South-Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean

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South-Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean

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the 12th International Congress of South-East European Studies
(Bucharest, 2-6 September 2019)

edited by

IOANA FEODOROV

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PREFACE

One year after the 12th International Congress of South-East European Studies (*Political, Social and Religious Dynamics in South-Eastern Europe*), held in Bucharest, under the aegis of the Association Internationale d'Études du Sud-Est Européen (AIESEE), the Romanian Academy, and UNESCO, this volume inaugurates a series aiming to gather in printed form the richness of the papers given at this fruitful scientific reunion.

The Congress brought together over 400 participants, from more than 30 countries, which presented in 35 sessions, spread over the course of five days, papers on the religious, social, and political life in South-Eastern Europe, from Antiquity to the present. Specific themes, such as Balkan linguistics, the Byzantine heritage in South-Eastern Europe, South-Eastern Europe relations with the Near East, Phanariot literature, the formation of modern states, and religious minorities in the region, fall within the traditional areas of research of the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy, most of which also explored in the preceding AIESEE congresses. The program also included novel areas of research in the field of South-East European studies, such as apocryphal literature, cartography, networks of intellectuals and merchants, migration, the social history of the Great War, and digitalization of historical archives.

A substantial part of the papers presented at the Congress will be published in volumes of Proceedings of the respective sessions. We envision the publication of around twelve volumes from the most representative and thematically homogeneous Congress sessions. The majority will be published in the ISEES series "Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes" (BIESEE). Several other volumes will be published with Brill and in the *Études byzantines et post-byzantines*. The Proceedings of smaller-scale sessions will be hosted by the *Revue des études sud-est européennes*.

The first volume of this series – the eleventh of the BIESEE series – brings together a selection of papers presented in the session *South-Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean*, convened by Dr Ioana Feodorov and held at the Library of the Holy Synod on September 3 and 4, 2019. It is our hope that this first volume will pave the way for a successful series, confirming the richness and renewal of the current research on South-Eastern Europe.

Andrei Timotin

FOREWORD

Section 7 of the 12th Congress of the Association Internationale d'Études du Sud-Est Européen held in Bucharest on 2-6 September 2019 was connected in several ways to the Eastern Mediterranean civilizations. While papers focusing on the Arab Christians and the Church of Antioch were collected in a separate volume, the ones that we present here have in common the relations between peoples of South-Eastern Europe, and Eastern Europe in general, and those living on the Eastern coast of the Mediterranean. These relations are viewed in a historical, political, artistic, and broadly cultural perspective, encompassing the various ways of preserving the Byzantine spirit in a post-1453 era, and, at the same time, living in times of trouble and war, while trying to progress at the same pace as the Western world.

Part 1 of this volume encloses texts that address the conditions of theological education, literature, and the arts in the Eastern Mediterranean lands, and their presence in the mental image of the Eastern Europeans, from the Syriac heritage of the Church of Persia (Rev. Benedict Valentin Vesa) to the circulation of popular Arabic texts in the 19th century (Geoffrey Roper). Influences and information coming from the Near Eastern Ottoman realm are discussed by Ljiljana Stošić (Serbian painters inspired by Islamic artistic features) and Aleksandar Z. Savić (the Medieval Serbian vision of the Holy Places). Church treasures are presented and discussed both in terms of saints' relics brought from the East and worshipped in Ukraine (Vitalii Tkachuk) and in connection with the Byzantine content and form elements that are discernible in the Georgian church books of the 16th-18th centuries (Nino Kavtaria).

Part 2 comprises three texts focusing on manuscripts and documents that shed light on aspects of the intellectual and political life of the Eastern Mediterranean as intertwined with the Byzantine heritage. These are hagiographical sources that connect Arabs and Byzantines (Stavros S. Panayiotou), sources revelatory of the Arab Islamic philosophical tradition as revealed by the manuscript 5842 of the Manisa Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi (Teymour Morel), and 'Imperial Signs' issued by the Sultan in the process of peace-making with the Venetians in the 17th century (Radu Dipratu).

While the circulation of material and immaterial cultural items was dealt with in Part 1 and Part 2, the last section of the volume, Part 3, is devoted to people's travels. Several travellers from East and West are presented through their memoirs and notes: Paolo Gerbaldo discusses Stanislao Grimaldi del Poggetto of Turin, who travelled to Constantinople, while Paule Fahmé-Thiéry

compares the impressions of Paul of Aleppo (17th century) and Hanna Dyāb (18th century), who left their homes in Syria to go to distant lands across Europe. Șerban Marin presents the results of his in-depth research on the geographical information about the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans contained in a large number of Venetian chronicles on the Crusades, while Paul Auchterlonie comments on the circulation of texts that comprise reports of the English captives from North Africa.

The present collection of studies complements the other volumes of Proceedings of the 12th AIESEE Congress where travel memoirs, archival documents, and the circulation of motifs and cultural items around the Eastern Mediterranean region are discussed. It is, nevertheless, set apart by the vast geographical area covered by the topics addressed by the thirteen authors – from Morocco to Iran, from Ukraine to Jerusalem – and by its focus on a large variety of peoples, ethnic groups, and faiths – Serbians as well as Georgians, Persians and Muslim Arabs, Venetians and English. A common element of the contributions collected in this volume is their authors' in-depth analysis of manuscript sources, literary works, maps, and archival documents, and the general focus on *connections* – in space and time – across South-Eastern Europe, the North-Eastern Mediterranean lands and the Middle East.

Ioana Feodorov

ABBREVIATIONS

Arabica = Arabica: Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies
CSCO = Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSHB = Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
OCP = Orientalia Christiana Periodica
PO = Patrologie Orientale
POC = Proche-Orient Chrétien
RESEE = Revue des études sud-est européennes

PART 1

EDUCATION AND ARTS
AS IDENTIFIERS OF THE EASTERN CIVILIZATIONS

THEOLOGY AND EDUCATION IN THE CHURCH OF PERSIA. A GENERAL PERSPECTIVE

Rev. Benedict Valentin Vesa

In the providential year 325, Christianity became the religion of the *oikumene*. In the East Syriac area, this moment inaugurated a series of severe persecutions against the Christians by the Sassanid regime, up to the first decades of the 5th century. At the time, the Syriac Churches belonged to the Antiochene Patriarchate and followed the Antiochene exegetic tradition. In terms of Christology, Antiochene theology, while maintaining God's transcendence, was preoccupied with the integrity of both natures in Christ, divine and human, and not yet divided into two diverse subjects. In an extreme form of expression, with an offensive character directed against the Alexandrine School, and particularly against Patriarch Cyril, this Christology was professed by Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople. From here, the name of "Nestorians" was unjustly given to the East Syriac Christians. This community is proud even today to call itself "Theodorian", honouring its most respected theologian, Theodore of Mopsuestia. Belonging to a moderate Antiochene movement, he was assumed by the Church of Persia as the real voice, in terms of exegesis and, consequently, its writing became the basis for a diophysite Christology. In the neutral language of the contemporary scholars, this community is called East Syriac to make the distinction from the West Syriac Church, of a myaphisite character (in line with Cyril of Alexandria).

Religious education in the East Syriac tradition

The tradition of education in this community goes back to Apostolic times. One may find in the life of Mar Mari, the Apostle of Mesopotamia, that he "built churches and monasteries and instituted doctors and a school".[1] To discuss the ascendant religious education system, Paolo Bettiolo uses, in a complex research endeavour, the example of Narsai's life, one of the representative names in Syriac theology, identifying three significant levels that

[1] C. Jullien and F. Jullien, *Les Actes de Mar-Mari. L'apôtre de la Mésopotamie*, Turnhout, 2001, p. 73.

might be considered typical for his time and tradition.[2] The history of his life, written in the last years of the 6th century by Barhadbeshabba 'Arbaya, reveals that in his village, 'Ain Dulba, in the region of Ma'alta (Beth Nuhadra), he went to the boys' school and he learned the Psalms of David by heart.[3] He stayed there for nine years. Afterwards, he became "a brother of Father Emanuel", the abbot of Kafar Mari Monastery, on the outskirts of Beth Zabdai citadel. In the monastery, he lived in a big community of monastics, and he studied in a school founded by them. The same history mentions that owing to his wisdom and diligence in search of the truth, Father Emanuel became "periodeutes"[4] of the region. Given his theological knowledge, he was asked to read the Scriptures to the brothers. Narsai remained there only for one winter. Shortly after, he went to the School of Edessa, to follow up his instruction in the Holy Scriptures and his spiritual formation, and he stayed there for ten years.[5] We have in the itinerary of Doctor Narsai three levels of education, a possible image of the educational system at the beginning of the 5th century – a simple village religious education, a monastic formation, and the academic education in the well-known Theological School of Edessa (*eskola d'parsaye*).[6]

Edessa was the capital of Osroene, a Hellenistic city founded by Seleucus I in 302-303 BC, with an essential role, later on, in the theological education of the Syriac Christians. Several translations of the Hebrew Old Testament and an important intellectual activity of a Hellenised aristocracy were carried out here, using the Syriac language. The interest in philosophy was not absent from this centre, an aspect revealed by the existence of specific authors, works and translations of this kind. This preoccupation enabled at that time the receptivity of Theodore of Mopsuestia's texts in theological circles.[7] The

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[2] P. Bettiolo, "Scuole e ambienti intellettuali nelle chiese di Siria", in C. D'Ancona (ed.), *Storia della filosofia nell'Islam medievale*, Torino, 2005, vol. I, p. 48-100.

[3] The first stage of Syriac teaching, as we shall discuss later.

[4] An itinerant priest, in various Eastern Churches.

[5] Cf. F. Nau, "La seconde partie de l'Histoire de Barhadbešabba 'Arbaïa et Controverse de Théodore de Mopsueste avec les Macédoniens", *PO*, 5, Paris, 1913, p. 590-596.

[6] On the Schools of Edessa and Nisibis, see the large monograph of R. Macina, "L'homme a l'école de Dieu: d'Antioche à Nisibe: profil herméneutique, théologique et kérygmatique du mouvement scoliaste nestorien – monographie programmatique", *POC*, 33, 1983, p. 39-103.

[7] Even though some argue about the lack of philosophy in the theological works of Edessa at the time, many scholars revealed its presence and influence in terms of methodology and language, from this same age. The first philosopher to be considered is Bardaisan (2nd-3rd centuries), who speaks about the Logos that corresponds to Plato's Demiurge and Jesus in Christian theology. The Christian author whose doctrine resembles, in form, that of Bardaisan's is Tatian the Assyrian (who around 177 returned from Rome to the East). He was an ascetic and a philosopher, well informed about the philosophy of his time. He is the author of the *Diatessaron* (where he aims at a harmony of the four Gospels) and the interpreter of some difficult passages in the Pauline letters, using mostly the historic-literal interpretation. One may also mention the names of Marcion and Mani in reference to this city. For details, see J. W. Drijvers, "The School of Edessa: Greek

foundation of this School[8] is connected either to Ephrem the Syrian,[9] who left Nisibis, where he was already a professor (*mpashqana*), for Edessa. At the same time, Nisibis was given by Emperor Julian in 363 to the Persians or some of his disciples.[10] In Edessa, he wrote *memre* and *madrashe*, typical examples of the exegetical Syriac School, almost exclusively used before Narsai's directorate at the Nisibis School. The scope of this School was to teach the Christians the "Orthodox faith" and, at the same time, to protect them from any heretical teachings.

Founded in a Hellenistic context, one can also identify strong connections between this School and the Jewish exegetical school. Studies began with the Psalms,[11] then the Old Testament, New Testament, Syriac Fathers, and they continued later on with translations from the Byzantine Fathers, particularly Theodore of Mopsuestia.

The year 489 brought the re-foundation of the Nisibis School as a result of the closing of the Persians' School at Edessa by Emperor Zenon, because of its "Nestorian" line of interpretation.[12] The great scholar Narsai, followed by many East Syriac students, went to Nisibis (the New School of Mesopotamia) and introduced the exegetical Antiochene methodology, represented in particular by Theodore of Mopsuestia.[13] This crucial moment in the history of East Syriac theological education was described by the same Barhadbsabba metaphorically:

Learning and Local Culture", in W. Drijvers and A. A. MacDonald (eds.), *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*, New-York, 1995, p. 49-59.

[8] The ecclesiastical *History of Barhadbesabba* speaks about "schools", in the plural. This indicates, according to J. B. Segal, the existence of some ethnic schools, such as those of the Armenians, Persians or Syrians; see J. B. Segal, *Edessa: "The Blessed City"*, Oxford, 1970, p. 150.

[9] 'A. Barhadbesabba, "Cause de la fondation des écoles", in A. Scher (ed. and trans.), Paris, 1907, t. 4, fasc. 4, p. 382-383.

[10] Cf. A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, CSCO, 266, Louvain, 1965, p. 7-8.

[11] Interpretation (*mpashqanuta*), then correct reading (*maqryanuta*), syllabication (*mhagyanuta*), and correct pronunciation (*'amuruta*), or reading (*qeryana*), correct pronunciation (*hegyana*) and interpretation (*pussaqa*), and correct *choice* of words (*tkiluta d'mellta*). There were different types of professors: specialists in pronunciation and reading (*mahgyane* or *maqryane*), scholars (*eskolaye*), interpreters/researchers (*badoqe*), specialists in exegesis and theology (*mallphane*). They used collections (*luqqate da-smahe*) as material, different catalogues (*kurrase da-smahe*), reading-books (*ktobe da-qrayata*). For details, see E. Carr, "Le scuole esegetiche nella tradizione della Chiesa siro-orientale", in C. Pasini, E. Vergani, and S. Chialà (eds.), *Storia, cristologia e tradizioni della Chiesa Siro-Orientale. Atti del 3° incontro sull'Oriente Cristiano di tradizione siriaca, Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 14 marzo 2004*, Milano, 2006, p. 82-84.

[12] The same thing happened to other schools as well: that of Mar 'Abda, Mahoze or Sliq (Seleucia-Ctesiphon), Dor-Qoni Monastery, Daira 'Ellaita, Mar Gabriel Monastery and Mar Abraham in Mosul, Aitilaha, and Kanduke.

[13] Confirmed as the primary source at several successive synods: Bet Lapat (484), Mar Aba (544), the synod of Īshō'yahb I (585), that of Sabrisho (596), the Confession of Faith of 596, and the synod of Gregory of Kashkar (604-607).

"Edessa grew dim and Nisibis shone forth".[14] This phrase supports the idea of a visible connection, in continuous growth, between these two Schools, in terms of methodology as well as curricula. The School of Nisibis reached the apex of fame and success for the East Syriac academic theological study; it became the ultimate "centre of learning" of the Persian Church, employing professors of different areas – theological, but also philosophical, medical or of other secular areas. Numerous students came to study here from different regions within or without the Sassanid Empire.[15]

Moreover, we should mention that the same period brought forth a great interest in translations – either from the Greek Fathers and philosophers or from different medical authors. One of the significant names in this respect is Sergius of Resh'aina, who translated into Syriac Evagrius, one of the pillars of the Syriac ascetic tradition, Pseudo-Dionysius, with his apophatic theology, and different works by Galen.[16] Later on, in the 6th-7th centuries, despite a flourishing period, symptoms of serious issues began to appear, generating deep crises, on which I shall dwell in the next section.

Theology and conflicts

An essential initial element in this analysis is the complexity of mutual relations between Bishopric (generically, as an institution) and school (mostly the School of Nisibis), on the one hand, and the monastics (the Great Monastery of Mount Izla)[17] on the other. The School of Nisibis had been at that time a prestigious intellectual centre and the very centre of the East Syriac theology for more than a century. Moreover, the Great Monastery was the forum of Orthodoxy at the time when the School of Nisibis was to leave the traditional teaching of East Syriac theology. Thirdly, the institutional Church enjoyed for a

[14] 'A. Barhadbesabba, "Cause de la fondation des écoles", p. 386.

[15] "Celui qui, après avoir achevé le cours de ses études, paraissait suffisamment instruit pour enseigner les autres, recevait parfois du supérieur l'ordre d'aller faire l'école, sans doute dans les villages ou les nombreux petits couvents qui s'élevaient de tous côtés aux environs de Nisibe. Quand il refusait d'accepter cette mission 'à cause de ses relations dans l'École ou en ville', il était chassé de la Congrégation et expulsé de la ville", cf. J. B. Chabot, *L'école de Nisibe: son histoire, ses statuts*, Paris, 1896, p. 68.

[16] For details, see P. Bettiolo, "Scuole e ambienti intellettuali…", p. 97-99. Paolo Bettiolo evokes here the theory according to which Dionysius's works were, in fact, Aristotle's texts 'translated' under a Christian name.

[17] To describe the role of this monastic centre, I shall quote a short paragraph from Thomas of Marga: "Since at that time anyone who wanted to learn and master foreign philosophy, that of the Greeks, went to Athens, the famous city of philosophers, so also whoever wanted to make himself a disciple of spiritual philosophy would go to the Holy Monastery of Rabban Mar Abraham and enrol as a member of his sonship", cf. T. Marga, *The Book of Governors: the Historia Monastica of Thomas, Bishop of Marga, A.D. 840*, edited by E. A. Wallis Budge, London, vol. 2, 1893, p. 41-42.

long time good, strong relations with the School of Nisibis, as well as with the Great Monastery. Many of the clergymen and abbots were alumni of this great institution. Thus, one can say that, ideally and programmatically, they worked together in an integrative way,[18] even if not permanently.

The first case that I shall mention is Henana, Director of the Nisibis School, described generously by Barhadbsabba as: "Humble, merciful, patient, who did not seek his own honour like all the others did".[19] And yet, around him, a series of conflicts and divisions took place within the School, but also between the bishops and the Catholicos, and they disturbed even the monastic milieu. He was the one who accepted the "heterodox" (non-Theodorian) teachings concerning Christology, using in his theological instruction the concept of "a composite hypostasis" in Christ.[20] In terms of exegetical methodology, he chose John Chrysostom, a major representative of the Antiochene School, considered to have held a middle position between the Antiochene and the Alexandrine directions.[21] Henana's popularity may have been due to his emphasis on the mystical union of God with humanity,[22] which he demonstrated by allegorically interpreting the Holy Scriptures, the doctrine of a Christology of composite hypostasis, and Evagrian mysticism. The council of Īshōʿyahb I (585) was a witness to this controversy. The first canon exposes a commentary on the Creed of Nicaea in a diophysite key, while the second gives evidence of the protection around Theodore's writings.[23]

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[18] Cf. A. Camplani, "The Revival of Persian Monasticism (Sixth to Seventh Century): Church Structure, Theological Academy and Reformed Monks", in G. Filoramo and A. Camplani (eds.), *Foundations of Power and Conflicts of Authority in Late-Antique Monasticism: Proceedings of the International Seminar Turin, December 2-4, 2004*, in *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 157, Leuven – Paris, 2007, p. 280.

[19] Barhadbesabba, "Cause de la fondation des Écoles", p. 392.

[20] In Babai's words: "The Fathers of old established a true doctrine, not a mixture and blending and hypostatic union, such as the opinions of Arius, Eunomius, and the impious Henana are. You efface the properties (of the natures) and cause divinity to suffer by a hypostatic, composite union, and by a blending and confused mixture", cf. Babai Magnus, "Against One Hypostasis", in A. A. Vaschalde (ed.), *Babai Magni Liber de unione*, CSCO, 79-80, Louvain, 1974, p. 306. For details, see L. Abramowski and A. E. Goodman (eds.), *A Nestorian Collection of Christological Texts*, Oriental Publications, University of Cambridge, vol. 19, London, 1972, p. XVI.

[21] For details see K. Pinggéra, "John Chrysostom in the East Syrian Theology of the Late Sixth Century", *The Harp*, 18, 2005, p. 193-201.

[22] As Babai the Great said: "He teaches that all men participate in the nature of God, as Origen, the pagan of pagans, said, and so this wretched city is infected with this impious error", cf. "The Life of Mar Giwargis", in *Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil de Synodes Nestoriens*, ed. and transl. by J. B. Chabot, Paris, 1902 (henceforth, *SO*), p. 626. One has to mention that Henana's spiritual position might reflect not so much a bridge towards the Chalcedonian or Monophysite Christology, but a naïve popular faith directed against the theological elite of the time, occasionally dominated by a rationalist theological direction and political preoccupations.

[23] "The Life of Mar Giwargis", *SO*, p. 136-139.

In this conflict, one has to evoke a very famous character, a great East Syriac scholar, Babai the Great, the 'guardian' of Theodorian Orthodoxy, an alumnus of the Nisibis School and a disciple of Mar Abraham at the Great Monastery (where he became abbot afterwards, following Dadisho). His name is connected to that of another monastic, Babai of Nisibis (the Lesser), who had no academic formation but was the disciple of Mar Abraham as well. After Abraham's death, he spent three years in a monastery and one year in a cave, eventually choosing a solitary life in the region of Adiabene. Here, he became familiar with Isho'zeka and especially with Sabrisho, the future Catholicos of the Church of the East (596-604). The latter refused to condemn Henana, the director of the Nisibis School, a few years after his election,[24] despite the insistence of Metropolitan Gregory of Kashkar. It is in this attitude of Sabrisho's tolerance and his friendship with Babai the Lesser that one might hypothetically find the reason for the deep conflict between him and Babai the Great.[25] This situation was expressed by the condition that Babai's disciples set for the brothers to join the monastery: "The followers of Mar Babai the Great did not permit anyone to enter their monastery unless he had anathematised the excellent Mar Babai of Nisibis, whom they called Babai the Lesser".[26]

The role of Babai the Great became more critical at the time when the East Syriac Church was not allowed to elect a Catholicos (609-628). His radical conservative vision opposed both Henanites and Monophysites. According to Thomas of Marga, he was named Vicar of the Catholicos,[27] and, together with archdeacon Abba, they were the ones who acted as a Church leader.[28] In this period, he had the rights to inspect and change the doctrines that did not follow the Theodorian faith, as confirmed by the Council of Gregory (605) and later reiterated before the king at Mada'in (612).[29] Because of his inflexible position,

[24] He was appointed for the see of Nisibis by Sabrisho himself.

[25] Paolo Bettiolo advances some other hypotheses: a possible agreement with Sabrisho to restore the Messalianist communities, or the dispute regarding their close ties to the founder of the Great Monastery, Mar Abraham of Kashkar. However, he does not confirm any of these hypotheses; cf. P. Bettiolo, "Contrasting Styles of Ecclesiastical Authority and Monastic Life in the Church of the East at the Beginning of the Seventh Century", in A. Camplani and G. Filoramo (eds.), *Foundations of Power and Conflicts of Authority…*, p. 304-305.

[26] I. Guidi, E. W Brooks, and J. B. Chabot (eds.), *Chronica minora*, in CSCO, 2, Paris, 1903, p. 24.

[27] T. Marga, *The Book of Governors…*, p. 116.

[28] Alberto Camplani interprets the historical information that Thomas gives in Book I. 27, an epistle addressed to Babai by three bishops from North Mesopotamia (Cyriacus of Nisibis, Yonadhahb of Adiabene, and Gabriel of Karka d'Beth Slokh), who apologized for not giving to him greater power, as he would have deserved. The conclusion that he draws is that Babai's authority did not go beyond the monastic realm and the three dioceses mentioned above in North Mesopotamia; cf. A. Camplani, "The Revival of Persian Monasticism (Sixth to Seventh Century)…", p. 288.

[29] This reunion is quite interesting because of the position it adopted. The monastic party submitted a Creed before the king, which acknowledged two natures, two substances and one

doubled by his zeal while an abbot of the Great Monastery, a crisis was generated, leading to some monastics' departure.[30] Among these, one name is most representative: Mar Jacob of Lasom (Bet Garmai), a disciple of Dadisho of the Great Monastery.[31] He spent three years in the community on Mount Izla, and then seven years in an isolated cell. Before entering the monastery, while a teacher, he befriended Sabrisho, the future Patriarch. He departed the Great Monastery and founded – "providentially", in the language of the time – the famous Bet Abe Monastery.

About this monastery, we will mention another moment connected to two different types of theology.[32] It is the case of Sahdona. He entered the Monastery of Bet Abe around 620, under Rabban Jacob, who came from the Great Monastery and was a contemporary of Īshō'yahb III.[33] At the suggestion

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person in Christ, and employed the expression "Mother of Christ" instead of "Theotokos". However, they adopted then a monothelite position to explain the unity in Christ: He was one in a single "person of filiation", a single power, a single will, and a single economy. See "The Life of Mar Giwargis", *SO*, p. 565, 575-582, 591-592.

[30] Thomas of Marga lists some names of those who left the monastery during the period of dispute: Rabban Qamisho, Mar Jacob, Rabban Afni Maran, Amma Leontius Zinaya, Rabban Joseph (T. Marga, *The Book of Governors…*, p. 113, 246-247), then Mar Zekaisho, who, together with Abraham of Nisibis, founded the Monastery of Bet Rabban (*History of Rabban Mar Abraham, Head of the Monastery of Rabban Zekaišo and the Monastery of 'Bet Abe*, quoted in T. Marga, *The Book of Governors…*, p. 37, 67), and Rabban Jacob, abbot of the Convent of Bet Abe (T. Marga, *The Book of Governors…*, p. 35, 62). *The History of Rabban 'Edta* adds some other names of monks who left the Great Monastery when Babai became abbot and went to Bet Abe, probably even before the arrival of Rabban Jacob: Benjamin, Peter, Arda, Ishai, Paul, and John; cf. E. A. Wallis Budge (ed.), *The Histories of Rabban Hormizd the Persian and Rabban Bar-Idta*, London, 1902, p. 155-233.

[31] T. Marga, *The Book of Governors…*, p. 62. It seems that he befriended Sabrisho, the future Catholicos of the East Syriac Church, who was the first bishop of Lashom, the native city of Jacob (cf. J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, vol. III, Beirut, 1968, p. 56-57, n. 8), and later too, Sabrisho spent five years as a hermit, between the seventh and the eighth decades of the 6th century, in Sa'ran, and so one can guess the familiarity of the two (J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, p. 75).

[32] Around Bet Abe, in the second decade of the 7th century, one can also evoke, in the same line, the names and stories of four important persons who had left the Monastery, whom I shall not discuss further: Abraham of Kashkar, Mar Isho'zeka, Jacob of Nuhadra, and Rabban 'Afni Maran.

[33] From *The Book of Governors* we learn that Īshō'yahb II, accompanied by some important ecclesiastics, among them Īshō'yahb of Adiabene and Sahdona, journeyed to Aleppo where they met emperor Heraklios (cf. T. Marga, *The Book of Governors*, p. 70, 125-126). The Catholicos and the Emperor brought their discussion also around some faith issues, and the former demonstrated to the latter that the Church of Persia follows the faith of the Nicene Fathers and it is not heretical. The agreement was not complete, as the Persians did not want to mention Cyril of Alexandria in their Liturgy, while the emperor refused the three Antiochian Doctors of the Church – Diodor of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Nestorius. These names were simply omitted so as to overcome the situation. The Catholicos celebrated a Liturgy, and the emperor received communion. Upon his return, Īshō'yahb was harshly criticized by the representatives of the radical party. See also A. Scher (ed.), *Histoire nestorienne inédite : Chronique de Séert*, in *PO*, t. 4, fasc. 3, Paris, 1909; t. 5, fasc. 2, 1910; t. 7, fasc. 2, 1911; t. 13, fasc. 4, 1919, p. 238-239, 558-559.

of the latter, Sahdona was elected bishop of Mahoze d'Arewan. Given his theological position, he is supposed to have been either a disciple of Henana[34] or, at least, influenced by him.[35] Recent research traces the origin of his Christology in the *Book of Heracleidis*,[36] with the two interpolations that constitute the core of his doctrine: "unique hypostasis" (*had qnuma*/ܚܕ ܩܢܘܡܐ) before "one person" (*had parsupa*/ܚܕ ܦܪܨܘܦܐ), and the two adjectives attached to the term "person" – natural (*kianaya*/ܟܝܢܝܐ) and hypostatic (*qnumaya*/ܩܢܘܡܝܐ). It is important to emphasise that, according to the language that he uses, his Christology does not reveal any non-Persian elements, except the use of "one hypostasis".[37] Īshō'yahb, who was a radical conservative, reacted against Sahdona's teachings on one hypostasis. He even wanted to dismiss him from the Bishopric, but it seems that Sahdona had influential sympathizers among the moderates, like Catholicos Maremmeh.[38] Finally, Īshō'yahb triumphed, when he became Catholicos (648-659), and Sahdona was exiled in the neighbourhood of Edessa.

I shall add one final example related to this monastery, to confirm the tensions existing between the institutional and the monastic positions: the case of Rabban Qamisho, abbot of Bet Abe Monastery. Intending to found a school within this monastery, Patriarch Īshō'yahb III, who had been a monastic there, was met with a blunt refusal, justified by the fear that such an initiative would alter the life of confinement and contemplation that the monks were committed to. Thus, this drove the abbot, together with seventy brothers, to simply leave the monastery at night.[39]

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[34] *Ibid.*, p. 315, 635.

[35] A. H. Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom. The School of Nisibis and Christian Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia*, Philadelphia, 2006, p. 200.

[36] Translated into Syriac by Mar Aba (540), the introduction was probably composed by a Constantinopolitan theologian, so as to protect the Christology of Nestorius by providing a new interpretation. The absence of the term "hypostasis" is strictly connected to Theodore's disciples or, rather, to the theology of Nisibis, as Abramowski suggests, while the intensive use of "person" is a distinctive mark of Pseudo-Nestorius. See O. Ioan, "Martyrius/Sahdona: La pensée christologique, clé de la Theologie mystique," in Alain Desreumaux (ed.), *Les mystiques syriaques. Actes de la 8e table ronde de la Société d'Études Syriaques, Paris, 19 novembre 2010*, *Études syriaques*, vol. 8, Paris, 2011, p. 50-51, n. 30.

[37] See the passage from *John* 1: 14: "When God the Word in a sublime manner became one with this particular nature of our humility, from the very beginning of its formation, and forevermore, he made it one hypostasis and one person with Himself, by a wondrous and ineffable union, and filled it with the glory of his divinity. And in its form he was seen by creation: 'They beheld!', it says, 'His glory, the glory of the Only-Begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth'", cited in A. de Halleux (ed.), Martyrius (Sahdona), *Oeuvres spirituelles*, II. *Livre de la perfection*, CSCO, 214-215, Louvain, 1961, Ch. 2.

[38] Cf. J. M. Fiey, "Īšo'yaw le Grand. Vie du catholicos nestorien Īšo'yaw III d'Adiabène (580-659)", *OCP*, 35, 1969, p. 25.

[39] T. Marga, *The Book of Governors…*, p. 8-9.

The final moment that I shall evoke here refers to the so-called "process of the mystics" which occurred in 787, under Patriarch Timothy I, a former monk at Bet Abe Monastery, in connection with three great mystics: John of Dalyatha, Joseph Hazzaya, and John the Solitary. One can state that this event represents "an exemplary and systemic conflict between an institutional theology, the expression of a scholastic world, and the spiritual theology elaborated by savant monasticism".[40] The problems discussed at the council touched on the anthropological questions regarding Christ's nature and, consequently, the divinity of humanity. The answers to those fundamental aspects were to have great importance for the validation of mystical theology, an experience of union, and, finally, divine knowledge in strict connection with the Christological definition. Mar Timothy anathematised all those who asserted that the nature of Christ could see His divinity. Accepting this idea meant asserting the impossibility for any human being to see God. This thesis came against the mystics' claim to see God, a constant of monastic theology. From a theological point of view, the possible explanation that stands behind this anathema is of a Christological nature, fundamental for the East Syriac theology in general. Nonetheless, the successor of Timothy, Isho'bar Nun, held a different position regarding the three mystics and Timothy's attitude, in the sense that he confirmed their Orthodoxy. This shows again the various nuances that theology took in the East Syriac Church of the period.

Conclusion

I shall conclude by stressing the importance of education in the East Syriac tradition and, in particular, in its religious form. There were schools in villages, schools in monasteries, and academic schools, such as those of Edessa, Nisibis, or Seleucia-Ctesiphon, later on. Theologically speaking, on the one hand, academic schools were quite often an instrument of the Institutional Church to diffuse a specific theology, in particular a Christology based on particular authors (especially Theodore of Mopsuestia), and, therefore, also a means for ecclesiastic discipline. On the other hand, despite the education that they had received in academic schools, monastics were reluctant to accept the so-called "scholastic" theology, which they considered somewhat reductive and contradictory to their spiritual experiences.

Finally, in my opinion, the entire issue is not about the coexistence of three parties – first, bishops and Church leaders, second, theologians and directors of schools, and third, monastics –, but more about two types of

[40] Cf. V. Berti, "Grazia, visione e natura in Nestorio di Nuhadra, solitario e vescovo siro-orientale (800 ca)", *Annali di Scienze Religiose*, X, 2005, 10, p. 151.

theology and religious education: one dominated by a scholastic system, under the guidance of theologians and Church leaders, and the other more intuitive and mystical, mostly maintained by the monastics.

ATHOS – JERUSALEM – SINAI: PEREGRINATIONS AND IDENTITIES IN THE *LIVES* OF ST SAVA OF SERBIA

Aleksandar Z. Savić

By 1234, Sava, the founder and first Archbishop of the Serbian Orthodox Church, appears to have been already quite a seasoned traveller. For roughly three and a half decades, he had been continuously on the move: not only did his ecclesiastical and political duties take him across the Nemanjić realm and those adjoining it (where he tended to some rather delicate diplomatic missions), but they also motivated several journeys towards the focal points of spiritual and temporal authority in the Eastern Mediterranean, such as Mount Athos, Constantinople, Nicaea, and indeed Jerusalem and the Holy Places in its orbit.[1] However, the most ambitious voyage of Sava's life was yet to be undertaken. He was set on visiting the Holy Land once more, only this time including Egypt and Sinai; a full-fledged pilgrimage which few contemporaries could even comprehend, much less afford. Having foreseen that he would not return alive (he died in Bulgaria in January 1236, on his way back), the elderly Saint relieved himself of the pastoral office, saw to the naming of a worthy successor, and – much to the chagrin of his nephew the king and his courtiers – set off for one last peregrination through Biblical landscapes. In Sava's *Vita prima*, composed around 1250 by the hieromonk Domentian of Hilandar,[2] his departure is recounted and reflected upon at some length:

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[1] The scholarship dedicated to St Sava has yielded a formidable number of works to which one could hardly do justice within the confines of a single footnote (a relevant sample of this profuse bibliography is to be found in a recent book by B. Szefliński, *Trzy oblicza Sawy Nemanjicia. Postać historyczna – autokreacja – postać literacka* (*Three Faces of Sava Nemanjić. Historical Figure, Self-Creation and Literary Character*), Łódź, 2016, p. 288-313. The most comprehensive biographical essay on Sava from which the English reader might profit is still that of D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits*, Oxford, 1988, p. 115-172. For Sava's travels, consult B. Miljković, *Žitija svetog Save kao izvori za istoriju srednjovekovne umetnosti* (*Les vies de saint Sava comme les sources pour l'histoire de l'art médiéval*), Belgrade, 2008; M. Marković, *Prvo putovanje svetog Save u Palestinu i njegov značaj za srpsku srednjovekovnu umetnost* (*The First Voyage of St Sava to Palestine and Its Importance for Serbian Medieval Art*), Belgrade, 2009; N. Polovina, *Topos putovanja u srpskim biografijama XIII veka. Domentijan i Teodosije* (*The Topos of Travel in 13th-Century Serbian Biographies. Domentian and Theodosius*), Novi Sad, 2010.

[2] Domentijan, *Žitije svetoga Save* (*Life of Saint Sava*), introduction, translation, and commentary by Lj. Juhas-Georgievska, ed. by T. Jovanović, Belgrade, 2001. For a basic overview of

> Having divested himself of this living and things earthly with a right mind and an honest hope, keeping the first and the second of God's Commandments […], he placed Christ whom he so desired above his own life and this decaying world that withers away swiftly. Once and again (*prěžde že i paky*) he had torn himself free from mundane sorrows, flying high as a soaring eagle. Yet now for the third time (*treticeju*), he flew not as an eagle; instead, just as Elijah the Flame-Wielder, he was taken up into Heaven in a whirlwind. […] And lo, for the third time (*treticeju*) he pulled apart the deceitful shackles of this world, discarded his yoke, and left following in the footsteps of the One who had said: "Where I am, there shall also My servant be."[3]

Considering the above paragraph, one should recall Michael Uebel's valuable insight on the "imbrication of travel and identity in the Middle Ages". Identity, Uebel argues, is not to be conceived of as "something discoverable or given, inherent in place or lineage, but as something accumulated and nomadic, expressive of a trajectory as unfolded through space and over time".[4] In Sava's case, this trajectory of (trans)formation is conceptualised in terms of gradual progress along a vertical axis: his rising high above the fleeting *mundus* – for which he is likened to a lofty eagle – was the first step towards celestial dwellings waiting to receive him as they had once received the Old Testament prophet.[5] It is spiritual advancement, therefore, that mirrors his physical displacement and in fact imbues it with meaning; conversely, spatial-temporal practices with which one usually identifies the notion of travel provide structure to the process of the narrative construction of the Saint's identity. Although both Sava's *Vitae* – the other one also penned by a Hilandarian, Theodosius, who

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Domentian's writings, see most recently I. Špadijer, *Svetogorska baština. Manastir Hilandar i stara srpska književnost* (*Athonite Heritage. Hilandar Monastery and Old Serbian Literature*), Belgrade, 2014, p. 43-48.

[3] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 342-344; cf. *John* 12: 26. In this article, if not noted otherwise, the author relies on his own translations when passages from the Serbian sources are concerned. Biblical quotations are given according to the King James Version: H. Marks (ed.), *The English Bible. King James Version*, vol. 1. *The Old Testament*, New York – London, 2012; G. Hammond and A. Busch (eds.), *The English Bible. King James Version*, vol. 2. *The New Testament and the Apocrypha*, New York – London, 2012.

[4] M. Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation. On the Uses of Alterity in the Middle Ages*, New York – Basingstoke, 2005, p. 135.

[5] Cf. A. J. Gurevich, *Categories of Medieval Culture*, trans. by G. L. Campbell, London et al., 1985, p. 74. The eagle metaphor in medieval Serbian literature is discussed by Đ. Trifunović, "Pripovedanje i simboli srednjovekovne naše umetničke proze" ("Narration and Symbolism of Our Medieval Artistic Prose"), in id. (ed.), *Stara književnost*, Belgrade, 1965, p. 166-168. Apart from Elijah, Sava is compared with a number of Scriptural personages in Domentian's opus: Lj. Juhas-Georgievska, "Književno delo jeromonaha Domentijana" ("The Literary Work of Hieromonk Domentian"), in Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. LXIV-LXV.

flourished at the turn of the 14th century[6] – quite often refer to his wayfaring in a very generalised fashion,[7] the quoted excerpt indicates that some of its aspects do stand out. That *three* particular journeys hold a place of special import and thus merit careful attention is asserted with some insistency; but which three would these be (or, rather, which *two*, besides the one Sava ventured on towards the end of his life)? In other words, what does Domentian have in mind when he says "*prěžde že i paky*"? Another passage from the *Vita* sheds light on the problem at hand:

> With great love for God and by many a laudable feat did he make his fatherland one with the Holy Mount [Athos]; by his hand, deserts became cities and his children known to the dwellers of the Holy Mount. And now as before, by treading for them a most splendent path to Jerusalem, he toiled constantly to prepare all for life in the heavenly abodes […].[8]

These lines disclose at least two critical points. First, we learn that the other two voyages which Domentian treats as crucial stages of the hero's course to inner perfection refer to his early migration to Mount Athos (where he took monastic vows and established the Serbian Monastery of Hilandar) and to his first pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[9] Apparently, in each of the three instances, Sava's itinerary revolved around a central hearth of Eastern Christianity: Athos, Jerusalem, and, finally, Sinai. The purpose of the present article will be to examine the devices and strategies used by the hagiographic discourse to shape Sava's saintly portrait, drawing on his purported visits to the Holy Places.[10]

There is, nevertheless, another critical remark to be made regarding the last quoted piece. Namely, even if there should be no doubt about the transformative character of Sava's travels *vis-à-vis* his own identity, he is

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[6] Teodosije, *Život svetoga Save* (*Life of Saint Sava*), ed. by Đ. Trifunović, Belgrade, 1973. See an aperçu of Theodosius' works (as his biography is almost completely obscure) in I. Špadijer, *Svetogorska baština…*, p. 51-72, with earlier references.

[7] This is achieved by such sweeping phrases as "he [i.e., Sava] traversed all Easts and Wests, South and North", Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 366, 378, 390 (the seemingly awkward plural, itself a borrowing from the Greek, is by no means lacking in literary and ideological implications: see R. Marinković, "Zapadi i istoci Rastka Nemanjića – po Domentijanu" ("The Wests and Easts of Rastko Nemanjić According to Domentian"), in ead., *Svetorodna gospoda srpska. Istraživanja srpske književnosti srednjeg veka*, Belgrade, 2007[2], p. 216-217).

[8] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 346 (quoted after A. Z. Savić, "'A Most Splendent Path to Jerusalem': Remembering the Holy Land in Medieval Serbian Hagiography (Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries)", in *Memory and Identity in the Medieval and Early Modern World*, Peter Lang (forthcoming).

[9] As noted by earlier scholars: R. Marinković, "Komentari" ("Commentary"), in ead. (ed.), Domentijan, *Život Svetoga Save i Život Svetoga Simeona*, Belgrade, 1988, p. 366, n. 12; Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 492, n. 6; N. Polovina, *Topos putovanja*…, p. 187-188.

[10] A wealth of comparative material for the study of the interrelation between mobility and identity in saints' *Lives* is presented in É. Malamut, *Sur la route des saints byzantins*, Paris, 1993.

obviously not the only one who could be said to have benefited therefrom: it is the "fatherland" (*ōtьčьstvo*) and the people – "his children" (*čeda svoja*) – that he ushered into the universal Orthodox community by opening the way to its most revered *loca sancta*. In this sense, the Archbishop's status seems to be inextricably tied to that of his congregation, which makes the question of identity somewhat more complicated; indeed, it turns it into a question of plural *identities*, Sava's, but also his compatriots'. He is a holy man in search of personal religious fulfilment on the one hand, and a prelate responsible for the souls of the faithful on the other. This ambiguity lies at the very foundation of a working hypothesis: that the Saint's peregrinations make for a privileged discursive position from which the relevant hagiographic texts tackle his multifaceted identity, simultaneously projecting it onto an emergent programmatic definition of the Serbian collective.

1. Mount Athos

When he first retreated from the world, Rastko Nemanjić (as Sava was called prior to becoming a monk) was still a youth. Benjamin of the Serbian ruling family, he proved very early to be an exceptional individual; dedicated to a humble and pious life, he never acquired a taste for the leisurely activities for which his highborn peers typically had a strong penchant. In that vein, it might have come as some surprise to the Grand Župan Stefan Nemanja and his wife Anna that their son, now aged seventeen, should ask for permission to go on a hunting expedition. They were unaware, of course, that it would be a mere cover for the lad's escape to Mount Athos. Once they finally realised what had transpired, it was much too late to undo his decision to renounce secular power and follow the monastic path.[11] A central aspect of the story developed along these lines by Domentian and Theodosius is that they depict Rastko's transition as an act of withdrawal into "the desert": our sources intimate that "from a tender age he cherished the eremitic life (*poustin'noe žitie*)" owing to tales he heard "of the Holy Mount Athos and its anchorites, and other desert places (*o pročiihь městěhь poustynnyhь*)".[12] A poignant and ambivalent concept, the desert loomed large over the religious imagination of medieval Christians.[13] It

[11] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 8-14; Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 5-10.

[12] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 12; Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 6; D. Popović, "Pustinožiteljstvo svetog Save Srpskog" ("Heremitism of St Sava of Serbia"), in M. Detelić (ed.), *Kult svetih na Balkanu*, vol. II (= *Liceum* 7), Kragujevac, 2002, p. 64-65.

[13] The standard work on the early Christian idea of the desert is still A. Guillaumont, "La conception du désert chez les moines d'Égypte", *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 188, 1975, 1, p. 3-21. Among the notable works focusing on its medieval European iterations are J. Le Goff, "Le désert-forêt dans l'Occident médiéval", in id., *L'imaginaire médiéval. Essais*, Paris, 1985,

evoked spaces of contention and trial, physical as well as mental. At once terrible and serene, barren and filled with presence both demonic and divine, it became something of a familiar setting for advanced ascetic practices embedded into a range of specific natural surroundings, be they wastelands of sand and rock, remote islands, forests, or, in our case, (holy) mountains.[14] These uncanny locales were to be found all across the oikumene, but they functioned in much the same way: as places which break the body but strengthen the spirit, a sort of arduous preparation for the much-desired encounter with God.

Needless to say, such experiences changed people. Attracting men and women who set aside their property, social roles, families – their selfhood, even, the desert forged novel identities with which recent scholarship has tried to get to grips by describing them as complex, hybrid, liminal, *entre-deux*, etc.[15] Through an intricate game of mutual mimicry, emptied selves and desolate landscapes generated creative potential which gave a strong impetus to medieval literature, most of all to hagiography; indeed, the very notion of sanctity as promoted in the early Christian centuries came to be heavily imbued with the idea(l)s of detachment, anti-structure, and wildness. As Peter Brown put it in a seminal essay, "the holy man drew his powers from outside the human race: by going to live in the desert, in close identification with an animal kingdom that stood, in the imagination of contemporaries, for the opposite pole of all human society".[16]

So, how do these general reflections bear upon Sava's example? The two accounts of his early days on Mount Athos presented by the *Vitae* highlight the (overly) zealous fashion in which he embraced monastic ways. The arduous toils that he endured – from constant prayer and manual labour to fasting and exposure to the elements – made him appear as a "ruthless and wrathful enemy of his own body" which he continually "tortured", "mortified", and

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p. 59-75, and several contributions to the volume J. Dijkstra and M. van Dijk (eds.), *The Encroaching Desert. Egyptian Hagiography and the Medieval West*, Leiden – Boston, 2006. For the Byzantine angle, see V. della Dora, *Landscape, Nature, and the Sacred in Byzantium*, Cambridge, 2016, p. 118-144.

[14] In medieval Serbian sources, D. Popović holds, the terms *poustynja* ("desert") and *gora* ("mountain") are interchangeably employed "in reference to the space intended for higher forms of monastic life": "The Deserts and Holy Mountains of Medieval Serbia. Written Sources, Spatial Patterns, Architectural Designs", in P. Soustal (ed.), *Heilige Berge und Wüsten. Byzanz und sein Umfeld (Referate auf dem 21. Internationalen Kongress für Byzantinistik, London, 21.–26. August 2006)*, Wien, 2009, p. 61. Cf., however, I. Špadijer, "The Symbolism of Space in Medieval Hagiography", *Kirilo-Metodievski studii*, 21, 2012, p. 304-305. Holy mountains are discussed in more detail in Section 3 of this study, see *infra*.

[15] M. Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation*…, p. 71; P. A. Mena, *Place and Identity in the Lives of Anthony, Paul, and Mary of Egypt. Desert as Borderland*, Cham, 2019, p. 20-21.

[16] P. Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity", *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 61, 1971, p. 92.

"crucified".[17] Of course, as one might imagine, corporeal exertion went hand in hand with spiritual growth. In this regard, we ought to take notice of what Domentian and Theodosius stress at the very beginning of their respective narratives: that divine grace had been upon the hero ever since his conception. Born to aged parents of outstanding piety – much like Isaac or John the Baptist – the "prodigious child" (*čjudьnь ... otrōkь*) was at once recognised as a sign of the Almighty's sway over the laws of nature.[18] To be sure, this was merely the first such manifestation of God's omnipotence in Sava's *Lives*. Its channelling through the Saint into the world around him – the very stuff of hagiography – is an issue to which both Domentian and Theodosius devoted considerable attention: the result is a catalogue of miracles matched neither qualitatively nor quantitatively in all later Serbian literature, notwithstanding certain discrepancies between the two versions, which may be accounted for by the presumed purpose and context of the composition of each work.[19] From the perspective of wonder-working, Sava's initial sojourn on Mount Athos was clearly a kind of turning point. Indeed, it was not long after his arrival that, according to the *Vita prima*, "God wrought this first miracle (*se prьvoe čjudo*) on him": namely, by God's will he evaded the men sent by his father to fetch him and was thus able to take his vows.[20] Shortly afterwards, two more miraculous events came to pass, following a like pattern: as he was on his way to deliver "warm loaves" to anchorites observing Lent, he was intercepted by a party of brigands; yet another time, while sailing along the Athos coast *en route* to the Great Lavra, a similar group took him prisoner. It goes without saying that both attempts to thwart his pious goal were foiled by intervention from on high.[21]

Although these early miracles are arguably much less spectacular than later ones, they do suggest that the gift with which Rastko/Sava had been brought into the world acquired a new dimension upon his flight to "the desert". In order to understand this development against a broader background, it is helpful to recall Claudia Rapp's acclaimed analysis of episcopal authority in

[17] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 22; Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 25-26; D. Popović, "Pustinožiteljstvo…", p. 65-68.
[18] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 2-4; Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 3-4.
[19] D. Popović, "Čudotvorenja svetog Save Srpskog" ("The Miracle-Working of St Sava of Serbia"), in ead., *Pod okriljem svetosti. Kult svetih vladara i relikvija u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*, Belgrade, 2006, p. 97-118 (originally published in D. Ajdačić [ed.], *Čudo u slovenskim kulturama*, Novi Sad, 2000, p. 138-156). For a recent comparative discussion of the two miracle narratives in the wider context of medieval Serbian hagiography, see S. Marjanović-Dušanić, *L'écriture et la sainteté dans la Serbie médiévale. Études d'hagiographie*, Turnhout, 2017, p. 141-175 (also p. 245-248, for a summary of Sava's *Vitae* and an overview of his *miracula*).
[20] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 14-18.
[21] *Ibid*., p. 32-38; Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 28-32.

Late Antiquity.[22] The two sides of Sava's saintly persona that we have just outlined would correspond to what Rapp calls spiritual authority and ascetic authority. The former, she writes, "indicates that its bearer has received the *pneuma*, the Spirit from God", meaning that it "has its source outside the individual". Furthermore, spiritual authority is personal – "given directly to a specific individual, without personal participation or preparation by its recipient" – and self-sufficient, in that "it can exist in the individual independent of its recognition by others".[23] The latter, however, "has its source in the personal efforts of the individual". It is gained "by subduing the body and by practicing virtuous behaviour", which makes it essentially self-centred – the goal is to attain "a certain ideal of personal perfection" – and generally accessible, meaning that "anyone who chooses to do so can engage in the requisite practices".[24] What is of particular interest about these concepts is that they constitute a feedback loop of sorts: "[t]he personal practice of asceticism", it is argued, "prepares the individual for the receipt of the gifts of the spirit, and thus of spiritual authority"; but in turn, "asceticism is a gauge of the presence of spiritual authority", as without God's aid it is all but impossible to withstand the hardships of anchoritic life.[25] As it seems, this principle applies very well to our case. Blessed from birth, Rastko was incited by the Holy Spirit to relinquish the world and to seek the desert; once he became a monk and embraced the ascetic routine, his spiritual power thrived and repeatedly manifested itself through miraculous occurrences. In other words, long before he became a church leader, Sava exhibited signs of a twofold authority that developed over time and thoroughly informed his nascent saintly identity. There is, however, another aspect to it, which now must be addressed.

Claudia Rapp's design is a tripartite one. Apart from the spiritual and the ascetic, she describes a third type of authority, termed "pragmatic": it "arises from the actions of the individual, but in distinction from ascetic authority, these actions are directed not toward the shaping of the self, but to the benefit of others"; given its inherently public character, pragmatic authority largely depends on "the individual's wherewithal", i.e., on one's social standing and influence, as well as on material means.[26] Here we have one last vital feature of Sava's hagiographic portrait. Even though he "despised this transient life and glory and all earthly delights",[27] his break with home was nowhere as radical as the consumer of anchoritic "classics" might suppose. Domentian emphasises the

[22] C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity. The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, 2005.
[23] *Ibid*., p. 16 (elaborated in detail in Ch. 3, p. 56 *sq*.).
[24] *Ibid*., p. 17 (and Ch. 4, p. 100 *sq*.).
[25] *Ibid*., p. 17-18, 101.
[26] *Ibid*., p. 17 (and Ch. 2, p. 23 *sq*.).
[27] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 22.

Saint's lasting ties with his "fatherland" by drawing a suggestive parallel between him and John the Baptist, the first *erēmopolitēs*:

> For he [John], in the words of Luke the Evangelist, 'was in the deserts till the day of his shewing unto Israel'. However, the cherisher of love and lover of mercy – Christ – chose himself this one [Sava] whilst he was still in his mother's womb, and led him to His Holy Mount where he lingered till he was called upon to enlighten his fatherland (*na prosveštenie ōtьčьstva svoego*).[28]

This passage underscores a central point. Sava's ascetic experience was not meant to merely enhance his *don de l'esprit* in terms of personal inner progression, but to prepare him to take the helm of the Serbian Church in order to mediate to his *patria* the bounty which the Lord had bestowed on him. In this respect, the Saint falls right in line with many a champion of late ancient and Byzantine Christianity whose time in "the desert" preceded a distinguished ecclesiastical career. These monk-bishops, as Andrea Sterk calls them, exemplify an ideal different from the one embodied by life-long anchorites. Instead of eschewing the world forever, they withdrew from it temporarily to achieve a degree of monastic virtue before assuming control of church affairs.[29] Owing to the prestige of Basil the Great, to whom it essentially harks back, such a conception of the episcopate gradually became the norm in the Orthodox world, adapting as necessary to meet the needs of particular cultural environments. To illustrate this phenomenon from a medieval non-Greek perspective, Sterk briefly looks at none other than Sava of Serbia. Unlike the typical monk-bishop of Late Antiquity who renounced the worldly upon obtaining a solid classical training, thus discarding the prospect of "lofty intellectual achievements", Sava rejected the might and wealth inherent to his princely status; nevertheless, she contends that quite a few features of the original model found their way into the work of Domentian and Theodosius.[30] What is of particular interest now is the so-called "mixed life" which Sterk defines as a "balance between the contemplative life of the philosopher or monk and the active vocation of civic or ecclesiastical service".[31] Indeed, it would be misleading to think of these two conditions as strictly demarcated phases of one's personal and professional course; rather, the ascetic and the pastoral are as a rule thoroughly intertwined and constituent of a complex dialectic of identity construction. Consider Sava's case. During his tenure as abbot of his father's

[28] *Ibid*., p. 12; cf. *Luke* 1: 80. On this Biblical typology, see Lj. Juhas-Georgievska, "Književno delo…", p. LXV-LXXI.
[29] A. Sterk, *Renouncing the World Yet Leading the Church. The Monk-Bishop in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, MA – London, 2004, *passim*; see also C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops…*, p. 123-125.
[30] A. Sterk, *Renouncing the World…*, p. 229-236.
[31] *Ibid*., p. 103.

pious foundation at Studenica, and later as Archbishop, he often reminisced about "the desert" of his youth. Yet these retreats to Mount Athos were not only virtual: in fact, he used every opportunity to actually withdraw there for however long matters of state and church allowed.[32] This permanent longing for *askēsis* was held in check by one thing only, the well-being of his people. As Sava himself is reported to have uttered at an assembly of Serbian nobles and clergy: "It was ye, my fellow countrymen, for whom I abandoned my holy and sweet desert (*svetouju i sladkouju mně poustynju*) […]. For the sake of your souls, so to speak, I despised mine own".[33] Tensions such as those between seclusion and public agency, self-gratification and common good, bodily torment and spiritual sacrifice (*pro ovibus*), feed the dynamic of the Saint's *Vitae* and provide an ideological backdrop to his travels, which, as we are about to demonstrate, bring to the fore all three facets of his authority – spiritual, ascetic, and pragmatic.[34]

Yet, before we proceed, one other remark should be made about the above juxtaposition of John the Baptist and Sava. By contrasting the two, Domentian implicitly draws an additional analogy, that between Israel of old and the Saint's "fatherland"; drawing on *Luke* 1: 14–17, where the former is designated as "a people prepared for the Lord", the hagiographer states that by virtue of Sava's ministry the Serbs became precisely that: *gospodevi bogou ljudie sъvrъšeni*.[35] As one might expect, this is but an inkling of a highly powerful concept that spans the better part of medieval Serbian literature; a concept, to quote Mary Garrison, "so familiar as to seem to need no introduction, so ubiquitous as to have been part of the group identity of almost every European Christian nation at one time or another".[36] What is in question

[32] Truth be told, on one famous occasion he decided to remain on Mount Athos and act by proxy, even in spite of great need: Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 186-194; Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 117-125. Cf. D. Popović, "Čudotvorenja…", p. 109-110.

[33] Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 142.

[34] An alternative conception of Sava's authority has been proposed by S. Marjanović-Dušanić, "Harizma i autoritet: Skica za hagiografski portret svetog Save" ("Charisma and Authority: Toward a Hagiographic Portrait of St Sava"), in *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, 52, 2015, p. 277-289. Building on the Weberian definition of charisma, the author discusses a bipartite model encompassing a "charismatic" and an "institutional" aspect.

[35] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 26.

[36] M. Garrison, "Divine Election for Nations – a Difficult Rhetoric for Medieval Scholars?", in L. B. Mortensen (ed.), *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c. 1000-1300)*, Copenhagen, 2006, p. 275. There are many fine books and articles which interpret the various "national" discourses of election in the Middle Ages, from the British Isles to the eastern reaches of the Christian world; suffice it to mention a new book discussing the case of 7th- to 13th-century Byzantium: Sh. Eshel, *The Concept of the Elect Nation in Byzantium*, Leiden – Boston, 2018 (see the *Bibliography* for more references). M. Blagojević was the first to mine representative pieces of medieval Serbian literature in search of evidence that the idea of election had taken root in the Nemanjić state: "Srbi – izabrani narod. O nacionalnim i državnim interesima u delima Domentijana" ("The Serbs – a Chosen People. On National and State Interests in the Works of Domentian"), in id., *Nemanjići i Lazarevići i srpska srednjovekovna državnost*,

is, obviously, the theme of chosenness, grounded in the Scripturally-inspired notion of the covenantal relationship between God and an elect community.[37] Now, although the basic assumption itself is straightforward enough, given the spectrum of purposes for which the "chosen people" paradigm is known to have been mobilised in various historical contexts, each iteration of the idea clearly warrants scholarly attention in its own right.[38] In 13th-century Serbia, the imagery of popular election reflected a triumphalist political setting: for not only was Sava ordained Archbishop of an autocephalous Serbian Church in 1218 or 1219, but a year or so before, in 1217, his brother Stefan became the first Nemanjić sovereign to bear the title of king (hence his sobriquet "the First-Crowned").[39] Being the source of secular as well as ecclesiastical power, the royal house was enveloped by an aura of holiness and proclaimed a new *stirps beata* sprouting from the "good root", as Stefan Nemanja – Sava and Stefan's father – was fittingly envisaged.[40]

However, the reigning family was more than a focus of sanctity; it was also a conduit: in this early phase of the Serbian election myth, the community was perceived as partaking of the special status granted to Nemanja and his heirs. This phenomenon was described by Anthony D. Smith in a well-known essay in which he tackled myths of chosenness as devices for sustaining ethnic collectives. In some instances, such myths are "attached to the ruling house and dynasty, from which the community tends to take its main symbols and culture, and to which it is always associated"; in short, the imperial-dynastic pattern, as he refers to it, presupposes the "conjunction of dynasty, land and people".[41] Judging by the sources presently under scrutiny in tandem with other relevant

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Belgrade, 2004, p. 115-132 (originally published in *Istorijski glasnik*, 1–2, 1994, p. 15-28). To the best of my knowledge, a systematic overview of the development of this concept has not as yet been attempted in Serbia, but its far-reaching implications have been considered in relation to a variety of other phenomena, most recently and competently by S. Marjanović-Dušanić, *L'écriture et la sainteté*…, *passim*.

[37] Much has been written by scholars from across the humanities about the concept of chosenness in Christianity, but also in other religious systems. See, for instance, J. B. Wells, *God's Holy People. A Theme in Biblical Theology*, Sheffield, 2000, and A. D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples. Sacred Sources of National Identity*, Oxford, 2003.

[38] M. Garrison, "Divine Election…", p. 299.

[39] The recent anniversary of these momentous events of Serbian history was marked by a number of conferences and symposia. Among the resulting publications, one stands out as particularly noteworthy: Lj. Maksimović and S. Pirivatrić (eds.), *Kraljevstvo i arhiepiskopija u srpskim i pomorskim zemljama Nemanjića* (*The Kingdom and the Archbishopric of the Serbian and Maritime Lands of the Nemanjić Dynasty*), Belgrade, 2019.

[40] S. Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija Nemanjića. Diplomatička studija* (*L'idéologie monarchique de la dynastie des Némanides. Étude diplomatique*), Belgrade, 1997, p. 100-117; S. Marjanović-Dušanić, *L'écriture et la sainteté*…, p. 62 *sq*.

[41] A. D. Smith, "Chosen Peoples: Why Ethnic Groups Survive", in id., *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, Oxford, 1999, p. 136 (originally published in *Ethnic and Racial Studies Review*, 15, 1992, 3, p. 436-456).

pieces of historical evidence, Sava indeed regulated the intricate relations comprising this conceptual triangle; but other than him, the central figure of the political-theological scheme which permeated the ideological bedrock of Nemanjić rule was the holy forefather himself. Dubbed a "second Jacob" and "new Israel", Nemanja was to "rejuvenate his children through the Holy Spirit" so that they might be called God's elect (*iz'brannye božie*).[42] Yet, first he needed to join his son on Mount Athos.

Although it appears that the Grand Župan had initially disapproved of the young prince's decision to relinquish the court in favour of the monastery, he ended up doing precisely the same. Upon receiving a rather lengthy epistle in which Sava urged him to forgo mundane affairs and come to Mount Athos, Nemanja ceded the throne to Stefan, took monastic vows and withdrew to Studenica, his most prestigious religious establishment; the year was 1196. It was not long after all this took place that the monk Simeon (as he was hence known) set out to the Holy Mount with a mighty entourage and a considerable portion of his erstwhile wealth, which allowed him to make lavish donations to houses across Athos as he traversed the peninsula alongside his youngest offspring.[43] Whether or not one may see fit to take our hagiographers at their word as they report on the extent of Sava and Simeon's munificence is of little import at this juncture. What matters is rather the underlying impression that father and son took significant pains to substantiate their standing within the Athonite milieu, a necessary first step towards the foundation of a new monastic colony meant to provide refuge to their compatriots. This was beyond doubt the foremost objective of the entire enterprise. Owing to Sava's diplomatic prowess (and Stefan's financial support), by mid-1198 they were granted imperial permission to restore a derelict monastery to this very purpose: Hilandar has been the mainstay of Serbian presence on Athos ever since.[44] Not surprisingly, Domentian and Theodosius cast this chain of events in a miraculous context. The latter cleverly exploits the "new Israel" paradigm: just as God had multiplied Jacob and spread his kin across all Egypt after he had joined Joseph in the wilderness, so was he to multiply Simeon and populate the desert with his own children, though not those of the flesh but those of the spirit.[45] It was thus divine will that Serbian monks be settled amongst other Athonites, as was disclosed to

[42] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 62.
[43] *Ibid*., p. 40-82; Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 33-48.
[44] More on the historical circumstances of the establishment of Hilandar: D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits*…, p. 126-130; M. Živojinović, "Ktitorska delatnost svetoga Save" ("Activité de saint Sava comme fondateur d'églises"), in V. Đurić (ed.), *Međunarodni naučni skup Sava Nemanjić – sveti Sava. Istorija i predanje*, Belgrade, 1979, p. 16-18; I. Komatina, *Crkva i država u srpskim zemljama od XI do XIII veka* (*Church and State in the Serbian Lands from the XIth to the XIIIth Century*), Belgrade, 2016, p. 189-191. A comprehensive read on the monastery and its history, available in English: G. Subotić (ed.), *Hilandar Monastery*, Belgrade, 1998.
[45] Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 48.

Sava through a mysterious mouthpiece. Domentian relates that one day, as the Saint was minding his business, a God-fearing stranger approached him, having the following to say:

> God has not sent thee to the Holy Mount so that merely thou and thy father might find deliverance.[46] For it was said unto the Prophet: 'Be thou not the only one who knows Me, but get thee up to Mount Zion; lift thy voice like a trumpet, bringing good tidings to Jerusalem, so that all may know Me'. As for thee, falter not, but raise a monastery on the Holy Mount, to be a real haven for thy fatherland, in order that those who come after ye […] may themselves be saved.[47]

Theodosius, for his part, takes the "national" character of the future monastery even further:

> For with God, all is now possible to ye. Rulers in your own land, kin to those who hold the imperial sceptre, should you deign to request anything – your petition shall not be in vain. Make haste, then, and ask for a place or a desolate monastery; and having restored it, endow for your fatherland a monastery bearing the Serbian name (*svoemu ōtьčьstvou outvrьdite srьbьskyi monastyrь zvati se*), so that those amongst your folk who love God and flee the worldly life might reach a harbour of salvation after ye […].[48]

It is clear that in both *Vitae* Hilandar is conceived of as the redeeming pivot of Sava and Simeon's people. In that sense, that Domentian drew upon the potent symbolism of Zion is neither incidental nor, in effect, unprecedented in 13th-century Serbian literature. It was some fifty years prior that Stefan – who was not just the first Nemanjić king, but also one of the earliest known Serbian men of letters – made use of this imagery to a double purpose: to legitimise the dynasty's hold on power by identifying its originator with Biblical patriarchs such as Jacob or David (whose fortress atop Zion came to be emblematically represented by Hilandar in the discourse of Serbian writers); but also to relay the point that, under divinely sanctioned leadership, "children of the fatherland" were well set on the path of collective deliverance.[49] Domentian and Theodosius picked up and elaborated both themes in a way which promotes Sava as the ultimate executor of the providential design. His was the guiding hand that led

[46] One of the surviving manuscripts has "… but so that thou may tread a proper path for the children of thy fatherland" after this, see R. Marinković, "Komentari"…, p. 337, n. 8.
[47] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 86; cf. *Isa*. 40: 9.
[48] Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 49.
[49] S. Marjanović-Dušanić, "Hilandar kao Novi Sion Nemanjinog otačastva" ("The Zion Symbolics of the Monastery of Chilandari"), in V. Korać (ed.), *Međunarodni naučni skup Osam vekova Hilandara. Istorija, duhovni život, književnost, umetnost i arhitektura*, Belgrade, 2000, p. 18-20.

Nemanja and subsequently the entire nation to become a "new Israel"; in other words, he facilitated the transmission of holiness from the revered founder of the state to the community, a process deeply rooted in the Athonite experience.

Simeon lived long enough to witness the foundation of Hilandar, but passed away shortly after (1199). Apart from serving as his initial resting place, the monastery was also the stage of his first myrrh-exuding miracle, an unmistakable sign of God's special favour.[50] The wonder-working relics remained at Hilandar until early 1207 when Sava brought them to Serbia and had them interred at Studenica. Two episodes regarding the repatriation of Simeon's mortal remains ought to be looked at presently, one being that of the *translatio* itself. According to the wordplay introduced above, Sava's *Lives* describe the event as prefigured by the carrying of Jacob's body from Egypt back to the land of Canaan for burial,[51] hence rounding off a typology which gave tone to the chapters relating the saintly duo's commendable exploits on Mount Athos. Once Simeon was entombed anew, Sava started praying with great fervour to God that his father's relics would once more miraculously flow with myrrh as they had at Hilandar. On the anniversary of the holy man's death (presumably the following year), Sava's wish was fulfilled: while he was officiating the liturgy, *myron* began to pour from the grave. This scene was embedded into the framework of salvation history employing another familiar Old Testament parallelism: the precious liquid by which Simeon's "dry bones" were replenished is likened to water that was made to flow in the desert to quench the thirst of the wandering Hebrews upon their flight from Egypt.[52] In the eyes of our hagiographers and their audience, the myrrh secreted by the relics was just as life-preserving; it was a pure materialisation of grace which all of "his [i.e., Simeon's] children and his people, the new Israel" were invited to share in. It is thus within the span of several pages in the modern editions that the *Vitae* relay a powerful message, namely, that the dynastic patriarch as well as his "flock" became the embodiment of the ambiguous *novus Israël* model.[53] As we have seen, in each case Sava had a part to play, and a decisive one at that. To Simeon's Jacob he acted as Joseph; on this second occasion, though, he implicitly assumed an even more meaningful role, one with which Domentian would gradually and thoroughly imbue his hero's personality through the course of the narrative: the

[50] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 128-140; Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 68-75. Most recently on Simeon's miracle-working: D. Popović, "Čuda svetog Simeona" ("The Miracles of St Symeon of Serbia"), in ead., *Riznica spasenja. Kult relikvija i srpskih svetih u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*, Belgrade – Novi Sad, 2018, p. 229-248 (originally published in M. Radujko [ed.], *Stefan Nemanja – prepodobni Simeon Mirotočivi. Zbornik radova*, Belgrade, 2016, p. 497-507).
[51] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 152; Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 83-84.
[52] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 154; Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 88.
[53] M. Blagojević, "Srbi – izabrani narod…", p. 120-122; S. Marjanović-Dušanić, *L'écriture et la sainteté*…, p. 88-89 and *passim*.

detailed comparison that he draws between Sava and Moses is, however, a topic to which we shall return later.

To summarise this section, let us briefly highlight the most important conclusions. Sava's initial migration to Mount Athos had set in motion a process of identity formation on two parallel but mutually interdependent tracks. On the one hand, the practice of *askēsis* honed his spiritual gift and prepared him to take the reins of ecclesiastical government in the Nemanjić realm. By the time he set out for Serbia in the early 1200s, he had already been ordained archimandrite, a distinguished title connoting both monastic leadership and priestly office; the episcopate was only a step away.[54] On the other hand, by advancing in virtue Sava paved the way to spiritual fulfilment for the entire Serbian society, the *plebs perfecta*: "And he trod for them a great and wide path to the Holy Mount, and there he raised cities grand and solid and endowed them fully, and passed all this on to the children of his fatherland to linger therein and do God's work so that having endured truly unto the end they emerge as a people prepared for Lord God".[55] That Domentian is very much prone to foreshadowing is revealed already in the following sentence: "And he likewise trod a path to Jerusalem and Sinai and to every place where God's name is named".[56] Hinting at this point (Ch. 2) at the travels which lay in store for Sava in the relatively distant future (detailed in Ch. 22 and 26-30) suggests that they do in fact represent later instances of the very same life-long itinerary whose unfolding mirrors the internal dynamic of the process(es) investigated in this study. In order to pursue this dynamic further, we now turn to Sava's pilgrimage to the Holy City.

2. Jerusalem

Some time while he was still a young Athonite monastic submitting himself to an arduous ascetic routine in imitation of Christ, Sava beseeched God to grant him the following wish:

> Guide my feet into Thy way of peace, and as I hasten East to Thy Holy City of Jerusalem grant me the privilege to prostrate myself before Thy life-giving sepulchre and to behold with the eyes of my soul and heart where Thy pristine body lay, and where stood Thy pristine feet and Thy life-giving cross […], and having seen all Thy sufferings, to inscribe them onto the tablets of mine heart

[54] On Sava's ordination, which might have taken place in 1203/1204 in Thessaloniki, see I. Komatina, *Crkva i država*…, p. 258-259.
[55] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 26.
[56] *Ibid*.

> and return West, armed with audacity towards Thee (*sь drьznoveniemь tvoimь*), so that by the power of Thy Holy Spirit I might enlighten Thy people […].[57]

Albeit it took some three decades, everything which the Saint had hoped for (that is what he had foreseen, as he evidently had the gift) came true. In 1229, the year of his first *peregrinatio* to Jerusalem,[58] Sava was in his fifties and had an outstanding political and pastoral career behind him. Since returning to Serbia with Simeon's miraculous relics and taking charge of Studenica, he had handled several important diplomatic assignments, provided a legal framework for the Nemanjić state (by having the *Nomocanon* translated), set up the ecclesiastical organisation of the newly established Serbian Archbishopric, and enforced Orthodoxy throughout the land; finally, slightly prior to his departure for Palestine he oversaw the transition of power to Radoslav, the eldest son of the late King Stefan.[59] Upon the latter's passing, Sava's role at court clearly became even more prominent: to be sure, Domentian need not be overly exaggerating when he comments that henceforth "all the weight of his fatherland rested on him alone".[60] In light of this remark, the hero's perennial desire to emulate Christ appears to be but one reason for his setting out towards the Holy Land. As a matter of fact, I am about to suggest that it was a double purpose – *pro anima* and *pro patria* – that motivated Sava's voyage to Jerusalem, entirely in line with the prophetically intoned prayed cited just above.

First of all, however, a glance at his pilgrimage route is in order. Domentian describes the voyage in great detail: once he arrived in Jerusalem and venerated the Holy Sepulchre, Sava visited several famous sanctuaries both within the city itself and in its relative vicinity.[61] His itinerary encompassed sites that commemorated crucial events of Christ's life (notably Bethlehem, Zion, the Mount of Olives, Bethany, and the Jordan, in that precise sequence), including those related to the Virgin and John the Baptist. Moreover, it is noteworthy that throughout Domentian's report Jerusalem functions as a kind of "base" to which Sava recurrently comes back in the intervals between visiting holy places; its centrality is thus asserted in terms of symbolic pre-eminence, but also of narrative structure. Of course, in this context, the label "holy place" does not

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[57] *Ibid*., p. 22-24.
[58] For a convincing chronology of Sava's first pilgrimage, see M. Marković, *Prvo putovanje…*, p. 13-19.
[59] Sava's activities during this period are relevantly discussed by I. Komatina, *Crkva i država*…, p. 259-295.
[60] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 276.
[61] *Ibid*., p. 280-302. Theodosius' version is much more succinct: Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 166-169. A scrupulous analysis of this stage of the itinerary, destination by destination: M. Marković, *Prvo putovanje…*, p. 28-70; for a summary overview in English, see B. Miljković, "Serbia and the Holy Land from the 12th to the 15th Century", in E. Hadjitryphonos (ed.), *Routes of Faith in the Medieval Mediterranean. History, Monuments, People, Pilgrimage Perspectives*, Thessaloniki, 2008, p. 160-161.

apply only to those localities considered outstanding by virtue of purported links to Scriptural history. As in any medieval account of Orthodox pilgrimage, in Sava's *Vitae* visits to the renowned monasteries of the Judaean Desert are just as integral an element of the Holy Land experience.[62] Although he supposedly stopped by a few religious houses in the area, he spent most of the time in the Great Lavra founded by his patron and namesake, St Sabas the Sanctified (his stay there and its implications will be appropriately discussed in the ensuing pages). From there, he returned to Jerusalem and before long ventured to Galilee; he saw Nazareth and Mount Tabor, and finally gained Acre, whence he set sail westwards. Following a sojourn in Nicaea and on Athos he reached Serbia, thus bringing his first pilgrimage to an end.[63]

That Domentian chose to introduce Sava's longing to set foot in Jerusalem at such an early stage is not in the least unusual; after all, someone who spent their days figuratively crucifying their body ought to have felt the appeal of Holy Land travel as a compelling expression of Christo-mimetic piety.[64] Apart from that, what I trust the text is trying to achieve here is a sense of continuity between the Saint's first stay on Athos and his later wanderings, i.e., between one "desert" and another. Apparently, what starts as a pilgrimage report with a subtle eremitic undertone – implied in Sava's excursions to places reminiscent of Christ and his Forerunner, especially that of the former's temptation in the wilderness[65] – shifts into an outright description of "desert wayfaring" (*ō poustyn'nomь prohoždenii*), which the hero, looking back at his formative years, very much yearned for; indeed, it was only after he had traversed "all the deserts of Bethlehem and of the Jordan, and all Palestine" that he was ready to return home.[66] In the meantime, as he roamed the barren

[62] As argued by A. Jotischky, "History and Memory as Factors in Greek Orthodox Pilgrimage to the Holy Land Under Crusader Rule", in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, Woodbridge, 2000, p. 115: "The history of monasticism in Palestine was an extension of the biblical narrative of salvation, and by visiting the monasteries the pilgrim was commemorating the lives of the monks as though they were part of that same narrative".

[63] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 302-314; Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 169-174; M. Marković, *Prvo putovanje*..., p. 70-93.

[64] On the phenomenon of *imitatio Christi* in the Middle Ages, see G. Constable, "The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ", in id., *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 143-248. Much scholarly work has been done on the late ancient/medieval understanding and experience of pilgrimage. Some of the standard references are E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, AD 312–460*, Oxford, 1982; R. Ousterhout (ed.), *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, Urbana – Chicago, 1990; G. Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes. Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, Los Angeles – London, 2000; B. Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred. The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, 2005.

[65] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 288-294; Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 167-168.

[66] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 296, 300; cf. Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 169-170. See also D. Popović, "Pustinožiteljstvo…", p. 72.

Judaean landscape, Sava indulged in his youthful habit of visiting monasteries and holy men scattered across the desert: this time, as I have already mentioned, his principal goal was the Lavra of St Sabas.[67] Given the high regard in which Sava held the great Saint (a fact corroborated by sources other than the two *Lives*),[68] the chance to behold his tomb and his hermitage – "in which he led a life of fasting, pain, and suffering"[69] – must have provided considerable personal satisfaction. And yet, as it seems, there was another vital aspect to this visit. Namely, Domentian intimates that, having donated much gold to the monastery, Sava became a member of its brotherhood, which may well be interpreted as a token of respect and appreciation for the distinguished guest from afar.[70] However, recent scholarship has offered a further explanation that renders this act a central occurrence of Sava's first trip to the Holy Land.

Over the course of his pilgrimage, so says the *Vita prima*, Sava lodged at the Jerusalem *metochion* of the Great Lavra, which is presumably why he so often went back to the city. It was also there that the Saint made the acquaintance of the Lavra's abbot Nicholas, in whose company he travelled to the revered desert monastery. Once they returned to Jerusalem, again according to Domentian, Sava was granted the Church of St John the Theologian upon Mount Zion – identified by Miodrag Marković as the erstwhile northern chapel of the Crusader basilica destroyed in 1219-1220[71] – to be the nucleus of a newly established Serbian monastery.[72] By all appearances, the building had been in possession of the brethren of St Sabas and was made available to the Serbian Archbishop only after he joined their ranks. Technically, therefore, Sava's endowment in Jerusalem still belonged to the Lavra (it was inhabited by Sabaites when he came back to the Holy Land in 1234), but its function must have been to accommodate subsequent pilgrims from Serbia – and conceivably other Orthodox lands – and facilitate their way to the Holy Places; to much the same end Sava might have "redeemed" from Latin hands the Church of St George in Acre, as the *Lives* claim, but the dearth of historical evidence leaves open many questions regarding this enterprise.[73] In any event, political developments in

[67] Principal, but not the only one. Domentian claims that afterwards Sava visited "all the monasteries lengthwise towards the Sea of Sodom" and on his way back made a stop at the Lavra of St Euthymius: Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 296-300. Theodosius mentions more individual stations: Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 168-169; cf. M. Marković, *Prvo putovanje*..., p. 54-57, for an appraisal.
[68] V. J. Đurić, "Uzori svetoga Save" ("The Role Models of St Sava"), *Letopis Matice srpske*, 455, 1995, no. 3, p. 495-498; S. Popović, "Sabaite Influences on the Church of Medieval Serbia", in J. Patrich (ed.), *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, Leuven, 2001, p. 385-407.
[69] Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 168.
[70] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 296.
[71] M. Marković, *Prvo putovanje*..., p. 66-70.
[72] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 298-300. Theodosius imparts nothing of the sort at this point.
[73] M. Marković, *Prvo putovanje*..., p. 76-78.

Palestine after his death suggest that the Zion foundation was given far too little time to fulfil its intended purpose, as it was probably razed in the sack of Jerusalem in 1244.

Besides the obvious practical benefits, the foundation of the Monastery of St John the Theologian had tremendous ideological potential. It was the *pièce de résistance* of Sava's ktetorial project in Palestine, which bore a number of similarities to his and his father's activity on Mount Athos that had preceded the restoration of Hilandar. Crisscrossing the Holy Land, he allegedly made generous donations to the sanctuaries that he visited, and hence earned the right to inscribe into their memorial books the names of his parents, his brother, and himself, that they be mentioned during the liturgy.[74] Doubtless, this sort of memorialisation within houses of worship spread across a region hallowed by the feet of Christ himself must have had a strong dynastic connotation: even though Sava was ostensibly the first Nemanjić to actually tour the *Terra Sancta*, this allowed other towering figures of the family – its originator and its first king – to posthumously partake in its blessings.[75] However, these blessings were by no means restricted to the dynasty. The "most splendent path to Jerusalem" – a phrase we remember from the introductory remarks – stands for the prospect of communal salvation which gained momentum owing to Sava's protagonism: having reached the earthly Jerusalem, he opened the way towards its heavenly counterpart, for himself and his compatriots alike.[76] The dichotomy earthly/heavenly is fully reflected in Domentian's conceptualisation of the Monastery of St John, which aptly epitomised the Saint's redeeming mission. A particularly illuminating passage from Ch. 27, dedicated to Sava's arrival in Jerusalem in 1234, reads as follows:

> The holy one understood the veritable blessedness of the wondrous Prophet: "Those who have a seed in Zion and kinsmen in Jerusalem" (*imějuštii semě vъ siōně. i bližnjee svoe vъ erosalimě*). […] Upon it (i.e., Zion) he placed his spiritual dwelling: the monastery of the great Apostle John the Theologian – our Lord's beloved friend –, a divine seed (*semě božie*) sown by the Lord himself to the flourishing of true faith. And thence he inherited the earthly Jerusalem, wishing to abide with the Lord in the Jerusalem on high […].[77]

The "divine seed" metaphor is a meaningful one. Its inspiration comes from LXX *Isa*. 31: 9 – τάδε λέγει Κύριος, μακάριος ὃς ἔχει ἐν Σιὼν σπέρμα, καὶ

[74] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 286, 288, 294, 298. This privilege was reserved for the founder (*ktētōr*) or someone whose benefaction in some way equalled the very act of foundation, meaning that they contributed enough money to restore or secure the normal functioning of a church/monastery; see M. Živojinović, "Ktitorska delatnost…", p. 15, 23-24.
[75] A. Z. Savić, "'A Most Splendent Path to Jerusalem'…".
[76] Cf. S. Marjanović-Dušanić, *L'écriture et la sainteté*…, p. 80-82.
[77] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 360.

