it could be said

that Jovanović employed »Byzantium« and his historical narrative as an argument to secure the position of a new political party, and as such it has to be considered a success. Serbian liberals continuously grew in political power, founding the Association of Serbian Youth (Omladina)[73], participating in the regency of Prince Milan, providing members of the constitutional *Skupština* – Jovanović even became finance minister in 1876 – till they registered as one of the first official political parties in 1881, preceded only by the People's Radical Party at the beginning of that year[74].

Intriguingly, as a political retiree, Jovanović returned to the topic of Byzantine history. In a manuscript on the »Istorija privrednog i kulturnog života u Srednem Veku« («history of the economic and cultural life in the Middle Ages«) he took a vastly different approach: After consulting Bryce's »Holy Roman Empire«[75], Hertzberg's »History of the Byzantines and the Ottoman Empire«[76] and Oman's »Byzantine Empire« – whose opinions can be summarised in the statement of the latter: »[The sweeping condemnation of Byzantine history] sounds like a cheap echo of the second-hand historians of fifty years ago, whose staple commodity was Gibbon-and-water«[77] – Jovanović re-evaluated the significance of Byzantium: »In the Eastern Roman, or Byzantine, Empire, ruled a feudal system, as well as in the other Europe in the Middle Ages«[78].

But in the same manuscript he also talked about the Byzantinism of the Byzantine Empire: »The Eastern Roman Empire, has for long not ceased to suffer from barbaric attacks. Outwardly, it remained unchanged, but despite the pressure of the Tatar and Semitic invasions it was celebrated outside as to be able to live the spirit and light of general awareness. Thus isolated, Hellenism was transformed into ›Byzantinism‹. This change shifted the performance of Byzantine history in a different direction than it did in the West«[79].

So after successfully merging an imagined patriarchal democracy with European liberalism by using the trope of »Bad Byzantines« and through it becoming the main ideologue of his party, Jovanović even contributed to the wide currency of the notion which characterizes the umbrella term of Byzantinism.

68 Jovanović, Les Serbes 277.
69 Ignjatović, Byzantium Evolutionized 259. – Ignjatović, Inheritors.
70 Jovanović, Serbian Nation 9.
71 A similiar view had already shared a report from Belgrade to Vienna, 14 March 1850 (Franz, südslawische Bewegung 4): »Während die stürmischen Leidenschaften der Jugend, diese überall in Europa in die ersten Reihen der Revolutionärs führen und oft die junge Nation mit sich reißen, finden wir im Oriente, und dahin ist die europäische Türkei zu rechnen, immer den älteren Theil der Bevölkerung an der Spitze der Bewegung; so bringt es der noch allgemein herrschende patriarchalische Sinn seiner Völker mit sich. Daher kömmt es, dass all die jungen Serben, welche in Wien, Berlin, Paris und London studirt, noch nichts im Volk vermögen, und auch bei der letzten Škuptina (Nationalversammlung) zu Kragujevac 1848 mit ihrer Agitation gänzlich durchgefallen sind. [...] Darum sind bis heute noch Männer wie Wučić, Garašanin und Knićanin

die populärsten in Serbien. Und gerade daher vermag keine westeuropäische Neuerungswuth in Serbien und der Türkei Wurzel zu fassen«.
72 Jovanović, Serbian Nation 1, 46.
73 Cf. Stokes, Legitimacy 69-95.
74 Sundhaussen, Serbien 124. – Stoianovich, Social Foundations 318-320. – Stokes, Politics 196-197, 217.
75 Bryce's book was first published in 1873. The preface to the edition of 1904 reads: »An entirely new chapter has been inserted dealing with the East Roman or Byzantine Empire, a topic inadequately handled in previous editions«. Cf. for this chapter Bryce, Holy Roman Empire 167-181.
76 Hertzberg, Geschichte der Byzantiner. It was falsely quoted by Jovanović as »Herzling (S. J.), Geschichte der Byzantiner« Cf. Jovanović, Istorija 4.
77 Oman, Byzantine Empire 153.
78 Jovanović, Istorija 6.
79 Ibidem 1.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Bad Byzantines: A Historical Narrative in the Liberal Conception of Vladimir Jovanović

With the fall of the »Ustavobranitelj« in 1858, Serbia entered a new era of party politics. Several Western-educated minds formed the first political party to promote the idea of liberalism. While unauthorized as a political party by the new prince Mihailo Obrenović, Serbian »liberals« relied on a specific narrative to convince their countrymen that liberalism had always been an innate part of Serbian history. In this article I will shed light on the construction of this narrative and its creator Vladimir Jovanović, who used the Influence of »Bad Byzantines« to explain why Serbia had not already adopted liberalism in the past, although it had had all the necessary means and institutions.

Böse Byzantiner: ein historisches Narrativ im liberalen Konzept Vladimir Jovanovićs

Mit dem Fall der »Ustavobranitelji« trat Serbien 1858 in eine neue Ära der Parteipolitik ein. Verschiedene Denker mit westlicher Ausbildung formten eine erste politische Gruppierung, um für die Idee des Liberalismus zu werben. Diese serbischen »Liberale«, die vom neuen Fürst Mihailo Obrenović nicht als legitime politische Partei anerkannt wurden, beriefen sich dabei auf ein spezifisches Narrativ, um ihre Landsleute davon zu überzeugen, dass der Liberalismus schon immer ein immanenter Teil serbischer Geschichte war. Dieser Aufsatz soll die Konstruktion dieses Narrativs und seinen Autor Vladimir Jovanović näher beleuchten. Dieser benutzte den Einfluss von »Bösen Byzantinern«, um zu erklären, warum Serbien nicht bereits in der Vergangenheit den Liberalismus angenommen hatte, obwohl es doch über alle dafür notwendigen Mittel und Institutionen verfügte.

Aleksandar Ignjatović

Negotiating National Prospects by Capturing the Medieval Past: Byzantium in Serbian Architectural History at the Turn of the 20th Century

»It is a daughter of Byzantium«, proclaimed Mihailo Valtrović, a founding father of Serbian archaeology and architectural history, on the occasion of the opening the annual »exhibition of architectural, sculptural and pictorial documents« in Belgrade taken from a study trip to Serbia proper in 1874[1]. This widespread notion of a Serbo-Byzantine cultural kinship, which was also attributed to Valtrović's collaborator Dragutin S. Milutinović[2], revealed what would become a central question of Serbian architectural historiography in decades to come: the affinity, even identity, of Serbian and Byzantine architecture. Born on a tidal wave of the nation's permanent obsession with Byzantium, this metaphor of the closest of family relationships became a model of interpretation that dominated Serbian history in the late nineteenth and early 20th century – not only in art and architectural, but also in cultural and political history. Apart from providing vivid and tangible evidence of the cultural and political ties of medieval Serbia with the Byzantine Empire, Valtrović's argument went, Serbian medieval architecture was also a sublime emanation of the »national spirit«[3] closely related to that of Byzantium. And it was by these and similar accounts of ancient buildings scattered throughout the country – neglected and falling to ruin during the centuries spent under the »Turkish yoke« – that architecture became fundamental to the historical imagination (**fig. 1**). Since Valtrović and Milutinović's times, these dilapidated and vulnerable monuments supposedly »reflected the innermost as well as the external life of Serbian people«[4] and were deeply entrenched into Byzantine tradition.

Several years later, Valtrović used the same expression to describe a historical process that had left a deep mark on Serbian national identity: »Serbian art is a daughter of Byzantium; all the monuments yet discovered mainly resemble those of the late Byzantine period«[5]. Indeed, the premise of Serbo-Byzantine cultural kinship was characteristic not only of Valtrović's and Milutinović's writings, in which expressions like »Byzantium's daughter« for Serbia as well as Byzantium as a »Serbia's mother«[6] abound, but paved a way for the entire interpretive tradition which reached its apex the inter-war period. The words of Milan Kašanin, one of the most respected art historians of his time, are just one example. Kašanin thought that »perhaps no country but ours was in such close and living communication with Byzantium. While not disregarding the influence of the West and Orient«, he argued, »one can comfortably conclude that the Byzantine Empire was a country from which we inherited a major part of our cultural heritage«[7].

Even a superficial examination of the architecture of medieval Serbia leaves no doubt that it was closely connected with a tradition usually described as Byzantine (**fig. 2**). To question the premise of the close Serbo-Byzantine cultural relationship and the logic of its employment in historiography seems utterly redundant. It is still believed that it was the apparent Serbo-Byzantine cultural kinship that »naturally« spurred interest in Byzantine art history[8]. »Serbian medieval heritage«, a recent account reads, »originated in the Byzantine cultural sphere and consequently influenced its reception«[9]. This and similar statements assume that the interest in studying relationships between Serbian and Byzantine architecture was formed and developed as a necessary consequence of historical realities. Irrespective of the fact that causal relationships between certain historical phenomena (such as architecture) and the historiographical construction of the past are complex, the fact is that Serbo-Byzantine cultural kinship in the formative period of Serbian architectural history became a central topic of historical interest. It was consequently converted into an unquestionable question of »national« architecture that still preoccupies Serbian historians. But was the historical »influence« of Byzantium on Serbian »national« architecture the only reason for such an unyielding insistence on Byzantium's central position in the national narrative?

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1 Valtrović, Govor 14. aprila 1874. 342.
2 Damljanović, Valtrović i Milutinović 14.
3 Valtrović, Govor 14. aprila 1874. 342. – Milutinović, Govor Dragutina Milutinovića 195-196. – Milutinović/Valtrović, Izvešće Odseku umetničkom 408.
4 Valtrović, Stare srpske crkvene građevine 24.
5 Valtrović, Studenica 122.