οἰκείους ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ[78] – which Domentian carefully quotes slightly earlier (Ch. 26) in relation to Sava's departure towards the Holy Land: *glagoljetъ gospodь. blaženъ iměe vъ siōně sěme. i domašnjee vъ ierōsalimě.*[79] Albeit this is clearly a more accurate rendition, it is only in the context of the above excerpt that the hagiographer's point is definitely brought home: the Zion endowment was to be a beacon of Orthodoxy shining bright at the end of the path which Sava had trod for the "children of the fatherland". Furthermore, what the *Vita* seems to imply is that Jerusalem – in which God "gathereth together the outcasts of Israel"[80] – is indeed the place where the Serbs rightfully belong; that they should have *oikeioi* (translatable as "kinsmen" or "household friends")[81], there is merely befitting of a "perfect people" who "inherited" the terrestrial city as well as its celestial, eschatological correlate by virtue of the providentially motivated undertaking of their saintly champion.[82]

We have seen so far that Sava's pilgrimage of 1229 may be considered a continuation of his early Athonite years in at least two important ways. Much like his escape to the Holy Mount several decades before, this was essentially a response to the "call of the desert", a wilful detachment from society which enhanced what we have called – following Claudia Rapp – ascetic authority. A second similarity, curious if not counterintuitive at first, is that these *fugae mundi* had a distinctive "altruistic" aspect, brought about by the interests of state and dynasty which Sava actively furthered for the better part of his life. The monastic colonies whose foundations he laid on Mount Athos and in Jerusalem constitute the most conspicuous result of his travels to the East, but not the only one. For instance, the relevance of the sacred relics, manuscripts, and liturgical paraphernalia he carried back to Serbia from the Holy Land is such that we would do well not to underestimate it;[83] yet, aside from precious objects, it was the knowledge, experience, and contacts amassed on his journeys that substantially informed his long-term political and ecclesiastical strategies. In the

[78] In L. C. L. Brenton's translation, the line reads: "Thus saith the Lord, Blessed is he that has a seed in Sion, and household friends in Jerusalem", *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament. With an English Translation and Various Readings and Critical Notes*, London, 1879, p. 866. See, on the other hand, A. Pietersma and B. Wright (eds.), *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title*, New York – Oxford, 2007, p. 848: "This is what the Lord says: 'Happy is the one who has a seed in Sion and kinsmen in Ierousalem'".

[79] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 344. This line, specific to the Greek version of the Old Testament (the Septuagint) has eluded identification in modern editions and translations of Domentian's work for quite some time now: S. Stanojević and D. Glumac (eds.), *Sv. pismo u našim starim spomenicima* (*The Holy Scripture in Our Literary Texts of Old*), Belgrade, 1932, p. 192 (no. 582); R. Marinković, "Komentari"…, p. 366 (n. 14), 367 (n. 9); Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 492 (n. 7), 494 (n. 6).

[80] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 358; cf. *Ps*. 147: 2.

[81] See *supra*, n. 78. Cf. G. W. H. Lampe (ed.), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961, p. 937.

[82] A. Z. Savić, "'A Most Splendent Path to Jerusalem'…".

[83] D. Popović, "*Eulogiae Terrae Sanctae* of St Sava of Serbia", *Balcanica*, 45, 2014, p. 59-60.

hagiographies, notably the *Vita prima*, these strategies are exemplified by two key episodes, both steeped in salvation rhetoric: the renewal of Hilandar and the establishment of St John's. Synonymous with collective deliverance, the "most splendent path to Jerusalem" Sava trod for his countrymen revolved around the "conquest" of Zion, which started when its symbolic replica was erected on Mount Athos and ended with the foundation of a "spiritual dwelling" on the Jerusalem hill itself. This process – roughly spanning thirty years – is, I believe, a most eloquent expression of the holy man's pragmatic authority generated by his overall management of the secular and religious affairs of the realm.

To conclude the second part of the present study, it is now necessary to discuss the ramifications of Sava's pilgrimage with regard to the remaining element of Rapp's triad, namely, spiritual authority. To that end, let us return for a moment to the quotation which opened the current section. What Sava desired and prayed for was the opportunity to visit the Holy Sepulchre, Golgotha, and other *loca sancta*, so that he might observe them with the "eyes of [his] soul and heart" (*očima ... doušev'nyma i srьdьčьnyma*).[84] By immersing himself thus – i.e., spiritually and emotionally – into the passion narrative, the pilgrim would virtually relive or, better still, re-enact the events memorialised by specific holy places, thereby collapsing the boundary between his own time and that of Christ.[85] Resulting from this sort of devotional practice is a growing sense of immediacy in Sava's encounter with God, to which the two *Lives* often draw attention. Domentian gives a fine example as he recounts how Sava venerated the Sepulchre when he first arrived in Jerusalem: fallen prostrate before the tomb, he wept and kissed it, "fondly caressing and beholding his cherisher [Christ], as if he were there (*slad'cě ōhoupae. jako tou soušta samogo vide ljubitelja svoego*)".[86] However, Sava's pilgrimage did not merely begin with an intense religious experience; it drew to a close with one as well. As already mentioned, on his way out of the Holy Land, the Saint stopped by Nazareth and paid a visit to Mount Tabor. There, Domentian contends:

> […] He saw the most splendent transfiguration of his cherisher Christ, along with the God-seer Moses and Elijah the Flame-Wielder and with his three

[84] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 22.
[85] In the words of F. Heim, "L'expérience mystique des pèlerins occidentaux en Terre Sainte aux alentours de 400", *Ktèma*, 10, 1985, p. 198: "La confrontation avec les sites sacrés conduit donc le pèlerin à prendre conscience de la dimension historique de sa foi; mais au-delà, elle le projette littéralement dans le passé, en lui faisant revivre les événements bibliques. Il devient, pour ainsi dire, lui-même témoin des faits, le voyage dans l'espace se transformant en un voyage dans le temps […]".
[86] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 282; A. Z. Savić, "'A Most Splendent Path to Jerusalem'…".

> beloved disciples […], and having revelled in heavenly glory and having shared in the splendent majesty of his cherisher, he returned once again to Nazareth.[87]

Whether or not we subscribe to the view that the Tabor scene represents a central point of the entire *Life*,[88] there is no doubt about its pertinence to the investigation at hand. With each step in the course of his pilgrimage, Sava grew in virtue and augmented his spiritual capital, hence rendering the relationship with God – founded, as suggested above, on *drъznovenie* (Slav. for *parrhēsia*)[89] – even more intimate. What he was privileged to witness and partake of, his mind bathed in the uncreated light, was the unmediated revelation of Christ's divine nature: a major advancement on the mystical journey to complete union with his "cherisher". It was indeed a fitting conclusion to one pious endeavour, but also a subtle anticipation of the next; as a matter of fact, to fully appreciate the implications of Sava's Tabor experience we ought to step back and consider it in the broader perspective. To achieve this, we must follow Sava to Mount Sinai.

3. Mount Sinai

To the medieval mind, holy mountains were exceptional places indeed. Simultaneously "physical and imaginative", they were daunting pathways of rock leading to the transcendental plane of theophany: as Veronica della Dora points out, "in the Judaeo-Christian tradition, the seductive, ambivalent half-seen mountain is a metaphor for speaking to God".[90] Because of the often

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[87] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 304-306. Theodosius' account is markedly less dramatic: Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 169.

[88] M. M. Lazić, *Estetika Domentijanovih žitija* (*The Aesthetics of Domentian's Hagiographical Works*), Podgorica, 1997, p. 109.

[89] On Sava's *drъznovenie*, see D. Popović, "Čudotvorenja…", p. 98-99; S. Marjanović-Dušanić, "Harizma i autoritet…", p. 283.

[90] V. della Dora, *Landscape, Nature, and the Sacred*…, p. 147-175, here at p. 149. Relevant works on the subject also include P. Soustal (ed.), *Heilige Berge und Wüsten*… (see *supra*, n. 14) and A.-M. Talbot, "Les saintes montagnes à Byzance", in M. Kaplan (ed.), *Le sacré et son inscription à Byzance et en Occident. Études comparées*, Paris, 2001, p. 263-318. Holy mountains figure prominently in Serbian/South Slavic sources, literary and visual alike: D. Popović, "The Deserts and Holy Mountains…", p. 53-62; N. Gagova and I. Špadijer, "Dve varijante anahoretskog tipa u južnoslovenskoj hagiografiji (Teodosijevo Žitije svetog Petra Koriškog i Jevtimijevo Žitije svetog Jovana Rilskog)" ("Two Versions of the Anchoritic Type in the Southslavic Hagiography [Teodosije's *Life of St Petar of Koriša* and Eythimios' *Life of St John of Rila*]"), in Z. Vitić, T. Jovanović, and I. Špadijer (eds.), *Slovensko srednjovekovno nasleđe*, Belgrade, 2001, p. 159-175; S. Smolčić-Makuljević, "The Holy Mountain in Byzantine visual culture of Medieval Balkans. Sinai – Athos – Treskavac", in *Heilige Landschaften – Heilige Berge. Akten des 8. Internationalen Barocksommerkurses der Stiftung Bibliothek Werner Oechslin*, Einsiedeln – Zürich, 2014, p. 242-261.

inaccessible terrain and dire living conditions, mountainous regions were "deserts" of choice for many an aspiring anchorite interpreting the harshness and verticality of their surroundings through the lens of monastic teachings on spiritual ascent. In Byzantine hagiography, examples of saints inhabiting such localities are numerous; some of these *Vitae* are even structured as narratives of migration from one *hagion oros* to another, the movement being a vital catalyst of their protagonists' sanctity.[91] To a certain extent, at least, this principle seems to hold true in Sava's case as well. Holy mountains were evidently integral to the spatial framework of the travels under scrutiny here, but rather than being isolated events, sojourns on hallowed peaks – from Athos to Sinai – appear to form a continuum overarching his decades-long voyage to deification. Notwithstanding the long interval between Sava's withdrawal to Mount Athos at seventeen and his peregrination to Sinai at about sixty, Domentian leaves little margin for doubt as to the interrelation of these two stages: "At last, the sprout of the Holy Mount grown by God was on his way to Mount Sinai".[92] Even if our source were not quite as explicit, it would be difficult to ignore the implied parallelism between the juvenile prince and the elderly hierarch, each renouncing his title in order to pursue a pious endeavour from which both he and his countrymen stood to benefit. Motivated by the "enlightenment" of his *patria*, the hero's escape from court had initiated a process that needed to be brought to a close before a second similarly profound separation from "the world" was possible. According to Theodosius, it was only "after he saw the Serbian land of his fatherland in splendour, adorned with a King [Radoslav's younger brother Vladislav] and an Archbishop, and also with sanctified bishops and abbots, monks, governors, and generals […], and all the salutary laws and *typika* of Orthodox Christonymous peoples" that he was ready for his last great journey.[93]

Even though it is safe to argue that Sinai was the real focal point of Sava's pilgrimage of 1234–1235, his itinerary encompassed a range of other destinations in the Holy Land and well beyond.[94] Following a particularly frightening experience at sea, the Saint arrived in Jerusalem, where this time he ought to have felt very much *chez soi*: upon entering the city he went straight "to his own monastery" (*vъ svoi si monastyrь*, i.e., St John the Theologian) to rest

[91] V. della Dora, *Landscape, Nature, and the Sacred*…, p. 162: "[…] Byzantine holy mountains also signposted the lives of saints, in the same way that New Testament peaks did in the life of Christ. Along with the Holy Land and other notable holy places such as Rome or Patmos, many of these peaks came to represent 'stations' in the life of ascetics aspiring to a perfect life in Christ". A recent study on the imbrication of space, movement, and holiness in Byzantine hagiography is M. Veikou, "Space in Texts and Space as Text: A New Approach to Byzantine Spatial Notions", *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 2, 2016, p. 143-175.
[92] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 378.
[93] Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 179.
[94] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 340-402; Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 179-199. For a highly instructive commentary of the two accounts, see B. Miljković, *Žitija svetog Save*…, p. 152-186.

from the hardships of travel.[95] Once the pilgrim gathered his strength, he ventured an excursion to Alexandria, which eventually turned into an impressive tour of the Egyptian wasteland. Instigated by the Holy Spirit, Sava visited venerable hermits abiding in the area of Mareotis and along the fringes of the Libyan Desert, after which he marched all the way to "the Thebaid, Scetis, and the Black Mountain [?]", desirous of their holy inhabitants' blessings.[96] Now, regardless of the many problems this sequence of stations presents for the historian,[97] we should notice that the (former) Archbishop's affinity towards the eremitic condition is a central recurring theme of all his eastern travels. In this sense, his peregrinations may perhaps even be conceptualised as an attempt at retracing the history of monasticism – through space and time – to its very origins; that Sava subsequently also reached the desert dwellings of St Anthony and St Arsenius, as imparted by the *Vita secunda*, is by all appearances an argument in favour of such a view.[98]

In the meantime, however, Sava returned to Jerusalem and prepared for his trek to Sinai. Having crossed the Jordan near Jericho, he moved southwards and gained Al-Karak; the next two stops – namely, "Great Babylon" and "Great Egypt" – presumably refer to his visit to Cairo, which may well be the most controversial part of the entire journey.[99] In any case, it was not long before the holy man was back on the road making his way to Mount Sinai, where he observed the Lenten season of 1235; the sheer number of days Sava spent amongst the brethren of the Monastery of St Catherine speaks to the place of honour this particular site had in his itinerary.[100] As a matter of fact, once he parted from his hosts, the return journey began. After calling at Jerusalem and Antioch he went ahead to Asia Minor, traversing the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia – "in search of saints' relics", Theodosius adds[101] – and the Sultanate of Rūm, before finding a ship bound for Constantinople. Albeit his wish was to sail on to Athos, the Spirit instructed him otherwise: he travelled instead to Tărnovo,

[95] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 354, 358; also Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 186.
[96] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 364-368; Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 188-189.
[97] B. Miljković, *Žitija svetog Save*…, p. 158-165.
[98] Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 191-192; cf. D. Popović, "Pustinožiteljstvo…", p. 72-74.
[99] Viewed from the perspective of a "historical" itinerary, it would have made much more sense if Sava had organised a trip to Cairo while he was in Alexandria, rather than setting out into Egypt twice. Scholarly reconstructions of his route tend to differ somewhat from that which I have outlined following the *Vitae*; consult, e.g., B. Miljković, "Serbia and the Holy Land…", p. 162-163. For the issue of "Great Babylon" and "Great Egypt", most recently: A. Z. Savić, "'Izmišljanje' Vavilona – geografija i hagiografija u bliskoistočnom itineraru svetog Save Srpskog" ("'Imagining' Babylon – Geography and Hagiography in St Sava of Serbia's Middle Eastern Itinerary"), *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, 52, 2015, p. 291-312.
[100] B. Miljković, *Žitija svetog Save*…, p. 178.
[101] Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 195.

to the court of the Bulgarian Emperor John Asen II, where he expired approximately a week upon arrival.[102]

While each of these instances might be discussed at length and in its own right, in the remainder of the present section we shall focus on the Sinai episode alone. In Sava's day, the Biblical peninsula boasted a centuries-long tradition of attracting pious wayfarers from all across Christendom; dominated by the awe-inspiring foundation of Justinian I, which would come to be identified in the later medieval period with the cult of the Alexandrian martyr Catherine, Sinai's southern region was thought to have been the stage of some of the most memorable events of the Old Testament narrative, notably those related to Moses.[103] The monastery itself was built around the site where the Burning Bush had allegedly grown (hence the dedication to *Theotokos tēs Batou*), that is where God had bid the great Prophet lead the Hebrew people out of captivity. At the very spot of the encounter – enclosed by a chapel adjoining the *katholikon* as its easternmost and holiest segment – Sava officiated the liturgy barefoot, adhering to the local custom going back to *Ex*. 3: 5, paraphrased in both *Vitae*: "put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground".[104] The epiphanic atmosphere evoked by this famous line is further emphasised by Theodosius, who couples it with another one: "I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob".[105] Carved into the lintel over the main entrance to the Sinai basilica for visitors to read as they come in, a variation of the words whereby the Lord had made himself known to Moses was meant to "poin[t] proleptically […] to the vision and the relic to which the pilgrim's passage through the church would lead";[106] in a similar vein, by bringing to mind what had transpired at the foot of the mountain in the Biblical past, Sava's hagiographers gradually constructed an ambience of divine revelation that would set the tone for the second phase of the pilgrimage: his ascent to the sacred peak.

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[102] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 400-408; cf. Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 199-202.

[103] For a useful survey of information on Sinai pilgrimage yielded by a variety of medieval sources, see D. Jacoby, "Christian Pilgrimage to Sinai until the Late Fifteenth Century", in R. S. Nelson and K. M. Collins (eds.), *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground. Icons from Sinai*, Los Angeles, 2006, p. 79-93. See also A. Drandaki, "Through Pilgrims' Eyes: Mt Sinai in Pilgrim Narratives of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias*, 27, 2006, p. 491-504.

[104] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 372; Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 192-193.

[105] Cf. *Ex*. 3: 6, 3: 15, and 3: 16.

[106] S. Coleman and J. Elsner, "The Pilgrim's Progress: Art, Architecture and Ritual Movement at Sinai", *World Archaeology*, 26, 1994, no. 1, p. 79. The inscription, itself a combination of *Ex*. 3: 14 and 3: 15, reads: "† Καὶ ἐλάλησεν κ(ύριο)ς πρὸς Μωυσῆν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τού τῳ λέγων· | ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ θ(εὸ)ς τῶ\ν/ πατέρων σου, ὁ θ(εὸ)ς Ἀβραὰμ κ(αὶ) ὁ θ(εὸ)ς Ἰσαὰκ | κ(αὶ) ὁ θ(εὸ)ς Ἰακώβ. | † Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ ὤν †" (I. Ševčenko, "The Early Period of the Sinai Monastery in the Light of Its Inscriptions", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 20, 1966, p. 262).

On his way up, Sava stopped by the Church of St Elijah, erected over what was believed to be the grotto in which the latter had sought refuge after smiting the priests of Baal.[107] Though mentioned only in passing,[108] Elijah's name presumably brought to the audience's mind his own theophanic episode; lest we forget, he was the sole Biblical prophet besides Moses to converse with God at Sinai.[109] Neither, however, was allowed to actually see the Lord in all his unobscured glory: Elijah was commanded by "a still small voice" (preceded by much more violent displays of heavenly power), and Moses was merely able to catch a glimpse of God's "back parts"; to prevent him from looking at his face, he placed Moses in a cleft of rock and covered him with his hand while he passed by.[110] Preposterous as it had been for men of the Old Testament, their longing to lay eyes on the Almighty himself was not to remain forever unsatisfied. As Domentian rightly reminds us, the Transfiguration of Jesus on Tabor was not only witnessed by three of his Apostles (Peter, James, and John), but also by "the God-seer Moses and Elijah the Flame-Wielder",[111] who were finally granted an unhindered vision of God. The mystical connection between Sinai and Tabor – the first giving way to the second just as the Old Covenant was superseded by the New – furnished the theological framework of Sinai pilgrimage.[112] A magnificent iconographic rendition of this "hierarchy of theophanies" is to be found in the mosaic programme of the central church of St Catherine's Monastery. On its eastern wall, above the triumphal arch, two facing panels represent Moses' encounters with God: to the spectator's left he is loosening his sandals in front of the Burning Bush, while on the opposite side he receives the Tablets of the Law; albeit horizontally aligned, this diptych is in effect evocative of a vertical advancement, given that the scenes it comprises summon events which had taken place at the mountain's base and its summit, respectively. Translated into spiritual terms, this "upward" progression – which "prefigures the actual movement of the pilgrim from the monastery to the peak of the mountain"[113] – attains its true meaning through a third piece, located

[107] 1 *Kings* 19: 1–9.
[108] Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 193. Only one of the surviving manuscripts of Domentian's work records Sava's visit to this locality: see R. Marinković, "Komentari"…, p. 370 (n. 43); B. Miljković, *Žitija svetog Save*…, p. 182 (n. 639).
[109] 1 *Kings* 19:9–18.
[110] *Ex*. 33: 20–23.
[111] See the last quoted excerpt *supra*, in Section 2.
[112] On the Sinai – Tabor relation, see A. Andreopoulos, *Metamorphosis. The Transfiguration in Byzantine Theology and Iconography*, Crestwood, NY, 2005, p. 193-208; J. Elsner and G. Wolf, "The Transfigured Mountain: Icons and Transformations of Pilgrimage at the Monastery of St Catherine at Mount Sinai", in Sh. E. J. Gerstel and R. S. Nelson (eds.), *Approaching the Holy Mountain. Art and Liturgy at St Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai*, Turnhout, 2010, p. 52-55; V. della Dora, *Landscape, Nature, and the Sacred*…, p. 149-155.
[113] S. Coleman and J. Elsner, "The Pilgrim's Progress…", p. 84.

beneath the former pair, in the apse itself. Looming over the nave, the image of the transfigured Christ completes the sequence both visually and conceptually, rendering it "an allegorical simulacrum and paradigm of the viewer's own spiritual journey", its ultimate goal being "the full confrontation with God face to face".[114] Although our hagiographers make no direct reference to this pictorial ensemble, it will shortly become apparent that its message is by no means foreign to the account of the Saint's pilgrimage.

Having reached the top, Sava venerated with great fervour the "sacred rock" where God's "all-powerful right hand" had once rested as he manifested himself to Moses. This is unmistakably the pivotal point of his entire peregrination, which is why it deserves to be examined as closely as possible:

> […] He did not want to part from that rock, for it was as though he saw the One who had bent the heavens and descended, indeed as if His vigorous and omnipotent holy arm were still there […]. Presenting a blissful heart as an offering, he gazed at the One sitting upon the cherubic throne on high through the eyes of the mind, the heart, and the soul […]. And the holy God-bearer (*bogonos'сь*) came down from the mountain having become like the great God-seer [Moses], not only bearing God himself within him and on him but also adorned with His favour. And this one [Sava] became a second God-seer (*v'tori bogovidьcь*), and he was deemed worthy to see not only God's back, but by the favour granted him from above he was deemed worthy to serve the Lord himself through holiness and righteousness before Him all the days of his life.[115]

Nothing short of ecstatic, Sava's experience was evidently one of profound transformation. The vehicle for expressing this dramatic change, masterfully narrated by Domentian, is the analogy which he progressively draws throughout the *Life* between the hero and Moses. In Section 1, I have briefly discussed an indirect likening strategy whereby the desired effect is achieved by implication: Sava, who made Simeon's relics flow with myrrh so as to satiate the "new Israel" – spiritual descendants of desert-wandering Hebrews –, was obviously assigned the role of the Biblical prophet. To be sure, though, this is no more than a snippet of a rich repertoire of literary devices feeding into the elaborate Sava – Moses parallel, which grows ever more conspicuous as the story unfolds.[116] Since we presently cannot hope to undertake a comprehensive analysis of this important typology, it will suffice to concentrate on the ultimate phase of its development, coinciding with the Saint's last voyage to the East.

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[114] J. Elsner, "The Viewer and the Vision: The Case of the Sinai Apse", *Art History*, 17, 1994, 1, p. 88.
[115] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 374-376; partly quoted after A. Sterk, *Renouncing the World*…, p. 236.
[116] Lj. Juhas-Georgievska, "Književno delo…", p. LXXII-LXXXII.

This phase, as intimated in the above-cited passage, is marked by a significant turn in the relation between Sava and Moses, brought about by the former's Sinai epiphany. Prior to this momentous event, Sava is shown on various occasions modelling his actions after those of Moses, who became a veritable exemplar to the Serbian Archbishop; aside from his ritual movement at Sinai itself – a series of rather explicit mimetic references to the Hebrew leader's life – it would seem that even his journey towards the holy mountain had a strong Mosaic connotation: when a terrible storm threatened to sink the ship on which he and his companions were crossing the Mediterranean on their way to the Holy Land, God instructed Sava to raise his hand and appease the deadly waves, emulating the one who had once parted the Red Sea in much the same manner.[117] This dynamic, however, was altered at the peak of Mount Sinai: through a mystical union with Christ, facilitated by Sava's faculty of inner sight, the *imitator Moysis* well surpassed his role model, as is so often the case with Christian holy men and women following in the footsteps of Old Testament figures.[118] In the *Vita prima*, the fact that Moses was outdone by Sava is further stressed by a rhetorical shift from *exemplum* to *comparatio*.[119] Structured as a sequence of thirty brief comparisons affirming the superiority of the "second God-seer" over his Scriptural forebear, the ensuing chapter dwells on the immediacy of Sava's knowledge of the Divine: "[…] and having served the Lord on that hallowed ground, he celebrated the heavenly Father; he heard not the voice from within the flames [i.e. the Burning Bush], but the Giver of the voice himself, His true body and His pristine blood spilt for the life of the world […]".[120]

To equate the ramifications of the "new Moses" paradigm with the above consideration would, of course, be an oversimplification; for apart from speaking to God, the Prophet epitomised a broad spectrum of ideals which made him a favoured *persona imitabilis* in the Middle Ages. As Vincent Déroche has recently shown, Byzantine intellectuals developed a multifaceted image of

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[117] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 350-352; Teodosije, *Život*…, p. 182–185; D. Popović, "Čudotvorenja…", p. 107-108.

[118] S. Marjanović-Dušanić, "Harizma i autoritet…", p. 286. On the "topos of outdoing" (*Überbietungstopos*), see the still relevant E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. by W. R. Trask, Princeton and Oxford, 2013, p. 162-165.

[119] According to C. Rapp, "Comparison, Paradigm and the Case of Moses in Panegyric and Hagiography", in M. Whitby (ed.), *The Propaganda of Power. The Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, Leiden – Boston – Köln, 1998, p. 278-279, the *exemplum* or *paradeigma* "looks to the past in an effort to demonstrate that the subject adheres to and represents a specific tradition", its purpose being to "emphasiz[e] continuity with the past", while *comparatio* or *synkrisis* may be defined as a "detailed comparison of one person with another, which may result either in establishing equality between the two, or in asserting the superiority of one over the other", thus demonstrating that "progress and movement are made manifest in the present".

[120] Domentijan, *Žitije*…, p. 376-392, esp. 378.

Moses which served to express different sorts of authority, from monastic to imperial.[121] In theological writings – most notably those of the Great Cappadocians – Moses was held in especially high regard as the prototype of the bishop: often transgressing the divide between ecclesiastical and secular, church leaders in the East conveniently looked up to the Hebrew champion who wielded both kinds of power; as a matter of fact, in terms of Claudia Rapp's trinary scheme, Moses is the perfect embodiment of spiritual, ascetic, and pragmatic authority.[122] I believe much the same may be said about Sava in the context of his pilgrimage to Sinai. His theophany, a paramount sign of spiritual authority, cannot be deprived of its ascetic dimension: it was a reward for virtue attained through inner discipline and physical feats. Each Saturday, Theodosius contends, the Saint climbed to the summit, where he prayed and sang hymns throughout the night.[123] These prayers, as one might expect, were repeatedly uttered for the sake of Sava's "children":

> […] ever keeping vigil over the flock of his fatherland at the far reaches of the earth, the true shepherd […] always thought to himself: 'What and how and for what reason is this passage of mine from the West to the true East, and what is it that I gain thereof? Christ, the omnibenevolent Lord, [who is] the enlightenment of my fatherland and mine own, and the Saviour of my people'.[124]

At all times and wherever his wayfaring took him, the holy man worked in the interest of his compatriots. This principle was the source of his pragmatic authority, whose various facets were skilfully outlined in Domentian's *comparatio*. Beacon of religious and political guidance, ecclesiastical reformer, lawgiver, diplomat, the bane of heretical teachings and upholder of Orthodoxy, Sava was a most worthy successor to Moses in practically all respects. Likewise, by virtue of his divinely ordained leadership, the Serbs were by no means lagging behind the Hebrews of old: "By the power of God, that great God-seer [Moses] had wrought many a miracle. By that same power, and indeed by the favour bestowed upon him by God, this most sanctified one [Sava] wrought the

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[121] V. Déroche, "Figures de Moïse à Byzance", in D. Aigle and F. Briquel Chatonnet (eds.), *Figures de Moïse*, Paris, 2015, p. 201-217; see also C. Rapp, "Comparison, Paradigm and the Case of Moses…", p. 286-297. A similarly wide use of the "new Moses" theme is documented in medieval Serbian sources; charters, for example, reveal that sovereigns were likened to the Old Testament Prophet with the end of representing them as ideal warrior-rulers leading their countrymen into victory: see S. Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija…*, p. 218-221; Ž. Vujošević, "National Leader, Warrior, Prophet. Moses in Medieval Serbian Charters", *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, 55, 2009, p. 163-174.
[122] C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops…*, p. 125-136; A. Sterk, *Renouncing the World…*, *passim*.
[123] Teodosije, *Život…*, p. 193.
[124] Domentijan, *Žitije…*, p. 392.

very same miracles; inspired by God, this second Israel presented unto the Lord a new people".[125]

Conclusions

In the passage from Sava's *Vita prima* which opened this essay, we read that the hero relinquished all things mundane for the third time "keeping the first and the second of God's Commandments". What the hagiographer hints at here are apparently the precepts of Christ attested to in the synoptic Gospels, those on which "hang all the law and the prophets": "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself".[126] The two injunctions seem to encapsulate both major points of our discussion on Sava's peregrinations: on the one hand, his alienation from the world was prompted by the love of God, whom he had sought from youth in various "deserts" of the East; on the other hand, each and every one of his departures was in fact motivated by the welfare of the nation which he spearheaded for decades in concert with other members of his family. If conflicting at times, these two motives proved to be mutually compatible, for as he trod the arduous path of personal spiritual perfection, he also paved the way of collective deliverance for his countrymen. These intertwined processes were set in motion when the Saint decided to leave home and become a monk on Athos: through extraordinary ascetic practices he augmented his spiritual gift in order that he might "enlighten" the Nemanjić realm. This stage was marked by the foundation of Hilandar, a "true haven" and a "harbour of salvation" of Sava's *patria*: perceived as a "new Zion", it functioned as a vantage point for looking further East, towards Jerusalem. Undertaken during the final years of his life, Sava's pilgrimages to the Holy Land and beyond ought to be appreciated as a continuation of the early Athonite years in spite (or precisely because) of the long hiatus; these two periods in effect signal the beginning and the end of his mission, which was to render the Serbs a "people prepared for the Lord". The Archbishop's first sojourn in the Holy City reached its apex with the establishment of the Monastery of St John the Theologian. Conceived of as a "seed" "planted" on Zion, it conveyed a powerful message, namely, that Sava ushered his compatriots into the Orthodox milieu of the most revered hearth of all of Christendom; in much the same way, Hilandar symbolised Serbian presence on Athos, which is precisely what Domentian has in mind when he says that Sava made "his children known to the dwellers of the Holy Mount".

[125] *Ibid*., p. 376.
[126] *Matt*. 22: 37–40. Cf. *Mark* 12: 30–31; *Luke* 10: 27.

Needless to say, Jerusalem and the rest of the *loca sancta* of Palestine provided our pious traveller immense spiritual gratification. The same holds true for his second pilgrimage, over the course of which he ventured much farther than the Holy Land, i.e., to Egypt and Sinai. From the perspective of this study at least, his visit to the Biblical peninsula is definitely one of the most significant moments of the entire *Vita*. What culminated with Sava's Sinai theophany was not just a sequence of profound religious experiences that he had undergone on his many journeys; more importantly, this episode brought to completion an intricate parallel with Moses, gradually constructed throughout the narrative and ultimately rounded off with a lengthy *comparatio* which asserted Sava's supremacy over the cherished Scriptural model. A "new Moses", Sava was envisaged as a paragon of virtue and a "second God-seer", but also as the intercessor between the Almighty and a latter-day "chosen people": fusing the notions of monarchy, fatherland, and community, the political-theological principle of divine election supplied the framework for constructing the identities of the "new Israel" and of their sanctified leaders from the house of Nemanjić. Thus, Sava's travels across the Eastern Mediterranean and visits to the Holy Places were physical manifestations of his quest for the "true East", i.e., for the realisation of God's providential plan for him and his "children".[*]

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ISLAMIC INFLUENCES AND ORIENTALISM IN SERBIAN ART AND THE BALKANS

Ljiljana Stošić

Islamic influence and Orientalism were present in Serbian fine and applied arts between the 16th and 20th centuries. The situation was similar in other Balkan countries.

The first traits of Islamic cultural and artistic influences in Serbia could be observed before the fall under Ottoman rule. Between the 10th and 16th centuries, in the church architecture and applied arts of the Greeks and the Serbs[1] it was possible to find the motif of the Arabic or Kufic letters,[2] a form of the Arabic script used in the early manuscripts of the Qur'ān. Most commonly, they were inscribed on red bricks used as façade decoration in church architecture (Sts Apostles, Athens, 10th century; see Fig. 1).[3]

At about the same time, striped silk fabrics were imported from the Eastern Mediterranean. They spread into all spheres of life among Orthodox peoples, especially among the ruling class and nobility, and were soon to be depicted on icons and frescoes sponsored by them. Similarly to Kufic letters, striped rugs, fabrics and towels had a prophylactic role in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine art, delimiting the sacred space and dividing it symbolically from the profane space. Already under Prince Miroslav (late 12th century), they appeared as the most holy objects in the images showing the newly born or crucified Christ, or Virgin Mary on a bier. Oriental stripes were meant to indicate the Saviour's origin in the Levant and the early Christianization of its population, symbolizing the faith in eternal life, redemption, salvation, and resurrection.[4]

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[1] B. Radojković, "Les influences turco-persanes sur les matières d'art serbes aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles", *Recherches sur l'art*, 1, 1965, p. 119-142; V. Han, "Objets incrustés du XVIe et XVIIe siècles dans les églises des monastères de la Fruška Gora", *Recherches sur l'art*, 1, 1965, p. 145-160; S. Petković, "L'influence islamique sur la peinture serbe existant aux temps de la domination turque", *Peristil*, 21, 1978, p. 81-90.

[2] S. M. V. Mousavi Jazayeri, P. E. Michelli, and S. D. Abulhab, *A Handbook of Early Arabic Kufic Script: Reading, Writing, Calligraphy, Typography, Monograms*, ed. by S. D. Abulhab, New York, 2017.

[3] E. Chalkia, Ch. Bouras, *Byzantine Athens*, Athens, 2004.

[4] Lj. Stošić, "Stripes between the Sacred and the Profane", *Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 12, 2017, p. 1033-1040; id., "The Symbolism of Stripes through History", in

The extent of the influence is shown by the Coptic fabrics of *c*. 1700,[5] embroidered with angels' wings and robes (as mediators between humans and God) against this pattern.

At the same time, the painters of the Bay of Kotor (Cattaro) School of painting,[6] in the hinterland of the Adriatic Sea, depicted the first humans, Adam and Eve (Fig. 2),[7] dressed in striped aprons. Moreover, the same fabric is also visible on the table in the *Hospitality of Abraham*, where the persons of the Holy Trinity of the Old Testament are depicted as angel visitors (Fig. 3).[8]

In the woodcuts of the first Serbian books printed in Venice (such as Božidar Vuković, *The Festal Menaion*, 1538;[9] see Fig. 4), bushes, flowers, and grass, as well as tree crowns, were modelled after the same motifs depicted in the background of Persian miniatures, especially those originating from painting workshops in Shiraz (1415–1503),[10] Herat (1452–1510),[11] and Tabriz (1502-1548),[12] which experienced their peak around 1500.[13] They focused on the decorative effects of a spring garden filled with abundant vegetation, whereas in terms of style, they were marked by the influx of Central Asian and Far Eastern artistic forms into Persian art, along with an illusionist venture into the third dimension, creating an impression of spatial depth. In Orthodox icons and frescoes, the details showing clusters of flowers and verdant trees always symbolize Heavenly Jerusalem or the Holy Land, and its inhabitants – the saints. Although it appeared in an early period, this phenomenon was not unexpected, because the Venetian Republic maintained maritime connections with the Eastern Mediterranean and the Ottoman Empire. Persian carpets and other Oriental decorative items quickly spread into the Balkans, either by the Silk Road,[14] from Venice or via the Ionian Islands, reaching major urban and monastic centres. In the frescoes of the Morača monastery in Montenegro

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Fashion through History: Costumes, Symbols, Communications, ed. by G. Motta and A. Folco Biagini, Newcastle upon Tyne, vol. II, 2017, p. 249-256.

[5] S. Gotsis, *Angels*, Athens, 2008.

[6] Lj. Stošić, "The Bay of Cattaro (Kotor) School of Icon-Painting, 1680-1860", *Balcanica*, XLV, 2014, p. 187-202.

[7] Maksim Tujković, 1734, the Old Serbian church in Sarajevo.

[8] Dimitrije Daskal, 1689, St Luke's church in Kotor (Cattaro).

[9] D. Medaković, *Old Serbian Woodcuts*, Belgrade, 1964.

[10] M. Ansari, M. Nami, "Comparative Studies in the Miniature of the Shiraz School and Iranian Gardens Architecture in the Timurid and Safavid Epochs", *Nagareh Journal*, 12, 2017, 43, p. 75-87.

[11] M. Ansari, F. Faiz, A. Ansari, "History of Persian Miniature Painting Through the Herat School of Miniature", *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, 5, 2015, p. 1-3.

[12] J. Hasanzada, "History of the East in Tabriz Miniature", *Irsat*, 3, 2016, 26, p. 36-43; id., "Early History of Safavids: Tabriz, 1502-1648", *Irsat*, 4, 2016, 27, p. 42-49.

[13] A. Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, New York, 1992.

[14] R. Tagiyeva, *Azerbaijani Carpet*, ed. by Rasim Efendiyev, Baku – Istanbul, 1999; Lj. Stošić, "The Pirot Kilim: Origin, Evolution and Characteristics", *Tesviri ve dekorativ: tetbisi senet meseleleri*, vol. 13, 2014, 1, p. 30-39.

(1639), in the hagiographic cycle of St Nicholas (*Saint Nicholas Rescues Basilios from Saracen Slavery*), Islamic elements occupy a significant part of the painted surface, contributing to the vividness and authenticity of mural compositions. Along with floor and table covers, the details of Oriental origin that are depicted include water jugs, clothes, tools, and weapons, as well as the manner of sitting with folded legs. Beginning with the 16th century, even the traditional clerical garments in frescoes were decorated with Kufic letters or imitations of them (Fig. 5, Chapel of the Holy Archangels, Hilandar Monastery, 1718). This type of decoration would persist over the following two centuries.

The Kratovo scriptorium flourished in the third quarter of the 16th century (1558-1583). Although geographically rural, this scriptorium was by no means provincial in cultural terms and it made a significant imprint on the ornamentation of the books copied not only in the Balkans but also in the Romanian Principalities and Russia. One of the typical manuscripts, the *Tetraevangelion of Velika Remetea*[15] (Fig. 6), was handwritten and illuminated in Craiova, under the Wallachian voivode Mihnea II (1580). The images of the four Evangelists are enclosed in rhomboid ornaments with Saracen curves and a web formed by chickpea vines and wild rose flowers, carnations, and hyacinths, as asymmetric accents. The depicted furniture, writing desks and writing sets, reveal a strong influence of the Islamic style and details connected to everyday life in the East.

The *Tetraevangelion of Karan* (1608)[16] from the Nikolje monastery is an outstanding example of the strong influence of Persian miniature-painting on the Serbian book illumination of the early 17th century. The difference between the half-figure images of the Evangelists enclosed in quadrangular frames and the sumptuous Oriental Rumi[17] ornaments, combined with chickpea leaves and roses, is striking, and it looks as if they were done by two painters – one Serbian and the other Turkish. Still, the illumination was most probably the work of the self-taught priest Vuk, who had first copied the text and then painted the miniatures by copying Persian 16th-century miniatures, demonstrating a more remarkable skill in ornamentation than in rendering the character compositions (Fig. 7).[18] This work, outstanding for its time, is a result of cultural and historical circumstances at the crossroads between East and West, where two distinct

[15] Z. Rakić, "Illumination of the Serbian Manuscripts from the 12th to the 17th Centuries", in D. Otašević, Z. Rakić, and I. Špadijer (eds.), *The World of Serbian Manuscripts (12th-17th Centuries)*, Belgrade, 2016, p. 373-375.

[16] Z. Rakić, "Islamic Influence on Illuminations of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Serbian Manuscripts", *El Presente. Studies in Sephardic Culture*, vol. 7, 2013, p. 217-224; id., "Illumination of the Serbian Manuscripts", p. 389-390.

[17] M. Minako Yamanlar, "Khatai (Rumi) Motif in the Islamic Art: A History of the Original Forms", *Orient*, XXV, 1989, p. 96-118.

[18] O. Grabar, *La peinture persane (Islamiques)*, Paris, 1999; S. R. Canby, *Persian Paintings*, London, 2001.

artistic and religious traditions mingled for centuries, each of them fully aware of the existence of the other.

The two neighbouring, but seemingly incompatible worlds mingled in the border zones, and also at the turn of the epochs: a tattered 12th century Greek Gospel originating in Herakleitsa, in Eastern Thrace, was provided, in the 17th or the early 18th century, with a new, sumptuous velvet binding bearing a strong imprint of Ottoman art. Apparently, the origin of the fabulous world of plant motifs (carnation, tulip, and pomegranate) was not seen as an issue when repairing an Orthodox liturgical book, because the ornaments spoke the language of universal aesthetic values. These examples show an established practice in the Southern Balkans, especially in Bulgaria, where a similar intertwining of styles was common in the production of enamel elements for the binding of liturgical books, but also in designing the most sacred silver liturgical objects, such as altar crosses.

In the art of other Orthodox peoples in the Balkans under Ottoman rule (15th-20th centuries), Islamic influences were first adopted in stylized vegetal or geometric ornaments in woodcarving, miniatures, and calligraphy, architecture, furniture, textiles, jewellery, and *kilim* weaving, and only later in figural painting – on icons and frescoes. It Italian Renaissance art, and later in the Netherlands, Baroque painting and French Rococo art, several saints, as well as the Old Testament and New Testament figures originating from the Middle East, were garbed in Ottoman costumes, known in art history as *les turqueries*. In Serbian painting, as well as in the art of other Balkan peoples between the 17th and 19th centuries, such characters usually included the three Magi, James Intercisus, John of Damascus, the Persian king Ahasuerus, the Babylonian emperor Nebuchadnezzar, Pharaoh and his wife, as well as several ancient Jewish characters, such as the Sadducees and the Pharisees. They were shown wearing turbans, shalwars, kaftans, Astrakhan fur caps, and pointed Saracen shoes. Beards reaching the waist, moustaches, aquiline noses, cunning eyes, and a piercing look contributed to their exotic appearance.[19] Racial, religious, and civilization differences were visually highlighted by luxuriant and choice fabrics and handmade items: brocade cloaks, ermine furs, plumes made of white heron or crane feathers, brooches with gems, plenty of beads, and gold crowns. Instead of horses and mules, dromedaries and camels were part of Oriental royal pageants. All of them together add to the picture of the fabulous, colossal treasure, and wealth of the rulers coming or originating from the Near East.

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[19] A. Maubert, *L'exotisme dans la peinture française du XVIII*e *siècle*, Paris, 1943; E. Crispolti, "Exoticism: the 17th and the 18th Centuries", *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. V, New York – Toronto – London, 1958, p. 307; Lj. Stošić, "Oriental Exoticism in the Serbian Art in the 18th and 19th Centuries: the Balkans as a European Obscure Object of Desire", in A. Folco Biagini and G. Motta (eds.), *Empires and Nations from the 18th to the 20th Century*, Newcastle upon Tyne, vol. 1, 2014, p. 222–230.

During the 18th century, souvenirs from the Holy Land abounded with motifs adopted from Islamic art: porcelain "ostrich" eggs, as pilgrimage souvenirs, were decorated with arabesques and hung on chandeliers in front of the iconostasis, in Orthodox churches,[20] whereas the landscapes of the Holy City of Jerusalem featured not only crosses above the domes of the Christian sanctuaries but also Turkish crescents and tall minarets[21] (Fig. 8).

In 1823, Pavel Djurković accepted the invitation of the Serbian Prince Miloš Obrenović to move from Zemun to Serbia, still under Ottoman rule, and to paint portraits of the Prince and his family.[22] Precisely at that time, and the following year, he made two portraits of the Prince, one with a *fez* and the other with a *turban* (Fig. 9). Along with the position of the Serbian Prince *vs* the people, both portraits factually and deliberately reflect the sovereign's need for absolute power. In the picture where he wears a turban, Prince Miloš looks more potent than in the one with a fez; he looks just like the richest man in the Balkans at that time was supposed to look. This portrait was made after the Prince had been elected by the people as a hereditary ruler (1817), i.e., several years before this was confirmed by the Ottoman sultan (1830), and Serbia became a vassal state (1833). Over time, it will become more and more a semi-independent state, not only formally but also factually, which is suggested already in the Prince's portrait with a turban. Incidentally, the turban draws its origins from the cone-shaped Phrygian cap, a symbol of freedom and liberated slaves in ancient Greece and Rome.

The 19th-century oil on canvas picture by the Serbian painter Katarina Ivanović entitled *Witchery* or *Divination* or *Women in a Harem* (1865–1870), painted after Delacroix's work *Women of Algiers*, belongs to the "imaginary Orient" type of images.[23] She would later paint *Black Courtier*, *Love Message*, and *Woman with a Letter in the Boudoir*. Apart from the genre scenes, her historical compositions, such as the *Conquest of Belgrade in 1806* or *Ottoman Envoys Proposing a Marriage Alliance to the Serbian Princess Mara* (Fig. 10), also abounded in black or Arab characters.

A whole gallery of Albanian characters from the everyday life of the Balkan peoples (*Cockfight*, *Albanian Duel*, and *Albanian Proposing Marriage to a Girl*) is the hallmark of the painting oeuvre of Paja Jovanović, whose artistic style was formed under the Viennese Orientalist painter Leopold Carl Müller, nicknamed "Müller the Egyptian".[24] Wealthy clients from Europe asked Jovanović to paint at his studios in Vienna and Munich compositions related to the exotic Balkans, featuring men immediately before or after the battle, or

[20] K.-P. Kalafati, *The Dionysios Loverdos Collection*, Athens, 2002.
[21] D. Davidov, *Hristophor Žefarović: Description of Jerusalem, Vienna 1748*, Novi Sad, 1973.
[22] M. Kolarić, *Klasicizma kod Srba 1790–1848*, Belgrade, 1965.
[23] M. Timotijević, R. Mihailović, *Katarina Ivanović*, Belgrade, 2004.
[24] M. Timotijević, *Paul Jowanovitch, 1859-1957*, Belgrade, 2009.

women in an imaginary relaxing Oriental atmosphere depicted as lonely odalisques, dancers, entertainers or inn waitresses in a male company. Around the end of the 19th century, Jovanović dedicated himself to exotic Oriental motifs. His *Woman in Oriental Dress* (ca. 1880) is surrounded by a variety of objects either originating from the Orient or evoking the East. However, the icons in the background show that the woman is an Orthodox Christian, inciting the observer to see her as an ambiguous object of desire. Jovanović was not expected to offer an authentic depiction of enslaved and impoverished Serbs, but an idealizing and constructed Balkan world, such as imperial Europe wished to see: an embellished world without blood, sweat, and tears. In one of these paintings, a fight between two cocks (*Cockfight*, 1897), an activity that was banned throughout Europe at the time, seemingly takes places in an interior, while in the background passions are being ignited between a red-haired waitress and the Albanian man lighting his pipe. To this scene, which in reality could not be seen anywhere in the Balkans, unlike the Near and the Far East, Jovanović made innumerable variations, by altering only minor details (the woman's hair was originally black).

The theme of Ottoman women in an authentic costume and interior was also attractive to Serbian artists who studied painting in Paris in the first half of the 20th century (such as M. Milunović, *Bula*, *Turkish Woman* or *Odalisque*, 1932), but in this case, the work leaves the impression of an artistic experiment, with colours and shapes for its own sake.

Theodore Ralli was one of the greatest Greek Orientalist painters.[25] He was born in Constantinople (1852), studied in Paris, travelled through North Africa and the Middle East for a long time, and lived for a while in Cairo (1890-1904). In 1885 he decided to visit Mount Athos, intending to study its Byzantine frescoes and everyday monastic life. He published in Cairo (1899) a *Diary* of his travels to Athos, with his own sketches. Ralli's intriguing juxtaposition of the Muslim and Christian elements may be attributed to his undisputed cosmopolitanism and his origins in Constantinople, which contributed to the development of tolerance towards "the Other". His Romantic paintings with realistic details, done at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, usually show young Bulgarian or Greek women wearing folk costumes, in Orthodox churches and monasteries, abducted by Ottoman soldiers, or *bashi-buzuks* (Fig. 11). With a hint of sentimentality, they show Eastern mercenaries resting, after the abduction of white slaves and the destruction of sanctuaries. Along with veracious details, the scenes showing the remnants of Orthodox icons, iconostases and frescoes, along with girls with their arms tied, were

[25] M.–M. Palioura, *The Work of Theodore Ralli (1852-1909): Sources of Inspirations – Orientalistic Subjects*, Athens, 2008 (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Athens); id, "Theodore Ralli's *Diary* of his Travel to Athos (1895)", in D. Fortenberry and D. Manley (eds.), *Proceedings of the 8th Biennial Conference of Astene*, 2009, p. 78-87.

infused with the revolt against the assault on the national and religious pride of the Balkan peoples, sparked by the earliest organised uprisings against the Ottoman authorities and Islamisation. In the eyes of the West European peoples, the target-audience of these paintings, Orientalism was agreeable and appealing as an exotic spice, and that is why it was demanded and redesigned over the coming decades. Cabinet paintings of this type were commissioned to tingle the senses, and also for the leisure and entertainment of the Western-European high society.

The most common Islamic motifs were arabesques, Kufic letters and Rumi ornaments, six-pointed stars, tulips, wild roses and carnations, as well as chickpea leaves, pomegranate fruit, cypresses, Saracen arches and turned furniture balusters. The Oriental style is also reflected in the materials (e.g., mother-of-pearl), and techniques (e.g., inlay and marquetry), the use of turquoise and orange, and especially the use of silver, to convey decorative surface effects. The most common Oriental garments were kaftans, turbans, shalwars, and Turkish slippers, accompanied by swords, pitchers, and Persian rugs, which adorned not only the outfit of and the setting for the portrayed historical figures but also those of Christian saints. In the 19th century, the fez, as a type of men's hat, remained an item of the national urban costume throughout the Balkans. Black Arabs, Saracens or Egyptians were common motifs in the fine arts and literature of the Balkan peoples.[26]

Decapitated human heads, impaled bodies, and the cutting off of the tongue reflecting the cruelty of retribution and punishment of offenders and infidels, appeared only exceptionally in copperplate prints. The engraving of *Saint Seraphim, the Archbishop of Fener, with Hagiographic Scenes* (Koutloumousiou Monastery, 1818), done by the monk Theophylactos, is an example of such scenes (Fig. 12).[27] It shows the executioners as militant Saracens in Oriental dress, in contrast to the Orthodox victim, who bears the torture calmly, without physical resistance. Having suffered all the horrors and having been resurrected as a New Martyr and Miracle-Worker, St Seraphim is portrayed sitting on the throne, stepping with his feet on the persecutor – shown as a devil and overthrown on its back – and stabbing it with a spear. An icon showing scenes from the life of St Nicholas, painted by Ioannis Moskos (18th century, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens), merges the traditions of Western European art and Post-Byzantine painting: the executioner, dressed in a striped tunic, is separated from the mob and placed directly between life and death. The scenes from Turkish baths, with eunuchs and odalisques lying on sofas or seated with folded legs, *alla turca*, by low tables, remain unrivalled among Orientalist cabinet paintings. Most of the characters are shown smoking

[26] Lj. Stošić, "The Black Arab in Serbian Literature and Art", *The Black Arab as a Figure of Memory*, ed. by K. Kulavkova, Skopje, 2010, p. 263-281.
[27] D. Davidov, *The Athonian Prints*, Belgrade, 2004.

tobacco, using *chubuk*s and cigarette holders, or drinking coffee from small Oriental cups (*fildžān*). Although the purpose of Islamic motifs was originally symbolic, over time, their decorative function became more prominent and more important, until an overturn occurred in the iconographic meaning of the sacred and profane images in which it appeared. Along with the better studied and more familiar Western European influences,[28] Islamic elements had a crucial impact on the transition from a traditional Byzantine style to a late Renaissance style, and, further on, to the Baroque period in the Balkan peoples' art.

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Although they belong to opposing worlds and continents, the Middle East and the Balkans are sometimes placed on the same stand, sharing common denominators, such as ethnic heterogeneity, backwardness, and uneven development. As a buffer zone, Southeastern Europe, or the Western Balkans, are still a kind of wall or curtain dividing or linking – depending on the circumstances – the two perpetually opposing global spheres of influence.[29] This is seen as a place of convergence of the seemingly irreconcilable dichotomies: the enlightened and the backward, the rational and the irrational, Christianity and Islam.[30] At the same time, as the cradle of European civilization and forecourt of the Orient, the Balkans were perceived as an imaginary, distorted, and reconstructed album of another Europe, which was no longer existent, but could at some point re-emerge.[31]

The few examples offered from the cultural history and art of Serbia and the Balkans unambiguously demonstrate to what extent its peoples have strongly, vitally, and beneficially relied on each other over the centuries, despite being attached to different religions, whenever the interests of the great powers did not interfere directly. No future embrace between the East and the West is possible without a journey to the East and a passage through the gates of the Balkans.

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[28] Lj. Stošić, *La gravure occidentale comme modèle dans la peinture serbe du XVIII^e siècle*, Belgrade, 1992.
[29] E. W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, London, 1978.
[30] Tz. Todorov, *Noi e gli altri: riflessione francese sulla diversità umana*, Turin, 1991; M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 1997; Tz. Todorov, *The Fear of Barbarians: Beyond the Clash of Civilizations*, Chicago, 2010.
[31] E. Morin, *Penser l'Europe*, Paris, 1987.



Fig. 1 – Terracotta decoration with Kufic letters, 10th c., Athens, Church of the Holy Apostles (*apud* Eugenia Chalkia and Charalambos Bouras, *Byzantine Athens*, Athens, 2004, Fig. 28).



Fig. 2 – Maksim Tujković, *Adam and Eve*, icon, 1734,
the Old Serbian church in Sarajevo (Photo Aleksandar Rafajlović,
https://www.bokokotorskaslikarskaskola.rs/).



Fig. 3 – Dimitrije Daskal, *Hospitality of Abraham*, icon, 1689, St Luke Church in Kotor (Cattaro) (Photo Aleksandar Rafajlović, id.)



Fig. 4 – Božidar Vuković, *Saints Sava and Simeon of Serbia*, woodcut print, *The Festal Menaion*, Venice, 1538 (National Library, Belgrade).



Fig. 5 – Anonymous Greek artist, *The Old Testament Prophet Samuel*, 1718, fresco, Hilandar Monastery, chapel of the Holy Archangels
(Photo Zoran Nikolić)



Fig. 6 – Jovan the Serbian, *Mark the Evangelist*, miniature, *Tetraevangelion of Velika Remetea*, 1580, Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church (*apud* Zoran Rakić, *The World of Serbian Manuscripts, 12th-17th Centuries*, Belgrade, 2016, Fig. 93).



Fig. 7 – Father Vuk, *Matthew and Mark the Evangelists*,
Tetraevangelion of Karan, 1608, Nikolje Monastery in Užice (id., fig. 103-104).



Fig. 8 – Hristophor Žefarović, *The Holy Zion*, copperplate print, 1748 (*apud* Dinko Davidov, *Opisanije Jerusalima*, Belgrade, 1973, Fig. 30).

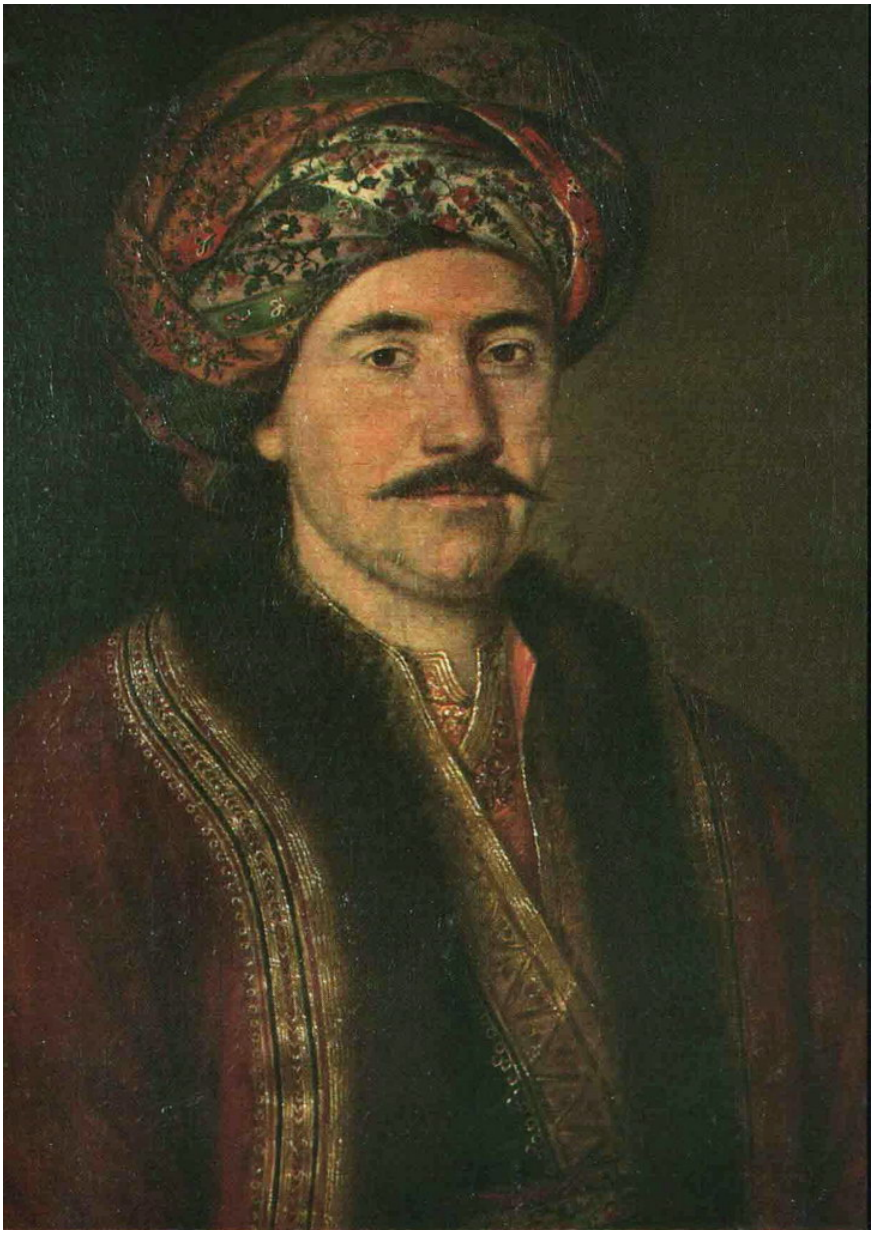


Fig. 9 – Pavel Djurković, *Turbaned Prince Miloš*, 1824, oil on canvas, National Museum, Belgrade (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pavel_%C4%90urkovi%C4%87#/media/File:Knez_Milos_Obrenovic.jpg).



Fig. 10 – Katarina Ivanović, *Ottoman Envoys Proposing a Marriage Alliance to the Serbian Princess Mara*, oil on canvas, 1879, National Museum, Belgrade (M. Timotijević, R. Mihailović, *Katarina Ivanović*, Belgrade – Topy, 2004, p. 154, ill. 38).



Fig. 11 – Theodore Ralli, *The Booty*, oil on canvas, *c.* 1905, National Gallery, Athens (*apud Paja Jovanovic. Between Aesthetics and Life*, Novi Sad, 2010, p. 217, ill. 90).



Fig. 12 – Monk Theophylactos, *Scene from the Life of Saint Seraphim's Impaling*, copperplate print, 1818, Koutloumousiou Monastery (*apud* Dinko Davidov, *The Athonian Prints*, Belgrade, 2004, pl. 207).

EASTERN CHRISTIAN RELICS IN UKRAINE IN THE LATE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES

Vitalii Tkachuk

After the conversion of Rus'-Ukraine to Christianity in 988, most of the Eastern Christian relics were concentrated in Kyiv, at the historical centre of the newly founded Metropolitanate of Kyiv. The young Church did not yet have its "own" holy relics, so relics were brought from the East. According to the *Old Rus' Chronicle*, in 988 Prince Vladimir, the Baptizer of the Kyiv Rus', together with the priest Nastasiy, brought to Kyiv the St Pope Clement's head and the holy remains of his disciple Fiva from Korsun, the place of his baptism.[1] It was the beginning of the flow of Eastern Christian relics towards the Kyivan Rus'.

The subject of this article is the reconstruction of a complete picture of the presence of Eastern Christian holy relics in the Orthodox churches of Ukraine at the end of the 17th century and during the 18th. However, the Ukrainians' pilgrimages to the East, where they had the opportunity to worship the saints' shrines, will not be considered, as it requires further study.

The chronological framework of the article is conditioned by the specificity of the sources, since those of the early period provide information only about the individual parts of holy relics in some churches. Detailed descriptions of relics in monasteries and churches were done in the 18th century. Also, from the second half of the same century a considerable number of documents issued by the Customs Office of the Russian Empire, including passports for the passage of the Eastern clergy and permits for collecting donations from the local Church authorities, became available for research. These sources allowed us to trace the presence of relics in the Orthodox churches of Ukraine, and especially relics brought by visiting clergy.

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[1] M. A. Mahanko, E. M. Sayenkova, *Реликвии по известиям русских летописей XI-XVII веков (Relics in Ancient Russian Chronicles of the 11th-17th Centuries*), selection, translation, and commentaries, in *Реликвии в Византии и Древней Руси: Письменные источники* (*Relics in Byzantium and Medieval Russia. Written Sources*), ed. by A. Lidov, Moscow, 2006, p. 329.

The significance of relics during the construction and consecration of churches

According to the Orthodox tradition, the clergy places a cornerstone with inserted fragments of relics in the masonry foundation of a new altar table, as well as a note with information on the particular saint or feast to which the church is dedicated, the date, the name of the bishop, and the place of consecration.[2] It is difficult to find information on such cornerstones and relics; we consider that the reason is the tradition of building a new church in the same place as an older one.[3] Saints' relics were also placed under the church altar,[4] but this occurred only rarely, since bishops were generally sending antimensions with the relics.[5] Available sources do not provide sufficient information about such facts.

One of the earliest records about the placing of relics in the altar is related to the name of the sanctuary of the Kyiv Metropolitanate – the Church of Saint Sophia. In 1940, archaeologists found a reliquary that contained relics of St Panteleimon the Healer († 305), which had been placed in the altar of the Cathedral.[6] It is known that in 1635 the Metropolitan of Kyiv Petro Mohyla (Petru Movilă), after the recovery of the St Sophia Cathedral from the Uniates, consecrated the altar by placing a silver reliquary with the relics of Sts Andrew of Crete, Demetrius of Thessaloniki, Artemius,[7] Anastasius of Persia, Gregory,[8] and Panteleimon.[9]

According to an inscription on the wall of the Epiphany Cathedral of the Kutein Monastery, in June 1635 the monastery was consecrated by Petro Mohyla and relics of the Sts Panteleimon, Artemius, and Anastasius of Persia, taken from from the Kyiv altar, were placed there. The inscription about these

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[2] *Требник*, Kyiv, 1646, fol. 53.

[3] Ms. no. 2463, Kyiv Institute of Manuscripts of the I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Fond I, fols. 61v-62, 65v, 272v, 348**,** 397v, 426, 434v.

[4] Т. Чукова, *Алтарь древнерусского храма конца X – первой трети XIII в. Основные архитектурные элементы по археологическим данным* (*The Chancel of Ancient Russian Churches: late 10th to early 13th Centuries. The Principal Architectural Elements According to Archaeological Data*), St Petersburg, 2004, p. 52.

[5] *Архив Юго-Западной России, издаваемый временною комиссиею для разбора древних актов* (*Archive of South-Western Russia, Published by the Temporary Commission for the Analysis of Old Acts*), 1, vol. 9, Kyiv, 1893, p. 371-372.

[6] Н. Сінкевич, *Реліквії та чудотворні ікони Софії Київської* (*Relics and Miraculous Icons in the Saint Sophia Cathedral of Kyiv*), Kyiv, 2011, p. 28.

[7] We believe that this was in fact the Holy Martyr Artemius of Antioch (†362).

[8] It is difficult to identify the name of this Saint.

[9] І. Нетудихаткін, Освячення Андріївської церкви у Києві 19 серпня 1767 р.: обставини, дійові особи, перебіг подій (*Consecration of St Andrew's Church in Kyiv on August 19, 1767: Circumstances, Actors, Events*), *Славістична збірка. Збірка статей за матеріалами Третього Міжнародного славістичного колоквіуму*, ed. by D. Hordienko and V. Kornienko, vol. III, 2017, p. 280.

relics was placed on the wall of the church to keep the believers in contact with them and encourage the worshipers and clergy to pray over them.[10]

Founded in the 11th century, the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra has been one of the most important monasteries of the Metropolitanate of Kyiv. In 1073, the Assumption Cathedral was built as the main temple of the Monastery. *The Paterikon of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra*, composed in the middle of the 15th century, reports that before the construction of the Cathedral the Virgin appeared to some builders in Constantinople and gave them relics of the Holy Martyrs Artemius, Polyeukt, Leontiy, Akakiy, Aref, Jacob, and Theodore, to be placed in the foundation of this church.[11] The texts of the *Paterikon* were very popular among the believers, and the information was quickly spread everywhere. During the fire of 1718, the Assumption Cathedral burnt down, but after its restoration in 1729 it was re-consecrated. To commemorate this event, a copper plaque was ordered, inscribed with the information in the *Paterikon* about the above-mentioned relics of saints.[12] Archaeologists investigating this altar in the '50s and '60s of the last century considered that the relics preserved in the jar were the original ones of the 11th century.[13]

The text of the plaque also recorded the consecration of the central altar in the same year and the placing of relics of the Apostles Bartholomew, Barnabas, Luke the Evangelist, Stephen the First Martyr, George of Lydda, Demetrius of Thessaloniki, Theodore Tyron, Procopius of Scythopolis, Panteleimon the Healer, St Antipas of Pergamum, Mercurius of Caesarea, St Eustratius,[14] Thecla of Iconium and Irene of Macedonia.[15] The remarkable fact is that when re-consecrating the Cathedral of the Lavra, where relics of local saints, including martyrs, were preserved, relics of the most revered saints of worldwide Orthodoxy were chosen instead. Thus, the Cathedral became even more sacred.

There are also examples from provincial monasteries. In 1684, with the financial assistance of the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Samoilovych (1672-1687), it

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[10] *Археографический сборник документов, относящихся к истории Северо-Западной Руси* (*An Archaeographic Collection of Documents Relating to the History of North-West Rus', Published by the Administration of the Vilna Academic District*), vol. 2, Vilno, 1867, p. 55-56.

[11] Д. Абрамович, *Києво-Печерський патерик* (*The Kyiv Pechersk Paterikon. Reprint*), Kyiv, 1991, p. 6.

[12] Є. Болховітінов, *Вибрані праці з історії Києва* (*Selected Works on the History of Kyiv*), Kyiv, 1995, p. 373.

[13] М. Холостенко, "Успенський собор Печерського монастиря" ("The Dormition Cathedral of the Kyivan Caves Monastery"), in *Стародавній Київ: збірник наукових статей*, ed. by P. Tolochko, Kyiv, 1975, p. 125.

[14] This could be either Eustratius of Sebastia († 284-305) or Eustratius of Pechersk († 1097), whose relics were kept in this church. But according to the logic of relics selection, it seems that the first option is the correct one.

[15] Є. Болховітінов, *Вибрані праці*.., p. 373-374 (The saints' identification is ours).

was decided to lay down the foundation of the new Transfiguration Church in the Mhar Monastery near Lubny. The information regarding cornerstone relics was preserved here in the commemoration book and the monastery chronicles. A cornerstone with relics of the Apostle Andrew, St John Chrysostom, St Martyr Mercurius of Caesarea, Theodore Stratelates, and St Mark the Grave-Digger[16] was placed in the foundation of the church.[17] On 18 July 1695, in the same monastery, the place for the construction of the refectory church was consecrated, with the financial support of the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1687-1709). On the spot where the Bishop's throne was going to be, a stone was placed, with relics of the St Apostle Andrew, St John Chrysostom, St Nicholas, Polyeuctus of Meletine (?), and Athanasius, the Patriarch of Constantinople († 1654).[18]

Here the attention is drawn to the fact that fragments of the St Apostle Andrew's relics were apparently placed, in both cases. In spite of the fact that he was widely respected and regarded as a "patron of the Rus' people",[19] we do not have any information on fragments of his relics in the Kyiv Metropolitanate in this period.[20] Perhaps the relics were part of the personal belongings of the Ecumenical Patriarch Athanasius III Patelaros, who died in this monastery in 1654.[21] The subsequent distribution of the same relics, decades later, and their absence in other places of the metropolis allows us to assume that they were supplied not from the treasury of the Kyiv Metropolitanate but from that of the monastery. The relics of Athanasius Patelaros at the Mhar monastery were discovered in 1662 by Paisios Ligarides, the Metropolitan of Gaza (1610-1678). Y. Holubinsky believes that the worship of Athanasius Patelaros as a saint began between 1672 and 1676.[22] However, this seemingly occurred only at a local

[16] An 11th-century monk of the Pechersk Lavra.

[17] М. Астряб, "Лубенский Мгарский Свято-Преображенский Монастырь" ("The Saviour – Transfiguration Mhar Monastery in Lubny"), in *Труды Полтавской Ученой Архивной Комиссии*, vol. 13, Poltava, 1915, p. 43.

[18] А. Лазаревский, "Отрывки из летописи Мгарского монастыря" ("Excerpts from the chronicles of the Mgar Monastery"), *Киевская старина*, 1889, 6, p. 67-68.

[19] *Архив Юго-Западной России*.., p. 414.

[20] With one exception: in 1850, the famous Russian politician and Church activist Andrei Muraviev (1806-1874) found a part of the Apostle's left foot little finger in the Russian skete of St Elijah the Prophet at Mount Athos and decided to bring it to the St Andrew's Church in Kyiv. However, the religious authorities only dared to store it in the choir of the Assumption Cathedral of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, in the side-altar dedicated to St John the Evangelist; see Ms. no. 58, Kyiv Institute of Manuscripts, Fond 230, fols. 1-2, 6-9.

[21] A. M. Amman, S.J., "Athanase III Patellaros, patriarche de Constantinople, ex-catholique et saint russe", *Revue des études slaves*, 28, 1951, p. 15.

[22] Е. Голубинский, *История канонизации святых в Русской церкви* (*History of the Canonization of Saints in the Russian Church*), Moscow, 1998, p. 203.

level, as evidenced by the recording of miracles at the beginning of the 18th century[23] (See Fig. 1).

In 1695, during the period of the well-known scholar Dimitry Tuptalo (1651-1709), a hegumen and future saint, the church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul was built in the Hlukhiv monastery. Before the beginning of the construction, a cornerstone with the holy relics of the St Apostle Philip, the Great Martyrs Demetrius of Thessaloniki, Theodore Tyron and Theodore Stratelates, St Barbara, and St Paraskevi (which one is not clear) was placed in the church foundation. The other parts of the relics belonged to two martyrs and ten elders of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra.[24] The hegumen, who was also the author of the collection of the saints' *Lives*, paid special attention to the choice of these relics. According to religious precepts, it was enough to put one relic fragment inside the cornerstone;[25] however, he placed as many as eighteen, apparently in order to draw the attention of more patrons to the monastery.[26] It was possible to make a reliquary from these relic parts, for worship, and even organize fundraising for the monastery using them. However, it was more important for the monks to celebrate Liturgy over these relics, thus maintaining a connection with these saints.

Among the six fragments of relics of Eastern Christian saints mentioned above, four – Demetrius of Thessaloniki, Theodore Tyron, Theodore Stratelates, and Paraskevi – were transferred most likely from Kyiv Pechersk Lavra or the Saint Sophia Cathedral, as the presence of these relics there is recorded in sources of the 18th – beginning of the 19th centuries.[27] St Barbara's relics were kept in Saint Michael's Cathedral in Kyiv. The place where the holy relics of the Apostle Philip were kept is not known exactly, but parts of them were also placed in the foundation of the Saint Nicholas Cathedral in the Nicholas Pustyn Monastery in Kyiv, built in 1690, together with fragments of St John Chrysostom's relics (also kept in the Monastery of Mhar) and some other saints' of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra.[28] It is quite possible that this relic piece was provided by the Hetman himself, as he had good relations with the hegumen of the Monastery of Saint Dimitry.[29]

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[23] Ms. no. 258-259, Kyiv Institute of Manuscripts, Fond 232, fols. 3-3v.
[24] City Museum "Spiritual Treasures of Ukraine", Kyiv (no shelf code).
[25] *Требник*, fols. 53.
[26] This approach reminds us of the commemoration practice at the time: we often find in wills prayers for almsgivings to not one but many churches. See Ms. 280, National Historical Archives of Belarus Collection of Electronic Copies, no. 20, op. 1, fol. 3.
[27] Н. Сінкевич, *Реліквії*…, p. 30, 32.
[28] П. Троцкий, "Киево-Печерский Пустынно-Николаевский монастырь" ("Kyiv Pechersk Pustino-Nikolayevski Monastery"), *Труды Киевской Духовной академии*, 4, 1878, p. 632.
[29] М. Федотова, "'Егда припомню много дел его благих…': к вопросу о биографии гетмана Мазепы и творчества Димитрия Ростовского" ("'I remember a lot of his good deeds': on the Issue of Hetman Mazepa's Biography and Dimitry Rostovsky's Works"), in *Mazepa e il suo*

According to the Commemoration Book of Vydubytsky Monastery, one of the oldest monasteries of Kyiv (11th century), in 1696 the foundation for the new Saint George's Church was excavated there. The Metropolitan of Kyiv Varlaam Yasinsky (1690-1707) placed the cornerstone of the church, enclosing relics of Sts Michael the Confessor, Bishop of Synnada, St George the Victory-Bearer, John Chrysostom, and Barbara.[30] All these relics came from the Saint Sophia Cathedral. The choice of these relics was not accidental. St George's relics were connected with the dedication of the church, and St Michael's were associated with the church donor Mykhailo Andriiovych Miklashevsky (c. 1640-1706), a Colonel of the Starodub Cossack Regiment. In addition, the donors' names were written on the certificate inserted in the stone alongside the relics. This way, the donors counted on the powerful intercessory prayers of the saints whose relics were set in the cornerstone of the masonry foundation. Our assumption is also confirmed by the information from the Monastery's Commemoration Book regarding the setting of holy relics in the altar of this church, including the relics of Sts Basil, Gregory and John Chrysostom, Martyr Barbara, St George, and St Nikon of the Caves, to pray for the protection of the donors, the metropolitan who consecrated the church, and the father superior of the Monastery.[31]

In 1747-1762, the Empress Elizabeth of Russia ordered a church in Kyiv to be built, which was designed by the famous architect Francesco Bartolomeo Rastrelli (1700-1771). According to legend, the church was built at the exact place where the St Apostle Andrew had erected a Cross. The consecration of the altar was done in 1767. Recently, conservation experts dismantled the lining of the altar and confirmed the information given by Jacob Voronkovsky, a Church scholar of the second half of the 18th century, on the fact that a silver reliquary, containing the relics of the Martyrs Charalambous, Bishop of Magnesia, Anthimos of Nicomedia, George the Victory-Bearer, Barbara, Panteleimon the Healer, Euphemia, Paraskevi of Iconium, and Moses Ugrin († 1043), was inserted in the upper part of the marble altar slab.[32]

We see, thus, that in spite of the religious precepts, the clergy preferred to increase the number of relic fragments in order to increase the number of patron saints of the church (from 4 to 18). In addition, although there was no requirement to enclose pieces of martyrs' relics, they actually prevailed. This

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tempo. Storia, cultura, societa/Mazepa and his time. History, culture, society, ed. by G. Siedina, Alessandria, 2004, p. 529-539.

[30] М. Максимович, *"Киевъ явился градомъ великимъ...": Вибрані українознавчі твори* (*"Kyiv Appeared as a Great City…": Selected Ukrainian Studies*), ed. by V. Zamlynskyi, Kyiv, 1994, p. 168.

[31] *Ibid*., p. 169.

[32] І. Нетудихаткін, *Освячення*…, p. 278; a video of the altar opening in 2019, with the inscription about the relics, is available here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C4B6UJpUBZk& feature=share&fbclid=IwAR33H34edB8XVyuzlJhX6StZUBH20lENZ_GX2PSGgVfEbQidBQTa9BxD_Vk.

was related to the tradition of the first centuries of Christianity, when services were conducted over martyrs' relics, which were also used for antimensions. The presence of fragments of the same saint's relics in different altars occurred due to their availability at the Metropolitan See.

Relics for antimensions

One of the most important components of antimensions were the holy martyrs' relics placed by the eparch during its consecration. The tradition to keep an antimension on the altar dates from the catacombs period of early Christianity and the practice to have the Liturgy service on the tombs of martyrs.[33] In sources of the first half of the 17th century there are references to relics brought from the Greek East for the antimensions of the Kyiv Metropolitanate.[34] Some relics were also bought at this period.[35] We assume that because of the strong ties with the Eastern Church and the need for relics, this practice was widely observed in subsequent years. However, since the second half of the 17th century, relics of local martyrs from the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra were also used for veneration.[36]

During the 17th century and the first half of the 18th, there was no return mechanism for the old antimensions, because they were stored in the altars of the churches for which they were consecrated, or in other places inside the churches. However, towards the middle of the 18th century the situation changed. The Holy Synod of 1735 ordered the return of old antimensions to the Metropolitan See treasuries, to solve the problem of finding relics for new antimensions.[37] Relics were removed from the old antimensions and attached to the new ones.[38]

Is it possible to know which saints' relics were used for antimensions? The existing sources provide surprisingly little information about this. Probably, this was not particularly important for the clergy. This is revealed by the absence of a practice to keep saints' relics destined for antimensions separately and to mark them. For example, according to a postscript in the margin of the relics

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[33] Свящ. К. Никольский, *Об антиминсах Православной Русской Церкви* (*The Antimension in the Russian Orthodox Church*), Moscow, 2012, p. 30-31.

[34] С. Терновский, *Исследование о подчинении Киевской митрополии Московскому патриархату* (*Study on the Subordination of the Kyiv Metropolitanate to the Moscow Patriarchate*), Kyiv, 1872, p. 29.

[35] *Архив Юго-Западной России*.., p. 138.

[36] Свящ. М. Сивак, "Антимінси Київських митрополитів XIX століття. Святі мощі в Антимінсах" ("The Antimensions of Kyiv Metropolitans of the 19th century. Saints' Relics in Antimensions"), *Труди Київської духовної академії*, 8, 2011, p. 30-31.

[37] К. Никольский, свящ., *Об антиминсах*…, p. 81, 85.

[38] Ms. no. 171, Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv, Fond 127, op. 378, fol. 9.

register of the Kyiv Metropolitan See, in 1804 the relics of St Martyr Basil, Bishop of Amasea, were taken for antimensions. At the same time, "the unknown relics found in October of 1744, in a sealed package," were recorded in the relics register, and next to this inscription the oikonomos indicated their use: "Unknown relics in the package for antimensions".[39] Even though the norms regarding the necessity to keep martyrs' relics were not always observed, the clergy was still taking such rules into consideration. At that time, the local martyrs' relics were not numerous. This leads us to believe that the Eastern Churches remained the main supplier of holy relics to the Kyiv Metropolitanate. Thus, fragments of saints' relics were kept in hundreds of Ukrainian churches, but they were not identified, unlike the icons, and therefore believers did not worship them, and the connection to the saints could only be invisible and mystical.

Eastern Christian relics in the Ukrainian churches

Most of the saints' relics used for worship, both local and imported, were concentrated in Kyiv, making it the centre of pilgrimage for believers, even from abroad.[40] The Kyiv Pechersk Lavra became the centre of pilgrimage, housing more than one hundred tombs of Kyiv Pechersk saints, as well as a large part of the holy relics brought from the East. The relics were kept in the Assumption Cathedral, the central church of the monastery. The history of their appearance is little known, but we assume that most of the relics appeared after the devastating fire of 1718. In particular, there were holy relics of the following saints: the Apostle James, brother of Jesus, Bartholomew, Lazarus of the Four Days, Ignatius of Antioch, Shemon Bar Sabbae, the Martyrs Mercurius of Caesarea,[41] Panteleimon the Healer, Anastasia Pharmakolitriya, Lucia of Syracuse, Nicholas of Myra, John Chrysostom, the Martyrs of the Lavra of St Sabbas the Sanctified, relics of Jesus Christ and the Apostles, including the Holy Cross,[42] the Tree of Refectory and the Lord's Robe, John the Forerunner's blood, the Apostles Paul, Thaddeus, James, brother of Jesus, and Bartholomew.[43] There were also non-identified saints' relics brought from

[39] Ms. no. 695 L, Kyiv Institute of Manuscripts, Fond 301, fol. 87.
[40] Я. Шульга, *Паломництво до київських православних святинь у XVIII ст.: соціо-антропологічний вимір* (*The Pilgrimage to Kyiv Orthodox Shrines in the 18th Century: the Social-Anthropological Dimension*), unpublished PhD thesis, Kyiv, 2015, p. 68, 109, 118.
[41] This is our assumption. The source does not specify the relics of which St Mercurius were stored there.
[42] Ms. no. 30, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 128, op.1 zag., fol. 38v.
[43] Ms. no. 65733, Kyiv Institute of Manuscripts, Fond I, fol. 1-2.

Antioch and some other relics with inscriptions already hard to read in the 18th century. We were unable to identify the relics of St Cyril.

According to the available sources, pieces of relics were kept on a round, decorated reliquary that the believers had the opportunity to worship. The greatest attention was paid to the finger of Stephen the First Martyr, placed in the same reliquary as the relics of St Vladimir († 1015), Mikhail, the first Metropolitan of Kyiv († 992), and other saints of the Lavra Pechersk. St Stephen's relic was brought from the Neamț Monastery in 1717.[44] In honour of the Archdeacon Stephen, one of the aisles of the Cathedral was dedicated to him. It seems that attention was paid not so much to the promotion of piety towards the Eastern Christian saints' relics; instead, the emphasis was placed on honouring the local saints' remains. There were also icons in the church with fragments of relics, such as those of St Barbara and St Nicholas of Myra.[45] However, their identification is complicated, since descriptions often do not specify which saint's relics were placed.

The second significant place for safekeeping Eastern relics was the Metropolitan Cathedral of Saint Sophia. The relics of Jesus Christ kept in the Cathedral were especially important during the time of great devotion to the sufferings of Christ: Christ's robe, His blood, the Life-Giving Tree, and also a very rare relic –Virgin Mary's breast milk mixed with the blood of Jesus, as well as relics of the period of Christ's life: relics of the child killed by Herod instead of Jesus Christ,[46] of John the Baptist, Stephen the First Martyr, the Sts Apostles and Evangelists Matthew and Paul. The Cathedral also kept a number of relic fragments of Greek saints: John Chrysostom, St Gregory the Theologian and Basil the Great, Basil of Amasea, and the Bishops Michael of Sinai, Anthimus of Nicomedia, Blaise of Sebaste, Charalambous of Magnesia, and Phocas, Bishop of Sinope. The number of relics of the Greek martyrs was even higher: St George of Lydda, Procopius, Theodore Tyron, Theodore Stratelates, John the New of Suceava († 1340),[47] Thecla of Iconium, Barbara of Heliopolis, Mary of Antioch, Cosmas and Damian, James of Persia, Tryphon of Campsada, Myron the Presbyter of Cyzicus (?), Euphemia, Paraskevi of Iconium, and Fotina the Samaritan. There were also a few relic fragments of the Sts Makarios of Egypt, Ephrem the Syrian, Hilarion the Great, John of Damascus, Mark of Athens, and

[44] С. Мыславский, *Краткое историческое описание Киево-Печерской лавры* (*Brief Historical Description of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra*), Kyiv, 1817, p. 106-107.
[45] Ms. no. 30, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 128, op.1 zag., fol. 37.
[46] It is considered that these relics were brought by Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem in 1620 to the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, from where they apparently were transferred to the St Sophia Cathedral. See *Свято-Успенская Киево-Печерская Лавра. Фотоальбом* (*The Kyiv Pechersk Lavra. Photo Album*), Kyiv, 2005, p. 74.
[47] In 1797 this relic, together with others, was analysed and found that it was not a relic, but the Saint's hair moulded in wax. See Ms. no. 162, Central State Historical Archive, fond. 127, op. 1043, fols. 13-14.

Xenophon of Constantinople. Among the relics of the Equals to the Apostles, apart from Prince Vladimir's, relics of the Byzantine emperor Constantine the Great were also preserved here.[48] According to the Metropolitan of Kyiv and Church historian Yevgeny Bolhovitinov, these reliquaries were brought to the Cathedral during the time of Petro Mohyla (Petru Movilă). Ironically, in spite of the fact that in the Cathedral treasury there were many relics of highly venerated saints, we know almost nothing about the way veneration was organised. There is only one reference in the financial register of 1770 regarding donations received "for different relics", which may indicate that relics were presented for veneration. However, this could also refer to the amount that came from the veneration of the relics of St Volodymyr and Metropolitan Makariy, as the vessel holding these relics was kept in the church. It is known for certain that in 1824 Metropolitan Bolkhovitinov organised and presented the relics for worship.[49]

Another monastery visited by thousands of pilgrims was the Kyiv Golden-Domed Monastery (11th century), where the tomb hosting the relics of St Barbara of Heliopolis was venerated. The daughter of the Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnen (1081-1118), Barbara, who married Prince Sviatopolk II of Kyiv (1093-1113), brought these relics to Kyiv from Constantinople in the early 12th century. In 1701, St Barbara's relics were placed in a richly decorated and gilded reliquary, especially made for them by Hetman Mazepa (Fig. 2). The 18th century is marked by a special veneration of St Barbara's relics: the clergy organised, on a regular basis, readings of the Akathistos near the casket.[50] At Saint Catherine's chapel in Saint Michael's Cathedral, the believers worshiped the relics of the Sts Spyridon of Trimython, Panteleimon the Healer, and Charalambous, Bishop of Magnesia.[51]

In another old Rus' monastery in Kyiv, Vydubytsky (11th century), in St George's church, which was built at the beginning of the 18th century, in front of the icon of this saint a reliquary was placed, holding relics of St Barbara, St John Damascene, and other saints, alongside a very important relic: some of George the Victory-Bearer's blood.[52]

At the Kyiv Monastery of St Nicholas of Myra (founded in 1616), pilgrims could find a reliquary holding relics of St Archdeacon Steven, the Samaritan Martyr Fotina, Gregory the Miracle-Worker, Xenophon, John the

[48] Н. Сінкевич, *Реліквії*…, p. 24-25.
[49] *Ibid*., p. 32.
[50] Ms. no. 533, Institute of Manuscripts, Fond 160, fol. 3; А. Кізлова, *Православні святині Києва у духовному та суспільному житті киян (кінець XVIII - перші десятиліття XX ст.)* (*Kyiv Orthodox Sacred Objects in the Spiritual and Social Life of Kyivans, Late 18th c. – First Decades of the 20th c.*). Ph. D. thesis, Kyiv, 2010, p. 69-70, 86.
[51] Ms. no. 539 P, Kyiv Institute of Manuscripts, Fond 307, fol. 7v.
[52] М. Максимович, Киевъ явился градомъ великимъ…, p. 169.

Baptist, fragments of the Life-Giving Cross and relics of some monks of the Pechersk Lavra.[53] The relics of the St Archdeacon Stephen were given to the convent in 1769 by the Georgian princess Anna Bakarova, who asked for prayers for her children.[54]

The St Nicholas Pustyn Monastery (15th century) had relics closely linked to its dedication. One of the most venerated icons, that of St Nicholas, was placed there with the Life-Giving Tree cross, and another cross with St Nicholas's relics and some anointing oil,[55] probably brought by pilgrims from Bari.

In the 1740s, the Greeks of Kyiv built within the monastery the church of St Catherine, which became one of the metochions of St Catherine at Mount Sinai.[56] A wooden reliquary decorated with mother-of-pearl and silver was displayed there, containing relics of St Paraskevi (most likely the Bulgarian, of the 11th century, as mention was made that she was a martyr). This can be explained by the fact that the majority of the Bulgarians, Wallachians, as well as Greeks, merchants who were visiting Kyiv for trade or lived there,[57] originated in the Balkans, where this Saint's cult was very strong.[58] In a separate reliquary, shaped like a pillar, were preserved relics of St Cyricus († *c*. 304).[59]

The largest eparchy in the North of Ukraine is the Chernihiv Eparchy, which became independent from Kyiv at the end of the 17th century. As a result of a significant loss of archives in the middle of the 20th century, there is little information about the early modern life of this eparchy. Unfortunately, we do not know about any relics of Chernihiv, except icons, but their presence there would be expected. In a description of the Chernihiv Bishop's treasury in the middle of the 19th century, three altar crosses are mentioned, with fragments of Eastern saints' relics, which were transferred in 1786 from monasteries of the eparchy that were closed. In the first one there were parts of the True Cross and relics of St John the Baptist, the Apostles and Evangelists Mark, Luke, Matthew, and Philip, the Protomartyr Stephen, Sts Nicholas, Gregory the Theologian, Charalambous, Demetrius of Thessaloniki, Eustachius, Onuphrius, Ephrem the Syrian, Cyrus and John, Panteleimon the Healer, Athanasius the Great, John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, and also the Russian St Michael of Chernigov († 1246). In the second cross, according to the inscription, there were parts of the

[53] Ms. no. 162, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 127, op. 1043, fols. 13-14.
[54] Ms. no. 665 L, Kyiv Institute of Manuscripts, Fond 301, fol. 18.
[55] Ms. no. 15, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 131, op. 32, fol. 4v.
[56] Н. Петров, "Греческий Екатерининский монастырь в Киеве" ("The Greek Monastery of Saint Catherine in Kyiv"), *Труды Киевской Духовной академии*, 1, 1896, p. 55-112.
[57] Ms. no. 1295, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 59, op. 1, fols. 50r-50v; Ms. no. 1889, Fond 59, op. 1, fols. 5-6; Ms. no. 699, Fond 59, op. 1, fols. 17-17v.
[58] Е. Бакалова, *Култът към реликвите и чудотворните икони. Традиции и съвременност* (*The Cult of Relics and Miraculous Icons. Traditions and Modernity*), Sofia, 2016, p. 80-81.
[59] Ms. no. 45, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 127, op. 176, fols. 4-10.

Holy Robe and the True Cross. In the third silver cross – relics of the Evangelists Matthew, Mark, and Luke, Apostle Timothy and Barnabas, George of Hoziba, James of Persia, Demetrius of Thessaloniki, Artemius of Antioch, Theodore Tyron, and Panteleimon. The presence of relics of the Rus' saints in the crosses reveals the fact that the fragments were set in locally. This list of saints was typical for other monasteries in the Kyiv region. Such crosses were placed in the altars, and thus, the believers' access to them was limited.[60]

In a very unexpected way, at the end of 18th century, a reliquary that held the relics of the Sts Tryphon of Campsada and Margaret of Antioch reached the St George Monastery in Kozelets (Chernihiv eparchy). These relics were a legacy, after the death of hegumen Varlaam in 1777. He had seemingly received them from the Patriarch of Constantinople at the time when the Treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca was signed (1774).[61]

After the Union of Brest (1596) and until the end of the 17th century, the Lviv and (partly) Przemysl eparchies in the West of the Kyiv Metropolitanate remained attached to Orthodoxy. In this region, due to the support of the Lviv Brotherhood (Dormition Monastery) and some other monasteries, alongside the Greek diaspora, relations with the Eastern clergy remained close. However, very little information about church relics is preserved. It is known that in 1630 the Moldavian prince Miron Barnovski-Movilă (1626-1629) sent relics of some unknown saints to the Dormition Church of the Lviv Brotherhood, which had been built with the support of Moldavian rulers between 1591 and 1629. Presumably, the relics were used in the consecration of the church in 1631.[62] The assets inventory of the church for 1666 recorded the presence of the same relics as in Kyiv churches: Sts Stephen the Protomartyr and Panteleimon the Healer.[63] In 1669, Pavlo Teteria, the Hetman of Right-Bank Ukraine and a member of the Lviv Brotherhood, donated to it relics of St Mercurius of Caesarea.[64]

In 1681, the Wallachian ruler Constantin Șerban (1654-1658) presented a fragment of the True Cross to the Lavriv Monastery, by way of the monk

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[60] Архиеп. Филарет Гумилевский, *Историко-статистическое описание Черниговской епархии* (*Historical and Statistical Description of the Chernihiv Eparchy*), vol. 2. *Черниговский архиерейский дом, семинария и духовное училище* (*Chernihiv Bishop's House, Theological School and Seminary*), Chernihiv, 1873, p. 47-48.

[61] *Ibid.*, vol. 3. *Мужские монастыри* (*Men' Monasteries*), Chernihiv, 1873, p. 249.

[62] Д. Зубрицкий, "Летопись Львовского Ставропигиального Братства по древним документам составленная" ("Chronicle of the Lviv Stavropigial Brotherhood Based on Ancient Documents"), *Журнал Министерства народного просвещения*, 6, 1849, p. 142-143.

[63] Ю. Шустова, *Документы Львовского Успенского Ставропигийского братства, (1586-1788): источниковедческое исследование* (*Documents of the Lviv Dormition of Mary Stavropegion Brotherhood: a Study of the Sources*), Moscow, 2009, p. 573.

[64] М. Андрусяк, "Павло Тетеря та львівська Ставропігія" ("Pavlo Teteria and the Lviv Stavropegion"), *Записки Наукового товариства імені Шевченка*, CLI, 1931, p. 181, 183-184.

Makariy the Hagiorite.[65] His name, and his relatives', were recorded in the Monastery's Commemoration Book.[66]

At the end of the 17th century, the Manyava Skete of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, which remained Orthodox, in the Lviv eparchy, until the end of the 18th century, and had close connections with Mount Athos, Moldavia and Wallachia, owned a fragment of the True Cross and relics of Ignatius Theophorus.[67] This type of monastery was a local holy centre, where believers had the opportunity to worship Eastern relics.

Having looked at more than a dozen inventory descriptions, we can conclude that there were almost no holy relics presented for veneration in the parish churches of the Metropolitanate. As an exception, we may recall the incident that happened in 1717, when a cross with holy relics (St John, Antipas, Barbara, and Panteleimon) stolen from the Assumption Church in Chyhyryn (former seat of the Hetman) during the campaigns of 1674-1678 was found near Putivl'.[68] It is possible to mention also the reliquary with Eastern Christian saints' relics found in one of Kyiv's parish churches, but their authenticity was questioned by the clergy.[69]

The secular elite of the country also had at their disposal some Eastern Christian relics. For example, Gavrylo Vladislavich († 1739), nephew of the famous Russian diplomat, the Serbian-born Sava Lukich Vladislavich-Raguzinsky (1669-1738), owned a pouch, embroidered with a Jerusalem cross, which contained saints' relics and three rock pieces allegedly from the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[70] We can only assume that this pouch had belonged to his uncle Sava, who had been well acquainted with the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos II Notaras (1669-1707) and could have received it from him.[71]

Kyiv was the main (but not the only) place where Eastern Christian relics were permanently presented to be worshipped by the believers, and the

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[65] М. Голубець, "Лаврів (Історично-археольогічна студія)" ("Lavriv: Historical Archaeological Work"), *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni*, 2 (1926), 1927, p. 58.

[66] Ms. no. 14, Library of the Lviv Central Basilian Order at Saint Onuphrius Monastery, Fond 12/2, fol. 27v.

[67] А. Крыловский, *Львовское ставропигиальное братство: Опыт церковно-исторического исследования* (*The Lviv Stavropegion Brotherhood: An Essay of Church-Historical Research*), Kyiv, 1904, p. 200.

[68] *Описание документов и дел, хранящихся в архиве Святейшего правительствующего синода/сост. Комис. для разбора и описания арх. Святейшего правительствующего синода* (*Description of the Documents and Files in the Archives of the Holy Synod of Bishops, Compiled by the Commission for the Analysis and Description of the Archives of the Holy Synod*), vol. 8. *1728*, St Petersburg, 1891, p. 511.

[69] Ms. no. 142, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 127, op. 225, fols. 1r-1v.

[70] Ms. no. 57325-57343, Kyiv Institute of Manuscripts, Fond I, fol. 190.

[71] А. Морозова, "Серби Владиславичі в історії Російської імперії та Чернігівщині" ("The Vladyslavich Serbs in the History of the Russian Empire and Chernichiv"), *Сіверянський літопис*, 4, 2014, p. 152.

clergy could have relics for the consecration of new churches. The veneration of local relics was more intensive, with the exception of the "appropriation" of St Barbara. An estimate of the number of relics in Kyiv in the second half of the 18th century shows that a believer could worship during this period in the churches of this city 65 relics of Eastern saints, originating in 53 saints. Two of the relics – one from a child killed by King Herod and the other from a martyr of the St Sabbas Monastery – may only be nominally mentioned. The periods where the 52 above-mentioned saints lived are: 1st-4th centuries – 44 saints (84.6 %); 15th century – 6 (11.5 %); 11th-15th centuries – 2 (3.8 %). According to the rates of sanctification, we have the following distribution: Prophets – 1 (1.9 %); Apostles – 5 (9.6 %); Equal to the Apostles – 2 (3.8 %); Hierarchs – 7 (13.5 %); Venerables – 6 (11.5 %); Righteous – 1 (1.9%); Unmercenary – 1 (1.9 %); Martyrs – 5 (9.6 %); Martyrs – 2 (3.8 %); Hieromartyrs – 8 (15.3 %); Great Martyrs – 14 (26.9 %). Among the largest group of the Great Martyrs, the Holy Warriors prevailed. If we combine all the martyrs' ranks, their total share will be more than half. However, if we consider that St John the Baptist and the Apostles also suffered martyrdom, the figure above would increase. Thus, the relics of the Eastern Christian saints present in Kyiv projected the image of the Church of the first Christian centuries, the persecuted and martyred Church. Therefore, it seems not accidental that almost all the saints of the end of the 16th century, and the 17th who were sanctified in the Metropolitanate of Kyiv shortly after their death, had also suffered persecutions and martyrdom for their faith.[72]

We can also classify relics according to geographical parameters. Certainly, this is not always easy to do, because often the birth, life, and death of a saint occurred in different parts of the world. The numbers decrease from the saints who were born and worked in Asia Minor to those of the Middle East, then drop again for those of the Balkans, North Africa, and the Arabian Peninsula. This can be attributed to the fact that by 1686 the Kyiv Metropolitanate was subordinated to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, from where relics were generally brought and the saints' cult radiated.

The relics of some saints that were venerated most particularly by the believers can be found in more than one church. Thus, the relics of Stephen the Protomartyr are documented in three monasteries of Kyiv, those of St Panteleimon – in four, and those of St Charalambous – in two monasteries.

If we compare the ratio of the imported relics of the Eastern saints with those of the local ones quantitatively, for instance, at the Church of Saint Sophia, we notice that resulting figures are almost equal, due to the large-scale canonization of the Lavra Monastery saints in the middle of the 17th century.

[72] Митроп. Іларіон, *Українська Церква за час Руїни* (*The Ukrainian Church in the Time of Ruin*), Winnipeg, 1956, p. 395-396; І. Ісіченко, "Мученицький архетип у житійному просторі Руїни" ("The Martyr Archetype in the Hagiographic Realm of Ruins"), *Київські полоністичні студії*, vol. 19, Kyiv, 2012, p. 233-239.

Among the 94 fragments, there were 42 relics of Eastern saints (44.6 %), less than half of the total number of relics.

Gender imbalance is easily noticeable: there were relics of only nine holy women (17.3 %) among Kyiv's Eastern Christian relics.

Here are some elements of the methodology used in our above-mentioned calculations: 1) only the relics in the most famous Kyiv monasteries were taken into account, but such holy treasures may be found in other monasteries as well; 2) in reference sources, there was practically no information about the crosses and icons enclosing relics, therefore, we have ignored them almost completely in the calculation; 3) the Church held relics of a number of saints that had been brought from the East but were not identified, or the inscriptions that accompanied them were not readable even at that time. Therefore, in reality, the number of relics could be considerably higher.

The arrival of Eastern clerics to Ukraine with relics and holy treasures

Due to the fact that during the second half of the 17th century Moscow tsars, who controlled the major part of contemporary Ukraine, periodically provided financial assistance to the Eastern Churches, and also because of the steadily increasing presence of Greeks in Ukraine for commercial purposes, Eastern clerics started to visit the country, to collect donations. They could also have brought holy relics to Ukraine.

The Holy Mountain Athos and other Greek monasteries

Since ancient times, Ukraine had close contacts with the Holy Mountain Athos. During the 18th century, many Ukrainians spent their monastic life there, the most famous of them being St Paisius Velichkovsky.[73] Monks of the Holy Mountain often visited Ukraine to collect alms, as documented in the commemoration books of the St Panteleimon and Zograf Monasteries.[74]

For example, hieromonk Mitrofan of the St Panteleimon Russian monastery on Mount Athos came to Moscow in October 1722 to get permission to collect donations in Russia, necessary for paying the debts of the monastery. He brought relics of St Panteleimon the Healer and St Demetrius (apparently, of

[73] С. Шумило, *"Духовное Запорожье" на Афоне. Малоизвестный казачий скит "Черный Выр" на Святой Горе* (*Spiritual Zaporozhia on Mount Athos. The Little-Known Cossack Chorny Vir Monidrion on the Holy Mountain*), Kyiv, 2015.

[74] Ms. Zogr. 77, Zograf Monastery Archive, fols. 56-116; Ms. no. A000083, Archive of the St Panteleimon Russian Monastery at Mount Athos, fols. 29v-57v, 95-118, and 126-131v.

Thessaloniki)[75]. It is known that he was collecting alms to cover forty-days prayers for the dead, and he was allowed to participate in the service of Liturgy and other religious functions. During the services, believers would worship the above-mentioned relics. According to the existing sources, he lived a certain period of time in the Ukrainian city of Nizhyn, where there was a large Greek colony, and he may have had the permission to present the relics there.[76]

One of the most emblematic cases related to the Mount Athos relics is that of the Archimandrite of the Athonite monastery of St Athanasius Cosmas, who received in November 1749 the blessing of the Metropolitan of Kyiv to collect alms for his monastery for one year. The Archimandrite had with him a cross containing a piece of the True Cross. He was denounced and arrested shortly after, being accused of collecting alms without the permission of the Church authorities, misappropriating funds, and, most importantly, distributing fake pieces of the True Cross to Ukrainian believers. Cosmas testified that he received a cross at Mount Athos but without the permission to distribute pieces of it, which were discovered and withdrawn soon. In the course of the investigation, the True Cross fragments were considered doubtful. Later, Cosmas himself confirmed that the piece holding the True Cross fragments had been returned to the Athonite monastery, while he had brought to Ukraine an old cross of the monastic community. The Archimandrite spent almost seven years in prison.

According to the survey materials, the social status of the donors of the St Athanasius monastery was very diverse. For the opportunity to approach the reliquary, and even to hold it, the people of Ukraine were willing to pay a heavy price. During his visit to the churches with the relic, Cosmas gave to the significant donors special gifts made by Athos monks: small icons, crosses, scissors, rosaries, and images of the Holy Mount Athos.[77]

Following this case, the Ukrainian Church authorities started to check more attentively those who were coming to collect alms and often forbade them to present relics and holy artefacts at the time of collection. For example, in 1755, the hand of St Melania was taken by the Church Chair away from the nuns of one of the Greek monasteries, for a specialized investigation.[78] Archimandrite Chrysanthus, who came from Jerusalem to Kyiv in 1756, specifically wrote in a

[75] Ms. no. 1027, Russian State Historical Archive, Fond 796, op. 3, fols. 5r-5v.

[76] I. Carras, "Community for Commerce: an Introduction to the Nezhin Greek Brotherhood Focusing on its Establishment as a Formal Institution in the Years between 1692 and 1710", in *Merchant Colonies in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Gelina Harlaftis, London, 2012, p. 141-156.

[77] О. Прокоп'юк, В. Ткачук, "'Пригода' афонського архімандрита Косьми або історія поширення часточок 'Животворного древа' в Київській митрополії у середині XVIII ст." ("The 'Adventure' of Archimandrite Cosmas of Athos, or the Story of the Distribution of 'The Holy Cross' Parts in the Kyiv Metropolitanate in the Middle of the 18th Century"), *Соціум. Альманах соціальної історії*, 15-16, in press.

[78] Ms. no. 2774, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 127, op. 1020, fols. 2-5.

note addressed to the Kyiv Church authorities that he would not do the same as the Archimandrite Cosmas of Mount Athos.[79]

Anatoly Meles, Archimandrite of the St Paul Monastery on Mount Athos, who collected alms together with Archimandrite Cosmas, informed the Holy Synod about his "colleague". He had with him a piece of the True Cross donated by the Serbian King Stephen, as well as pieces of the Three Kings' gifts presented to the infant Jesus, which had allegedly left the walls of his native monastery for the first time. Meles managed to obtain the audience and affection of the Russian Empress Elizabeth Petrovna (1741-1762), which resulted in the Three Kings' Gifts rising in popularity at court, but the Church banned their distribution. It is unknown whether Meles exhibited these relics for worship in Ukraine, but we suppose that he could have done this in 1749, during his stay in the Zaporizhian Cossack Sich,[80] where he was greatly respected by the Cossacks. Finally, the Holy Synod succeeded in stopping the spread of this veneration and Meles was detained for a certain time.

After a long break from 1733 to 1751, monks of the Hilandar Monastery travelled again to the Russian Empire. The need to come was attributed to the increase in the number of Serbs in the Russian Empire. The monks planned to collect alms on the territory of Russia and Ukraine, also visiting the newly formed Serbian regiments. They received permission to collect donations, but it was forbidden for them to consecrate water using the relics of St Charalambous, because they lacked the necessary documents.[81] Already in 1756, Abbot Martyrius arrived from Hilandar to collect alms in the Ukrainian eparchies. He carried relics devoid of the proper documents, so they were confiscated, but the collection of alms was allowed. In particular, he brought specks of Jesus Christ's blood, which caused the particular concern of the Kyiv clergy (also because a confusion occurred: in one document the blood of Christ was mentioned, and in the other documents only the blood of martyrs), a cross with a fragment of the True Cross, the finger of the Holy Martyr Charalambous, relics of St Stephen the New († 767), Arsenios Autoreianos, Patriarch of Constantinople († 1273), and the blood of holy martyrs, in a reliquary. After a lengthy investigation, the relics were restored to Hilandar in 1762.[82]

Again, Ukrainians could not worship the relics of Mount Athos in 1785, when priest Nicodemus arrived here with the elder Joseph of Athos. They were

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[79] Ms. no. 2879, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 127, op. 1020, fol. 17.

[80] The Zaporizhian/Zaporozhian Sich (or Host) is the name of the military body that controlled the lands beyond the rapids of the Dnipro River, in present-day Central Ukraine.

[81] *Полное собрание постановлений и распоряжений по ведомству православного исповедания Российской империи* (*The Complete Collection of Resolutions and Orders of the Department of the Orthodox Faith of the Russian Empire*), vol. 3. *1746-1752*, St Petersburg, 1912, p. 335-336.

[82] Ms. no. 1261, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 127, op. 1024, fols. 42-45.

also allowed to collect alms only, for half a year, and were obliged to temporarily leave at the Greek monastery the reliquaries that held a piece of the True Cross, the head of the Martyr Alexander of Pydna († early 4th c.), a finger of St Paraskeva of Rome, and fragments of other martyrs' relics.[83]

Representatives from other Greek monasteries were also visiting Ukraine with relics, to collect alms. In 1751, hieromonk Ananias from Sumela Monastery came to the Zaporizhian Cossacks' lands and brought a hand of St Eugenius, coated in silver.[84] In the fall of 1781, representatives of the same monastery were already looking for previously abandoned monastic relics in Nizhyn.[85]

In 1766, from the Monastery of the Assumption of the Virgin in Kalarites (presumably, Kipinas Monastery), near the Greek town of Ioannina, from which many Greeks had moved to Nizhyn in the first half of the 18th century,[86] a request was addressed to the Metropolitan of Kyiv to collect alms. The monks were planning to bring the relics of the St Apostle Andrew, Theodore Stratelates, Christopher, Andrew of Crete, Panteleimon the Healer, a piece of the relics of the Martyr Thalaleus, and an icon of the Virgin. We do not know whether they received permission.[87]

The Patriarchate of Jerusalem

At the end of the 17th century and all through the 18th, relations between the Metropolitanate of Kyiv and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem were quite active.[88] Jerusalem was one of the important pilgrimage centres for Ukrainian believers. In the second half of the 18th century, due to the close cooperation and support of the Greeks of the Jerusalem Patriarchate by the Nizhyn people, an office of the Archimandrite of Jerusalem was set up in Nizhyn, to collect alms for the Holy Sepulchre.[89] Thus, there was a residence of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in Nizhyn, where the Archimandrite stayed when he came to survey the collection of donations for the Holy Sepulchre. During one such voyage, in 1756, Archimandrite Chrysanthus of Jerusalem received permission to collect

[83] Ms. no. 5564, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 127, op. 1020, fols. 9-19.
[84] Ms. no. 12489, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 51, op. 3, fols. 1r-1v.
[85] Ms. no. 3419, Chernihiv State Archive, Fond 101, op. 1, fol. 3.
[86] Ms. no. 39, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 57, op. 1, fols. 717v-725, 729v-730, 732v-733, 741v-742.
[87] Ms. no. 5564, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 127, op. 1020, fols. 9-19, 30-30v.
[88] Д. Олянчин, До зв'язків гетьмана Івана Мазепи й Пилипа Орлика з Єрусалимським патріархом Хрисантом ("On the Relations of Hetman Ivan Mazepa and Pylyp Orlyk with the Patriarch Chrysanthos of Jerusalem"), in O. Kovalevska (ed.), *Збірник «Мазепа»: реконструкція видавничого проекту 1939–1949 років*, Kyiv, 2011, p. 86.
[89] Ms. no. 39, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 57, op.1, fols. 753v-755r.

donations in the Metropolitanate of Kyiv while presenting for worship by the believers the following relics: pieces of the True Cross, fragments of the relics of Anastasia Pharmacolitria, of St Panteleimon the Healer, and of others saints.[90] Obviously, all these were saints that were well known in Ukraine and were revered by the Ukrainian believers.

The Romanian Orthodox Church

After the 1686 peace treaty between Moscow and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the foreign part of the Kyiv metropolis was formed, which remained in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth until the end of the 18th century. There was very little connection between Right-Bank Ukraine and the Kyiv Metropolitan See, while the Polish government gave strong support to the Uniate and Catholic churches. These events forced the Ukrainian priests to cooperate more closely with the Wallachian and Moldavian hierarchs.[91] Many of them were educated or took monastic vows in the Romanian Principalities.[92] Economic ties were also close, due to the Greeks' mediation (for example, through the Wallachian wine trade).[93]

In spite of the existing data about these close contacts, we have almost no information about the import of relics to Ukraine from the territory of present-day Romania. It is worth mentioning that in the mid-50s of the 18th century, in territories controlled by the Uniate metropolitan, in order to preserve their Orthodox identity, the priests took antimensions with relics from Moldavian Metropolitans.[94]

The possibility to worship Eastern Christian relics on Romanian soil was also very important. It is known that Ukrainian monks lived in different monasteries of Bukovina. In Ukraine there were few collectors of alms from Moldavia and Wallachia, and even fewer had holy relics for veneration. For example, in the late 1750s, two monks arrived in Kyiv from the Cozia Monastery in Wallachia, bringing relics of Sts Procopius of Scythopolis, the Martyr Pelagia of Antioch,[95] and blood from the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia. In Kyiv, the relics were taken away from them for a while, but they were allowed

[90] Ms. no. 2879, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 127, op. 1020, fol. 8.
[91] Ms. no. 2463, Kyiv Institute of Manuscripts, Fond I, fols. 192v, 194v, 206v, 218v, 239v, 348.
[92] Ms. no. 94, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 127, op. 172, fol. 2.
[93] Ms. no. 842, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 59, op. 1, fols. 3v-4v, 26v, 50r-51v.
[94] Ms. no. 2463, Kyiv Institute of Manuscripts, Fond I, fol. 215.
[95] She is identified in the iconography of the Cozia Monastery; see E. Negrău, "Menologul de la Cozia. Iconografie și inscripții", *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei. Artă plastică*, Serie nouă, 52, 2018, 8, p. 131.

to collect alms.[96] This reaction was apparently linked to the recent incident with the True Cross brought by the Archimandrite Cosmas from the Holy Mount.

Thus, we can conclude that the Eastern clergy's visits to Ukraine were not uncommon. They made the Eastern saints' relics more accessible to worshipers, not only in Kyiv but in other parts of Ukraine too. However, due to various falsifications, the Church authorities were very cautious, providing permissions for the veneration of relics, which resulted in fewer relics brought by the clergy. The most popular relics brought to Ukraine (and, therefore, welcomed by the faithful) were pieces of the True Cross and relics of St Panteleimon and Charalambous, to whom Ukrainian Christians showed particular piety. It is documented that their relics were kept not in one but several churches of Kyiv. Greek communities were always waiting for the Eastern clergy, so their preferences also influenced the choice of relics to bring.

We have demonstrated only to a small extent the opportunities that the Orthodox Christians of the Kyiv Metropolitanate had to worship saints' relics coming from the East. This was an important component of their confessional identity, which separated them from the Greek Catholics, who received relics from Rome. For the Ukrainian Orthodox devout, these relics were a part of their Pantheon of saints.[97]

[96] Ms. no. 1460, Central State Historical Archive, Fond 127, op. 1024, fols. 1r-1v.

[97] G. Kazan and T. Higham, "Researching Relics: New Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Study of Historic and Religious Objects", in *Life and Cult of Cnut the Holy. The First Royal Saint of Denmark*, ed. by S. Hope *et al.*, Odense, 2019, p. 143.



Fig. 1 – Icon of *St Athanasius III Patelaros* sitting, early 19th century, The State Historical Museum of Russia, Moscow (http://icons.pstgu.ru/icon/3671).



Fig. 2 – *Reliquary* for St Barbara's relics, 1701, National Kyiv-Pechersk Historical and Cultural Reserve, Kyiv (В Клос, *Історія Свято-Михайлівського Золотоверхого монастиря*, Kyiv, 2007, p. 53).

A NEW TYPE OF GEORGIAN ECCLESIASTICAL BOOK: THE ILLUMINATED GULANI MANUSCRIPTS OF THE 16th-18th CENTURIES

Nino Kavtaria

A new type of liturgical book, called the Gulani, was created in the Georgian literary and ecclesiastical tradition. However, artistically illustrated specimens of it are known only in the 16th-17th centuries. The period between the 17th and the 18th centuries marks the final stage in the development of Georgian miniature painting. The decline in this field of visual art was caused by the austere socio-economic and political circumstances in the country.

The developed characteristic forms in the book art of the 11th-13th centuries and its advanced artistic peculiarities were also preserved throughout the 14th and the 15th centuries. In the aftermath of the fall of Constantinople, this field of art repeated, through inertia, the artistic achievements of the previous epochs.

In the period following the Georgian age of prosperity, the harsh historical times of the country, such as the invasions of Jalal ad-Din, the Mongols, and Tamerlane, gave a fatal blow to the development of artistic creativity. The number, as well as the quality of religious manuscripts, started to diminish, and festive codices similar to those of Gelati (Q-908), Jruchi (H-1667) and Mokvi (Q-902) were no longer written and illustrated in this period. From the 16th century on, weakened by inner wars, turned into a battlefield by two Muslim countries, Georgia was fragmented into separate principalities and kingdoms and was completely isolated from the civilized world.[1]

Such a difficult situation in the country hampered, to a certain extent, the progress of artistic creativity. From the 16th century on, an increase in the influence of the Ottoman Empire, and that of Iran, to a lesser extent, had an impact on all aspects of the country's development. However, in the 17th-18th centuries, Georgian book illumination, and art in general, continued to develop, and many ecclesiastical works of artistic value came down to us from that time,

[1] N. Berdzenishvili, *Sakartvelos istoriis sakitxebi* (*Issues of the History of Georgia*), II, Tbilisi, 1965, p. 71-149; V. Gabashvili, *Kartuli Feodaluri Tskobileba XVI-XVII saukuneebshi* (*The Georgian Feudal Formations of the 16th-17th Centuries*), Tbilisi, 1958.

such as Gospels, Psalters, saints' *Lives*, Akathistos, Horologion, Gulani, Horologion – Gulani, etc.

The Islamic stream, which imposed itself on Georgia, involved almost all the fields of art and revealed itself strongly, especially in miniature painting. The Georgian tradition largely echoed the secular literary avalanche that entered the country from the Islamic East. Persian literary texts, such as *Yusuf and Zuleikha*, *Vis and Rāmin*, *The Story of Rustam*, *The Story of Bahramgur*, *Shahnameh*, *The Story of Saam*, and *Kalila and Dimna* (of Indian origin), were translated into Georgian.

Admittedly, the Persian miniature painting of the 16th and the 17th centuries is an outstanding artistic field and, along with the translated literary works, the artistically illustrated works also received broad exposure. Georgian book-craftsmen mastered the cultural flow that was penetrating from the East, and using the Iranian model in ornating secular books was almost an established tradition. It should be mentioned that the Oriental tradition observed in secular book-illumination did not influence the ecclesiastical book art. Many literary masterpieces of the 17th-18th centuries, on various subjects, have come down to us, in rapid succession to secular art. However, despite the diversity of the book content, the artistic level of book art deteriorated. It could be saved neither by the post-Byzantine traditions nor by the cultural influence of Western Europe, which penetrated at the time.

The Gulani, a unique liturgical collection, appeared in Georgia in the 16th and the 17th centuries. As Korneli Kekelidze defined it, the Gulani is a collection of all the religious books.[2] Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, who travelled in Georgia in the 17th century, wrote:

> In each and every Georgian church there is a huge book which equals in weight at least one side of a mule-load. This book is placed on a lectern, on a choir-stall, and is covered with a piece of canvas or broadcloth. All the theological books which the believers need and read all the year round are assembled in it: namely, the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Praxapostolos, Menaion, Triodion and Pentecostarion, Book of Psalms, Prophetologion, Horologion, Synaxarion, Typikon, Homilies, and *Lives* [of saints].[3]

As the Georgian scholar explains, only a great, rich monastery could allow to purchase and possess the Gulani. Moreover, the collection represented an original Georgian composition, such as there was nothing similar in other

[2] K. Kekelidze, *Dzveli Kartuli Literaturis Istoria* (*History of Old Georgian Literature*), Tbilisi, I, 1980, p. 585.
[3] *Ibid*., p. 585-586.

countries.[4] At the same time, K. Kekelidze defines the shortened edition of Gulani that is the so-called Horologion – Gulani.

A relatively large number of illustrated Gulani books have come down to us, most of which are preserved at the "K. Kekelidze" Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts (S-1277, H-1714, A-30, A-31, A-32, Q-103b, and Q-104b) and the National Archives of Georgia (F.1446 and N302). On the one hand, according to the various principles laid down for illustrations, these manuscripts continue the tradition of Georgian book art and, on the other hand, they remain faithful to the post-Byzantine artistic tradition, as the only source of Christian theology and spiritual thinking system.

A general characteristic that was revealed in every list of Gulani illustrations is the fact that the painters strictly follow the illustrating principles of earlier Byzantine and Georgian book art, characteristic of certain liturgical and ecclesiastical manuscripts, such as the Gospel Lectionary, the Menaion, Synaxarion, Pentecostarion, etc. As the Gulani represents a collection of these liturgical books, they keep for centuries the illustrating principles elaborated for specific books. A miniature is placed before each text in the Gulani books, as was the rule in Byzantine manuscripts since the 11th century. They strictly follow the principal Christian Feasts of the ecclesiastic calendar. In choosing the compositions, the primary accent is placed on the cycle of the Twelve Main Feasts, on the important events of the Saviour's and the Holy Virgin's lives, and the images of particular saints. Miniatures of a liturgical and symbolic nature, and also those of saints' lives, follow one another. The whole cycle bears a generalised and a lively character, and fulfils, at the same time, the function of the Gulani as a book used in religious services all through the year, in the late Middle Ages.

The iconographic sources of the Gulani are traced back to Georgian and Greek post-Palaiologan and post-Byzantine fine arts, although Georgian masters could still maintain the conciseness established as far back as the 11th century, and presented brief iconographic editions of the compositions.

The characteristics established in the earlier artistic tradition are contradicted to some extent by the miniatures of the codices S-1277 (1674)[5] and H-1714 (18th c.).[6] The number of thematic (or scene) compositions was decreased at the expense of complicating the iconographic schemes of the miniatures.

The principle of dividing up the miniatures is changed to a certain degree. Compositions are added to the text, divided into two columns, without a frame, and the impression conveyed is that there are no definite margins

[4] *Ibid*., p. 586.
[5] *Description of the Georgian Manuscripts (S – Collection)*, vol. II, Tbilisi, 1961, p. 142-143.
[6] *Description of the Georgian Manuscripts from the Collection of the State Museum of Georgia (H – Collection*), vol. IV, Tbilisi, 1950, p. 145-148.

established for developing the theme. Most miniatures are painted directly on paper, with no background; thus, they lack a presentation of the details referring to a place of the action. In the Gulani series of the 17th and the 18th centuries, namely, in manuscript A-1454, dating from 1746, the rule of depicting thematic compositions, and particular saints, changed.[7] Most of the miniatures are collected in the Menaion, and the Christological section is at the end. Compositions are placed both at the beginning of the texts and in the margins, where no text is written. The number of miniatures is significantly lower in this manuscript, while their content illustrates themes traditionally characteristic to the Gulani.

Of the Gulani that have come down to us, the one dating back to the 16th century must be considered the earliest: it is manuscript N 302 kept in the National Archives.[8] In earlier times, the codex belonged to Levan Dadiani I (1533-1572) and Queen Elene, his spouse. According to a colophon dating to a later period, we learn that Nikoloz Amilakhori donated the book to the Shiomghvime Monastery. Illuminated pages were seemingly inserted in the book later. The miniatures are inspired by the cycle of the Twelve Main Feasts and the depictions of certain saints: *Annunciation* – 8v, *Nativity* – 49v, *Presentation at the Temple* – 125v, *Baptism* – 195v, *Rising of Lazarus* – 251v, *Descent into the Hell* – 317v, *Archangels and Saints* – 373v, *Holy Warriors and Saints* – 454v, *Entry into Jerusalem* – 499v, *Crucifixion* – 571v, he *Transfiguration* – 626v, *Dormition of the Holy Virgin* – 679v. In the compositional order of this manuscript, the proportions of the figures, the manner of rendering faces, the iconography of the scenes, the colourful resolution of the miniatures bear a resemblance to the Cretan artistic school of the 15th-16th centuries. The extraordinarily large size of miniatures (34 x 27.3 cm) makes us consider a connection between these illustrations and the Cretan icons.

Next, in the chronological series of manuscripts that belong to the Gulani type, comes codex S-1277, ordered by Prince Levan for the Svetitskhoveli Cathedral. The codex dates back to 1674. It is relatively small in size (29 x 19 cm) and does not match the size mentioned by Patriarch Macarius for a typical Gulani. As for its contents, they include the Menaion, Easter Chants and Gospel readings. Two hundred miniatures illustrate mainly the text of the Menaion. Most of the miniatures are groups or individual portrayals of saints, added to the corresponding month. The number of thematic compositions is

[7] *Description of the Georgian Manuscripts from the Collection of the Former Church Museum (A – Collection*), vol. V, Tbilisi, 1955, p. 3-4.

[8] *Illuminated Ecclesiastical Manuscripts. The Collection of Georgian Manuscripts (9th-19th c.) from the National Archives of Georgia*, ed. by M. Tchumburidze, Tbilisi, 2011, p. 38-52; K. Asatiani, *Illuminated Georgian Manuscripts and Historical Documents Preserved in the National Archives of Georgia*, Tbilisi, 2016, ill. 48-61.

relatively small: approximately ten represent expanded iconographic versions of the plot miniatures: *Nativity* – 64v, *Flight into Egypt* – 72v (Fig. 1), *Baptism* – 81v, *Presentation at the Temple* – 101v, *Elevation of the Holy Cross* – 124v, *Placing the Virgin's Clothes at the Vlacherne* – 141v, *Dormition of St Anna* – 150r, *Transfiguration* – 156v, and *Dormition of the Holy Virgin* – 157v. In most cases, the artist conceptualizes them as symbolic scenes, lacking any narrative character. For instance, in the composition of *Placing the Holy Virgin's Clothes at the Vlacherne*, only a canopy and a throne are depicted, while in the *Finding of the Head of St John the Baptist* the painter presents only the Saint, in a standing posture, holding a scroll in his hand. At the same time, from the iconographic point of view, the *Nativity* composition is quite saturated, with a complex compositional narrative developed around the dominant figures of the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus. Here one also sees, all visible to the left: the Annunciation to the Shepherds and the Chanting Angels, the Magi approaching from the East with gifts, Joseph, and the scene where Jesus is being bathed by midwives.

Sometimes, the natural colouring of the paper used as a background for miniatures and the rejection of a frame enhance the expressiveness of otherwise laconic compositions. The main characteristic of the miniatures of this codex is their linear character, which again indicates the liturgical purpose of the work.

The Gulani H-1714, size 18.5 x 15 cm, is copied and illustrated at the court of Mamia Gurieli. The manuscript includes the Typikon, Oktoechos, Menaion, Paschal Calendar, Triodion, and Pentecostarion. The Menaion is fully illustrated, the texts of the Triodion and Pentecostarion are presented with three miniatures each, and the composition of the *Last Judgment* graphically illustrates the chants of the Second Advent. The miniatures are added to the text copied in two columns, and they mostly take up a whole column. With a blaze of reddish and terracotta colouring and large-sized figures, they are brought out as sharp accents against the text, written in tiny letters (Fig. 2). The brief iconographic versions of the scenes underline the theological function of the manuscript.

The liturgical book A-1454, commissioned by Vakhushti Abashidze, also reveals a close resemblance to the compositional structure of Gulani-type manuscripts. The Menaion, Oktoechos, Triodion, Pentecostarion, Gospel Lectionary, Easter Chants, etc., are all included in this collection. Alongside other Gulani manuscripts, here the Menaion text is also graphically illustrated, and miniatures are inserted in the special frame on the margins, separate from the text. The portrayals of particular saints and martyrs are painted against a blue background. The cycle of the Twelve Feasts, with the *Last Judgment* on a full page, is placed at the end of the manuscript.

A codex known as the Gulani of Anchiskhati (A-30, A-31, and A-32) is considered to be the classical type of Gulani manuscript.[9] This was copied for the Svetitskhoveli Cathedral in Mtskheta in 1681. The manuscript was ordered by Nikoloz Amilakhvrishvili, the Catholicos of Kartli. In later centuries, the book was transferred to the Anchiskhati Church in Tbilisi, from where its name originates. Today the manuscript consists of three huge volumes (A-30 – 36 x 24 cm; A-31 – 26.4 x 24.4 cm; A-32 – 37.7 x 26.7 cm).

The Catholicos Nickoloz Amilakhvrishvili was a well-known ecclesiastic and a public figure of his time. His name is associated with the advance and progress of the cultural and public life of Kartli in the 1680s. The reign of George XI, between 1678 and 1688, was particularly flourishing. The considerably limited expansion of Iran gave the possibility for a cultural revival. The Catholicos's philanthropic activities were quite significant and comprehensive. Through his endeavour and patronage, many churches were restored. He contributed, in particular, to the restoration, reconstruction, and renewal of the Svetitskhoveli Cathedral. He himself donated manuscripts to it, also commanding that they be copied and illustrated.[10]

According to the colophons preserved in copies of the Gulani of Anchiskhati, Mikela the deacon (A-30 – f. 11v, 124v, and 153v) and Saba the priest (A-30 – f. 154r and 184r; A-31 – f. 217v and 272r), Abel, son of the deacon (A-30 – f. 250v), and Ioseb Turkestanishvili the calligrapher (A-31, f. 30r and 36r) were the scribes of the codex.

Fifty-three miniatures painted by Mikela and Saba are inserted and distributed in three volumes of the manuscript. Both of them use post-Palaiologan artistic traditions and iconographic sources for their works; the influence of the Western European art is marginally present, but noticeable here, and especially visible in the rendering of figures and backgrounds, or in the way figures are placed in space. Remarkably, the joint work of these two painters is

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[9] Т. Жордания, *Описание рукописей и старопечатных книг Церковного Музея духовенства Грузинской Епархии*, I, Tbilisi, 1903, p. 23-25; Р. Шмерлинг, *Образцы декоративного убранства грузинской рукописной книги*, Tbilisi, 1940, p. 66-68; Ш. Амиранашвили, *Грузинская Миниатюра*, Moscow, 1966, p. 37-38; *Description of the Georgian Manuscripts from the Collection of the Former Church Museum (A – Collection)*, vol. I_1, Tbilisi, 1973, p. 97-101; Ф. Девдариани, "Иллюстрированные грузинские богослужебные сборники – Гулани XVII века (группа миниатюр Анчисхатского Гулани)", in *II Международный симпозиум по грузинскому искусству*, Tbilisi, 1977, p. 1-15; id., *Миниатюры Анчисхатского Гулани,* Tbilisi, 1990.

[10] P. Karbelashvili, *Ierarkia Sakartvelos Eklesiisa* (*Hierarchy of the Georgian Church*), Tbilisi, 1900 (2nd ed. 2011), p. 127-129; id., *Dzveli Anchiskhatis Tadzari Tbilisi* (*The Old Church of Anchiskhati in Tbilisi*), Tbilisi, 1903, p. 26-27; G. Jandieri, "XVIII Saukunis Agmosavlet Sakartvelos Istoriuli Kronologiis Sakitxisatvis. Episkoposta Kronologiuri Rigi" ("The Issue of the Historical Chronology of Eastern Georgia in the 18th Century. Chronological List of the Archbishops"), *Mravaltavi*, 1, 1971, p. 343; Ф. Девдариани, *Миниатюры Анчисхатского Гулани…*, p. 12-20.

apparent only in A-30. The miniatures that they created follow one another (Fig. 3-8).

Most of the miniatures in the Gulani of Anchiskhati that are thematic scenes or portrayals of certain saints are placed in a thick coloured frame, and the marginal illustrations contain only icons of saints.

The Menaion is the most richly illustrated part of the manuscript. The thematic content of the composition is not changed: the Christological cycle, essential episodes from the history of the Christian Church, and saints' icons. The illustrated version of the *Akathistos Hymn of the Holy Virgin* is also presented in a particular manner, which once again attests the strong influence of the iconographic tradition of post-Byzantine art.

The artistic details typical of such a book, which are only characteristic of the Georgian literary tradition, are revealed in the images of the Gulani of Anchiskhati. Both the common stylistic features and the individual manner of painting are visible in the illustrations made by painters, and these were conditioned by their skillfulness and artistic taste.

The dryness and the schematic manner of painting reveal the signs of the time. The broken emotional connection between the figures and the muddied tones also indicate the same fact.

The Western European influence is apparent only in Mikela's miniatures, and it is expressed in the conventional treatment of space and in the gentle "picturesque" modelling. Although he could not overcome a certain retrospective character, influenced by the artistic traditions of the 14^{th}-15^{th} centuries, Western effects are not as pronounced with him as in the illustrations of manuscripts in the Mount Athos collections of the time.

The masters of the Gulani of Anchiskhati firmly follow the illumination principles of liturgical manuscripts of late Palaiologan art, and also the artistic features of the latter half of the 17^{th} century. The minor influence of Western art reflects a search for new forms of expression.

The characteristics of the Gulani of Anchiskhati are a laconic and austere compositional structure and an elaboration of forms that follow the unity of coloured spots. All these point out not only to the general artistic thought, conditioned by the epoch but also to a connection with the miniatures of an earlier period. These traditions were modified in time by each painter's individual approach.

The influence of the epoch's advanced artistic traditions is more pronounced in Mikela's creative works. Eight of the miniatures belong to him. He is the best professional miniaturist of his time. A sharp coloured palette, harmoniously constructed and balanced compositions, and a clear separation of the figures of significant importance from the minor ones all distinguish Mikela's paintings. In his art, the mountainous and architectural landscape, developed in the late Byzantine age, is levelled down to mere sketchiness.

The figures' faces lack inspiration. More directness is seen in them, intensified by the oversized heads, as compared to the bodies, by slightly aquiline noses and protuberant cheeks. The artist also depicts garments in a peculiar manner: in contrast to other patterns of the 17th century, where white strokes divide colourful surfaces, he gives a dry, linear character, typical to the epoch. Strokes are added lightly and do not alter local colours. The priority of local tones is underlined by the sparsely applied whitening; therefore, it is difficult to notice them against a light green or light blue tone, and the cinnabar is always left untouched.

At the same time, the use of different artistic traditions is striking in Mikela's works, inspired by post-Byzantine painting, with its eclectic nature. His artistic tendencies are vividly displayed in the painting of the *Life-Giving Pillar* in the Svetitskhoveli Cathedral of Mtskheta, painted by Grigol Guljavarashvili by order of the Catholicos Nikolos Amilakhvrishvili.[11]

The Bobnevi painting, which dates back to 1683, is especially close to the style of these Gulani miniatures. Despite their stylistic similarity, the orientation to post-Palaiologan traditions is the principal aim of the Bobnevi painter.[12]

The strictness of the compositional construction and self-contained gestures can be seen in the illustrations of the *Akathistos of the Holy Virgin* copied and illustrated by Mikela in 1681. Miniatures in this codex are distinguished by a lyricism that differentiates them from the Gulani illustrations.[13] Mikela also seems to have been the painter of the *Prayer Book* (K-258) preserved at the Kutaisi State Historical Museum.[14]

Most miniatures of the Gulani of Anchiskhati are painted by Saba. They reveal the particularities of the epoch from a different angle. Saba cannot measure up to Mikela as a master. A rough line, a broad manner of writing, stocky big-headed figures with exaggerated palms and feet are typical of his works. The compositions of burly figures enclosed in thick frames reveal a feature of his craft. An abundance of floral motifs, and particularly ornaments, is salient in Saba's works. His images are very similar and lack any iconographic

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[11] V. Beridze, "Mtskhetis Katedralis Sveti-Tskhoveli da Kartlis Moktsevis Siuzhetebi Mis Preskebshi ("The Life-Giving Pillar of Mtskheta Cathedral and the Scenes of Conversion of Kartli in its Frescoes"), in *Sakartvelos Saxelmtshipo Muzeumism Moambe*, vol. XV-B, Tbilisi, 1948, p. 135-164.

[12] O. Piralishvili, *Bobnevis Mokhatuloba da Realisturi Tendenciis Shesaxeb XVII saukunis Kartul Mkhatvrobashi* (*Bobnevi Murals and the Realistic Tendencies in the Georgian Painting of the 17th c.*), Tbilisi, 1952; Ф. Девдариани, "Иллюстрированные грузинские богослужебные сборники"..., p. 10-12.

[13] *Description of the Georgian Manuscripts from the Collection of the State Museum of Georgia (H – Collection*), vol. I, ed. by K. Kekelidze and I. Abuladze, Tbilisi, 1946, p. 72-73.

[14] M. Kebuladze, "The Personality of the Scribe of the *Prayer Book* (K-258) of the 17th Century", in *Works of the Kutaisi State Historical Museum,* vol. 18, 2008, p. 119.

signs. He makes free use of silver. Miniatures similar to Saba's are present in works of the Georgian fine arts of the 17th-18th centuries.[15] All this reveals the characteristics of Saba's painting and the artistic tendencies of the age.

Evidently, in this period, the proportions of the figures change, and there is a tendency of generalizing forms and rounding the displayed features. The aesthetics of the artistic works differ from those of the Palaiologan times. They stand out from the post-Palaiologan stream, with their inner structures and their iconographic and compositional schemes.

The Gulani of Shemokmedi (Q-103 a, b, c), which dates back to 1749, is the closest to that of Anchiskhati.[16] The manuscript, sized 48 x 35 cm, is divided into three volumes, similar to the Anchiskhati Gulani. Traditionally, the Menaion, Triodion, and Pentecostarion are illustrated in the Shemokmedi Gulani. The extensive iconographic versions which the painter uses are saturated with post-Byzantine traditions (Fig. 9).

It is interesting that in the Gulani miniatures the illustrating principles, the place of miniatures within the text, and their thematic content all indicate a close connection of the Gulani to the Menologion, which was the most widespread liturgical collection. Here, the Holy Feasts and commemorative days are arranged according to the calendar. The best examples of this are a small Synaxarion dating from 1030 (A-648) and a fully illustrated Menologion in a Georgian-Greek manuscript, Ms. 01.58, preserved at the National Library of St Petersburg.[17]

In the Gulani of Gurianta, a particular connection is noticeable with the Gulani of Shemokmedi. The manuscript (Q-104 a, b), ordered by Bezhan and Giorgi Nakashidze, is already influenced by the Western European artistic tendencies (Fig. 10).[18]

Thus, the spiritual progress of the 17th-18th centuries, generally embracing the entire Georgian culture, was also revealed in book art and was well reflected in the artistic tendencies displayed in the illustrations of the liturgical book Gulani created at that time.

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[15] Ф. Девдариани, *Миниатюры Анчисхатского…*, p. 82-85.

[16] *Description of the Georgian Manuscripts (Q – Collection)*, vol. I, ed. by E. Metreveli and K. Sharashidze, Tbilisi, 1957, p. 115-122.

[17] Г. Алибегашвили, *Художественный принцип иллюстрирования грузинской рукописной книги XI - начала XIII веков*, Tbilisi, 1973; Л. Евсеева, *Афонская книга образцов XV века. О методе работы и моделях средневекового художника*, Moscow, 1998; E. Dughashvili and N. Kavtaria, *The Story of a Manuscript. The Georgian-Greek Illuminated Manuscript of the St Petersburg Collection*, Tbilisi, 2012.

[18] *Description of the Georgian Manuscripts (Q – Collection)…*, p. 122-126.

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Fig. 1 – *Flight into Egypt*, f. 50r, Gulani S-1277, 1674.



Fig. 2 – *Elevation of the Holy Cross*, f. 194r, Gulani H-1714, 18th c.



Fig. 3 – *Saints Cosma and Damian*, f. 125r, Gulani of Anchiskhati, A-30, 1681.



Fig. 4 – *St John Chrysostom*, f. 147v, *idem*.



Fig. 5 – *Presentation of the Holy Virgin at the Temple*, f. 164r, *idem*.



Fig. 6 – *Saints Peter and Paul*, f. 213r, *idem*.



Fig. 7 – *Dormition*, f. 295r, Gulani of Anchiskhati, A-31, 1681.



Fig. 8 – *Crucifixion*, f. 187r, Gulani of Anchiskhati, A-32, 1681.



Fig. 9 – *Descent into Hell/Anastasis*, f. 577r, Gulani of Shemokmedi Q-103b, 1749.



Fig. 10 – *Prophet Nahum*, f. 540v, Gulani of Gurianta Q-104a, 18th c.

THE PUBLICATION OF ARABIC POPULAR TEXTS IN THE 19th CENTURY

Geoffrey Roper

Arabic printing for a mass market started as early as the 10th century AD, when popular amuletic and devotional texts were block-printed in Egypt. These texts included prayers, invocations, and passages from the Qur'ān. It seems that the technique of making multiple copies of such texts by taking impressions from wooden blocks or metal plates was developed there in order to meet a demand among a wide public. This included many who were illiterate, and wanted the texts not to read but to provide direct divine or magical protection from evil. So, many of the prints were not well produced, and some were almost illegible. The practice continued through the medieval period, but apparently died out in the 15th century. One of the last examples known is printed on 15th-century Italian paper. So the first phase of Arabic printing seems to have come to an end around the same time as Gutenberg launched the printed book in Europe. This paradox has yet to be explained. But a full study and an analysis of most of the surviving examples have been made by Karl Schaefer, the leading expert in this field, and much further information can be found in his major published work on the subject.[1]

Printed books in Arabic were not produced in Arab countries until the 18th century. The first was an edition of the Psalter, published in Aleppo in 1706 and sponsored by the Romanian Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu.[2] But, although it was probably used for educational purposes, it cannot really be considered a popular text. Other ecclesiastical books were published in Syria and Lebanon in the 18th century, but printing did not become the standard method of transmitting all kinds of texts until the 19th century.

When it did take hold, however, it was soon used to produce not only scholarly works and *belles-lettres* but also popular literature for mass consumption. There were several categories into which this may be divided, and

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[1] K. Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms: Medieval Block Printed Amulets in American and European Libraries and Museums*, Leiden, 2006. See also M. Muehlhaeusler, "Eight Arabic Block Prints from the Collection of Aziz S. Atiya", *Arabica*, 55, 2008, p. 528-582.

[2] I. Feodorov, "The Romanian Contribution to Arabic Printing", in *Impact de l'imprimerie et rayonnement intellectuel des Pays Roumains*, Bucharest, 2009, p. 41-61.

the rest of this paper will discuss four of these briefly, with a few examples and illustrations.

1. Educational literature for children and young adults

Before printing, it seems that the great majority of children in the Arab world had almost no access to written texts: their experience of language, literature and instruction came primarily through oral communication. The one important exception, for Muslim children, was the Qur'ān. This was almost the only text used to teach reading and writing in Muslim primary schools – but not in the form of complete manuscript copies: extracts were usually written on wooden boards, for the children to copy and learn by heart. For Christians, the system was similar, except that the basic text was normally the Psalms.

Printed texts for use by schoolchildren in the Arab world seem to have been first introduced by Christian missionaries. In the 1820s, the English Church Missionary Society press in Malta started producing text-books, both for use in the new missionary schools and for free or cheap distribution among the population at large.[3] These naturally included Protestant religious texts, such as Biblical selections, various tracts and Christian propaganda. But they also published a significant number of more secular text-books designed to raise the level of literacy and general knowledge. Much the largest category are Arabic readers and grammars. It is, perhaps, misleading to designate all these as "secular", since the passages for reading in many of them are of a religious nature, being drawn mainly from the Bible: this is true of five elementary readers published between 1826 and 1841. But two of them, from 1826 and 1836, were also published in alternative versions using the Fables of Luqmān the Wise (*Amṯāl Luqmān al-Ḥakīm*), presumably for the use of Muslim children. Luqmān was a legendary Arabian sage, featured in the Qur'ān, to whom were attributed moral fables in the manner of Aesop.[4]

The preface to a primer of 1828 sets forth, albeit in rather bad Arabic, the reasons for learning to read: "Reading is the source of useful knowledge, because it causes us to know the words of others [even when] they are remote from us, and we are able to learn every useful thing."[5] All the primers begin by setting out the Arabic alphabet in systematic tables, followed by syllables (pairs of letters), triliteral words, and multiliteral forms. The numerals are also given, usually in their Eastern forms only,

[3] G. Roper, "Arabic Books Printed in Malta 1826-1842: Some Physical Characteristics", in *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East*, ed. Ph. Sadgrove. Oxford, 2004 (2005), p. 111-129; id., "The Arabic Educational Books Printed in Malta in the 19th Century: Who Read Them and Where?", in *From Ancient Arabia to Modern Cairo: Papers from the BRISMES Annual Conference 2009, The University of Manchester*, ed. Ph. Sadgrove, Oxford, 2012, p. 105-126.

[4] U. Marzolph, "Luqmān", in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ed. J. S. Meisami and P. Starkey, London, 1998, p. 479-480.

[5] *Ta'līm al-qirā'a 'ilā l-'aṭfāl al-ṣiġār*, Malta, 1828, p. 3.

although an edition of 1836 also gives the Western versions. The last two primers published in Malta (1836 and 1841) have pictorial illustrations to elucidate the texts. One of them depicts St Paul in Malta, casting the poisonous snake into the fire, according to the story in the Acts of the Apostles.[6]

Elementary mathematics was the subject of another book, based on the system of the famous Swiss educationist Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, but adapted "for use in the markets, manner of life and occupations" of Egypt.[7] A basic geography book,[8] in question and answer form, also appeared, together with an atlas[9]; these were copied and republished in Egypt.[10] Other popular introductions to astronomy, zoology, history and art were also published. Fiction was provided by translations of English literature, such as Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.[11]

The Malta press closed in 1842, but other missionary presses continued to publish books of this kind in the second half of the 19th century. The Church Missionary Society itself established one in Jerusalem, which also printed cheap religious tracts.[12] But the best-known and most successful was the American press in Beirut, which produced hundreds of popular educational books in Arabic, both religious and secular.[13]

Local presses in the Arab world followed the example of the missionaries in publishing educational text-books. The state press in Egypt, for example, also published text-books on such subjects as geography and mathematics, as well as language primers. Some of these, for instance, an Arabic language textbook by the famous scholar and educator Rifā'a Rāfi' al-Ṭahṭāwī,[14] were printed not from movable type but by the lithographic reproduction of handwriting. Because it avoided the need for expensive investment in type-founts, this technique played an important part in the 19th century in making available cheap books for a mass market.

2. Popular religious & devotional works (prayers, invocations, stories of prophets, saints, etc.)

While the missionaries peddled many religious texts and tracts, these were naturally all Christian ones, and mostly aimed at an Arab Christian readership. But most Arabs were Muslims, who had their own popular religious traditions. So it was not long before the newly available power of the printing press in the 19th century was harnessed

[6] *Kitāb ta'līm li-'aǧl al-'aṭfāl al-ṣiġār*, Malta, 1836, p. 63.
[7] [A. Kluge], *Ṭarīq ta'līm al-ḥisāb al-'aqlī*, Malta, 1829.
[8] *Kitāb al-Kanz al-muḫtār fī iktišāf al-ar[ā]ḍī wa-l-'abḥār*, Malta, 1833; revised ed. 1836.
[9] *Aṭlas 'ay maǧmū' ḫāritāt rasm al-arḍ*, Malta, 1833; reprinted 1835.
[10] *Kitāb al-Kanz al-muḫtār fī kašf al-arāḍī wa-l-biḥār*, Ṭura, 1834; Cairo, *c.* 1836.
[11] [D. Defoe], *Qiṣṣat Rawbinṣun Kurūzī*, Malta, 1835.
[12] *E.g.*, *Al-Burhān al-ǧalīl 'alā ṣiḥḥat al-Inǧīl*, [Jerusalem, 1869].
[13] See a list in L. Šaykhū, *Tārīḫ fann al-ṭibā'a fī al-Mašriq*, 2nd ed. Beirut, 1995 (originally published as a series of articles, 1900-1902), p. 48-55. The first part of the list (p. 46-47) contains some titles of books published by the CMS at Malta, which the author mistakenly believed to have been published by the Americans.
[14] R. R. al-Ṭahṭāwī, *Al-Tuḥfa al-maktabiyya fī taqrīb al-luġa al-'arabiyya*, Cairo, 1869 (lithographed).

to meet the mass popular demand for Islamic devotional texts. Only a few examples of such material can be mentioned here.

The *Burda* was the cloak of the Prophet Muḥammad, among a number of holy relics preserved in Istanbul. But it was also adopted as the title of a very celebrated and popular poem written in the 13th century by Imām al-Būṣīrī, who claimed to have undergone a miraculous cure for a paralytic seizure by temporarily receiving the cloak from the Prophet in a vision. The poem, which relates the Prophet's miracles and good deeds, and heaps praises upon him, became an enormous favourite throughout the Muslim world and acquired a magical and talismanic power in the popular imagination.[15] In the 19th century it went into many printed editions, especially in Egypt, Morocco and India, usually accompanied by one or more of its numerous elaborations and supplementary poems, and sometimes included in collections (*mağmū'āt*) of devotional works.[16] We can see here a clear case of the printing press being harnessed to meet a mass demand at the popular level. Most of these editions were lithographed, enabling rapid production at low cost while retaining the appearance of traditional manuscripts.

The same was true of an even more popular Arabic devotional text: the *Dalā'il al-Ḫayrāt* of the 15th-century Moroccan mystic Al-Ǧazūlī. This is a book of prayers for the Prophet, with descriptions of his mosque, his tomb, his special names, etc., used for both private and ritual devotions, and by rich and poor alike. It is one of the most common of Arabic manuscript texts, and the advent of printing throughout the Muslim world in the 19th century produced a plethora of editions, mostly using lithography.[17] Nobody, as far as I am aware, has made any attempt at a comprehensive list of them. Sarkīs, in his major bibliography of Arabic printed books before 1919, mentions 14 editions in Egypt and Turkey alone, with frequent reprints.[18] Jan Just Witkam, in his historical and bibliographical study of the work, also points to its widespread publication in the Maghrib, India, and Southeast Asia.[19] Most editions in those areas were lithographed; in Egypt this was also done, but there typography was still regarded as more prestigious. So, the version printed in Cairo in 1902 had lithographed text, but a typeset cover.[20] Other methods were also used to mass-produce inexpensive copies: in one edition, printed in Cairo in 1914, blocks or plates were used for the text[21] – a throwback to the Egypt of a thousand years earlier, although obviously with rather more advanced production methods. Unlike many other Islamic texts, *Dalā'il al-Ḫayrāt* regularly features illustrations, depicting the Holy Places of Mekka and Medina, adding to its popular appeal. Lithography was very useful for this purpose.

Both the works just mentioned were associated with the Sufi, or mystical traditions in Islam, which had great appeal to the common people. Sufism spawned

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[15] C. E. Bosworth, "Al-Būṣīrī (608 – *c.* 694/1212 – *c.* 1294)", in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ed. J. S. Meisami and P. Starkey, London, 1998, p. 163.

[16] See, for instance, the Moroccan editions detailed in F. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Al-maṭbū'āt al-ḥağariyya fī l-Maġrib*, Rabat, 1989, p. 86-87, no. 347 and 349.

[17] Cf. J. J. Witkam, *Vroomheid en activisme in een islamitisch gebedenboek*, Leiden, 2002.

[18] Y. A. Sarkīs, *Mu'ğam al-maṭbū'āt al-'arabiyya wa-l-mu'arraba*, Cairo, 1346/1928, p. 697.

[19] Witkam, *Vroomheid* (2002), p. 161 *sqq*.

[20] Witkam, *Vroomheid* (2002), p. 181, no. 8. Cover reproduced on p. 10.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 182-183, no. 10.

many other popular texts published in cheap editions, especially stories of Muslim saints (*'awliyā'*) and holy men.

3. Traditional epics and tales

Popular literature, however, was not all religious. There existed among the Arabs strong traditions of secular epic narrative, story-cycles and romances. These were primarily oral traditions, recited in public by *rāwī*s (story-tellers), sometimes with musical accompaniment, to audiences of mostly illiterate people. Edward Lane provided detailed descriptions of such performances which he had attended in Cairo in the 1820s and 1830s, with translations of some of the texts.[22] But from the medieval period onwards some of these texts were recorded in writing, and these written versions were then used to produce printed versions in the 19th century. The most popular seems to have been the *Sīrat 'Antar* (*The Story of 'Antar*), of which multi-volume editions were published in Beirut in 1865, 1869 and 1883, and in Cairo in 1869 and 1889. At the head of the text in the first of these is a wood-cut illustration taking up the comparison, made in the story, of the hero with a "ferocious leopard".[23]

Another massive epic was that of the *Hilāliyya*, the adventures of the Hilāli tribes in their advances into North Africa, which appeared in numerous instalments in mainly lithographed editions, in Cairo, from the 1860s onwards. There was also the *Sīrat Ṣayf ibn Ḏī Yazān*, another epic story of a mythical hero, published at Būlāq in 17 volumes in 1877.

The most famous collection of tales, however, was undoubtedly *'Alf Layla wa-Layla* (*1001 Nights*, or *The Arabian Nights*), which became popular not just in the Arab world, but also in Europe, from the 18th century onwards, as a result of the translations of Antoine Galland and others. The Arabic text had been transmitted in a small number of manuscript copies, but the textual bibliography of the work is extremely complex, not least because of the European interest and involvement in its editing, which long preceded its publication.[24] It was first printed in British India in 1814, apparently for the use of English students of Arabic. The first edition in the Arab world was at the Egyptian state press at Būlāq in 1835, edited by Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Šarqāwī. This was an improved literary edition, with popular colloquialisms removed. It was expensive and evidently not aimed at a popular market. Two slightly revised but similar editions were published in Cairo later in the century. One was published by the Būlāq Press in 1862, at a time when it had been temporarily privatised and acquired by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Rušdī Bey, who must have reckoned that there was a high demand for this book. But no popular edition of a fuller text appeared until the 1880s. One important reason for this was a fear on the part of publishers that the newly literate reading public, especially women, would be corrupted by the notoriously erotic nature of some of the tales. Eventually, an expurgated version of the text was produced: according to the popular

[22] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, Written in Egypt during the Years 1833, -34, and -35, partly from Notes made during a Former Visit to that Country in the Years 1825, -26, -27, and -28*, by E. S. Poole, 5th ed., London, 1860, p. 391-425.
[23] *Kitāb Sīrat 'Antar bin Šaddād bin Mu'awiya bin Qurād al-'Absī*, vol. 1, Beirut, 1865, [p. 2].
[24] R. Irwin, *The Arabian Nights: A Companion*, London, 1994, p. 42-62.

magazine *Al-Hilāl*, "it has undergone a thorough abridgement so that no modest woman could be embarrassed by reading it".[25] Such editions appeared first in Beirut in the 1880s, and the publishing of them was taken over by the Jesuit missionaries there, who were as keen as the Muslim authorities to banish any perceived sexual immorality from popular reading.

Meanwhile, a number of individual tales and extracts had been printed in Cairo and elsewhere, in cheap editions, often lithographed, from the 1860s onwards.

4. Humorous & satirical literature

The same tradition of public entertainment and story-telling also encompassed humorous tales and jokes, like some of those found in the *1001 Nights*. In the 19th century, the print medium enabled these to develop into a more literary form, reaching a more scattered audience. Some popular Egyptian humorous compilations from earlier centuries were printed at Būlāq or Cairo around the middle of the century, notably Al-Širbīnī's *Hazz al-quḥūf* in 1857 (reprinted 1865 and 1891, lithographed 1872); also Ibn Sūdūn's *Nuzhat al-Nufūs* (lithographed 1863)[26] and Al-Nawāǧī's *Ḥalbat al-kumayt* (1859, reprinted 1882). This last was a light-hearted celebration of wine-drinking, condemned by the religious authorities, but quite popular among the laity.[27]

But social and political modernisation in 19th-century Egypt, and some other parts of the Arab world, brought a new kind of humorous expression, more attuned to the emerging public sphere and its principal medium – print. Satire was a way of appealing to popular frustration with the oppressions resulting from undemocratic government, both local and foreign, at the same time providing entertainment. One of the pioneers of Arabic satire was the Jewish Egyptian writer Ya'qūb Ṣanū', who wrote under the pen-name of Abū Naẓẓāra ("Father of the Spectacles").[28] He started as a playwright, using mainly colloquial Arabic for his satirical dialogue; but then went on to publish periodicals, notably *Abū l-Naẓẓāra l-Zarqā'* (Father of the Blue Spectacles), which appeared in Cairo in 1877-1878. This was a satirical paper, also in the vernacular, illustrated with cartoons, ridiculing the Khedive Ismā'īl and his regime. This caused him to be forced into exile in Paris, where he continued the

[25] Cited & translated by K. Rastegar, *Literary Modernity Between the Middle East and Europe*, London, 2007, p. 61.
[26] A. Vrolijk, *Bringing a Laugh to a Scowling Face*, Leiden, 1998, p. 85.
[27] G. J. van Gelder, "A Muslim Encomium on Wine", *Arabica*, 42, 1995, p. 222-234.
[28] For a useful recent survey of his career and publications, with references to secondary literature, see D. Amin, "Ya'qūb Sannū' (1839-1912)", in *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography. 1850-1950*, ed. R. Allen, Wiesbaden, 2010, p. 284-292.

publication, under a variety of titles, until 1910. The French editions were smuggled into Egypt and widely read there.

The satirical comic tradition continued in Egypt into the period of the British occupation. Cheaply produced booklets appeared, focusing on humour, but with social and political undertones. One such, in colloquial Arabic, entitled *Al-Ḍiḥk yāllī ʻāwiz tiḍḥak* ("Laughter, for whoever wants to laugh"), by Saʻīd ʻAlī al-Ḫuṣūṣī, appeared in Cairo in 1910. Among other things, it pokes fun at Egyptian military bandsmen of the period, one of whom is depicted trying to play the sousaphone, invented in America less than 20 years previously: the implication is that those who ape such unnecessary Western innovations only make themselves, and their country, look ridiculous.[29]

Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Munʻim Abū Buṭayna's *ʼAzǧāl* (Cairo 1929-30) is a collection of comic verses, also in colloquial Arabic, in which he satirizes, among others, a modern Egyptian *efendi*, in favour of female emancipation, who is having erotic fantasies about being arrested by a policewoman.[30] Another poet, Muḥammad ʻUṯmān Ḫalīfa, writing under the pseudonym "*Ibn al-Layl*" ("Son of the Night"), attacks the untrustworthy Europeans who exert too much control over his country.[31]

Most of these cheap popular publications are now extremely rare. They were probably regarded as ephemeral and therefore not retained in private or public collections. But another important reason is that they were printed on cheap acidic wood-pulp paper, which in time becomes very fragile and disintegrates. Fortunately, the small collection of such material acquired by the Leiden University Library in the 1980s has now been carefully restored.[32] Many other such items elsewhere have not been so fortunate.

Low levels of literacy restricted, to some extent, the market for all the popular printed Arabic publications of the kinds which have been presented. But a significant proportion of them did make an impact even on the illiterate, through being recited or read aloud in coffee-houses and other public places. At the same time, their widespread availability eventually stimulated the growth of literacy among the populace, until other mass media eventually displaced them as vehicles of popular entertainment.

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[29] Reproduced in W. Meeuws and A. Vrolijk, "Egyptische lachsalvo's op fragiel papier", *Omslag: Bulletin van de Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden en het Scaliger Instituut*, 2, 2005, p. 5.
[30] *Ibid*., p. 6.
[31] *Ibid*., p. 5.
[32] *Ibid*., p. 6.

PART 2

EASTERN HISTORICAL SOURCES FOR THE RESEARCH OF WESTERN CIVILIZATIONS

CROSS-CULTURAL INTERACTION IN ARAB-BYZANTINE RELATIONS: RE-EXAMINING HAGIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

Stavros S. Panayiotou

Starting with the peculiar case of Naxos, Christian and Muslim historiography provides invaluable information concerning the Arab raid on the Cycladic Islands during the "Dark Ages".[1] However, there is an urgent need for a considerable re-examination of Christian hagiographical sources, in order to avoid theoretical prejudice and subjective implications concerning the political, ideological and intercultural relations between Byzantium and Islam in the medieval Eastern Mediterranean.[2] A crucial paradigm is the political status of Naxos, as researchers present controversial views on whether: (a) there was a violent Arab interference on the island, assisted and prepared by the emirate of Crete, and (b) this hypothetical presence of the Muslims caused any severe problems in the socio-political affairs of Naxos.[3] In parallel, it is noteworthy to

[1] By "Dark Ages" we mean the period of the Middle Ages where primary sources are scarce. It is noteworthy to mention that several historians disagree with the beginning and the end of the "Dark Ages". There is a line of thought that places it between the collapse of the Roman Empire (6th c.) and the Italian Renaissance (14th c.), while another one considers the "Dark Ages" the period of intellectual darkness between the Muslim conquests and the decline of Arab rule in the 10th c.

[2] For academic purposes, we shall indicate both the Islamic date (AH) and the Christian one (AD) henceforth. For date correspondence between these two eras see https://www.info.charm.ru/library/AHxAD%20Converter.doc.

[3] Concerning Naxos's geopolitical position, see Constantine VII Porphyrogenites, *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, ed. J. J. Reiske and J. H. Leich, Bonn, 1829, p. 678; G. Huxley, "A Porphyrogenitan Portulan", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 17, 1976, 3, p. 295; V. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (c. 824): A Turning Point in the Struggle Between Byzantium and Islam*, Athens, 1984, p. 176. For the text and English trans. see J. Haldon, "Theory and Practice in Tenth-Century Military Administration: Chapters II, 44 and 45 of the *Book of Ceremonies*", *Travaux et mémoires*, 13, 2000, p. 234-235. In addition, see also a comprehensive description by J. H. Pryor, "The Stadiodromikon of the *De Cerimoniis* of Constantine VII, Byzantine Warships and the Cretan Expedition of 949", in J. Chrysostomides, Ch. Dendrinos, and J. Harris (eds.), *The Greek Islands and the Sea: Proceedings of the International Colloquium held at The Hellenic Institute, Royal Holloway, University of London, 21-22 September 2001*, Camberley, Porphyrogenitus, 2004, p. 81-83. For a Greek translation, see N. Andriotis *et al*., *Byzantine and Arab Sailing Ships (7th-13th c.)*, Athens – Oinousai, 2001, p. 66-68. For Naxos in general, see J. Crow and D. Hill (eds.), *Naxos and the Byzantine Aegean: Insular Responses to Regional Change*, "Papers and Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens", vol. 7,

compare several historical facts that took place not only in Naxos but in the Byzantine Empire in general, in comparison to a variety of crucial practices concerning war and peace according to the laws of Islam, as they were established by medieval Muslim jurists.[4]

Various etymological denominations and regional terms, as well as several toponyms, undoubtedly witness the presence of the Cretan Arabs on the island. However, some crucial questions need to be examined and defined concerning the political role and the origin of the Arab settlers in Naxos. In addition, there are several pictorial[5] and archaeological finds that verify the presence of the Arabs on the island, highlighting their tendency not to open hostilities with the local population, but more readily to negotiate with them.[6] The latter argument is also provided in several legal fragments of the Muslim authorities, where it is underlined that unnecessary acts of violence, i.e., the killing of women and children and the unreasonable destruction of property, were not permitted.[7] In contrast, it is more prudent and scientifically accepted to

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Athens, 2018; M. Chatzidakis and M. Drandakes, *Naxos: Byzantine Art in Greece*, Athens, 1989; G. Demetrokalles, *Συμβολαί εις την μελέτην των Βυζαντινών μνημείων της Νάξου*, vol. I, Athens, 1972. Concerning Byzantine Naxos and the Iconoclastic period, see K. Katsouros, "Το '727' και η Εικονομαχία. Η Νάξος κατά τη διάρκεια των Σκοτεινών αιώνων (7ος-9ος αι.)", *Φλέα*, 6, 2005, p. 3-26; id., "Περιήγηση στη Νάξο των Σκοτεινών Αιώνων", *Φλέα*, 35-36, 2012, p. 5-35; K. Roussos, "Οι κοινωνία και η οικονομία της Νάξου κατά τους Πρώιμους Βυζαντινούς χρόνους", *Φλέα*, 41, 2014, p. 8-25; S. Panagiotou, "Αραβο-βυζαντινή ναυσιπλοΐα στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο και ο ρόλος των Κυκλάδων ως θαλάσσιος δρόμος προς την Κωνσταντινούπολη (649-965 μ. Χ.)", *Φλέα*, 56, 2017, p. 20-30.

[4] See, for example, the discussion by M. Khadduri concerning the etymology of neutral and neutrality on Cyprus's political status, in M. Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, London – Baltimore, 1955 (reprinted 1979), p. 264-267. In addition, there is also a specific Muslim maritime law which disapproves of any hostile assaults against the opponent commercial ships for economic reasons; see H. Khalilieh, *Islamic Maritime Law. An Introduction*, Leiden – Boston – Koln, 1998, p. 135. The fact that Khalilieh reports that there were intellectuals (physicians) aboard the warships could make it impossible to consider their actions as merely piratical and violent. Concerning the law of war between Byzantium and Islam in the Mediterranean Sea, especially in Thessaloniki and Crete, see two comprehensive works by S. Patoura-Spanou: "Two Landmarks in the History of Arab-Byzantine Relations and the Law of War: the Capture of Thessaloniki and the Reconquest of Crete (961)", *Graeco-Arabica*, 12, 2017, p. 237-254; "Arab and Byzantine Prisoners in the Reign of Leo VI the Wise: Images from Contemporary Byzantine Sources", *Graeco-Arabica*, 11, 2011, p. 399-413. For the Islamic Law, see also B. Jokisch, *Islamic Imperial Law: Ḥārūn al-Rashīd's Codification Project*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 2007.

[5] As regards Byzantine and Muslim warships, pictorial evidence can be found in Ioannes Skylitzes's *Chronicle*, which contains several illustrations presenting the seafaring activities of the medieval Arabo-Byzantine fleet and its naval technique. See V. Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid*, Leiden, 2002.