6 For the metaphor of Byzantium as a Serbian mother see an unpublished paper by Valtrović kept in the Archives of Serbia: MPs, f. IV, p. 9/1880. See: Roter-Blagojević, Značaj 34.
7 Kašanin, Drugi međunarodni 336-337. – Kašanin, Bela crkva 115.
8 Makuljević, Art History in Serbia 463.
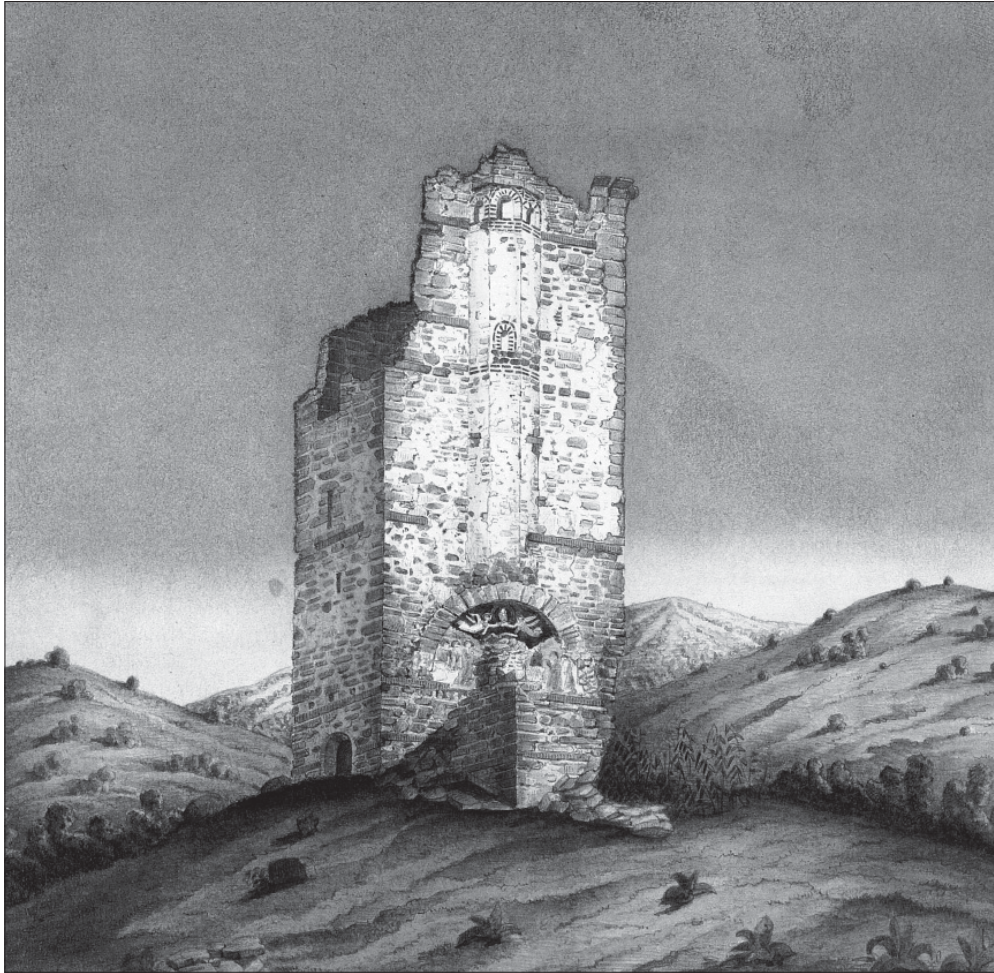9 Makuljević, Inventing and Changing 508.

Fig. 1 D. Milutinović, Church of St Nicholas near Lukavica, water-colour, 1878. – (© Historical Museum of Serbia, Inv. no. 3693).

Fig. 2 Church of the Annunciation, Gračanica, 14th c. – (After Umetnički pregled 3/1, 1937, 70).

This paper investigates the problem of how historiographical accounts of Serbo-Byzantine architectural relationships in fin-de-siècle scholarship dealt more with issues of Byzantium as a value-laden construct than with historical realities in medieval Serbia. For between the late nineteenth and the early decades of the 20th century, the attribute »Byzantine« – not only in scholarly discourse but also in wider historical imagination – expanded well beyond its basic sense of referring to the Eastern Roman Empire. Rather, Byzantium was burdened with connotations that defined the qualities of medieval Serbia as those of Byzantium's cultural and political heir.

A principal aim of this paper is to propose that the relationship between Byzantine and Serbian architecture was used as an ideological tool par excellence – i. e. as an integral part of the nation's historicity and modernity, as well as an ideological justification for political formations and frontiers. In the context of Serbian nation-building in the late 19th and early 20th century, which was inextricably linked with the idea of the restoration of medieval »empire«, the image of a past that would justify the country's expansion and its eminent status regarding its neighbours needed a strong historical justification. Just as the attribute »Serbian« was widely used among historians to denote not only the people of medieval Serbia but also a set of cultural values attached to a »Serbian nation«, the term »Byzantine« stood for much more than the Byzantine Empire and its civilization[10]. Indeed, Byzantium in Serbian national historiography was not only a historical phenomenon – whose chronological, cultural and even political frontiers and identities are highly problematic, as Averil Cameron demonstrated in her recent study of the »Byzantine problem«[11] – but a set of ideological assets characterized by complexity and fluidity[12]. And it was this complex image of Byzantium that became useful for crafting an idea of medieval Serbia which would, and should, represent a predecessor of modern Serbia.

To investigate the problem of how architectural historiography interpreted the Serbo-Byzantine relationship, one should go beyond disciplinary frontiers and seek a wider perspective. The work of Stanoje Stanojević, a prominent and prolific Serbian historian of the time, is perhaps the most conspicuous example of this entire tradition of historiography. At the beginning of the first volume of his ambitiously conceived but haltingly executed book »Vizantija i Srbi« (Byzantium and Serbs, 1903), he outlined a framework that characterized both a romantic strain of national historiography and its critical opposite, which he believed himself to represent[13]. »More than any other historical factor«, Stanojević asser-

tively declared, »Byzantium influenced the political and cultural history of the Serbian people and Serbian lands [sic]«. »Moreover«, he added, »despite occasional influences from the West, particularly in material culture, Byzantium and its civilization marked the life of Serbian people, as well as their lands, so strongly that they far surpassed all other historical factors taken together«[14]. He then elaborated on the dual role of Byzantium as Serbia's cultural benefactor and principal political adversary.

In this and similar accounts, Byzantium retained a exceptional position in the nation's history. On the one hand, medieval Serbs were portrayed as having the closest of affinities with Byzantine culture, while on the other hand the Byzantine Empire was seen a constant threat not only to Serbian sovereignty over »national« territory, but also to national identity. This ambivalence was framed by historians who expounded on Byzantium's relevance »either as a master or enemy«, as a contemporary historian has put it, stressing that, in one sense or another, it »was always seen as a role model of kinds«[15]. Yet this ambivalence stemmed as much from the historiographical reconstruction of the past as from a global, epistemologically unstable and (for that matter) ideologically useful image of the Eastern Roman Empire created by generations of European historians who wrote after Edward Gibbon.

This was a context in which Serbian architectural history operated: »Byzantium« was included in national architecture by virtue of either closeness or difference, identity or opposition. On the one hand, Byzantine-Serbian kinship suggested not only shared cultural values but also an underlying idea of political and cultural succession, which was common among historians who developed a particularly Serbian variant of *translatio imperii*. They constructed an elaborated narrative in which medieval Serbia was to become Byzantium's political and cultural heir[16]. The differences between Byzantine and Serbian culture – and, more particularly, between two discrete architectural languages – went hand in hand with the historiographical construction of Serbo-Byzantine political enmities and cultural clashes. Serbian architecture was clearly seen as either a vital offspring or continuation of the Byzantine, which was related to the idea of medieval Serbia as Byzantium's truest successor. Most particularly, the aura that historians created around King Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (1308-1355), who was crowned Emperor of Serbs and Romans in 1346, as well as his »Serbo-Byzantine« state, spurred the idea of *translatio imperii* that would make a deep mark on the mainstream historical imagination of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Serbia. However, this imagination

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10 On the historiographical construction of Byzantium see: Reinsch, Hieronymus Wolf 43-53. – Reinsch, The History of Editing 435-444. – Stephenson, The World of Byzantine Studies 429-434.
11 Cameron, Byzantine Matters 60, 112-115. On the problem of establishing timescales and spatial boundaries concerning the history of Byzantium see: Cameron, Byzantine Matters 28-29. – Stephenson, The World of Byzantine Studies 429-434.
12 Ignjatović, U srpsko-vizantijskom 276-297. – Bodin, Whose Byzantium 11-42.

13 Indeed, the same attitudes towards Byzantium distinguished the both traditions of Serbian historiography, see: Ignjatović, Byzantium's Apt Inheritors 57-92.
14 Stanojević, Vizantija i Srbi 1, IV, emphasis added.
15 Maksimović, Carstvo Stefana Dušana 191. Elsewhere he has used the same triad (»master«, »enemy«, »exemplar for imitation«) to picture the relationship between medieval Serbia and Byzantium: Maksimović, Srpska carska titula 133.
16 On the topic see further: Ignjatović, Byzantium's Apt Inheritors 57-92. – On the relevance of the *translatio imperii* model in architectural history see: Ignjatović, U srpsko-vizantijskom kaleidoskopu 492-546.

was not only a historical fancy associated with burgeoning nationalism, but also part of a national program that would serve as an ideological basis for Serbian expansionism.

In particular, Serbo-Byzantine cultural kinship influenced the perception of Serbs as an imperial nation that ought to have an absolutely predominant role in the Balkans, in both past and future, and in both political and cultural terms. Historical accounts of Serbo-Byzantine relationships in architecture helped establish a dominant paradigm of the nation, which could be summed up using the dendrological metaphor of a »national sapling« ennobled with a »Byzantine graft«, a common phrase used by Mihailo Valtrović and his fellow Serbian historians educated in the milieu of positivism. And yet simultaneously, stark cultural differences between Byzantium and Serbs, which were developed in architectural historiography and other forms of historical imagination contemporaneously, reinforced a sense of national authenticity, which was crucial for constructing a genuine Serbian identity and legitimizing the independent nation-state (**fig. 3**). Importantly, these two perspectives on Serbo-Byzantine relationships – which were based on two stereotyped images of Byzantium, one positive and one negative – were not opposed but indeed complementary.