[6] A. Beihammer, "The First Naval Campaigns of the Arabs Against Cyprus (649-653): A Re-examination of the Oriental Source Material", *Graeco-Arabica*, 9-10, 2004, p. 63.

[7] See V. Christides, "Piracy, Privateering and Maritime Violent Actions: Maritime Violent Activities of the Taifa of Denia in Spain (11th c.) *vs* the Arab Maritime Jihād in the Eastern

assert that both the Byzantines and the Arabs were equally destructive in their expeditions, while the Arabs by no means acted as pirates. On the part of the Byzantines, lawless, brutal actions never stopped, as several primary sources reveal. In particular, two prominent Byzantine commanders-in-arms, Nicephorus Phocas[8] (299-358/912-969) and Niketas Ooryphas (d. after 267-268/881), brutally tortured Muslim captives.[9]

Taking into consideration the primary sources concerning the political status in Naxos, we can infer that the Cretan Arabs took hold of the island, obliging the inhabitants to pay tribute to them. However, there is no special reference mentioning any brutal behaviour against the people of Naxos. On the contrary, the local population and Naxos authorities, together with the Arab administration, welcomed the fleet of Leo of Tripoli (d. after 310/922), as Ioannes Caminiates (*c.* 235-339/850-950) points out.[10] It is also important to mention that the inhabitants of Naxos were not forced by the Arabs to leave their houses.[11] It is of utmost importance to remind the reader that the majority of Muslim (official) expeditions had been authorised by the state (caliphate), without ignoring the maritime *jihād* or the Islamic law, which was specific about the toleration of 'infidels' (*kāfirūn*).[12] The temporary conquest of Naxos by the

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Mediterranean from the Middle of the 7th to the 11th Century", in N. Jaspert and S. Kolditz (eds.), *Seeraub im Mittelmeerraum. Piraterie, Korsarentum und maritime Gewalt von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit*, Padernborn, 2013, p. 203, n. 15.

[8] See a brief but comprehensive study concerning Nicephorus Phocas's personality in K. Karapli, "Νικηφόρος Β΄ ο Φωκάς: Δαιμονίως στεργόμενος ή μισητός παρά πάντων", *Graeco-Arabica*, 12, 2017, p. 73-96. Concerning Nicephorus Phocas and his wars against the Arabs, see K. A. Takirtakoglou, "Οι πόλεμοι μεταξύ του Νικηφόρου Φωκά και των Αράβων", *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα*, 25, 2015, p. 57-114. It is worth mentioning that Phocas committed war crimes as well as cruel executions of Muslim prisoners, as recorded in primary sources. See 'A. Ramaḍān, "Arab Apostates in Byzantium: Evidence from Arabic Sources", *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα*, 29, 2019, p. 285, n. 47, where Ibn Kaṯīr describes Phocas as "one of the harshest people on the Muslims. He [Phocas] took many cities by force, such as Ṭarsūs and Adana and Mopsouestia and others. He killed and captured a countless number of Muslims, which only God knows. All or most of these converted to Christianity."

[9] For instance, during the 3rd/9th century, prisoners of war were very often tortured. After a campaign in Crete around the 870s, Niketas Ooryphas, the commander-in-chief, cruelly tortured hundreds of captives, cf. *Theophanes Continuatus; Ioannes Cameniata; Symeon Magister; Georgius Monachus*, ed. by B. G. Niebuhr, Im. Bekker, and J. Cameniata, Bonn, 1838, p. 301.

[10] I. Caminiates, *Εις την Άλωσιν της Θεσσαλονίκης*, transl. by Eu. Tsolakes, Athens, 2000, p. 174, §70: "οἱ κατ' αὐτὴν ὄντες ἄνδρες."

[11] V. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete…*, p. 165. Concerning the annual tribute imposed to Naxos by the Arabs, see I. Caminiates, *De Expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. by G. Bohlig, Berlin, 1973, p. 59: "Ναξίαν, ἐξ ἧς οἱ τὴν Κρήτην οἰκοῦντες φόρους λαμβάνουσιν." ("Naxos was under the Muslims of Crete and paid tribute to them").

[12] Several times the Muslims rejected truces with the Byzantines due to Canonical law (*Šarī'a*) prescriptions. For instance, the Fatimid Caliph al-Mu'izz refused to sign a truce with the Byzantine ambassador because religion and the *Šarī'a* did not admit a perpetual truce with the unbelievers. See M. Stern, "An Embassy of the Byzantine Emperor to the Fatimid Caliph Al-Mu'izz",

Cretan Arabs was a part of the war of attrition between the Arabs and the Byzantines for sovereignty and thalassocracy in the Mediterranean Sea, and the Middle East in general,[13] and as V. Christides mentions, "the efforts of the Arab emirate of Crete in its naval warfare aimed at the increasing of the *Dār al-'islām* (دار الإسلام) were more frequent and violent, as were its violations of the maritime *jihād*."[14]

Evaluating both Christian and Muslim primary sources, in parallel, we can conclude that the Cretan Muslims did not disembark on the island of Naxos forever, but they presumably planned their settlement for just a short period. Their primary aim was to impose a tribute to the citizens and control the area, to prevent potential conflicts with the Byzantine fleet on the coastline. Also, there is no additional information about servitude in Naxos; it is more likely that they made some slaves and prisoners in order to exchange them with the Byzantines.[15] In contrast, the most fascinating fact that contradicts the biased allegations made by the Christian saints' biographers is that the Byzantines officially exchanged prisoners with the Arabs and vice-versa, especially during the 'Abbāsid dynasty, in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries.[16] According to certain

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Byzantion, 20, 1950, p. 245-246; A. Tibi, "Byzantine-Fatimid Relations in the Reign of al-Mu'izz li Dīn Allāh (953-975 AD) as Reflected in Primary Arabic Sources", *Graeco-Arabica*, 4, 1991, p. 102.

[13] Of course, it is important not to forget that the Muslims' chief target was their plan to create a chain of islands in the Aegean Sea in order to besiege and conquer Constantinople, and not just for pirate plundering.

[14] V. Christides, "Piracy and Privateering…", p. 205. It is worth noting that we also meet the idea of *jihād* in Byzantine narratives. The ideology of 'ιερός πόλεμος' occurred in the Byzantine literature, especially in the middle Byzantine period, during the Macedonian Dynasty. A very comprehensive discussion on the Byzantine *jihād* of the 4th/10th century can be found in A. Kolia-Dermitzaki, "Η ιδέα του ιερού πολέμου στο Βυζάντιο κατά τον 10ο αιώνα. Η μαρτυρία των τακτικών και των δημηγοριων", in *Κωνσταντίνος Ζ΄ ο Πορφυρογέννητος και η εποχή του, Β΄ Διεθνής βυζαντινολογική συνάντηση, Ευρωπαϊκό Πολιτιστικό Κέντρο Δελφών*, Athens, Ευρωπαϊκό Πολιτιστικό Κέντρο Δελφών, 1989, p. 39-55; ead., *Ο βυζαντινός 'ιερός πόλεμος'*, Athens, 1991; A. 'Abd al-Hamīd, *Byzantium and Islam (9th-10th centuries): A Historical Evaluation of the Role of Religion in Byzantine-Muslim Relations*, unpublished PhD Thesis, Birmingham, 2000, p. 141, where the author cites examples of Byzantine *jihād* against the Muslims: "In 293/905, a Byzantine raid on the suburbs of Aleppo destroyed some mosques. In 314/926, a Byzantine army disturbed the Muslim tombs near Melitene. Two years later, Byzantine soldiers stormed a mosque in Ḥilāt and replaced its pulpit with a cross. Later, in 342/953, they destroyed the mosques of Sirūj".

[15] Servitude is something that occurred more often in the Aegean Sea in the 14th century; there is no basis for considering its presence during the 1st-3rd/7th-9th centuries. See E. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade, Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300-1415)*, Venice, 1983, p. 160-163. Concerning the method of exchanging slaves and prisoners in the Middle Ages, see R. Odetallāh, *Άραβες και Βυζαντινοί. Το πρόβλημα των αιχμαλώτων πολέμου*, Thessaloniki, 1983, p. 82-85.

[16] According to Leo VI's *Taktika*, an army General was advised not to kill the prisoners, especially the well-educated or skilful men, in order to use them to get back Byzantine captives or other valuable captured allies. See Leo VI, *Taktika*, *PG*, 107, 1990, p. 909: "Τοὺς δε αἰχμαλώτους [...] μὴ κτεῖνε καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐνδόξους καὶ μεγάλους παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὄντας [...], δι' αὐτῶν

Arab jurists, the Muslims showed, above all, ethical conduct in battle,[17] where poisoned arrows were strictly prohibited, and all hot liquids that could blind the enemy were banned.[18]

There is convincing evidence concerning the Arab settlement in Naxos; however, it is quite difficult to estimate the exact period of their stay there. As Caminiates informs us, Leo of Tripoli stationed on Naxos's coasts after a heavy storm and the people of Naxos welcomed him with gifts.[19] In addition, Abū Hafṣ (d. 316/928), the Muslim leader of the Cretan Arabs settled on Naxos, probably created a naval basis on the North coast of the island, called *Hala(va)ndara*. There are several toponyms in Naxos with Arabic etymology, such as Achapsi (*Ἄχαψη* or *Galini*), which was probably named after Abū Hafṣ, Saratsinikia (*Σαρατσήνικια*), from the term *Σαρακηνοί* (Saracens), Amira (*Αμιρά*), from the term *emir*, and a region called Atsipapi Koronou (*Ατσιπάπη Κορώνου*), from the term Atsoupades (*Ατσουπάδες*), which means "evil" or "demons".[20]

Therefore, it can be inferred that Naxos was one of the Cycladic Islands that faced the Cretan Arabs' raids, and the people of Naxos paid tribute to them. Commercial trade and interrelations between the local population and the Arabs continued, without any brutal hostilities. The Cretan Arabs came from Andalusian Spain, developing close relationships with the Mozarabs of Southeastern Spain,[21] and their chief target was to create a chain of Aegean

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ἀντικαταλλάττειν καὶ ἀνακαλεῖσθαι [...] καὶ αντὶ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ αἰχμαλώτων ἀναλάβῃς τοὺς φίλους καὶ συμμάχους."

[17] Ethical conduct in the period of early Islam is of immense importance in order to avoid prejudiced and biased implications of the misconception on Muslim behaviour at war. There are several manuscripts and monographs written by Arab scholars and jurists – in order to avoid the Western propaganda that depicts the majority of Medieval Arab wars as piratic and the Muslims merely as terrorists – which reveal a high-esteemed moral consciousness, from the Muslim point of view. See S. S. al-Jallād, *The Pedagogy of Arab Leadership: The Complete Treatises of ibn Al-Muqafa'a (8th Century AD)*, Athens, 2016. See, in particular, a Greek text translated by E. Venetis dealing with justice in the Muslim world, in S. S. al-Jallād, *Η Παιδαγωγική της Ηγεσίας των Αράβων. Οι πλήρεις πραγματείες του Ιμπν Αλ-Μοκάφφα' (8ος αι. μ.Χ.) Ανάλυση, αξιολόγηση και μετάφραση Σάλεχ Σάαντα αλ-Τζαλλάντ*, Athens, 2016, p. 156, "On Justice", and p. 186, 'Against Violence'.

[18] See V. Christides, "Piracy, Privateering…", p. 204, n. 24.

[19] This is a statement of utmost importance, revealing the fact that the Muslim fleet, and not a pirate fleet, had good relations with the inhabitants of Naxos and that the Arabs were seeking negotiation and not hostilities with the local population. See I. Caminiates, *Εις την Ἅλωσιν της Θεσσαλονίκης*..., p. 174, §70: "Οἱ κατ' αὐτὴν ὄντες ἄνδρες δώροις τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς ἠμείψαντο τῶν νηῶν, οἷς μάλιστα ἐδόκουν αὐτοὺς ἐνδεῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πλοὸς χρείαν."

[20] K. Katsouros, "Ατσιπάπη Κορώνου", *Φλέα*, 3, 2004, p. 9-11; A. Katsouros, "Τοπονύμια της Νάξου", *Ναξιακόν Αρχείον*, 10, 1947, I, p. 80. See also a recent research concerning toponyms, especially *Ατζιπάς*, *Σαρακήνα*, and *Αλαβανδάρα*, in I. A. Thomopoulos, "Το Όνομα Ατζιπάς", *Φλέα*, 63, 2019, p. 6-11; K. Katsouros, "Δύο τοπωνύμια: 'ρυάκας της Σαρακήνας' και 'Αλαβανδάρα'", *Φλέα*, 63, 2019, p. 12-15.

[21] For the Mozarabs of Spain and their relations with the Muslim Andalusians, see M. D. Meyerson *et al*. (eds.), *Christians, Muslims and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain.*

islands as a naval base to conquer Constantinople. This was the main reason that motivated Leo of Tripoli to conquer Thessaloniki in 291/904.[22] It is also clear that the Cretan Arabs did not carry out any massive destructive activities on the island, as several descriptions are preserved in sources against this fact: the people of Naxos continued to exchange products with the Arabs within a normal framework. The maritime Islamic Law is quite important for a better understanding of these events, as it is clear that the Arab fleet and its admirals were receiving orders from the Caliphate in order to expand the maritime *jihād* and to achieve sovereignty in the Mediterranean without excessive atrocities against the innocents.

Certain historians connect the aniconic decoration of Byzantine churches with the Cretan Arabs' raids, trying to infer that the Arabs either destroyed or prohibited hagiographical frescoes inside the churches. However, there is a possible objection to the above opinion, since it is more plausible that the aniconic decoration was related to the Iconoclastic period in Byzantium rather more than to the Arabs' prohibition.[23] Thus, the aniconic decoration, i.e., the absence of hagiographical frescoes in Byzantine churches in Naxos would have nothing to do with the Arabic presence on the island, but it would be explained by local circumstances, such as the Byzantine Iconoclastic period and the revolt of Thomas the Slav (c. 143-208/760-823) in the 3rd/9th century.[24]

Views concerning the Muslims' settlement in Cyprus are controversial. From Christian sources, it can be inferred that the Muslims embarked towards Cyprus having only one goal: the ruthless devastation of the island and brutal captivity for the inhabitants. On the other hand, Muslim sources totally disagree, reporting that the insistence of Mu'āwiya (d. in 60/680) to attack Cyprus was not simply an outburst of ambition to initiate a massive maritime *jihād* in order to spread the word of the Holy Qur'ān. As mentioned above (#3), due to its vital geopolitical position, Cyprus was crucial for the Muslims' defence of Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, and the survival of the newly established Arab state in general. In parallel, the Muslims' objective in the Aegean was to create a chain of islands from Cyprus to Rhodes, encircling the Byzantine Empire and opening the path to the capture of Thessaloniki and, as the greatest target, Constantinople, whose conquest was their unfulfilled dream until the age of the Ottomans.

Interaction and Culture Change, Indiana, 2000. See also C. Aillet *et al*. (ed.), *¿Existe una identidad mozárabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus (ss. IX-XII)*, Madrid, 2007.

[22] For the Muslim raids led by Leo of Tripoli, see R. K. Odetallāh, "Leo Tripoletes – Gulām Zurāfa and the Sack of Thessaloniki in 904", *Byzantinoslavica*, 56, 1995, 1, p. 97-102.

[23] G. Demetrokalles, *Συμβολαί εις την μελέτην…*, p. 46.

[24] A. Vasilaki-Karakatsani, *Ἁγία Κυριακή – Ἅγιος Ἀρτέμιος. Βυζαντινή τέχνη στήν Ἑλλάδα. Ψηφιδωτά. Τοιχογραφίες*, Athens, 1989.

The issue of whether Muslims behaved as pirates or not can be correctly grasped if both Byzantine and Muslim sources are evaluated carefully and objectively. It is far from true to allege that the Muslim fleet, especially in the period that we are surveying (early 3rd/9th – mid 4th/10th c.), behaved like pirates. There is plenty of supporting evidence that the Muslims were not merely bloodthirsty, cruel, and faithless "barbarians"[25] (as certain Christian authors reported) who tortured captives and innocent citizens, on the contrary, they had developed an organised fleet (after the 1st/7th c.) ready to compete with the imperial Byzantine fleet on an equal footing.

> The [Christian] authors of Byzantine hagiographical sources monotonously illustrate their destructive activities labelling them as piratical (*πειρατικαί*). For them, as for several modern historians, these are aimless sea raids just for plundering by unruly pirates and/or privateers. Undoubtedly, the hagiographical sources offer invaluable information completing the historical sources, but they should be taken into consideration with special care.[26]

It seems quite illogical and senseless to derive information only from Greek hagiographical sources, which clearly report that the Muslims, especially in Cyprus and Crete, behaved with extreme ferocity. Insubstantial, biased narratives that describe Muslims torturing citizens in caves in Cyprus during their 'piratic invasion' in the mid 1st/7th century cannot be supported; they are nothing but overestimated 'distortions'.[27] The Muslims rarely decided to react

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[25] The term Barbarians (*Βάρβαροι*) was not only used in the Byzantine period. The use of the word *βάρβαρος*, which is synonymous with speaking an unintelligible tongue, belongs to the Classical and Roman era. Arabs as *βάρβαροι* in the pre-Islamic period (early Byzantine period, before Muḥammad) are divided into two categories: (a) non-Christianized Arabs, and (b) Christianized Arabs. The latter category often escapes being called "barbarians", in order to distinguish them from pagan Arabs. The former category of Arabs, as enemies of the Byzantines, were called "barbarians". It is worth adding that when allied with the Byzantines, Arabs were able to escape the appellation of *Βάρβαροι*, and by adopting Byzantine customs the Arabs ceased to be thus called, so they were not attached anymore to the barbaric world. Summing up, with the appearance of Muḥammad, all Arabs, especially in the eyes of the Byzantine clergy, became the *βάρβαροι par excellence*. For a brief, but comprehensive study of the term *βάρβαροι* in the pre-Islamic world see V. Christides, "Arabs as 'Barbaroi' before the Rise of Islam", *Balkan Studies*, 10, 1969, p. 315-324.

[26] V. Christides, "Piracy and Privateering…", p. 200-201.

[27] This is undoubtedly an incorrect line of thought that has been recently developed by scholars or postgraduate researchers who derive information only from hagiological works, Saints' *Lives* (Βίοι Ἁγίων), and Western secondary literature. For original texts of Saints' *Lives*, with free access, see the online *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database*. Three examples of scholars who developed their one-sided, biased arguments by using only Greek sources and secondary literature, completely ignoring Arabic sources, are Th. Vathi, *Πειρατικές επιδρομές στις Βυζαντινές Θάλασσες μεταξύ 8ου και 10ου αιώνα μέσα από αγιολογικά κείμενα*, Ioannina, 2002; S. Maratheftis, "Αραβικές Επιδρομές", in P. Stylianou (ed.), *Κάποιες κρίσιμες ώρες στην Κυπριακή ιστορία: Μερικά μνημεία στην κατεχόμενη Κύπρο*, Nicosia, 1994, p. 16-29; A. K. Kyrou, "Νησιώτικα καταφύγια στον

by using the sword on unprotected people, or at least there are no mentions of such events.[28] In contrast, Muslim authorities "prefer to come to terms with the

αργολικό κόλπο κατά τους πρωτοβυζαντινούς αιώνες", in *Πρακτικά του ΣΤ΄ Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών*, II, Athens, 2001-2002, p. 510-518 (e.g., on p. 518: "Άραβες ναυτικοί πολέμαρχοι"). The above-mentioned texts provide one-sided proof concerning the Arabs' ruthless behaviour in the Aegean Sea (cf. Vathi), in Cyprus (cf. Maratheftis), labelling the Muslim fleet as "piratic" (cf. Kyrou). I am grateful to V. Christides, who shared with me an unpublished draft paper, "The Maritime Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Southern Aegean (c. 824-826 – 961): Cythera, Naxos, Paros, Elaphonesos, Dia" (forthcoming), in which he correctly contends that: "Unfortunately, this Arab-Byzantine sea struggle has been viewed by several scholars until the present day as a one-sided, so-called piratical enterprise, on the one hand, the merciless Arab pirates attacking and plundering the Greek islands, and, on the other, the innocent Byzantines defending themselves. Thus, the official leaders of the Arab navies are labeled 'ναυτικοί πολέμαρχοι' (seafaring tribal warlords) or simply 'pirates', and their sole aim was plundering." In the same article he correctly maintains that "we should not deal with the subject of the naval activities of the Arabs in the Aegean in isolation, solely describing their attacks according to biased hagiographical Byzantine sources, as has recently been done by Th. Vathi. In her work, Vathi labels the Arab naval attacks 'piratic', in spite of the fact that she mentions that, according to Christides' theory, they were part of the Arab-Byzantine struggle at sea. See Th. Vathi, *Πειρατικές επιδρομές…*, p. 27. In the same wrong methodology, F. S. Maratheftis explores his arguments by completely ignoring Arabic sources. He discusses the two Arab expeditions in Cyprus, the political status that has had been established in the island, the issue of the so-called 'condominium', and several historical events from the first Arab expedition (28/649) to the 'reconquest' of the island by the troops of Niketas Chalcoutses in 350/961, without mentioning even a single Arabic source. He merely cites secondary literature such as G. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 1940; F. Zannetos, *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, vol. 3, Larnaca, 1910; and Browning's verses, without indicating the correct reference. On the one hand, Maratheftis, on p. 16, refers to Mu'āwiya as commander-in-chief or general naval leader (σταρτηγός), on the other hand, he mentions on p. 17 that Mu'āwiya initiated a massive piratical assault in 28/649, besieging and totally destroying Constantia: 'πολιόρκησε καὶ λεηλάτησε τὴν Κωνσταντία'. In addition, he claims again on p. 17 that Mu'āwiya organised a second piratical assault in 33/653, destroying everything that was left behind from the previous attack, such as the church of St Epiphanios in Constantia: 'Το 653 ο Μωαβία έστειλε νέα πειρατική δύναμη εναντίον της νήσου […] καταστρέφοντας ότι είχε απομείνει από την προηγούμενη πειρατική επιδρομή, πιθανόν και την περίφημη βασιλική του Αγίου Επιφανίου στην Κωνσταντία'." The aforementioned references are just a part of numerous exaggerated and biased examples from the side of the Greek and Cypriot historians who consider the Muslim navy and the Arab naval expeditions simply as corsair enterprises.

[28] See, e.g., 'Abd al-Azīz Ramaḍān, "The Treatment of Arab Prisoners of War in Byzantium (9th-10th Centuries)", *Analles Islamologiques*, 43, 2009, especially the sub-chapter *Torture and Execution*, p. 157-159. We are also informed through primary sources that Muslims did not torture the "infidels", but they killed them by the sword. Theophanes, in his *Chronographia*, describes the execution of Peter the Bishop of Capitolium (Πέτρος ἐπἰσκοπος Καπιτωλέων) by a Muslim sword: "τότε τὴν διὰ ξίφους τιμωρίαν ὑποστὰς μάρτυς ἀνεδείχθη" (ed. Leipzig, 1883, p. 416-417). See also *PG*, 117, col. 85 C-D. However, sometimes Muslim soldiers who disobeyed the law of Islam, which commands not to torture innocent people, brutally committed violence against the so-called "infidels", and especially those who refused conversion. See, e.g., the description of Gregorios Dekapolitis in *PG*, 100, col. 1212 B-C: "Οἱ δὲ ἔλαβον τὸν μοναχὸν μετὰ πλείστης ὀργῆς καὶ σύραντες αὐτὸν ἔξωθεν τοῦ παλατίου καὶ πολλαῖς βασάνοις τοῦτον παρέδωκαν ἵνα ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς τὴν πρώτην θρησκείαν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν […] ἔσυραν αὐτὸν ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἄστεος, κἀκεῖ ἐλιθοβόλησαν αὐτὸν τὸν ὁσιώτατον μοναχόν." It is worth mentioning that Byzantine executions

local population, or the Byzantine troops, rather than to open hostilities against them".[29] This is, from my point of view, solid proof that the Muslims had no intention to enslave, but they preferred to rule by imposing a tribute to the inhabitants (at most),[30] in order to control their provinces through discipline.

This paper argues that though the Muslim navy unleashed a massive *Blitz-Krieg* in the Eastern Mediterranean for sea supremacy, forcing the Byzantines into an agonizing, long-standing defence (especially in the early 3rd/9th c.), they rarely used piratic methods, although the Aegean islands occupied by the Muslims were supported by plundering and the trade of slaves.[31] There is, unfortunately, no war without casualties. Leo of Tripoli committed slaughter and captured many Byzantines during the sack of Thessaloniki. This event, however, was not an individual adventure, but part of the ongoing attrition between the two powers and an overall plan of the 'Abbāsid Muslims to weaken the Byzantine state by attacking its second most significant city after Constantinople. It should also be noticed that the crew of the Byzantine fleet could be considered as low-life, unscrupulous, and quasi-enslaved soldiers.[32] Moreover, as revealed by the original manuscript versions of the *Naumachia* of Leo VI (255-299/866-912) and Qudāma's *Kitāb al-Ḫarāǧ*, the admirals of both crews tried to impart high morale to the crew, avoiding cruelties and bad behaviour.

Another solid argument defending the view that Muslims did not act like pirates during their expeditions in the Eastern Mediterranean is the fact that they never tried to destroy the Byzantine culture or to suppress local inhabitants. On the contrary, especially in Crete, Muslims allowed the Cretans to freely cultivate their lands, speak their language, and preserve their customs and traditions. Most importantly, they allowed mixed marriages and contacts with other peoples.[33] The Muslim influence continued to flourish in the Aegean Sea in this period, without compelling the locals to adopt Islamic traditions. Furthermore, Islamic poetry found in the remains of Cretan cities, such as Knossos and Malia, and a number of copper coins reinforce the view that the Muslims were not mere pirates, but they developed and organised a solid civilization and metalwork

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by the Muslims increased during the 'Abbāsid dynasty, as compared with the lower number of the Umayyad epoch. See R. Schick, *The Fate of Christians during the Byzantine-Umayyad Transition*, Chicago, 1987, p. 43; J. Boojamra, "Christianity in Greater Syria after Islam", *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 35, 1991, 2-3, p. 223-239.

[29] A. Beihammer, "The First Naval Campaigns…", p. 63.

[30] I. Bekker (ed.), *Theophanes Continuatus*…, p. 77.

[31] M. Canard and R. Mantran, "Iḳrīṭish", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition,* Leiden, 1997, *s.v*.

[32] R. H. Dolley, "The Origin of the Ram", *The Mariner's Mirror*, 35, 1949, p. 157-158.

[33] N. Tomadakes, "Προβλήματα της εν Κρήτη αραβοκρατίας (826-961 μ. Χ)", *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών*, 30, 1960-1961, p. 20.

crafts.[34] We must necessarily add at this point that besides metalwork crafts, trade activities were intensified during the early ‘Abbāsid period. For their business transactions, Muslims formed partnerships and systematically organised maritime trade.[35] It is also unreasonable to consider the Muslim navy in the Aegean as pirates while they were systematically exchanging products and goods with the Byzantines. The Byzantine coins of Basil II onboard the ships are proof of the transactions between Muslims and Byzantines.[36]

Prejudiced and biased views are also presented by Greek authors in order to insult and/or degrade the Muslim fleet and their admirals Leo and Damian (d. in 312/924), characterizing them as “devil’s hole”[37] and naming Leo of Tripoli “a corsair commanding a pirate fleet”.[38] It is quite unfair, in our opinion, to label the Muslim expeditions in the eastern Mediterranean during the Muslim-Byzantine naval warfare as piratic, and the crew as corsairs. Several authors inspired by the religious, biased spirit of Caminiates insist to mistakenly consider Leo as a bloodthirsty pirate, and the Muslims – “murderers” and “infidel barbarians”.

Bearing in mind all (or at least the most valuable) source material, it can be inferred that Muslims reached the peak of sea supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean during medieval times, and especially in the period of the ‘Abbāsids. Naval technology, seafaring, and ship construction had dramatically increased, due to the need for sovereignty in an area where the Byzantines gained the mastery of the Sea. As mentioned before, after the conquest of Crete in 209/824 the Muslims increased their power in the Aegean Sea, and they controlled the Eastern Mediterranean together with the Byzantines.

It is clear from primary sources how the two Empires and their people behaved not only during naval battles but also in their cultural attitudes and contact, in times of interrelationship and diplomatic negotiations. Both Muslim and Christian historians report on the close relationship between the military and the cultural activities of their inhabitants and ambassadors,[39] as well as the

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[34] G. C. Miles and P. Warren, “An Arab Building at Knossos”, *The Annual of the British School of Athens*, 67, 1972, p. 296.

[35] A. Udovich, “Commercial Techniques in Early Islamic Trade”, in D. S. Richards (ed.), *Islam and the Trade of Asia*, Oxford, 1970.

[36] See F. H. van Doorninck Jr., “The Medieval Shipwreck at Serçe Liman: an Early 11th Century Fāṭimid-Byzantine Commercial Voyage”, *Graeco-Arabica*, 4, 1991, p. 45-52; G. F. Bass, “The Shipwreck at Serçe Liman, Turkey”, *Archaeology*, 32, 1979, p. 36 *sqq*.

[37] Concerning the phrase “devil’s hole”, see I. Tsaras, *Ioannou Kaminiatou, the* Sack of Thessaloniki *904 AD*, Thessaloniki, 1987, p. 132.

[38] I. Tsaras, “Η Αυθεντικότητα του Χρονικού του Ιωάννου Καμενιάτη”, *Βυζαντιακά*, 8, 1988, p. 47.

[39] On the relations between the Byzantine and the Muslim ambassadors (πρέσβεις), see D. Nerlich, *Diplomatische Gesandtschaften zwischen Ost- und Westkaisern 756-1002*, Bern, 1999, p. 107-121; N. Drocourt, “La diplomatie médio-byzantine et l’Antiquité”, *Anabases*, 7, 2008, p. 57-87; id., “La place de l’écrit dans les contacts diplomatiques du haut Moyen Âge: Le cas des relations entre Byzance et ses voisins (de la fin du VII^e siècle à 1204)”, in *L’autorité de l’écrit au Moyen Âge*

strong reciprocal influence of Muslim and Byzantine commerce and trade, education (poetry, philosophy, arts, literature), and religion. Specific Arabic sources inform us that a large number of Byzantine ships freely visited the Arab ports, protected by a special trade treaty (safe conduct), and likewise Arab ships visited Byzantine ports.[40]

Underwater archaeology endorses the literary sources.[41] The intense trade relations between Byzantines and Arabs in this period are of overwhelming importance for the conclusion that sometimes hagiographical sources greatly exaggerate.

Summing up, I have argued in this paper that hagiographical sources contain certain controversial opinions regarding the Muslims' behaviour during their military and naval expeditions. In Islamic jurisprudence, we notice that Muslim authorities did not encourage an aggressive policy against innocent people. Especially during the exchange of captives, they used to behave ethically towards the "protected tribes". For the Muslims, Byzantine *Rūm*, attached to a monotheistic religion, were sheltered by the Qur'ānic legal practices, as *ahl al-dimma* ("protected people"). This category included Christians and Jews who settled in the Arabic lands and paid an annual tax (*ğizyā'*). Lastly, as Nicholas Drocourt correctly points out, diplomatic (and sometimes military) relations

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(Orient-Occident), Paris, 2009, p. 25-43. See also the passage translated by A. Beihammer, "Strategies of Diplomacy and Ambassadors in Byzantine-Muslim Relations on the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries", in *Ambassadeurs et ambassades au cœur des relations diplomatiques. Rome – Occident médiéval – Byzance (VIII^e s. avant J.-C – XII^e s. après J.-C.)*, ed. by Au. Becker and N. Drocourt, Metz, 2012, p. 374: "You should know that men who are sent as emissaries (πρέσβεις) are skilful and clever, even if they pretend naivety". Cf. Kekaumenos, *Στρατηγικόν (Strategikon)*, transl. D. Tsougkarakis, Athens, 1993, p. 66: "Ιστέον γαρ, ὅτι οἱ ἀποστελλόμενοι πρέσβεις δεινοὶ εἰσὶν καὶ πονηροὶ εἰ καὶ τὸ ἁπλοῦν ὑποκρίνονται." Similarly, Muslims had the same attitude regarding emissaries, as reported in A. Beihammer, "Strategies of Diplomacy and Ambassadors…", p. 374: "For an embassy a man is required who has served kings, who is bold in speaking, who has travelled widely, who has a portion of every branch of learning, who is retentive of memory and farseeing, who is tall and handsome, and if he is old and wise, that is better." See the Arabic text of Nizam al-Mulk's *Siyasat-nama*, edited by Ch. Schefer, in *Siasset Namèh: Traité de gouvernment composé pour le Sultan Melik-Châh par le vizir Nizam oul-Moulk*, Paris, 1891 p. 90, and the translation of H. Drake, *The Book of Government; or, Rules for Kings: The Siyasat-nama or Siyar al-Muluk of Nizam al-Mulk*, Surrey, 2002, p. 98.

[40] Nizam al-Mulk, *Siasset Namèh*, ed. by C. Schefer, p. 41: "Tripoli est placée sous la dépendance du sultan d'Égypte; on me dit que c'est depuis l'époque où les infidèles de Byzance tentèrent une attaque contre cette place et durent subir une rude défait. Le sultan d'Égypte a aboli les impôts dans cette ville et constamment une garnison commandée par un général a pour mission de la défendre contre toute entreprise ennemie. Tripoli est un entrepôt fréquenté par les navires qui viennent de la Grèce, du pays des Francs, de l'Espagne et du Maghreb." The last sentence, most particularly, confirms that Tripoli was a well-frequented warehouse for ships coming from Greece, France, Spain, and Morocco, without facing any problems in disembarking.

[41] U. Koçabaş, *Istanbul Archaeological Museums: Proceedings of the 1st Symposium on Marmaray-Metro Salvage Examinations, 5th-6th May 2008*, Istanbul, 2010.

between Muslims and Christians "were marked by courtesy and mutual respect". This is, from our perspective, a valid argument in order to accept that Muslims had no intention to enslave and oppress; on the contrary, they sought to rule imposing a tribute to the inhabitants (at most), in order to control their provinces with discipline.[42]

[42] N. Drocourt, "Christian-Muslim Diplomatic Relations. An Overview of the Main Sources and Themes of Encounter (600-1000)", in D. Thomas and A. Mallet (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol. 2. *(900-1050)*, Leiden – Boston, 2010, p. 31. A development of mutual respect (*ἐκεχειρία*) can be found in the treaty between Constans II and Mu'āwiya, where the Byzantine emperor appealed to Mu'āwiya to cease hostilities for a specific period, since Byzantium had to turn its attention to the Balkan threat. And, finally, Mu'āwiya accepted Constans's request. For the above incident see H. Kennedy, "Byzantine-Arab Diplomacy in the Near East from the Islamic Conquests to the Mid-Eleventh Century", in J. Shepard and S. Franklin (eds.), *Byzantine Diplomacy*, Aldershot – Hampshire, 1992, p. 134.

AS‘AD AL-YĀNYAWĪ ET LA TRADITION PHILOSOPHIQUE ARABO-ISLAMIQUE : UNE ÉTUDE SUR LE MANUSCRIT MANİSA YAZMA ESER KÜTÜPHANESİ 5842[*]

Teymour Morel

Introduction

En dépit des recherches et de l’intérêt toujours croissants en histoire de la philosophie dans l’Empire ottoman, bien des textes s’y rattachant attendent encore d’être édités de manière critique et étudiés doctrinalement. Parmi ce vaste, riche et encore inexploité corpus figurent les œuvres complètes du savant As‘ad al-Yānyawī (?-1143/1730 ou 1731), ouléma d’origine rouméliote, philosophe, astronome, mathématicien hellénophone, latinophone, client du patriarche Chrysanthos Notaras, professeur de Dimitrie Cantemir et proche de certains membres de la société phanariote de Constantinople. Versé dans les sciences de tradition islamique, membre de l’*ilmiye* ottoman, il est surtout connu pour être un aristotélicien très critique de la tradition philosophique arabo-islamique et avoir entamé une rénovation des études philosophiques de son temps, participant à l’essor du mouvement de traduction et de vulgarisation que connut Constantinople au début du XVIII[e] siècle. Son projet, jamais étudié ni même délimité, prévoyait notamment la retraduction en langue arabe – traditionnellement, la langue de la science en Islam – de plusieurs œuvres du corpus d’Aristote. Or, s’il est fort probable que cette ambitieuse entreprise ne fût jamais menée à son terme, on ne saurait dire jusqu’à quel point. Il en va de même pour la circulation des textes ou des idées formulées par son auteur. Voilà pourquoi, en complément de la recherche dans les documents d’archives, il nous

[*] Cet article n’aurait pas été possible sans le soutien d’un certain nombre d’institutions : le Fonds National Suisse de la Recherche Scientifique (FNS) ; les programmes de recherche « Le patrimoine manuscrit philosophique arabe en Île-de-France et ailleurs : trésors à découvrir et circuits de diffusion (PhASIF) », labellisé Domaine d’intérêt majeur (DIM) par le Conseil de la Région Île-de-France ; « Philosophy in Context : Arabic and Syriac Manuscripts in the Mediterranean (PhiC) », financé par le Conseil Européen de la Recherche (ERC) ; la Direction des manuscrits de Turquie (Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı). Par ailleurs, nous remercions chaleureusement, pour leurs aide et conseils, Maroun Aouad, Jawdath Jabbour, M. Cüneyt Kaya et Claire Le Bras. Nombre d’informations que nous utilisons dans cet article sont tirées de nos descriptions de manuscrits enregistrées et publiées dans la base de données en ligne ABJAD des programmes PhiC et PhASIF (http://abjad.phic-project.org/).

semble qu'un examen méticuleux de chaque manuscrit des œuvres de notre auteur constituerait un préalable à toute étude sur sa pensée.

D'entre tous ces manuscrits, le codex 5842 de la Bibliothèque de manuscrits de Manisa, en Turquie, est particulièrement intéressant. Recueil composite, ce volume comprend une copie de l'un des textes philosophiques d'Al-Yānyawī, la *Traduction du Commentaire très lumineux sur la logique* (*Tarǧamat al-Šarḥ al-anwar*[1] *fī l-manṭiq*) du philosophe Ioannes Cottunius, professeur à l'Académie de Padoue et fondateur du second collège grec dans cette même ville. Son paratexte est suffisamment riche pour apprécier la diffusion de cette œuvre dans différents milieux de Constantinople et d'Anatolie aux XVIII^e^ et XIX^e^ siècles. Enfin, il rassemble en un tout assez cohérent un certain nombre de textes philosophiques arabes de tradition aristotélicienne, notamment plusieurs textes d'Averroès (ses *Commentaires moyens* aux *Catégories*, au *De l'interprétation*, aux *Premiers* et aux *Seconds analytiques* d'Aristote) auquel Al-Yānyawī accorde une importance particulière, comme nous le verrons. Par l'inventaire raisonné des textes qu'il contient, nous voulons également montrer que ce manuscrit reflète, volontairement ou non, le projet philosophique de notre auteur.

Cette étude est divisée en trois parties. Dans la première, nous présentons succinctement ce que nous savons de la vie d'Al-Yānyawī. Dans la deuxième partie, nous résumons son projet. Dans la troisième, nous présentons le contenu du manuscrit de Manisa. Enfin, dans la quatrième partie, nous retraçons la trajectoire du manuscrit au prisme de son paratexte.

1. Éléments biographiques

Né à Jannina (en turc, Yanya), en Grèce actuelle, à une date inconnue, As'ad b. 'Alī b. 'Uṯmān b. Muṣṭafā al-Yānyawī (en turc, Yanyalı Esad Efendi[2]) est un savant ottoman issu de l'*ilmiye* (institution juridico-académique ottomane)[3]. De toute la littérature le concernant[4], la notice biographique rédigée

[1] Nous utilisons le système « Arabica » pour la translittération des passages en arabe. Ainsi, les élatifs, tels qu'ici *anwar*, sont dénués de l'apostrophe rendant la *hamza* initiale.

[2] La translittération turque a été adoptée pour les noms de personnes appartenant au monde ottoman – hormis, comme c'est le cas pour As'ad al-Yānyawī, lorsque la forme arabe du nom est tout autant, voire davantage répandue dans les manuscrits – ainsi que pour les noms d'œuvres.

[3] Sur l'*ilmiye* dans l'Empire ottoman, voir N. Clayer, « Oulémas », dans *Dictionnaire de l'Empire ottoman*, dirs. F. Georgeon, N. Vatin et G. Veinstein, Paris, 2015, p. 889-891 ; M. İpşirli, « Medrese. Osmanlı Dönemi », dans *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. XXVIII, Istanbul, 2003, p. 327-333 ; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı* (*L'Organisation de l'ilmiye dans l'État ottoman*), 4^e^ éd., Ankara, 2014 ; M. C. Zilfi, « The *İlmiye* Registers and the Ottoman *Medrese* System Prior to the Tanzimat », dans *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman*, éds. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont et Paul Dumont, Louvain – Paris, 1983, p. 309-327.

en turc par son contemporain Mirzazâde Sâlim Efendi (1099-1156/1688-1743) dans son *Tezkiretü’ş-şuarâ* (*Memento des poètes*)[5], permet de suivre les

[4] A. Adnan-Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim* (*La science chez les Turcs ottomans*), Istanbul, 1939, p. 142-143 ; İ. H. Aksoyak, « Es‘ad, Mehmed Es‘ad Efendi », dans *Türk Edebiyatı İsimler Sözlüğü*, 2015, en ligne : http://teis.yesevi.edu.tr/madde-detay/esad-mehmed-esad-efendi-mdbir (consulté le 24.06.2020) ; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (*GAL*), 2e éd., vol. II, Leyde, 1949, p. 447-594 ; Suppl. II, 1938, p. 665-666 ; M. T. Bursalı, *Osmanlı Müellifleri* (*Les auteurs ottomans*), vol. I, Istanbul, 1333 H., p. 234-235 ; S. di Vincenzo, « Reading Avicenna’s *Kitāb al-Šifā’* in the Ottoman World : The Circulation of the Work within the School of As‘ad al-Yānyawī », dans *The Reception of Classical Arabic Philosophy in the Ottoman Empire. Proceedings of the Workshop Held by the International Associated Laboratory “Philosophie dans l’aire ottomane”, 2-4 November 2015*, éd. J. Jabbour, *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph*, LXVII, 2017-2018, p. 327-350 ; İ. Fazlıoğlu, « As‘ad Afandī », dans *Mawsū‘at a‘lām al-‘ulamā’ wa-l-udabā’ al-‘arab wa-l-muslimīn*, vol. I, Beyrouth, 1425/2004, p. 604-606 ; Ch. Genequand et T. Morel, « Al-Yānyawī’s Account of Porphyry », dans *The Reception of Classical Arabic Philosophy in the Ottoman Empire…*, p. 351-361 ; D. Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture : The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ‘Abbāsid Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries)*, Abingdon – New York, 1998, p. 175 ; E. İhsanoğlu, R. Şeşen et M. S. Bekar, *Osmanlı Tabii ve Tatbiki Bilimler Literatürü Tarihi* (*Histoire de la littérature des sciences naturelles et appliquées ottomanes*), vol. I, Istanbul, 2006, p. 111-113 ; E. İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Bilim Mirası : Seçmeler* (*L’héritage scientifique ottoman : Une anthologie*), vol. II, Istanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2017, p. 375-377 ; I. Kalin, « Esat Efendi, Yanyalı », dans *The Biographical Encyclopaedia of Islamic Philosphy*, éd. O. Leaman, Londres, 2015, p. 88 ; M. Kaya, « Some Findings on Translations Made in the 18th Century from Greek and Es‘ad Efendi’s Translation of the *Physica* », dans *Transfer of Modern Science & Technology to the Muslim World*, éd. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, Istanbul, 1992, p. 387-388 ; B. H. Küçük, *Early Enlightenment in Istanbul*, thèse de doctorat, San Diego, University of California, 2012, p. 37, 73, 80, 128-129, 132-134, 150-155, 166, 169 ; id., « Natural Philosophy and Politics in the Eighteenth Century : Esad of Ioannina and Greek Aristotelianism at the Ottoman Court », *Osmanlı Araştırmaları – The Journal of Ottoman Studies* XLI, 2013, p. 125-158 ; id., *Science without Leisure : Practical Naturalism in Istanbul, 1660-1732*, Pittsburgh, 2020, p. 177-182 ; I. Matei, « Le maître de langue turque de Dimitrie Cantemir : Es‘ad Efendi », RESEE, X, 1972, 2, p. 281-288 ; M. S. Özervarlı, « Yanyalı Esad Efendi’s Works on Philosophical Texts as Part of the Ottoman Translation Movement in the Early Eighteenth Century », dans *Europa und die Türkei im 18. Jahrhundert – Europe and Turkey in the 18th Century*, éd. B. Schmidt-Haberkamp, Göttingen, 2011, p. 462-464 ; id., « Theology in the Ottoman Lands », dans *The Oxford Handbook on Islamic Theology*, éd. S. Schmidtke, New York, 2016, p. 567-586, ici p. 575-576 ; Kh. El-Rouayheb, *The Development of Arabic Logic (1200-1800)*, Basel, 2019, p. 216-221 ; K. Sarıkavak, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Bir Osmanlı Düşünürü : Yanyalı Esad Efendi* (*Un penseur ottoman du XVIIIe siècle : Yanyalı Esad Efendi*), Ankara, 1997 ; id., « Yanyalı Esad Efendi », dans *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. XLIII, 1997, p. 322-323 ; R. Şeşen, *Mukhtārāt min al-makhṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyyat al-nādira fī maktabāt Türkiye*, Istanbul, 1997, p. 294-296 ; M. Süreyyâ, *Sicill-i Osmânî* (*Registre des Ottomans*), vol. I, 1308 H., p. 332 ; B. Topaloğlu, *İslâm Kelâmcılarına ve Filozoflarına Göre Allah’ın Varlığı (İsbat-i Vacip)* (*L’existence de Dieu selon les théologiens spéculatifs et les philosophes de l’Islam*), Ankara, 1987, p. 123-125 ; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 246 ; R. Walzer, « Arabische Übersetzungen griechischer Autoren in Stambuler Bibliotheken », dans *Beiträge zur Erschliessung der arabischen Handschriften in Istanbul und Anatolien*, éd. F. Sezgin, vol. I, Francfort-sur-le-Main, 1986, p. 788.

[5] Nous remercions M. Cüneyt Kaya de nous avoir traduit cette notice qu’on trouvera publiée dans Kazasker Sâlim Efendi, *Tezkire-i Sâlim* (*Le memento de Sâlim*), Dersaadet, 1315 H., p. 76-79, et translittérée en turc moderne dans M. M. Sâlim Efendi, *Tezkiretü’ş-Şu‘arâ*, éd. A. İnce, Ankara, 2018, p. 91-92. Il est intéressant de remarquer que Sâlim Efendi est le fils du *šayḫ al-islām* Mirza Mustafa Efendi, qui fut le patron d’Al-Yānyawī, comme nous le verrons plus loin. Sur lui, voir H. Güfta, « Sâlim », dans *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. XXXVI, 2009, p. 46-47.

principales étapes de sa carrière d'ouléma. On apprend ainsi que ses études débutent dans sa ville natale, où il reçoit l'enseignement, en morphologie et en grammaire, de Mehmed Efendi, le mufti de Jannina. Toujours à Jannina, il étudie auprès du mufti İbrahim Efendi, puis auprès d'un certain *seyyid* Mustafa Efendi – dont l'auteur précise qu'il enseignera plus tard au futur *šayḫ al-islām*[6] Damadzâde Ebû'l-Hayr Ahmed Efendi (1154/1741)[7].

En 1098/1686-1687, Al-Yānyawī gagne Constantinople. Il suit les cours de Tatar Abdülhalim Efendi qui, nous dit Sâlim, mourra plus tard au Caire, et auprès duquel il étudie « de nombreuses sciences », de même qu'il étudie les *Éléments* d'Euclide auprès de Müneccimbaşı Mehmed Efendi et l'arithmétique et la géométrie sous la tutelle du « mufti de Tekfurdağı » (Tekirdağ). Le reste des sciences, poursuit Sâlim, il les acquiert grâce à Şehirlizâde İbrahim b. Fazlullah el-Sîvâsî (m. 1133/1720-1721). Il étudie le persan avec le Molla Muncî. Par ailleurs, bien que Sâlim n'en parle pas, on sait qu'il connaissait le grec et le latin (voir *infra*).

Al-Yānyawī est patronné par le *šayḫ al-islām* Ebû Saidzâde Feyzullah (Fayḍ Allāh) Efendi (1040-1110/1631-1698)[8] qui le fait accéder, en 1102/1690-1691, au statut de *mulāzim*, c'est-à-dire de candidat habilité à recevoir un poste de professeur (*mudarris*). Il empoche son diplôme après avoir réussi l'examen de candidature que Feyzullah Efendi lui a fait passer en Ǧumādā II 1110/décembre 1698-janvier 1699[9].

Al-Yānyawī entre dès lors officiellement dans le cercle des oulémas. Il grimpe dans la hiérarchie de l'*ilmiye* au fur et à mesure de ses différentes nominations comme professeur. En voici un aperçu selon la narration de Sâlim Efendi.

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[6] Mufti de Constantinople siégeant au sommet de l'*ilmiye*. Voir C. Imber et D. Kushner, « Şeyhülislam », dans *Dictionnaire de l'Empire ottoman*, p. 1070-1074.

[7] Né à Constantinople en 1076/1665-1666. *Šayḫ al-islām* du 27 Ša'bān 1144/24 février 1732 au 13 Ǧumādā I 1146/22 octobre 1733. Mort à Constantinople en 1154/1741. Voir S. Başar, *Eserleri, Fotoğrafları ve aileleriyle Osmanlı Şeyhülislamları* (*Les* šayḫ-*s* al-islām *ottomans avec leurs œuvres, photographies et familles*), Istanbul, 2017, p. 118-119 ; M. İpşirli, « Damadzâde Ahmed Efendi », dans *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. VIII, 1993, p. 449-450.

[8] Fils du *šayḫ al-islām* Ebû Said Mehmed Efendi et petit-fils du *šayḫ al-islām* Hoca Sâdeddin Efendi. Né le 12 Ǧumādā II 1040/16 janvier 1631, *šayḫ al-islām* du 18 Ramaḍān 1101/25 juin 1690 au 14 Ǧumādā II 1103/7 mars 1692, puis du 2 Ša'bān 1103/19 avril 1692 au 28 Šawwāl 1105/22 juin 1694. Mort à Constantinople le 15 Rabī' II 1110/21 novembre 1698. Voir S. Başar, *Eserleri, Fotoğrafları…*, p. 103 ; M. İpşirli, « Feyzullah Efendi, Ebûsaidzâde », dans *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. XII, 1995, p. 526. Voir aussi H. Küçük, *Science without Leisure*, p. 275-276, n. 4. Il est à ne pas confondre avec son contemporain, le *šayḫ al-islām seyyid* Mehmed Feyzullah Efendi (1048-1115/1638-1703), sur lequel s'est penché Michael Nizri dans *Ottoman High Politics and the* Ulema *Household*, New York, 2014.

[9] Si ces dates sont correctes, Feyzullah Efendi n'est plus de ce monde lorsque son protégé passe son examen.

Date de nomination	Madrasa	Grade[10]
Dès Ǧumādā II 1110/décembre 1698-janvier 1699	*Dârülhadis* (*dār al-ḥadīṯ*) de la madrasa (Çavuşbaşı ?) Süleymân Ağa	*İbtidâ-i hâric*
Ǧumādā II 1116/1er-30 octobre 1704	Defterdâr Yahyâ Efendi	*Hareket-i hâric*
Ša‘bān 1119/28 octobre-26 novembre 1707	Ebtem	*İbtidâ-i dâhil*
1122/1710-1711	Ferhâd Paşa, à Eyüp	*Hareket-i dâhil*
1125/1713-1714	Fatma Sultan	*Mûsıle-i Sahn*
1128/1715-1716	L’une des madrasas des Sahn-ı Semân	*Sahn-ı Semân*
1129/1716-1717	Mihramah Sultan, à Edirnekapı	*İbtidâ-i altmışlı*
1130/1717-1718	Murad Paşa-yı Âtika	*Hareket-i altmışlı*
Muḥarram 1133/2 novembre 1720-1er décembre 1721	Ebû Eyyûb el-Ensârî	*Mûsıle-i Süleymâniyye*

Le récit de Sâlim Efendi s’achève en 1133/1720-1721, au moment où Al-Yānyawī a été nommé professeur dans la madrasa d’Ebû Eyyûb el-Ensârî. Mehmed Süreyyâ puis Mehmed Bursalı nous apprennent qu’en 1138-1139/1725-1728 la carrière d’Al-Yānyawī dans l’*ilmiye* culmine avec sa nomination comme cadi de Galata[11]. Il est, de plus, l’un des quatre réviseurs (*muṣaḥḥiḥ*) employés pour l’imprimerie d’İbrahim Müteferrika[12] (1080-

[10] Dès le XVIIIe siècle, nous dit Mehmet İpşirli (« Medrese », p. 330), et jusqu’à la fin de l’Empire ottoman, les différents grades du système éducatif de l’*ilmiye* sont organisés selon la hiérarchie suivante : « *ibtidâ-i hâric, hareket-i hâric ; ibtidâ-i dâhil, hareket-i dâhil ; mûsıle-i Sahn, Sahn-ı Semân ; ibtidâ-i altmışlı, hareket-i altmışlı ; mûsıle-i Süleymâniyye, hâmise-i Süleymâniyye, Süleymaniye, dârülhadîs-i Süleymâniyye* ».

[11] M. T. Bursalı, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, vol. I, p. 234 ; M. Süreyyâ, *Sicill-i Osmânî*…, vol. I, p. 332. Mehmed Bursalı donne la date de 1138/1725-1726 et Mehmed Süreyyâ celle de 1139/1726-1727. La recherche a retenu la date de 1138/1726 ; voir par exemple M. Kaya, « Some Findings… », p. 387 ; K. Sarıkavak, « Yanyalı Esad Efendi… », p. 322.

[12] Sur İbrahim Müteferrika et la première imprimerie officielle ottomane qu’il créa, voir Y. Gencer, « İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of the Printed Manuscript », dans *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition : Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections*, éd. Ch. Gruber, Bloomington-Indianapolis, 2008, p. 154-193 ; W. Gdoura, *Les débuts de l’imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie : Évolution de l’environnement culturel (1706-1787)*, Tunis, 1985 ; F.

1160/1670-1747), après l'ouverture de celle-ci en 1139/1727[13]. Sa carrière semble avoir été brutalement stoppée par la révolte de Patrona Halil (1143/1730)[14]. Il meurt en 1143/1730-1731.

Sur les textes étudiés par As'ad al-Yānyawī, on dispose à l'heure actuelle d'assez peu de renseignements. En 1096/1685 il recopie la glose de 'Allāmak al-Busnawī (m. 1046/1636) au commentaire de 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ǧāmī (m. 898/1492) à la *Kāfiya* d'Ibn al-Ḥāǧib (m. 646/1249), un traité de syntaxe arabe très répandu et commenté[15]. En 1102/1690-1691, c'est-à-dire l'année où, d'après Sâlim, il devient *mulāzim*, il recopie la glose (*ḥāšiya*) de son maître Şehirlizâde au commentaire de 'Iṣām al-Dīn al-Isfarāyīnī (m. 934/1536-1537) à la *Risāla l-waḍ'iyya* de 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Īǧī (m. 756/1356)[16], autre texte très répandu et commenté. Plus tard, d'ailleurs, Al-Yānyawī composera une surglose (restée inachevée ?) à la glose de Mīr Abū l-Fatḥ al-'Arabšāhī (m. 976/1568-1569) au commentaire de Mullā Ḥanafī (m. 900/1494) à la *Risāla fī ādāb al-baḥṯ* du même 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Īǧī[17].

Un autre protecteur de notre auteur, dont Sâlim ne parle pas, est le *šayḫ al-islām* Mirza Mustafa Efendi (1040-1135/1630 ou 1631-1722)[18]. Assez tôt dans sa carrière de professeur, Al-Yānyawī reçoit de ce personnage la commande de deux textes de *kalām* (théologie rationnelle), qu'il rédige entre 1106/1695 et 1127/1715. Ce sont l'*Épître théologique* (*Al-Risāla l-lāhūtiyya*) et une glose originale sur une épître anonyme intitulée *Épître de l'établissement du Nécessaire* (*Risālat Iṯbāt al-Wāǧib*)[19], un thème traité abondamment dans la

Hitzel, « Imprimerie », dans *Dictionnaire de l'Empire ottoman*, p. 585-588, ici p. 586-587 ; O. Sabev, « İbrahim Müteferrika », *Encyclopaedia of Islam-3*.

[13] M. T. Bursalı, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*…, vol. I, p. 234 ; M. Süreyyâ, *Sicill-i Osmânî*…, vol. I, p. 332.

[14] F. Hitzel, « Patrona Halil, révole de (1730) », dans *Dictionnaire de l'Empire ottoman*, p. 919-920.

[15] Ms. İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ragıp Paşa 1308, f. 1v-282r.

[16] Ms. İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Carullah 1851, f. IIv-52r. Ce manuscrit a servi de témoin de base dans l'édition de la glose de Şehirlizâde dans N. Zamanov, *Şehirlizâde İbrâhîm b. Fazlullâh es-Sîvâsî'nin Hâşiyetü 'alâ Şerhi'r-Risâleti'l-Vaz'iyye Adlı ve Eserinin Değerlendirme ve Tahkiki* (*La glose de Şehirlizâde İbrâhîm b. Fazlullâh es-Sîvâsî au commentaire de la dénommée* Risāla l-waḍ'iyya *et évalutation et édition de l'œuvre*), mémoire de Master sous la direction d'İ. Güler, Bursa, 2019.

[17] K. Sarıkavak, *XVIII. Yüzyılda*, p. 33.

[18] Né à Batumi en 1040/1630-1631, *šayḫ al-islām* du 8 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 1126/15 décembre 1714 au 24 Ǧumādā II 1127/27 juin 1715. Mort à Emirgan le 3 Ṣafar 1135/13 novembre 1722. Sur lui, voir M. İpşirli, « Mirza Mustafa Efendi », dans *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. XXX, 2005, p. 167-168 ; S. Başar, *Eserleri, Fotoğrafları*…, p. 109-111.

[19] Sur ces deux textes, voir K. Sarıkavak, *XVIII. Yüzyılda*…, p. 33-34, 123-134 ; B. Topaloğlu, *İslâm Kelâmcılarına*…, p. 123-125. L'hypothèse de K. Sarıkavak est que l'*Épître de l'établissement du Nécessaire* est en fait de la plume d'Al-Yānyawī, qui la conçut à titre anonyme dans l'unique but de pouvoir invoquer une série de problèmes sur lesquels il pût se prononcer par son biais.

littérature islamique post-avicennienne, surtout à partir des deux épîtres éponymes de Ǧalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī (m. 908/1502).

Par ailleurs, comme Ion Matei l’a souligné dans un article paru en 1972 dans la *Revue des études sud-est européennes*[20], Al-Yānyawī enseigne le turc au fameux Dimitrie Cantemir (1673-1723)[21] à Constantinople. Il inculque par ailleurs les langues turque et persane à certains membres du milieu phanariote[22] de la ville : Nicolas (1637-1730) et Jean Mavrocordato (1684-1719)[23], fils du grand dragoman[24] Alexandre Mavrocordato (1636-1709), qui devient son patron après Feyzullah Efendi[25]. Il enseigne également les langues orientales à Chrysanthos Notaras (env. 1663-1731), patriarche de Jérusalem (1707-1731), qui lui assure son patronage après Alexandre Mavrocordato[26]. Enfin, il entretient des relations suffisamment amicales avec tous ces personnages pour se lancer avec eux dans « des discussions à caractère philosophique » – I. Matei nous en donne un bref exemple –, peut-être directement en grec, langue « qu’il manie avec une parfaite maîtrise » [27].

C’est en philosophie, justement, qu’As‘ad al-Yānyawī constitue un cas d’étude pour le moins original. Depuis longtemps déjà, l’aristotélisme a été supplanté dans l’Empire ottoman par les traditions avicennienne, post-avicennienne et illuministe. Or, il semblerait que, durant le règne d’Ahmed III (r. 1115-1143/1703-1730)[28] se soit développé un certain goût pour le Stagirite dans certains milieux que fréquente Al-Yānyawī, au sommet du pouvoir et parmi la communauté grecque proche du pouvoir[29]. C’est précisément durant cette période qu’Al-Yānyawī entame un vaste projet de retour aux sources aristotéliciennes, soutenu par le grand vizir Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa dans le

[20] I. Matei, « Le maître de langue turque… ». L’identification elle-même d’As‘ad al-Yānyawī fut publiée pour la première fois dans id., « Notes concernant l’enseignement des langues orientales dans les pays roumains », *Studia et Acta Orientalia (SAO)*, V-VI, 1967, p. 93-116, ici p. 95, n. 9.

[21] Cantemir présente son maître comme à la fois un « grand mathématicien (...) versé dans les principes de Démocrite », un excellent astronome et, sur le plan de la foi, un musulman fermement attaché au message coranique ; voir I. Matei, « Le maître de langue turque… », p. 281-282.

[22] Voir M. Cazacu, « Phanariote », dans *Dictionnaire de l’Empire ottoman*, p. 941-944.

[23] Nicolas fut voïvode de Moldavie en 1709-1710 et en 1711-1716, puis voïvode de Valachie en 1716 et en 1719-1730. Jean fut voïvode de Valachie en 1716-1719. Voir Alexandre A. C. Stourdza, *L’Europe orientale et le rôle historique des Maurocordato : 1660-1830*, Paris, 1913, p. 91.

[24] Voir G. Veinstein, « Dragoman », dans *Dictionnaire de l’Empire ottoman*, p. 373-377, ici p. 373-375.

[25] B. H. Küçük, *Early Enlightenment…*, p. 73.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 73 ; B. H. Küçük, « Natural Philosophy… », p. 134.

[27] I. Matei, « Le maître de langue turque… », p. 284. On verra plus loin qu’en dépit de cela, il aura recours à un savant hellénophone dans sa lecture d’Aristote dans le texte.

[28] Voir H. Karateke, « Aḥmad III », *Encyclopaedia of Islam-3* ; N. Vatin, « Ahmed III », dans *Dictionnaire de l’Empire ottoman*, p. 54-55.

[29] Sur cette question, voir D. Gutas, *Greek Thought…*, p. 175 ; B. H. Küçük, « Natural Philosophy… » ; id., *Early Enlightenment…*, p. 127-159 ; id., *Science without Leisure…*, p. 177-182.

cadre du programme de traduction lancé à Constantinople durant son mandat (1130-1143/1718-1730)[30].

2. Un projet de refondation des études philosophiques

Le projet d'Al-Yānyawī, en quoi consiste-t-il ? Son auteur l'expose en 1134/1722 avec une relative clarté dans le long prologue en prose rimée[31] de l'un des ouvrages fondamentaux du chantier fraîchement entamé : la *Traduction du Traité très lumineux sur la logique* (*Tarğamat al-Šarḥ al-anwar fī l-manṭiq*) de Ioannes Cottunius (en italien, Giovanni Cottunio) – nous y reviendrons. Dans son prologue, Al-Yānyawī dit qu'en enseignant à ses étudiants les sciences sapientielles (*al-'ulūm al-ḥikmiyya*), et après que ces derniers se furent formés dans les sciences obligatoires prescrites par la loi (*al-'ulūm al-wāğiba l-šar'iyya*)[32], il fut amené à constater que les livres qu'il utilisait dans ces disciplines ne permettaient nullement d'atteindre à la certitude (*yaqīn*) et qu'ils ne reposaient sur rien de plus solide que de la simple supposition et de l'approximation (*bi-muğarrad al-ẓann wa-l-taḫmīn*). Deux raisons expliquent, selon lui, cette situation. Premièrement, en consultant certaines histoires des savants (*tawārīḫ al-ḥukamā'*) et certains ouvrages de sciences rationnelles (*kutub 'aqliyya*), il vit que la majeure partie des traductions réalisées à l'époque abbasside étaient, dit-il, confuses (*mušawwaša*) et nullement basées sur les ouvrages originaux en grec.

Deuxièmement, les grands savants de l'Islam (*'ulamā'unā l-kibār*), juge-t-il, commencent par rechercher la certitude dans des questions d'ordres physique ou métaphysique et, s'ils se lancent ensuite dans l'établissement de ces questions, ils ne produisent guère mieux que des syllogismes dialectiques, rhétoriques ou sophistiques. Notre auteur se résolut alors à recourir aux œuvres originales (*kutub al-uṣūl*) plutôt qu'à leurs traductions arabes. Or, explique-t-il, puisque la majeure partie des sciences logique, physique et métaphysiques avaient été développées dans les écrits d'Aristote, il les rechercha et les trouva.

Afin de comprendre les textes d'Aristote, il eut recours à l'aide de « l'un des Grecs serviteurs de l'Empire » (*ba'ḍ al-Yūnāniyyīn min 'abadat al-Dawla*

[30] M. M. Aktepe, « Ibrāhīm Pasha, Nevshehirli », *Encyclopaedia of Islam-2* ; T. Artan, « İbrahim Paşa (Nevşehirli Damad) », dans *Dictionnaire de l'Empire ottoman*, p. 582-583 ; id., « Tulipes, époque des », dans *Dictionnaire de l'Empire ottoman*, p. 1171-1172 ; M. İpşirli, « Lale Devrinde Teşkil Edilen Tercüme Heyetine Dair Bazı Gözlemeler » (« Quelques observations sur le comité de traduction établi à l'Époque des tulipes »), dans *Osmanlı İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleri : 1. Millî Türk Bilim Tarihi Sempozyumu, 3-5 Nisan 1987*, éd. E. İhsanoğlu, Istanbul, 1987, p. 33-42.

[31] Ce prologue ne se trouve que dans deux copies du texte, les mss İstanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi 2655, f. 2r, l. 6-5r, l. 23, et Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2568, f. 2r, l. 8-6v, l. 4.

[32] Ms. Ayasofya 2568, f. 2v, l. 6-7.

l-‘ulyā), qui connaissait la philosophie par le biais de la vérification (*taḥqīq*) et de la certitude (*yaqīn*), et non par simples supposition et approximation (*muğarrad al-ẓann wa-l-taḫmīn*). Al-Yānyawī projeta alors de traduire la *Physique* et la *Métaphysique* d’Aristote. Toutefois, il se résolut à commencer son projet en traduisant la *Logique* – y compris l’*Isagoge* de Porphyre – puisque, dit-il, cette discipline est nécessaire pour comprendre les questions qui sont abordées dans la *Physique* et la *Métaphysique*. Après avoir traduit l’*Isagoge*, les *Catégories*, et presque tout le *De l’interprétation*, poursuit-il, il désira composer un ouvrage qui commenterait certains passages difficiles de ces textes tout en laissant de côté les parties aisées à comprendre, et qui résumerait (*iḫtaṣara*) les passages exposés en détail par Aristote. Pour ce faire, il traduisit le *Commentaire très lumineux* (*Al-Šarḥ al-anwar*) de Ioannes Cottunius.

Al-Yānyawī acheva sa *Traduction du Commentaire très lumineux* alors qu’il était professeur à la madrasa d’Ebû Eyyûb el-Ensârî, le 21 Ğumādā II 1134/8 avril 1722. Dans son prologue, il dit avoir offert ensuite une copie de son texte à la bibliothèque d’Ahmed III[33], une autre au grand vizir İbrahim Paşa[34] et une troisième au *šayḫ al-islām* Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi (m. 1156/1743)[35] – notamment connu pour s’être prononcé positivement sur le recours à l’imprimerie.

Tel est exposé, en résumé, le projet d’Al-Yānyawī dans ce prologue qui, à ce titre, peut être considéré comme un petit manifeste. Maintes questions y sont soulevées sans qu’elles n’aient nécessairement reçu de réponses définitives encore. Parmi elles, sur quelle base Al-Yānyawī fait-il sa critique de la philosophie en terre d’Islam ? Sur quelle base s’appuya-t-il pour réaliser son projet ? Qu’en est-il de sa traduction d’Aristote ? Sur ces questions, nous pouvons déjà apporter quelques éléments de réponses.

Ainsi qu’il est formulé dans le prologue, le projet d’Al-Yānyawī repose sur une critique sévère des traductions médiévales arabes des ouvrages en langue grecque. Or, comme l’a fait remarquer B. H. Küçük, il est peu probable qu’Al-Yānyawī eût sous la main la plupart desdites traductions[36]. Ainsi, parmi les « histoires des savants » et les « ouvrages de sciences rationnelles » auxquels Al-Yānyawī se réfère pour porter sa critique, peut-être faut-il voir l’influence d’un courant d’idées formulé dans le *Kašf al-ẓunūn* de Ḥāğğī Ḫalīfa (1017-1067/1609-1657) qui se base lui-même sur une critique faite par le savant ottoman Molla Lutfi, ou Luṭf Allāh b. Ḥasan al-Tūqātī (850 env.-900/1446 env.-

[33] Ms. Ayasofya 2568, f. 3v, l. 15-16, 5r, l. 10-11.
[34] *Ibid*., f. 5v, l. 12-15.
[35] *Ibid*., f. 6r, l. 18-19. Né à Larissa (en turc, Yenişehir) à une date inconnue, *šayḫ al-islām* du 6 Ğumādā II 1130/7 mai 1718 au 17 Rabī‘ I 1143/30 septembre 1730. Mort à Kanlıca en 1156/1743. Voir S. Başar, *Eserleri, Fotoğrafları…*, p. 114 ; M. İpşirli, « Abdullah Efendi, Yenişehirli », dans *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. I, 1995, p. 100-101.
[36] B. H. Küçük, « Natural Philosophy… », p. 129, n. 16.

1495)[37]. Cela étant, on ne peut exclure que notre auteur eût accès à une copie arabe médiévale de la *Logique*, telle que celle de la bibliothèque du sultan Ahmed III, dont il semble précisément avoir été le responsable à un moment donné de sa carrière[38].

Un autre point fondamental du prologue concerne la critique contre ceux que notre auteur appelle « nos grand savants » (oulémas), sans que plus de précisions ne soient apportées. On peut avancer qu'elle ne concerne pas seulement les savants de l'Empire ottoman, puisqu'Al-Yānyawī, plus tard, dans son *Troisième enseignement* (*Al-Ta'līm al-ṯāliṯ*)[39] – une traduction arabe adaptée du commentaire de Cottunius à la *Physique* d'Aristote –, trouvera l'occasion d'accuser Al-Fārābī (m. env. 339/950), Avicenne (m. 428/1037) « et ceux qui les suivirent » d'avoir déformé la pensée d'Aristote[40].

Parmi les « grands savants », seul Averroès, le fameux philosophe de Cordoue (m. 595/1198, en arabe Ibn Rušd), trouve grâce aux yeux d'Al-Yānyawī, qui le qualifie de « Second maître » après Aristote[41], alors que ce titre est habituellement réservé à Al-Fārābī dans la tradition islamique. C'est par

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[37] Voir Katib Jelebi (Mustafa ben Abdallah), *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopædicum*, éd. G. Fluegel, vol. III, Londres, 1842, p. 98-99 ; Kātib Čelebi, *Keşf el-Zunun*, éds. M. Ş. Yaltkaya et R. B. Kilisli, vol. I, Istanbul, 1941, p. 683. Sur Luṭf Allāh al-Tūqātī, voir Ş. Özen et O. Ş. Gökhay, « Molla Lutfî », dans *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. XXX, 2005, p. 255-258.

[38] L'information se trouve par exemple dans İ. Fazlıoğlu, « As'ad Afandī », p. 604-605, et dans Küçük, *Early Enlightenment*…, p. 73, qui fait remonter cette nomination à 1719, c'est-à-dire environ trois ans avant qu'Al-Yānyawī n'achevât sa *Traduction*. Le codex en question est le ms. İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi A. 3362. Sur cette copie, voir par exemple H. Hugonnard-Roche, « La traduction arabe des *Premiers analytiques* d'Aristote », dans *Perspectives arabes et médiévales sur la tradition scientifique et philosophique grecque*, éds. A. Hasnawi, A. Elamrani-Jamal et M. Aouad, Louvain – Paris, 1997, p. 395-407. Ayant parcouru la copie, rien ne prouve toutefois qu'elle fut utilisée par Al-Yānyawī.

[39] Cet ouvrage fut commandité par le sultan Ahmed III et son grand vizir İbrahim Paşa après l'achèvement de la *Traduction du Commentaire très lumineux.* Sa date d'achèvement est inconnue. On ignore même si ce texte fut jamais achevé puisque, dans chaque copie existante, il s'arrête brusquement au beau milieu d'une phrase de l'un des derniers chapitres du livre. Cf. I. Cottunius, *Commentarii lucidissimi in octo libros Aristotelis De physico auditu : una cum quaestionibus*, Venise, 1648, p. 714, l. 22.

[40] Voir C. Genequand et T. Morel, « Al-Yānyawī's Account… », p. 357.

[41] M. Türker-Küyel, *Fârâbî'nin* "Şerâ'it ül-Yaḳîni", Ankara, 1990, p. 2, n. 2. Le passage étonnant en question se trouve au début du *Troisième enseignement* d'Al-Yānyawī. Il est le suivant : *Wa-qāla Abū l-Walīd Ibn Rušd al-Qurṭubī allaḏī huwa l-Mu'allim al-ṯānī ḥaqīqat*^{an} *li-l-'ulūm al-ḥikmiyya lā Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī* (« Abū l-Walīd Ibn Rušd le Cordouan – qui est en vérité le Second maître des sciences sapientielles, et non Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī – a dit » etc.) (ms. İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi 1936, f. 6v(bis), l. 2-3). Nous remarquons, par ailleurs, que ce passage est non seulement une innovation d'Al-Yānyawī par rapport au texte latin de Cottunius, mais qu'il ne se trouve en outre que dans certaines copies du texte. Dans les autres copies, le passage est fidèle à ce qui se trouve dans le commentaire latin, où Averroès est loué, mais il n'est question ni d'al-Fārābī, ni bien sûr de « Second maître » ; voir, par exemple, ms. İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ragıp Paşa 824, f. 6v, l. 17-18.

ailleurs en se référant à Averroès qu’Al-Yānyawī déplore que « certains d’entre nos savants » (*ba‘ḍ al-‘ulamā’ minnā*) ont dénaturé les sciences sapientielles (*‘ulūm ḥikmiyya*), en les basant seulement sur la supposition (*ẓann*) et l’estimation (*wahm*)[42], alors qu’elles étaient au commencement démonstratives (*burhāniyya*). En outre, Al-Yānyawī commenta le *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (*Réfutation de la Réfutation*) d’Averroès dans un manuscrit copié probablement pour son usage personnel[43]. Enfin, le projet même d’Al-Yānyawī n’est pas sans rappeler celui du philosophe de Cordoue, l’un des plus importants commentateurs d’Aristote[44].

Concernant le *modus operandi* par lequel notre auteur entendait mener son projet, on constate qu’assez tôt dans sa traduction de la *Logique* – après avoir achevé l’*Isagoge*, les *Catégories*, et presque tout le *De l’interprétation* – il ressentit le besoin de commenter ou d’abréger le texte qu’il avait traduit. Pour ce faire, il se lança dans une traduction arabe – avec des remaniements – d’un ouvrage de Ioannes Cottunius (1577-1658)[45], publié à Padoue en 1651 sous le titre d’*Expositio lucidissima universae logices*[46], un commentaire et un abrégé latin à la *Logique* d’Aristote et à l’*Isagoge* de Porphyre. Il intitula son texte la *Traduction du Commentaire très lumineux sur la logique* (*Tarğamat al-Šarḥ al-anwar fī l-manṭiq*), le superlatif *très lumineux* (*anwar*) reprenant celui de *lucidissima* (très clair) dans le titre de l’ouvrage en latin. Natif de Véria (Karaferye, en turc), ancien élève du Collège Saint Athanase de Rome, converti au catholicisme, fondateur du second collège grec de Padoue – le Collegio Cottunio – et professeur à l’Académie de cette ville, Cottunius était l’un des tenants du péripatétisme averroïste caractérisant l’école de Padoue. C’est peut-

[42] Voir, par exemple, ms. Ayasofya 2568, f. 2v, l. 15-18.

[43] Averroès, *Tahafot al-Tahafot*, éd. M. Bouyges, Beyrouth, Librairie Catholique, 1930, p. XVI-XVII. Ms. İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Laleli 2490, f. 1v-136v, qui contient aussi, aux ff. 139v-187v, une copie du *Kašf ‘an manāhiğ al-adilla* (*Dévoilement des méthodes de démonstration*) d’Averroès, d’une autre main. Nous disons « probablement » car la copie est privée de dédicace et de colophon signé. On constate cela dit une ressemblance frappante entre l’écriture *nasta‘līq* de cette copie et celle de deux autres copies effectuées pour Al-Yānyawī par l’un de ses élèves, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Uskūbī, dans les mss İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hamidiye 812 et Ragıp Paşa 909.

[44] Voir, par exemple, G. Endress, « Le Projet d’Averroès : Constitution, réception et édition du corpus des œuvres d’Ibn Rušd », dans *Averroès and the Aristotelian Tradition : Sources, Constitution and Reception of the Philosophy of Ibn Rushd (1126-1198): Proceedings of the Fourth Symposium Averroicum (Cologne, 1996)*, éds. G. Endress et J. A. Aertsen, avec l’assistance de K. Brawn, Leyde – Boston – Cologne, 1999, p. 3-31.

[45] Sur lui, voir T. Bovo, *Giovanni Cottunio e gli intellettuali greci a Padova nel XVII secolo: Dalla matrice accademia alla prospettiva panellenica*, thèse de doctorat sous la direction de Caterina Carpinato et d’Alessandra Giorgi, Venise, Università Ca’Foscari, 2015, p. 131-190 ; B. H. Küçük, *Early Enlightenment*, p. 128-132.

[46] I. Cottunius, *Expositio lucidissima universae logices*, Padoue, Franciscus Bolzetta, 1651. Publié une nouvelle fois, à titre posthume, dans I. Cottunius Veriensis, *Compendiosa logica in usum scholarium*, Padoue, Matthæus Bolzetta de Cadorinis, 1669.

être ce qui poussa Al-Yānyawī à choisir son texte comme base de traduction, étant donnée la haute opinion que notre auteur avait du philosophe de Cordoue. Le fait que son patron, Alexandre Mavrocordato, fut l'élève de Cottunius lorsqu'il étudiait en Italie y est probablement pour quelque chose aussi[47].

Dans le monde ottoman, « Les limites entre traduction, adaptation et imitation (*nazire*) sont restées longtemps floues. Même les premières traductions d'œuvres littéraires occidentales ont privilégié l'adaptation plutôt que la traduction littérale.[48] » Effectivement, et bien qu'une étude systématique sur l'apport exact d'Al-Yānyawī fasse défaut, nous pouvons dire avec certitude que ce dernier ne se limite pas à traduire seulement du latin vers l'arabe : il réarrange par endroits le contenu et modifie la structure principale du texte, ainsi qu'on a déjà eu plusieurs fois l'occasion de le souligner[49]. Dans son prologue, Al-Yānyawī reste plutôt vague sur la place fondamentale qu'occupe l'ouvrage de Cottunius au sein de son œuvre[50]. En fait, l'intitulé de cette dernière (*Traduction du Commentaire très lumineux sur la logique*) ne se trouve ni dans le prologue, ni ailleurs dans le texte des manuscrits contenant le prologue. Il ne figure en réalité que dans l'incipit de copies appartenant à une version postérieure et dénuée de prologue et de dédicace (voir *infra*).

Malgré les aménagements entrepris par Al-Yānyawī, celui-ci choisit de conserver, en les traduisant, de nombreux passages où sont cités ou mentionnés des érudits, des philosophes ou des théologiens d'époques et d'horizons variés, tels qu'Héraclite d'Éphèse/Hirāqlitūs (*fl.* env. 500), Augustin/Awġustinus (354 env.-430), Albert le Grand/Albartūs al-Kabīr (1200 env.-1280), Thomas d'Aquin/Tūmā Aqwināṭis (1224-1274), Jean Duns Scot/Sqūṭūs (1266 env.-1308), Guillaume d'Ockham/Ūḫāmūs (1288 env.-1347), mais aussi Marsile Ficin/Mārsilyūs (1433-1499), Jules César Scaliger/Sqāliġar (1484-1558), Domingo de Soto/Dūminiqūs (1494-1560), Giacomo Zabarella/Zābārillūs (1533-1589), Tolet/Tūlitūs (1534-1596), Gilbert Génébrard/Ǧilbartūs (1535-1597), Gabriel Vázquez/Ǧibrā'īl (1549-1604) et Cesare Baronio/Bārūnyūs (1538-1607), pour n'en nommer que quelques-uns[51].

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[47] B. H. Küçük, *Early Enlightenment*…, p. 149.

[48] J. Strauss, « Traduction littéraire », dans *Dictionnaire de l'Empire ottoman*, p. 1161-1162, ici p. 1162. Voir aussi M. Shefer-Mossensohn, *Science among the Ottomans : The Cultural Creation & Exchange of Knowledge*, Austin, 2015, p. 106-112.

[49] C. Genequand et T. Morel, « Al-Yānyawī's Account… ». Voir aussi, sur la même question, nos commentaires dans la description du manuscrit Ayasofya 2568 sur la base en ligne ABJAD et El-Rouayheb, *The Development*, p. 218-221. Kh. El-Rouayheb a notamment remarqué l'exemple intéressant d'un cas où Al-Yānyawī entre en désaccord avec Cottunius à propos du rejet par ce dernier de la quatrième figure du syllogisme ; voir *ibid.*, p. 221.

[50] Voir C. Genequand et T. Morel, « Al-Yānyawī's Account… », p. 356-357.

[51] Voir l'index complet que nous avons établi dans nos descriptions sur ABJAD des mss Ayasofya 2568 et İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, H. 645.

Dans son travail de traduction Al-Yānyawī ne travaillait pas seul. Il fait référence, dans son prologue, à un sujet grec de l’Empire auquel il eut recours pour lire et comprendre Aristote dans le texte et dont il parle en termes élogieux, bien qu’il taise son identité, qui demeure à déterminer. Kh. El-Rouayheb suppose qu’il s’agit de l’un de ses concitoyens de Jannina, pour la raison que cette ville était aux XVII[e]-XVIII[e] siècles un centre de la vie culturelle et intellectuelle des Grecs ottomans[52]. M. Kaya a justement montré, grâce à un document d’archive, que notre auteur employa, pour traduire Aristote et Cottunius, les services d’un sujet de l’Empire (*ḏimmī*) du nom de « Karabet, fils de Spatroti »[53]. Nous pensons qu’il est probable qu’il s’agisse tout simplement de la même personne. Nous pourrions en outre supposer que ce savant faisait partie de l’Académie patriarcale de Constantinople, où Al-Yānyawī avait ses entrées.

Malgré cela, toute traduction d’Aristote par Al-Yānyawī (*Logique*, *Physique* et *Métaphysique*) à partir du grec est, pour le moment du moins, introuvable. Des fragments d’un début de traduction de la *Logique* nous sont effectivement connus à partir de deux manuscrits[54]. Étonnamment, d’après l’un d’eux, il semble que ces fragments furent traduits sur la base d’une version en latin[55].

3. Le manuscrit Manisa 5842[56]

La Bibliothèque de manuscrits de Manisa (Manisa Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi) abrite une copie de la *Traduction du Commentaire très lumineux sur la logique* (n° 5842). Ce manuscrit contient d’ailleurs bien d’autres textes philosophiques, dont des textes d’Averroès rarissimes en Turquie. Il constitue un cas d’étude intéressant pour apprécier la diffusion des textes d’Al-Yānyawī et, de manière plus générale, la constitution d’un recueil philosophique témoin de relations civilisationnelles complexes et mêlant les mondes arabe, grec, ottoman,

[52] K. El-Rouayheb, *The Development…*, p. 217.

[53] Voir M. Kaya, « Some Findings… », p. 386-387, 390 ; K. Sarıkavak, *XVIII. Yüzyılda*…, p. 27-29. Le document, émis par le Ministère ottoman des finances et daté de 1136/1724, fait d’abord état de la collaboration de Karabet à la traduction des livres d’Aristote et d’un commentaire de Cottunius. Puis, sur cette base, il confirme un droit à une exemption totale d’impôts pour lui, ses fils et ses deux serviteurs, exemption dont découlent également une série d’autres privilèges, comme le droit à ce que nul n’interfère dans leur habillement, l’ameublement de leurs domiciles, leur alimentation ou les boissons qu’ils consomment.

[54] Voir S. Di Vincenzo, « Reading Avicenna’s *Kitāb al-Šifā’*… », p. 334-341 ; C. Genequand et T. Morel, « Al-Yānyawī’s Account… », p. 353.

[55] Nous consacrerons un futur article à cette question.

[56] Ce manuscrit a fait l’objet d’une étude précédente publiée avec Jawdath Jabbour dans « Les manuscrits de philosophie arabe au croisement des civilisations », *The Conversation*, 29 septembre 2019, en ligne : https://theconversation.com/les-manuscrits-de-philosophie-arabe-au-croisement-des-civilisations-123623 (consulté le 24.06.2020).

persan et latin. Concrètement, il s'agit d'un recueil composite formé de deux pièces ou unités de production, c'est-à-dire de deux manuscrits à l'origine distincts. Il rassemble en tout treize textes philosophiques en arabe. Certains d'entre eux ont déjà été signalés par la recherche moderne. Mais l'étude approfondie de ce manuscrit en tant qu'ensemble a permis de mettre à jour d'autres textes fort importants qu'il inclut, ainsi que de mieux apprécier sa place dans l'histoire de la pensée orientale moderne.

La première pièce (ff. 1-180), non datée, remonte au XVIII[e] siècle et est de provenance ottomane. Elle contient une copie de la *Traduction du Commentaire très lumineux sur la logique* d'Al-Yānyawī[57] (ff. 1v-180v). La copie est amputée de son dernier folio et ne possède hélas donc pas de colophon. Elle s'achève sept lignes après le début du dernier chapitre, intitulé *Résumé de la huitième section jusqu'à la conclusion de ce livre* (*Iǧmāl al-faṣl al-ṯāmin ilā ḫātimat hāḏā l-kitāb* ; cf. ms. Ayasofya 2568, f. 185v, l. 19).

Elle appartient à une version différente de celle dotée d'un prologue dont il a été question plus haut[58]. Sans que des éléments tangibles nous permettent encore de la dater exactement, elle lui est très probablement postérieure. Dans un prochain article, nous tenterons d'expliquer pourquoi nous considérons cette version comme une mouture retravaillée. Pour l'heure, contentons-nous de remarquer les points suivants : premièrement, cette version est privée du long prologue et de la dédicace d'Al-Yānyawī. Deuxièmement, l'intitulé *Traduction du Commentaire très lumineux sur la logique* provient (de l'incipit) de cette version, non de celle dotée du long prologue, comme nous l'avons dit. Troisièmement, elle contient parfois des variantes significatives, dont nous avons donné quelques exemples avec Ch. Genequand[59]. Quatrièmement, elle présente quelques séquences tirées du *Kitāb al-Šifā*' (*Livre de la Guérison*) d'Avicenne, absentes à la fois dans le texte de Cottunius et dans la version avec prologue[60].

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[57] Cette copie a été signalée pour la première fois dans *Une liste des manuscrits choisis parmi les Bibliothèques de Manisa, Akhisar : Publiée à l'occasion du XXII. Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Istanbul, 1951, p. 26, n° 297. Elle a plus tard été cataloguée dans R. Şeşen, *Mukhtārāt min al-makhṭūṭāt*, p. 295, qui a confondu le texte avec celui du *Troisième enseignement* d'al-Yānyawī, confusion qui peut s'expliquer par le fait que, dans la table des matières en turc ottoman figurant au verso de la seconde garde supérieure, le texte se fait appeler le *Livre du Commentaire à la Physique d'Aristote, traduction d'As'ad Efendi al-Yānyawī* (*Kitâb-ı Şerh-i Semâ-i tabii li-Aristatalis, tercüme-i Esad Efendi el-Yânyavî*).

[58] Selon l'état actuel de nos recherches, cette version alternative existe également dans les témoins İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi 1936, 1[re] garde supérieure verso – f. 115r ; Esad Efendi 1939-M, f. 1v-96v ; H. Hüsnü Paşa 1238, f. 245v-350v ; Hamidiye 803, f. 1v-157v ; Ragıp Paşa 881, f. 1v-176r ; Topkapı, H. 645, f. 1v-83r.

[59] Voir C. Genequand et T. Morel, « Al-Yānyawī's Account… », p. 358 *sqq*.

[60] Voir à ce sujet notre description du ms. Topkapı, H. 645 dans la base ABJAD (validée le 24.06.2018).

La seconde pièce du manuscrit (ff. 181r-368r) est, quant à elle, d’origine persane. Un colophon au f. 333r et un autre au f. 349r nous apprennent que sa copie fut achevée à Ispahan en 1099/1687-1688 par un copiste nommé Muḥammad Walī b. Marḥamat Šāh al-Barda‘ī. Elle présente douze textes en arabe en lien avec la philosophie grecque. En voici la liste.

- Ff. 181v-333r : Les *Commentaires moyens* (*talḫīṣ*) d’Averroès aux quatre premiers livres de la *Logique* d’Aristote : les *Catégories* (ff. 181v-200r), le *De l’interprétation* (ff. 200r-218r), les *Premiers* (ff. 218r-293r) et les *Seconds analytiques* (ff. 293r-333r). Ils ne sont nulle part identifiés comme tels dans le manuscrit et il s’agit, qui plus est, des seules copies connues de ces textes en Turquie[61]. Ces textes attestent d’une certaine diffusion de la pensée du philosophe de Cordoue en Orient.
- Ff. 334v-349r : Les *Lectures choisies tirées du divin Platon* (*Multaqaṭāt Aflāṭūn al-ilāhī*)[62]. Il s’agit d’un recueil pseudo-platonicien de sentences couvrant divers sujets comme l’épistémologie, la physique, la cosmologie, la théorie de l’âme et de l’intellect, la métaphysique, l’éthique, etc.
- F. 349r : Trois citations supplémentaires attribuées à Platon et à Pythagore.
- Ff. 349v-350v : Le *Traité sur l’intellect selon l’opinion d’Aristote* (*Maqāla fī l-‘aql ‘alā ra’y Arisṭū*) du célèbre exégète grec d’Aristote, Alexandre d’Aphrodise (fin du II^{e} siècle-début du III^{e} siècle), dans sa traduction arabe par Isḥāq b. Ḥunayn (m. 298/910)[63].
- Ff. 350v-353v : Le *Traité d’Alexandre d’Aphrodise sur le discours concernant les Principes du Tout selon l’opinion d’Aristote le philosophe* (*Maqāla fī l-qawl fī mabādi’ al-kull bi-ḥasb ra’y Arisṭūṭālīs*

[61] Ces quatre textes ont été identifiés pour la première fois dans le cadre du PhASIF par Maroun Aouad qui nous a signalé leur existence le 20 janvier 2015. Il existe plusieurs éditions, passées en revue dans G. Endress, « Averrois Opera : A Bibliography of Editions and Contributions to the Text », dans *Averroès and the Aristotelian Tradition*, p. 344-350.

[62] Ce texte a été identifié dans *Une liste de manuscrits choisis*, p. 15, n° 166. Sur ce texte, on se réfèrera à R. Arnzen, « On the Contents, Sources and Composition of Two Arabic Pseudo-Platonica : *Multaqaṭāt Aflāṭūn al-ilāhī* and *Fiqar ultuqiṭat wa-jumi‘at ‘an Aflāṭūn* », *Oriens*, XXXVII, 2009, p. 7-52 (copie signalée p. 44). Ce texte a été édité dans ‘Ar. Badawī, *Aflāṭūn fī l-Islām – Platon en pays d’Islam*, Téhéran, 1353/1974, p. 246-292 (copie non signalée).

[63] Ce texte a été identifié dans *Une liste de manuscrits choisis*, p. 11, n° 130. La copie a été signalée dans J. van Ess, « Über einige neue Fragmente des Alexander von Aphrodisias und des Proklos in arabischer Übersetzung », *Der Islam*, XLII, n° 2-3, 1966, p. 148-168, ici p. 152 ; R. Şeşen, *Mukhtārāt min al-makhṭūṭāt…*, p. 295. Le texte a été édité dans J. Finnegan, « Texte arabe du Περὶ νοῦ d’Alexandre d’Aphrodise », *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph*, XXXIII, 1956, p. 180-199 (copie non signalée) ; ‘Ar. Badawī, *Šurūḥ ‘alā Arisṭū mafqūda fī l-yūnāniyya wa-rasā’il ’uḫrā – Commentaires sur Aristote perdus en grec et autres épîtres*, Beyrouth, 1971, p. 31-42 (copie non signalée).

al-faylasūf), dans sa version arabe abrégée par Sa'īd b. Ya'qūb Abū 'Uṯmān al-Dimašqī (version B, selon la recension de Ch. Genequand)[64].

- Ff. 353v-355r : Les *Maximes d'Aristote, écrites par lui sur un feuillet et enseignées par Alexandre* (*Ādāb Arisṭāṭālīs katabahā fī ṣaḥīfa wa-kāna yu'allimuhā l-Iskandar*). Ce texte est divisé en deux petits fragments de noétique et d'éthique sur l'intellect et les passions. Il a été transmis dans l'anthologie de Miskawayh (320-421/932-1030) intitulée la *Sagesse éternelle* (*Ǧāwīdān ḫirad*, ou *al-Ḥikma l-ḫālida*)[65], mais il a aussi vraisemblablement connu une circulation indépendante, attestée dans au moins un autre manuscrit[66].

  Les deux fragments dont le texte est composé ne semblent pas être attestés dans les sources arabes. La *Sagesse éternelle* ayant été à l'origine écrite en persan, ils proviennent peut-être du mouvement de traduction gréco-persan d'où sont issues plusieurs versions arabes de textes anciens.

  Une question importante concerne l'identité de l'Alexandre dans l'intitulé, tel qu'on le trouve dans au moins deux copies différentes du texte. Dans l'édition de la *Sagesse éternelle* par 'Ar. Badawī[67], le premier fragment est présenté comme ayant été enseigné soit *à* Alexandre le Grand, soit *par* Alexandre le Grand, ainsi qu'on le lit dans son intitulé : *Maximes orales par Aristote le Sage, écrites par lui sur un feuillet et enseignées par le roi Alexandre*[68] (*Ādāb maḥkiyya 'an al-ḥakīm Arisṭūṭālīs katabahā fī ṣaḥīfa wa-kāna yu'allimuhā l-malik al-Iskandar*). Mais nos recherches nous ont menés, M. Aouad, J. Jabbour et nous-même, à considérer ce texte sous un jour nouveau. Premièrement, dans le manuscrit de Manisa, comme dans le ms. Malik 1460, l'intitulé ne présente pas l'Alexandre en question comme étant « le roi Alexandre ». Deuxièmement, dans le codex de Manisa, le texte des *Maximes d'Aristote* est joint à la copie de deux autres textes d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise, dont le *Traité sur l'intellect*. Troisièmement,

[64] Cette information figurant dans le catalogue, difficile d'accès, R. Şeşen, *Mukhtārāt min al-makhṭūṭāt*…, p. 295, a été confirmée après étude du manuscrit dans le cadre du PhASIF par M. Aouad et J. Jabbour ; voir Alexandre d'Aphrodise, *Les Principes du Tout selon la doctrine d'Aristote*, introd., trad. et comment. Ch. Genequand, Paris, 2017, p. 48, n. 5. Sur les versions A et B de ce texte, voir *ibid.*, p. 14-17. La version B a par ailleurs été éditée dans id., *Alexander of Aphrodisias on the Cosmos*, Leyde – Boston – Cologne, 2001, p. 128-135.

[65] L'identification de ce fragment est de nous et a été réalisée dans le cadre du PhASIF. La *Sagesse éternelle* a été éditée dans a. 'A. A. b. M. Miskawayh, *Al-Ḥikma l-ḫālida : Ǧāwīdān ḫirad*, éd. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, Le Caire, 1952 ; réimpr. Téhéran, 1377 Š. Les deux fragments se trouvent aux p. 266-270.

[66] Ms. Tihrān, Kitābḫāna-i millī-yi Malik 1460, p. 115-117.

[67] a. 'A. A. b. M. Miskawayh, *Al-Ḥikma l-ḫālida*, éd. Badawī, p. 266.

[68] Ou *à Alexandre* (*li-l-Iskandar*), dans la variante non retenue par 'Ar. Badawī.

le premier fragment présente une division de l’intellect qui témoigne de l’influence de la doctrine noétique d’Alexandre d’Aphrodise. En vertu de cela, l’Alexandre auquel le texte est attribué ici serait donc plus probablement Alexandre d’Aphrodise.

Les deux textes qui suivent sont également liés à l’étude de l’âme et de l’intellect dans les sources grecques.

- Ff. 355r-357r : La traduction arabe d’un écrit sur l’âme par Grégoire le Thaumaturge (III^e^ siècle), attribué par les Arabes à Aristote, ici intitulé *Muḫtaṣar Kitāb al-Nafs ‘an al-faylasūf Arisṭāṭālīs al-ḥakīm* (*Abrégé du Livre de l’Âme d’après le philosophe Aristote le sage*)[69].
- Ff. 357r-360v : La recension incomplète du *De l’intellect* (*Fī l-‘aql*) d’al-Fārābī[70].
- Ff. 361r-368r : Les *Annotations* (*al-Ta‘līqāt*), un traité de métaphysique fréquemment attribué à al-Fārābī[71].

4. Un témoin des transferts intellectuels irano-turcs

Le manuscrit de Manisa est, comme on l’a vu, un assemblage d’une pièce d’origine ottomane et d’un recueil persan. Il représente par conséquent un témoin des transferts intellectuels entre ces deux Empires. Comment reconstituer son parcours et expliquer sa place aujourd’hui en Turquie ?

Au cours de leur histoire, les Empires ottoman et safavide ont eu des relations hautement conflictuelles, y compris à l’époque d’Al-Yānyawī. Cela étant, l’importance des transferts de savoir et du déplacement de manuscrits de la Perse vers l’Empire ottoman est un phénomène qui se révèle de plus en plus à la recherche moderne[72]. La présence en Turquie de la deuxième pièce de ce

[69] Cette copie a été identifiée par J. Jabbour dans le cadre du PhASIF. Le texte a été édité et traduit en allemand dans H. Gätje, *Studien zur Überlieferung der aristotelischen Psychologie im Islam*, Heidelberg, 1971, p. 100-113 (copie non signalée).

[70] Cette copie a été identifiée dans Mü. Cunbur, İ. Binark et N. Sefercioğlu, *Fârâbî Bibliyografyası*, Ankara, 1973, p. 55, n° 196. J. Jabbour a déterminé la nature exacte de ce texte. Ce texte a été édité dans Alfarabi, *Risalat Fi’l-‘Aql*, éd. M. Bouyges, 2^e^ éd., Beyrouth, 1938 (copie non signalée).

[71] Cette copie a été identifiée dans Mü. Cunbur, İ. Binark et N. Sefercioğlu, *Fârâbî Bibliyografyası*, p. 55, n° 196. Ce texte a été édité dans al-Fārābī, *al-Ta‘līqāt*, éd. Ğ. Āl Yāsīn, Beyrouth, Dār al-Manāhil, 1408/1988. Voir aussi H. Daiber, *Bibliography of Islamic Philosophy*, vol. I, Leyde-Boston-Cologne, Brill, 1999, p. 289, n° 2861-2863 et Suppl., 2007, p. 88, n° 2861.

[72] Voir, par exemple, J. Pfeiffer, « Teaching the Learned : Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī’s *Ijāza* to Mu’ayyadzāda ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Efendi and the Circulation of Knowledge between Fārs and the Ottoman Empire at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century », dans *The Heritage of Arabo-Islamic Learning : Studies Presented to Wadad Kadi*, éds. M. A. Pomerantz et A. A. Shahin, Leyde – Boston, 2015, p. 284-332 ; R. Pourjavady et S. Schmidtke, « An Eastern Renaissance ? Greek

manuscrit tend à refléter ce phénomène de transferts. Quant à la circulation des deux pièces en Turquie, elle peut être retracée à travers les marques de possession que le manuscrit présente. Ces dernières indiquent que le manuscrit a suscité l'intérêt d'au moins deux personnalités liées de près au développement de la pensée ottomane aux XVIII^{e}-XIX^{e} siècles.

Aussi haut qu'on puisse remonter dans son histoire, le codex se trouva d'abord en possession de l'ouléma ottoman Müftîzâde Mehmed Emîn Efendi (1112-1212/1700 ou 1701-1797)[73], dont la marque de possession figure au début de la seconde pièce (f. 181r) et est datée de 1195/1780 ou 1781. Sur cette base, il est permis de penser que Müftîzâde ne posséda en fait que cette deuxième pièce, sans quoi on s'attendrait à ce qu'il inscrivît à nouveau sa marque de possession au début de la première pièce (f. 1r), ce qui n'est pas le cas.

Müftîzâde est surtout connu pour avoir été le maître en sciences rationnelles de l'ouléma ottoman Gelenbevî (1143-1205/1730-1791)[74], qui est à l'origine de développements importants en histoire de la logique. Il enseigna à Constantinople et l'étendue de son savoir – allant de la littérature aux sciences religieuses, en passant par la philosophie et les sciences – lui valut le surnom de « Bibliothèque humaine » (*Ayaklı Kütüphane*). Selon certaines sources, il aurait par ailleurs maîtrisé le grec et le latin.

Le manuscrit se retrouva ensuite entre les mains du médecin Behcet (Bahğat) Mustafa Efendi (1188-1249/1774-1834)[75]. Chef des médecins impériaux (*hekimbaşı*), ce personnage est associé aux efforts de modernisation de la médecine dans l'Empire ottoman. Bien que tourné vers la médecine occidentale, ayant étudié le latin et l'italien avec le dragoman Bulgarzâde Yahyâ Nâcî Efendi (m. 1239/1824), il est connu pour avoir été un grand collectionneur et lecteur de textes philosophiques arabes. Sa marque de possession, accompagnée de son cachet, figure au f. 1r et est datée de 1222/1807 ou 1808.

Enfin, c'est Karaosmanoğlu Eyyûb Ağa (m. 1261/1845) qui devint propriétaire du manuscrit[76]. Membre d'une importante famille de notables (*a'yān*) d'Anatolie occidentale et gouverneur du sandjak (district) d'Aydın, il fonda, en 1247/1831-1832, la Bibliothèque Çaşnigîr à Manisa dont est issu le

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Philosophy under the Safavids (16th-18th Centuries AD) », in *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, III, 2015, p. 248-290.

[73] Sur ce personnage, voir B. Kesik, « EMÎN, Ayaklı Kütüphane Müftüzade Seyyid Mehmed Emin Efendi », *Türk Edebiyatı İsimler Sözlüğü*, 26 juin 2014, en ligne : http://www.turkedebiyatiisimlersozlugu.com/index.php?sayfa=detay&detay=3333 (consulté le 24.06.2020) ; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, p. 248.

[74] Sur ce personnage, voir M. S. Özervarlı, « Gelenbevi, İsmail », *Encyclopaedia of Islam-3*.

[75] Sur ce personnage, voir E. M. İhsanoğlu, « Bahcat Muṣṭafā Efendi », *ibid.*

[76] Sur ce personnage et sa bibliothèque, voir S. Karaöz, « Dünkü ve Bugünkü Manisa Kütüphaneleri », *Türk Kütüphaneciliği*, XX, n° 2, 1971, p. 83 ; Y. Nagata, « Karaosmanoğulları », dans *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. XXIV, 2001, p. 469.

manuscrit sous sa forme actuelle. Le cachet de *waqf* inscrit à son nom aux f. 1r et 358r en atteste. En 1945, cette bibliothèque ferma et sa collection fut transférée dans le fonds manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de manuscrits de Manisa, où notre volume se trouve aujourd'hui. Karaosmanoğlu représente ainsi le terme *ante quem* le plus avancé pour le rassemblement des deux pièces du manuscrit. Il est cependant possible que celles-ci aient été réunies auparavant, peut-être même dès le XVIII^{e} siècle.

Conclusions

Formé comme ouléma auprès de plusieurs professeurs de renom, Al-Yānyawī gravit l'échelle de l'*ilmiye* et fut au contact des sciences islamiques dans lesquelles il obtint une maîtrise certaine. Toutefois, durant son activité d'enseignement, il fut confronté aux limites, en matière de sciences rationnelles, du système éducatif auquel il appartenait. Des connaissances philosophiques tronquées par de mauvaises traductions arabes et un mode de raisonnement logique et méthodologique défaillant avaient précipité, selon lui, les études philosophiques en Islam bien en-deçà du niveau qui aurait dû être le leur, si ces dernières avaient reposé sur des bases solides. Ces bases, Al-Yānyawī chercha à les raffermir à travers un projet collectif ambitieux qui n'envisageait rien de moins qu'une nouvelle traduction de trois grands textes du corpus philosophique aristotélicien accompagnée d'une version arabe arrangée des commentaires – abrégés de Ioannes Cottunius. Cette entreprise reçut l'appui de la cour et s'imbriquait dans un programme de traduction et de vulgarisation entamé au même moment à Constantinople. Or, en 1143/1730, le sultan, son grand vizir et le *šayḫ al-islām*, soutiens d'Al-Yānyawī, tombèrent en déchéance avec la crise de Patrona Halil. La même année (1143/1730-1731), Al-Yānyawī mourut, laissant, à ce qu'il semble, son projet inachevé. Mais si l'état actuel de la recherche ne permet pas encore de connaître le degré de diffusion ou de circulation du corpus sur lequel le projet de notre auteur était basé, certaines indications peuvent être recueillies à travers les informations contenues dans les manuscrits. Ainsi, le manuscrit de Manisa indique bien que le texte de logique d'Al-Yānyawī, la *Traduction du Commentaire très lumineux sur la logique*, fut diffusé chez certains membres de la société savante à Constantinople ayant participé au développement de la pensée dans l'Empire aux XVIII^{e} et XIX^{e} siècles, comme l'ouléma Müftîzâde Efendi et le *hekimbaşı* Behcet Mustafa Efendi.

En outre, ce manuscrit se trouve être un recueil composite constitué de deux pièces dont l'assemblage, quelle que fût la période à laquelle il eut lieu, ne semble pas relever du hasard. Tout d'abord, concernant la deuxième pièce du codex, tous les textes qu'elle comprend dénotent une certaine unité en ce qu'ils se rattachent directement ou indirectement à la philosophie grecque et, pour

plusieurs d'entre eux, à la tradition aristotélicienne même. En outre, on aura remarqué que ces textes couvrent presque tous les domaines philosophiques (logique, cosmologie, métaphysique, psychologie, noétique et éthique). Enfin, la juxtaposition des commentaires d'Al-Yānyawī et d'Averroès au même corpus, la *Logique*, est particulièrement frappante lorsque l'on sait la place privilégiée qu'occupe Averroès pour Al-Yānyawī. Il est même permis de se demander si l'assemblage savant de ce recueil composite n'est pas lié au projet de notre auteur.

THE VALONA AFFAIR (1638), ITS ENSUING ANTI-PIRACY *NIŞAN* AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF OTTOMAN-VENETIAN PEACE AGREEMENTS*

Radu Dipratu

A series of events that occurred in the summer of 1638 disrupted the decades-long peace between the Ottoman Empire and Venice that was established after the conquest of Cyprus. That year, a fleet consisting of 16 galleys hailing from Algiers and Tunis raided the Adriatic, after which it found refuge in the Ottoman harbour of Valona (Tk. Avlonya, modern-day Vlorë, in Albania), in breach of the *'ahdname*s (capitulations) that forbade the sheltering of pirates. After more than one month of blockading the harbour, a superior Venetian naval force was successful in attacking and capturing all the North African ships, while also inflicting damages upon the Ottoman citadel. These actions led to the arrest of bailo Alvise Contarini, as well as to the suspension of the *'ahdname* and trade relations. War, however, was avoided and normal relations were resumed in July 1639, with the issuing of a *nişan-ı hümayun* that amended the existing peace agreements with several new articles concerning piracy. This paper aims not only to offer a revision of the established narrative on the so-called Valona affair, but also to examine the process of the capitulation's suspension and reinstatement, as well as how its aftermath fundamentally modified the Ottoman-Venetian peace-making process, with the emergence of a separate anti-piracy *nişan*, which would be regularly reissued, alongside subsequent Venetian *'ahdname*s.

Various authors have touched upon this subject so far. In 1640, just a couple of years after the Valona affair took place, the former English captive Francis Knight, who had been a slave rower on one of the North African galleys, published his captivity account.[1] Ottoman scholars soon included this episode in their works, as later that decade İbrahim Peçevi dedicated a subchapter in his

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[1] F. Knight, *A Relation of Seaven Yeares Slaverie Under the Turkes of Argeire, Suffererd by an English Captive Merchant*, London, 1640; see also G. MacLean, N. Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713*, Oxford, 2011, p. 140-141; P. Auchterlonie, *Encountering Islam: Joseph Pitts, an English Slave in 17th-Century Algiers and Mecca*, London, 2012, Part I, *passim*.

Tarih;[2] another Ottoman author, Mustafa Na'ima, who composed his work half a century later, presented a similar narrative but also brought a few other details.[3] Also in the late 1600s, Giovanni Sagredo produced one of the best-known accounts,[4] while a less detailed, but valuable relation was published around the same time by a fellow Venetian, Gianbatistta Nani[5] (both authors seem to have had access to Venetian diplomatic sources). Paul Rycaut's narrative of these years,[6] arguably the most frequently cited primary source on the Valona affair, is not an original one but almost a perfect, although abridged, translation of Sagredo's history, as he was writing upon the request of his printer John Starkey about events which lay outside of his personal experience in the Ottoman Empire.[7]

One of the most complete portrayals of these events remains that offered by Joseph von Hammer nearly two centuries ago, as he provides information taken both from Sagredo's and Rycaut's histories, but also from that of Na'ima.[8] Some decades later, Samuele Romanin also produced a shorter, but often-cited description.[9] More recently, Kenneth M. Setton[10] and Hans Theunissen[11] briefly touched upon the subject, which in 1991 was still termed by Victor Mallia-Milanesas as the "little-known incident at Valona".[12] While Emrah Safa Gürkan brings it up from time to time in his monograph on piracy and is apparently the only one who cites Francis Knight (though more for his information on Algiers

[2] İ. Peçevi, *Tarih-i Peçevi*, vol. 2, Istanbul, 1283 [1866-1867], p. 458-460.
[3] M. Na'ima, *Tarih-i Na'ima*, vol. 2, Istanbul, 1147 [1734], p. 791-792.
[4] G. Sagredo, *Memorie istoriche de monarchi ottomani*, Venice, 1677, p. 1015-1059.
[5] B. Nani, *Historia della Republica Veneta*, Venice, 1662, p. 695-731.
[6] P. Rycaut, *The History of the Turkish Empire from the Year 1623 to the Year 1677*, London, 1680, p. 71-77, 85-87; later included in the continuation of R. Knolles, *The Turkish History from the Original of that Nation, to the Growth of the Ottoman Empire*, 6th ed., vol. 2, London, 1687, p. 38-41, 45-47.
[7] A. Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans. Turkish History in Early Modern England*, Basingstoke, 2015, p. 113-114.
[8] J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours*, French transl. by J.-J. Hellert, vol. 9, Paris, 1837, p. 375-379; references to the sources appear only in the German version, J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 5, Pesta, 1829, p. 279-283.
[9] S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, vol. 7, Venice, 1858, p. 344-345.
[10] K. M. Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century*, Philadelphia, 1991, p. 109-110.
[11] H. Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian Diplomatics: the *'Ahd-name*s. The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political-Commercial Instruments, together with an Annotated Edition of a Corpus of Relevant Documents", *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies Utrecht*, 1/2, 1998, 2, p. 183.
[12] V. Mallia-Milanes, "From Valona to Crete: Veneto-Maltese Relations from the Late 1630s to the Outbreak of the Cretan War", in S. Fiorini and V. Mallia-Milanes (eds.), *Malta: a Case Study in International Cross-Currents: Proceedings of the First International Colloquium on the History of the Central Mediterranean held at the University of Malta, 13-17 December 1989*, Msida, 1991, p. 159-173.

and piracy life than the incursion of 1638 itself),[13] it is Joshua White who has produced the best analysis so far, going beyond the simple description of events to examine their implication on Ottoman anti-piracy legislation.[14]

However, since the existing primary sources on the Valona affair have been largely ignored by previous scholars, it is the purpose of this paper to confront the already known information with the rich archival material found in the *Archivio di Stato di Venetia* (henceforth, ASV). Naturally, the dispatches of bailo Alvise Contarini contain a great deal of information on the Valona affair and even preserve translations of now lost Ottoman-Turkish documents. The few known Ottoman-Turkish original documents and copies also kept in the ASV will play an equally important part in the following analysis. As the outcome of this episode would essentially dictate how all future peace agreements between the Ottomans and Venetians would be concluded, a reassessment of the events that lead to the *nişan* of 1639 is necessary, starting with the only eye-witness account known so far.

Francis Knight offers an indispensable first-hand account on the activities of Ali Picenino (an Italian renegade, possibly even Venetian, who by this time was one of the principal captains in Algiers)[15] and his fleet in the summer of 1638. Knight, along with other galley slaves, were embarked in Algiers on 9 May and set sail two days later with eight galleys bound for Tunis, where they would be joined by an additional eight galleys.[16] After a first encounter with the English ship *Love* off the coast of Pantelleria, to which "the Turks had nothing to say", the corsairs chased five other Christian ships with no success. They then ventured North into the Tyrrhenian Sea; one morning they "put ashore a Frigat of Naples, the men all ran ashore" on the volcanic island of Stromboli, where Knight describes how three members of its crew were consumed by natural flames spouting from the ground. Afterwards, the corsairs pillaged the Calabrian city of Nicotera (an event highlighted by Western sources), from where they took more than a hundred captives. Heading back South, Ali Picenino defiantly passed through the Strait of Messina, the citadel's guns firing upon his fleet with no effect, and thus the pirates landed and raided

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[13] E. S. Gürkan, *Sultanın Korsanları: Osmanlı Akdenizi'nde Gazâ, Yağma ve Esaret 1500-1700*, Istanbul, 2018, *passim*.

[14] J. M. White, *Piracy and Law in the Ottoman Mediterranean*, Stanford, 2017, p. 161-164.

[15] For Ali Picenino (also found under various other spellings), see J. B. Wolf, *The Barbary Coast: Algeria under the Turks, 1500 to 1830*, New York, 1979, p. 148-149; R. C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800*, New York, 2003, *passim*. A mosque built by him still stands in Algiers and was recently renovated.

[16] Knight recalls that a certain Mehmed Bey was the Tunisian galleys' captain, while Nani (*ibid*., p. 697) and Sagredo (*ibid*., p. 1015) name him Suffader/Susader. The *Corsari del Mediterraneo* website names him Suppader, see: https://corsaridelmediterraneo.it/suppader/ (accessed 3.05.2020).

the countryside. Continuing along the Southern coast of Calabria, they defeated and set ablaze a 20-gun Neapolitan vessel off the city of Roccella Ionica, after which they plundered Crotone. According to Knight, unfavourable Eastern winds held the fleet on the spot for more than a week until they managed to set sail once again, passing by the Cape of Santa Maria di Leuca and entering the Adriatic Sea. While up to this point the corsairs had exclusively plundered goods and people from the Kingdom of Naples, which being part of the Spanish crown were not protected by any agreement with the Ottoman Sultan, now they also began to target Venetian possessions. They ventured North at least as far as the Bay of Kotor,[17] after which they turned back South and anchored in the Ottoman harbour of Valona. The Venetians would later claim that during their incursion in the Adriatic, the Maghrebians captured a *marciliana*[18] with a cargo of wine headed for Venice, as well as a Perostian ship, and that they also planned to raid the island of Lissa (Vis).[19] In the meantime, a Venetian fleet of 28 galleys and two galleasses sailing from Crete via Corfu under the command of *provveditore* Antonio Marino Capello arrived at Valona and blockaded the Maghrebians in the harbour.

Sometime before reaching Valona, however, the Maghrebians were called upon by the sultan to defend the Archipelago from the Maltese and Tuscan pirates. Murad IV had left the capital in April, along with the grand vizier Bayram Pasha and even the *kapudanpaşa* Kemankeş Kara Mustafa,[20] with the purpose of reconquering Baghdad from the Safavids. Boşnak Musa Pasha, the former *beylerbeyi* of Buda, was named *kaymakam* (deputy grand vizier) and entrusted with the administration of Istanbul, while Ebubekir Pasha, vice-admiral and *bey* of Rhodes, was left in charge of the fleet. The latter, however, could not chase the Catholic pirates away from the Archipelago, as he was already caught up in the Black Sea with the ever-troublesome Cossacks.[21] But

[17] Knight's account of these ensuing events is rather confusing; they arrived at "that middle Island in the Gulf of Venice, or as the Italian calls it Ill Isella de Methia" [perhaps Melita, present-day Mljet?], after which "stately Catria [Kotor], a Citie in Sclavonia, occulerly presents her selfe unto them" (p. 20), but the Venetian sources don't mention any sacking of Cattaro (Kotor) or its hinterland.

[18] For the employment of this type of merchant vessel in Venice see M. Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Princeton, 2000, p. 152.

[19] Cf. Alvise Contarini's report to grand-vizier Bayram Pasha dated 19 August 1638, in ASV, Senato, Dispacci, Costantinopoli, filza 119, f. 337. Lissa is often confused, even by modern scholars, with Lessina (modern-day Hvar, Croatia), a larger island some twenty kilometres to the North-East, which was also under Venetian control.

[20] By this time, regular bureaucrats began to be appointed as *kapudanpaşa*s, in place of the reputed captains (*re'is*) of the 16th century. Kemankeş Pasha's presence in the Baghdad campaign would nonetheless prove to be inspired, as he would be appointed grand vizier after the death of Tayyar Pasha during the final assault on the city.

[21] Thus, the highest naval officer with whom Contarini could personally deal with in Istanbul was Uzun Piyale Pasha, intendant of the Arsenal (*tersane kethüdası*). Both Piyale and Ebubekir would

the corsairs never seem to have been rushing to the Archipelago, since they diverted North of Sicily and then into the Adriatic, as described above, and in the end this is what mattered to the Venetians: even if they were called by the sultan, they headed way off course and inflicted damages upon their possessions, thus violating the capitulations.

The sources differ on the reasons that drove Picenino's fleet to Valona in the first place. The corsairs themselves and even Knight, who was not sympathetic to his captors, maintained that bad weather had driven them in the Ottoman harbour, while all Venetian sources claimed that Capello had intercepted them on their way to raid the island of Lissa further North and that they chased them back South to Valona.[22] The Venetians insisted that the weather had been favourable since it permitted the corsairs to sail "up to Budva, which is more than 200 miles from the entrance to the Gulf of Venice".[23] Either way, there is no doubt that Ali Picenino's fleet would have resumed its depredations if it were not blockaded in Valona. Knight relates how the corsairs were not content to returning to Algiers yet and that they were planning to raid an island of 300 Christians (possibly Lissa/Vis, whom the Venetians repeatedly alleged to be the pirates' target). Even the Ottoman chronicler Peçevi agrees that in Valona the Maghrebians were preparing their ships and equipment so that "from there they would turn again to ruin the infidels and to strike the enemy's heart as before" (*ve andan yine küffar yıkasına salub ke'l-evvel a'adanın çiğerlerin dağılmak*).[24]

Another point of controversy regards the attitude of the Ottoman authorities in Valona towards the Venetian fleet. The Venetians protested that while they saluted the fortress with the cannon in the usual friendly way (i.e., a blank shot, without a projectile), the Ottomans instead fired a cannon shot towards them, "contrary to the good peace, the articles of peace and the infinite number of royal decrees".[25] Though not saying anything about Capello's salute,

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later become *kapudanpaşa*s (İ. H. Danişmend, *İzhalı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. 5, Istanbul, 1972, p. 191). In his *Relazione* to the Senate, Contarini would give them credit for the successful conclusion of the Valona affair: A. Contarini, "Relazione", in N. Barozzi and G. Berchet (eds.), *Le Relazioni degli stati europei lette al Senato dagli ambasciatori veneziani nel secolo decimosettimo*, Part I, Venice, 1871, p. 358-60.

[22] Cf. Contarini' letter to Ebubekir Pasha dated 31 July 1638 in ASV, Sen. Disp. Cpoli., filza 119, f. 274. Here, Contarini denounced as false the corsairs' accusation that Capello's fleet fired upon the citadel.

[23] ASV, Sen. Disp. Cpoli., filza 119, f. 337. Budva lies some twenty kilometres South of Kotor.

[24] İ. Peçevi, *Tarih…*, vol. 2, p. 459.

[25] Capello's report to Contarini, undated (included by Contarini in the dispatch of 26 July 1638) in ASV, Sen. Disp. Cpoli., filza 119, f. 254v. The *'ahdname*s contained a reciprocal clause which provided that upon meeting one another at sea, Ottoman and Venetian ships would "lower their sails and show friendship" (*yelkenlerin indirüb dostlukların bildüreler*). M. P. Pedani-Fabris, *La dimora della pace. Considerazioni sulle capitolazioni tra i paesi islamici e l'Europa*, Venice,

Knight recounts that on Saturday, 8 June, the "Castle discovering the Venetian Navie, shot a warning peece", and that the galley rowers were commanded to man the ships: "the word now *forratendo*, for we had then our tents up to keepe us from the weather, which then rained, thundred, and lightned in most terrible manner".[26] However, it seems that the Ottoman authorities were not so eager to battle the Venetians over the Maghrebians' protection.

Based on Peçevi's account, White and Gürkan have pointed out that the castellan (*dizdar*) of Valona was at first not willing to help out the Maghrebians, as he even "sent out word to the infidel navy, saying that they were *levend*s, a bunch of rebels who neither obey the padishah nor protect our ships when they encounter them".[27] While the Ottoman chronicler himself expresses caution over this information, saying that it was transmitted to him by certain others (*ba'zı kimesneler dirler ki*), it is nonetheless confirmed by other sources. Knight recalls the Ottoman authorities' reluctance over the corsairs on several occasions. When they sought shelter from the storm in Valona, "Sollyman Agga, governor of that Country" (most likely the *sancakbeyi*), warned Ali that the island of Corfu was nearby and that the Venetian galleys stationed there would not hesitate to come for them. The former English captive also states that when the Venetians reached Valona, the corsairs had to buy their protection from the Ottoman castellan: "Allie the Generall now solicits the verteous Mustapha Captaine of the Castell to defend his Navie and people from the violence of the Naizerian misbeleevers, which with store of peeces of eight hee effected".[28] Bailo Contarini also passed down information that one of the corsair captains (possibly Ali himself?) had complained to a friend that "the castellan was sooner a Christian than a Turk, as he gobbled three thousand *real*s from the Venetian fleet's general, not only for summoning this fleet but also for preventing the corsairs from handling the [citadel's] cannons and keeping the said fleet away".[29] It seems thus that a

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1996, p. 69, 76 (art. 4). They did not prescribe how friendly interactions between ships and forts should be carried out.

[26] F. Knight, *Relation…*, p. 22. On the command *Fora tenda!* ("Strike the awnings!"), a Venetian expression which entered the *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean, see H. Kahane, R. Kahane, A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant. Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian and Greek Origin*, Urbana, 1958, p. 223-224.

[27] *Valona dizdarı küffar donanmasına haber gönderdi ki bunlar levend gemileridir ne padişahımıza ita'atları ve ne bizden rastgeldikleri sefa'ine himayetleri vardır bir bölük eşkıyadır demiş* (İ. Peçevi, *Tarih…*, vol. 2, p. 459); also discussed in J. M. White, *Piracy…*, p. 162, and E.S. Gürkan, *Sultanın Korsanları…*, p. 486. White consulted a modern Turkish translation of Peçevi's *History*, where the label *küffar* ("infidel") attached to the Venetians was replaced with the more religiously-neutral *düşman* ("enemy"), which led White to affirm that the Ottoman chronicler, even though sympathetic to the Venetians by giving them credit on this occasion, chose this term because of the ongoing war in Crete (Peçevi was writing in the late 1640s). In fact, the term *küffar* was commonly attached in the Early Modern era to Christians, either friends or foes.

[28] F. Knight, *Relation…*, p. 22.

[29] ASV, Sen. Disp. Cpoli., filza 119, f. 549r (dispatch from 24 September 1638).

collaboration between the *dizdar* and the *provveditore* did in fact occur, at least initially; it is plausible that the Ottoman authorities of Valona, a place known for its piracy endorsement over the years, were trying to profit as much as possible from this delicate state of affairs.

Contrary to the Venetian sources, which mention a skirmish between the ships of Capello and Picenino only because the latter tried to force their way out of Valona harbour, Knight relates that the Venetians were hellbent on attacking as soon as they arrived. The former English captive maintains that, due to the bad weather, the Venetians could launch their attack on the corsairs only a day after their arrival, on Sunday, 9 June 1638. As Capello's fleet entered the harbour and engaged the North Africans, the Ottoman citadel also joined the fight, their aid being secured in advance by Picenino's money: "Mustapha, the Captaine now displayes the Horse Taile, or royall insigne of the great Turke, and stoutly defends the Barbariscos partie". Having to deal not only with the corsair galleys but also with the constant fire from the citadel, the Venetians resorted to withdrawing to the harbour mouth after three hours of fighting, as the captain of one of the two galleasses lost an arm in the skirmish.[30] Sagredo accounts that the "Turks" also lost 60 men and 20 galley slaves and that five galleys were badly damaged.[31] Thus, it seems that the Venetians wanted to deal as fast as possible with the corsairs, with whom they clashed in the harbour of Valona soon after their arrival, but they were taken by surprise by the Ottoman citadel's counterfire. Their next attempt would, therefore, have to consider this element as well.

While the corsairs celebrated an initial victory, Capello sent a galley to Venice to inform the Doge and Senate about the ongoing blockade. Several weeks had past when Mustafa, the Ottoman *dizdar*, went to parley with Capello and presented Picenino's request for safe passage, "that he came not thether prepensedly, but being bound for Constantinople to serve his Emperour". Knight recalls that Mustafa presented a letter of the sultan, but even so, Capello "refuseth all treatie with them, and had good cause of incredulitie by good intelligencers".[32] While the *provveditore* had reservations that the sultan had actually requested help from his North African vassals, believing it to be just an excuse for their presence in Valona, *bailo* Contarini later notified him that *kaymakam* Musa Pasha confirmed the information, saying that the corsairs had indeed patents from the sultan and *kapudanpaşa*.[33]

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[30] F. Knight, *Relation…*, p. 23. Both Nani (*ibid*., p. 698) and Sagredo (*ibid*., p. 1018) confirm this event, saying that a cannon shot from the fortress shattered the galleass's mast, from where a piece of wood severed captain Lorenzo Marcello's left arm.
[31] G. Sagredo, *Memorie…*, p. 1018-1019.
[32] F. Knight, *Relation…*, p. 23-24.
[33] Cf. Contarini's letter to Capello dated 26 July 1638 in ASV, Sen. Disp. Cpoli., filza 119, f. 247r. It is unlikely that this letter reached the *provveditore* in time.

Seven weeks after the Venetians arrived at Valona, Knight continues,[34] the galley sent to inform the Senate came back with a response that authorised Capello to do as he considered. Sagredo, on the other hand, mentions that the Senate warned Capello not to provoke the sultan in any way by damaging the fortress and to only engage the corsairs on the sea, as far as possible from Valona.[35] The Venetian historian also recalls that while waiting outside the harbour, the Venetian fleet received supplies from the viceroy of Naples, Ramiro Núñez de Guzmán, duke of Medina de las Torres, who was obviously keen on seeing the corsairs punished.[36] As the days were passing without the pirates showing any intention to leave the safety of the harbour, and since reports reached Capello about Ebubekir Pasha's intention to send a fleet of 22 galleys and two *maone*s to relieve the Maghrebians,[37] the *provveditore* decided that the only solution was to attack.

On the morning of 7 August the Venetians stormed the harbour, dividing their forces into two squadrons: one battered the Ottoman fortifications, while the other swiftly captured the unmanned and undefended Maghrebian ships, since the galley slaves had been chained up in the fortress to prevent their escape. Taken by surprise, the corsairs themselves fled for safety, but Peçevi again argues that the *dizdar* did not allow them in the fortress:

> The entire infidel fleet came and took the harbour's mouth; as they [the corsairs] saw that it was too late, they wanted to retreat to the fortress, but the castellan did not allow it; out of necessity, they had to leave in that place so many coveted cannons, all their sails and tents as well as other tools of war and combat.[38]

Also commenting upon the Venetian's assault, Na'ima stresses the damages inflicted on Valona and adds that "the Venetian navy took the harbour's mouth and by firing their cannons they destroyed the citadel's minaret and some [other] places, and they took their ships so that the Maghrebians remained helpless".[39] While Nani and Sagredo also account for damages brought

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[34] Seven weeks seem a bit too much, five to six weeks appear more plausible, as Contarini mentioned that Capello waited "for more than 30 days outside the harbour" and had no reason to suggest a shorter period of wait time.
[35] G. Sagredo, *Memorie…*, p. 1018-1019.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 1018.
[37] B. Nani, *Historia…*, p. 699-700.
[38] *Bi'l-cümle küffar donanması gelüb limanın ağızın alurlar bunlar dahi çünküm iş işten geçdüğin göreler kal'aya tahassun etmek isterler dizdar ana dahi riza vermedi bi'z-zaruri bu kadar tob-u mergubi ve cümle yelken ve tente ve sa'ir alat-ı darb u harbı ol mahalde bırağub*, in İ. Peçevi, *Tarih…*, vol. 2, p. 459.
[39] *Venedik donanması liman ağızın alub tob urub kal'asının minaresin ve nice mevzi'in yıkub gemileri almak sadedinde mağribler aciz kalub*, in M. Na'ima, *Tarih…*, p. 691.

to a mosque,[40] this information is ultimately confirmed through the *'arz* sent by the *kadı* of Valona shortly after these events, on *evahır-ı Rebi'ü'l-evvel* 1048/1 – 10 August 1638:[41] the Venetians attacked with their artillery, killing many Muslims and bringing damage to the fortress and "to the mosque of the late Sultan Süleyman".[42] Thus, in less than an hour (according to Knight) the Venetians captured all 16 galleys of Algiers and Tunis, along with their numerous cannons and precious items which the corsairs had raided from the coasts of Italy. The galleys were then taken to Corfu where most of them were sunk. This was indeed a terrible loss for the Maghrebians, as Knight reports that Algiers could not maintain more than nine galleys at a time and that after Valona, they were left without any such vessels. Taking the blame for this failed enterprise upon himself, Picenino promised the other captains that he would obtain full compensations and so he departed via Selanik to Constantinople, where he made vigorous protests.[43] Peçevi and Na'ima also account for the corsairs' departure by land to Selanik and from there back to the Maghreb, with the former adding that their captains went to Istanbul where they complained to *kaymakam* Musa Pasha, which then forwarded their situation to the Padishah, who was on the road to Baghdad.[44] On August 19, *bailo* Alvise Contarini also sent his own report to Grand-Vizier Bayram Pasha, in which he replied to the corsairs' accusations.[45]

The problem was that both the Ottomans and the Venetians, not to mention the corsairs, had violated the capitulations and were accusing each other of doing so. A reciprocal clause first inserted in the *'ahdname* of 1503, and then reiterated in all subsequent agreements, including the one of 1625 that was in force when these events took place, prevented both parties from sheltering pirate vessels "of other countries" (*gayrı vilayetlerin haramı barçaların ve kadirgaların*) in their harbours.[46] A more explicit article, written down in the 1604 *nişan*

[40] G. Sagredo, *Memorie…*, p. 1020; G. Nani, *Historia…*, p. 700.

[41] Most of the Ottoman documents cited in this paper are dated in one of the three decades of any given *Hijri* month, not in a precise day; therefore, the corresponding Gregorian date will consist of a 10-day interval.

[42] Italian translation in ASV, Sen. Disp. Cpoli., filza 119, f. 339r. Later on, Sagredo (*ibid.*, p. 1024) quotes Picenino's complaints addressed to the Porte, whereby he stated that the Venetians had damaged Süleyman's mosque.

[43] F. Knight, *Relation…*, p. 45: "All eight taken by the Venetians, so that at that present there was never a Gally remaining in that Citie, nor can I conceive that ever Ally will returne thither, from the Levant where hee now is to build more".

[44] İ. Peçevi, *Tarih…*, p. 460. Sagredo and Nani, on the other hand, relate that Picenino avoided going back to Algiers because he was sentenced there to death for losing the fleet.

[45] Cf. Contarini's report dated 19 August 1638 in ASV, Sen. Disp. Cpoli., filza 119, f. 337r. As Bayram Pasha died on 26 August, it is more probable that Tayyar Mehmed Pasha, his successor and former governor of Diyarbakir, received the bailo's letter.

[46] J. M. White, *Piracy…*, p. 112; for the 1625 clause see M. P. Pedani-Fabris, *La dimora…*, p. 70, 77 (art. 7).

(reissued in 1615 and 1619), mentioned that Ottoman "castellans and other provincial officials shall not accept or give permission" to pirates who plundered Venetian ships, but that they would strive to capture and punish them.[47] These were the legal foundations upon which the Serenissima justified its actions. On the other hand, the Ottomans accused the Venetians that they had no right to attack the North Africans in an Ottoman harbour, even less to inflict damages upon the citadel, an action equivalent to a declaration of war. The only *'ahdname* provision regarding encounters with pirates prescribed that if the Venetians were successful against them at sea, they should send the surviving ones to Istanbul, where they would be punished accordingly.[48] They were not entitled to administer justice themselves, as they had done in Valona. Such conducts would not be taken lightly by the sultan, who was counting on a stable situation in the West, as he concentrated much of the empire's resources for warring the Safavids in the East.

Nani and Sagredo report that a separate letter, meant to stir the sultan's fury, was sent by the *valide*, Kösem. Displeased with Murad's departure to Baghdad, the Queen Mother wanted him to return as soon as possible, so she sent letters in which she exaggerated the events of Valona, preferring a war in the Mediterranean to one in Persia.[49] Upon hearing these events, Murad was allegedly so angry that he commanded the execution not only of the *bailo* but of all the Venetians in the Ottoman Empire. This was avoided only by the shrewdness of his chief advisors, the grand vizier Bayram Pasha and the sultan's *musahib* (favourite) Silahdar Mustafa, who delayed for a while the messenger entrusted with the command, until Murad could be persuaded not to take such drastic measures. It was decided that for the moment the *bailo* would only be arrested. This happened on 24 September 1638, when Contarini reported that after *kaymakam* Musa Pasha showed him Murad's *ferman*, he was escorted to a forced residence in Galata.[50] However, while the Ottomans were still engaged in taking back Baghdad from the Safavids, no further hostile actions such as the

[47] J. M. White, *Piracy…*, p. 134; R. Dipratu, "The 'Imperial Signs' (*nişan-ı hümayun*): Framing Muslim-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century Mediterranean", in *New Europe College 'Ştefan Odobleja' Program Yearbook 2018-2019*, Bucharest, 2020, p. 117; id., "*14 Capitoli parte novi, parte consimili alla Capitulatione*: The *nişan-ı hümayun* Granted to Venice in 1604", in C. Luca (ed.), *Venezia e l'Europa Orientale tra il tardo Medioevo e l'Età moderna* (forthcoming).
[48] J. M. White, *Piracy…*, p. 115-116; M. P. Pedani-Fabris, *La dimora…*, p. 70, 77 (art. 5).
[49] B. Nani, *Historia…*, p. 704; G. Sagredo, *Memorie…*, p. 1024.
[50] The *bailo* now signed his dispatches "from Galata" instead of the usual "from the Vines of Pera", where the embassy was located. It is clear that Sagredo had access to at least some of Contarini's reports, as he reproduces a certain detail about the *bailo* being escorted to his arrest: compare Sagredo's "*che sciegliesse una Casa à suo piacere in Galatà, dove fù condotto da quattro Chiaus; due de' quali restarono alla guardia della porta*" (p. 1029), with Contarini's: "*Fui scorto in questo viaggio dà 4 Chiaussi, due de quali restano alla guardia della mia porta*" (ASV, Sen. Disp. Cpoli., filza 119, f. 537v.)

interruption of trade seem to have occurred. Diplomatic relations certainly continued and Contarini, although under house arrest, was allowed to receive visitors, to communicate with the chief Ottoman officials via his dragomans Grillo and Salvago,[51] and to send back to Venice reports that appear to be even more frequent than before his arrest. Nonetheless, the Republic was preparing for the worst and instructed its representatives across Europe to seek support from other Christian polities and to commission ships, in case the sultan resorted to war.

On 13 November 1638, Contarini reported that the new English ambassador, Sackville Crowe (who was replacing Peter Wyche), could not intervene as long as he was not invested through an official audience with the sultan.[52] As the weeks and months went by, it became more and more apparent that Venice could not depend upon European help. Jumping in a war against the Turks was not a valid option for the Habsburgs, who were deeply involved in the Thirty Years War, while other powers, such as France and England, though they protested through their ambassadors in Istanbul that Contarini's arrest was an infringement of the law of nations,[53] they were not ready to disrupt their profitable commerce with the sultan. While Giovanni Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador in London, was confident, on 27 November 1638, that even if "this Crown certainly has treaties of peace with the Turk, and ought not to break, yet they can rule their plans according to circumstances", two months later he concluded that "Christendom can expect but little from England, with the existing troubles of this kingdom".[54] In the instructions to its ambassador in London on 3 December 1638, the Senate already spoke of "the imminent danger of trouble with the Turks".[55] This, of course, was not going to happen while the

[51] For Giovanni Antonio Grillo (Antonaki) see C. Luca, "Il bailaggio veneto di Costantinopoli nel Cinque-Seicento: i dragomanni provenienti dalle famiglie Brutti, Borisi e Grillo", in C. Luca, *Dacoromano-Italica. Studi e ricerche sui rapporti italo-romeni nei secoli XVI-XVII*, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, p. 120-124.

[52] Cf. Contarini's dispatch to the Doge and Senate, 13 November 1638, in A. B. Hinds (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 24, 1636-1639*, London, 1923, accessible in *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol24 (accessed 24 May 2020), doc. 433.

[53] "the arrest of a public minister destroys all the confidence required between princes, such as the law of Nature and of Nations has established and preserved between all men of whatever religion or condition". Secretary of state John Coke to Sackville Crow, 26 January 1639 in A. B. Hinds (ed.), *Calendar*..., vol. 24, doc. 568.

[54] See Giustinian's dispatches to the Doge and Senate, 27 November 1638 and 28 January 1639, in A. B. Hinds (ed.), *Calendar*..., vol. 24, docs. 536, 567. Giustinian was obviously referring to the disturbances that would shortly lead to the First Bishop's War and ultimately to the English Civil War.

[55] Cf. the Senate's instructions to Giustinian, 3 December 1638, in A. B. Hinds (ed.), *Calendar*..., vol. 24, doc. 540.

bulk of the Ottoman army, the sultan and many high-ranking officials were on the other side of the empire, fighting a most respectable foe.

However, with the conquest of Baghdad on 24 December 1638, the sultan could now return to the capital and deal with the Empire's Western affairs, while the new grand vizier Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Pasha remained in Baghdad to continue the Persian campaign.[56] Upon reaching his winter station of Diyarbakir (Amid) in early February 1639, Murad IV sent an unusually solemn letter to Doge Francesco Erizzo, on *evasit-ı Şevval* 1048 /15 – 24 February 1639.[57] The sultan was, of course, most displeased with the evolution of the encounter between his Maghrebian vassals and Venice's fleet. It is worth quoting extensively from this document, which, as far as I know, has remained uncited until now. The sultan announced his resentment over the Valona affair in harsh terms:

> You did not follow the road of prudence and foresight by taking some Algerian ships, which is contrary to the peace and amity – the sources of abundance and prosperity; when this was conveyed to my illustrious, imperial ears, my fiery anger burst into flames and you became the object of my reprimand and inquiry.[58]

To the Venetians' claims that this should not disrupt peace, as it was simply a consequence of "the ancient enmity and hostility between us and the Algerians" (*Cezayirli ile mütekaddimden mabeynimizde 'adavet ü husumet*

[56] The Persian campaign of 1638 saw the death of two Ottoman grand viziers: first, Bayram Pasha died in Anatolia, while en route to Baghdad, and then Tayyar Pasha died during the final assault upon the city. Kemankeş, the *kapudanpaşa*, was thus appointed grand vizier, while the Admiralty was entrusted to the sultan's favourite, Silahdar Mustafa.

[57] ASV, *Miscellanea documenti turchi*, d. 1459. This *name-i hümayun* is very different from others sent to Venice in this period. It contains both a golden *formula devotionis* above the *tuğra* and an elaborate *intitulatio/unvan* of the Sultan in its opening lines, drafted in the *ben ki* formula, and containing a long list of lands ruled by the sultan, as found in the Polish *'ahdname*s, for example. In fact, the *intitulatio/unvan* occupies a quarter of the whole text (4 out of 17 lines). Compare it with ASV, MDT, d. 1448, which, although bearing a richly illuminated *tuğra* (also uncommon for the Venetian *name*s), begins directly with the Doge's *inscriptio/elkab* (*iftiharu'l-ümera...*). H. Theunissen, "Ottoman-Venetian Diplomatics…", p. 183, n. 229, states that it is a *fetihname* announcing the conquest of Baghdad, but this subject is only briefly mentioned, with Venice's aggression being the main topic. Our document also does not fit the model of other *fetihname*s kept in the ASV, which also begin directly with the *inscriptio/elkab* and contain no *formula devotionis*. See, for example, the 1596 *fetihname* which announced the conquest of Eger, ASV, *Lettere e scritture turchesche*, V, 187. For the Venetian *fetihname*s up to 1604, see M. P. Pedani-Fabris, "Ottoman *Fetihname*s: The Imperial Letters Announcing a Victory", *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 13, 1998, p. 181-192.

[58] *'Akibetendişi ü durbinlik meslekine salik olmayub ba'is-i vüfur ü felah olan sulh u salaha muhalif Cezayirlünün birkaç gemilerini aldığınız mesami'-i 'aliye-i padişahaneme ilka olundukda ateş-i gazabım işti'al edüb itab u su'alıma mazhar olmuş suzdur*.

vardır), Murad replied that they should have not engaged in such actions while he was on campaign to capture Baghdad:[59]

> You brought to pass your ancient enmity and hostility during my time of justice and prosperity, while my Majesty was involved in Holy Expedition and War? What sort of evil plan was this, that you voluntarily committed such a dishonest act and improper gesture? Was it wise for you to open the gate of sedition and mischief, to find such a bad opportunity, to cause and provoke rebellion, warring and fighting, while I was putting effort and endeavour to better the world with my grandeur? Now, the outcome of using wiles in this affair was the break-up of the peace and amity that was contracted during the noble time of the one whom our mighty God has taken into mercy and forgave his sins, Sultan Orhan Han, may he rest in peace! When, God – the King who is sought for help – willing, I shall honour my Threshold, the Abode of Felicity, with my return, which is facilitated by God, my imperial covenant-letter shall be given to you anew, so that if the possibility of opposing in any way my decreed imperial covenant-letter, filled with happiness, rises again, your treaty breach shall not be accepted and your answer shall not be listened to; [if it so happens] the decision was given for a proper reprimand: the next auspicious year,[60] my admiral, who is also my deputy grand vizier and second vizier [...], Silahdar Mustafa Pasha – may God, praised be he, multiply and make his glory eternal! – is empowered to scorch you with my world-conquering navy, to mar and spoil your provinces and to turn the prosperous places of your country and roads into heaps of dust. As such, caution and vigilance shall be your mode of action and you shall perfectly respect the peace and amity, according to the imperial covenant-letter.[61]

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[59] The Sultan only briefly touches upon the conquest of Baghdad: "Now, I besieged Baghdad, the Abode of Holy War, with my grandeur, and I conquered and subjugated it with my overpowering force, and with my victory-infused sword I destroyed and subdued the evil-worshiping heretics inside. As I was victorious and triumphant, I proceeded to return with prosperity and fortune, felicity, and magnificence. The spread of this sort of troubling news, [of actions] contrary to the peace and amity from your part, while I was taking great care for the habitual order and orderliness of the worshippers in my Well-Protected Domains and for the proper destruction and retaliation against the evil *kızılbaş* who still uphold the old ways, was unworthy and unsuitable." *imdi ben 'azametim ile Bağdad darü'l-cihadı muhasara edüb kuvvet-i kahirem ile feth ü teshir ve içinde olan mulahide-i bed ayini şemşir-i zafer-i te'sirim ile kahr u tedmir edüb muzaffer u mansur olub devlet u ikbal ve sa'adet ü iclale ile 'avdet buyurub Memalik-i Mahrusemizde olan 'ibad 'inayet-i mu'tadımın nizam u intizamı ve bakıyetüsselef olan kızılbaş bed ma'aşın kemal hızlan ve intikamı ile takayyüd-ü tam üzere iken sizin tarafınızdan mugayır-ı sulh u salah bu makule ahbar mefsedet-şi'arın intişarı layık ü sezavar değil idi*.

[60] The beginning of the new *hijri* year (1049) would coincide with the spring sailing season (May 1639).

[61] *Kadimi olan 'adavet ü husumetiniz cenab-ı celalet-me'abım gaza u cihad ile mukayyed iken benim zaman-ı 'adalet-i iktiranımda mı zuhura getürüldi bu ne-makule su' tedbirdir ki böyle evza'-ı na-hemvarı irtikab ve ihtiyar eyledinizin 'azametim ile 'alem-i ıslaha sa'y u himmet eder iken sen fitne ü fesad babın açmak ve kem fırsatlık etmek ve ihtilale ve cenk ü cidale ba'is ü badi olmak akıllık mıdır imdi bu babda akıbetin mekr etmedüği hakikatda merhum u magfurunleh Hüda 'alamız Sultan Orhan Han tabeserahü zaman-ı şerifinde mün'akid olan sulh u salahı bozmakdır*

From the Ottoman point of view, these actions were doubtlessly incompatible with the existing peace agreement, presented here as dating from the time of Orhan, and therefore triggered the suspension of the *'ahdname*. Though willing to have it renewed, the sultan warned that another breach would have devastating consequences, as he authorised the Silahdar, the new *kapudanpaşa*, to engage the navy in open war with the Republic. In the end, the sultan instructed the Doge to uphold his end of the deal, as this was the only way to prevent Ottoman retaliation. Threatening as this message was, it nevertheless asserted the sultan's intention to resume peaceful relations with the Serenissima once he returned to the capital.[62]

What this letter does not contain is equally important. The sultan does not mention that the Maghrebians had been called by him or by other Ottoman authorities to the Archipelago's defence, nor does he condemn any of their depredations, or the fact that they were sheltered in an Ottoman harbour, in contravention to the *'ahdname*. None of the disputes which held centre stage in Istanbul in the previous months seem to have mattered now. The only relevant topic for the sultan was the affair's outcome, that Venice had captured ships from the "Algerians", while he was away fighting the enemy on another front. This was perceived as a backstab, and this action alone was enough for the capitulations to be suspended, and thus, the restitution of the only remaining galley, the Algerian flagship *Cigala*, would become the principal Ottoman demand in the ongoing peace negotiations. Unknowingly to the Ottomans, however, a second ship was also spared from sinking at Corfu. Francis Knight saw it anchored in Pola, while he was going to Venice, after he managed to escape along with some other captives from Valona Castle.[63] Contarini was

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inşallahu'l-melikü'l-musta'an Asitan Sa'adet-aşyanımı teşrif müyesser oldukda size müceddeden 'ahdname-i hümayunum verilecekdir şöyleki benim ihsan eyledüğüm 'ahdname-i hümayun sa'det-makrunuma dahi nev'an muhalefet ihtimali olursa asla gadriniz makbul ve cevabınız mesmu' olmıyub gelecek sal-ı ferhunde falda donanma-yı cihan-havımla bi'l-fi'l kapudanım olub ka'im-makam-ı sadaret-i 'azamı olan düstur-u mükerrem müşir-i mufahham u muhterem nizamü'l-alem müdebbir-i umuru'l-cumhur bi'l-fikri's-sakib mütemmim-i mehamü'l-enam bi'r-re-yi's-saib mümehidd-i bünyanü'd-devletlü ve'l-ikbal müşeyyid-i erkani's-sa'adeti ve'l-iclal el-muhfuf-u bi-sunuf-u 'avatifü'l-lahu'l-melikü'l-ala ila'ala ikinci vezirim Silahdar Mustafa Paşa edam Allahü te'alla iclalehu muza'af iktidarayı üzerinize göydürüb vilayetinizi harab u yebab ve memleket ü mesailiğinizde olan ma'mur yerleri tude-i türab edüb tamam güşmal verilmek mukarrerdir ana göre basiret ü intibah üzere olub edebiniz ile olasız ve 'ahdname-i hümayun mucibince sulh u salahı kemal-ı mertebede ri'ayet eyleyesiz.

[62] The sultan's presence in Istanbul was mandatory for such official actions: the English ambassador also could not renew the *'ahdname* while Murad was away. M. Talbot, "A Treaty of Narratives: Friendship, Gifts and Diplomatic History in the British Capitulations of 1641", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 48, 2016, p. 379-380.

[63] Knight (*ibid*., p. 28) reported that the galley was destined to be presented as a prise to the Pope. Knight and others who were considered too weak to travel were left behind by Ali Picenino in

instructed not to mention the existence of this second galley, nor of the considerable firepower that was preserved before the Algerian and Tunisian galleys were sunk.[64] Venice could not afford the North Africans or even the Ottomans to regain any more offensive equipment that could then be used against the Republic.

Simultaneously with the doge's letter, Murad IV also sent *ferman*s to various governors in the Mediterranean, through which he enforced a commercial embargo on Venice. Contarini's sources in the Ottoman army's encampment in Amid provided the arrested *bailo* with a copy of the *ferman* sent to Şahin, the newly appointed *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia, which he then sent back to Venice.[65] The sultan informed Şahin that "some improper gestures which are contrary to my imperial covenant-letter have come into existence from the Doge of Venice's part" and ordered him, as he did the other *bey*s and *kadı*s on the road from Bosnia to Selanik,[66] to cease all trade with Venice:

> While my imperial covenant-letter is not given anew, contrary to my imperial command you shall not give nor allow to be given a single grain from the prohibited or authorised provisions, supplies, wheat, nor from other stores of grains and goods nor anything else from the *eyalet* under your authority to the Venetians in the above-mentioned ports of Split, Sibenik, Zadar, in newly established ports or anywhere else, to whom they used to be given since ancient times.[67]

Ottoman chroniclers also report on the interruption of trade. Compressing the timeline, Peçevi affirms that when the *kaymakam*'s report over the Valona events reached the Sultan, "at once he issued a noble rescript to imprison the European *bailo*s at the Threshold, in Aleppo and Alexandria, and to prohibit European ships from coming and going and from being given any

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Valona. After managing to escape the castle on the night of 22 October 1638, Knight and fourteen other captives rowed a boat for two days and two nights to the safety of Corfu.

[64] Cf. Contarini's dispatch to the Doge and Senate on 7 March 1639, in ASV, Sen. Disp. Cpoli., filza 120, f. 9r.

[65] ASV, MDT, d. 1456. This is most fortunate, as there is no surviving *Mühimme defteri* from the period between 1638-1642 (1048-1052 AH), nor were *ferman*s copied in the *bailo*'s registers while Contarini was under house arrest.

[66] *Bosnadan Selaniğe varınca yalılarda olan beylere ve kazılara dahi vech-i meşruh üzere hükumler gönder imişdir*.

[67] *Yeniden 'ahdname-i hümayunum verilmeyince taht-ı eyaletinden zikr olunan İsbalat ve Bosnanın* [sic! *Sibenik*] *ve Zadra ve yeniden ihdas olunan iskeleden ve gayrıdan Venediklüye kadimden verilmiş memnu' olunan ve ruhsat verilen zad ü zevade ve buğday ve sair zahir ü emti'a ve gayrıdan emr-i hümayunuma mugayır bir habbe vermiyesin ve verdirmiyesin*.

provisions".[68] Similarly, Na'ima explains that "because the Venetian infidels had broken the covenant" (*Venedik küffarı nakz-ı 'ahd etmeğin*), trade was suspended and "the Port of Spalato was closed" (*İsbalat iskelesi kapanub*). Na'ima then continues with the intrigues of various Ottoman officials, which formed the main topic of his exposition, but also introduces the notion that embargoing Venice was economically detrimental to the Ottomans. According to the chronicler, the *defterdar* of Bosnia protested that such a measure would deprive the treasury of a significant amount of tax revenue; he feared that Şahin Pasha had proposed such an embargo to win over the sultan's favour in order to obtain a more lucrative governorship in Persia. Murad IV allegedly replied that "I renounce that income; if anyone complains to me about this subject, it is from his own desire and I shall cut his head off";[69] and indeed, as the *defterdar* sent another *'arz*, Şahin obtained his execution.[70] This episode highlights not only the struggles between various grandees but also the shortcomings of such punitive measures against a trading partner: embargoing Venice for its scuffle with the Maghrebians would be disadvantageous for the Ottomans. It is no wonder then that peace negotiations commenced almost immediately after the trade ban.

In his dispatch sent to the Doge and the Senate on 6 March 1638, Contarini sent a translation of the terms that he proposed to *kaymakam* Musa Pasha: apart from returning the *Cigala*, Venice would also pay 150 thousand thalers and send an extraordinary ambassador to close the deal; in return, the Republic requested a *hatt-ı hümayun* from Murad IV, so that similar problems would be avoided in future.[71] Nonetheless, as *kapudanpaşa* Silahdar Mustafa informed the *bailo*, no reply could be given until the sultan returned to Istanbul and personally looked upon the matter.[72] After wintering in Diyarbakir for two months, Murad IV resumed his journey in April and finally arrived in Istanbul on 12 June 1639.[73] The sultan appointed Tabanıyassı Mehmed Pasha as *kaymakam*, replacing Musa Pasha, with whom Contarini had been carrying discussions all along.[74] By now, the bone of contention remained the sum of

[68] *Fi'l-hal bir hatt-ı şerif isdar buyurdılar ki Frenk balyozları gerek Asitanede gerek Halebde ve İskenderiyede habs olunub Frenk gemileri gelüb gitmekden ve kendülere bir vecih zahire vermekden men' olunalar*, cf. İ. Peçevi, *Tarih*…, vol. 2, p. 600.

[69] *Ol akçeden geçdim bu babda bana her kimin 'arz ederse kendu havası muktezasıncadır başın kesdim deyü*, cf. M. Na'ima, *Tarih*…, vol. 1, p. 691; also discussed in J. M. White, *Piracy*…, p. 163.

[70] A year later, Şahin would indeed be given a *beylerbeyilik*, though not in Persia, but in Hungary, that of Kanije. See M. Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, vol. 5, ed. by Nuri Akbayar, Istanbul, 1996, p. 1562.

[71] ASV, Sen. Disp. Cpoli., filza 120, f. 45r-v.

[72] Translation of an undated letter from Silahdar to Contarini (enclosed in the dispatch of 9 April 1639) in ASV, Sen. Disp. Cpoli., filza 120, f. 105r.

[73] İ. H. Danişmend, *İzhalı*…, vol. 3, p. 384.

[74] A *kaymakam* (deputy grand vizier) was still needed in Istanbul since the acting grand vizier, Kemankeş Pasha, was still on the Eastern front (where he just concluded the treaty of Kasr-ı Şirin). Tabanıyassı Mehmed had previously been grand vizier (1632-1637), governor of Silistra/Özü (25

money that Venice was to pay as compensation for the damages inflicted. While an agreement had been reached with the previous *kaymakam* for 100 thousand *zecchini*, Tabanıyassı now demanded three times as much. Both sides finally settled for 250 *zecchini* and Contarini was allowed to return to the Venetian embassy in Pera on 2 July 1639, after more than nine months of house arrest. A few days later, the *bailo* presented his official *'arz* for a *nişan-ı hümayun* (*segno imperiale*) which would restore normal relations and offer further liberties for the Venetians in case of pirate incursions.[75]

The contents of the anti-piracy *nişan* issued on *eva'il-i Rebi'ü'l-ahır* 1049/2 – 11 August 1639 were known until recently only from Sagredo's (and from there, Rycaut's) summary, which even described the document as "Capitulations".[76] Although no Ottoman versions seem available today, the official Italian translation, penned by dragoman Salvago, is nonetheless preserved amongst Contarini's dispatches.[77] The *nişan* opens with a short exposition over the Valona incident, mentioning that the Algerians and Tunisians were indeed called upon by the sultan to defend the Aegean while he was on campaign to recapture Baghdad, and since Venice had agreed to return the *Cigala*, normal relations would be resumed as before. Though not commenting upon the North Africans' conduct in any way, their fault is tacitly recognized in this document by granting Venice further assurances against their incursions. While a first provision mentions the reopening of trade,[78] the others are dedicated to combatting piracy: when arriving in Ottoman ports, corsairs shall leave guarantees that they will not attack Venetian possessions; castellans shall not give shelter to Corsairs who have pillaged Venetian ships and subjects; Venetian slaves and plundered goods found upon them shall be released and the corsairs imprisoned; Ottoman officials who do not obey these instructions shall be dismissed and punished exemplarily; and the Venetians shall not be held responsible when they attack corsairs, either on the high seas or when sheltered

July 1637) and of Buda (23 February 1638), where he also replaced Boşnak Musa Pasha, when the later was named *kaymakam*. See A. Özcan, "Mehmed Paşa, Tabanıyassı", *İSAM İslam Ansiklopedisi*, online version https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/mehmed-pasa-tabaniyassi (accessed 5 June 2020). For a comprehensive analysis of Tabanıyassı's rivalry with Silahdar, especially over their clients in Wallachia and Moldavia, see M. Wasiucionek, *The Ottomans and Eastern Europe: Borders and Political Patronage in the Early Modern World*, London – New York, 2019.

[75] Translation dated *evasıt-ı Rebi'ü'l-evvel* 1049/ 12-21 July 1639 in ASV, Sen. Disp. Cpoli., filza 120, f. 340r-v.

[76] G. Sagredo, *Memorie…*, p. 1058-1059; P. Rycaut, *History…*, p. 86-87.

[77] ASV, Sen. Disp. Cpoli, filza 120, f. 424r-429r. See Appendix 1.

[78] In Sagredo's summary the first provision concerns the *bailo*'s liberty ("*Che sarebbe l'Ambasciatore posto in libertà, e rimesso nel suo antico domicilio*"), a feature not present in the *nişan*, but only in the *'arz* ("*Che il Bailo sarà rimandato alla sua solita habitatione, et posto nella liberta suo primiera*").

by disobeying Ottoman officials.[79]. Finally, the *nişan* also prescribed that, in order to "fortify the foundations of eace", a new *bailo* would deliver the sum of 500 thousand *taleri*, the equivalent of 250 thousand *zecchini*.[80] By obtaining a *nişan* and not bargaining for a reissue of the *'ahdname*, Contarini had also prevented the need to send an extraordinary ambassador, whose mission would have further drained the Serenissima's treasury. This *nişan* would act as an extension of the *'ahdname*, as it was already customary for Venice's *'ahdname*s to be amended through such documents, instead of having new articles incorporated in them.[81] Moreover, the Venetians even managed to obtain the sultan's signature on this document, making it thus a *hatt-ı hümayun* ("imperial rescript").[82]

Joshua White has made an excellent analysis on how the anti-piracy provisions had supplemented the previous ones found in the *'ahdname*s, though it should be pointed out that his commentaries over the innovations found in the 1670 reissue should also be applied to this 1639 document, as the Italian

[79] Still, in the Ottoman-Turkish version this last provision is somewhat more ambiguous than Sagredo's "*Se mancassero li Castellani nell'esecutione dell'ordine sopradetto, possano i Venetiani invader da loro stesi i Corsari, senza disobbligare la Porta*", not to mention Rycaut's "if the Venetians shall then enter violently into the Port, where such Enemies have taken Refuge, it shall not be imputed to them for a Crime, or esteemed a Breach of the Capitulations". The *nişan* does not explicitly mention that the Venetians were allowed to attack Ottoman ports where such pirates were sheltered. See the Appendices for a comparison between the 1639 Italian text and the 1670 Ottoman-Turkish version.

[80] This equivalency confused Hammer, who considered Rycaut's "pieces of eight" to be the Ottoman *akçe* and thus suggested that the correct sum should have been 5 million silver coins. In 1639, the sum of 500 thousand silver *taleri* (Spanish *real*s or pieces-of-eight) was indeed equivalent to 250 thousand gold *zecchini*, as shown in the table found in Ş. Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge, 2010, p. 114. Contarini's *'arz* also confirms this equivalency: here, the sum was given only as "*Reali cinquecento mille*". Moreover, the two sums are used interchangeably in various documents.

[81] In late 1604, a *nişan* issued by Ahmed I at the request of *bailo* Ottaviano Bon supplemented the recently given *'ahdname* with 14 new articles. See R. Dipratu, "The 'Imperial Signs' (*nişan-ı hümayun*) …", and id., "14 articoli…".

[82] Since the sultan did not contribute with any writing on chancellery documents (the *tuğra* was drawn by the *nişancı*), the documents on which he inscribed with his own hand the formula *mucibince 'amel oluna* ("let it be done accordingly"), known as *hatt-ı hümayun* or *hatt-ı şerif* ("imperial/noble rescript"), gained more legal weight. Venetian dragomans sometimes signalled this feature in their translations with a phrase such as "*approbato di man Regia*" or "*ordine di pugno regio, Sia esseguito conforme al Comandamento*" above the main body of text. Although this is not the case for the only available translation of the 1639 *nişan*, the presence of Murad's signature on the original document is easily deducible from the phrase "*il felicissimio mio* ***Chatti Chumaiun***", a precise translation of the common *hatt-ı hümayun se'adet makrunum*, which the translator then went on to explain as being a "***Chirografo Imperiale***" (bold in the original manuscript).

translation perfectly matches the later Ottoman-Turkish text.[83] Likewise, White has pointed out that, in theory at least, France, England and the Dutch Republic also benefited from these new regulations inserted in the Venetian *nişan*, as their *'ahdname*s contained the most favoured nation's clause, which specified that any privilege granted to the Venetians would also be applied to them.

Still, the privileges granted to Venice through the *nişan* needed to be communicated and implemented by more practical decrees sent to Ottoman officials. Almost immediately with the issuing of the piracy *nişan*, Murad IV sent a series of *ferman*s to officials across the Empire, so that trade with the Republic would be resumed. A *ferman* dated *evasıt-ı Rebi'ü'l-ahır* 1049 /11 – 20 August 1639, sent to the *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia and the *sancakbeyi*s and *kadı*s of the same province, explained how the trade ban, imposed for "various reasons" (*ba'zı sebeb ile*), had been lifted through the issuing of the *nişan*; the sultan commanded that, according to this newly given *nişan* and to the previously given *'ahdname*s, the Venetians may again buy any sort of goods and merchandise from the Well-Protected Domains, in the old fashion (*üslub-u sabik üzere*), without anyone "interfering, attacking, transgressing or assaulting them" (*kimesne dahl u tecavuz u ta'addi u ta'arruz olunmayub*).[84] Recorded at the end of this *ferman* is a long list of governors and judges of many other provinces to whom identical instructions were sent, which shows how the process of resuming peaceful relations and commercial activities was implemented across the Ottoman Empire.[85] While these *ferman*s strictly concerned the renewal of commercial activities, the ones sent on *evahır-ı Rebi'ü'l-ahır* 1049/ 21 – 29 August 1639 to vice admiral Ebubekir Pasha and other maritime officials serving under his authority further instructed them to protect Venetian merchants and subjects from the attacks of Algerian and Tunisian corsairs.[86]

A test of these new anti-piracy regulations would soon come, as in the winter of 1639-1640 a similar event took place: a squadron of four North African corsair *bertone*s (*mağrib korsanları dört pare burtun ile*) captured a Venetian merchant vessel and took it along with its cargo and ten of its crew to the Ottoman harbour of Moton. The collective *ferman* sent by the new sultan, Ibrahim I (Murad IV had died on 8 February 1639), to the *beylerbeyi* of Mora, the *kadı* of Anavarin and the *dizdar* of Moton, on *eva'il-i Zi'l-ka'ade* 1049/24

[83] J. M. White, *Piracy…*, p. 163-164, 168-169. See the Appendices at the end of this paper for comparisons.
[84] ASV, Bailo à Costantinopoli, b. 252, d. 338, f. 42r.
[85] The following recipients were indicated: the *bey*s and *kadı*s of Ohrid, Yanya, Elbasan, Edirne, Sofia, Plovdiv, Skopje, Belgrade, Delvine, Thessaloniki, Cyprus, Mystras, Valona, İzmir, Sığla, Chios, Lesbos, Euboea, Lepanto, Egypt (Cairo), Alexandria, Aleppo, as well the castellans of Morea and the voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia.
[86] *Venediklünün tüccarı ve re'ayası her vecihle siyanet eyleyesiz ve Cezayir ve Tunus korsanları canibinden zarar u ziyan irişdirmemek*, cf. ASV, BAC, b. 252, d. 338, f. 40r.