It is important to consider the outlines of this dual epistemological-ideological paradigm of Serbo-Byzantine kinship and difference in a wider Balkan context. In the late 19th and early 20th century, the historical writing of Greeks, Romanians, Serbs and Bulgarians was permeated by efforts to create medieval national genealogies and the veneration of suitable »national« pasts. In this competing context, Byzantium became a multifaceted semiotic topos appropriated by Balkan

elites in order to support diverse but comparable national imageries. This happened in the political context of the declining Ottoman Empire, the so-called Eastern Question and the Balkan nations' struggle for political and cultural emancipation. A combination of different models of perceiving Byzantium seeped into the historical imagination and was accorded a special ideological role. More particularly, in the prevailing Orientalist discourse, Byzantium still retained an aura of cultural decadence, though it had also signified cultural sophistication and extraordinary imperial rule[17]. For instance, the Greek and Romanian national narrative had a rather complex but integrative stance towards the issue of Byzantine history and culture; the Bulgarian one was predominantly exclusivist, while Serbian historiography combined these two opposite views, representing a special case[18].

Being an ideological tool *par excellence*, Byzantium in the Serbian national narrative was included in mechanisms of dual cultural emancipation, »causing the Byzantine Empire to be simultaneously seen as ›national legacy‹ and expressed in terms of the nation's political adversary and cultural obstacle«[19]. The construction of Serbo-Byzantine kinship and the myth of Byzantine-Serbian imperial succession in particular was an ideological weapon brandished at both the still-present remains of Ottoman culture as well as intrusive Western paternalism[20]. At the turn of the century, what was seen as the Byzantine heritage became an integral part of the national colonization of the past and the creation of an imperial pedigree for the nation[21]. The age of modern empires might have come to an end, but imperial appetites and prospects remained crucial features of nationalism – not only in the predominantly Christian states of the Balkans, but also elsewhere in Europe[22].

That architecture, via the discipline of architectural history, became a primary medium for the construction of national narratives in Europe of the 19th century is common knowledge. The architectural remains of ancient times were transformed into national symbols, along with all other aspects of culture – from language and material culture to societal forms and legislature, all contributing to the politically-driven idea of historical continuity[23]. Serbian history of architecture and its colonization of the medieval past originated from

this dual process of establishing the discipline and bolstering nationalism. From the sporadic activities of solitary intellectuals in the first half of the 19th century to a systematic and state-sponsored exploration of medieval monuments which reached its peak between 1880s and 1910s, the architecture of medieval Serbia came into the sights of both scholars and political elites, who joined together not only to admire the remnants of the nation's imperial past, but to cultivate the ideological potentials and functions of this recently discovered heritage.

It is worth noting that a gradual process of institutionalizing architectural history and the rise of interest for the Serbian »national« and »imperial« heritage clearly demonstrate the stages of the development of nationalist movements as outlined in the well-known Miroslav Hroch scheme[24]. In the first stage of romantic nationalism, a small group of intellectuals showed interest in studying medieval architecture, which they classified according to loosely established categories such as »national« and »Byzantine«. For instance, Vuk Karadžić, Dimitrije Avramović and Janko Šafarik were among these early national activists[25]. The peak of the second phase was distinguished by Mihailo Valtrović and Dragutin Milutinović's systematization of medieval heritage, which lasted until the beginning of the First World War. In this phase, a number of official institutions were established in order to examine and preserve medieval Serbian architecture, such as »Društvo srpske slovesnosti« (Serbian Learned Society, 1864), »Srpska kraljevska akademija« (Serbian Royal Academy, 1886), »Narodni muzej« (National Museum, 1844) and »Srpsko arheološko društvo« (Serbian Archaeological Society, 1883). As the century progressed, these institutions became crucial agents of Serbian nationalism[26]. The final stage of development occurred with a broader popularization of Serbian medieval architecture and the proliferation of popular books and visual material on the subject during the 1920s and 1930s[27].

Notwithstanding the phases of development of the Serbian nationalist movement, which neatly paralleled the rise of the discipline of architectural history, the relationship between Serbian and Byzantine architecture became a fundamental element of the national narrative. As already noted,

17 Stamatopoulos, Balkan Historiographies.
18 Ignjatović, U srpsko-vizantijskom kaleidoskopu 343-745. – Babić, Grci i drugi 119-137.
19 Ignjatović, Byzantium's Apt Inheritors 58.
20 On the importance of the Hapsburg paternalism in the context of constituting national art history in Serbia at the beginning of the 20th century see: Makuljević, The Political Reception 3. – Čubrilo, Istorija umetnosti kod Srba 703.
21 Dagenais/Greer, Decolonizing the Middle Ages 431-448. – Levitt, The Colonization of the Past 259-284. – Hodder, Sustainable Time Travel 139-147.
22 The opposition between the empire and nation-state has been examined in contemporary literature. Some authors understand that imperialism and nationalism are not necessarily set against each other but are interconnected historical phenomena. Importantly, the modern empires of the late 19th and early 20th century are all distinguished by the rise of nationalism. On the other hand, many European nation-states of the time shared attitudes towards territorial enlargement, cultural, political or territorial expansionism and, above all, aspirations to imperial rule. See: Gerasimov et al., New Imperial History 3-23. – Lieven, Dilemmas of Empire 163-200. – Kumar, Empire and English Nationalism 2. – Bayly, The Birth of the Modern World 230.

23 The literature on relationships between architectural history and nation-building is large and multifaceted; it includes a number of interpretive perspectives. However, titles concerned with the roles of architecture in the symbolic representation of the state predominate, such as: Vale, Architecture. – Artan, Questions of Ottoman Identity 85-109. On the role of architecture in the formation and development of nationalism see: Quek, Nationalism and Architecture 1-18. – Schwarzer, The Sources of Architectural Nationalism 19-38. On the function of architecture in the discourse of Serbian nationalism: Ignjatović, U srpsko-vizantijskom kaleidoskopu 40-56. For architecture's role in the construction of the ideology of Yugoslavism see: Ignjatović, Images of the Nation 828-858. – Ignjatović, From Constructed Memory 624-651. – Ignjatović, Architecture 110-126. – Ignjatović, Jugoslovenstvo u arhitekturi 17-41.
24 See: Hroch, Das Europa der Nationen 45-47. – Hroch, Social Preconditions 18-30.
25 On the early agents of Serbian national heritage see more in: Medaković, Istraživači srpskih starina. – Makuljević, Umetnost i nacionalna ideja.
26 Ignjatović, Between the Sceptre and the Key 47-68.
27 Ignjatović, U srpsko-vizantijskom kaleidoskopu 28-29.

Serbian medieval heritage was interpreted as simultaneously identical with the Byzantine and distinct from it. Thus, two interconnected paradigms of dealing with medieval heritage can be discerned: Byzantinisation and De-Byzantinisation. These paradigms, however, were only part of a much wider process of interpreting the medieval past in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Serbia and were not limited to architectural matters[28]. The underlying pattern of these paradigms was to associate Serbs as closely as possible with a Byzantine cultural sphere (which had a range of ideologically convenient connotations, from the inheritance of the classical values of ancient Greece and Rome to the epitome of the original spirit of Christianity), but also to dissociate an authentic Serbian national culture from what was usually seen as the decadent, ossified and uninventive culture of the Byzantines. Byzantium as a symbolic vehicle became instrumental to this dialectic of identity because it carried a range of value-laden meanings developed in both scholarly discourse and the popular historical imagination.

The foundation of these paradigms, fully developed in the second decade of the 20th century by the French scholar Gabriel Millet[29], was already laid in nineteenth-century accounts of medieval art and architecture, particularly those by Valtrović and Milutinović. But perhaps the most telling example is a study excursion to Macedonia, still under Ottoman rule, by the Russian archaeologist and art historian Nikodim Kondakov in 1900 and published only nine years later as a book »Makedoniïa: Arkheologicheskoe puteshestvie« (Macedonia: An Archaeological Voyage)[30]. The author's aim was to »determine the historical role of Serbia and Bulgaria in the cultural history of various Macedonian places«[31]. This enterprise, of course, helped justify Serbian and territorial claims over Macedonia and Kosovo. The conclusion of Kondakov's argument was that the »limits of what has been considered Byzantine art should be [...] appreciably reduced«. Starting »from the thirteenth century«, he added, the »extent of a genuine Byzantine art was limited to the Constantinopolitan region, while other regions were distinguished by flourishing not of the Byzantine, but a Greco-Slavic art«. Importantly, this »Greco-Slavic« identity (Kondakov used the term »Byzantine-Slavic« interchangeably) was »unquestionably characterized by Serbian impact«[32].

The character of medieval »national« architecture itself, as described by historians, was highly instrumental. Kondakov's conclusions, which did not lack a Slavophile pathos and an-

ti-Ottoman sentiment[33], soon penetrated into Serbian history writing. This is best shown by »Prošlost Stare Srbije« (The Past of Old Serbia, 1912), a book written by Jovan Radonić, one of the greatest Serbian historians of the period. He made full use of the accounts by Kondakov and other architectural historians of a peculiarly Serbian variant of the Byzantine to bolster Serbian claims to Macedonia and Kosovo, an acute issue on the eve of the Balkan Wars[34].