February – 4 March 1640, described this event as being contrary to the *nişan*, from where it quotes the following stipulation:

> When a group of sea-faring corsairs, who have taken the Venetians' ships or enslaved their subjects and protégés, arrive under a citadel, the castellans shall not allow their sorts under the citadel, and in no way shall they give them safety and protection.[87]

Therefore, also quoting from the *nişan*, the sultan commanded the above-mentioned officials to hand over the men and goods taken from the Venetians and, also quoting the *nişan*, to "not set free the afore-mentioned corsair ships, [but] to detain them and to write down and report their exact names and designations",[88] so that proper action may be taken upon them. Moreover, the sultan directly addresses the castellan of Moton, who was the main culprit, since he accepted the corsairs before the walls of his citadel:

> You, who are the castellan, beware! You shall be on guard against further neglecting and being indulgent in this affair and you shall look attentively into it, as you shall certainly regret the disobedience of my noble order.[89]

Even though the *nişan* firmly specified that disobedient officials "shall be dismissed from office and strong punishments shall be given them to serve as examples to others", it appears that the castellan of Modon got away only with a warning, at least for the moment. Immediately dismissing and punishing him would have probably thwarted any chance of retrieving the Venetian ship, cargo, and men. This episode shows that in spite of clear regulations being delineated in *'ahdname*s and *nişan*s, provincial authorities still needed to be kept under control through such *ferman*s. And while the sultan was keeping his end of the deal by enforcing the new regulations this way, Venice had yet to deliver the promised amount of cash.

While the *Cigala* had already been delivered to the harbour of Anavarin some time before, the payment of 250 thousand *zecchini* was carried out as specified in the *nişan* by the new *bailo*, Girolamo Trevisan, on 16 *Receb* 1050/1

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[87] *Deryada gezen korsan ta'ifesi Venediklünün gemilerin alub re'aya ve tevabi'in esir edüb bir kal'a altına varduklarında ol-makuleleri dizdarlar kal'a altına komıyub bir vecihle himayet ü siyanet eylemiyler deyü*. ASV, BAC, b. 252, d. 338, f. 54r (an Italian translation was enclosed in Contarini's dispatch of 10 March 1640 ASV, Sen. Disp. Cpoli., filza 121, f. 34r-v).

[88] *Zikr olunan korsan gemileri salıverilmiyüb alıkolub isim ü resimleriyle doğru üzere yazub 'arz eyelesin ki sonradan haklarından ne vecihle emr-i şerifim sadr olursa mucibiyle 'amel oluna*. Again, this passage of the 1639 *nişan* is almost identical to what would be later introduced in its 1670 renewal, the earliest complete Ottoman-Turkish text of the piracy *nişan*.

[89] *Sen ki dizdarsın zinhar bu hususda ihmal ve müsamahadan ziyade hazer eyleyesin ki emr-i şerifim ita'at olunmaduğı içün nedamet çekmek mukarrer mülahaza eyleyesin*.

November 1640. Since a new sultan was now reigning, the fulfilment of Venice's obligations also brought with it the renewal of the *nişan*, as Murad IV's privileges had to be confirmed by his brother and successor, Ibrahim I. While this new *nişan*, dated *evahır-ı Receb* 1050/6 – 15 November 1640,[90] acknowledged in similar words the "putting in total silence" of the Valona affair, the continuation of normal relations and the overall confirmation of Murad's document, it did not list again the 1639 articles. As such, future reissues of the piracy *nişan* would reproduce Murad's 1639 document and not Ibrahim's 1640 one, although they would also mention this latter one as being renewed since it contained the recognition of Venice's payment and delivery of the *Cigala*.

The succession of Ibrahim I meant that the *'ahdname* was also due to be reissued and so Girolamo Trevisan was accompanied to Constantinople by Pietro Foscarini, who was elected extraordinary ambassador precisely for this mission. The new *'ahdname*, issued on *evahır-ı Şevval* 1641/24 January – 2 February 1641, was the first one in almost fifty years to bring any additions, since the ones granted to Venice by Ahmed I in 1604, Osman II in 1619, and Murad IV in 1625 simply reproduced Murad III's 1595 *'ahdname*. Through this new clause, Ibrahim decreed that "the imperial sign given for the pirate issue in the time of my late and deceased brother, Sultan Murad Han – may he rest in peace – shall also be renewed in my blissful reign".[91] It should be stressed that none of the *nişan*'s actual provisions was written down and this confirmatory clause was not inserted in the usual fashion amongst the other articles, but it was rather awkwardly sandwiched at the end, between the sultan's oath and the *sanctio*/*corroboratio*. Nonetheless, as the *'ahdname* was still considered to be the more formal type of document, the *nişan*'s simple mention would act as a guarantee that its provisions would have more weight, on the one hand, and that it would be less prone to annulments, on the other hand.[92] And while the 1639 *nişan* was only reconfirmed, not reissued, by Ibrahim I, this would change after 1669, when almost all subsequent *'ahdname*s would be paired with reissues of the anti-piracy *nişan*.

The end of the War of Candia (1645-1669) marked a new stage in the evolution of the Ottoman-Venetian peace-making process. The only new additions brought by the ensuing *'ahdname*, obtained by ambassador Alvise Molin from Mehmed IV on *evahır-ı Zi'l-hicce* 1080/12 – 21 May 1670, would

[90] Only an Italian translation is available: ASV, Sen. Disp. Cpoli., filza 121, f. 521r-522v.

[91] *Cennetmekan merhum u mağfurunleh karındaşım sultan Murad han tabeserahü zamanında korsan taifesi hususiçün verilen nişan-ı hümayun benim zaman-ı sa'adet-makrunumda dahi tecdid olunub*, cf. ASV, MDT, d. 1470.

[92] The previous, treaty-like *nişan* granted by Ahmed I to Venice in 1604 was annulled by grand vizier Nasuh Pasha in 1614 on the grounds that its articles, especially those regarding non-treaty merchants, were not confirmed through the *'ahdname*. See R. Dipratu, "The 'Imperial Signs' (*nişan-ı hümayun*) …", p. 122.

strictly concern the recent war. Otherwise, it essentially reproduced Ibrahim I's 1641 *'ahdname*, the last one issued before the war, along with its mention of the *nişan*, though, again, none of its articles were actually inscribed in the document.[93] Several months later, on *evahır-ı Rebi'ü'l-ahır* 1081/6 – 15 September 1670, the same ambassador obtained a separate reissue of Murad IV's 1639 *nişan*, in which the reconfirmation of Ibrahim's *nişan* was also outlined.[94] While this is the oldest complete Ottoman-Turkish text of the anti-piracy *nişan*, a brief comparison with the older Italian translation reveals that it is almost a verbatim reproduction of the previous 1639 document and that it does not bring any other innovations.[95] The only modifications consist in the removal of the clauses requiring Venice the payment of 250 thousand *zecchini* and the restitution of the *Cigala*, which were of course irrelevant now, as well as the addition of new introductory and concluding parts, suiting for the current situation. Thus, the Ottoman-Venetian anti-piracy regulations that reached their maturity in 1639 were simply reinstated in September 1670, and they would remain unchanged for the remaining time until Serenissima's dissolution by Napoleon in 1797.

Based on the 1670 model, three more reissues of the anti-piracy *nişan* would occur in the 18th century, alongside (but not simultaneously) with those of the *'ahdname*s: in October 1701, by Mustafa II (after the *'ahdname* of April 1701, a definite version of the Carlowitz peace agreement); in December 1718, by Ahmed III (after the *'ahdname* of July-August 1718 ratified the Passarowitz treaty); and finally, in July 1734, by Mahmud I (after the *'ahdname* of October 1733, which added a perpetuity clause, thus removing the need for future renewals).[96]

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[93] This is the only 17th century Venetian *'ahdname* of which no original is known to be preserved. An Ottoman-Turkish copy was inscribed in the *Ecnebi Defteri* and then printed in *Mu'ahedat mecmu'ası*, vol. 2, Istanbul, 1295 [1878], p. 146-156.

[94] Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Düvel-i Ecnebiye, 16/4, 1-2, from where it was later printed in *Mu'ahedat mecmu'ası*, vol. 2, p. 156-158. Two contemporary Italian translations are available: ASV, Sen. Disp. Cpoli., filza 143, f. 403r-404v (enclosed in Molin's dispatch of 8 September 1670), and ASV, MDT, d. 1540.

[95] Having only Rycaut's summary of the 1639 *nişan* at his disposal, White identified several additions appearing in 1670, such as the extension of the surety clause from North African corsairs to all corsairs (J. M. White, *Piracy…*, p. 169). But while Rycaut's summary indeed mentions here that "Pirats of Barbary [...] shall give Security", the 1639 Italian translation refers to "*Corsari, che vanno per mar*", which is an accurate translation of the *deryada gezen korsan ta'ifesi* found in the 1670 Ottoman-Turkish *nişan*.

[96] Ottoman-Turkish copies are available for the texts of 1701 (*Mu'ahedat mecmu'ası*, vol. 2, p. 196-198) and 1734 (*Mu'ahedat mecmu'ası*, vol. 2, p. 214-216). Ahmed III's first *'ahdname* of 1706 does not seem to have been followed by a *nişan*. The only known original of Mahmud I's *'ahdname* (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément turc 728) bears the date *evasıt-ı Cemazi'l-evvel* 1146/20-29 October 1733, while the copy printed in *Mu'ahedat mecmu'ası*, vol. 2, p. 198-21 is dated on 1 *Zi'l-hicce* 1145 (15 May 1733); the first date is also confirmed by a

A question remains as to why these *nişan*s were issued time and time again as separate documents and never inserted in the *'ahdname*s, as other similar documents tended to be. For example, a commercial *nişan* granted by Ibrahim I to England in 1053/1643-1644 was eventually incorporated into the *'ahdname* of 1675.[97] Furthermore, new anti-piracy clauses would continue to be added to the *'ahdname*s of other European states, such as those of England (1662, article 59)[98] and France (1740, new article 38).[99] It seems that issuing separate documents was simply the best solution when it came to Ottoman-Venetian interactions, as the "imperial-sign given for the corsair issue" (*korsan ta'ifesi hususiçün verilen nişan-ı hümayun*) was mentioned and quoted in *ferman*s throughout the 18th century, along with the *'ahdname*s.[100] Thus, the anti-piracy *nişan* first issued in 1639 following the Valona affair became not only a binding source of maritime law, but also a central component of the Ottoman-Venetian peace-making process.

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The Valona affair and its ensuing anti-piracy *nişan* is a perfect case study over the practical applications and limitations of Ottoman-Venetian peace agreements. A situation that brought the two neighbouring powers to the brink of war ultimately produced an enduring peace instrument that would become a staple of bilateral relations until the Republic's dissolution in the late 18th century. Despite the already established regulations on combating piracy, the *'ahdname*s were not enough to prevent Ali Picenino's fleet from raiding Venetian possessions in the Adriatic, nor from it being sheltered in an Ottoman harbour. Faced with a double breach of treaty, the Venetians were ultimately forced to attack both the corsairs and their Ottoman protectors. The first objective of this paper was to offer a critique of the sources, by re-evaluating the already established narrative over the Valona affair starting from the precious

manuscript copy kept in Piacenza, see G. Bellingeri, "Un frammento di storia veneto-ottomana a Piacenza (sul ms. turco "Landi 246" della Biblioteca Comunale: La Pace Perpetua del 1733)", in G. Bellingeri (ed.), *Turco-Veneta*, Istanbul, 2003, p. 108.

[97] Ottoman text in *Mu'ahedat mecmu'ası*, vol. 1, p. 259. For a translation see *The Capitulations and Articles of Peace Between the Majesty of the King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, etc. and The Sultan of the Ottoman Empire*, London, 1679.

[98] P. Rycaut, *The Capitulations and Articles of Peace*, Istanbul, 1663.

[99] A. Deval, *Capitulations ou Traités anciens et nouveaux, entre la Cour de France et la Porte Ottomane, Renouvelés & augmentés l'an de J.C. 1740, & de l'Égire 1153*, Paris, 1770.

[100] See, for example, the *ferman* sent to *kapudanpaşa* Aşçı Mehmed Pasha and his *kadı*, on *eva'il-i Ramazan* 1114/19-28 January 1703 (ASV, BAC, Carte turchi, b. 253, d. 345, f. 2v). Numerous other quotations of the anti-piracy *nişan* are found in the registers examined in B. Bouazi, *XVII ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Garb Ocaklarının Avrupa Ülkeleri İle Siyasi ve Ticari İlişkileri*, unpublished MA Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2002.

information found in Francis Knight's first-hand account, as well as in various materials contained in *bailo* Contarini's dispatches.

The gravity of the events unfolded at Valona was worsened since it all took place while Sultan Murad IV was personally leading the campaign to reconquer Baghdad, and so he considered Venice's actions as a backstab. While at first *bailo* Alvise Contarini was put under house arrest, it appears that only after the situation on the Persian front got more stabilized, with the capture of Baghdad, the Porte could enforce a trade embargo on the Republic. Even so, since neither side was actually willing to go to war, negotiations over the re-establishment of normal relations were commenced early on and were essentially concluded as soon as Murad IV returned to the capital. While at the beginning emphasis was put on the corsairs' depredations and the attitude of Ottoman officials in Valona towards them, what ultimately mattered was that Venice attacked those that were at least nominally subjects of a sultan and, more importantly, that these attacks occurred in an Ottoman harbour. Thus, the Ottomans were satisfied to have the Algerian flagship returned, as well as a considerable financial compensation paid by the Venetians. The latter, in turn, obtained an important amendment to the *'ahdname*s, a series of anti-piracy articles promulgated through a *nişan-ı hümayun*. The second objective of this paper was to analyse the surviving Ottoman-Turkish documents or their translations to determine the exact steps taken from halting trade with Venice and suspending the *'ahdname*s to their reinstatement and amendment through the *nişan*, which itself needed to be communicated and enforced through commands to local officials throughout the empire. Our understanding of the 1639 *nişan* has been greatly increased through the Italian translation published henceforth, determining thus that it already contained the provisions and wording of its 1670 version (which remains the oldest Ottoman-Turkish version known so far). The importance of the Valona affair can hardly be overlooked, as the anti-piracy *nişan* would be reissued alongside future *'ahdname*s until the perpetual peace agreements of 1733-1734, becoming thus a central element in the Ottoman-Venetian peace-making process.

Appendix 1. *Nişan* of 1639, Italian translation[101]

Il Segno[102] *nobilo, eccelso, inclito, e Regale, e la* ***Marca*** *gloriosa, signorile et trionfale, che per gratia d'Iddio corre e vale cosi' ordina e comanda.*

Da parte del doge e delli altri segnori di Venetia, che ab antico professano particolar sincerità, e corrispondenza verso l'eccelsa mia Porta, di felicità e giustitia decorata, lo spettabile tra i signori christiani Alvise Contarini kavalier, che hora presta il servitio di Bailo nella Regia mia Corte, ha'come segne esposto alla medesima potentissima mia Porta, Qualmente nella Imperial mia deliberatione dal Divin aiuto accompagnata d'andar all'impresa della gradita Babilonia rimasta per favor dell'omnipotente Iddio espugnata e dibellata, essendo stati di mia commissione chiamati alla custodia del Mar Bianco li Algerini, e Tunesini colle sue galee, nel loro passaggio à questa banda essendo entrati nel Golfo di Venetia; rendersi per ciò iscusabile il fatto seguito avanti la fortezza della Valona, mentre non essendo avisati i Venetiani esser quelli venuti con mia Imperial ordinatione hanno trattato con essi loro secondo che comporta l'antica inimicitia:

Che havendo con sua espressione ricercato lo stabilimento dell'inveterata amicitia colla felice mia Porta, stante la cosegna della galea Cigala hor essistente sana al mio deputando schiavo, debbano per ciò totalmente ponersi in silentio tutti gli altri successi, et ogni altro soggetto à ciò appartenente, senza che niun Ministro, nè persona ò publica, ò privata, possa in questa materia haver pretensione, et agitar causa, e se fosse agitata, non debba esser ascoltata:

Che per dal cagione essendo stato alle scale, nelle terre, e per le marine prohibito il traffico e commertio con Venetiani per mio nobil Comandamento, sia con mia Imperial licenza permesso di nuovo secondo il vigor dell'Imperiali Capitolationi concesse nei felici secoli de'miei magnanimi Avi, che siano in gloria, e gratiosamente confirmate della Maestà mia d'alto Vicariato insignita, affine che i mercanti, popoli, e vasselli d'ambe le parti in conformità dell'antico consueto andando e venendo alle scale, et à paesi del custodito mio Dominio, e mercantando, niuno l'impedisca, e molesti:

E che per conto delli Corsari, che vanno per mar, quando pervengono sotto le fortezze in Mar Bianco del mio custodito Dominio accioche in nesuna maniera non inferiscano danni alli Venetiani, si com'è notato nelle Capitolationi già concesse, debbano da patroni de'vasselli tirar le pieggiarie, e se i Corsari

[101] ASV, Sen. Disp. Cpoli, filza 120, f. 424r-429r. I am grateful to Anita Paolicchi for correcting my transcription.
[102] Marked in **bold** in the original manuscript, as other words and figures henceforth.

prindindo le navi de' Venetiani, e li suoi sudditi, e vassalli, si ritirassero sotto alcuna fortezza, i Castellani non admettendo questi tali sotto la fortezza, in niuna maniera li proteggano, e cosi' approssimandosi sotto alcuna fortezza essi Corsari colle prede de' Venetiani, e con schiavi loro sudditi, constando veramente esser li schiavi Veneti, mentre non s'habbino fatti Mussulmani, giusti alla buona pace siano rilasciati senza riscatto, e tolte dalle sue mani le prede, per esser restituite à patroni, et in oltre tali Corsari, che ardiscono di far attioni contrarie all'Imperial Capitolatione, et alla nobil mia mente, ovunque capitino, siano fermati, à fin d'esserne data relatione dello stato loro per nome, e cognome in scrittura diritta alla giustissima mia Porta, accioche poi si essequisca il mio nobil Comandamento, che si darà posteriormente e se nell'essecutione di tal mio nobil Comandamento useranno negligenza i Ministri e Castellani, non admesse le scuse loro nell'evidenza delle sue inobedienze alle mie Imperial Commessioni non solo siano dismessi, ma severamente anco puniti per essempio d'altri, e mentre sendo in ciò per connivenza trascurati i Ministri e Castellani contra dell'Imperial Capitolatione e del mio nobil Comandamento, se i Corsari pagheranno il fio, allhora non s'incolpino i Venetiani, e trovandosi in alto mare colle galee, e colli bertoni de' Barbareschi li Venetiani, se investiranno gli uni con gli altri, nel danno di qual siasi parte, per questo anco non vi sia che dire:

Che cosi' ricercando il mio eminente ordine con mio nobil felice carattere affirmato, in conformità della sincera amicitia abantico mostrata alla felice mia Porta, per ferma continuatione della pace, hà esso Bailo hora residente nell'eccelsa mia Corte promesso, che il nuovo Bailo venturo alla fine di Marzo del presente anno il qual deve resiedere all'ordenario alla sublime mia Porta, darà e consegnerà intieramente in dono e presente cinquecento mille taleri che fanno cecchini doicento e cinquanta mille instando, che fortificati i fondamenti della pace, senza che in avenire segna operatione e moto contro della promessa fide, siano tutte le premesse materie aggradite si' che nella mia nobil compiacenza è comparso il felicissimio mio ***Chatti Chumaiun*** *cioè* ***Chirografo Imperiale****, Qualmente Tali Instanze de' Venetiani sono riuscite di mio Nobil Aggradimento: e più in avenire Non facciano Attione Contraria alla Nostra Sodisfattione, et all'Imperial Capitolatione; Però hò concesso questo mio inclito* ***Segno****, et* ***Comando****, che dal di' d'hoggi, si com'è la nobil mia permissione, i mercanti, e popoli d'ambe le parti venendo, et andando dal mio custodito Dominio à Venetia, et alle terre, et isole à lei soggette, possano come prima negotiare e trafficare, ne' alcuno sia loro molesto et infesto contro del mio nobil Comandamento, tanto se verranno per terra, quanto per mare nel custodito mio Dominio, e da esso anche partendo, affine che tutto il mio giusto governo attendano i mercanti con sicurtà e quiete à suoi commertij e guadagni. Nel proposito poi dei danni in alcuna maniera recabili à Venetiani da conto delli Corsari Tunisini, et Algerini, che scorrono il mare, e per il loro freno da*

Ministri ponendo, sia essequito come distintamente di sopra si espone, senza che niuno delli miei schiavi assentisca in opposito contra la pace, e promissione, i quali non si faranno lecito di mostrarsi inobedienti al comparso mio nobil ordine. Cosi' sapranno, e del continuo faranno l'essecutione coforme alla continenza di questo mio nobil ***Segno***.

Dati nella regal Città di Costantinopoli a primi della luna di Rebiul Achir l'anno 1049 fin nel primo terzo del mese di Agosto 1639.

Trad: dal Salvago

Appendix 2. *Nişan* of 1670, transliteration[103]

Merhum u mağfurunleh Sultan Mehemmed Han zamanında korsan ta'ifesi hususiçün verilen nişan-ı hümayundur

Nişan-ı hümayun oldur ki
Bundan akdem Venedik cuhmuriyle mabeyinde olan cenk ü cidal dostluğa mübeddel ve ke'l-evvel sulh u salah mün'akid olub 'ahdname-i hümayunum verilmeğile mukaddema amm-ı büzürgvarum merhum sultan Murad Han ve babam merhum sultan İbrahim Han 'aleyhirrahmet ve'l-gufranın korsanlar hususiçün verdikleri nişan-ı hümayunları mucibince 'amel olunmak üzere ellerinde mu'ahhar tarihle i'mal olunan 'ahdname-i hümayunda mestur olmağıla ibraz eylediklerinde tecdid olunmak üzere müceddeden verilen 'ahdname-i hümayunumda dahi derc olunmuş Südde-i sa'adet-medarımda Venedik cumhurının büyük elçisi olan kıdvet-i ümera-ı'l-azamu'l-'iseviyye Alvize Molin kavalyer hutimet 'avakıbuhu bi'l-hayr hala ol nişan-ı hümayunları ibraz edüb 'ahdname-i hümayunumda mestur olduğı üzere müceddeden nişan-ı hümayunum verilmek babında istid'a-yı 'inayet ve istirca-yı 'atifet etmeğile imdi mukaddema mabeyinde zuhur u büruz eden cenk ü cidal sebebile iskelelerde ve yalılarda ve kasabatda Venediklüden ferman-ı şerifimle alış-veriş umurı men' ü def' olunmuşdu **[I]** *elhaletü hazihi ta'ife-i mezbure ile sulh ü salah olunub müceddeden verilen 'ahdname-i hümayunum mucibince kema fi'l-evvel ruhsat verilüb iki tarafın tüccar ve ahalisi ve gemileri mu'tad-ı kadim üzere Memalik-i Mahrusemde vaki' olan iskelelere ve vilayetlere varub gelüb ticaret edüb bir ferd mani' ü müzahim olmıya* **[II]** *ve deryada gezen korsan ta'ifesi Ak Deniz yalılarında Memalik-i Mahrusemin kal'aları altına vardıklarında mukaddema verilen 'ahdnamede mestur olduğı üzere Venediklüye bir vecihle zarar ziyan etmemek içün gemi re'islerinin kefilleri alına* **[III]** *ve anın gibi korsan ta'ifesi Venediklülerin gemilerin alub re'aya ve tevabi'ni esir edüb bir kal'a altına varduklarında ol-makuleleri dizdarlar kal'a altına komıyub bir vecihle himayet*

[103] BOA, Düvel-i Ecnebiye, 16/4, p. 1-2. I am grateful to Michał Wasiucionek for providing me a copy of this document.

ü siyanet eylemiyler **[IV]** *ve anın gibi mezkur korsanlar akdarmaları ve esir eyledikleri Venedik re'ayasıyla bir kal'a altına yetişdiklerinde ellerinde bulunan esirleri Venediklü oldığı mukarrer ü zahir oldukda İslam gelmiyenler sulh u salah muktezasınca bahasız ıtlak etdirilüb ve akdarmaları dahi ellerinden alınub sahiblerine verile* **[V]** *ve ol makule riza-yı şerifime ve 'ahdnameye muhalif vaz' eden korsanlar vardıkları mahalde alıkonılub ahvalları zahir oldığı üzere isim ve resimleriyle yazılub Dergah-ı sa'adet-penahıma 'arz oluna ki sonradan haklarında emr-i şerifim bu vecihle sadır olursa mucibiyle 'amel oluna* **[VI]** *ve vech-i meşruh üzere sadır olan ferman-ı şerifim icrasında eğer hakimler ve eğer dizdarlar ihmal ederler ise 'uzr ve cevabları makbul olmıyub ferman-ı hümayuna 'adam imtisalları zahir oldukda 'azlıyla konulmıyub sa'ire mucib 'ibret içün muhkem cezaları verile* **[VII]** *ve hükkam ve dizdarlar 'ahdname-i hümayun ve sadır olan emr-i şerife muhalif bu hususda mukayyed olmıyub müsamaha eylediklerinde korsan ta'ifesi cezalanursa ol zaman Venediklüye töhmet onlunmıya* **[VIII]** *ve anın gibi Magriblünün kadırgaları ve burtunları enginde Venediklü ile birbirlerine buluşduklarında Venediklü ile cenk ü harb ederler ise herkangi tarafa zarar isabet ederse anın içün su'al ve cevab olunmıya ve fimaba'd hilaf-ı sulh u 'ahd vaz' u hareket sudur etmemek üzere sulh u salaha ri'ayet olunub madamki bundan sonra rıza-yı yümn-ü iktiza-yı padişahaneme ve vurud bulan 'ahdname-i hümayunuma muhalif Venediklü ta'ifesinin vaz' u hareketleri olmıya hilaf-ı 'ahdname-i hümayun zikr olunan husus mestur olduğı üzere icra olunmak babında ferman-ı hümayunum sadır olub ellerine müceddeden bu nişan-ı hümayunı verdüm ve buyurdumki ba'de'l-yevm hala verilen 'ahdname-i hümayunum ve sadır olan işbu nişan-ı 'alişanım mucibince tarafeyinin tüccarı ve ahalisi Memalik-i Mahrusemden Venediğe ve ana tabi' olan diyarlara ve adalara emn ü selamet üzere varub gelüb kema fi'l-evvel alış veriş edüb Memalik-i Mahrusemde karadan ve deryadan gelüb ve gitdiklerinde ferman-ı şerifime muhalif kimesne dahl u ta'arruz ve tecavüz ü men' etmiyüb eyyam-ı 'adalet-i encamımda tüccar u sevdageran refahiyet ü itminan üzere kesb-i ticaretlerinde olalar ve Ceza'irlü ve Tünüslüden ve deryadan gezen korsanlar canibinden Venediklüye bir vecihle zarar u ziyan irişmemek hususunda ve hükkam tarafından muhkem zabt u rabt olunmaları babında balada mezkur olan tafsil ile 'amel olunub mugayir-i sulh u salah ve 'ahdname-i hümayun kullarımdan bir ferd hilafına cevaz ve sadır olan ferman-ı şerifimin 'adam imtisalına ihtiyar göstermiyeler şöyle bileler ve 'ala'd-devam işbu nişan-ı şerifimin mazmuniyle 'amel kılalar tahriren fi evahır-ı şehr-i Rebi'ü'l-ahır sene ahdi ve semanin ve elf*

bi-mekam-ı
Edirne
el-mahruse
m

Appendix 3. *Nişan* of 1670, translation

It is the imperial sign given for the affair of the corsair group in the time of the late and deceased Sultan Mehmed Han.

Thus [commands] the imperial sign:

Previously, battles and fighting with the Republic of Venice have altered the friendship, and [now] peace and amity are concluded as before. Because my imperial covenant-letter was given [anew], and because they were [also] delineated in the preceding imperial covenant-letter which is in their hands, the previous imperial signs given for the corsairs' issue by my late and noble uncle, Sultan Murad Han, and by my late father, Sultan Ibrahim Han – God's mercy and pardon be upon them! – were likewise inscribed in my newly-given imperial covenant-letter when they were presented to be renewed, so that they may be executed accordingly.

The Republic of Venice's great ambassador at my Gateway, the centre of happiness, *cavaliere* Alvise Molin, model of the most exalted leaders of the followers of Jesus – may his ends come with luck! – now presented those imperial signs and graciously requested and pitifully begged that my imperial sign may be given anew, as delineated in my imperial covenant-letter. Now, owing to the previous war and dispute which came to pass and manifested between us, the Venetians have been prohibited and driven back from the affairs of trade in ports, shores, and towns, through a noble command.

[I] At the present time, peace and amity have been made with the above said community, and according to my newly-given imperial covenant-letter permission was given as before, so that the merchants, people and ships of the two sides may arrive and come to conduct trade in the ports and provinces of my Well-Protected Domains, according to the old custom; in no way shall they be prevented or opposed.

[II] When the group of sea-fearing corsairs arrive before the citadels of my Well-Protected Domains on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, guarantees shall be taken from their captains so that they will not damage or hurt the Venetians in any way, as delineated in the former covenant-letter.

[III] Likewise, when those of the corsairs' group who have taken the Venetians' ships or enslaved their subjects and dependants arrive before a citadel, the castellans shall not allow their sorts before the citadel, and in no way shall they give them safety and protection.

[IV] Likewise, when the aforementioned corsairs arrive under a citadel with prizes and slaves of the Venetian subjects, the slaves of Venetian origin found in their hands, who surely and certainly did not come to Islam, shall be set free without any costs, according to the peace and amity, and the prizes shall also be taken from their hands and given to their [proper] owners.

[V] The corsairs who in that way act contrary to my noble permission and covenant letter shall be detained on the spot, upon arrival; their name and designation shall be written down so that their situation may be revealed, and they shall be submitted to my Porte, the shelter of happiness, so that if my noble order concerning them is decreed afterwards, it shall be enforced as required.

[VI] If the execution of my noble command which was decreed in the described manner is neglected by either judges or castellans, apologies and replies shall not be accepted; those who openly show disobedience to my imperial command shall be dismissed from office and strong punishments shall be given them, to serve as examples to others.

[VII] If the judges and castellans who, in opposition to the decreed imperial covenant-letter and noble order, are not diligent in this matter and if the group of corsairs whom they are indulgent with are punished, the Venetians shall not be indicted.

[VIII] Likewise, inquiries shall not be started if the Maghrebians' galleys and *bertone*s meet with the Venetians on the high seas, wage war and battle with one another, regardless of whichever part may be struck and damaged.

The peace and amity shall hereafter be observed so that acts and deeds contrary to the peace and covenant shall not take place, as long as from now on the Venetian community shall not act and behave in opposition to the prosperous satisfaction of my imperial requirement and to my [newly] arrived imperial covenant letter. My imperial command regarding the execution of the delineated problems, which are contrary to the imperial covenant-letter, having been decreed, I gave this new imperial sign to their hands and ordered that:

From this day on, according to the now-given imperial covenant-letter and to this decreed illustrious sign of mine, merchants and inhabitants of both sides shall arrive and come safely and securely from my Well-Protected Domains to Venice and to its dependent countries and islands, and shall engage in buying and selling as before. Nobody shall interfere with or molest them, nor shall they attack or prevent them from coming and going to my Well-Protected Domains by land or sea. In my days of ultimate justice, merchants and traders shall comfortably and confidently profit from trading.

The provision that from the part of the Algerians, Tunisians and sea-fearing corsairs damage and injury may in no way be inflicted upon the Venetians, as well as the matter regarding the unsound governance of the rulers, shall be executed as detailed above; none of my slaves shall permit actions contrary to the peace and amity and in opposition to the imperial covenant-letter, and disobedience to my decreed noble command shall not be allowed. Thus shall they know and they shall continuously carry out the contents of this noble sign of mine!

Written at the end of the month of *Rebi'ü'l-ahır*, the year one thousand and eighty-one.

In the seat of Edirne
the Well-Protected
concluded

*

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

ASV = Archivio di Stato di Venezia.
BAC = *Bailo à Costantinopoli*, *Carte turchi* (b. 252, d. 338; b. 253, d. 345).
Lettere e scritture turchesche V.
MDT = *Miscellanea documenti turchi*.
Sen. Disp. Cpoli. = *Senato*, *Dispacci*, *Costantinopoli* (filze 119, 120, 121, 143).
Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi.
Düvel-i Ecnebiye, 16/4.
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PART 3

TRAVELLING FROM EAST TO WEST:
A LIFE-CHANGING EXPERIENCE

PRESQUE EN ORIENT. LE REGARD DIFFÉRENT SUR LE SUD-EST EUROPÉEN D'UN VOYAGEUR ITALIEN : STANISLAO GRIMALDI DEL POGGETTO, DE TURIN À CONSTANTINOPLE

Paolo Gerbaldo

De Turin à Constantinople : la première étape du voyage en Orient du noble piémontais Stanislao Grimaldi del Poggetto

Turin. Le 10 septembre 1872. Le Comte Stanislao Grimaldi del Poggetto part en compagnie de son ami, le chevalier Giacinto Ballada di Saint-Robert, pour se rendre à Constantinople. La première étape d'un voyage au Levant avec la destination finale Jérusalem. Le 28 novembre 1872, soixante-dix-neuf jours après le départ, Stanislao retourne à Turin.

Pour le voyage en Orient c'est une période fondamentale. En fait, les dernières décennies du XIX^{e} siècle marquent bien la différence entre le voyage romantique du début du siècle et sa transformation en voyage touristique. Un changement historique et économique qui a commencé avec l'inauguration, en 1869, du Canal de Suez et l'arrivée en Terre Sainte, la même année, de Thomas Cook, avec sa nouvelle façon de proposer le voyage en Orient : en groupe et organisé.

Maintenant nous laissons à Stanislao Grimaldi del Poggetto l'explication des raisons pour lesquelles il est parti vers l'Orient.

> Sul principio del 1872, venne un giorno da me il mio amico Conte Donato, Console a Bukarest, che vedevo sempre volentieri quando era di passaggio in Torino, e mi partecipò che veniva d'essere traslocato dalla Rumenia alla Palestina e nominato Console generale a Gerusalemme. Egli faceva i preparativi occorrenti per la sua nuova residenza, che gli sorrideva assai, e doveva fra poco recarsi a destinazione colla moglie Contessa di Castagneto, figlia dell'antico Intendente della Real Casa di Carlo Alberto.
>
> – Dovreste venire, mi diss'egli, a fare un pellegrinaggio a Gerusalemme ; visiteremmo assieme i luoghi santi, vi andremmo ad aspettare a Beyrouth, attraverseremmo il Libano, la Siria, Damasco, la Galilea, e, giunti, a Gerusalemme, sareste ospitato in casa nostra. Su via, lasciatevi tentare ; sarà un

> bellissimo viaggio ed interessante per voi che amate l'Oriente, e lo fareste nelle migliori condizioni possibili, ed, oso dire, in buona compagnia[1].

Au sein de l'Empire ottoman, le consulat italien à Jérusalem, ayant juridiction sur la Palestine, a été établi le 15 novembre 1871.

> Alla sede, che costituiva soprattutto un osservatorio privilegiato nel Levante, venne destinato il conte Alessandro de Rege di Donato e S. Raffaele. Le istruzioni inviate al nuovo Agente nel gennaio del 1872 chiariscono gli obiettivi dell'istituzione e, tenendo in conto le difficoltà del passato, delimitano l'azione dell'inviato[2].

Le consul Donato commence son service à Jérusalem le 6 mars 1872. L'incertitude et l'hésitation à entreprendre le long voyage pour rejoindre l'ami consul sont vite résolues par un voyageur toujours prêt à partir et à le faire en peu de temps.

> Ero allora nel vigore dell'età, inclinato ai viaggio lontani, libero delle mie azioni, senza ritegni di famiglia né di carriera, ed infine discretamente in fondi, per il favorevole risultato dei bachi da seta[3].

Un autre trait qui caractérise le Comte comme voyageur expert est la capacité de se déplacer de manière indépendante. En fait, il prend rendez-vous avec le Comte Donato à Beyrouth pour la mi-octobre.

Actif au microcosme qui constitue la société élitiste des voyageurs, Stanislao partage l'intérêt du voyage, également considéré comme un indicateur important d'appartenance à un rang social. Le Comte note les nombreux aspects éthiques, comportementaux, historiques et artistiques présents dans les différents lieux, qu'il rapporte, ensuite, dans son *journal de voyage*. Il est toujours attentif à saisir les nombreux éléments qui caractérisent les différents lieux, prenant souvent également en compte les aspects pratiques du voyage : risques et équipements nécessaires ; services d'hôtel et d'auberge ; les postes ; caravansérails et abris, plus ou moins de chance, situés le long de l'itinéraire.

Mais qui est le Comte ?

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[1] S. Grimaldi del Poggetto, *Ricordi di un ufficiale dell'antico esercito sardo*, vol. IV, Torino, 1893, p. 45-46.

[2] C. Lisi (éd.), « L'archivio del Consolato sardo in Palestina poi Consolato d'Italia a Gerusalemme (1843-1943) », dans *Storia & Diplomazia. Rassegna dell'Archivio Storico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale*, V, gennaio-dicembre 2017, Roma, p. 51. « Alessandro de Rege di Donato e S. Raffaele, con r. d. 15 novembre 1871 è incaricato di reggere il Consolato in Gerusalemme con patenti di console 140; con r.d. 15 settembre 1873 è promosso console di seconda classe; nel dicembre 1879 è trasferito a Corfù » (*Ibid.*, p. 57).

[3] S. Grimaldi del Poggetto, *Ricordi di un ufficiale…*, p. 46.

Stanislao Grimaldi del Poggetto, né à Chambéry le 25 août 1825, fils du Comte Emilio del Poggetto et de Polissena Pobel Vibert de la Pierre, est issu d'une ancienne famille dont les origines remontent aux Grimaldi de Gênes, également présents à Nice avec une succursale. Après avoir terminé ses études littéraires, il a commencé sa carrière militaire en 1839. Cependant, l'artiste émerge aux côtés de l'officier de la « cavalerie de Gênes » : il est l'auteur de crayons et aquarelles. Il s'établit ainsi comme peintre, au XIX[e] siècle, dans le Piémont. Grimaldi fut plus tard également apprécié comme dessinateur de chevaux pour le roi Vittorio Emanuele II. Le Comte est l'auteur d'œuvres commémoratives, de sculptures et du monument à Alfonso Ferrero della Marmora. Au cours de sa vie, pour des missions ou pour le plaisir, il voyage beaucoup : Paris, Londres, Tunis, Caucase, Perse et Proche-Orient. Stanislao Grimaldi del Poggetto, plusieurs années plus tard, a traduit ses notes de voyage et ses notes biographiques : *Ricordi di un ufficiale dell'antico esercito sardo*[4]. Après avoir participé, en 1862, à la Mission italienne en Perse, à travers le Caucase russe, le Comte retourne ensuite en l'Orient. Son deuxième voyage autour de la Méditerranée est la suite naturelle de celui de 1862. Le Comte Grimaldi, qui passe toujours ses vacances d'été à l'ermitage de Busca, dans le Piémont, décède à Turin le 17 mai 1903[5].

Voyons maintenant le chemin choisi par Grimaldi pour atteindre Constantinople pour la deuxième fois : la porte d'Orient.

Ce qui est intéressant, cependant, est l'itinéraire choisi pour son deuxième voyage en Orient. Stanislao choisit la voie terrestre, un chemin qui lui permet de se déplacer en Europe orientale le long d'une frontière mobile, où la fascination de l'Orient ottoman deviendra de plus en plus forte. Un chemin connu comme la troisième route et que les guides de l'époque résument ainsi.

> La troisième route est celle du Danube et de la mer Noire. On se rend directement, par les chemins de fer, à Vienne et à Pesth, ou même, à travers la Hongrie, jusqu'à Basiasch, petite ville située sur le Danube, entre Belgrade et Orsowa. De là, on descend le Danube avec les bateaux à vapeur de la *Compagnie impériale et royale autrichienne*, jusqu'à Routschouk, où l'on reprend le chemin de fer jusqu'à Varna : durée du trajet, 7 heures. De Varna les bateaux de la *Compagnie du Lloyd autrichien* conduisent les voyageurs jusqu'à Constantinople en 15 heures. Pour la navigation du Danube, on a le choix entre les services directs et indirects. Les premiers marchent jour et nuit, et mènent en 2 jours et demi de Basiasch à Constantinople (3 jours pour le voyage en sens inverse). Les seconds, s'arrêtant partout où il y a des marchandises à prendre ou

[4] S. Grimaldi del Poggetto, *Ricordi di un ufficiale…*. Le *Journal* du deuxième voyage en Orient est contenu dans le quatrième volume.

[5] F. Franco, « Grimaldi (Grimaldi del Poggetto), Stanislao », dans *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (*DBI*), vol. 59, Roma, 2002, p. 590-591 ; P. Gerbaldo, *Viaggio nel Grande Gioco. Stanislao Grimaldi del Poggetto. Un viaggiatore Piemontese d'altri tempi*, Torino, 2009.

> à déposer, mettent un temps infiniment plus long et très variable. Mais, en revanche, ce dernier mode est infiniment plus économique. À Drenkova on change de bateaux jusqu'à Orsova, à cause des *rapides* du Danube ; et d'Orsova à Kladova on fait le trajet en chars (*carrouzza*). Les points d'arrêt les plus importants au-dessous de Pesth sont Belgrade, Orsova, Turnul-Severinu et Giurgevo. Les bateaux de la *Compagnie autrichienne* sont parfaitement organisés. On y trouve des lits convenables, une table d'hôte très bien tenue et tout le confort désirable. La route de Constantinople par le Danube est de jour en jour plus fréquentée par les voyageurs européens, dont la plupart redoutent le mal de mer[6].

La troisième route est une voie qui a pris de l'importance depuis le milieu du XIX^e^ siècle comme alternative à celle par voie maritime.

> La marine à vapeur et une plus grande sécurité sur les mers aidèrent à établir des liaisons régulières. À la fin des années 1830, les Messageries françaises et le Llyod autrichien inaugurèrent une ligne périodique entre Marseille – ou Trieste – et Istanbul via Smyrne, réduisant le voyage à une semaine. Le Danube, dont le traité de Paris en 1856 avait réglementé la navigation internationale, permettait aussi d'atteindre la Mer Noire et, associé un peu plus tard au chemin de fer depuis Varna, de gagner Istanbul. Car autour de la capitale ottomane, comme dans la région de Smyrne, la voie ferrée avait révolutionné les transports. Moins de vingt ans après ces premières réalisations eut lieu en 1883 le célèbre voyage inaugural de l'Orient-Express qui mit Paris à quatre jours d'Istanbul, atteinte encore à cette date par bateau depuis la Bulgarie. La ligne fut bientôt complétée et le « tapis magique à destination de l'Orient » fit en août 1888 son entrée dans la capitale ottomane, au pied du sérail de Topkapi, à la gare de Sirkedji, œuvre orientaliste édifiée pour l'occasion par l'architecte austro-hongrois August Jasmund[7].

Toutefois, la troisième route, avec les avantages mis en évidence par l'*Orient Express*, n'est pas trop recommandée pour ceux qui veulent se rendre en Orient lentement avec la manière plus classique.

> Elle deviendra infailliblement la première, lorsque les chemins de fer turcs viendront se relier au réseau des chemins autrichiens. On peut toute fois regretter cette tendance au point de vue des touristes : les côtes d'Italie, Malte, la Grèce, préparaient le voyageur aux merveilles de Constantinople par une gradation lente, conforme d'ailleurs au développement historique de ces contrées. Lorsqu'un chemin de fer pourra transporter en trois ou quatre jours, de Londres, de Paris ou de Vienne, dans une ville comme Constantinople, sans

[6] E. Isambert, *Itinéraire descriptif, historique, archéologique de l'Orient*, *Première partie : Grèce et Turquie d'Europe*, Série Guide Joanne, Paris, 1873, p. 495-496.
[7] J-F. Solnon, *Le turban et la stambouline. L'Empire ottoman et l'Europe XIV^e^-XX^e^ siècle, affrontement et fascination réciproque*, Paris, 2009, p. 430-431.

> préparation, sans transition aucune, la première impression sera perdue, on comprendra mal l'Orient : il est vrai que celui-ci achèvera alors de perdre en quelques années ce qui lui reste de pittoresque[8].

Cependant, le Comte, voyageur d'un monde élitiste sans soucis de temps et d'argent, ne s'intéresse pas trop à la rapidité du déplacement, mais plus à la possibilité de découvrir de nouvelles régions : le royaume de Bavière, Vienne, Budapest, le Danube, Bucarest, Varna et la Mer Noire. C'est un choix judicieux du chemin et aussi des étapes du chemin qui l'aurait conduit à Constantinople. Commençons alors le voyage en compagnie du Comte Grimaldi.

Le début du voyage

Passant à Vérone et Trento, Brenner (Innsbruck) est la première étape importante du voyage. Le Comte arrive ensuite à Monaco, après une journée de voyage en train : une escale de quatre jours pour admirer ses trésors artistiques avant de partir pour Vienne.

L'arrivée à Vienne offre à Stanislao la possibilité d'interagir avec les membres de la diplomatie présents, en commençant par Carlo Felice Nicolis, Comte de Robilant (1826-1888), ancien compagnon de l'Académie militaire et ambassadeur à Vienne de 1871 à 1885. Le Comte de Robilant le présente au cercle élite des diplomates et soldats italiens présents, favorables à son séjour et à son contact avec la ville : « Intrapresi poscia col Baedeker alla mano la visita di rigore a tutti i pubblici edifici e musei che interessano il viaggiatore »[9].

Sept heures de trajet en train séparent Vienne de Budapest, où le Comte arrive le soir du 24 septembre. La capitale du royaume de Hongrie est la deuxième âme de la double monarchie issue de l'accord signé le 18 février 1867. L'union de Vienne et de Budapest s'appelle François-Joseph, en tant que monarque commun : empereur à Vienne et roi à Budapest.

En séjournant à l'hôtel *Regina en Angleterre*, Stanislao reste à Budapest pendant deux jours. Ici aussi, le réseau de l'élite l'accueille, pour faciliter son séjour et sa connaissance de la réalité locale.

> Il signor Venanzio, Console italiano, fu per me assai cortese, mi accompagnò a percorrere la città, mi invitò a pranzo al club, ove si riunisce tutto il personale diplomatico, e mi diede molti interessanti ragguagli sul carattere degli Ungheresi, così diversi dai loro vicini Tedeschi, coi quali sono in permanente antagonismo[10].

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[8] E. Isambert, *Itinéraire descriptif…*, p. 496.
[9] S. Grimaldi del Poggetto, *Ricordi di un ufficiale…*, p. 54.
[10] *Ibid*., p. 61.

> La réduction de la vitesse de déplacement est le premier indicateur de l'approche du monde oriental. Elle est causée par les conditions routières ou ferroviaires. À partir de Budapest, le train réduit en effet de plus en plus sa vitesse, en raison des conditions de la ligne. Le second est plutôt donné par l'incertitude des correspondances avec les trains qui ne partent pas ou font un itinéraire réduit.

Les guides de l'époque rapportent la construction récente des chemins de fer également dans le monde ottoman.

La Turquie a enfin commencé la construction de ses voies ferrées où elle s'était laissé devancer depuis longtemps par l'Égypte. « (…) Non plus que des chemins de fer de Roustchouk à Varna, et de Kustendjé à Tcherna-Voda, Constantinople a entendu, en 1871, siffler la première locomotive et ouvert sa première gare, tête de ligne du chemin de fer d'Andrinople, qui marche déjà jusqu'à Kutchuk-Tchekmedjè (15 kil. 1/2 de Constantinople) »[11].

Mais le meilleur choix est toujours celui du bateau qui descend le Danube et que Stanislao indique comme : « La principale è più importante arteria di comunicazione coll'Oriente »[12]. Le bateau s'arrête pour charger et décharger des passagers dans des villages « poveri, sporchi e fangosi »[13]. Pendant les heures de navigation, Stanislao décrit donc ses compagnons de voyage et la façon de voyager. « I viaggi in battello sono più piacevoli che non quelli in ferrovia ; non si è costretti a stare immobili, si può prender aria, passeggiare sul ponte, godere della vita, e, quando il tempo è bello e le sponde ridenti, il navigare sui fiumi è uno dei più ameni mezzi di viaggiare »[14].

La qualité des bateaux et la variété des passagers est également intéressante pour la plume du Comte.

> I battelli del Danubio sono buoni e ben arredati ; quello sul quale presi posto era popolato di passeggieri d'ogni specie e nazionalità: uffiziali dell'esercito regolare e della *honved*, signore e signori viennesi, serbi, ungheresi, valacchi e bulgari, rappresentanti di tutte le provincie che il fiume attraversa[15].

Les voyageurs arrivent, sans encombre, à Belgrade, capitale du royaume de Serbie, autonome, en réalité, depuis 1812, mais récemment transformé, avec

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[11] E. Isambert*, Itinéraire descriptif…*, p. 496.
[12] S. Grimaldi del Poggetto, *Ricordi di un ufficiale…*, p. 64. « Cette ligne fait partie du service direct entre Vienne et Constantinople par Pesth, Basiach et Routchouk, au moyen des Bateaux accélérés de la Compagnie de Navigation à vapeur sur le Danube et le Chemin de fer. Durée du trajet de Vienne à Constantinople 2 jours 21 h. 30 m. Constantinople à Vienne 3 » 21 » 50. Pendant l'hiver un seul départ par semaine » (E. Isambert*, Itinéraire descriptif…*, p. 1074).
[13] S. Grimaldi del Poggetto, *Ricordi di un ufficiale…*, p. 64.
[14] *Ibid*.
[15] *Ibid*., p. 63.

la constitution de 1869, en état constitutionnel. Mais de Belgrade ils ne voient, depuis le Danube, que les murs de la forteresse. Laissant Belgrade derrière, le bateau rejoint Baziaș (actuellement en Roumanie). Ici les voyageurs doivent changer de bateau et monter sur un plus petit, avant de franchir les Portes de Fer. Le spectaculaire phénomène naturel offert par les Portes de Fer est un moment passionnant pour le voyageur.

> Al passaggio detto le Porte di ferro, l'alveo del fiume si rinserra fra due scogliere a picco, il suo corso diventa più rapido e pericoloso per gli scogli nascosti a fior d'acqua, sicchè bisogna esser ben pratici di quel passaggio per non incagliare. Quel tratto è assai lungo, e l'aspetto delle sponde elevate e rocciose è triste e severo[16].

Passées les Portes de Fer, Grimaldi observe : « Lasciamo dietro a noi l'Ungheria e la Serbia, ed abbiamo a sinistra la Valacchia e a destra la Bulgaria. Il Danubio a quel punto è già largo assai ed il suo corso è lento e maestoso »[17].

Aussi, l'environnement différent qu'il admire depuis le bateau offre également au Comte un troisième indicateur de l'Orient qui approche : « Il paesaggio riveste un aspetto grandioso ed imponente, le vaste linee d'orizzonte, gli immensi spazi che si distendono ai due lati del gran fiume hanno un aspetto biblico, e fanno presentire il non lodato Oriente »[18].

Après avoir accosté au port fluvial de Rustschuk (Ruse), du côté bulgare du Danube, le bateau traverse le fleuve pour jeter l'ancre à Giurgevo (Giurgiu) en Roumanie. Rustschuk « est sans monuments comme la plupart des villes turques de cette région, mais elle présente un aspect pittoresque »[19]. L'hospitalité est cependant positive à l'Hôtel *Gulchen*, « tenu par Ag. Dagliotti, — belle vue sur le Danube », « très-propre, prix modérés »[20].

La ville de Giurgevo, en Valachie, est

> l'une des principales escales des bateaux à vapeur du Bas-Danube et le lieu de débarquement des voyageurs qui se rendent à Bucarest. Le trajet entre les deux villes, pénible et dispendieux il y a quelques années, s'accomplit maintenant, grâce au chemin de fer, en deux d'heures, moyennant un prix modique[21].

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[16] *Ibid.*, p. 64.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] E. Isambert, *Itinéraire descriptif…*, p. 516.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 1062.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 944.

Le chemin de fer entre Bucarest et Giurgevo est le premier construit en Roumanie en 1869. Le train sert à transporter des personnes et des marchandises vers l'Empire ottoman, en reliant la Valachie est les territoires bulgares[22].

Le quatrième indicateur de l'Orient est la douane de Giurgievo.

> Les voyageurs qui entrent en Roumanie, soit par le Danube soit par la frontière de terre, sont soumis à la visite de la douane. La formalité du passe-port, quoique prescrite par les ordonnances de police, est tombée en désuétude et les voyageurs entrent dans le pays ou en sortent librement[23].

Franchir les douanes est toujours un problème pour tous les voyageurs du Grand Tour. À l'approche du monde oriental, les douanes deviennent encore plus vexatoires. Un compagnon de voyage, Oscar Elliath, pense à résoudre les problèmes du Comte, qui évite les retards des contrôles aux frontières lui permettant d'entrer en Roumanie sans difficulté.

Le trajet de trois heures en train de Giurgievo à Bucarest offre à Stanislao l'occasion d'une réflexion aux inconvénients causés aux voyageurs par la présence des douanes.

> Le dogane alle frontiere degli Stati sono uno dei più uggiosi inconvenienti dei viaggi ; la visita ai bagagli è una seccatura poco proficua per la finanza, giacché non impedisce il contrabbando che si pratica per altre vie su più ampia scala che non sia alle stazioni nelle valigie dei viaggiatori ; pure è una noiosa formalità che bisogna subire con pazienza, e la lunga pratica m'insegnò che la lentezza nell'aprire i bauli, la cortesia coi doganieri, una certa ingenuità, e, se occorre, anche una mancia a tempo e luogo, valgono sovente ad evitare i rigori. Consiglierei sempre a chi viaggia di fare i bauli con molta cura e quasi con ricercatezza, giacché vidi sovente che i doganieri rispettano quelli il cui interno è accurato, mentre non si fanno scrupolo a metter sossopra quegli altri che trovano già disordinati. L'abitudine di fumare i nostri sigari detti di Cavour anche in viaggio mi indusse ognora a portarne meco abbondanti provviste, ed ebbi sempre la fortuna di passarli alle frontiere senza inconvenienti[24].

Quelques années après le voyage de Stanislao, l'*Orient Express*[25] résoudra le problème douanier.

> Non seulement le *Train Express d'Orient* [son nom officiel à l'époque] est le premier train international qui ait jamais existé (…). En montant à bord, on ne

[22] E. Costantini, *La capitale immaginata. L'evoluzione di Bucarest nella fase di costruzione e consolidamento dello stato nazionale romeno. 1830-1940*, Soveria Mannelli, 2016, p. 112.
[23] E. Isambert*, Itinéraire descriptif…*, p. 1057.
[24] S. Grimaldi del Poggetto, *Ricordi di un ufficiale…*, p. 66-67.
[25] A. Burton, *The Orient Express. The History of the World's Most Luxurious Train. 1883 – Present Day*, Londres, 2018.

> sera pas obligé de changer à une frontière, d'attendre une correspondance parfois hypothétique. Le contrôle des passeports, des visas, des bagages et des titres de transport sera facilité. On ne descendra de son compartiment qu'à l'arrivée[26].

Alors que le Comte voyage encore à Bucarest, nous pouvons voir comment le contexte historique de la Turquie en Europe a changé : une définition qui apparaît dans les guides touristiques de l'époque consacrés aux voyages en Orient. Examinons donc l'un de ces guides, qui décrit bien la situation en 1860.

> Les provinces de la Turquie d'Europe, dites *tributaires*, jouissent d'une organisation particulière. La *Serbie*, qui, de 1801 à 1813, avait secoué le joug ottoman, a obtenu en 18l5 la sanction de son individualité politique : un prince héréditaire administre sous la suzeraineté de la Turquie et paye, chaque année, à la Porte un tribut de 2 000 000 de piastres (460 000 Fr.). Le prince gouverne avec une diète élective et un conseil d'État. Dans les circonstances graves, on convoque les *skoupschtina* ou états généraux de la nation. Le Monténégro jouit d'une indépendance aussi complète et d'une organisation analogue.
>
> Les Principautés Roumaines ou la *Moldo-Valachie*, dont l'organisation a subi tant de vicissitudes et donné lieu à de si graves complications dans la politique européenne, viennent enfin de recevoir du Congrès de Paris (1858) une constitution, qui, sans satisfaire complétement les vœux des populations, réalisera cependant pour elles une amélioration considérable, si elle né reste pas une lettre morte. Les Principautés de Moldo-Valachie, constituées sous le nom de Provinces-Unies (…)[27].

Le 17 janvier et le 5 février 1859, les assemblées de Moldavie et de Valachie élisent le même *hospodar* : Alexandru Ioan Cuza. L'Empire ottoman reconnaît cette élection en septembre de la même année. Cependant, la situation évolua pendant les années qui suivirent.

> Nel 1862, con l'armonizzazione legislativa, l'unione personale si sarebbe trasformata in un Stato unitario, che assunse la denominazione di Principato di Romania con l'emanazione della Costituzione del 1866. Si trattava di uno Stato di circa quattro milioni di abitanti, dei quali l'85 per cento residenti in campagna. Nel 1866, dopo aver varato una riforma agraria che lo fece entrare in contrasto con i boiari locali, il principe Cuza fu costretto ad abdicare. Lo

[26] J. des Cars, « L'Orient Express, un train de légende », dans C. Mollard (commissaire d'exposition), *Il était une fois l'Orient Express*, Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris, 2014, p. 24.
[27] A. Joanne, E. Isambert, *Itinéraire descriptif, historique, archéologique de l'Orient*, Paris, 1861, p. 296-297.

> sostituì Karl di Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, divenuto principe con il nome di Carol[28].

Un firman de l'empire ottoman reconnaît la situation des Principautés. Le chemin vers l'indépendance de la Roumanie a été soutenu dès le début par la France de Napoléon III, dont le prince héritier est un cousin. Après la définition de l'indépendance de la Roumanie par le Congrès de Berlin, les puissances européennes l'ont reconnue, en 1880, comme État souverain. L'année suivante, Charles I est devenu roi de Roumanie[29].

Bucarest. Presque en Orient. Presque à Paris.

Pour le voyageur qui, en 1860, arrive à Bucarest, capitale de la Valachie, l'idée d'être en Orient est certaine : « Bucharest est une ville tout orientale, malgré certains aspects modernes »[30]. Mais l'impression retenue par les guides de l'époque permet de comprendre la présence d'une réalité urbaine qui, comme la politique, est en grande transformation.

> Bucharest. Ville justement renommée par le charme exquis, la sociabilité de ses habitants, qualités surtout appréciables à des voyageurs français, qui peuvent s'étonner de trouver dans les salons d'une ville d'Orient la langue, les usages et l'éducation de la meilleure société de Paris. Ceci s'applique aux boïars et à une minorité très cultivée de la bourgeoisie, car la grande majorité de cette dernière a gardé la plupart des habitudes de l'Orient, et l'éloignement des Valaques du commerce fait que la très grande partie du tiers état de Bucharest en est étrangère, comme l'atteste l'énumération des rues *nemtzeaska* (allemande), *ovreaska* (juive), française, arménienne etc.[31].

Bucarest, qui comptait 121 734 habitants en 1860, est l'une des plus grandes villes d'Europe de l'Est. Sa position géographique le place sur les principaux axes de communication. En 1862, la ville devient la capitale quasi-naturelle du nouvel État national, entamant ainsi une phase de croissance démographique[32]. La référence politique et culturelle de l'état-nation en formation est, depuis le milieu du XIX[e] siècle, la France[33].

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[28] E. Costantini, *La capitale immaginata…*, p. 83.
[29] A. Tamborra, *L'Europa centro-orientale nei secoli XIX-XX (1800-1920)*, Milano, 1971, p. 333.
[30] A. Joanne, E. Isambert, *Itinéraire descriptif…*, p. 438.
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] E. Costantini, *La capitale immaginata…*, p. 84-85.
[33] « La nascita di una borghesia (urbana), che cercava occasioni di intrattenimento e imitava gli stili di vita occidentali, stimolò le attività che erano in qualche modo legate al tempo libero, come

Dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e^ siècle, Bucarest était une frontière mobile pour le voyageur européen. En fait, il se retrouve à voyager dans une réalité que les guides incluent encore dans la Turquie européenne, les guides la considérant donc, sur un plan géopolitique, toujours oriental. Au même temps, Bucarest, tout en conservant des caractéristiques orientales, regarde résolument et irréversiblement vers l'Europe. Le principal point de référence est Paris.

> Alla capitale francese dunque guardarono amministratori, architetti, ingegneri e tecnici che operarono nella città romena nei primi decenni dopo la nascita dello Stato nazionale romeno, con l'obiettivo di fare di Bucarest la « piccola Parigi » dei Balcani[34].

À partir des dernières décennies du XIX^e^ siècle, Bucarest essaie de perdre ces traits de dérivation ottomane que les voyageurs n'ont pas tardé à découvrir dans les années soixante du même siècle.

> La differenziazione tra ambiente urbano e rurale non su solo la conseguenza di una trasformazione del tessuto economico e sociale della città, che fu più repentina e profonda di quella estremamente lenta delle campagne. Essa fu anche il risultato della costante volontà della classe dirigente di « deottomanizzare » l'aspetto dei centri politici e amministrativi, e soprattutto della capitale, ricorrendo a modelli e tecniche provenienti da quel mondo occidentale di cui l'élite romena riteneva che la propria nazione facesse parte. Dopo la nascita dello Stato romeno unitario e autonomo, il processo continuò e si consolidò[35].

Nous trouvons ensuite Stanislao Grimaldi del Poggetto le long de cette frontière mobile. Le Comte est bien conscient du changement affectant toute la zone de l'Europe de l'Est placée au carrefour de trois Empires : austro-hongrois, russe et ottoman. En décrivant simplement Pesth, il montre sa bonne connaissance de cette situation.

> All'epoca in cui la visitai, quest'ultima era ancora in via di trasformazione, si costruivano bensì di già grandiosi edifizi, però molte vie, anche fra le principali, non erano ancora selciate, ma piene alternativamente di polvere e di fango. D'allora in poi le cose migliorarono assai, ed al momento in cui scrivo (1888) Pesth è divenuta, a quanto dicesi, una magnifica città che offre tutti i vantaggi della civiltà[36].

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quelle che fornivano servizi per la ristorazione, o producevano merci richieste dalla diffusione delle nuove mode », cf. *ibid*., p. 87.

[34] *Ibid*., p. 95.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[36] S. Grimaldi del Poggetto, *Ricordi di un ufficiale…*, p. 60.

Une fois arrivé à Bucarest, en tant qu'expert et inséré dans le réseau des relations des voyageurs élitistes, Stanislao se rend d'abord chez le consul du Royaume d'Italie présent en Roumanie, le baron Saverio Fava, et le consul adjoint Gaspare Michele Gloria, noble de Turin qu'il connaît bien. Francesco Saverio Fava, né à Salerne le 3 juillet 1832, décède à Rome le 3 octobre 1913[37].

Dans ce qui a été la capitale du premier noyau de l'état de Roumanie depuis quelques années, le Comte s'arrête deux jours. Un hôtel discret accueille le Comte à Bucarest. De la ville qui, dans les décennies suivantes, deviendra le « petit Paris », Stanislao offre une description minutieuse des détails qu'il voit, en observant une réalité urbaine où la rencontre entre les différentes influences culturelles roumaines, russes, ottomanes, arméniennes, juives et françaises est clairement visible.

Alors qu'il s'approchait progressivement de Constantinople, le Comte Grimaldi del Poggetto, au même titre que les voyageurs qui parcouraient la route des Balkans depuis 1883 à bord de l'*Orient Express*, s'aperçoit que Bucarest est une ville suspendue entre deux mondes : occidental et oriental. La perception d'être arrivé à la frontière orientale de l'Europe est claire. Ici Stanislao note d'être presque en Orient.

> La capitale della Valacchia, situata sul limite che separa la civilizzazione occidentale dalla semibarbarie orientale, presenta nel suo aspetto i due caratteri della sua posizione. Accanto a ricchi edifici pubblici vedonsi nelle vie della città miserabili tuguri, poi terreni incolti alternati con case decenti, teatri e chiese decorate, a cui danno adito vie non selciate e fangose. Anche qui come a Pesth, il lusso accanto alla miseria ed un'incuria ed un disordine affatto orientale[38].

L'image globale de la ville que propose la plume du Comte n'est pas trop passionnante.

> Grazie alla gentilezza del Conte Gloria e del signor Elliath avevo avuto campo di vedere le chiese, gli ospedali, il teatro, i giardini pubblici ed i varii quartieri della città, che è così estesa, ma poco curiosa a visitarsi. Le vie sono larghe e mal tenute, le case basse ad uno o due piani al più, molte col solo pianterreno, e sovente circondate da piccoli orti mal coltivati. Numerose vetture le percorrono rapidamente, ma sono quasi tutte vetture da nolo, condotte da cocchieri russi della setta degli Scopsi, che avevo veduto al Caucaso[39].

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[37] A. Cavaterra, « Fava, Francesco Saverio », dans *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (*DBI*), vol. 45, Roma, 1995, p. 408-411.
[38] S. Grimaldi del Poggetto, *Ricordi di un ufficiale…*, p. 67.
[39] *Ibid*., p. 68.

De retour à Giurgevo, le Comte s'embarqua pour rejoindre Rutsciuk, « una città turca abbastanza importante sia per il commercio, che pel lato militare »[40]. Ici le problème des douanes se pose au voyageur, lorsque les territoires encore sous contrôle ottoman s'ouvrent devant lui.

> I doganieri turchi, i facchini ed i fiaccherai fecero a gara per tormentarmi dei loro rigori e della loro indiscrezione ; finalmente, come a Dio piacque, mi potei sbarazzare di quella gente e presi posto nel convoglio della ferrovia per Varna[41].

Au moment où Stanislao parcourt rapidement la partie de la Turquie européenne entre Rustciuk et Varna, la Bulgarie est toujours politiquement dans l'Empire ottoman. Les bulgares sont toujours soumis à l'Empire ottoman. Dans les années soixante-dix du XIX[e] siècle, cependant, ils sont dans la phase initiale d'un mouvement d'indépendance qui a commencé avec la création, en 1870, de l'Exarchat bulgare et l'élection, deux ans plus tard, du premier exarque.

> Nel lungo cammino verso l'indipendenza nazionale, l'individuazione in sede ecclesiastica, attraverso un proprio esarcato, rappresenta per i Bulgari una tappa importante che dà ulteriore slancio al movimento nazionale e rivoluzionario[42].

La Bulgarie ne serait devenue une Principauté formellement autonome qu'avec le traité de Saint-Étienne du 3 mars 1878, à la suite de la guerre russo-turque de l'année précédente. Sofia sera la capitale de la principauté bulgare autonome, réduite à l'espace entre le Danube et les Balkans, issue du Congrès de Berlin en juin 1878. Alexandre de Battemberg sera placé à la tête du nouvel État balkanique.

> Un ulteriore segno del compromesso che queste ultime avevano imposto alla Russia al Congresso di Berlino, venne dato dalla scelta del principe chiamato sul trono bulgaro, Alessandro di Battenberg, imparentato sì con lo zar Alessandro II, ma di famiglia tedesca, nato in Italia, educato in Occidente[43].

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[40] *Ibid*.
[41] *Ibid*.
[42] A. Tamborra, *L'Europa centro-orientale…*, p. 214. « Da questa varia e articolata azione rivoluzionaria che dai centri di emigrazione bulgara come Bucarest e Belgrado si dipana per tutto il paese l'impegno di liberazione nazionale e di rinnovamento sociale viene tenuto vivo con continue azioni di forza contro i Turchi (…). Ma la società bulgara, individuata in sede culturale e religioso ecclesiastica e ben matura per uno sforzo decisivo grazie all'opera di così eminenti capi e 'risvegliatori' nazionali, è in condizione ormai di esprimere una insurrezione generale, vasta e decisiva. Essa scoppierà nell'aprile del 1876 e, collegandosi ai movimenti insurrezionali balcanici, aprirà la strada alla più vasta crisi d'Oriente del 1877-1878 », cf. *ibid*.
[43] A. Pitassio, *Storia della Bulgaria contemporanea*, Passignano sul Trasimeno, 2012, p. 15.

Une fois établie, la Bulgarie resta, au moins théoriquement, sous le contrôle de la Sublime Porte jusqu'à ce que l'indépendance du royaume bulgare fut proclamée le 22 septembre 1908.

En analysant l'itinéraire en train, le voyageur européen note en même temps le passage dans le monde oriental. Les paroles de Grimaldi sont donc utiles.

> Il rimanente del viaggio non doveva più offrirmi veruna osservazione interessante; il territorio cha attraversavamo era discretamente coltivato, ma senza abitazioni isolate, essendo i coloni agglomerati nei borghi. Si vedevano nei campi i contadini turchi lavorare la terra con aratri preadamitici tirati da bufali. Le stazioni erano poco frequenti, modestissime e sprovviste affatto di ristoro, talché il viaggiatore era costretto a portar seco l'occorrente per cibarsi. Nei primi posti ero solo, e nei secondi e terzi abbondavano i passeggeri turchi e le donne velate, e ritrovai allora i buoni ceffi dei classici musulmani di Cilivri coi loro gran turbanti e colle lunghe pipe[44].

Les deux cent vingt-six kilomètres de chemin de fer sont parcourus à la vitesse la plus basse – une trentaine de kilomètres par heure – de tout le trajet de Turin à Constantinople. Un fait qui témoigne clairement du fait d'être, sans aucun doute, en Orient.

> Ce chemin de fer, un peu primitif, ne présentait encore, il y a peu de temps, que des stations provisoires échelonnées d'heure en heure et ne montrant aucune grande ville [les places les plus importantes de la contrée, Rasgrad et Choumla, ne sont pas sur son parcours]. Chacune de ces stations était occupée par un chef de gare et un poste de bachi-bouzouks au costume pittoresque, qui cédaient volontiers au voyageur de l'eau et des fruits[45].

Dans une région des Balkans toujours dominée par l'Empire ottoman, mais disputée par la Russie et l'Autriche-Hongrie, Varna, une ville bulgare située au bord de la Mer Noire, est en fait une ville orientale d'où partent les bateaux à destination de Constantinople. Si à Bucarest l'hôtel était acceptable pour le Comte, lui donnant l'impression de ne pas être encore complètement en Orient, une fois à Varna il fait l'expérience d'un autre indicateur, parmi les principaux, de l'abandon de l'Europe : les hôtels. Le sentiment d'être dans un pays qui n'est plus européen est chargé de certitudes à partir de l'hospitalité.

> Dopo sette ore di ferrovia, arriviamo a Varna alle otto di sera, e scendo ad un albergo ch'è riputato il primo della città : ma, se questo è il migliore, che cosa dovranno essere gli altri? E' una vera bettola di misero aspetto ; mi si conduce

[44] S. Grimaldi del Poggetto, *Ricordi di un ufficiale…*, p. 68.
[45] E. Isambert*, Itinéraire descriptif…*, p. 516.

> nella più bella camera, che è piccola, brutta e sporca, male ammobiliata, con un letto che fa sospettare generazioni di insetti ; eppure che farci ? Bisogna aver pazienza per forza : siamo in pieno Oriente e conviene subirne gli inconvenienti.
> Dopo una pessima notte disturbata dalla morsicature d'insetti, mi alzo a visitare la città[46].

Pour tout voyageur, l'hôtel est en fait le miroir du lieu visité, le premier contact avec un nouveau monde. Les caractéristiques tout à fait orientales des hôtels marquent bien un passage très évident pour les voyageurs : être dans la Turquie européenne. Pour cette raison, Varna, avec ses six mille habitants, couchée dans un amphithéâtre, est sans aucun doute une ville orientale aux yeux du Comte. La ville « non offre alcun interesse al viaggiatore, ed è una vera città turca, mal costrutta e sudicia, come tutte le altre »[47].

La dernière étape du voyage avant que Constantinople n'apparaisse à l'horizon, nous la laissons être décrite par la plume de Stanislao. Pour le Comte, dix ans après la mission en Perse, c'est un retour à l'ancien.

> Era in porto un battello a vapore del Lloyd austriaco in partenza per Costantinopoli, presi passaggio al suo bordo, e verso sera solcavo per la seconda volta le acque del Mar Nero, dopo tanti anni d'intervallo dal mio viaggio in Persia. Il mare questa volta era tranquillo, contro l'usato, e, dopo una notte di cammino favorevole, imboccavamo al mattino l'entrata dello splendido Bosforo, che ridestava in me il medesimo entusiasmo che mi aveva ispirato la prima volta ; e, poco stante entravamo a Costantinopoli, ove la nave gettava l'ancora nel bacino del Corno d'Oro[48].

Mais nous laissons le Comte Stanislao en route pour 22 heures avant Constantinople. Nous restons toujours à Bucarest pour voir à quel point les hôtels sont importants non seulement pour faire reposer le voyageur, mais aussi pour lui faire comprendre la transition du monde occidental au monde oriental.

L'hôtellerie à Bucarest

Les années où Stanislao Grimaldi del Poggetto est à Bucarest, la situation des hôtels présentés dans les journaux de voyage et dans les guides n'est pas des plus réconfortantes.

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[46] S. Grimaldi del Poggetto, *Ricordi di un ufficiale…*, p. 69.
[47] *Ibid*.
[48] *Ibid*. « De Varna à Constantinople, 145 milles marins = 269 kilomètres, 14 h. de navigation environ. Le paquebot du Lloyd part une heure après l'arrivée du train-poste qui amène les voyageurs et la correspondance du Danube », cf. E. Isambert*, Itinéraire descriptif…*, p. 497.

> On ne trouve d'hôtels qu'à Constantinople et dans quelques grandes villes de la Turquie et de la Moldo-Valachie. Ces hôtels, bien que tenus par des Européens, laissent généralement beaucoup à désirer. Mais en Turquie il faut renoncer d'une manière absolue au luxe et au confort des hôtels d'Europe[49].

Mais revenons au moment du départ du voyageur du monde européen. La troisième route, la route des Balkans, également choisie par le Comte pour se rendre à Constantinople, n'enthousiasme pas trop les voyageurs, toujours en raison de l'état général des hôtels disponibles. Les éléments orientaux, même dans certaines parties moins fréquentées de la Turquie européenne, partent de l'absence d'espaces personnels.

> (...) Il che significava bagni in comune, pareti spoglie, spesso senza finestre, ambienti senza mobili, eccetto giacigli di paglia sui quali si mangiava, ci si sedeva a fumare e si dormiva. Ricchi e poveri erano sistemati insieme, e gli ospiti erano obbligati a dormire in promiscuità con i 'turchi', sotto lo stesso tetto con cavalli e cammelli[50].

Depuis la traversée des Balkans, la manifestation évidente des traits de la décadence orientale indique que les voyageurs sont en Orient. D'une situation bien meilleure se rend compte Stanislao en restant à Bucarest où

> La Francia è il punto di riferimento anche per un altro settore, quello dell'ospitalità, che con la circolazione di un numero crescente di viaggiatori, romeni o stranieri, soprattutto uomini d'affari, continua la sua crescita[51].

Les hôtels de la seconde moitié du XIX[e] siècle regardent en effet les modèles hôteliers d'Europe occidentale, à partir de ceux de Paris. Les hôtels sont nombreux et offrent une variété de services.

> By the mid-1860 several modern hotels had been built, such as the Hôtel de France, Hotel zur Stadt Wien, Hôtel de Londres and Hotel St Petersburg, a fact that emphasizes the onset of the process to modernize accommodation facilities, directly influenced by heavy incoming foreign-traveller traffic. In 1858, the Italian Giovani Fieschi opened the Hotel Fieschi, one of the first buildings in Bucharest to be more than two floors high[52].

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[49] E. Isambert, *Itinéraire descriptif…*, p. 497.
[50] B. Jezernik, *Europa selvaggia. I Balcani nello sguardo dei viaggiatori occidentali*, trad. it. G. Masoero, Torino, 2010 (éd. orig. 2004).
[51] E. Costantini, *La capitale immaginata…*, p. 89.
[52] A. L. Cercleux, F. C. Merciu et G. L. Merciu, « Successive Conversions of Bucharest Heritage Buildings and Buildings Eligible for Patrimony Inclusion and Tourism Antrepreneurship », *GeoJournal of Tourism and Geosites*, 7, IV, 1, May 2011, p. 53.

Les guides de l'époque prennent rapidement en compte cette situation, nous permettant d'observer la situation de la seconde moitié du XIX[e] siècle. En 1860, les voyageurs étrangers pouvaient choisir parmi les hôtels suivants : *de France*, *de Vienne*, *National*, *de Londres*, *d'Athènes*. D'entre eux, « le plus confortable de ces hôtels nous a paru être celui de Londres ; dans presque tous on parle français. Sur la place du théâtre est le café Fialkovski, rendez-vous de la jeunesse élégante »[53].

La situation est très différente dans la période de séjour du Comte à Bucarest, « une grande ville de 221 805 habitants »[54].

Il ne manque pas, bien sûr, le « *Grand-Hôtel*, Place du Théâtre, 48 chambres et appartements. Restaurant. Cuisine à la française »[55]. Les différents hôtels présents sont ensuite répartis selon les services proposés et le type de clientèle. À l'hôtel *Hugues*, par exemple, « on a un salon, une chambre à coucher et une chambre de domestique. Restaurant au rez-de-chaussée, à la carte. On parle français, italien, allemand. En face de l'hôtel il y a une station de fiacres et d'omnibus »[56]. À l'hôtel « *Concordia*, Rue Allemande, au centre du quartier commerçant. 90 chambres de 3 à 8 Fr. par jour. Restaurant et café. Cuisine allemande. Fréquenté principalement par les voyageurs de commerce »[57]. Les restaurants de la ville fournissent un autre indicateur de la différence entre Bucarest et la partie encore ottomane de l'Europe orientale : « Outre les restaurants et les cafés annexés aux hôtels, il existe un grand nombre de restaurants et de cafés ordinaires »[58]. Pour les voyageurs, cependant, il est difficile de lire les journaux internationaux.

> Il n'y a pas à Bucarest de cabinets de lecture, et les journaux, dans les cafés, sont rares. Le voyageur qui séjournera un certain temps à Bucarest fera bien, s'il veut être tenu au courant des nouvelles politiques, de se faire présenter dans l'un des principaux clubs de la ville (*Club roumain*, Place du Théâtre, fondé en 1811 ; *Club de la Jeunesse*, 1867 ; *Club de l'Union Libérale*, maison Oteteletchano), où on reçoit les principales publications périodiques de l'Europe, et où les étrangers sont très aisément admis, sur la présentation d'un des membres[59].

La diffusion d'une hôtellerie en ligne avec l'Europe à Bucarest s'identifie également avec le *Grand Hôtel des Boulevards*.

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[53] A. Joanne, E. Isambert, *Itinéraire descriptif…*, p. 437-438.
[54] *Ibid*., p. 947.
[55] *Ibid*., p. 1049.
[56] *Ibid*.
[57] *Ibid*.
[58] *Ibid*.
[59] *Ibid*., p. 1050.

> The Hotel Bulevard, whose building was inaugurated in 1867 under the name of Hotel Herdan, is the oldest hotel in Bucharest nowadays. Construction was completed in 1871, and two years later it was renamed into Grand Hôtel du Boulevard; at that time, it was the biggest hotel in Bucharest[60].

Conçu en 1867 par Alexandru Orăscu, le *Grand Hôtel du Boulevard*, achevé en 1871 et ouvert en 1873, a été construit par Jacques Herdan. La façade majestueuse du Boulevard Elisabeta et le luxe intérieur de l'hôtel en font bientôt un symbole très important pour la ville de Bucarest. Le bâtiment monumental se caractérise par sa décoration intérieure et la modernisation constante des services fournis à ses clients[61]. La publicité de l'époque présente donc l'hôtel au public international :

> 120 chambres et cabinet fraichement installés dans les meilleures conditions. Restaurant de premier ordre. Depuis le 5 février cet hôtel est tenu par M. Paul Seide et M. Edmond Bourgeois, ancien propriétaire de l'hôtel *Hugues*[62].

Avec l'ouverture du XX^e^ siècle, le *Grand Hôtel du Boulevard* est le premier grand hôtel de Bucarest à fournir de l'eau courante dans les chambres. Depuis 1904, il est éclairé par la lumière électrique. Invités réguliers, diplomates et voyageurs, retrouvent toutes les commodités qui caractérisent les grands hôtels des capitales européennes. D'incontournables plats de la cuisine française sont servis, depuis 1905, dans une somptueuse sale. Il y aussi d'autres salles diverses, de lecture, de conversation et pour les dames, pour finir avec celle du thé de l'après-midi, de 5 à 7 heures. Enfin, il est également le premier hôtel de luxe de la ville qui offre à ses clients arrivant à la gare un service omnibus réservé pour les emmener à l'hôtel[63].

La nouvelle capitale du royaume de Roumanie identifie donc dans la croissance rapide de l'hôtellerie l'un des facteurs-clé pour démarrer un processus de modernisation rapide. Cette modernisation retardée nécessite également la présence, pour combler la distinction d'avec les capitales de référence, des hôtels de luxe : les symboles de la Belle Époque. Au début du XX^e^ siècle, Bucarest se présente comme le « petit Paris » qui propose un modèle d'hospitalité grandiose, luxueux et avant-gardiste, du point de vue du confort et des installations techniques, en Europe orientale.

> By the beginning of the 20th century, the city of Bucharest underwent a large-scale and steady process of Westernization, which reflected both the adoption and adaptation of the French model, which led to the city's acknowledgement in

[60] A. L. Cercleux, F. C. Merciu et G. L. Merciu, « Successive Conversions… », p. 58.
[61] E. Bădescu, *În Bucureşti prin Micul Paris*, Bucarest, 2019, p. 31.
[62] « Messager de Vienne », 17-24 octobre 1878, p. 6.
[63] E. Bădescu, *În Bucureşti…*, p. 32-33.