However, the cultural ambiguity of medieval Serbian architecture remained because the association of Serbs with Byzantium was always retained in the narratives. This, of course, had a long history. Even the mid-19th century interest in the scant remains of the medieval »national« past, scattered across Serbian »national« territories, testifies to the establishment of a regime of closeness and even identity between Serbian and Byzantine architecture. For example, in 1846 Janko Šafarik, one of the early pioneers of Serbian architectural history, described his encounter with medieval monuments as a discovery of »Byzantine-Slavic architecture«[35]. Yet it was only with Felix Kanitz's »Serbiens byzantinische Monumente« (Serbian Byzantine Monuments, 1862), published simultaneously in German and Serbian, that the understanding of the national heritage as »Byzantine« received a great boost[36] (**fig. 4**), albeit not without dissenting voices. The first among these critics was Milan Milićević, who in 1867 complained that one could not equate Serbian with Byzantine architecture, instead opting for »Serbian monuments in the Byzantine Style«[37]. He and his supporters, Dragutin Milutinović and Mihailo Valtrović included, thought this was a veritable term to adequately describe the national heritage[38].

The close ties of Serbian architecture with Byzantium remained unquestionable, not only to art historians – for instance Vladimir Petković, who determinedly avowed that Serbian medieval architecture was in fact Byzantine[39] – but also in the wider historical imagination of fin-de-siècle Serbia. However, there was no consensus among historians as to whether Serbo-Byzantine cultural identity owed its existence to the gravitational »spheres of influence« of the Byzantine Empire, a »circle of a common civilization«, or a »zone of Byzantine Orthodoxy« – i.e. what Dimitri Obolensky would later call the Byzantine Commonwealth[40]; or whether the dual identity of national monuments existed due either to Serbian cultural predilections or political interests.

On the other hand, the perception of national architecture as a culturally distinct phenomenon, spurred by the need for

28 Ignjatović, Byzantium's Apt Inheritors 57-58.
29 Millet, L'art chrétien d'Orient 928-962. – Millet, L'ancien art serbe (La Serbie glorieuse) 26-56. – Millet, L'ancien art serbe: les églises.
30 Kondakov, Makedoniïa.
31 Dragutinović, Rezultati ruske naučne 107.
32 Dragutinović, Rezultati ruske naučne 112.
33 Warren, Mikhail Larionov 22.
34 Radonić, Prošlost Stare Srbije 19-21.
35 Šafarik's observation was not only related to the church of Manasija (also called Resava, 1406-1418), but also to a series of other medieval edifices which he had visited in 1846 under the auspices of »Društvo srpske slovesnosti« (Society

of Serbian Letters). See: Šafarik, Izvestije o putovanju po Serbiji. On Šafarik's activities on issues concerning heritage see: Medaković, Prva ispitivanja starina 154-157. – Maksimović, Janko Šafarik 41-54. – Kolarić, Prvi koraci ka zaštiti starina 25-35.
36 Kanitz, Serbiens byzantinische Monumente. – Kanic, Vizantijski spomenici po Srbiji.
37 Milićević, Manastiri u Srbiji 71. – Milićević, Manastiri u Srbiji (Glasnik) 71.
38 Milutinović/Valtrović, Izveštaj izaslanika Umetničkog odseka 301.
39 Petković, Freske iz unutrašnjeg narteksa 120-143, esp. 123.
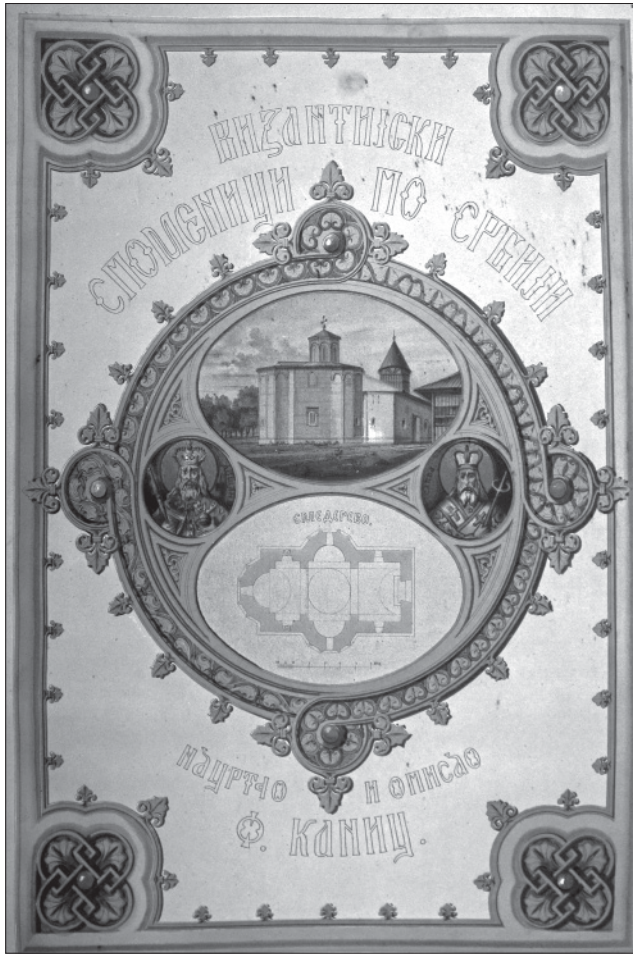40 Obolensky, The Byzantine Commonwealth.

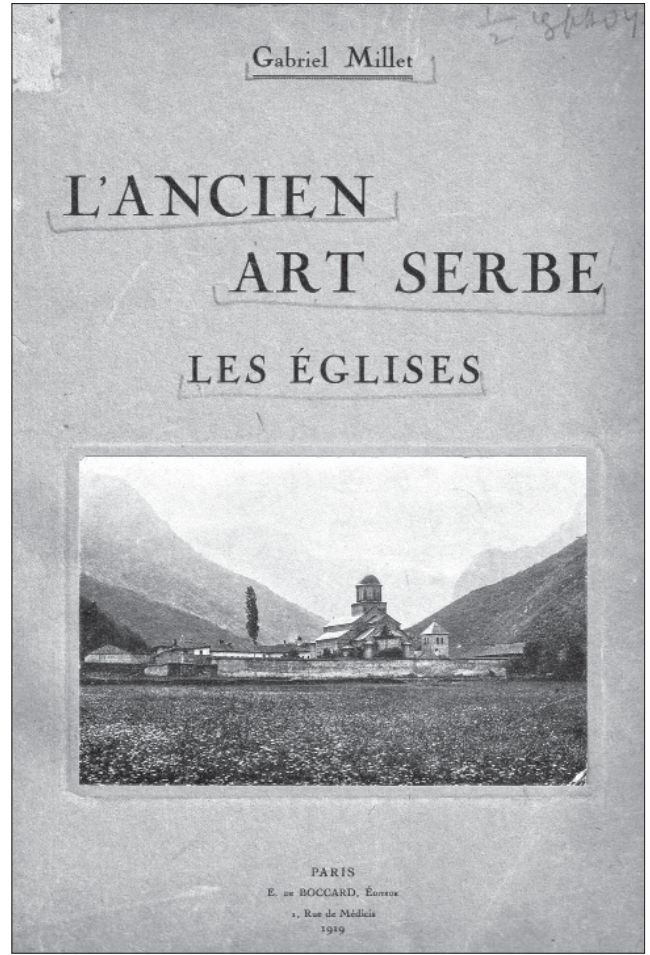**Fig. 4**   F. Kanic, Vizantijski spomenici po Srbiji (1862), Book Cover.

Fig. 5   G. Millet, L'Ancien Art Serbe: Les Églises (1919), Book Cover.

cultural authenticity and genuine national identity, led to the dissociation of the two traditions. Milutinović and Valtrović already practiced this strain of interpretation, and over the course of the first decade of the 20th century the de-Byzantinisation paradigm kept pace with Byzantinisation. Around 1900, Božidar Nikolajević, the first Serbian art historian to specialize in Byzantine art, opted for a clear demarcation between Serbian and Byzantine architecture. Almost all authors writing on Serbian medieval architecture in the 1910s, such as Peter Pokrishkin, Louis Bréhier and, most notably, Gabriel Millet would soon follow this trend.

But the origins and development of the de-Byzantinisation paradigm in architectural history only partially resulted from arguments of form, morphology and style. What was needed were distinct features of a »national« architecture that would simultaneously speak of its Byzantine origins and a peculiarly Serbian form of their adoption, sophistication and perfection [41].

The peak of de-Byzantinisation was reached when Miloje Vasić, one of the greatest authorities in the field, published »Žiča i Lazarica: studije iz srpske umetnosti srednjega veka« (Žiča i Lazarica: Studies in Serbian Art of the Middle Ages, 1928), the first synthesis of medieval Serbian architecture after Gabriel Millet that went beyond the hitherto sketchy compendia. Vasić concluded that »one ought not to have any doubts and may dare to say that medieval Serbian architecture is not a coarse reflection of Byzantine architecture, and certainly not its feeble offshoot« [42].

Nevertheless, despite being a well-studied piece of scholarship, Vasić's book has not challenged prevalent accounts based on the interpretation of medieval Serbian architecture by Millet, finally published in 1919 under the title »L'ancien art serbe: les églises« (**fig. 5**). The French Byzantologist subdivided the architecture of medieval Serbia into three distinct groups, which he symptomatically called »schools«: the »Raška School«, the »School of Byzantinised Serbia« and the »Morava School« [43]. Interestingly, three years earlier he

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41 Ignjatović, Byzantium Evolutionized 254-274.
42 Vasić, Žiča i Lazarica 92.

43 Millet, L'ancien art serbe. On Millet's operation see the critical analysis: Ćurčić, Architecture in Byzantium 9-31.

had divided medieval architecture in the Southern Balkans into two particular »schools« – those of Greece and Constantinople[44]. Irrespective of earlier similar attempts to organize Serbian national heritage, either structurally or chronologically, which was performed by Milutinović and Valtrović, Kondakov and Pokriškin, Millet's seminal work was seen as undoubtedly original; it also gave credibility to the already developed nationalistic cult of authenticity which saturated the national narrative.