> Europe as Little Paris (…). Instances of inns and hotels bearing French names are numerous, and French influence also encompassed their architecture[64].

Dans le monde ottoman, comme dans les capitales européennes, les hôtels de haut niveau sont le symbole d'une idée d'hospitalité conçue pour recevoir des voyageurs de moins en moins engagés à faire face aux inconvénients des hôtels locaux. Le développement de l'hôtellerie salue les innovations acquises dans la dynamique des voyages d'élite internationaux qui demandent confort et rapidité.

Au début du XX^{e} siècle, le *Grand Hôtel du Boulevard* communique aux voyageurs qui arrivent à Bucarest qu'ils ne sont pas presque en Orient, mais dans la capitale la plus au sud-est de l'Europe de la Belle Époque.

Le terminus de la Turquie d'Europe: Constantinople

Dix ans plus tard, au terme de sa deuxième visite à la porte de toutes les Orients, la plume de Stanislao Grimaldi del Poggetto trace à nouveau un portrait efficace de Constantinople.

> Era questa la seconda volta che mi trovavo in quella meravigliosa metropoli, anello di congiunzione tra l'Oriente e l'Occidente, emporio dei commerci di Asia e di Europa (…) ricca di splendidi edifizi e deturpata da miserabili casupole, centro di lusso orientale come d'incuria e di sudiciume, allietata da un cielo splendente, da un mare smagliante, e da una vista incantevole ; fatale e misteriosa città, che i potenti vicini vorrebbero possedere, e che perciò stesso, fra tante gelosie rivali, rimane ancora in potere della decaduta mezzaluna. Malgrado gli sconci ed i contrasti suddetti, bisogna pure convenire che l'antica capitale di Costantino e dei Sultani conserva tuttora una strana poesia ed un prestigio incantevole sull'animo di chi vi approda dalla marina, e vede svilupparsi davanti l'immenso panorama della bianca metropoli, irta di cupole, di minareti e di cipressi; col suo magnifico porto popolato da una foresta d'antenne portanti le bandiere di tutte le nazioni della terra. Questo grandioso ed imponente spettacolo non può lasciar l'animo indifferente, ed io, benché lo conoscessi ne risentii di nuovo una viva impressione[65].

Stanislao n'a pas enregistré de changements majeurs dans la ville sur le Bosphore. La récupération du courrier, composé de quelques lettres qui lui ont été envoyées du Piémont, la visite au Consulat italien pour confirmer l'arrivée de Donato à Beyrouth, le temps de relire, avec plaisir, les visions qui étaient restées

[64] A. L. Cercleux, F. C. Merciu et G. L. Merciu, « Successive Conversions… », p. 53.
[65] S. Grimaldi del Poggetto, *Ricordi di un ufficiale…*, p. 70-71.

bien gravées dans son esprit, à faire des achats et obtenir les lettres de crédit indispensables pour Beyrouth et Damas : telles sont les principales tâches dont il s'occupe à Constantinople. Là aussi, faire partie du réseau diplomatique l'a beaucoup aidé. Le consul italien Giuseppe Spagnolini, diplomate de longue expérience, ayant été d'abord à Beyrouth, puis à Odessa, avant d'arriver, comme consul général, à Constantinople le 30 janvier[66], et le drogman Rodolfo Gazan, mis à sa disposition pour visiter Pera et Galata. La description des différents bazars visités, véritable centres du commerce levantin qui, avec des tissus, des tapisseries et des armes, n'ont pas manqué de devenir une mode pour les élégantes maisons européennes, est particulièrement intéressante.

> Il movimento e l'animazione che vi regnano sono veramente meravigliosi e si trovano in quella folla tutti i tipi delle razze orientali. Di qua facchini turchi curvati sotto il peso delle mercanzie, là soldati albanesi poi dervisci di tutti i riti, mercanti greci, armeni, europei, negri, persiani, donne velate ; eunuchi, venditori ambulanti, cavalieri ottomani, tutti che vanno e vengono affaccendati, gridano, si incontrano, si urtano, e si accalcano attorno ai negozii, formando una strana moltitudine dai vivaci colori e d'un aspetto pittoresco ed originale. E, quando dalle aperture delle mal coperte gallerie un raggio di sole piomba dall'alto ad illuminare di viva luce quella folla e quei fondaci, si vedono allora brillare le armi cesellate, gli splendidi ricami, i vasi di rame, le ricche gualdrappe, i tappeti, le stoffe, che appariscono più brillanti dal contrasto dell'ombra che regna nella rimanente galleria. Quanti bei soggetti di quadri d'effetto troverebbe un pittore colorista in quelle gallerie, e quanto talento sarebbe necessario a ben riprodurle![67].

À Constantinople, Grimaldi s'arrête quelques jours avant de s'embarquer pour Beyrouth : « Alla mattina delli 20 ottobre 1872, salpammo dal Corno d'Oro, e per la seconda volta diedi l'addio alla gran capitale dell'Oriente, probabilmente per non vederla più mai »[68].

Nous laissons ensuite le Comte à Constantinople, d'où le voyage qui le conduira à Damas, Jérusalem et Le Caire commencera. Sa deuxième rencontre avec Constantinople reste gravée de façon indélébile au cœur de Stanislao Grimaldi del Poggetto : la porte de toutes les Orients, la ville où l'Occident finit et l'Orient commence, mais, tout d'abord, la ville où l'Occident et l'Orient se rencontrent.

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[66] R. Moscati (éd.), *Le scritture del Ministero degli affari esteri del Regno d'Italia dal 1861 al 1887*, VI, Roma, 1953, p. 87.
[67] S. Grimaldi del Poggetto, *Ricordi di un ufficiale…*, p. 72.
[68] *Ibid*., p. 75.



Portrait de Stanislao Grimaldi del Poggetto (1825-1903),
apud S. Grimaldi del Poggetto, *Ricordi di un ufficiale dell'antico esercito sardo*,
vol. I, Torino, 1891.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE VENETIAN CRUSADES. BETWEEN *TERRA SANTA* AND THE BALKANS

Şerban V. Marin

Among the Venetian chronicles that I have consulted to date, 264 cover the period of the two crusading movements that I wish to examine in this article. These encompass the First conventional Crusade, in which Doge Vitale Michiel I (1096–1102) sent an impressive fleet to the Levant, and the Venetian Crusade of 1122–1126 in the Holy Land, commanded by Doge Domenico Michiel in person (1117–1130). What I propose here is a quantitative analysis of these Venetian texts, related to the manner in which the events of these two Crusades are represented, in order to study the interaction between the routes followed by the crusading fleets in the Balkan area.

The chronicles covering this period, which represent the primary source material for this paper, are preserved in the Marciana National Library, the Correr Civic Museum, the State Archives of Venice, and the Library of the Querini-Stampalia Foundation, all located in Venice. Additional sources were found in Vienna (Austrian National Library), Paris (National Library of France), the Vatican (Apostolic Library), Dresden (Saxon Land Library), Harvard (Harvard University Library), and Berlin (State Library).

These materials were written between the 13th and the 18th centuries, with the 16th posing as the real "Golden Age" of Venetian chronicles. Thus, the information that they convey does not serve to reconstruct the events and the perception of the Crusades. Rather, our interest lies in consulting these chronicles in order to note the manner in which the events of the past were represented across centuries. Therefore, it is not perception, but rather a representation that is at the core of this investigation.

In following the routes of the Venetian crusaders, the ratio of the texts presenting one particular event or another, one particular detail or another, is not relevant, precisely because the chronicles do not record events in a necessarily logical progression. It is common for the chroniclers to combine events with the acquisition of holy relics (St Nicholas under Vitale Michiel I, St Isidore and St Donatus under Domenico Michiel), and, in the case of the First Crusade, the incidental confrontation with the Pisans. Oftentimes, the unfolding of the events, as it is represented, leads to the casual (and not necessarily historical) appearance of the Venetian fleet in one place or another. This results in the representation of more campaigns/deeds/actions/movements than the actual

number of the chronicles. For this investigation, as I mentioned already, ratios become irrelevant. Instead, I shall rely on raw figures. Such an approach is also dictated by the often haphazard order in which each chronicle records the events that it describes.

In documenting the routes of the Venetian participants to these two Crusades there are, in the chronicles, frequent transcription errors regarding toponyms, inadvertently placing the Venetian crusaders at odd places that have nothing to do with their purposes:
– Under Vitale Michiel I, Smyrna is constantly used instead of Myra in order to localise the place that St Nicholas's relics were taken from. On one occasion, Myra becomes Morea. Another example, unrelated to this paper but indicative of this trend, is Caffa instead of Haifa.
– Under Domenico Michiel, similar transcription errors further complicate the purported routes of the fleet: Pera instead of Epirus, Zante (Zakynthos) instead of Jaffa, Scardona (Skradin) and Salona (Split) instead of Ascalona, Troy instead of Tyre, Tyre instead of Epirus, Adrianople (Edirne) and Achre instead of Andros, and Zara instead of Biograd (Zara Vecchia). The list goes on, without even mentioning the constant confusion between Romània and the Italian region of Romagna.

As a result, some strange movements of the Venetian crusading fleets in the Eastern Mediterranean are noted.

Moreover, there is a certain abundance of geographical errors recorded. For instance:
– Under V. Michiel I: Smyrna is located in the Ionian Sea;
– Under D. Michiel: Thessalonica is regarded as situated in Albania.

In addition, some texts clearly incorporate some wishful thinking (for lack of a better word) misinformation, such as the participation of the Venetians in the gathering of the participants to the First Crusade in Constantinople. These mistakes further complicate the description of the movements of Venetian crusading fleets.

On this occasion, the crusading activity of Venice under Doge Ordelaffo Faliero (1102–1117) was not taken into account, since it was much less frequently represented in chronicles,[1] and especially because, in this case, the Venetian fleets are presented as acting exclusively in the Holy Land area.

[1] 50 chronicles among the 264 cover this dogeship: Extensa, 228; VH, 99; Giustiniano, 14b; Monaci, 84-85; F 6117, 53a, col. 2-53b, col. 1; Sabellico, 124-127; Ci 3753, 95b, col. 2-96a, col. 1; Sanudo, 484; M 324, 34b-35a; M 2546, [19b]-[20a]; Delfino P., 254a; M 796, 51a-51b; ASV 60, 9a; Marcello, [31]-[32]; M 45, 38b; Urb. 512, 114a; Pseudo-Navagero, 965; Magno, 180b-181a; Valier, 116b; Caroldo, 125; Grandis, 126b; M 2581, 46a; BNP 315-2, 125a; Pseudo-Magno 514, 35b-36a; Sansovino, 556; Giustiniano P., 21a-21b; Doglioni, 75; M 91 bis, 436b; Ci 3556-3, [18a]; M XI 77, 20a; BNP 1192, 44b-45a; Ci 3556-7, 10b; Fougasses, 57a, 57b-58a; Co 1307, 99a-99b; F 6235, 80b-81a; Alario, 96a; Lio, 39b; Morosini P., 99-100; M 70, [33b]; M 75, 34b-35a; Sivos, 37a; Verdizzotti, 68-70; M 61, libro 4, 16-17; M 2592, 20a; M 1999, 15b-16a; M 974, 236-238; M 2676, 42b-43a; F 6566, 22b; Diedo, 56; Curti, [16a], [16b]; Laugier, 18-22; M 1669, 557.

I. Vitale Michiel I (1096–1102) and the First conventional Crusade

There are 257 texts covering the dogeship of Vitale Michiel I.[2] It has to be noted here that in chronicle M 1833 all the events related to the Crusade are

[2] AVB, 86, 88; Canal, 24, 26; Brevis, 363; Extensa, 221-224; A Latina, 92; AV-Metz, 6; VH, 86-88; Pseudo-Dandolo, 54-55; Giustiniano, 14a-14b; M 37, 18a; Co 1499, 12b, col. 2-13a, col. 1; M 2545, 27b, col. 1-28a, col. 1; PD 392c, 8b, col. 2; Morosini A., 4-5; Filippo, [34b, col. 2]-[35a, col. 1]; Monaci, 45-48, 81-84, 93; Co 1013, [43b]-[44b]; M 2034, 135a, col. 1-135b, col. 1; M IX 28-1, 11b, col. 2-12a, col. 1; Dandolo A. 319, 90b-91a; M 38, 16b, col. 2-17a, col. 1; M Z 18, 66a, col. 2-66b, col. 1; M 2560, 53 bis a-54 bis a; BNP 785, [51a]-[52a]; M Z 20, 43a-43b; M 2548, 11a, col. 2-11b, col. 2; Biondo, 7; M 2549, 16a, col. 2-16b, col. 1; M 89, 17b, col. 2-18a, col. 1; Vat. 5281, 7b, col. 1-7b, col. 2; M 2565, 35a; M 559, 32b-33a; M 2556, [36]-37; M IX 28-2, 126b; B 149, 20b, col. 2-21a, col. 1; Vitturi, 13b, col. 2; M 2559, 15a, col. 1-15a, col. 2; M 104, 73b; M 2566, 8b; M 2563, 5a-5b; F 6117, 53a, col. 1-53a, col. 2; M 2569, 42b-43a; Ci 592, 46a-46b; Ci 2117, 24a-25a; BNP 355, 12b; Ci 3518, 66a-66b; Gr 53, 10a, col. 1-10a, col. 2; ASV 58, 105b-106a; M 2564, 64a-64b; Ci 2116, 19b, col. 1-19b, col. 2; F 6147, 108a-109b; BNP 318, 34b, col. 1-34b, col. 2; Ci 2413, [15b]-[16a]; Sabellico, 99-124; Co 1337, 54a-55a; Ci 3753, 93a, col. 1-95a, col. 1; ASV 59, 24b-25a; Cavalli, 51a; ASV 61, 16a; Sanudo, 479-482; M 2544, 33b, col. 2-34a, col. 1; M 324, 32a-33b; M 2546, [19a]-[19b]; DDR 121, 15a-15b; Delfino P., 244b-248a; M 798, xiii a; Pseudo-Contarini D., 69b, col. 1-69b, col. 2; M 541, 16b-17b; Cigotto, 134a-137a; M 550, 63a-64a; M 788, 21a-21b; Antonio, 13a-13b; M 796, 48a-49b; M 51, 49a, col. 1-50a, col. 1; M 52, 99b-100a; ASV 60, 31a, 35b; Marcello, [31]; Marco, 40a; Co 1046, 14b, col. 1-14b, col. 2; Zancaruolo, 15a-15b; M 2555, 15a; Co 760-1, 9a, col. 2-9b, col. 1; Co 760-2, 112a; Ci 1899, 47a-47b; Pseudo-Dandolo 873, 90a, col. 1-90a, col. 2; M 2576, 18a-18b; Ci 351, 58a; PD 482c, 26b-27a; WL 74-3, 50a-51a; PD 380c, fasc. 4, 24a-24b; Carpenio, 12b; Pigno, 153b-154b; MG 249, 44a-45a; Q 15, 38a; M 46, 22a-22b; Daniele, 59b-60b; Cornaro, 83a-83b; M 555, 23b, col. 1-24a, col. 1; BNP 315-1, 20a-20b; Rotta, 10b; M 125-3, 226b-227a; Q 13, 50a-51a; Co 710, 19a; M 723, [78b]; DDR 449, 13a; Rosso, 20b-21a; M 2543, 22a-23a; M 2568-2, 202b; Ci 2123, 15b; Ci 1982-1, 9a, col. 2-9b, col. 1; F 3458, 38b-39a; Ci 1982-2, 114b-115a; Ci 589, 31a-31b; Pseudo-Barbaro, 111a-113a; Ci 1983, [13a]-[13b]; Vat. 6089, 68b-69b; Ci 1900, [15a]-[16a]; M 322, 41a; Trevisan 1327, 20b-21a; Ci 3599, 71a; Pseudo-Abbiosi, 14b-15a; M 45, 26b-27a; M 2568-1, 25a; M 2567, 26b, col. 1-27a, col. 2; M 47, 23b, col. 1-23b, col. 2; Pseudo-Zancaruolo, cliiij b-clvij a; M Z 21, 10b-11a; Ci 1898, [94b]-[96b]; M 2571, 55b-56b; M 628a, 77a-77b; Urb. 512, 112b-113b; M 53, 115b-117a; PD 312c, 27a-27b; Ci 3712, 95b-96a; Pseudo-Erizzo, 17a-18a; Pseudo-Navagero, 962-964; F 6211, 18b-20a; M 60, 11a-12a; Ci 2754, 14a-15a; Magno, 141b-172a; M 2037, 159a-159b; M 2573, 73a-75a; M 728-2, 141b; Valier, 112a-115b; Ottob. 1120, 32b-[33a]; Alberegno, 94a; Gussoni, 183-186; PD 236c, 57a-57b; Caroldo, 100-122; Donato T., 59a-60a; M 39, 20b; Grandis, 120a-122a; F 6234, 53b; M 2581, 44b-45a; Co 1045, 49a; PD 378c, 36a; BNP 337, 93a-94b; BNP 787, 38a-38b; PD 391c, [17b]-[18b]; M 728-1, 10b, col. 1-10b, col. 2; Balanzana, 66b; BNP 315-2, 121a-123b; M 2580, 116b-117a; Ci 3725, 66a; Pseudo-Magno 513, 74b; Pseudo-Magno 514, 34a-35a; M 1568, 114b-115a; Zena, 92b-93a; Ci 2815, 73b-75a; Sansovino, 555; Agostini-Tiepolo, 74b; Q 16, 21a-21b; Giustiniano P., 20b-21a; MG 327, 222-231; M 793, 57a; Ci 3675, xxxx a-xxxx b; Veniera 791, 62a; Trevisan 519, 52b, col. 2-53b, col. 1; M 303, 37a-37b; M 393, [18b]-[19b]; Doglioni, 72-75; M 91-2, 430a-435b; Ci 3556-3, [17b]-[18a]; M 91-3, 609a; M XI 77, 19a-20a; BNP 1192, 40b-41b; M 2550, 63a; M 31, 93b-95a; F 6821, 62a-63b; Co 1305, 26b-27a; Ci 3556-7, 10a; Ci 590, 36a-36b; M 1586, 12b-13a; Giacomo, 14b; M 2046, 116b; M 58, 9a-9b; M 59, 20b-21b; M 327, 56a-56b; M 87, 8b-9a; M 91-1, 360a; BNP 351, 13b-14a; Pseudo-Savina, 33b-34b; MG 106, 42a-43a; Fougasses, 44b-57a; M 2572, 8a-8b; Co 1032, 49b-50b; Co 1421, 98a-98b; Co 1307, 98b-99a; F 6235, 78a-80b; Alario, 96a; H Riant 12, [24a]-[25b]; Co

dated under Vitale Faliero (1084–1096),[3] the previous doge, while Ci 2113 places them under Ordelaffo Faliero, V. Michiel's successsor.[4] Of all chronicles, this particular fleet activity is completely absent in only three: AV-Metz, M 377, and M 2046.

The movements of the Venetian fleet in this context are the result of three different events, which the Venetian texts usually combine: 1) the Crusade to the Holy Land; 2) the acquisition of the relics of St Nicholas; 3) the war with the Pisans.

By combining them, as most chronicles do, the matter of the holy relics and the confrontation with the Pisans become transformed into crusading deeds as well, since they were performed by a fleet that had participated in the conquest of the Holy Land.

1. The Venetian presence and activity in the Holy Land are documented in the overwhelming majority of the chronicles, which is to be expected. It is only absent from 15 chronicles.[5] One could add here four texts[6] that substitute Haifa (situated in the Holy Land and in whose conquest the Venetians actually participated) with Corfu (a more familiar toponym for the Venetian chroniclers, for whom the settlements in the Holy Land were already exotic enough). This is the first example in the chronicles where a toponym is moved from the Holy Land to the Balkans.

2. The acquisition of the relics of St Nicholas is also widely recorded, being absent from only 25 chronicles.[7]

3. The war with the Pisans is less represented, but still quite well so. Its absence is noted in 109 chronicles.[8]

1306, 40a-40b; Lio, 38a-39a; Fabris, C 23a; Vitaliani, 20b; Morosini P., 93-99; M 67, 148a-152b; M 2541, 117b-121b; Ci 2234, 295-296; M 2395, 126b-127a; Contarena, 30a; M 2669, 104a; M 43, 18a-18b; M 44, 23a; Pseudo-Donato A., 17b; M 54, 119a-126a; Contarini M., 20a-20b; M 80, 90a-90b; F 6166, 276b-281a; Co 1456, 105b-106a; M 70, [32b]-[33b]; M 75, 34a-34b; M 2602, 195b; Sivos, 36b; Pseudo-Dandolo 102, 28b-29a; Verdizzotti, 56-69; Vianoli, 165-167 bis; M 61, libro 4, xi-16; M 2592, 16b-19b; M 66-2, 84b; M 66-1, 25a-27b; M 1999, 15a-16a; M 974, 217-234; Q 36, 120b, col. 2-122a, col. 2; M 1565, 9b-10a; M 2676, 40b-42a; Faliero, 77-79; M 1577, 99-102; M 2028, 15a-15b; M 64, 152a-160a; F 6566, 22a-22b; Diedo, 53-55; Curti, [15b]-[16a]; Laugier, 7-18; Ci 2302, 38; M 74, 62a-63b; M 1669, 556; Astori, 68-69.

[3] M 1833, 13a-13b. Events related to the First Crusade (especially dealing with the non-Venetian Crusade) are to be found both under V. Falier and V. Michiel in other chronicles: Extensa, 220; Delfino P., 243b-244b; M 796, 47b-48a; Pseudo-Erizzo, 16b; Magno, 138a-139a; Caroldo, 99; M 91-2, 429b; M 1999, 15a.

[4] Ci 2113, 6a.

[5] ASV 60; MG 249; Ci 1983; Ci 1900; M 53; Pseudo-Navagero; BNP 337; M 31; F 6821; Co 1032; Co 1307; Alario; H Riant 12; M 2602; M 2676.

[6] More specifically, the chronicles written in *terza rima*: M IX 28-1; Co 760-1; Ci 1982-1; M 728-1.

[7] ASV 60; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Caroldo; Co 1045; PD 391c; Sansovino; Giustiniano P.; M 91-2; Ci 3556-3; M XI 77; M 58; M 59; M 327; M 2572; M 67; M 2541; F 6166; M 66-1; M 1999; Diedo; Laugier; M 1833; M 1669.

Regarding the acquisition of the holy relics of St Nicholas, the actual location that these relics were transferred from is Myra, in Lycia. Despite that, it is mentioned as such in no more than eight chronicles.[9] The texts seem to prefer the city of Smyrna,[10] located closer to the Aegean Archipelago. The city is commonly present in almost all other cases. In a singular, but striking case – Vianoli – Myra becomes Morea, so that the Balkans appear at the centre stage of the events, a tendency that is replicated by six other cases that strangely place Smyrna in Ionia.[11]

Moreover, 15 chronicles[12] also make reference to the city of Patras as the location that the body of St Nicholas was retrieved from, although most of

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[8] AVB; Canal; Brevis; A Latina; Pseudo-Dandolo; M 37; Co 1499; M 2545; PD 392c; Morosini A.; Filippo; Co 1013; Ci 2113; M IX 28-1; M 38; M Z 18; BNP 785; M 2548; M 2549; M 89; Vat. 5281; M 2565; M 559; M 2556; M IX 28-2; B 149; Vitturi; M 2559; M 104; F 6117; BNP 355; Ci 3518; Gr 53; Ci 2116; Ci 2413; ASV 59; ASV 61; M 2546; DDR 121; M 798; Pseudo-Contarini D.; M 788; Antonio; Marco; M 2555; Co 760-1; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; PD 482c; Carpenio; M 555; BNP 315-1; Rotta; Co 710; M 723; DDR 449; Rosso; Ci 1982-1; F 3458; Ci 589; Vat. 6089; M 322; Trevisan 1327; M 2571; M 628a; PD 312c; Ci 3712; Magno; M 2037; Ott. 1120; Alberegno; M 39; M 2581; PD 378c; Balanzana; Ci 3725; Pseudo-Magno 513; M 1568; Zena; Agostini-Tiepolo; Q 16; M 793; Veniera 791; M 91-3; M 2550; Giacomo; M 91-1; MG 106; Co 1421; H Riant 12; Fabris; Vitaliani; M 67; M 2541; M 2395; Contarena; M 2669; M 44; Pseudo-Donato A.; Contarini M.; M 80; F 6166; Co 1456; M 2602; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; M 66-1; M 66-2; M 1565; Ci 2302; Astori.

[9] M 2548; M 2559; Ci 592 (after a second hand corrected the text); Magno; Ci 3556-7; Morosini P.; M 2541; Faliero (mentioning both Myra and Smyrna: "*in le Smirne à la citta di Mirea*").

[10] 195 chronicles: Brevis; Giustiniano; A Latina; Pseudo-Dandolo; Co 1499; PD 392c; Morosini A.; Co 1013; Filippo; Monaci; M 2034; M IX 28-1; Dandolo A. 319; M 38; M Z 18; M 2560; BNP 785; M Z 20; Biondo (as a possibility); M 2549; M 89; Vat. 5281; M 2565; M 559; M 2556; M IX 28-2; B 149; Vitturi; M 2566; M 2563; F 6117; M 2569; Ci 592 (corrected to Myra); Ci 2117; BNP 355; Ci 3518; Gr 53; ASV 58; M 2564; Ci 2116; F 6147; BNP 318; Ci 2413; Sabellico; Co 1337; Ci 3753; ASV 59; Cavalli; ASV 61; Sanudo; M 2544; M 324; DDR 121; Delfino P.; M 798; Pseudo-Contarini D.; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 788; M 51; M 52; Marcello; Marco; M 2555; Co 760-1; Co 760-2; Zancaruolo; Ci 1899; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; M 2576; Ci 351; PD 482c; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Carpenio; Pigno; MG 249; Q 15; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; Rotta; M 125-3; Q 13; M 723; DDR 449; Rosso; M 2543; Ci 2123; F 3458; Ci 1982-2; Ci 1983; Vat. 6089; Ci 1900; M 322; Trevisan 1327; Ci 3599; Pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 2567; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; M Z 21; Ci 1898; M 2571; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; PD 312c; Ci 3712; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; M 2037; M 2573; M 728-2; Valier; Ottob. 1120; Alberegno; Gussoni; Donato T.; Grandis; F 6234; M 2581; PD 378c; BNP 337; BNP 787; M 728-1; Balanzana; BNP 315-2; M 2580; Ci 3725; Pseudo-Magno 513; Pseudo-Magno 514; M 1568; Zena; Ci 2815; M 793; Ci 3675; Veniera 791; Trevisan 519; M 303; M 393; Doglioni; BNP 1192; M 2550; M 31; F 6821; Co 1305; Ci 590; M 1586; Giacomo; M 87; M 91-1; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; MG 106; Fougasses; Co 1032; Co 1421; Co 1307; F 6235; Alario; H Riant 12; Co 1306; Lio; Fabris; Vitaliani; Ci 2234; M 2395; Contarena; M 2669; M 43; M 44; Pseudo-Donato A.; Contarini M.; M 80; Co 1456; M 2602; Sivos; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; Verdizzotti; M 61; M 2592; M 66-2; M 974; Q 36; M 1565; M 2676; Faliero (mentioning both: "*in le Smirne à la citta di Mirea*"); M 1577; F 6566; Curti; Ci 2302; M 74; Astori.

[11] Sabellico; Marcello; Giustiniano P.; Fougasses; M 2592; M 974.

[12] Canal; Pseudo-Dandolo; M 37; Morosini A.; Ci 2113; M 559; F 3458; Ci 589; M 2567; Trevisan 519; M 91-3; Giacomo; Vitaliani; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; Astori.

them express their doubts and mention both Patras and Smyrna. Regardless, the reference to Patras brings continental Greece into the crusading process. Uniquely, the Pseudo-Barbaro chronicle transfers the event of the acquisition of St Nicholas's relics to the Aegean Archipelago, which, just like in the case of Smyrna, emphasises the route not only towards the Holy Land but also to Constantinople and the Straits.

In all of these examples, action is simply moved from locations already under Muslim control (whether referring to Myra or Smyrna) to a variety of areas in the Balkans.

As a final note on this, although the episode is recounted, eight chronicles do not connect it to any specific location.[13]

As for the military confrontation with the Pisans, the greatest number of texts (92) do not establish any location.[14] Those remaining that do refer to Rhodes in the Aegean (59 chronicles),[15] which is located in the immediate vicinity of the Balkans. The exceptions refer to Smyrna (three chronicles),[16] the waters of Puglia (three chronicles[17]), and the seas of the Levant (Curti).

As mentioned previously, the tendency is to combine these three events, in a manner that the acquisition of the holy relics represents a crusading act, while the military confrontation with the Pisans formed an obstacle for the Crusade.

Particular note should be made to the island of Rhodes, as one of the gates to the Aegean Archipelago and, hence, to the Balkans. Rhodes is recorded as presenting three different sets of circumstances:

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[13] AVB; BNP 315-1; Co 710; M 39; Agostini-Tiepolo; Q 16; M 70; M 75.

[14] VH; M 2034; M 2560; M Z 20; M 2566; M 2563; M 2569; Ci 592; Ci 2117; ASV 58; M 2564; F 6147; BNP 318; Co 1337; Ci 3753; Cavalli; Sanudo; M 2544; M 324; Delfino P.; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 51; M 52; Co 1046; Zancaruolo; Co 760-2; Ci 1899; Ci 351; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Pigno; MG 249; Q 15; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; M 125-3; Q 13; M 2543; Ci 2123; Ci 1982-2; Ci 1983; Vat. 6089; Ci 1900; Ci 3599; Pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 2568-1; M 47; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; M Z 21; Ci 1898; M 53; Pseudo-Erizzo; M 2573; M 728-2; Valier; Gussoni; PD 236c; Donato T.; Grandis; F 6234; Co 1045; BNP 337; BNP 787; M 2580; Ci 2815; Ci 3675; M 393; BNP 1192; M 31; F 6821; Co 1305; Ci 590; M 1586; M 327; M 87; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; Co 1032; Alario; H Riant 12; Ci 2234; M 43; M 70; M 75; Q 36; M 1577; M 2028; M 74.

[15] Extensa; Giustiniano; Monaci; Dandolo A. 319; Biondo; Sabellico; Ci 3753; M 324; Delfino P.; M 796; Marcello; M 2576 (later adding); M 2568-2; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; M 2573; Valier; Caroldo; Grandis; PD 391c; BNP 315-2; Pseudo-Magno 514 (but much later, under Doge Vitale Michiele II, 1156-1172); Sansovino (but much later, under Doge Pietro Polani, 1130-1148); Giustiniano P.; MG 327; M 303; Doglioni; M 91-2; Ci 3556-3; M XI 77; Ci 3556-7; M 58; M 59; Fougasses; M 2572; Co 1307; F 6235; Co 1306; Lio; Morosini P.; M 54; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 61; M 2592; M 1999; M 974; Q 36; M 2676; Faliero; M 64; F 6566; Diedo; Laugier; M 1833.

[16] ASV 60; Pseudo-Barbaro; M 1669.

[17] M 2567; Trevisan 519; Sivos.

– As the place of confrontation with the Pisans: 59 chronicles, as mentioned above;
– As a place where some crusaders remained (in connection with the Order of the Hospitallers): eight chronicles;[18]
– As simply a transitional place, where the Venetian fleet stopped in order to spend the winter: 75 chronicles.[19]

In three chronicles[20] Rhodes is only mentioned *en passant*.

Some chronicles record two reasons for stopping at Rhodes: the confrontation with the Pisans and spending the winter (19 chronicles),[21] or the confrontation with the Pisans and a place of residence for the remaining crusaders (eight chronicles).[22]

Overall, 117 texts mention Rhodes in the context of this Crusade, either on the way towards the Holy Land (45 chronicles)[23] or on the return back to Venice (57 texts).[24] Fifteen chronicles regard the confrontation with the Pisans in Rhodes as an independent event, entirely unrelated to the Crusade.[25]

Besides Rhodes, and in order to underline the activities of the Venetian crusaders in the Balkan region again, one could add those eight chronicles that come to the conclusion that the Venetians reached Constantinople[26] on their way towards the Holy Land (and also, according to Faliero, on their way back), even

[18] Ci 3753; M 324; Urb. 512; M 2573; Valier; BNP 315-2; Q 36; Faliero.
[19] Extensa; VH; M 2545; Monaci; M 2034; Dandolo A. 319; M 2560; M Z 20; M 2565; M 2556; M 2563; F 6117; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; ASV 58; M 2564; F 6147; Co 1337; Sanudo; DDR 121; Delfino P.; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 796; M 51; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Pigno; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; Q 13; Pseudo-Barbaro; Ci 3599; M 45; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; Ci 1898; M 2571; M 628a; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; M 2037; M 2573; Alberegno; Gussoni; Caroldo; Donato T.; M 2581; BNP 787; PD 391c; M 2580; M 91-2; BNP 1192; Co 1305; Ci 590; M 1586; M 58; M 59; M 91-1; BNP 351; Lio; Fabris; Morosini P.; Ci 2234; M 80; Sivos; Vianoli; M 61; M 974; M 1577; Diedo.
[20] Magno; Ci 2815; Curti.
[21] Extensa; Monaci; Dandolo A. 319; Delfino P.; M 796; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Caroldo; PD 391c; M 91-2; M 58; M 59; Lio; Morosini P.; Vianoli; M 61; M 974; Diedo.
[22] Ci 3753; M 324; Urb. 512; M 2573; Valier; BNP 315-2; Q 36; Faliero.
[23] Extensa; VH; M 2545; Monaci; Dandolo A. 319; Biondo; F 6117; Sabellico; DDR 121; Delfino P.; M 796; Marcello; M 2571; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; Caroldo; M 2581; PD 391c; Giustiniano P.; MG 327; M 303; M 91-2; Ci 3556-3; M XI 77; Ci 3556-7; M 58; M 59; Fougasses; M 2572; Co 1307; F 6235; Co 1306; Morosini P.; M 54; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 61; M 974; M 64; F 6566; Diedo; Curti; Laugier.
[24] M 2034; M 2560; M Z 20; M 2565; M 2566; M 2563; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; ASV 58; M 2564; F 6147; Co 1337; Ci 3753; M 324; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 51; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Pigno; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; Q 13; M 2568-2; Ci 3599; M 45; Ci 1898; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 2037; M 2573; Valier; Alberegno; Gussoni; Donato T.; Grandis; BNP 787; BNP 315-2; M 2580; BNP 1192; Co 1305; Ci 590; M 1586; M 91-1; BNP 351; Lio; Fabris; Ci 2234; M 80; Sivos; Q 36; Faliero; M 1577.
[25] Giustiniano; Sanudo; M 2576; Pseudo-Barbaro; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 53; Pseudo-Navagero; Pseudo-Magno 514; Ci 2815; Sansovino; Doglioni; M 2592; M 1999; M 2676; M 1833.
[26] Ci 3753; M 324; Urb. 512; M 2573; Valier; BNP 315-2; Q 36; Faliero.

though this conclusion is only attributed to the error of a copyist who, referring to the other participants to the First Crusade – who indeed reached Constantinople –, mentions that the Venetians also arrived at the Byzantine metropolis.

As a whole, in addition to the locations mentioned above, the Venetian works refer to:

– Dalmatia (mentioning that some galleys were prepared and supplied in Dalmatia because logistically a stop had to be made there): 47 chronicles.[27]

– The city of Bari, as the place where an arm of St Nicholas was gifted to the inhabitants: 67 chronicles.[28] The province of Puglia is also mentioned, since, according to the chronicles, it was the same crusading fleet that acted, along with the Hungarians, against the Normans in Southern Italy: six chronicles.[29]

– Transitional locations on the way to the Holy Land: the seas of Pamphylia and Cilicia (eight chronicles[30]) and the island of Cyprus (seven chronicles[31]).

Among these places, the case of Dalmatia illustrates that another Balkan region was included in the Venetian routes towards or from the Holy Land.

After consulting all 257 texts, it became clear that there are many differences in the order of events. Henceforth is a list of the chronicles referring to itineraries followed by the Venetian crusading fleet that included the Balkan region.

– From Venice to Dalmatia: 48 chronicles.[32]

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[27] Extensa; Giustiniano; M 2545; Monaci; Biondo; F 6117; Ci 3753; Sabellico; Sanudo; M 324; M 2546; Delfino P.; M 796; M 125-3; M 2567; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 2571; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; M 2573; Valier; Caroldo; Grandis; M 2581; PD 391c; BNP 315-2; Ci 2815; MG 327; Trevisan 519; M 91-2; M 58; M 59; Fougasses; F 6235; Morosini P.; M 54; Verdizzotti; M 61; M 2676; Q 36; Faliero; M 64.

[28] Pseudo-Dandolo; M 37; Morosini A.; Ci 2113 (although here the people of Bari are encountered by the sea); M 89; M 559; Gr 53; Ci 2413; ASV 59; DDR 121; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; MG 249; M 125-3; M 723; DDR 449; M 2543; Ci 2123; F 3458; Ci 589; Pseudo-Barbaro (in the context of the Hungarian campaign in Puglia); Ci 1983; Vat. 6089; Ci 1900; M 2567; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; PD 312c; Ci 3712; BNP 337; Balanzana; M 2580; Ci 3725; M 1568; Zena; Ci 2815; MG 327; M 793; Veniera 791; Trevisan 519; M 303; M 91-3; M 31; F 6821; Giacomo; M 87; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; MG 106; Co 1032; Co 1421; Co 1307; H Riant 12; Co 1306; Lio; Vitaliani; Ci 2234; M 2395; M 43; Pseudo-Donato A.; M 54; Co 1456; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; M 1565; M 64; F 6566; Ci 2302; M 74; Astori.

[29] Pseudo-Barbaro; BNP 337; M 31; Co 1032; Vianoli; Diedo.

[30] Sabellico; Marcello; Giustiniano P.; Doglioni; Fougasses; F 6235; Verdizzotti; M 974.

[31] F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; PD 391c; M 58; M 59.

[32] Extensa; Giustiniano; M 2545; Monaci; Biondo; F 6117; Sabellico; Ci 3753; Sanudo; M 324; M 2546; Delfino P.; M 796; M 125-3; M 2567; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 2571; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; M 2573; Valier; Caroldo; Grandis; M 2581; PD 391c; BNP 315-2; Ci 2815; MG 327; Trevisan 519; M 91-2; M 58; M 59; Fougasses; Co 1421; F 6235; Morosini P.; M 54; Verdizzotti; M 61; Q 36; M 2676; Faliero; M 64.

– From Venice to Rhodes: 34 chronicles.[33]
– From Venice to Corfu: four chronicles.[34]
– From Venice to the Ionian Sea: one chronicle.[35]
– From Corfu to Smyrna: four chronicles.[36]
– From Morea to the Holy Land: one chronicle.[37]
– From Dalmatia to Rhodes: 23 chronicles.[38]
– From Dalmatia to Smyrna: 14 chronicles.[39]
– From Dalmatia to the Holy Land: five chronicles.[40]
– From Dalmatia to the Archipelago: one chronicle.[41]
– From Dalmatia to Myra: one chronicle.[42]
– From the Holy Land to Patras: 15 chronicles.[43]
– From the Holy Land to Rhodes: eight chronicles.[44]
– From the Holy Land to the Aegean Archipelago: one chronicle.[45]
– From the Holy Land to Constantinople: one chronicle.[46]
– From Smyrna to Rhodes: 50 chronicles.[47]
– From Smyrna to Constantinople: seven chronicles.[48]

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[33] VH; M 2545; Monaci; Dandolo A. 319; F 6117; Sabellico; DDR 121; Marcello; M 2576; Pseudo-Barbaro; M 2571; M 2581; Pseudo-Magno 514; Giustiniano P.; MG 327; M 303; Doglioni; Ci 3556-3; M XI 77; Ci 3556-7; M 2572; Co 1307; Co 1306; M 54; Sivos; Vianoli; M 2592; M 1999; M 64; F 6566; Curti; Diedo; Laugier; M 1833.
[34] M IX 28-1; Co 760-1; Ci 1982-1; M 728-1.
[35] M 974 (where Smyrna is placed).
[36] M IX 28-1; Co 760-1; Ci 1982-1; M 728-1.
[37] Vianoli (instead of Myra).
[38] Extensa; Monaci; Biondo; Sabellico; Sanudo; Delfino P.; M 796; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; Caroldo; PD 391c; Ci 2815; M 91-2; M 58; M 59; Fougasses; F 6235; Morosini P.; Verdizzotti (referring to the Archipelago); M 61.
[39] Ci 3753; M 324; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Navagero; M 2573; Valier; BNP 315-2; MG 327 (*Simotine*); M 54 (*Simetina*); Q 36; M 2676; Faliero (Smyrna or Mirea); M 64 (*Simettine*).
[40] Giustiniano; M 125-3; M 2567; Grandis; Trevisan 519.
[41] Verdizzotti.
[42] Faliero (Smyrna or Mirea).
[43] Canal; Pseudo-Dandolo (Smyrna or Patras); M 37 (*Sumita* or Patras); Morosini A. (Smyrna or Patras); Ci 2113; M 559 (Smyrna or Patras); M 125-3 (Smyrna or Patras); F 3458 (Smyrna or Patras); Ci 589 (*Santa* or Patras); M 2567 (Smyrna or Patras); Trevisan 519 (Smyrna or Patras); M 91-3 (*Santa* or Patras); Giacomo (Smyrna or Patras); Vitaliani (Smyrna or Patras); Pseudo-Dandolo 102 (Smyrna or Patras).
[44] Ci 3753; M 324; M 2568-2; Urb. 512; M 2573; Valier; BNP 315-2; Q 36.
[45] Pseudo-Barbaro (referring to the episode of St Nicholas).
[46] Faliero.
[47] M 2034; M 2560; M Z 20; M 2565; M 2566; M 2563; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; ASV 58; M 2564; F 6147; Co 1337; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 51; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Pigno; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; Q 13; Ci 3599; M 45; Ci 1898; M 628a; M 53; Pseudo-Navagero; M 2037; Alberegno; Gussoni; Donato T.; Grandis; BNP 787; M 2580; BNP 1192; Co 1305; Ci 590; M 1586; M 91-1; BNP 351; Lio; Fabris; Ci 2234; M 80; M 2676; M 1577.
[48] Ci 3753; M 324; Urb. 512; M 2573; Valier; BNP 315-2; Q 36.

– From Rhodes to Venice: 58 chronicles.[49]
– From Rhodes to Smyrna: 23 chronicles.[50]
– From Rhodes to the Holy Land: 19 chronicles.[51]
– From Rhodes to the Ionian Sea: six chronicles.[52]
– From Rhodes to Myra: seven chronicles.[53]
– From Rhodes to Cyprus: six chronicles.[54]
– From Rhodes to Bari: three chronicles.[55]
– From Rhodes to the "Sea of Pamphylia": one chronicle.[56]
– From Rhodes to Morea: one chronicle.[57]
– From Rhodes to the waters of Puglia: one chronicle.[58]
– From Rhodes to the Archipelago: one chronicle.[59]
– From Patras to Bari: 15 chronicles.[60]
– From Patras to Venice: one chronicle.[61]
– From Constantinople to the Holy Land: seven chronicles.[62]
– From Constantinople to Rhodes: one chronicle.[63]

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[49] Giustiniano; M 2034; M 2560; M Z 20; M 2565; M 2566; M 2563; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; ASV 58; M 2564; F 6147; Co 1337; Ci 3753; M 324; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 51; Ci 1899; M 2576; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Pigno; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; Q 13; Ci 3599; M 45; Ci 1898; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Navagero; M 2037; M 2573; Valier; Alberegno; Gussoni; Donato T.; Grandis; BNP 787; BNP 315-2; Pseudo-Magno 514; BNP 1192; Co 1305; Ci 590; M 1586; M 91-1; Lio; Fabris; M 80; Q 36; M 2676; Faliero; M 1577.

[50] Extensa (*ad urbem Lastamirre*); VH (*Lastamire*); Monaci; Dandolo A. 319; Biondo (*Lassimiram* or Smyrna); Sabellico (placed in the Ionian Sea); Sanudo; Delfino P.; M 796 (*Stamere*); Marcello (placed in the Ionian Sea); M 2568-2 (*Smiris*); Pseudo-Zancaruolo; Ci 2815; MG 327 (*Simitine*); Doglioni (placed in the Ionian Sea); Fougasses (placed in Ionia); F 6235 (placed in Ionia); Verdizzotti; M 61; M 2592 (placed in Ionia); M 1999; M 64; M 1833.

[51] M 2545; F 6117; DDR 121; Pseudo-Barbaro; M 2571; Caroldo; M 2581; M 303; M 91-2; Ci 3556-3; M XI 77; M 2572; Co 1307; Co 1306; M 54; M 974; F 6566; Diedo; Curti.

[52] Where Smyrna is placed, according to Sabellico; Marcello; Doglioni; Fougasses; F 6235; M 2592.

[53] Extensa (*ad urbem Lastamirre*); VH (*Lastamire*); Biondo (*Lassimiram* or Smyrna); M 796 (*Stamere*); Magno; Ci 3556-7 (*Mirea*); Morosini P. (*Mirea*).

[54] F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; PD 391c; M 58; M 59.

[55] M 2580; BNP 351; Ci 2234.

[56] Giustiniano P..

[57] Vianoli (instead of Myra).

[58] Sivos.

[59] Laugier.

[60] Pseudo-Dandolo (Smyrna or Patras); M 37 (*Sumita* or Patras); Morosini A. (Smyrna or Patras); Ci 2113 (although the men in Bari are encountered by sea); M 559 (Smyrna or Patras); M 125-3 (Smyrna or Patras); F 3458 (Smyrna or Patras); Ci 589 (*Santa* or Patras); M 2567 (Smyrna or Patras); Trevisan 519 (Smyrna or Patras); M 91-3 (*Santa* or Patras); Giacomo (Smyrna or Patras); Vitaliani (Smyrna or Patras); Pseudo-Dandolo 102 (Smyrna or Patras); Astori (Smyrna or Patras).

[61] Canal.

[62] Ci 3753; M 324; Urb. 512; M 2573; Valier; BNP 315-2; Q 36.

[63] Faliero.

– From the Ionian Sea to the "Seas of Palmyra and Cilicia": five chronicles.[64]
– From the Ionian Sea to Venice: two chronicles.[65]
– From the Ionian Sea to the Holy Land: one chronicle.[66]
– From the Ionian Sea to Rhodes: one chronicle.[67]
– From the "Seas of Pamphylia" to Ionia: one chronicle.[68]
– From the Aegean Archipelago to Bari: one chronicle.[69]
– From the Aegean Archipelago to Rhodes: one chronicle.[70]
– From the Aegean Archipelago to Smyrna: one chronicle.[71]

II. Domenico Michiel and "the Venetian Crusade"

The dogeship of D. Michiel is covered by 260 chronicles.[72] As an exception, all events under D. Michiel are completely absent in ASV 60.

[64] Where Smyrna is placed, according to Sabellico; Marcello; Fougasses; F 6235; M 974.
[65] Where Smyrna is placed, according to Doglioni; M 2592.
[66] Giustiniano P. (where Smyrna is placed).
[67] M 974.
[68] Giustiniano P. (where Smyrna is placed).
[69] Pseudo-Barbaro (in the context of the campaign in Puglia).
[70] Verdizzotti.
[71] Laugier.
[72] HDV, 4, 6, 8, 10; AVB, 92; Canal, 26, 28, 30; Brevis, 364; Extensa, 231-237; A Latina, 96-97; AV-Metz, 6-7; VH, 101-108; Pseudo-Dandolo, 58-60; Giustiniano, 15a-15b; M 37, 19b-20b; Co 1499, 13b, col. 1-14a, col. 1; M 2545, 29b, col. 2-31a, col. 2; PD 392c, 9a, col. 2-9b, col. 1; Filippo, [37a, col. 1]-[37b, col. 2]; Monaci, 44-45, 85-87, 118-119; Co 1013, [46b]-[47b]; Ci 2113, 6b-7a; M 2034, 145b, col. 2-151a, col. 1; M IX 28-1, 13a, col. 1-13a, col. 2; Dandolo A. 319, 91b; M 38, 17b, col. 2-18a, col. 2; M Z 18, 67a, col. 2-67b, col. 1; M 2560, 55b-58a; BNP 785, [55b]-[57a]; M Z 20, 45a-48b; M 2548, 11b, col. 2-12a, col. 1; Biondo, 7-8; M 2549, 17a, col. 1-17a, col. 2; M 89, 18b, col. 2-19b, col. 1; Vat. 5281, 8a, col. 1-8a, col. 2; M 2565, 36a-38b; M 559, 35a-36a; M 2556, 39; M IX 28-2, 127a-127b; B 149, 21b, col. 2-22a, col. 2; Vitturi, 14b, col. 2-15a, col. 1; M 2559, 15b, col. 2-16a, col. 1; M 104, 74a-74b; M 2566, 9b-11b; M 2563, 6a-7a; Dr F 160, 14a-15b (the pages referring to the first part of the dogeship are lost); F 6117, 54a, col. 1-54b, col. 2; M 2569, 44a-45b; Ci 592, 48a-49b; Ci 2117, 26a-27b; BNP 355, 13a; Ci 3518, 67b-68b; Gr 53, 10b, col. 2-11a, col. 2; ASV 58, 108b-110a; M 2564, 66a-68b; Ci 2116, 20b, col. 1-20b, col. 2; F 6147, 111b-115a; BNP 318, 35b, col. 1-36b, col. 1; Ci 2413, [17a]-[18a]; Sabellico, 130-141; Co 1337, 56b-58b; Ci 3753, 97a, col. 1-101a, col. 2; ASV 59, 25b-26b; Cavalli, 52b-54a; ASV 61, 16b-17a; Sanudo, 486-491; M 2544, 34b, col. 2-36a, col. 2; M 324, 36a-40b; M 2546, [20b]-[22a]; DDR 121, 16a-16b; Delfino P., 258a-267a; M 798, xiiii a-xv b; Pseudo-Contarini D., 70a, col. 2-70b, col. 1; M 541, 19a-23a; Cigotto, 140b-146a; M 550, 64b-66a; M 788, 22b-23a; Antonio, 14a; M 796, 52b-56b; M 51, 53b, col. 2-57a, col. 2; M 52, 101b-103b; Marcello, [33]-[34]; Marco, 39a-40a (placed prior to the First Crusade); Co 1046, 15a, col. 2-15b, col. 2; Zancaruolo, 44a-49a; M 2555, 15b-16a; Co 760-1, 10a, col. 2-10b, col. 1; Co 760-2, 112b-113b; Ci 1899, 48b-50b; Pseudo-Dandolo 873, 91a, col. 1-92a, col. 1; M 2576, 19a-19b; Ci 351, 58b; PD 482c, 28a-28b; WL 74-3, 52b-55a; PD 380c, fasc. 4, 29a-fasc. 5, 32b; Carpenio, 13a-13b; Pigno, 156a-158b; MG 249, 46a-47a; Q 15, 39b-40b; M 46, 23a-24b; Daniele, 62b-65a; Cornaro, 92a-97a; M 555, 24b, col. 2-25a, col. 2; BNP 315-1, 21a-21b; Rotta, 11a; Q 13, 57b-62a; Co 710, 20a-21a; M 723, [79b]-[80b]; DDR 449, 14a-15a; Rosso, 21b-22a; M 2543, 25b-30b; M 2568-2, 203b-204a; Ci

Conversely, one should note the case of Sanudo, which presents two different versions.

During this Crusade, the following diversions from the action in the Holy Land are recorded:

1. On the way towards the Holy Land:

a. Dalmatia (for supplies): present in only 21 chronicles.[73] Among these, the supply operation could only be inferred in five of them;[74]

b. Byzantium (Corfu): present in only 28 chronicles[75] and also in the enumeration recorded by M 1586;

2123, 17b-20; Ci 1982-1, 10a, col. 2-10b, col. 1; F 3458, 40b-42a; Ci 1982-2, 115b-117a; Ci 589, 33a-34b; Pseudo-Barbaro, 124a-137b; Ci 1983, [14b]-[15b]; Vat. 6089, 71a-73a; Ci 1900, [17a]-[18a]; M 322, 42a; H 67, 2b-8a; Trevisan 1327, 21b; Ci 3599, 75b-77b; Pseudo-Abbiosi, 16a-16b; M 45, 29a-31b; M 2568-1, 25b-26b; M 2567, 29a, col. 1-29b, col. 2; M 47, 24b, col. 2-26a, col. 1; Pseudo-Zancaruolo, clxij a-clxvij a; M Z 21, 11b-13a; Ci 1898, [99a]-[103b]; M 2571, 60b-65a; M 628a, 78b-81a; Urb. 512, 115a-117a; M 53, 119a-123b; PD 312c, 28b-29b; Ci 3712, 96b-97b; Pseudo-Erizzo, 25a-31b; Pseudo-Navagero, 966-971; F 6211, 21b-23a; M 60, 12b-13b; Ci 2754, 16a-17a; Magno, 192a-205b; M 2037, 161b-167a; M 2573, 78b-86a; M 728-2, 142b-143b; Valier, 118a-123b; Ottob. 1120, 34a-34b; Alberegno, 95a-97b; Gussoni, 190-195; PD 236c, 58b-60a; Caroldo, 128-133; Donato T., 62a-65a; M 39, 21b-22a; Grandis, 127b-131b; F 6234, 54a; M 2581, 53b-58b; Co 1045, 50a-52b; PD 378c, 37a-37b; BNP 337, 95b-96b; BNP 787, 39b-42b; PD 391c, [20a]-[21b]; M 728-1, 11b, col. 2-12a, col. 1; Balanzana, 67a-67b; BNP 315-2, 126a-131a; M 2580, 118a-119b; Ci 3725, 67a-67b; Pseudo-Magno 513, 75a; Pseudo-Magno 514, 38a-42a; M 1568, 116a-117b; Zena, 94a-95a; Ci 2815, 80a-84a; Sansovino, 556; Agostini-Tiepolo, 75a; Q 16, 22a-22b; Giustiniano P., 23b-27a; MG 327, 234-243; M 793, 57b-58b; Ci 3675, xxxxj b-xxxxij b; Veniera 791, 62b-63a; Trevisan 519, 54b, col. 2-55b, col. 1; M 303, 38b-40a; M 393, [20b]-[22b]; Doglioni, 79-83; M 91-2, 437a-438a; Cicogna 3556-3, [18b]-[19a]; M 91-3, 610a-610b; M XI 77, 21a-23b; BNP 1192, 45a-49b; M 2550, 64b-66a; M 31, 97a-99b; F 6821, 65b-67a; Co 1305, 28a-30a; Ci 3556-7, 11a-11b; Ci 590, 37b-40a; M 1586, 18a-22a; Giacomo, 15b-16a; M 2046, 117b-119b; M 58, 10b-11a; M 59, 23a-24b; M 327, 57a-60b; M 87, 9b-10b; M 91-1, 360b-362a; BNP 351, 15a-17a; Pseudo-Savina, 36b-39b; MG 106, 45b-48b; Fougasses, 60a-65b; M 2572, 7b (previous to the First Crusade), 10a-10b; Co 1032, 51b-53a; Co 1421, 99a-100a; Co 1307, 99b, [147b]-[148a]; F 6235, 89b-93b; Alario, 96b-97a; H Riant 12, [27a]-[29a]; Co 1306, 41a-42a; Lio, 41b-47b; Fabris, C 24a-C 27b; Vitaliani, 21b-22b; Morosini P., 103-110; M 67, 153b-156b; M 2541, 123a-126b; Ci 2234, 300-305; M 2395, 128b-130a; Contarena, 31b-32b; M 2669, 105a-106a; M 43, 20a-22b; M 44, 24a-24b; Pseudo-Donato A., 18b-19b; M 54, 128b-135b; Contarini M., 21b-22a; M 80, 91b-93b; F 6166, 282b-287a; Co 1456, 107b-108b; M 70, [34b]-[36b]; M 75, 35b-38b; M 2602, 195b-196a; Sivos, 38a-42a; Pseudo-Dandolo 102, 30b-32a; Verdizzotti, 75-86; Vianoli, 174-190; M 61, libro 4, 24-38; M 2592, 21a-22a; M 66-2, 85b; M 66-1, 28b-30b; M 1999, 17b-19b; M 974, 244-264; Q 36, 123b, col. 2-127a, col. 1; M 1565, 10b-11a; M 2676, 44a-49a; Faliero, 85-88; M 1577, 140-165; M 2028, 17a-19a; M 64, 162b-170b; F 6566, 23b-24a; Diedo, 60-63; Curti, [16b]-[17a]; Laugier, 37-62; Ci 2302, 41-43; M 74, 68a-72b; M 1833, 15a-15b; M 1669, 558; Astori, 73-76.

[73] Extensa; VH; Giustiniano; Monaci; Sabellico; Sanudo; M 796; Marcello; PD 380c; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; Caroldo; Ci 2815; M 91-2; M XI 77; Pseudo-Savina; Fougasses; M 2592; M 974; Diedo; Laugier; M 74.

[74] Sanudo; Pseudo-Savina; M XI 77; M 74; M 974.

[75] HDV; Extensa; VH; Giustiniano; M 2545; Monaci; F 6117; Sanudo; M 2546; Delfino P.; M 796; PD 380c; M 2568-2; Pseudo-Barbaro; Pseudo-Zancaruolo (only as later addition); M 2571;

c. A friendly diversion: Byzantium (Cyprus), present in 107 chronicles.[76] Ci 2113 mistakenly notes that Cyprus is among the conquests in the Holy Land. As a side note, those chronicles that mention Cyprus do not refer to the diversion at Corfu, with the exception of PD 380c, which mentions both places. In fact, what we are interested in here is that the Balkans are again well represented as stops on the route towards the Holy Land, through the agency of Dalmatia and Corfu.
2. On the way back to Venice, three diversions took place, all of which were acts of aggression:
a. A raid against Byzantium (the Aegean Archipelago and the city of Modon): 203 chronicles;[77]
b. Sicily, in order to interfere in the election of the new king of the island: 65 chronicles;[78]

Magno; Caroldo; M 2581; Pseudo-Magno 514; Ci 2815 (noting just "*all'jsola*"); M 91-2; Ci 3556-3; Pseudo-Savina; Morosini P.; Vianoli; M 61; M 74.

[76] M 2034; M 2560; M Z 20; M 2565; M 2566; M 2563; M 2569; Ci 592; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; ASV 58; M 2564; F 6147; BNP 318; Sabellico; Co 1337; Ci 3753; Cavalli; Sanudo; M 2544; M 324; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 51; M 52; Marcello; Co 1046; Zancaruolo; Co 760-2; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Pigno; Q 15; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; Q 13; M 2543; Ci 1982-2; H 67; Ci 3599; M 45; M 2568-1; M 47; M Z 21; Ci 1898; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; M 2037; M 2573; M 728-2; Valier; Alberegno; Gussoni; PD 236c; Donato T.; Grandis; Co 1045; BNP 787; BNP 315-2; M 2580; Giustiniano P.; Ci 3675; M 303; M 393; M 377; M XI 77; BNP 1192; Co 1305; Ci 590; M 1586; M 2046; M 327; M 87; M 91-1; BNP 351; Fougasses; M 2572 (only later, under R. Zeno, in a preliminary history introducing the 'war of St Sabba' with the Genoese); Co 1307; Alario; Co 1306; Fabris; M 67; M 2541; Ci 2234; M 43; M 80; F 6166; Sivos; Verdizzotti; M 2592; M 66-1; M 974; Q 36; M 2676; M 1577; M 2028; F 6566; Diedo; Laugier; M 1833.

[77] HDV; AVB; Canal; Extensa; VH; Pseudo-Dandolo; Giustiniano; M 2545; Monaci; M 2034; M 2560; M Z 20; Biondo; M 89; M 2565; M 559; M 2566; M 2563; Dr F 160; F 6117; M 2569; Ci 592; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; Gr 53; ASV 58; M 2564; F 6147; BNP 318; Ci 2413; Sabellico; Co 1337; Ci 3753; ASV 59; Cavalli; Sanudo; M 2544; M 324; M 2546; DDR 121; Delfino P.; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 796; M 51; M 52; Marcello; Marco; Co 1046; Zancaruolo; Co 760-2; Ci 1899; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Pigno; MG 249; Q 15; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; Q 13; M 723; DDR 449; M 2543; M 2568-2; Ci 2123; F 3458; Ci 1982-2; Ci 589; Pseudo-Barbaro; Ci 1983; Vat. 6089; Ci 1900; H 67; Ci 3599; Pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 2568-1; M 2567; M 47; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; M Z 21; Ci 1898; M 2571; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; PD 312c; Ci 3712; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; M 2037; M 2573; M 728-2; Valier; Alberegno; Gussoni; PD 236c; Caroldo; Donato T.; Grandis; M 2581; Co 1045; BNP 337; BNP 787; PD 391c; Balanzana; BNP 315-2; M 2580; Ci 3725; Pseudo-Magno 514; M 1568; Zena; Ci 2815; Sansovino; Giustiniano P.; MG 327; M 793; Ci 3675; Veniera 791; Trevisan 519; M 303; M 393; Doglioni; M 91-2; M 377; Ci 3556-3; M 91-3; M XI 77; BNP 1192; M 31; F 6821; Co 1305; Ci 3556-7; Ci 590; M 1586; Giacomo; M 2046; M 58; M 59; M 327; M 87; M 91-1; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; M 67; MG 106; Fougasses; M 2572; Co 1032; Co 1421; Co 1307; F 6235; Alario; H Riant 12; Co 1306; Lio; Fabris; Vitaliani; Morosini P.; M 2541; Ci 2234; M 2395; M 43; Pseudo-Donato A.; M 54; M 80; F 6166; Co 1456; M 70; M 75; Sivos; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 61; M 2592; M 66-1; M 1999; M 974; Q 36; M 1565; M 2676; Faliero; M 1577; M 2028; M 64; F 6566; Diedo; Curti; Laugier; Ci 2302; M 74; M 1833; M 1669; Astori.

[78] Pseudo-Dandolo; M 37; M 89; M 559; Gr 53; Ci 2413; ASV 59; Sanudo; DDR 121; Delfino P.; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; Co 710; M 723; DDR 449; M 2543; F 3458; Ci 2123; Ci 589; Pseudo-

c. Dalmatia, which rebelled and was subdued by the Hungarian king: 225 chronicles.[79]

Among these diversions, one should dwell on those that refer to the Balkan area, which include the campaign against Byzantium and the punitive action in Dalmatia, and are also the ones best represented. The raid in the Aegean is described by Laugier in these words: "Il avoit parcouru l'Archipel avec la rapidité d'un tourbillon orageux que le vent emporte & qui lance ses foudres de toute part."

I should note here the islands in the Archipelago that are normally regarded as having been under Venetian attack at one point: Chios (189 chronicles, during both the general anti-Byzantine raid and the acquisition of the relics of St Isidore),[80] Rhodes (161),[81] Samos (85),[82] Mytilene (147),[83] and Andros (143).[84]

Barbaro; Vat. 6089 (especially about the city of Bari); Trevisan 1327 (additional handwriting); PD 312c; Ci 3712; Balanzana; M 2580; Ci 3725; M 1568; Zena; Agostini-Tiepolo; Q 16; MG 327; M 793; Veniera 791; Ci 3556-3; M 91-3; Giacomo; M 2046; M 87; BNP 315-1; Pseudo-Savina; MG 106; Co 1421; Co 1307; F 6235; Lio; Vitaliani; Cicogna 2234; M 2395; M 43; Pseudo-Donato A.; M 54; Co 1456; M 70; M 75; M 2602; Sivos; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; Vianoli; M 974; M 1565; M 64; F 6566; Curti; Ci 2302; M 74; Astori.

[79] HDV; AVB; Canal; Brevis; Extensa; A Latina; VH; Pseudo-Dandolo; Giustiniano; M 37; Co 1499; M 2545; PD 392c; Filippo; Monaci; Co 1013; M 2034; M IX 28-1; Dandolo A. 319; M 38; M Z 18; M 2560; BNP 785; M Z 20; M 2548; Biondo; M 2549; M 89; Vat. 5281; M 2565; M 559; M 2556; B 149; Vitturi; M 2559; M 104; M 2566; M 2563; F 6117; Ci 2117; BNP 355; Ci 3518; Gr 53; ASV 58; M 2564; Ci 2116; F 6147; Ci 2413; Sabellico; Co 1337; Ci 3753; ASV 59; ASV 61; Sanudo; M 324; M 2546; DDR 121; Delfino P.; M 798; Pseudo-Contarini D.; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 788; Antonio; M 796; M 51; Marcello; Marco; Co 760-1; Ci 1899; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; M 2576; PD 482c; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Carpenio; Pigno; MG 249; Q 15; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; M 555; BNP 315-1; Rotta; Q 13; Co 710; M 723; DDR 449; Rosso; M 2543; M 2568-2; Ci 2123; Ci 1982-1; F 3458; Ci 589; pseudo-Barbaro; Ci 1983; Vat. 6089; Ci 1900; M 322; H 67; Trevisan 1327; Ci 3599; Pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 2567; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; Ci 1898; M 2571; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; PD 312c; Ci 3712; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; M 2037; M 2573; Valier; Ottob. 1120; Alberegno; Gussoni; Donato T.; Caroldo; M 39; Grandis; M 2581; Co 1045; PD 378c; BNP 337; BNP 787; PD 391c; M 728-1; Balanzana; BNP 315-2; M 2580; Ci 3725; Pseudo-Magno 513; Pseudo-Magno 514; M 1568; Zena; Ci 2815; Sansovino; Giustiniano P.; MG 327; M 793; Veniera 791; Trevisan 519; M 303; M 393; Doglioni; M 91-2; Ci 3556-3; M 91-3; M XI 77; BNP 1192; M 2550; M 31; F 6821; Co 1305; Ci 3556-7; Ci 590; M 1586; Giacomo; M 2046; M 58; M 59; M 327; M 87; M 91-1; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; MG 106; Fougasses; M 2572; Co 1032; Co 1421; Co 1307; F 6235; Alario; H Riant 12; Co 1306; Lio; Fabris; Vitaliani; Morosini P.; Ci 2234; M 2395; Contarena; M 2669; M 43; M 44; Pseudo-Donato A.; M 54; Contarini M.; M 80; Co 1456; M 70; M 75; Sivos; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 61; M 2592; M 66-2; M 1999; M 974; Q 36; M 1565; M 2676; M 1577; M 64; F 6566; Diedo; Curti (another version of the text is found on the margin, later erased); Laugier; Ci 2302; M 74; M 1833; Astori.

[80] HDV; Extensa; VH; Pseudo-Dandolo; Giustiniano; M 2545; Monaci; M 2034; M 2560; M Z 20; Biondo; M 89; M 559; M 2566; M 2563 (although it is written "*dassio*"); Dr F 160; F 6117; Ci 592; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; Gr 53; ASV 58; F 6147; BNP 318; Ci 2413; Sabellico; Co 1337; Ci 3753; ASV 59; Cavalli; Sanudo; M 2544; M 324; M 2546; DDR 121; Delfino P.; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 788; M 796; M 51; M 52; Marcello; Co 1046; Zancaruolo; Co 760-2; Ci 1899; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Pigno; MG 249; Q 15 (*Lyo* instead of Sio); M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; Q 13; M 723; DDR 449; M 2543; M 2568-2; Ci 2123; F 3458; Ci 1982-2; Ci

589; Pseudo-Barbaro; Ci 1983; Vat. 6089; Ci 1900; H 67; Ci 3599; M 45; M 2568-1; M 2567; M 47; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; M Z 21; Ci 1898; M 2571; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; PD 312c; Ci 3712; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; M 2573; M 728-2; Valier; Gussoni; PD 236c; Caroldo; Donato T.; Grandis; M 2581; Co 1045; BNP 337; BNP 787; PD 391c; Balanzana; BNP 315-2; M 2580; Ci 3725; Pseudo-Magno 514; M 1568; Zena; Ci 2815; Giustiniano P.; MG 327; M 793; Ci 3675; Veniera 791; Trevisan 519; M 303; M 393; Doglioni; M 91-2; M 377; Ci 3556-3; M 91-3; M XI 77; BNP 1192; M 31; F 6821; Co 1305; Ci 3556-7; Ci 590; M 1586; Giacomo; M 2046; M 58; M 59; M 327; M 87; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; Co 1032; Co 1421; Co 1307; MG 106; Fougasses; M 2572; F 6235; Alario; H Riant 12; Co 1306; Lio; Vitaliani; Morosini P.; M 67; M 2541; Ci 2234; M 2395; M 43; Pseudo-Donato A.; M 54; F 6166; Co 1456; M 70; M 75; Sivos; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 61; M 2592; M 66-1; M 1999; M 974 (makes a distinction between Sio and Chio); Q 36; M 1565; M 2676; Faliero; M 1577; M 2028; M 64; Diedo; Curti; Laugier; Ci 2302; M 74; M 1669; Astori. In addition, but only in the title: M 2569.

[81] HDV; Extensa; VH; Giustiniano; M 2545; Monaci; M 2034; M 2560; M Z 20; Biondo; M 2565; M 2566; M 2563; Dr F 160; F 6117; M 2569; Ci 592; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; ASV 58; M 2564; F 6147; BNP 318; Ci 2413; Sabellico; Co 1337; Ci 3753; Cavalli; Sanudo; M 2544; M 324; M 2546; Delfino P.; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 796; M 51; M 52; Marcello; Co 1046; Zancaruolo; Co 760-2; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Pigno; MG 249; Q 15; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; Q 13; M 2543; M 2568-2; Ci 2123; Ci 1982-2; Pseudo-Barbaro; Ci 1983; Vat. 6089; Ci 1900; H 67; Ci 3599; Pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 2568-1; M 2567; M 47; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; M Z 21; Ci 1898; M 2571; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; M 2037; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; M 2573; M 728-2; Valier; Alberegno; Gussoni; PD 236c; Caroldo; Donato T.; Grandis; M 2581; Co 1045; BNP 337; BNP 787; PD 391c; BNP 315-2; M 2580; Pseudo-Magno 514; Ci 2815; Giustiniano P.; MG 327; Ci 3675; Trevisan 519; M 303; M 393; Doglioni; M 91-2; M 377; Ci 3556-3; BNP 1192; M 31; F 6821; Co 1305; Ci 3556-7; Ci 590; M 1586; M 2046; M 58; M 59; M 327; M 87; M 91-1; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; Fougasses; M 2572; Co 1032; Co 1307; F 6235; Alario; H Riant 12; Co 1306; Fabris; Morosini P.; Ci 2234; M 43; M 54; M 80; M 70; M 75; Sivos; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 61; M 2592; M 1999; M 974; Q 36; M 2676; Faliero; M 1577; M 2028; M 64; F 6566; Diedo; Curti; Laugier; M 74; M 1669.

[82] HDV; Extensa; VH; Giustiniano; M 2545; Monaci; M 2034; Biondo; Dr F 160; F 6117; M 2569; Ci 592; ASV 58 (as *jsola del Sciauo*); BNP 318; Sabellico; Ci 3753; Sanudo; M 2544; M 324; M 2546; Delfino P.; M 796; M 52 (*Fiama*); Co 1046; PD 380c; Cornaro (*isola del Siauo*); Q 13; M 2543; Pseudo-Barbaro; Ci 3599 (*jsolla de Siaro*); Pseudo-Abbiosi (*Starno*); M 2568-1; M 2567; M 47; M Z 21; M 2571; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Erizzo; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; M 2573; Valier; PD 236c; Caroldo; Grandis; M 2581; PD 391c; BNP 315-2; Pseudo-Magno 514; Giustiniano P.; Ci 3675 (*Hijamo* in the text and *Tramo* in the title); Trevisan 519; M 303; M 91-2; M 377; Ci 3556-3; Ci 3556-7; M 1586; M 58; M 59; Pseudo-Savina; Fougasses; M 2572 (*Sandro*); Co 1307 (‘*asauio*’); F 6235; Co 1306; Morosini P.; M 70; M 75; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 61; M 1999; M 974; Q 36; M 1577 (*isola del Siavo*); M 2028; F 6566; Diedo; Curti; Laugier; M 74; M 1669. In addition, but only in the titles: Cavalli; Co 760-2; Ci 1982-2; M 728-2.

[83] HDV; Extensa; VH; Giustiniano; M 2545; Monaci; M 2034; M 2560; M Z 20; Biondo; M 2565; M 2566; M 2563; Dr F 160; F 6117; M 2569; Ci 592; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; ASV 58; M 2564; F 6147; BNP 318; Sabellico; Co 1337; Ci 3753; Sanudo; M 2544; M 324; M 2546; Delfino P.; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 796; M 51; Marcello; Correr 1046; Zancaruolo; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Pigno; MG 249; Q 15; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; Q 13; M 2543; M 2568-2; Ci 2123; Pseudo-Barbaro; Ci 1983; Ci 1900; H 67; Ci 3599; Pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 2568-1; M 2567; M 47; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; M Z 21; Ci 1898; M 2571; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; M 2037; M 2573; Valier; Alberegno; Gussoni; PD 236c; Caroldo; Donato T.; Grandis; M 2581; Co 1045; BNP 337; BNP 787; PD 391c; BNP 315-2; M 2580; Pseudo-Magno 514; Ci 2815; Giustiniano P.; Ci 3675; Trevisan 519; M 303; M 393; M 91-2; M 377; Ci 3556-3; BNP 1192; M 31; F 6821; Co 1305; Ci 3556-7; Ci 590; M 1586; M 2046;

Additional isolated cases refer to: Siphnos (one),[85] Paros (three),[86] Egina (two),[87] Stives, Strines, Settinos (the last two are associated with Athens and Thebes) and also Corinth,[88] even Acre[89] (which is probably a copyist's error, instead of Andre/Andros). Some strange denominations are also inserted: *Lismo* in three chronicles;[90] *Laisino* in one chronicle;[91] *Suda* in one chronicle;[92] *Asio* in two chronicles;[93] *Ven* in one chronicle.[94] Meanwhile, chronicle M 1833 only mentions the Archipelago in a generic manner. In some cases, the description results in strange combinations: *Radochi* in M 52; *Rodochio* in Co 760-2, Cavalli, Ci 1982-2, M 728-2; *Andresiamo* in Co 1046; *Samomytilene* in Pseudo-Magno 514; *Sandro* in M 2572.

When enumerating the above-mentioned places, some texts add expressions like 'and other cities/places/islands' (80 chronicles);[95] 'and many

M 58; M 59; M 327; M 87; M 91-1; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; Fougasses; M 2572; Co 1032; Co 1307; F 6235; H Riant 12; Co 1306; Fabris; Morosini P.; Ci 2234; M 43; M 80; M 70; M 75; Sivos; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 61; M 1999; M 974; Q 36; M 2676; M 1577; M 2028; F 6566; Diedo; Curti; Laugier; M 74; M 1669. In addition, but only in the titles: Cavalli; M 52; Co 760-2; Ci 1982-2. Among them, 18 refer to it by its ancient name of Lesbos: VH ("*Lesbum, idest Methelinum*"); Sabellico; Marcello; M 728-2; Giustiniano P.; Ci 3556-3; Ci 3556-7; Fougasses; M 2572; Morosini P.; M 70; M 75; Verdizzotti; M 61 (Lesbos and Mytilene are regarded as two different entities); M 1999; M 974; Diedo; Laugier.

[84] HDV; Extensa; VH; Giustiniano; M 2545; Monaci; M 2034; M 2560; M Z 20; Biondo; M 2565; M 2566; M 2563; Dr F 160; F 6117; M 2569; Ci 592; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; ASV 58; M 2564; F 6147; BNP 318; Sabellico; Co 1337; Ci 3753; Cavalli; Sanudo; M 2544; M 324; M 2546; Delfino P.; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 796; M 51; M 52; Marcello; Co 1046; Zancaruolo; Co 760-2; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Pigno; MG 249; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro ("*Aure*"); M 2543; Ci 2123; Ci 1982-2; Pseudo-Barbaro; Ci 1983 ("*Andrenopoli*"); Ci 1900; H 67; Ci 3599; Pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 2568-1; M 2567; M 47; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; M Z 21; Ci 1898; M 2571; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; M 2573; M 728-2; Valier; Alberegno; Gussoni; PD 236c; Caroldo; Donato T.; Grandis; M 2581; Co 1045; BNP 337; BNP 787; PD 391c; BNP 315-2; M 2580; Pseudo-Magno 514; Ci 2815; Giustiniano P.; Ci 3675 ("*Andora*"); Trevisan 519; M 303; M 393; M 91-2; M 377; Ci 3556-3; BNP 1192; M 31; F 6821; Co 1305; Ci 3556-7; Ci 590; M 1586; M 2046; M 58; M 59; M 327; M 87; M 91-1; Pseudo-Savina; Fougasses; M 2572 ("*Sandro*"); Co 1032; F 6235; H Riant 12; Co 1306; Fabris; Morosini P.; Ci 2234; M 43; M 80; M 70; M 75; Sivos; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 61; M 1999; M 974; Q 36 ("*Achre*"); M 2676; M 2028; F 6566; Diedo; Curti; Laugier; M 74.

[85] Zancaruolo ("*Sifanto*").

[86] Giustiniano P.; M 1999; Laugier.

[87] Giustiniano P.; M 1999.

[88] In the list provided by M 1586.

[89] Q 36.

[90] Cavalli; Co 760-2; M 728-2. It could be about *l'Istmo*.

[91] Ci 1982-2. It could be a bad transcription of *Samos*.

[92] PD 380c.

[93] Co 1045; M 327.

[94] M 1577.

[95] Extensa; Giustiniano; Monaci; M 2034; M 2560; M Z 20; Biondo; M 2565; M 2566; Ci 2117; F 6147; Sabellico; Co 1337; Cavalli; Delfino P.; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 796; M 52; Co 1046; Co 760-2; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Pigno; MG 249; Q 15; Daniele; M 2568-2; Ci 2123; Ci 1982-

other cities/places' (43 chronicles);[96] 'all those places' (17 chronicles).[97] These expressions leave the door open for surmising that other places and islands in the Archipelago than those already enumerated might have been the target of the Venetian raid. In fact, we should note four more cases[98] that are not accompanied by geographic details, and ten unnamed cities conquered from the Byzantines (eight in the case of M 327, while M 1833 only uses generic expressions).[99]

In this context, the Emperor is regarded as the (great) enemy of the Venetians in 69 chronicles.[100] A further 53 cases[101] also suggest the Emperor's hostility towards the Venetians (in addition to those that had already referred to the episode in Corfu). Some isolated cases speak, in this context, about the conquest of Dalmatia by John II Comnenus[102] or by the Hungarians,[103] or merely about an

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2; Ci 1983; Ci 1900; H 67; M 45; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; Ci 1898; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; M 2037; M 728-2; Gussoni; Caroldo; Donato T.; Co 1045; BNP 337; BNP 787; PD 391c; M 2580; Ci 2815; M 393; M 91-2; M 377; Ci 3556-3; BNP 1192; M 31; F 6821; Ci 3556-7; Ci 590; M 1586; M 2046; M 58; M 59; M 327; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; Co 1032; F 6235; H Riant 12; Morosini P.; Ci 2234; M 43; Verdizzotti; M 974; Curti; M 74; M 1669. In four other chronicles (M 628a, Alberegno, M 91-1, and Fabris) '*altri l*[*u*]*ogi*" is replaced with "*alli l*[*u*]*ogi*', thus changing the sense.

[96] HDV; VH; M 2545; M 2563; Dr F 160; F 6117; M 2569; Ci 592; Ci 3518; ASV 58; M 2564; BNP 318; Ci 2413; M 2544; M 2546; M 550; Zancaruolo; M 46; Cornaro; Q 13; M 2543; Pseudo-Barbaro; Vat. 6089; Ci 3599; M 2568-1; M 47; M Z 21; M 2571; Pseudo-Erizzo; PD 236c; M 2581; Pseudo-Magno 514; Ci 3675; Co 1305; M 67; M 2541; F 6166; M 70; M 75; Vianoli; M 2592; M 1577; M 2028.

[97] Ci 3753; M 324; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Navagero; M 2573; Valier; Grandis; BNP 315-2; Trevisan 519; Doglioni ("*quante Isole v'erano*"); Fougasses ("*toutes les autres isles de l'Empire Grec*"); M 61; Q 36; M 2676; F 6566; Laugier.

[98] AVB ("[...]*; preterea triumphavit de Grecia decem civitates.*"); Canal ("*si prist X viles et maint chastiaus de cel enpire et les abati a terre,* [...]"); Marco ("*Cumque dictus Dux habito triumpho reuertereter agressus partes Romanie cepit decem ciuitates imperij.*"); M 327, at a certain moment (in the title) ("*i prese otto terre dell'Imperador de Constantinopoli*").

[99] M 1833 ("*scorse l'arcipelago, sacheggiò le Isole, prese Modon in Morea*").

[100] M 2034; M 2560; M Z 20; M 2565; M 2566; M 2563; Ci 2117; M 2564; Ci 3518; ASV 58; F 6147; Co 1337; Ci 3753; M 324; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Pigno; Q 15; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; Q 13; Ci 2123; Pseudo-Barbaro; H 67; Ci 3599; M 45; Ci 1898; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; M 2037; M 2573; Valier; Alberegno; Gussoni; Donato T.; Grandis; Co 1045; BNP 787; BNP 315-2; M 2580; BNP 1192; Co 1305; Ci 590; M 1586; M 2046; M 327; M 87; M 91-1; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; Fabris; Ci 2234; M 43; M 80; Sivos; Q 36; M 2676; M 1577; Diedo; M 74.

Conversely, their 'mortal enemies' are the citizens of Rhodes, according to five texts: M 2545; F 6117; M 2546; M 2571; M 2581.

[101] Extensa; VH; Giustiniano; Monaci; Biondo; Sabellico; Delfino P.; Marcello; M 2567; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; Caroldo; PD 391c; Ci 2815; Giustiniano P.; MG 327; Trevisan 519; M 303; Doglioni; M 91-2; Ci 3556-3; Ci 3556-7; M 58; M 59; Fougasses; M 2572; Co 1307 (in a second instance); F 6235; Alario; Co 1306; Morosini P.; M 67; M 2541; M 54; F 6166; M 70; M 75; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 61; M 2592; M 66-1; M 1999; M 974; M 64; F 6566; Diedo; Laugier; M 1833; M 1669.

[102] Giustiniano; Ci 3556-3; Alario.