Nevertheless, Millet's tripartite model only further reinforced the ideas hitherto present in Serbian scholarship. One of the leading Serbian intellectuals of the interwar period, the literary critic and university professor Pero Slijepčević, praised Millet's views in spite of sharing widespread assumptions that medieval Serbian architecture was somewhat identical with Byzantine. He wrote that »history has only recently come to dismantle the totality of Byzantine art, which has since been taken as a single style«. He praised the differentiation of the entire Byzantine tradition into various »national« idioms, which had already become codified as a scholarly standard *par excellence*[45].

The idea of establishing different national or sub-national »schools« was only one, albeit the most important, way of nationalizing the Byzantine heritage. Indeed, what went beyond Millet's particular enterprise was the need for a rather ideological carving-up of medieval architecture and its subsequent distribution among different national camps. More particularly, Millet's tripartite division reinforced the three major conceptual models of Serbian national identity, which were not mutually exclusive. First, the »School of Byzantinised Serbia« was generically linked with a dominant view on Serbian national history distinguished by the emphasis on its full Byzantinsation while the »Raška School« insisted on the profound influence of the West. Yet only in combination could these two architectural idioms function as a kind of identity model of cultural mediation that fit into one of the major paradigms of imagining Serbian identity – that of a cultural crossroads, of a nation spanning East and West[46]. Finally, the ideological economy of the »Morava School« – a peculiarly picturesque idiom developed in the late 14th and the beginning of the 15th century – supported a central nation-building myth of cultural authenticity. Despite being Byzantine in spatial concept, the historians argued, churches of the Morava School far surpassed typical Byzantine features in both structural logic and decoration.

Not only academic historians were responsible for transferring these identity models to public discourse. More than anyone, professional architects turned architectural historians

contributed to the popularization of both the Byzantinisation and de-Byzantinisation paradigms. Starting with Andra Stevanović in the late 19th century to Aleksandar Deroko in the 1920s, a number of architects devoted themselves to helping academic literature seep into public awareness. An account by Dragutin Maslać from 1908, in all its naiveté, sums up this phenomenon rather well:

»We, the Serbs, had a period of culture when architecture was purely Serbian; when the people uniquely adapted ideas taken from Byzantium and – while appropriating and remodelling the borrowed motifs with an urge to add novelties and adapt the composition in line with their [national] character – gave a vivid proof of their ability to appreciate the beauty of forms as well as to adjust them to suit their own needs«[47].

Maslać's narrative was only a reflection of a long-standing tradition present in both para-scholarly literature and academic historiography. By the end of his fruitful career as an archaeologist and architectural historian, Mihailo Valtrović tersely summarized his decades-long explorations of medieval Serbian heritage. Writing about the origins and importance of »Serbian art«, he concluded that medieval national monuments should be regarded not as mere »copies of the Byzantine patterns but as autonomous creations«[48]. To do so was key to understanding not only the still enigmatic national past, but also the importance of that past within the realm of modern national identity and sovereignty.

Before concluding the case of the appropriation of Byzantine architecture for Serbian national narrative, it is useful to put it in a wider historical context. Not only were there other scholars in the Balkans who employed Byzantium, but the Russians too developed an extraordinarily rich use of Byzantium for remodelling national architectural past. In the second half of the 19th century the Russian national-imperial project heavily relied on the symbolic use of the »Byzantine«; while national architectural histories were being written, neo-Byzantine edifices sprung up throughout the country, just like in Serbia, Greece, Romania and Bulgaria[49]. More particularly, the contemporaneous Russian »scenarios of power« – to use Richard Wortman's phrase – and the discourse of the Russian-Byzantine Style in architecture was highly compatible with the corresponding »Serbo-Byzantine« one, in both formal and ideological terms[50]. On the other hand, the Turkish case of an ambivalent perception of the Byzantine heritage indicated the idea of cultural discontinuity with Byzantium; nevertheless, political continuity was not entirely disregarded. In the period of political transition from the late Ottoman and imperial to the Turkish and national – which can be traced back to the mid 19th century – knowledge of Byzantine his-

44 Millet, L'école grecque.

45 Slijepčević, Poklonstva po zadužbinama 192, emphasis in original.

46 For a more recent account on the subject see: Zimmermann, Der Balkan zwischen Ost und West.

47 Maslać, Skice za zgradu 98-99.

48 Valtrović, Umetnost u Srba 70.

49 See: Ignjatović, Byzantium Evolutionized 254-274.

50 On the Russian national narrative and appropriation of the imperial heritage of Byzantium see: Ivanov, The Second Rome 55-80. – Wortman, Scenarios of Power 9-22. – Maiorova, The Myth of Spiritual Descent 155-182. On the »Russian-Byzantine Style« in the 19th century see: Wortman, Scenarios of Power 1 381-387. – Salmond / Whittaker, Fedor Solntsev 1-16, esp. 6, 11-13. – Wortman, Solntsev 17-40. – Wortman, The »Russian Style« 101-116.

tory and its significance was also transitional[51]. Interestingly, during the reign of the late Ottoman sultans, Byzantium gradually became included in the patriotic Ottoman narrative through the idea of political succession, which, like in the Serbian case, comprised both association with the Byzantine Empire and dissociation from it[52]. But with the rise of Turkish nationalism this ambivalent position towards Byzantium became problematic. The insistence on ethnicity as the foundation stone of Turkish national identity led to the re-evaluation of Byzantium's role in national history and the »elimination of Byzantine influence« ensued, in both late Ottoman and early republican Turkish historiography[53].

A closer look at the historiographical construction of the relationship between Serbian »national« and Byzantine architecture reveals a complex epistemological-ideological structure of closeness and difference, which can be fully understood only in its political context. Originating in the romantic discourse on history, this relationship became part of the Serbian national narrative, justifying the political processes that accompanied the final stage of Serbian emancipation from the Ottoman Empire (1878) as well as the Kingdom of Serbia's short but turbulent life (1882-1918). Serbo-Byzantine relationships in architecture were only part of a much wider Serbo-Byzantine discourse, which operated across various disciplines, as well as in popular culture, and had many features of the *longue durée*. According to the classical understanding of this concept[54], the relationship between the »Serbian« and the »Byzantine« cannot be understood with respect to »historical objects« – namely, as something inherent in medieval architecture *per se* – but in a sense closer to Fernand Braudel's original understanding of the *longue durée*. In short, the relationships between Serbian and Byzantine architecture, as the objects of historical inquiry, are not to be comprehended as »things with properties, but as ensembles of changing relations forming configurations that are constantly adapting to one another and throughout the world around them through definite historical processes«[55].

The question of the Serbo-Byzantine relationship still represents a central issue in the history of Serbian medieval architecture. It seems equally irrelevant now to Serbian architectural historians to unearth the ideological economy of architectural history as it did at the time of the early pioneers of the discipline. Nevertheless, at the heart of the heightened interest in medieval architecture and concern for the relationship between the Byzantine and the Serbian lies a dual problem of objectivity – that of »historical reality« and of its historiographical construction. What architectural historians

understood as the »Byzantine« and »Serbian« in the context of medieval history did not represent a simple product of a methodical inspection of different historical sources; nor was it based on tracking down the »influences« and modifications of Byzantine architecture on »Serbian national territory"«, as late nineteenth and early twentieth historians frequently put it. Rather, both were conscious historical constructs and the relationship between the two categories functioned as a metahistorical framework of interpretation.

Nevertheless, despite increased pressure from both historians and the popular historical imagination to associate Byzantine architecture with Serbian national style, the narratives of the Serbo-Byzantine relationship were not epistemologically monolithic. In fact, they were seen as a complex interplay of identities that were, in spite of their similarities, asymmetrical and differential. The conceptual tension of identity, with the Byzantine being simultaneously attached to Serbian identity and detached from it, had its ideological rationale, clearly seen in the political context of the late 19th and early 20th century, when national elites needed historical justification for both the imperialist project and nation-building strategies.

It is intriguing that the same projection of the concepts such as »nation«, »nation-state« or »national style« onto Serbian medieval past should still preoccupy historiography. Many historians – not unlike historians in other Balkan countries – still distinguish »national history« from »Byzantine influences«, interpreting the sources and understanding historical context just like their predecessors did one hundred years ago[56]. Does this suggest that Byzantium still matters in the Serbian national narrative for the same strategic reasons?

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51 See the most recent study on the Ottoman and Turkish early republican perception of Byzantine architecture: Yildiz, Byzantium Between 97-118. – Yildiz, Byzantine Studies 63-80.
52 On the ideology of Ottomanism see: Kayalı, Arabs and Young Turks 15-19, 30-55. – Vezenkov, Reconciliation 47-77. On the architectural and ideological issues of the »Ottoman Revival Style« as an integral part of Ottomanism see: Bozdoğan, The Legacy of Ottoman Revivalism 16-55, esp. 22-34.
53 Yildiz, Byzantium Between 176.

54 On the employment of the *longue durée* concept in history writing see: Tomich, The Order of Historical Time 9-34, esp. 10-15. – Raab, The Crisis from Within 57-59. On the nation in the perspective of the *longue durée* see: Armstrong, Nations 3-5. – Smith, Nationalism 61-62. – Hutchinson, Globalization 84-99. – Özkirimli, Theories of Nationalism 143-146.
55 Editorial, Tentons l'expérience 1319-1320. Cited after: Tomich, The Order of Historical Time 14.
56 Stanković, The Character and Nature 76.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Negotiating National Prospects by Capturing the Medieval Past: Byzantium in Serbian Architectural History at the Turn of the 20th Century

The truism that the birth of the discipline of architectural history in Serbia was entwined with national emancipation and the construction of an authentic national identity is questioned by the position of the Byzantine cultural heritage in the Serbian architectural past. The germ of »national architecture« – conveniently identified with that of the Middle Ages – was an image of Serbian culture as part of the Byzantine that problematized the very idea of an original, authentic Serbian identity. This paper will explore the question of the Serbian national narrative torn between a need for cultural authenticity and an imperial mission, and focus on the context in which this duality became a recognizable ideological agenda that justified Serbian political projects in an era when the Kingdom of Serbia was on the cusp of national, cultural and territorial expansion.

Aushandeln nationaler Perspektiven, indem man das Mittelalter kapert: Byzanz in der serbischen Architekturgeschichte an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert

Die Binsenweisheit, dass die Geburt der Disziplin Architekturgeschichte in Serbien mit der Nationalen Befreiungsbewegung und der Konstruktion einer authentischen Nationalen Identität verflochten war, wird durch die Stellung des byzantinischen kulturellen Erbes in der serbischen Architektur in Frage gestellt. Das Aufkeimen einer »Nationalarchitektur« – bequemerweise identifiziert mit der des Mittelalters – war eine Vorstellung von serbischer Kultur als Teil der byzantinischen, was die gesamte Idee einer originalen, authentischen serbischen Identität problematisierte. In diesem Beitrag wird die Frage nach dem serbischen nationalen Narrativ erforscht, das zerrissen ist zwischen dem Bedürfnis nach kultureller Authentizität und imperialer Mission, und er konzentriert sich auf den Kontext, in dem diese Dualität eine erkennbare ideologische Agenda wurde, die serbische politische Projekte rechtfertigte in einer Ära, als das Königreich Serbien an der Schwelle zu nationaler, kultureller und territorialer Expansion stand.

Stefan Rohdewald

Byzantine »Slavery« as Postcolonial Imagination: »Foreign« Rulers of a »Pure« Bulgarian Nation (1850-1930)

Until the 19th century, medieval religious lieux de mémoire such as the Kosovo myth (referring to the battle of Sultan Murad against Prince Lazar on Kosovo Polje in 1389), Kliment of Ohrid (ca. 835-916), Saints Sava (1175-1236), Cyril (ca. 826-869), and Methodius (815-885) were (re)produced not in national, but in dynastic and clerical social contexts and often across the borders of Church provinces and (former) realms: Saints labelled »Bulgarian« in the Ottoman Empire or the archbishopric of Ohrid were venerated in churches and monasteries of the nominally Serb patriarchate of Peć and vice versa. The aim of their veneration was primarily religious – the commemoration of the imagined community of the saints in heaven and the faithful on Earth. Cyril and Methodius were venerated in a Byzantine, then in a Bulgarian and overall Slavonic context as religious missionaries and scholars. They only gained a limited degree of fame among larger groups, as their relics are missing (Methodius) or are located outside the area (Cyril was buried in Rome).

Bishops Kliment – a prominent disciple of Cyril and Methodius – and Sava, son of the Serbian Grand Prince Stefan Nemanja and the first Serbian bishop, were venerated among a broader circle, their remains having been accessible, although in the case of Sava only until 1594, when they were allegedly burned by the Ottomans. The myth about the martyrs of the battle on Kosovo Polje in 1389 evolved first in liturgical texts, then in folk songs and tales.

Yet these lieux de mémoire did crystallize national identities or visions of national modernity only within the framework of national movements during the 19th century, although their initial veneration was, in the case of Cyril and Methodius, to a high degree Slavonic or transnational. In the 19th century, one can more or less clearly distinguish a secularization of the saints, while within the context of historicism and nationalism during the 1930s these saints served to sacralise nationalism[1].

In this context of religious lieux de mémoire[2], practices of referring to Byzantium after 1850 in Bulgarian texts will be presented her. These texts were largely published in news-papers and non-scientific journals, with only a few of those examined here found in monographs. It will be argued that reference[3] to Byzantium was a common European practice in the framework of invented traditions and historicism, at a time when it was modern to conceptualize an antiquity of one's own. This essay tries to analyse the rhetorical practices concerned as part of a postcolonial, post-Ottoman set of newly produced historical and national narratives: Independence was to be conceived, attained and legitimized by the stark rejection of anything connected with the former state of dependency. Contrary to the later Bulgarian point of view, encouraging citizens to identify as Bulgarians had been an Ottoman discursive strategy after Greek independence against widespread forms of Rhomean or Greek identities, especially among merchants in the cities of the region. Referring to Byzantium became for the evolving Bulgarian national narrative just another »Medievalism«[4], as did the reference to the Second Bulgarian Tsardom during the establishment of the Third Bulgarian Tsardom[5]. It can be seen in the context of »multiple Antiquities«[6] popularized across Europe, including the evolving modern Bulgarian ethnical discourse and Turkic national discourse on Pelasgia, Thrace or Turan alike[7]. The reference to and against Byzantium and the description of Greeks as enemies had, to some degree, already been prepared in Father Paisij's writings[8]. But the evolution of the imagination of a Christian, European Bulgarian nation by means of its conception as detached and isolated or at least emancipated from Greek and Ottoman contexts[9] accelerated only well after 1850.

To begin with a monograph: Marin Drinov, one of the founders of modern Bulgarian historiography and mastermind of the Bulgarian national narrative – labelled and established not least by him as a »renaissance« in the sense of »risorgimento« and the German national »Wiedergeburt« of the early 19th century – described Tsar Boris in 1869 in his book on Bulgarian Church history not explicitly as a sacred but merely as a secular ruler and church founder. In this role

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1 Very briefly: Rohdewald, Figures.
2 Extensively: Rohdewald, Götter.
3 e. g. Marciniak / Smythe, Reception.
4 d'Arcens, Medievalism.
5 Polyviannyi, Foundation, cf. Weber, Auf der Suche.

6 Klaniczay / Werner / Gecser, Multiple Antiquities.
7 Foss, Kemal Atatürk.
8 Daskalov, Bulgarian-Greek 225.
9 Cf. Van Meurs / Mungiu-Pippidi, Ottomans into Europeans.

Boris had a similar function to that of Sava under the Nemanjid dynasty, but of course the extent of his devotion in the framework of the invention of the Bulgarian nation in the 19th century was still significantly weaker. In this work, the idea of a »Phanariote yoke« during the late 18th and 19th century[10] was much more important for Drinov than denouncing Byzantine rule over Bulgaria, although he also wrote about the »Byzantine yoke« during the 11th and 12th century[11]. But even though the Byzantine Emperor Basileus II, after his victory in 1018, wished for the »annihilation« of the Bulgarians, »yet, he was forced to acknowledge, that their subjection under his Empire would not be lengthy, if he were to impose a heavy yoke on them. Thus, he did not dare to curb their internal administration, nor to impose a heavy tribute«[12].

Then, only a year later, in Drinov's anniversary interpretation of »One Thousand Years of the Bulgarian National Church 1870« for the newspaper Macedonia, published in Bulgarian in Constantinople, he wrote more explicitly about Boris as if he had had the idea that in the face of competition between Byzantium and Rome, a »national« church should be established, which he conceived as »purely national [čisto narodna] and free of any foreign-folkish [čuždo-narodno] influence«[13]. A Bulgarian nation and culture had to be established in the minds of 19th-century writers in strict distinction from »the Other«, which included not only Rome, but also Byzantium.

In the first comprehensive monograph on Bulgarian national history, published in 1876, one of the few other leading modern scholars of these years, Constantin Jireček, wrote: »The first reason [for the fall of the Tsardom of Tārnovo] was Byzantinism [Byzantinismus]. The Bulgarians, adopting law and literature, habits good and bad [Sitten und Unsitten], from the defunct Byzantines, were pulled by their masters into the same grave«[14]. In this very context, Jireček also introduced the narrative of the Bulgarians' historical »double yoke«: »Physically, the once so esteemed and feared nation fell under the yoke of the Turks, spiritually under the yoke of the Greeks, and remained in this subjection until today, when it once again proves that its historical mission is by no means achieved yet«[15]. This view was to become dominant in the following decades, as will be shown in the following.

The idea of a foreign yoke or Fremdherrschaft, which is intrinsically modern, as Christian Koller has shown[16], in Bulgaria, as elsewhere, was imagined as a difference between foreign and national governance: The latter was retrospectively projected onto the Middle Ages. Contrary to it, the Ottoman administration was seen as a yoke at the latest by

1893, when the novel Under the Yoke by the national poet Ivan Vazov was published.

Of course, such a national imagination of medieval history has little to do with today's state of research on Bulgarian history during the Middle Ages: Contrary to the notion of isolated homogenous cultures, delineated against each others and fighting for national survival, one can argue for the analysis of a medieval north-eastern Mediterranean or southern Europe (including Asia minor) as a »multiple contact zone« constituted by a multitude of more or less common cultural practices. When describing these cultural practices in their social and communicative settings, ethnic labels are not helpful. On an abstract level of interpretation, Byzantine, Slavic, Turkic, Cuman, Bulgarian or Seljuk elites, warriors and religious men, Ottomans and Western Europeans were interwoven in dense networks of confrontation and collaboration, constituting an unstable and heterogeneous region of communication with several centres of condensation and Constantinople at its core. This region was defined rather by the entanglement[17] and competition of related or shared cultural practices of negotiation of difference, legitimization of power, religious worship, social habits, economics, regional dynastic alliances and factional warfare than by impermeable cultural, ethnic or imperial boundaries. All the involved realms were heterogeneous and rather unstable multi-ethnic empires on every social level[18].

Yet, the example of Drinov shows, the imagined Middle Ages had a fundamental role to play in establishing Bulgarian modernity and Europeanness since the 19th century: This was to be the official interpretation after the establishment of the Bulgarian principality after the Congress of Berlin, though it was still only recognized as a suzerain entity under the sovereignty of the Sultan.

For example, in 1885, in a speech during a commemoration of the death of Methodius, the former foreign minister of Bulgaria, Marko Balabanov, broadened the context to the so-called »oriental question« and to the Bulgarian history in the context of Byzantium:

»It is remarkable that one of the reasons why Bulgaria later fell, was the Byzantinism [Vizantinismăt], from which the Bulgarians took not only the laws, literature and customs, but also [its] perversion [razvrat], and by this civilization of Byzantinism the nobility and the clergy and the urban population were also infected. Byzantinism is not really a political example to give to [other] people, and even less to emulate; and rather strong is the verdict spoken by the historians, especially by the Western ones, on Byzantinism«[19].

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10 Drinov, Istoričeski pregled 139-148.
11 Ibidem 105.
12 Ibidem 55.
13 According to Drinov, Boris wanted to have a Church »which should not be different inwardly from the One, Catholic (Săbornja) and Apostolic Church, but outwardly it should be purely national (čisto narodna) and free of any foreign national (čuždo-narodno) influence«. Drinov, Tyseštelětieto.

14 Jireček, Geschichte 373.
15 Ibidem 372.
16 Koller, Fremdherrschaft.
17 Cf. Daskalov / Marinov, Entangled Histories.
18 Rohdewald, Kyrill und Method.
19 Balabanov, Děloto 24 f.

Montesquieu and Gibbon are mentioned by name. But Balabanov then also refers to other, younger Western historians, who were judging Byzantium »more independently and more fairly«[20]. Balabanov continues his analysis and asks the rhetorical question: »Without Byzantium, would it have been possible for mankind to have had the great Renaissance during the 16th century?«[21]. Thus, in his eyes, the »influence of Byzantium was, obviously, not small and not so disastrous«[22] for Bulgaria, too. But Balabanov's relatively positive reassessment of Byzantium did not gain a larger echo in the evolving Bulgarian discourse focused upon in this article.

D. Cuhlev, a teacher at a lyceum (grammar school) in Russe, explained at a celebration in honour of the brothers in 1892 that he assumed their missionary deeds to be the beginnings of a »normal« historical »existence« and development of the Bulgarians: »Bulgaria since went on in its normal way of existence. The deeds of SS. Cyril and Methodius did win a full victory over disastrous Byzantinism when they conquered the Bulgarian people and all Southern Slavs«[23]. As or if Cyril and Methodius did »salvage and gave rebirth« to the Bulgarian people »with their genius, their work and their deeds«, they also, then, triumphed over »Byzantinism«. And if the Bulgarian people remembered this fact as the »beginning of its conscious existence« or birthday, then it would also prevail now against the contemporary Phanariotes of Macedonia:

»Thus, dear ladies and gentlemen, citizens, the Bulgarian people celebrates the memory of its great fathers and apostles, SS. Cyril and Methodius, who saved it from its downfall and restored it to a new life by their abilities, their genius, and their work and great deeds. At the same time the Bulgarian people celebrates the beginning of its conscious existence and commemorates the glorious victory against pernicious Byzantinism. In the view of this great triumph it is a shame, that even today, this [pernicious Byzantinism] is gaining strength from the mouths of some rotten [razvaleni] Greek Phanariote bishops, to pour its disruptive elements among those Bulgarians settled in beautiful Macedonia«[24].

For Cuhlev – as for many others – the rhetorical propagation of a battle against »Greek« bishops was more important than the fight against imperial Ottoman domination: Instead, he directly related the alleged »victory« over Byzantine Constantinople to the ongoing ecclesiastical conflict against »Greek Phanariote bishops« in the historical – in his view, Bulgarian – region of Macedonia. The fight for this region should help inspire the whole Bulgarian people on its way to »future greatness«[25].

The clerics of the newly consolidated Bulgarian Church embraced this discourse, too. Just after the establishment of its official weekly Newspaper of the Church in 1900, an editorial article explained: Allegedly, Boris had known the Bulgarians needed a »national idea [nacionalna ideja]« and an »independent« culture in order not to serve just as the »dough« of Byzantium or Rome. Under his rule, the Bulgarian boarders reached even further than under the provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano. »This is our saintly inheritance, our all-national ideal. This creative idea consists of the holy Orthodox faith, the schools, ethical perfection, the army, the independent culture and of all Bulgarians with a spirit and in a fatherland.« Thus, the official newspaper of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church supported the modern, Orthodox and national monarchy by referring to Saint Boris and stressing an imagined detachment from the Byzantine heritage[26].

For the commemoration of the thousandth anniversary of the death of Saint (Tsar) Boris, the priest Mihail Himitlijski held a sermon in St. Nedělja Church in Sofia on 2 May 1907, in which he explained the importance of the date »so that we remember the author of our entry among the number of peoples of the Christian faith«. Boris was important for the priest not because of the traditional qualities of a saint, but due to his allegedly »tireless work« »to transform his people to a whole, to create an organized state with its own [samobitna] national culture and Church«[27]. Because of his »work« – especially »the baptism of Bulgarians« – , neither Cyril nor Methodius nor Kliment, but Boris should be seen as the founder of the building »that we now call the Bulgarian Church, the Bulgarian school, the Bulgarian country – the state of the Bulgarian national culture«[28]. For this nationalist political priest, the reference to Boris seemed suitable to counter determinedly the alleged day-to-day political hazards of »our social and public life«. According to Himitlijski, remembrance of these concepts was of most urgent importance exactly at this moment:

»Everyone among us has to ask himself these questions during the contemporary difficult moments of our societal and political life, when the ancient foes of Bulgardom, of Slavdom and Orthodoxy are attacking us and want to cut us with their claws, to destroy once and for all our hope of pan-Bulgarian liberation and pan-Slavic unity«[29].

The threat the preacher saw himself exposed to was imagined still to be the same as it was a thousand years ago – »old Byzantium and ancient Rome« – and, thus, should be considered as of the utmost seriousness:

»Bulgarian Brothers! Ancient Byzantium and old Rome are still alive today in the persons of the patriarch of Tsarigrad [Constantinople] and the pope in Rome. Also today, as centuries ago and throughout entire centuries, they are greedily looking to devour us. […] What should we do? We can answer this question: Nothing else but to follow the steps of

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20 Ibidem 25.
21 Ibidem 28.
22 Ibidem 29.
23 Cuhlev, Reč' za značenieto 13.
24 Ibidem 13.

25 Ibidem.
26 Cărkoven Věstnik, 5.5.1900, Nr. 4, 1 f.
27 Himitlijski, Prazdnikăt 22.
28 Ibidem 26.
29 Ibidem.

Saint Tsar Boris and those of his great successors who have shown that they have been warriors for Bulgarian literature and language, that they loved them, struggled for them and, doing this, worked to enshrine in the soul of Bulgarians the three principles of our life: Orthodoxy, nationality and Slavicness [pravoslovie [sic], narodnosť i slavjanstvo]«[30].

Thus, he evoked a permanent danger and knew how to deal with it by devising a supposedly indigenous and independent national culture. By invoking Uvarov's formula of Russian national autocratic imperialism (pravoslavie, narodnost', samoderžavie), the Bulgarian political context was to be adapted to a Bulgarian general Slavic national action framework to help to strengthen so-called »life« principles »in the soul of the Bulgarians'«[31].

Only after the Balkan Wars[32], and directly before the First World War, Bishop Neofit Veličski described the brothers in 1914 and the day of the »Slavenobulgaric Enlighteners« in the Newspaper of the Church in a more Bulgarian nationalistic tone and wished for »fighters« for the ideal of the brothers: Important for him was the confrontation with alleged internal weaknesses of Bulgarian society. The two »giants [velikany]«, the descendants of the »Bulgarian tribe«, ought to be Bulgaria's »connection with the cultured peoples [s kulturnite narodi], its contribution in the pantheon of the enlightened humanity«. Cyril and Methodius had played, in the eyes of the bishop, a primarily secular role: Overall, the culture of the Bulgarians was to be »Cyrilomethodianic« in character: With them the »pure-Slavic Bulgarian culture« is supposed to have begun, which allegedly had brought forth »pure« Bulgarian »ethics«[33]. The Bishop characterized the subsequent centuries as »slavery [robstvo]«. He held »Byzantinism [vizantijštinata]«, or to should be held doubly responsible, as they »had called the Turks for help«. But also the Bulgarian rulers had »countless infirmities [nedăzi, even abuses] in the state organism« to answer for:

At this time, but especially under the Ottomans, the clergy had held divine »watch« over the imagined whole of »nation«. Later, during the so called national »rebirth«, people such as Father Paisi allegedly had helped »national [narodnoto] self-awareness to awaken and to be reborn«[34]. Ultimately internal faults such as those of the politicians or »social life« had been responsible for the »slavery«, but not external factors such as the strength of Byzantium or of the Ottomans. This made it possible to display the »rebirth« as the result of a supposed moral social recovery: »The vices and defects in social life, which had led into slavery, have now ceased to exist. Also the national [nacionalnoto] sense was born again with no difficulties [lesno se văzraždaše].« »Slavery« or especially Byzantine, but also Ottoman domination, appeared in this interpretation – as in some late medieval interpretations – to a certain extent as divine punishment for »vice«[35].

The bishop used the opportunity and the sense of crisis to claim – by means of Cyril and Methodius – a leadership role for the Orthodox Church in society and in the state: He presented the Church as a guarantee of the existence of the state as well as of the people – it secured »the national particular [narodnoto samobitno] and independent future as a state. Orthodoxy should be »flesh and blood«, the »soul« of the Bulgarian people, which »was born and raised in it«. The Church's pretension to be – according to the Byzantine tradition of »symphonia« – an essential support of the state was extended to the claim that the Church was the basis for the existence of the imagined nation and its state in the present and in the future: At last, Byzantium was, in this context, a positive example for Bulgarian society[36].

The narrative figure of the »double yoke« or »double slavery« referred to here had already been introduced to the Bulgarian public debate by this moment. Together with the rhetoric of the »new rebirth« during the 19th century, this strategy aimed to get rid of an imagined double yoke of »foreign faith« and »foreign language«, i.e. the »yoke of the Phanariots«, which was constructed with the same argumentative logic as the »Turkish yoke« and substituted this latter to some degree: Thus, the Bulgarians appeared as victims of multiple oppressions by strangers. While Ottomans and Greeks had hitherto been depicted as the main enemies, now Serbs and Greeks were vilified in a narrative following the same logics: These »false friends« were allegedly more dangerous than »Turkish slavery [robstvo]«[37]. By 1916, Cyril and Methodius were presented in the official newspaper of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church as fundamental to Bulgarian national and cultural existence[38].

After the First World War and during the 1930s, these discourses were continued and radicalized even further: In 1937, the explicitly pro-Hitler publisher M. Esiv reduced Ivan's miracles to the protection of a Bulgarian national identity against a policy of the Greek clergy and of Byzantium to »destroy« anything Bulgarian:

»All the efforts of the Greek clergy to destroy the Bulgarian Church with all its customs and to replace them by Greek [traditions] were without success. The Bulgarian clergy was deeply inspired by the spirit of the Blessed Wonderworker Ivan and therefore has courageously defended the essence [săštnost'ta], rules and traditions of the Bulgarian Church's life. While defending this, the national [nacionalnijat] face of the Bulgarian people was left untouched. There is no and can be no doubt that it is only through the wonders of the God-supported [Bogonosnija] father Ivan, that all attempts

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30 Himitlijski, Prazdnikăt.
31 Ibidem 27.
32 Cf. Rohdewald, Religious Wars?
33 Cărkoven Věstnik, 10.5.1914, Nr. 19, 217-219, here 217.
34 Ibidem 218.

35 Ibidem.
36 Ibidem.
37 Cărkoven Věstnik, 27.5.1916, Nr. 20, 197 f.
38 Ibidem.

by the Byzantine Church to appropriate all Bulgarian spiritual and material values were in vain«[39].

From today's analytical point of view, of course, rather the opposite is correct: The appropriation of Byzantine values by Bulgarian thinkers in the Middle Ages and during the 19th century is a showcase for the study of translation or the circulation of knowledge. But during the 1930s, this was seen quite differently in Bulgaria: In 1938, the rector of the Saint Kliment University of Sofia, Professor Genov, and the philologist and subsequent minister of education, Professor Jocov, gave a public speech about »Bulgaria and the Slavic world«. In this lecture, the rector stressed the highly questionable point »that of the four empires – that of the Franks, the Byzantine Empire and the Arab Caliphate [and the Bulgarian tsardom], [three] decayed, but only the empire of the Bulgarians had been a national [nacionalna] one and did [for this reason] not decay«[40].

During the Second World War, nationalist escalation continued: The Byzantinist and university professor Petăr Mutafčiev wrote in 1941/42 in the Journal Education (prosveta), published by the »Federation of Education in Bulgaria«, an essay under the title: »The works of Cyril and Methodius in the cultural mission of the Bulgarian people.« After a detailed analysis of the consolidation of Bulgarian society during the 8th and 9th centuries, the historian saw it as an accomplishment of the two brothers from Solun to have prevented a failure of the nation-building of the Bulgarians facing the dangers of Byzantine missionaries. Their achievement was to enable the »nationalization« of the Church, and thus the protection of Bulgaria from »foreign interference« and the prevention of »degeneration – in the sense of »Entartung« – of the Bulgarian people. A religious dimension of the activity of the two brothers did not play an important role in this view:

»But that this fatal end has been prevented and that our people did not vanish even before its coming to existence had been accomplished was the merit of the two brothers from Solun. […] By means of Slavonic speech and liturgy, Christendom has given us ethical contents and was consolidated. By the strengthening of teaching, the leaders of our people's clergy were prepared. Step by step, the leadership of the Church was taken over by Bulgarians. Because of its nationalization [nacionalizacijata], the possibility of external interference in our spiritual life and, thus, in the leadership of our fate as a state has been eliminated once and for all. Instead of leading to degeneration [obezrodjavane], the new faith caused a mighty rebound of national consciousness [narodnata svěst'] and an unlimited confidence in our own powers«[41].

The historian praised the propagation of the Orthodox faith not because of its Christian inspiration, but because of the »upswing of the public consciousness [narod nata svěst'] «caused by it, and the entirely secular and national »boundless faith in our own forces«.

Conclusion: Translation, Traveling Concepts, Emancipation, Postcolonialism

With the establishment of a Bulgarian state in a European framework 1878, which until 1908 was still under Ottoman sovereignty and highly vulnerable, part of its elite's strategy to legitimize this project and emancipate it from the Ottoman or competing Greek and Serbian contexts was the reference to medieval empires and religious lieux de mémoire. From a postcolonial perspective, we can discern in this rhetoric not so much a »mimicry« of the cross-regional centre and metropolis Constantinople as the imitation of the Western master narrative of the modern nation state, even if this circulated in Bulgaria by the transmission via the centre of the Ottoman Empire, where several Bulgarian newspapers were published and whose elite was involved in this same mobility of ideas. Thus, seen in a postcolonial context, Orthodox religion, or Ivan Rilski and Cyril and Methodius, and the notion of a »double slavery« offered usable means to promote a new society in which nationalized religion and national progress as an Orthodox Bulgarian modernity were to be the future, delineated and located against »the Turk« – inside[42] or outside Bulgaria – within the boundaries of an imagined Europe in former Ottoman lands. This development continued, as shown, until the Second World War, and, afterwards, remained – with several changes – the basis of national self-consciousness until today. At the same time, a positive reference to Byzantium can be discerned in the fact that Byzantine architectural features were adopted e.g. in the neo-Byzantine Aleksandr Nevskij Memorial Church in Sofia, planned and built between 1879 and 1924, in honour of Russian aid during the uprising and war of 1876-1878. Thus, the new Bulgarian state should be located inside, even though at the periphery, of Europe, but still with reference to the historical regional centre of Constantinople, and in this dimension remaining in a »Transottoman« context[43].

39   Esiv, Trănlivijat păt 13 f.
40   Utro, 23.5.1938, Nr. 8637, 6.
41   Mutafčiev, Děloto 762.
42   Neuburger, The Orient within.

43   Cf. the Priority Programme Transottomanica 1981, founded by the German Research Foundation (DFG): [www.transottomanica.de].

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Byzantine »Slavery« as Postcolonial Imagination: »Foreign« Rulers of a »Pure« Bulgarian Nation (1850-1930)

Since the 19th century, Medieval religious lieux de mémoire such as SS. Cyril and Methodius and others served in the Bulgarian-Ottoman context to imagine a national past, present and future. Within this function, they served also as platforms to refer to imaginations of Byzantium: In newspapers and other publications, Byzantium served as a negative »other« to consolidate a positive Bulgarian public image of »one's own« nation, tsardom and statehood. The national Bulgarian »Rebirth« was to emancipate Bulgarians not only from the Ottoman »yoke«, but also from Byzantine or modern Greek / Phanariote domination, which were combined to be depicted as a »double yoke«.

Byzantinische »Sklaverei« als postkoloniale Imagination: »fremde« Herrscher über die »reine« bulgarische Nation (1850-1930)

Mittelalterliche religiöse lieux de mémoire wie die heiligen Kyrill und Method und andere dienten seit dem 19. Jahrhundert im bulgarisch-osmanischen Zusammenhang zur Imagination einer für möglichst alle Bulgaren in jeder Hinsicht zentralen nationalen Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft. Im Rahmen dieser Funktion wurden sie zu Medien auch der Beschreibung des Byzantinischen Reichs: In Zeitungen und anderen Veröffentlichungen wurde Byzanz als das negative »Andere« entworfen, um ein positiv besetztes bulgarisches Projekt einer »eigenen« Nation, eines »eigenen« Zarenreiches bzw. »eigener« Staatlichkeit zu entwickeln. Die nationale bulgarische »Wiedergeburt« sollte Bulgarien nicht nur vom Osmanischen »Joch«, sondern gleichermaßen vom byzantinischen bzw. von zeitgenössischer griechischer, phanariotischer Bevormundung emanzipieren, was in der Kombination zur post-osmanischen Rede vom angeblichen »doppelten Joch« führte. Dieses Narrativ blieb aber gerade mit der Anstrengung einer doppelten Emanzipation von Konstantinopel weiterhin erkennbar in einem gewissermaßen transosmanischen Kontext verankert.

Sigles Used

BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies		ODB	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
Byzslav	Byzantinoslavica		PLP	Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift		PmbZ	Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae		RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques		RbK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
DNP	Der Neue Pauly		REB	Revue des Études byzantines
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers		TM	Travaux et mémoires
LThK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche		TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur (Leipzig / Berlin 1882-)
OCA	Orientalia christiana analecta		ZRVI	Зборник радова Византолошког Института – Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta

Byzantium the other. Byzantium the pompous. Byzantium the eternal. The mere existence of this empire with his rich history and otherness from western European traditions spurred the minds of scholars, noblemen, politicians and ordinary people throughout its survival and long beyond its final downfall in 1453. Neglecting its great political and cultural influence on neighbouring countries and beyond, Enlightenment writers stripped Byzantium of its original historical reality and thus created a model, which could be utilised in very different constructs, stretching from positive to absolutely negative connotations. With the rise of new nationalisms, primarily in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, and the associated politically inspired historical (re)constructions in the 19th and 20th century, the reception of Byzantium gained new facets, its perception reached into new dimensions. In this volume, we would like to shed some light on these patterns and the problems they entail, and show the different ways in which »Byzantium« was used as an argument in nation-building and in constructing new historiographical narratives, and how its legacy endured in ecclesiastical historiography.