[103] Magno; F 6235; M 61.

anti-Venetian alliance between Byzantium and the Kingdom of Hungary.[104] It is also the case that the chronicles were advancing the possibility of a Byzantine attack over the islands under Venetian rule in the Ionian Sea (M 2572) and the massive presence of a large Byzantine fleet in the Adriatic (Verdizzotti). Since the Venetian fleet is already regarded as acting for the benefit of the Crusade, these Byzantine actions are nothing but anti-crusading deeds that once again bring the Balkans into the events.

In order to prepare the audience for the future anti-Venetian position of Manuel Comnenus, 24 chronicles[105] refer to this Emperor, instead of his father, as the opponent in these events.

Usually, the Venetian attack on the Archipelago is connected to the relics of St Isidore captured in Chios in the same period. This is the case in 113 chronicles,[106] but some other texts (67[107]) separate the Venetian raid in the Archipelago from the looting of the relics from Chios (interjecting other events or noting the capture of the relics of St Isidore as a different sub-chapter). Some even place the episode related to the relics prior to the raid[108] or even prior to the

[104] Doglioni; F 6235; Alario; M 61; M 1999.

[105] Biondo; Sabellico; Marcello; Magno; Trevisan 519; M 303; Ci 3556-7; Fougasses; M 2572; Co 1307 (in a second instance); Co 1306; Morosini P.; M 67; M 2541; F 6166; M 70; M 75; Vianoli; M 66-1; M 974; F 6566; Diedo; M 74; M 1669. Among them, some hesitate between John and Manuel: Sabellico ("*Calojanes Alexii filius (quidam Emanuelem filium pro Calojane scribunt)*"); Fougasses ("*Caloianes fils d'Alexis (aucuns pour Caloianes mettent Emanuel)*"); M 70 ("*Callorane* [sic!] *Imperatore, ouero Emanuel Imperator di Constantinopoli*"); M 75 ("*Galloiano* [sic!] *Imperatore, ouero Emanuel*"); M 974 ("*Caloiani, ò sia Emanuel Imperator di Costantinopoli figlio d'Alessio*").

[106] Extensa; VH; Pseudo-Dandolo; Giustiniano; M 2545; Monaci; M 2034; Biondo; M 89; M 559; M 2566; F 6117; Gr 53; ASV 58; BNP 318; Sabellico; Ci 3753; ASV 59; Cavalli; Sanudo; M 324; DDR 121; Delfino P.; M 796; M 51; M 52; Marcello; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; PD 380c; Cornaro; Q 13; M 723; DDR 449; M 2543; M 2568-2; F 3458; Ci 589; Pseudo-Barbaro; H 67; Ci 3599; M 2568-1; M 2567; M 47; M 2571; Urb. 512; M 53; PD 312c; Ci 3712; Pseudo-Erizzo; Magno; M 2573; M 728-2; Valier; Caroldo; Grandis; M 2581; Co 1045; BNP 337; BNP 787; Balanzana; BNP 315-2; Ci 3725; Pseudo-Magno 514; M 1568; Zena; Giustiniano P.; MG 327; M 793; Veniera 791; Trevisan 519; M 303; M 393; Doglioni; M 91-2; M 91-3; M XI 77; M 1586; M 327; Pseudo-Savina; MG 106; Fougasses; Co 1421; Co 1307; Alario; H Riant 12; Co 1306; Lio; Vitaliani; Morosini P.; M 67; M 2541; M 2395; Pseudo-Donato A.; M 54; F 6166; Co 1456; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; Verdizzotti; M 61; M 2592; M 66-1; M 1999; M 974; Q 36; M 1565; Faliero; M 1577; M 64; F 6566 (it could be taken from Rhodes); Diedo; M 74; Ci 2302; Astori.

[107] M 2560; M Z 20; M 2563; Dr F 160; M 2569; Ci 592; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; ASV 58; M 2564; F 6147; Ci 2413; Co 1337; M 2544; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; Co 1046; Zancaruolo; Co 760-2; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; Pigno; MG 249; Q 15; M 46; Daniele; Ci 2123; Ci 1982-2; Ci 1983; Vat. 6089; Ci 1900; M 45; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; M Z 21; Ci 1898; M 628a; M 2037; Alberegno; Gussoni; PD 236c; Donato T.; M 2580; Ci 2815; Ci 3675; M 377; BNP 1192; M 31; F 6821; Co 1305; Ci 590; M 2046; M 87; M 91-1; BNP 351; Co 1032; Co 1307; F 6235; Fabris; Ci 2234; M 43; M 80; Sivos; Vianoli; M 1999; M 2028.

[108] Ci 2413; M 798; MG 249; Ci 1983; Ci 1900; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 628a; M 2037; Alberegno; Ci 2815; M 31; F 6821; M 91-1; Co 1032; Co 1307 (in a first instance); Fabris; M 80.

Crusade itself,[109] while others refer yet exclusively to it, neglecting the conquest of other Byzantine possessions in the Archipelago.[110] The capture of Chios (in the sense of *aquisto* or *conquisto*) is absent in some texts.[111] Among them, Chios is completely absent as a location in 15 chronicles.[112]

As a side note, in codex M 37, the relics of St Isidore are recovered from the city of Tyre.

In the case of 34 chronicles,[113] St Isidore is replaced by St Theodore, a character with whom the Venetians were more accustomed, as the patron of the community prior to St Mark.

Overall, it is once again a case where the acquisition of relics is regarded by the Venetian chroniclers as a crusading deed.

According to no less than 136 works,[114] the next stop of the Venetian crusading fleet in the Balkan region was the city of Modon in Peloponnesus, regarded by eight chronicles as *opulentissimo* or *richissimo*.[115]

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[109] M 798; M 628a; M 2037; Alberegno; M 91-1; Fabris; M 80.

[110] Pseudo-Dandolo; M 89; M 559; Gr 53; ASV 59; DDR 121; M 788 (mentioned both in the text and by another handwriting on the margin); Pseudo-Dandolo 873; M 2576; Co 710; M 723; DDR 449; F 3458; Ci 589; PD 312c; Ci 3712; Balanzana; Ci 3725; M 1568; Zena; Agostini-Tiepolo; Q 16; M 793; Veniera 791; M 91-3; Giacomo; MG 106; Co 1421; Co 1307; Lio; Vitaliani; M 67; M 2541; M 2395; Pseudo-Donato A.; F 6166; Co 1456; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; M 66-1; M 1565; Ci 2302; Astori.

[111] M 2560; M Z 20; M 2566; M 2563; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; ASV 58; M 2564; F 6147; Co 1337; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 788; M 51; Ci 1899; M 2576; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Pigno; Q 15; M 46; Cornaro; Q 13; Co 710; M 2543; Ci 3599; M 45; M 2568-1; M 47; Ci 1898; M 628a; M 2037; Alberegno; Gussoni; Donato T.; Agostini-Tiepolo; Q 16; M 303; M 393; Co 1305; Ci 590; M 1586; M 327; M 91-1; Co 1306; Fabris; M 80; Sivos; M 1999; M 1577; F 6566.

[112] M 788; M 2576; Q 15 (where it is about *San Sidro da Lyo*, as if this was the name of the saint); Co 710; M 2037; Alberegno; Agostini-Tiepolo; Q 16; M 91-1; M 80; Sivos; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 1999; F 6566.

[113] Biondo; Dr F 160; M 2569; Ci 592 (but another handwriting erased it and replaced it with St Isidore); BNP 318; Sabellico (in the Italian version; in the Latin, it is still about St Isidore); Cavalli; M 2544; M 52; Marcello; Co 1046; Zancaruolo; Co 760-2; M 2576; M 2543; Ci 1982-2; Pseudo-Barbaro; M 2568-1; M 47; M Z 21; M 728-2; PD 236c; Giustiniano P.; Ci 3675; M 377; Fabris; M 67; M 2541; F 6166; Sivos (referring to both Isidore and Theodore); M 66-1; M 1999 (referring to both St Theodore and St Isidore); M 974 (Theodore from *Sio* and Isidore from *Chio*); M 2028.

[114] HDV; Extensa; VH; Giustiniano; M 2545; Monaci; M 2034; M 2560; M Z 20; Biondo; M 2565; M 2566; M 2563; F 6117; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; ASV 58; M 2564; F 6147; Sabellico; Co 1337; Ci 3753; Sanudo; M 324; M 2546; Delfino P.; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 796; M 51; Marcello; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Pigno; MG 249; Q 15; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; Q 13; M 2543; M 2568-2; Ci 2123; Ci 1982-2; Pseudo-Barbaro; Ci 1983; Ci 1900; H 67; Ci 3599; M 45; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; Ci 1898; M 2571; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; M 2037; M 2573; M 728-2; Valier; Alberegno; Gussoni; Caroldo; Donato T.; Grandis; M 2581; Co 1045; BNP 337; BNP 787; PD 391c; BNP 315-2; M 2580; Pseudo-Magno 514; Ci 2815; Sansovino; Giustiniano P.; M 303; M 393; Doglioni; M 91-2; Ci 3556-3; M XI 77; BNP 1192; M 31; F 6821; Co 1305; Ci 3556-7; Ci 590; M 1586; M 2046; M 58; M 59; M 327; M 87; M 91-1; BNP 351; Fougasses; M 2572; Co 1032; Co

A number of the Venetian texts (53 chronicles)[116] make a clear distinction between the places devastated in the Archipelago (regarded as Romània) and Modon (mentioned as located in Peloponnesus/Morea).

This extended campaign influenced 12 chronicles to insert the expression *terror Graecorum* in Domenico Michiel's epitaph.[117]

For the punitive expedition in Dalmatia, the following cities are described as falling again under Venetian rule:

– Split (213),[118] Trogir (209),[119] Sibenik (138),[120] Biograd (194,[121] usually noted

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1307; F 6235; Alario; H Riant 12; Co 1306; Fabris; Morosini P.; Ci 2234; M 43; M 80; M 70; M 75; Sivos; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 61; M 2592; M 1999; M 974; Q 36; M 2676; M 1577; F 6566; Diedo; Curti; Laugier; M 74; M 1833. In addition, mentioned only in the titles: Dr F 160; M 2569; Ci 592; BNP 318; Cavalli; M 2544; M 52; Co 1046; Zancaruolo; Co 760-2; M Z 21; PD 236c; Ci 3675; M 377; M 2028.

[115] HDV; VH; M 2545; F 6117; M 2546; M 2571; Pseudo-Magno 514.

[116] M 2560; M Z 20; M 2565; M 2566; Ci 2117; M 2564; F 6147; Sabellico; Co 1337; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; Pigno; Daniele; Ci 2123; Pseudo-Barbaro; H 67; M 45; Ci 1898; M 628a; Pseudo-Erizzo; M 2037; Alberegno; Gussoni; Donato T.; M 2581; BNP 787; M 2580; Giustiniano P.; Ci 3556-3; BNP 1192; Ci 590; M 2046; M 91-1; BNP 351; Fougasses; M 2572; Fabris; Morosini P.; Ci 2234; M 80; Sivos; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 2592; M 1999; M 974; Diedo; Curti; Laugier; M 1833.

[117] M 2034; Sanudo; M 51; M 2576 (although the raid is absent); Magno; Pseudo-Savina; F 6235; Alario; M 70; M 75; M 974; Laugier.

[118] HDV; Brevis; Extensa; A Latina; VH; Pseudo-Dandolo; Giustiniano; M 37; Co 1499; M 2545; PD 392c; Filippo; Monaci; Co 1013; M 2034; M IX 28-1; Dandolo A. 319; M 38; M Z 18; M 2560; BNP 785; M Z 20; Biondo; M 2549; M 89; Vat. 5281; M 2565; M 559; M 2556; Vitturi; M 104; M 2566; M 2563; F 6117; Ci 2117; BNP 355; Ci 3518; Gr 53; ASV 58; M 2564; Ci 2116; F 6147; Ci 2413; Sabellico; Co 1337; Ci 3753; ASV 59; ASV 61; Sanudo; M 324; M 2546; DDR 121; Delfino P.; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 788; Antonio; M 796; M 51; Marcello; Co 760-1; Ci 1899; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; M 2576; PD 482c; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Carpenio; Pigno; MG 249; Q 15; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; M 555 (initially, *asalto* instead of *a Spalato*); BNP 315-1; Rotta; Q 13; Co 710; M 723; DDR 449; Rosso; Ci 2123; M 2543; M 2568-2; Ci 1982-1; F 3458; Ci 589; Pseudo-Barbaro; Ci 1983; Vat. 6089; Ci 1900; M 322 (*al palaço de Sibenicho* instead of *a Spalato e Sibenicho*); H 67; Trevisan 1327; Ci 3599; Pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; Ci 1898; M 2571; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; PD 312c; Ci 3712; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; M 2037; M 2573; Valier; Ottob. 1120; Alberegno; Gussoni; Caroldo; Donato T.; M 39; Grandis; M 2581; PD 378c; BNP 337; BNP 787; PD 391c; M 728-1; Balanzana; BNP 315-2; M 2580; Ci 3725; Pseudo-Magno 513; Pseudo-Magno 514; M 1568; Zena; Ci 2815; Giustiniano P.; MG 327; M 793; Veniera 791; Trevisan 519; M 303; M 393; Doglioni; M 91-2; Ci 3556-3; M 91-3; M XI 77; BNP 1192; M 2550; M 31; F 6821; Co 1305; Ci 590; M 1586; Giacomo; M 2046; M 58; M 59; M 87; M 91-1; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; MG 106; Fougasses; Co 1032; Co 1421; Co 1307; F 6235; H Riant 12; Co 1306; Lio; Fabris; Vitaliani; Morosini P.; Ci 2234; M 2395; Contarena; M 2669; M 43; M 44; Pseudo-Donato A.; M 54; Contarini M.; M 80; Co 1456; M 70; M 75; Sivos; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 61; M 2592; M 66-2; M 1999; M 974; Q 36; M 1565; M 2676; M 1577; M 64; F 6566; Diedo; Curti; Laugier; Ci 2302; M 74; M 1833; Astori.

[119] HDV; Brevis; Extensa; A Latina; VH; Pseudo-Dandolo; Giustiniano; M 37; Co 1499; M 2545; PD 392c; Filippo; Monaci; Co 1013; M 2034; M IX 28-1; Dandolo A. 319; M 38; M Z 18; M 2560; BNP 785; M Z 20; M 2548; Biondo; M 2549; M 89; Vat. 5281; M 2565; M 559; M 2556; B 149; Vitturi; M 2559; M 104; M 2566; M 2563; F 6117; Ci 2117; BNP 355; Ci 3518; Gr 53; ASV 58; M 2564; Ci 2116; F 6147; Ci 2413; Sabellico; Co 1337; Ci 3753; ASV 59; ASV 61; Sanudo; M 324; M 2546; DDR 121; Delfino P.; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 788; Antonio; M 796; M 51; Marcello; Co 760-1; Ci 1899; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; M 2576; PD 482c; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Carpenio (as Trapano); Pigno; Q 15; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; M 555; BNP 315-1; Rotta; Q 13; Co

by its nickname "Zara Vecchia".[122] Its complete destruction by Michiel's fleet is attested in most texts),[123] and Zara (28).[124] Zara is probably included among the

710; M 723; DDR 449; Rosso; M 2543; M 2568-2; Ci 2123; Ci 1982-1; F 3458; Ci 589; Pseudo-Barbaro; Vat. 6089; M 322 (only later); H 67; Trevisan 1327; Ci 3599; Pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; Ci 1898; M 2571; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; PD 312c; Ci 3712; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; M 2037; M 2573; Valier; Ottob. 1120; Alberegno; Gussoni; Caroldo; Donato T.; M 39; Grandis; M 2581; Co 1045; PD 378c; BNP 787; PD 391c; M 728-1; Balanzana; BNP 315-2; M 2580; Ci 3725; Pseudo-Magno 513; Pseudo-Magno 514; M 1568; Zena; Sansovino; Giustiniano P.; MG 327; M 793; Veniera 791; Trevisan 519; M 303; M 393; Doglioni; M 91-2; Ci 3556-3; M 91-3; M XI 77; BNP 1192; M 2550; Co 1305 (as *Bragia*); Ci 590; M 1586; Giacomo; M 2046; M 58; M 59; M 327; M 87; M 91-1; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; MG 106; Fougasses; Co 1421; Co 1307; F 6235; Co 1306; Lio; Fabris; Vitaliani; Morosini P.; Ci 2234; M 2395; Contarena; M 2669; M 43; M 44; Pseudo-Donato A.; M 54; Contarini M.; M 80; Co 1456; M 70; M 75; Sivos; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; Verdizzotti; M 61; Vianoli; M 2592; M 66-2; M 1999; M 974; Q 36; M 1565; M 2676; M 1577; M 64; F 6566; Diedo; Curti; Laugier; Ci 2302; M 74; M 1833; Astori.

[120] A Latina; Pseudo-Dandolo; Giustiniano; M 37; Co 1499; M 2545; Filippo; PD 392c; Co 1013; M IX 28-1; M 38; M Z 18; BNP 785; M 2548; M 2549; M 89; Vat. 5281; B 149; Vitturi; M 2559; M 104; M 559; M 2556; F 6117; BNP 355; Gr 53; Ci 2116; Ci 2413; Ci 3753; ASV 59; ASV 61; Sanudo; M 324; M 2546; DDR 121; Delfino P.; Pseudo-Contarini D.; M 788; Antonio; M 51; Co 760-1; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; M 2576; PD 482c; PD 380c; Carpenio; MG 249; M 555; BNP 315-1; Rotta; Co 710; M 723; DDR 449; Rosso; M 2543; M 2568-2; Ci 2123; F 3458; Ci 589; Ci 1982-1; Pseudo-Barbaro (only later); Ci 1983; Vat. 6089; Ci 1900; M 322; Trevisan 1327; Pseudo-Abbiosi; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 2571; Urb. 512; M 53; PD 312c; Ci 3712; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; Magno; M 2573; Valier; Ottob. 1120; M 39; Grandis; M 2581; PD 378c; BNP 337; M 728-1; Balanzana; BNP 315-2; M 2580; Ci 3725; Pseudo-Magno 513; Pseudo-Magno 514; M 1568; Zena; Ci 2815; Sansovino; MG 327; M 793; Veniera 791; Trevisan 519; M 303; M 91-3; BNP 1192; M 31; F 6821; Giacomo; M 2046; M 87; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; MG 106; Co 1032; Co 1421; Co 1307; H Riant 12; Co 1306; Lio; Vitaliani; Ci 2234; M 2395; Contarena; M 2669; M 43; M 44; Pseudo-Donato A.; M 54; Contarini M.; Co 1456; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; M 66-2; Q 36; M 1565; M 2676; M 64; F 6566; Curti; Ci 2302; M 74; Astori.

[121] HDV; Brevis; Extensa; A Latina; VH; Pseudo-Dandolo; Giustiniano; M 37; Co 1499; PD 392c; Filippo; Monaci; Co 1013; M 2034; Dandolo A. 319; M 38; M Z 18; M 2560; BNP 785; M Z 20; M 2548; M 2549; M 89; Vat. 5281; M 2565; M 559; M 2556; B 149; Vitturi; M 2559; M 104; M 2566; M 2563; F 6117; M 2569; Ci 2117; BNP 355; Ci 3518; Gr 53; ASV 58; M 2564; Ci 2116; F 6147; Ci 2413; Co 1337; Ci 3753; ASV 59; ASV 61; Sanudo; M 324; M 2546; DDR 121; Delfino P.; M 798; Pseudo-Contarini D.; M 541; M 550; M 788 (*Belgrado* in the text, but *Grado* on the margin); Antonio; M 51; Ci 1899; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; M 2576 (*Grado*); PD 482c; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Carpenio; Pigno; MG 249; Q 15; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; M 555; BNP 315-1; Rotta; Q 13; Co 710; M 723; DDR 449; Rosso; M 2543; M 2568-2; Ci 2123; F 3458; Ci 589; Pseudo-Barbaro; Ci 1983; Vat. 6089; Ci 1900; M 322; H 67; Trevisan 1327; Ci 3599 (under the strange name of *Mostaso*); Pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 2567; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; Ci 1898; M 2571; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; PD 312c; Ci 3712; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; M 2037; M 2573; Valier; Ottob. 1120; Alberegno; Gussoni; Caroldo; Donato T.; M 39; Grandis; M 2581; Co 1045; PD 378c; BNP 337; BNP 787; PD 391c; Balanzana; BNP 315-2; M 2580; Ci 3725; Pseudo-Magno 513; Pseudo-Magno 514; M 87; M 1568; Zena; Ci 2815; MG 327; Veniera 791; Trevisan 519; M 303; M 91-2; M 91-3; BNP 1192; M 2550; M 31; F 6821; Co 1305; Ci 590; M 2046; M 1586; Giacomo; M 2046; M 58; M 59; M 327; M 87; M 91-1; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina (first instance as *Grado*); MG 106; Co 1032; Co 1421; Co 1307; F 6235; H Riant 12; Co 1306; Lio; Fabris; Vitaliani; Ci 2234; M 2395; Contarena; M 2669; M 43; M 44; Pseudo-Donato A.; M 54; Contarini M.; M 80; Co 1456; Sivos; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; M 66-2; Q 36; M 1565; M 2676; M 1577; M 64; F 6566; Curti; Ci 2302; M 74; Astori.

[122] This note is absent in only HDV; Brevis; Extensa; Monaci; BNP 315-1; Co 710; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; Caroldo; M 39; PD 391c; M 91-2; M 58; M 59; F 6235.

[123] This detail is absent in only Brevis; Monaci; Dandolo A. 319; M 710; M 2568-2; M 60; Caroldo; PD 391c; M 87; M 91-2; M 58.

rest of the Dalmatian rebel cities due to the confusion with "Zara Vecchia". This can be surmised by the fact that some chronicles that refer to Zara do not refer to Biograd, while some refer to Zara's destruction. Conversely, Zara is also regarded as a rather friendly harbour,[125] sometimes along with the city of Ragusa.[126]

As a side note, although referring to the Dalmatian campaign, five chronicles do not mention any Dalmatian city.[127]

The names of the Venetian counts removed by the locals and the Hungarians are recorded in 116 chronicles.[128] The name of the Venetian count of Biograd is absent in 19 chronicles;[129] on the contrary, ten of the texts[130] mention only this dignitary, without referring to those in the other Dalmatian cities.

This punitive campaign somehow stands in contrast with the 21 chronicles mentioned above,[131] which had recorded the Dalmatian contribution and supplies at the beginning of the Crusade.

Almost all chronicles that refer to the Dalmatian event immediately follow this by the triumphal return of the Doge to Venice.[132]

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[124] M IX 28-1; M 2560; Sabellico; Pseudo-Contarini D.; Co 760-1; Ci 1982-1; M 322; M 728-1; Giustiniano P.; M 793; Doglioni; Ci 3556-3; M XI 77; Fougasses; M 2572; Morosini P.; Ci 2234; M 70; M 75; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 61; M 2592; M 1999; M 974; Diedo; M 1833; Laugier. Among them, M 2560, M 322 and Ci 2234 refer only to the Venetian count of Zara in this context.

[125] HDV; Extensa; VH; M 2545; Monaci; M 2034; Ci 3753; M 324; M 2546; M 796; M 2568-2 (although still regarded as *Zara Vecchia*); Pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 2571; Urb. 512; M 53; Magno; M 2573; Valier (named as *Zara Noua*); Caroldo; Grandis; M 2581; BNP 315-2; Pseudo-Magno 514; Ci 2815; M 91-2; F 6235; Q 36.

[126] Ci 3753; M 324; Urb. 512; M 53; M 2573; Valier; Grandis; BNP 315-2; Q 36.

[127] AVB; Canal; Marco; Ci 3556-7; Alario.

[128] A Latina; Pseudo-Dandolo; Giustiniano; M 37; Co 1499; M 2545; PD 392c; Filippo; Co 1013; M 2034; M 38; M Z 18; M 2560 (only added on the margin); BNP 785; M 2548; M 2549; M 89; Vat. 5281; M 559; M 2556; B 149; Vitturi; M 2559; M 104; F 6117; BNP 355; Gr 53; Ci 2116; Ci 2413; ASV 59; ASV 61; M 2546; DDR 121; Delfino P.; Pseudo-Contarini D.; M 788; Antonio; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; M 2576; PD 482c; PD 380c; Carpenio; M 555; BNP 315-1; Rotta; Co 710; M 723; DDR 449; Rosso; M 2543; M 2568-2; Ci 2123; F 3458; Ci 589; Pseudo-Barbaro; Vat. 6089; M 322; Pseudo-Abbiosi; M 2567; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 2571; PD 312c; Ci 3712; Pseudo-Erizzo; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; Ottob. 1120; M 39; M 2581; PD 378c; PD 391c; Balanzana; M 2580; Ci 3725; Pseudo-Magno 513; Pseudo-Magno 514; M 1568; Zena; Ci 2815; MG 327; Veniera 791; Trevisan 519; M 91-3; M 2550; Giacomo; M 2046; M 58; M 59; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; MG 106; Co 1421; Co 1307; Co 1306; Lio; Vitaliani; Ci 2234; M 2395; Contarena; M 2669; M 43; M 44; Pseudo-Donato A.; M 54; Contarini M.; Co 1456; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; M 66-2; M 1565; M 64; Ci 2302; M 74; Astori.

[129] Pseudo-Dandolo; M 37; M 2545; M 89; M 559; Gr 53; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; F 3458; Ci 589; M 2567; PD 312c; Trevisan 519; M 91-3; Giacomo; MG 106; Vitaliani; Pseudo-Donato A.; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; Astori.

[130] M 2034; ASV 58; Q 15; Cornaro; Q 13; Ci 3599; Donato T.; M 303; M 1586; M 1577.

[131] See above, note 73.

[132] 202 chronicles: HDV; Brevis; Extensa; A Latina; VH; Pseudo-Dandolo; Giustiniano; M 37; Co 1499; M 2545; PD 392c; Filippo; Monaci; Co 1013; M 2034; M IX 28-1; Dandolo A. 319; M 38; M Z 18; M 2560; BNP 785; M Z 20; M 2548; Biondo; M 2549; M 89; Vat. 5281; M 2565; M 559; M 2556; B 149; Vitturi; M 2559; M 104; M 2566; M 2563; F 6117; Ci 2117; BNP 355; Gr 53; ASV 58; M 2564; Ci 2116; F 6147; Ci 2413; Sabellico; Co 1337; Ci 3753; ASV 59; ASV 61; Sanudo; M 324; M 2546; DDR 121; Delfino P.; M 798; Pseudo-Contarini D.; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 788; Antonio; M 796; M 51; Co 760-1; Ci 1899; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; M 2576; PD 482c;

3. Another incursion against John II Comnenus: in reality, this occurred later than the Crusade and forms a separate event. Sometimes it is included by the chronicles among the other deeds of the long campaign of Domenico Michiel, this time on the island of Cephalonia/province of Epirus (47 chronicles),[133] or Thessalonica, referred as such in seven chronicles.[134] Both cases refer to events in the Balkans. The attack on Cephalonia or Epirus is connected to the acquisition of St Donatus's relics, according to 46 works.[135] That is why one could conclude that the 96 chronicles that note the case of these holy relics without mentioning the expedition against Cephalonia[136] refer, although

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WL 74-3; PD 380c; Carpenio; Pigno; MG 249; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; M 555; BNP 315-1; Rotta; Q 13; Co 710; M 723; DDR 449; Rosso; M 2543; M 2568-2; Ci 2123; Ci 1982-1; F 3458; Ci 589; Ci 1983; Vat. 6089; Ci 1900; M 322; H 67; Ci 3599; Pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 2567; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; Ci 1898; M 2571; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; PD 312c; Ci 3712; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; M 2037; M 2573; Valier; Ottob. 1120; Alberegno; Gussoni; Caroldo; Donato T.; M 39; Grandis; M 2581; PD 378c; BNP 337; BNP 787; PD 391c; M 728-1; Balanzana; BNP 315-2; M 2580; Ci 3725; Pseudo-Magno 514; M 1568; Zena; Ci 2815; Giustiniano P.; Veniera 791; Trevisan 519; M 303; Doglioni; M 91-2; M 91-3; BNP 1192; M 2550; M 31; F 6821; Co 1305; Ci 590; M 1586; Giacomo; M 2046; M 58; M 59; MG 327; M 87; M 91-1; BNP 351; MG 106; Fougasses; M 2572; Co 1032; Co 1421; Co 1307; F 6235; Alario; H Riant 12; Co 1306; Lio; Fabris; Vitaliani; Morosini P.; Ci 2234; M 2395; Contarena; M 2669; M 43; M 44; Pseudo-Donato A.; M 54; Contarini M.; M 80; Co 1456; Sivos; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; M 61; M 2592; M 66-2; M 1999; M 974; Q 36; M 1565; M 2676; M 1577; M 64; F 6566; Laugier; Ci 2302; M 1833; Astori.

[133] Extensa ("*opidum Kefalonie secus Epyrum capit*"); VH ("*Kefalonie opidum secus Epyrum animose cepit*"); Giustiniano; M 2545; Monaci ("*oppidum Cefaloniae juxta Epirum*", in Italian version: "*vna certa terra ouor cita de Cifalonia apresso l*[*'*]*Albania*"); F 6117; Ci 2413 (*Piro* is erased and replaced by Cephalonia); Ci 3753; Sanudo; M 324; M 2546; Delfino P. ("*el Castello di Cephalonia appresso Epiro*"); M 796 (*Epiro* is added on the margin); MG 249; M 2568-2; Ci 1983; Vat. 6089; Ci 1900; Trevisan 1327 (later addition); M 2567 ("*la ixola dela Zafolonia et Piro*"); Pseudo-Zancaruolo ("*vna zerta terra ouero cita de Cifolonia* [sic!] *apresso lalbania*"); M 2571; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Erizzo; Magno ("*Cephalonia apresso Epiro*"); M 2573; Valier; Caroldo; Grandis; M 2581; BNP 337; BNP 315-2; Pseudo-Magno 514; Ci 2815 ("*una certa terra ouer città de Zafalonia appresso l'Albani*[*a*] [sic!]"); MG 327; Trevisan 519 ("*la ixola de la Cafalonia, et Piro*"); M 91-2; M 31; F 6821; Co 1032; H Riant 12; M 54; Q 36; M 2676; Faliero; M 64.

[134] Pseudo-Barbaro ("*Salonichi, za ditta antigamente Tesalonica nobil Città dell'Albania*"); Ci 3556-3 ("*Solonicchj città d'Albania già detta Tessalonica*"); Pseudo-Savina; Vianoli; M 974; Curti ("*Salonichi, e Tessalonica città dell'Albania*"); M 74.

[135] The only exception is M 2676.

[136] M 2034; M 2560; M Z 20; M IX 28-2; M 2566; M 2563; Dr F 160; M 2569; Ci 592; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; ASV 58; M 2564; F 6147; BNP 318; Sabellico; Co 1337; Cavalli; M 2544; DDR 121; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 788; M 51; M 52; Marcello; Co 1046; Zancaruolo; M 2555; Co 760-2; Ci 1899; M 2576; WL 74-3; Pigno; Q 15; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; Q 13; Co 710; DDR 449; M 2543; Ci 2123; Ci 1982-2; Vat. 6089; H 67; Ci 3599; M 45; M Z 21; Ci 1898; M 628a; M 2037; M 728-2; Alberegno; Gussoni; PD 236c; Donato T.; BNP 787; M 2580; M 1568; Giustiniano P.; Ci 3675; M 393; Doglioni; M 377; BNP 1192; Co 1305; Ci 590; M 1586; M 2046; M 87; M 91-1; BNP 351; Fougasses; Co 1307; F 6235; Alario; Lio; Fabris (confusion with the

indirectly, to this new anti-Byzantine campaign. This is especially supported by the fact that, among them, 42 mention that the attack took place within the context of the war against the emperor of Romània ('when the mentioned Doge went against the Empire of Romània' or similar expressions),[137] and also by the fact that Epirus (as 'the city of Piro') was mentioned as the place that the relics were taken from (46 chronicles).[138] At the same time, some texts note Pera instead of Epirus (as the Genoese district in Constantinople was more familiar to the chroniclers)[139] or even Tyre in the Holy Land[140] (thus modifying the geography entirely), the proper noun of Piero[141] and even the adverb *però*.[142]

We should also bring into the discussion here those (few) cases that replace Jaffa with Zante[143] and Ascalona with Scardona[144] or Salona (Split),[145] thus transferring the confrontations with the Saracens from the Holy Land to the Ionian and Adriatic Seas, which were more familiar to the chroniclers writing in the 15th to 18th centuries. Once again, these three examples of incorrect transcriptions place episodes from the Holy Land in the Balkans.

As a further side note, in two cases the city of Tyre is noted as Troy,[146] thus shifting the action to Asia Minor and much closer to the Balkan region.

In regard to relics in general (St Isidore/Theodore and St Donatus), on a few occasions the incidents are placed prior to the Crusade and are completely unrelated to it.[147]

Chronicles referring to routes in the Balkan region are as follows:

– From Venice to the Archipelago: 55 chronicles.[148]

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relics of St Theodore); Morosini P.; Ci 2234; M 43; M 80; M 75; Sivos; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 61; M 2592; M 1999; M 974; M 2028; F 6566; Ci 2302.

[137] M 2034; M 2560; M Z 20; M 2566; M 2563; Ci 2117; F 6147; Co 1337; M 541; M 798; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; Pigno; M 46; Daniele; DDR 449; Ci 2123; Vat. 6089; H 67; M 45; Ci 1898; M 628a; M 2037; Alberegno; Gussoni; Donato T.; BNP 787; M 2580; M 1568; BNP 1192; Co 1305; Ci 590; M 2046; BNP 351; Co 1307; Alario; Lio; Fabris; Ci 2234; M 43; M 80; Ci 2302.

[138] M 2034; M Z 20; M 2566; M 2563; Sabellico; M 798; M 541; M 788; Marcello; Ci 1899; M 2576; M 46; DDR 449; Ci 2123; H 67; M 45; M 628a; M 2037 (although the name of the city is left under a lacuna); Alberegno; BNP 787; M 2580; M 1568; Giustiniano P.; Doglioni ("*Pera, ò (secondo il Dandolo) da Cefalonia*"); BNP 1192; Co 1305; Ci 590; M 1586; M 2046; M 87; BNP 351; Co 1307; F 6235; Alario ("*da Pera, et dice il Dandolo dalla Ceffalonia*"); Lio; Fabris; Morosini P. (only about *Greci*[*a*]); Ci 2234; M 80; Sivos; Vianoli (only about "*Grecia*"); M 61; M 2592; M 1999; M 974 (only about "*Grecia*"); F 6566; Ci 2302.

[139] Sabellico; M 788; Marcello; M 2576; Giustiniano P.; Doglioni; Fougasses; F 6235; Alario; Sivos; M 61; M 2592; M 1999.

[140] Lio; Ci 2234; M 43; F 6566.

[141] M 2563; M 46; BNP 787; Co 1305.

[142] Alberegno; Fabris; M 80.

[143] M 628a; M 2037; Alberegno; M 91-1; Fabris; M 80; Sivos.

[144] M 2037; Alberegno; Fabris; M 80.

[145] Ci 3518; Cavalli; M 52; Co 760-2; Ci 1982-2; M 728-2; M 393; BNP 351.

[146] Ci 589; M 91-3.

[147] M 798; M 628a; M 2037; Alberegno; M 91-1; Fabris; M 80.

– From Venice to Cephalonia: 43 chronicles.[149]
– From Venice to Epirus: 28 chronicles.[150]
– From Venice to Dalmatia (for supplies): 22 chronicles.[151]
– From Venice to Corfu: 16 chronicles.[152]
– From Venice to Pera (instead of Epyrus): 11 chronicles.[153]
– From Venice to Thessalonica: three chronicles.[154]
– From Venice to Greece: three chronicles.[155]
– From Venice to Dalmatia (not for supplies): two chronicles.[156]
– From Venice to Morea: two chronicles.[157]
– From Venice to Albania: one chronicle.[158]
– From Corfu to the Holy Land: 27 chronicles.[159]

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[148] AVB (Greece); Monaci; M 2560 (Romania); M Z 20; M 2566; M 2563; Ci 2117 (Romania); M 2564; F 6147; F 6147 (Romania); Ci 2413 (later); Co 1337 (Romania); ASV 59; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 796; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; Pigno (Romania); M 46; M 723; DDR 449; Ci 2123; Pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; Ci 1898 (Romania); PD 312c; Ci 3712; Gussoni (Romania); Donato T. (Romania); BNP 337; BNP 787; Balanzana; M 2580; Ci 3725; M 1568; Zena; M 793; Veniera 791; Co 1305; Ci 590; M 2046; M 87; Co 1421; H Riant 12; Lio; Ci 2234; M 2395; M 43; Pseudo-Donato A.; Co 1456; M 1565; Faliero; Ci 2302.

[149] Extensa (Cephalonia in Epirus); VH (Cephalonia in Epirus); Giustiniano; M 2545; Monaci (Cephalonia in Epirus); F 6117; Ci 2413 (initially, Epirus; another hand changed it to Cephalonia); Ci 3753; Sanudo; M 324; M 2546; M 796 (Epirus added by a second hand); MG 249; M 2568-2; Ci 1983; Vat. 6089; Ci 1900; Trevisan 1327 (later addition); M 2567 (Cephalonia and Epirus); M 2571; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; Magno ('Cephalonia in the nearby of Epirus'); M 2573; Valier; Caroldo; Grandis; M 2581; BNP 337; BNP 315-2; Pseudo-Magno 514; MG 327; Trevisan 519 (Cephalonia and Epirus); Doglioni (Pera or Cephalonia); M 91-2; Alario (Pera and Cephalonia); H Riant 12; M 54; Q 36; M 2676; M 64.

[150] Extensa (Cephalonia in Epirus); VH (Cephalonia in Epirus); Monaci (Cephalonia in Epirus); M 2034; M Z 20; M 2566; M 2563 (Piero); Ci 2413 (another hand changed Epirus to Cephalonia); M 798; M 796 (initially, Cephalonia; then Epirus, added by a second hand); Ci 1899; M 46 (Piero); DDR 449; H 67; M 2567 (Cephalonia and Epirus); M 628a; Magno (Cephalonia in the vicinity of Epirus); BNP 787; M 2580; M 1568; Trevisan 519 (Cephalonia and Epirus); BNP 1192; Co 1305 (Piero); Ci 590; M 1586; M 2046; M 87; BNP 351.

[151] Extensa; VH; Giustiniano; Monaci; Sabellico; Sanudo; M 796; Marcello; PD 380c; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; Caroldo; Ci 2815; M 91-2; M XI 77; Giacomo; Pseudo-Savina; Fougasses; M 2592; M 974; Diedo; Laugier; M 74.

[152] HDV; Giustiniano; M 2545; F 6117; M 2546; Delfino P.; M 2568-2; Pseudo-Barbaro; M 2571; Magno; M 2581; Pseudo-Magno 514; Ci 3556-3; Morosini P.; Vianoli; M 61.

[153] Sabellico; M 788; Marcello; BNP 787; Giustiniano P.; Doglioni (Pera or Cephalonia); Fougasses; Alario (Pera and Cephalonia); Sivos; M 2592; M 1999.

[154] Pseudo-Savina; Curti (Thessalonica in Albania); M 74.

[155] Morosini P.; Vianoli; M 974.

[156] ASV 58; M 788.

[157] Pseudo-Barbaro; Vianoli.

[158] Curti (Thessalonica in Albania).

[159] HDV; Extensa; VH; Giustiniano; M 2545; Monaci; F 6117; Sanudo; M 2546; Delfino P.; M 796; M 2568-2; Pseudo-Barbaro; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; M 2571; Magno; Caroldo; M 2581; Pseudo-Magno 514; Ci 2815; M 91-2; Ci 3556-3; Pseudo-Savina; Morosini P.; Vianoli; M 61; M 74.

– From Corfu to Cyprus: one chronicle.[160]
– From the Holy Land to the Archipelago: 164 chronicles.[161]
– From the Holy Land to Dalmatia: 56 chronicles.[162]
– From the Holy Land to Pera (instead of Epirus): two chronicles.[163]
– From the Holy Land to Modon: one chronicle.[164]
– From the Archipelago to Modon: 131 chronicles.[165]
– From the Archipelago to Venice: 79 chronicles.[166]

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[160] PD 380c.
[161] HDV; Canal (Romania); Extensa; VH; M 2545; Monaci; M 2034; M 2560; M Z 20; Biondo; M 2565; M 2566; M 2563; Dr F 160; F 6117; M 2569; Ci 592; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; ASV 58; M 2564; F 6147; BNP 318; Sabellico; Co 1337; Ci 3753; Cavalli; Sanudo; M 2544; M 324; M 2546; Delfino P.; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 51; M 52; Marcello; Marco (Romania); Co 1046; Zancaruolo; Co 760-2; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Pigno; MG 249; Q 15; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; Q 13; M 2543; M 2568-2; Ci 2123; Ci 1982-2; Pseudo-Barbaro; Ci 1983; Vat. 6089; Ci 1900; H 67; Ci 3599; M 45; M 2568-1; M 2567; M 47; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; M Z 21; Ci 1898; M 2571; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; M 2037; M 2573; M 728-2; Valier; Alberegno; Gussoni; PD 236c; Caroldo; Donato T.; Grandis; M 2581; Co 1045; BNP 337; BNP 787; PD 391c; BNP 315-2; M 2580; Pseudo-Magno 514; Ci 2815; Giustiniano P.; MG 327; Ci 3675; Trevisan 519; M 303; M 393; Doglioni; M 91-2; M 377; Ci 3556-3; M XI 77; BNP 1192; M 31; F 6821; Co 1305; Ci 3556-7; Ci 590; M 1586; M 2046; M 58; M 59; M 327; M 87; M 91-1; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; Fougasses; M 2572; Co 1032; Co 1307; F 6235; Alario; H Riant 12; Co 1306; Fabris; Morosini P.; M 67; M 2541; Ci 2234; M 43; M 54; M 80; F 6166; M 70; M 75; Sivos; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 61; M 2592; M 66-1; M 1999; M 974; Q 36; M 2676; M 1577; M 2028; M 64; F 6566 (Tyre); Diedo; Curti; Laugier; M 74; M 1833; M 1669.
[162] Brevis; A Latina; Giustiniano; M 37 (from Tyre); Co 1499; PD 392c; Filippo; Monaci; Co 1013; M IX 28-1; Dandolo A. 319; M 38; M Z 18; BNP 785; M 2548; M 2549; Vat. 5281; M 2556; B 149; Vitturi; M 2559; M 104; BNP 355; Ci 3518 (Salona instead of Ascalona); Ci 2116; ASV 61; Pseudo-Contarini D.; Antonio; Co 760-1; PD 482c; Carpenio; M 555; BNP 315-1; Rotta; Rosso; Ci 1982-1; Pseudo-Barbaro; M 322; Trevisan 1327; Pseudo-Abbiosi; Ottob. 1120; M 39; PD 378c; M 728-1; Pseudo-Magno 513; M 393 (Salona instead of Ascalona); M 2550; BNP 351 (Salona instead of Ascalona); Pseudo-Savina; Contarena; M 2669; M 44; Contarini M.; M 66-2; Curti; M 74.
[163] M 2576; Alberegno (*citta pero*).
[164] Sansovino.
[165] HDV; Extensa; VH; Giustiniano; M 2545; Monaci; M 2034; M 2560; M Z 20; Biondo; M 2565; M 2566; M 2563; F 6117; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; ASV 58; M 2564; F 6147; Sabellico; Co 1337; Ci 3753; Sanudo; M 324; M 2546; Delfino P.; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 796; M 51; Marcello; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Pigno; MG 249; Q 15; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; Q 13; M 2543; M 2568-2; Ci 2123; Pseudo-Barbaro; Ci 1900; H 67; Ci 3599; M 45; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; Ci 1898; M 2571; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; M 2037; M 2573; Valier; Alberegno; Gussoni; Caroldo; Donato T.; Grandis; M 2581; Co 1045; BNP 337; BNP 787; PD 391c; M 2580; Pseudo-Magno 514; Ci 2815; Giustiniano P.; M 303; M 393; Doglioni; M 91-2; BNP 315-2; Ci 3556-3; M XI 77; BNP 1192; M 31; F 6821; Co 1305; Ci 3556-7; Ci 590; M 1586; M 2046; M 58; M 59; M 327; M 87; M 91-1; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; Fougasses; M 2572; Co 1032; Co 1307; F 6235; Alario; H Riant 12; Co 1306; Fabris; Morosini P.; Ci 2234; M 43; M 80; Sivos; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 61; M 2592; M 1999; M 974; Q 36; M 2676; M 1577; F 6566; Diedo; Curti; Laugier; M 74; M 1833.

– From the Archipelago to Dalmatia: 28 chronicles.[167]
– From the Archipelago to Cephalonia: six chronicles.[168]
– From the Archipelago to Epirus: five chronicles.[169]
– From the Archipelago to Sicily: five chronicles.[170]
– From the Archipelago back to the Holy Land: four chronicles.[171]
– From the Archipelago to Albania: two chronicles.[172]
– From the Archipelago to Pera (instead of Epirus): two chronicles.[173]
– From the Archipelago to Adrianople (instead of Andros): one chronicle.[174]
– From Pera (instead of Epyrus) to Venice: 11 chronicles.[175]
– From Pera (instead of Epyrus) to Dalmatia: one chronicle.[176]
– From Pera (instead of Epyrus) to the Archipelago: one chronicle.[177]
– From Modon to Dalmatia: 108 chronicles.[178]

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[166] Monaci; M 2560 (Romania); M Z 20; M 2566; M 2563; Dr F 160; M 2569; Ci 592; Ci 2117 (Romania); Ci 3518; ASV 58; M 2564; F 6147 (Romania); BNP 318; Ci 2413 (later); Co 1337 (Romania); ASV 59; Cavalli; M 2544; M 798; Cigotto; M 550; M 52; Co 1046; Zancaruolo; Co 760-2; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; Pigno (Romania); MG 249; Q 15; M 46; M 723; DDR 449; M 2543; Ci 1982-1; Ci 1983; Vat. 6089; Ci 1900; Pseudo-Abbiosi; M 2568-1; M 47; M Z 21; Ci 1898 (Romania); PD 312c; Ci 3712; M 728-2; Gussoni (Romania); PD 236c; Donato T. (Romania); Balanzana; M 2580; Ci 3725; M 1568; Zena; M 793; Ci 3675; Veniera 791; M 393; M 377; Co 1305; Ci 590; Giacomo; M 2046; M 87; Co 1421; H Riant 12; M 67; M 2541; M 2395; Pseudo-Donato A.; F 6166; Co 1456; M 70; M 75; M 66-1; M 1565; M 2028; M 1669.
[167] AVB (Greece); Canal; Pseudo-Dandolo; M 2034; M 89; M 559; Gr 53; DDR 121; Marco; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; PD 380c; Cornaro; Q 13; F 3458; Ci 589; Ci 3599; M 2567; Pseudo-Erizzo; Co 1045; Trevisan 519; M 91-3; M 1586; M 327; MG 106; Vitaliani; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; M 1577; Astori.
[168] Pseudo-Zancaruolo (Cephalonia near Albania); Ci 2815 (Cephalonia near Albania); M 31; F 6821; Co 1032; Faliero.
[169] M 541; 2123; M 45; Co 1307; Ci 2302.
[170] MG 327; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; M 54; M 64; M 74.
[171] Lio (Tyre); Ci 2234 (Tyre instead of Epirus); M 43 (Tyre); Q 36 (Achre instead of Andros).
[172] Pseudo-Zancaruolo (Cephalonia near Albania); Ci 2815 (Cephalonia near Albania).
[173] F 6235; M 61.
[174] Ci 1983.
[175] Sabellico; M 788; Marcello; Giustiniano P.; Doglioni (Pera or Cephalonia); Fougasses; F 6235; Alario (Pera and Cephalonia); Sivos; M 2592; M 1999.
[176] M 2576.
[177] M 61.
[178] HDV; Extensa; VH; M 2545; M 2560; M Z 20; Biondo; M 2565; M 2566; M 2563; F 6117; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; M 2564; F 6147; Sabellico; Co 1337; Ci 3753; M 324; M 2546; Delfino P.; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 796; M 51; Marcello; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; Pigno; MG 249; Q 15; M 46; Daniele; M 2568-2; Ci 1983 Ci 1900; H 67; M 45; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; Ci 1898; M 2571; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; M 2037; M 2573; Valier; Alberegno; Gussoni; Caroldo; Donato T.; Grandis; M 2581; BNP 337; BNP 787; PD 391c; BNP 315-2; Pseudo-Magno 514; Ci 2815; Sansovino; Giustiniano P.; M 303; M 393; Doglioni; M 91-2; Ci 3556-3; M XI 77; BNP 1192; M 31; F 6821; Co 1305; Ci 3556-7; Ci 590; M 58; M 59; M 91-1; Fougasses; M 2572; Co 1032; Co 1307; F 6235; Alario; H Riant 12; Co 1306; Fabris; Morosini P.;

– From Modon to the Archipelago again: 14 chronicles.[179]
– From Modon to Sicily: 11 chronicles.[180]
– From Modon to Venice: two chronicles.[181]
– From Epyrus to Venice: 34 chronicles.[182]
– From Dalmatia to Venice: 217 chronicles.[183]
– From Dalmatia (for supplies) to Corfu: 14 chronicles.[184]
– From Dalmatia (for supplies) to Cyprus: seven chronicles.[185]

M 80; M 70; M 75; Sivos; Verdizzotti; Vianoli; M 61; M 2592; M 1999; M 974; Q 36; M 2676; Diedo; Laugier; M 1833.

[179] M 2034; ASV 58; PD 380c; Cornaro; Q 13; M 2543; Ci 3599; Pseudo-Erizzo; Co 1045; M 1586; M 327; Pseudo-Savina; M 1577; M 74.

[180] Sanudo; Ci 2123; Pseudo-Barbaro; M 2580; M 2046; M 87; BNP 351; Ci 2234; M 43; F 6566; Curti.

[181] Giustiniano; Monaci.

[182] Extensa (Cephalonia in Epirus); VH (Cephalonia in Epirus); Monaci (Cephalonia in Epirus); M 2034; M Z 20; M 2566; M 2563 (Piero); Ci 2413 (changed to Cephalonia by a second hand); Delfino P. (Cephalonia near Epirus); M 798; M 541; M 796 (initially, Cephalonia; Epirus added by a second hand); Ci 1899; M 46 (Piero); DDR 449; Ci 2123; H 67; M 45; M 2567 (Cephalonia and Epyrus); M 628a; Magno (Cephalonia in the vicinity of Epirus); Alberegno (*citta pero*); BNP 787; M 2580; M 1568; Trevisan 519 (Cephalonia and Epyrus); Co 1305 (Piero); Ci 590; M 1586; M 2046; M 87; BNP 351; Co 1307; Ci 2302.

[183] HDV; AVB; Canal; Brevis; Extensa; A Latina; VH; Pseudo-Dandolo; Giustiniano; M 37; Co 1499; M 2545; PD 392c; Filippo; Monaci; Co 1013; M 2034; M IX 28-1; Dandolo A. 319; M 38; M Z 18; M 2560; BNP 785; M Z 20; M 2548; Biondo; M 2549; M 89; Vat. 5281; M 2565; M 559; M 2556; B 149; Vitturi; M 2559; M 104; M 2566; M 2563; F 6117; Ci 2117; BNP 355; Gr 53; ASV 58; M 2564; Ci 2116; F 6147; Sabellico; Co 1337; Ci 3753; ASV 59; ASV 61; Sanudo; M 324; M 2546; DDR 121; Delfino P.; M 798; Pseudo-Contarini D.; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; M 788; Antonio; M 796; M 51; Marcello; Marco; Co 760-1; Ci 1899; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; M 2576; PD 482c; WL 74-3; PD 380c; Carpenio; Pigno; MG 249; M 46; Daniele; Cornaro; M 555; BNP 315-1; Rotta; Q 13; Co 710; M 723; DDR 449; Rosso; M 2543; M 2568-2; Ci 2123; Ci 1982-1; F 3458; Ci 589; Pseudo-Barbaro; Ci 1983; Vat. 6089; Ci 1900; M 322; H 67; Trevisan 1327; Ci 3599; Pseudo-Abbiosi; M 45; M 2567; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; Ci 1898; M 2571; M 628a; Urb. 512; M 53; PD 312c; Ci 3712; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; M 2037; M 2573; Valier; Ottob. 1120; Alberegno; Gussoni; Caroldo; Donato T.; M 39; Grandis; M 2581; Co 1045; PD 378c; BNP 337; BNP 787; PD 391c; M 728-1; Balanzana; BNP 315-2; M 2580; Ci 3725; Pseudo-Magno 513; Pseudo-Magno 514; M 1568; Zena; Ci 2815; Sansovino; Giustiniano P.; M 793; Veniera 791; Trevisan 519; M 303; Doglioni; M 91-2; M 91-3; M XI 77; BNP 1192; M 2550; M 31; F 6821; Co 1305; Ci 3556-7; Ci 590; M 1586; Giacomo; M 2046; M 58; M 59; MG 327; M 87; M 91-1; BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; MG 106; Fougasses; M 2572; Co 1032; Co 1421; Co 1307; F 6235; Alario; H Riant 12; Co 1306; Lio; Fabris; Vitaliani; Morosini P.; Ci 2234; M 2395; Contarena; M 2669; M 43; M 44; Pseudo-Donato A.; M 54; Contarini M.; M 80; Co 1456; Sivos; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; Verdizzotti; M 61; M 2592; M 66-2; M 1999; M 974; Q 36; M 1565; M 2676; M 1577; M 64; F 6566; Diedo; Curti (Dalmatia is erased in the manuscript); Laugier; Ci 2302; M 74; M 1833; Astori.

[184] Extensa; VH; Giustiniano; Monaci (just *insulam*); Sanudo; M 796; PD 380c; Pseudo-Zancaruolo (only added later); Caroldo; Ci 2815 (just *all'jsola*); M 91-2; Pseudo-Savina; M 2592; M 74.

[185] Sabellico; Marcello; M XI 77; Fougasses; M 974; Diedo; Laugier.

– From Dalmatia to the Archipelago: five chronicles.[186]
– From Dalmatia to Sicily: five chronicles.[187]
– From Dalmatia back to the Holy Land: one chronicle.[188]
– From Dalmatia (Salona instead of Ascalona) back to the Holy Land: eight chronicles.[189]
– From Sicily to Dalmatia: 35 chronicles.[190]
– From Sicily to the Archipelago: 15 chronicles.[191]
– From Sicily to Cephalonia: one chronicle.[192]
– From Sicily to Epyrus: one chronicle.[193]
– From Sicily to Thessalonica: one chronicle.[194]
– From Sicily to Albania: one chronicle.[195]
– From Cephalonia to Venice: 42 chronicles.[196]
– From Cephalonia to the Archipelago: eight chronicles.[197]
– From Cyprus to Zante (instead of Jaffa): seven chronicles.[198]
– From Cyprus to Dalmatia (Salona instead of Ascalona): five chronicles.[199]
– From Bari to Dalmatia: two chronicles.[200]
– From Morea to Thessalonica: two chronicles.[201]

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[186] Ci 3518; Ci 2413; M 550; Q 15; M 393.
[187] Ci 3556-3; M 70; M 75; Vianoli; M 974.
[188] Curti.
[189] Ci 3518; Cavalli; M 52; Co 760-2; Ci 1982-2; M 728-2; M 393; BNP 351.
[190] Ci 2413 (Sicily changed to Bari by another hand); ASV 59; Sanudo; Co 710; M 723; DDR 449; M 2543; Ci 2123; Vat. 6089 (more about Bari); PD 312c; Ci 3712; Balanzana; M 2580; Ci 3725; M 1568; Zena; MG 327; M 793; Veniera 791; M 2046; M 87; BNP 351; Co 1421; Lio; Ci 2234; M 2395; M 43; Pseudo-Donato A.; M 54; Co 1456; M 1565; M 64; F 6566; Curti (Dalmatia is erased); Ci 2302.
[191] Pseudo-Dandolo; M 89; M 559; Gr 53; DDR 121; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; F 3458; Ci 589; M 91-3; Giacomo; MG 106; F 6235; Vitaliani; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; Astori.
[192] Delfino P. (Cephalonia near Epirus).
[193] Delfino P. (Cephalonia near Epirus).
[194] Ci 3556-3 (Thessalonica in Albania).
[195] Ci 3556-3 (Thessalonica in Albania).
[196] Extensa (Cephalonia in Epirus); VH (Cephalonia in Epirus); Giustiniano; M 2545; Monaci (Cephalonia in Epirus); F 6117; Ci 2413 (initially, Epirus; then changed by a second hand); Ci 3753; Sanudo; M 324; M 2546; Delfino P. (Cephalonia near Epirus); M 796 (Epirus added by a second hand); M 2568-2; Vat. 6089; Trevisan 1327 (later addition); M 2567 (Cephalonia and Epirus); M 2571; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Erizzo; Pseudo-Navagero; Magno; M 2573; Valier; Caroldo; Grandis; M 2581; BNP 337; BNP 315-2; Pseudo-Magno 514; MG 327; Trevisan 519 (Cephalonia and Epirus); Doglioni (Pera or Cephalonia); M 91-2; Alario (Pera and Cephalonia); H Riant 12; M 54; Q 36; M 2676; Faliero; M 64.
[197] MG 249; Ci 1983; Ci 1900; Pseudo-Zancaruolo (Cephalonia near Albania); Ci 2815 (Cephalonia near Albania); M 31; F 6821; Co 1032.
[198] M 628a; M 2037; Alberegno; M 91-1; Fabris; M 80; Sivos.
[199] Cavalli; M 52; Co 760-2; Ci 1982-2; M 728-2.
[200] Ci 2413 (initially Sicily; changed to Bari by a second hand); Vat. 6089.
[201] Pseudo-Barbaro (Thessalonica in Albania); Vianoli (Thessalonica in Albania).

– From Morea to Albania: two chronicles.[202]
– From Adrianople (instead of Andros) to Modon: one chronicle.[203]
– From Thessalonica to Venice: seven chronicles.[204]
– From Albania to Venice: five chronicles.[205]
– From Albania to the Archipelago: two chronicles.[206]
– From Zante (instead of Jaffa) to Scardona (instead of Ascalona): four chronicles.[207]
– From Zante (instead of Jaffa) to the Holy Land: three chronicles.[208]
– From Scardona (instead of Ascalona) to the Holy Land: four chronicles.[209]
– From Greece to Venice: two chronicles.[210]
– From Greece to Thessalonica: one chronicle.[211]
– From Greece to Albania: one chronicle.[212]

Based on these general routes, including the Balkans in the Venetian itineraries towards or from the Holy Land, I shall present henceforth the movements of the Venetian crusading fleet in the Balkans. There are a lost of discrepancies among the accounts in terms of the order of the islands in the Archipelago and the cities of Dalmatia captured by the fleet of Domenico Michiel.

Actions of the Venetian fleet in the islands of the Aegean Archipelago:
1. Only Chios: 48 chronicles.[213]
1. Chios; 2. Rhodes; 3. Mytilene; 4. Andros: one chronicle.[214]
1. Chios; 2. Rhodes; 3. Mytilene; 4. Andros; 5. Chios again: one chronicle.[215]

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[202] Pseudo-Barbaro (Thessalonica in Albania); Vianoli (Thessalonica in Albania).
[203] Ci 1983.
[204] Pseudo-Barbaro (Thessalonica in Albania); Ci 3556-3 (Thessalonica in Albania); Pseudo-Savina; Vianoli (Thessalonica in Albania); M 974 (Thessalonica in Albania); Curti (Thessalonica in Albania); M 74.
[205] Pseudo-Barbaro (Thessalonica in Albania); Ci 3556-3 (Thessalonica in Albania); Vianoli (Thessalonica in Albania); M 974 (Thessalonica in Albania); Curti (Thessalonica in Albania).
[206] Pseudo-Zancaruolo (Cephalonia near Albania); Ci 2815 (Cephalonia near Albania).
[207] M 2037; Alberegno; Fabris; M 80.
[208] M 628a; M 91-1; Sivos.
[209] M 2037; Alberegno; Fabris; M 80.
[210] Morosini P.; Vianoli.
[211] M 974 (Thessalonica in Albania).
[212] M 974 (Thessalonica in Albania).
[213] Pseudo-Dandolo; M 89; M 559; Gr 53; Ci 2413; ASV 59; DDR 121; M 788 (no location, but concerns St Isidore); Pseudo-Dandolo 873; M 2576 (no location, but concerns St Isidore); Co 710 (no location, but concerns St Isidore); M 723; DDR 449; F 3458; Ci 589; Vat. 6089; H 67; PD 312c; Ci 3712; BNP 337; Balanzana; Ci 3725; M 1568; Zena; Agostini-Tiepolo (no location, but concerns St Isidore); Q 16 (no location, but concerns St Isidore); M 793; Veniera 791; M 91-3; M XI 77; Giacomo; BNP 351; MG 106; Co 1421; H Riant 12; Lio; Vitaliani; M 67; M 2541; M 2395; Pseudo-Donato A.; F 6166; Co 1456; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; M 66-1; M 1565; Ci 2302; Astori.
[214] M 798.
[215] M 51.

1. Chios; 2. Rhodes; 3. Samos; 4. Mytilene: one chronicle.[216]
1. Just Rhodes: one chronicle.[217]
1. Rhodes; 2. Andros; 3. Samos; 4. Chios: five chronicles.[218]
1. Rhodes; 2. Andros; 3. Samos; 4. Mytilene: four chronicles.[219]
1. Rhodes; 2. Andros; 3. Samos; 4 Mytilene; 5. Chios: 14 chronicles.[220]
1. Rhodes; 2. Andros; 3. Sifnos; 4. Mytilene; 5. Chios: one chronicle.[221]
1. Rhodes; 2. Chios: seven chronicles.[222]
1. Rhodes; 2. Chios; 3. Andros; 4. Mytilene: two chronicles.[223]
1. Rhodes; 2. Chios; 3. Mytilene: two chronicles.[224]
1. Rhodes; 2. Chios; 3. Mytilene; 4. Andros: nine chronicles.[225]
1. Rhodes; 2. Chios; 3. Mytilene; 4. Andros; 5. Samos: 16 chronicles.[226]
1. Rhodes; 2. Chios; 3. Samos; 4. Andros; 5. Mytilene: ten chronicles.[227]
1. Rhodes; 2. Chios; 3. Samos; 4. Mytilene; 5. Andros: 41 chronicles.[228]
1. Rhodes; 2. Chios; 3. Samos; 4. Mytilene; 5. Paros; 6. Andros; 7. Egina: two chronicles.[229]
1. Rhodes; 2. Chios; 3. Samos; 4. Paros; 5. Andros; 6. Mytilene: one chronicle.[230]
1. Rhodes; 2. Mytilene: one chronicle.[231]
1. Rhodes; 2. Mytilene; 3. Andros: seven chronicles.[232]

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[216] M 1669.
[217] Vat. 6089.
[218] Cavalli; M 52; Co 760-2; Ci 1982-2 (*Laisino* instead of Samos); M 728-2 (*Lismo* instead of Samos).
[219] Pseudo-Abbiosi; M Z 21; Ci 3675 (*Andora* for Andros; *Hijamo* for Samos); M 2028.
[220] Dr F 160; M 2569; Ci 592; BNP 318; M 2544; Co 1046; M 2543; Pseudo-Barbaro; M 2568-1; M 47; PD 236c; M 377; Vianoli; Curti.
[221] Zancaruolo.
[222] MG 327; Doglioni; Alario; M 54; M 2592; Faliero; M 64.
[223] Pseudo-Navagero; M 2676.
[224] M 2568-2; Co 1307.
[225] MG 249; Ci 1983 (Adrianople instead of Andros); Ci 1900; Pseudo-Zancaruolo; BNP 337; Ci 2815; F 6821; Co 1032; H Riant 12.
[226] Dr F 160; M 2569; Ci 592; BNP 318; Cavalli; M 2544; M 52; Co 1046; Co 760-2; Ci 1982-2; M Z 21; M 728-2; PD 236c; Ci 3675 (*Tramo* instead of Samos); M 377; M 2028.
[227] Ci 3753; M 324; Urb. 512; M 53; M 2573; Valier; Grandis; BNP 315-2; M 2572 (*Sandro* for Samos and Andros); Q 36 (Achre instead of Andros).
[228] HDV; Extensa; VH; Giustiniano; M 2545; Monaci; Biondo; F 6117; Sabellico; Sanudo; M 2546; Delfino P.; M 796; Marcello; M 2567; M 2571; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; Magno; Caroldo; M 2581; PD 391c; Pseudo-Magno 514; Trevisan 519; M 303; M 91-2; Ci 3556-3; Ci 3556-7; M 58; M 59; Fougasses; F 6235; Co 1306; Morosini P.; M 70; M 75; Verdizzotti; M 61 (other events inserted between Chios and Samos; Lesbos separated from Mytilene and inserted between Samos and Mytilene); M 974 (separating *Sio* and *Chio*); Diedo.
[229] Giustiniano P.; M 1999.
[230] Laugier.
[231] M 2037.
[232] M 2565; M 628a; Alberegno; M 91-1; Fabris; M 80; Sivos.

1. Rhodes; 2. Mytilene; 3. Andros; 4. (later) Chios: 33 chronicles.[233]
1. Rhodes; 2. Mytilene; 3. Andros; 4. Samos; 5. Chios: 12 chronicles.[234]
1. Rhodes; 2. Mytilene; 3. (later) Chios: one chronicle.[235]
1. Rhodes; 2. Mytilene; 3. Samos: two chronicles.[236]
1. Rhodes; 2. Mytilene; 3. Samos; 4. Chios: two chronicles.[237]
1. Rhodes; 2. Samos; 3. Mytilene; 4. Andros: one chronicle.[238]

As for the action of the Venetian fleet in the cities of Dalmatia, below is the order of the settlements:

1. Only Biograd: one chronicle.[239]
1. Biograd; 2. Sibenik; 3. Split; 4. Trogir: two chronicles.[240]
1. Biograd; 2. Sibenik; 3. Trogir; 4. Split: 11 chronicles.[241]
1. Sibenik; 2. Biograd: one chronicle.[242]
1. Sibenik; 2. Split; 3. Trogir; 4. Biograd: 38 chronicles.[243]
1. Sibenik; 2. Split; 3. Trogir; 4. Zadar: one chronicle.[244]
1. Sibenik; 2. Trogir: one chronicle.[245]
1. Sibenik; 2. Trogir; 3. Biograd: one chronicle.[246]
1. Sibenik; 2. Trogir; 3. Split; 4. Biograd: four chronicles.[247]
1. Sibenik; 2. Trogir; 3. Split; 4. Biograd; 5. Zadar (friendly): five chronicles.[248]

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[233] M 2560; M Z 20; M 2566; M 2563; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; M 2564; F 6147; Co 1337; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; Pigno; M 46; Daniele; Ci 2123; H 67; M 45; Ci 1898; Gussoni; Donato T.; BNP 787; M 2580; M 393; BNP 1192; Co 1305; Ci 590; M 2046; M 87; Ci 2234; M 43.
[234] M 2034; ASV 58; PD 380c (*Suda* is inserted between Andros and Samos); Cornaro; Ci 3599; Pseudo-Erizzo; Co 1045 (*Asio* instead of Samos); M 1586; M 327 (*Asio* for Samos); BNP 351; Pseudo-Savina; M 74.
[235] Q 15.
[236] PD 380c; M 1586 (*Domitili* for Mytilene).
[237] Q 13; M 1577 (*Van* inserted between Mytilene and Samos).
[238] F 6566.
[239] M 2567.
[240] Pseudo-Barbaro; Curti.
[241] Ci 3753; M 324; Urb. 512; M 53; Pseudo-Navagero; M 2573; Valier; Grandis; BNP 315-2; Q 36; M 2676.
[242] M 322 (it should have been Split first, but the copyist wrote *al palaço* instead of *a Spalato*).
[243] M 89; Gr 53; Ci 2413; ASV 59; Pseudo-Dandolo 873; M 723; DDR 449; Ci 2123; Vat. 6089; PD 312c; Ci 3712; Balanzana; M 2580; Ci 3725; M 1568; Zena; Veniera 791; M 303; M 2046; MG 327; M 87; BNP 351; MG 106; Lio; Co 1421; Co 1307; Co 1306; Ci 2234; M 2395; Pseudo-Donato A.; M 54; Co 1456; Pseudo-Dandolo 102; M 1565; M 64; F 6566; Curti (on the margin, then erased); Ci 2302.
[244] M 793.
[245] Sansovino.
[246] M 555 (it should have been Split first, but the copyist wrote *asalto* instead of *a Spalato*).
[247] A Latina; Giustiniano; PD 392c; M 43.
[248] M 2545; F 6117; M 2546; M 2571; M 2581.

1. Sibenik; 2. Trogir; 3. Split; 4. Zadar: four chronicles.[249]
1. Split; 2. Biograd; 3. Sibenik: eight chronicles.[250]
1. Split; 2. Biograd; 3. Sibenik; 4. Zadar (friendly): two chronicles.[251]
1. Split; 2. Sibenik; 3. Trogir; 4. Biograd: 36 chronicles.[252]
1. Split; 2. Trogir: two chronicles.[253]
1. Split; 2. Trogir; 3. Biograd: 39 chronicles.[254]
1. Split; 2. Trogir; 3. Biograd; 4. Sibenik; 5. Zadar (friendly): one chronicle.[255]
1. Split; 2. Trogir; 3. Biograd; 4. Zadar (friendly): seven chronicles.[256]
1. Split; 2. Trogir; 3. Sibenik; 4. Biograd: 11 chronicles.[257]
1. Split; 2. Trogir; 3. Sibenik; 4. Biograd; 5. Zadar (friendly): one chronicle.[258]
1. Split; 2. Trogir; 3. Zadar (added above); 4. Biograd: one chronicle.[259]
1. Trogir; 2. Biograd: two chronicles.[260]
1. Trogir; 2. Sibenik; 3. Biograd: three chronicles.[261]
1. Trogir; 2. Split; 3. Biograd: 11 chronicles.[262]
1. Trogir; 2. Split; 3. Biograd; 4. Zadar (friendly): one chronicle.[263]
1. Trogir; 2. Split; 3. Sibenik; 4. Biograd: five chronicles.[264]
1. Trogir; 2. Split; 3. Zadar: three chronicles.[265]
1. just Zadar: one chronicle.[266]
1. Zadar; 2. Split; 3. Trogir: 15 chronicles.[267]
1. Zadar; 2. Trogir; 3. Sebenik; 4. Biograd: one chronicle.[268]

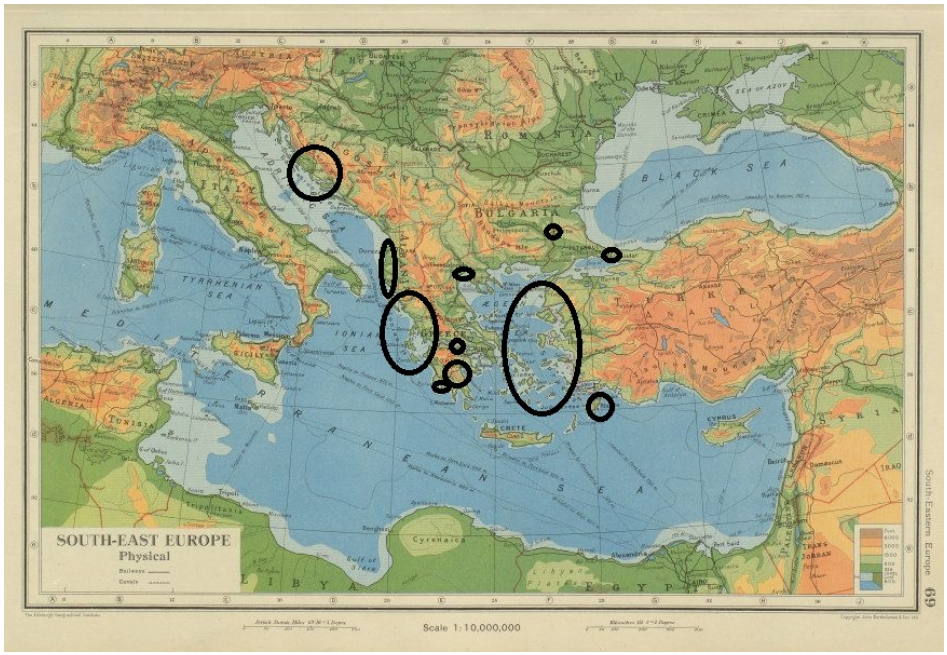
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[249] M IX 28-1; Co 760-1; Ci 1982-1; M 728-1.
[250] MG 249; Ci 1983; Ci 1900; BNP 337; M 31; F 6821; Co 1032; H Riant 12.
[251] Pseudo-Zancaruolo; Ci 2815.
[252] Pseudo-Dandolo; Co 1499; Filippo; Co 1013; M 38; M Z 18; M 2549; Vat. 5281; M 559; M 2556; Ci 2116; ASV 61; Sanudo; M 788; M 2576; PD 482c; BNP 315-1; Rotta; Co 710; Rosso; M 2543; F 3458; Ci 589; Trevisan 1327; Pseudo-Erizzo; Ottob. 1120; M 39; PD 378c; Pseudo-Magno 513; M 91-3; M 2550; Giacomo; Vitaliani; Contarena; M 2669; M 44.
[253] Biondo; M 393.
[254] Brevis; M 2034; Dandolo A. 319; M Z 20; M 2565; M 2566; M 2563; Ci 2117; Ci 3518; M 2564; F 6147; Co 1337; M 798; M 541; Cigotto; M 550; Ci 1899; WL 74-3; Pigno; Q 15; M 46; Daniele; H 67; M 45; Ci 1898; M 628a; M 2037; Alberegno; Gussoni; Donato T.; BNP 787; BNP 1192; Co 1305 (*Bragia* instead of Trogir); Ci 590; M 1586; M 91-1; Fabris; M 80; Sivos.
[255] Magno.
[256] HDV; Extensa; Monaci; M 796; Caroldo; M 91-2; F 6235.
[257] M 37; BNP 785; Vitturi; M 104; BNP 355; DDR 121; Antonio; M 51; PD 380c; Pseudo-Abbiosi; Trevisan 519.
[258] Delfino P.
[259] M 2560.
[260] Co 1045; M 327.
[261] M 2548; B 149; M 2559.
[262] ASV 58; Cornaro; Q 13; Ci 3599; F 6211; M 60; Ci 2754; PD 391c; M 58; M 59; M 1577.
[263] VH.
[264] Carpenio; M 2568-2; Pseudo-Magno 514; Pseudo-Savina (*Grado* instead of Biograd); M 74.
[265] Ci 3556-3; Morosini P.; Vianoli.
[266] M 2572.
[267] Sabellico; Marcello; Giustiniano P.; Doglioni; M XI 77; Fougasses; M 70; M 75; Verdizzotti; M 2592; M 1999; M 974; Diedo; Laugier; M 1833.

1. Zadar; 2. Trogir; 3. Split: one chronicle.[269]

As can be noticed, there is a huge diversity in the available versions regarding the order of the islands or cities captured either in the Archipelago or on the Dalmatian coast. It results that either the Venetian fleet of Domenico Michiel sailed chaotically across the Archipelago or that, rather, once again the geographical knowledge of the chroniclers was clearly wanting.

The following map provides a synthesis of the sources, to highlight the Balkan regions and the settlements affected by the presence of the Venetian crusading fleets. *Nota bene*: some locations are recorded in the sources due to transcription errors.



Conclusions

A preliminary conclusion of the above is that the Venetian chroniclers had limited geographical knowledge of the areas that they were referring to.

[268] Pseudo-Contarini D. (Split should have been first, but the copyist wrote '*al palazo de Sibenicho*' instead of '*a Spalato e Sibenicho*'.)
[269] M 61.

What they lacked, however, they seemingly made up for plentifully by using their imagination.

One might be tempted to read more between the lines and identify hidden meanings behind these errors. A particular line of thought in this direction would include wishful thinking, namely that the chroniclers wished to allude to future Venetian territorial gains or at least territorial pretensions; nevertheless, if this was the case, then why did they not refer, for instance, to Crete, a future and very stable stronghold of the Serenissima for more than 450 years? On this basis, our conclusion is that these errors were simply mistakes attributed to the lack of geographical and cultural knowledge from the part of the chroniclers. This conclusion might contradict the *communis opinio* that the Venetians were very well acquainted with the geography of the Eastern Mediterranean. When referring to the Venetians in such terms, however, one should probably think of statesmen and merchants and consider that this does not necessarily apply to some of the chroniclers.

A more important conclusion is that the Balkans always represented an incentive for the Venetian participation to the Crusades in the Holy Land. Being more familiar with Balkan names, some of the chroniclers changed certain geographic denominations, consciously or unconsciously, while drastically altering history in the process.

As a corollary conclusion, and even though it bears no immediate connection with the main thesis presented above, I feel the need to reiterate once again that, according to the Venetian chroniclers, the acquisition of holy relics represented a typical crusading mission.

ABBREVIATIONS OF VENETIAN CHRONICLES

Note: henceforth, Anon. = Anonymous, It. = Italian, Ms. = manuscript, c. = century/centuries

A Latina = *Cronaca « A Latina ». Cronaca veneziana del 1343*, ed. Caterina Negri de Montenegro, Spoleto, 2004.

Agostini-Tiepolo = Giovanni Tiepolo Patriarca di Venezia, *Cronaca Veneta ad esso attribuita dall'anno 421 al 1524*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 129 [= 8323], p. 63a-242b, 16th c.

Alario = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca della Fondazione Querini-Stampalia, Ms. IV, 63 [= 776], p. 84a–150b, 17th c.

Alberegno = Michele Alberegno, *Cronaca veneta [in miscellanea],* Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Cicogna fonds, Ms. 273 [= 2569], p. 2a–142a, 16th c.

Antonio = Antonio di Matteo di Curato, *Cronaca Veneta* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 162 [= 8037], p. 1a–176b, 15th–16th c.

Astori = Enrico Dandolo [?], *Cronicha*, Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Cicogna fonds, Ms. 3424 [= 2832], p. 3–233, 19th c.

ASV 58 = Anon., *Cronaca veneziana*, Venice, Archivio di Stato, Ms. Storia Veneta 57 (olim Codd. Brera 50), p. 85a–192b, 15th c.

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M 75 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'anno 421 al 1606* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 75 [= 9134], p. 20a–90a, 17th c.

M 80 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'anno 1400 fino al 1684* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 80 [= 8026], p. 71a–130a, 17th c.

M 87 = Anon., *Cronichetta Veneziana fino al 1554*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 87 [= 7927], p. 1a–97b, 16th–17th c.

M 89 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città fino al 1410*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 89 [= 8391], p. 1a, coll. 1–73a, coll. 1, 15th c.

M 91-1 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla morte di Attila fino al Doge Girolamo Priuli* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 91 [= 7441], p. 350a–379b, 16th–17th c.

M 91-2 = Anon., *Historie Venete dal principio della citta fino al anno 1382* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 91 [= 7441], p. 412a–441a, 16th–17th c.

M 91-3 = Anon., *Cronaca sino al Doge Gio. Gradenigo* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 91 [= 7441], p. 597a–633a, 16th–17th c.

M 104 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1443* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 104 [= 8611], p. 65a–175a, 15th c.

M 125-3 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana della fondazione della Città fino al Doge Ordelafo Falier* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 125 [= 7460], p. 215a–227a, 16th c.

M 303 = Anon., *Memorie della città di Venezia* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 303 [= 8165], p. 37a–82a, 16th c.

M 322 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città sino all'anno 1433* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 322 [= 8621], p. 2a–269a, 16th c.

M 324 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città sino all'anno 1385*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 324 [= 8038], p. 1a–212b, 15th–16th c.

M 327 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città sino al 1527*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 327 [= 7776], p. 1a–326b, 16th–17th c.

M 377 = Anon., *Frammento di Cronaca Veneziana dal 1096 al 1185* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 377 [= 8663], p. 61a–68b, 16th-17th c.

M 393 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città sino all'anno 1593*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 393 [= 8647], p. [1a]–313a, 16th c.

M 541 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia della fondazione della Città sino all'anno 1435*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 541 [= 7314], p. 1a–141b, 15th–16th c.

M 550 = Anon., *Cronaca dall'origine di Venezia sino all'anno 1442*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 550 [= 8496], p. 1a–172a, 15th–16th c.

M 555 = Anon., *Cronaca dall'origine della Città di Venezia sino all'anno 1410*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 555 [= 7790], p. 1a, coll. 1–113a, coll. 1, 16th c.

M 559 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia, detta di Pietro Dolfino, dall'origine della Città sino all'anno 1418* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 559 [= 7888], p. 1a–143b, 15th c.

M 628a = Anon., *Cronaca breve Veneziana dalla origine di Venezia sino all'anno 1465* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 628a [= 8049], p. 60a–123b, 16th c.

M 723 = Anon., Cronaca delle Famiglie Patrizie Veneziane [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 723 [= 8041], p. 55a–107a, 16th c.

M 728-1 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta in terza rima dall'origine della Città sino alla presa di Padova, ed alla morte dei Carraresi* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 728 [= 8070], p. 1a, coll. 1–90a, coll. 1, 16th c.

M 728-2 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia del suo principio sino al Doge Tommaso Mocenigo eletto nel di 7 Gennaro 1413 (1414)* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 728 [= 8070], p. 135a–214a, 16th c.

M 788 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dalla fondazione della Città sino alla morte del Doge Francesco Foscari (an. 1456)*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 788 [= 7293], p. 1a–194b, 15th–16th c.

M 793 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine della città al 1478*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 793 [= 8477], p. 1a–196a, 16th c.

M 796 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta da S. Marco Evangelista fino al 1457*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 796 [= 7613], p. 1a–170b, 15th–16th c.

M 798 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della città sino all'anno 1478* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 798 [= 7486], p. Ia–LXVIIIJa, 15th–16th c.

M 974 = Anon., *Storia cronologica de' Dogi di Venezia colle loro elezioni, e succesi nel tempo del loro Dogado; dall'anno 420 al 1173*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 974 [= 8221], p. 1–295, 18th c.

M 1565 = Anon., *Memorie Venete, ossia Epoca Veneziana di Autore Anonimo, ricopiata da originale esistente presso S. E. Marco Flangini, Senatore, da Antonio Maria Dinarelli* […]*, dall'anno 687 al 1479*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 1565 [= 9574], p. 1a–136b, 18th c.

M 1568 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della città sino all'anno 1556*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 1568 [=8016], p. 94b–437b, 16th c.

M 1577 = Anon., *Cronaca della Città di Venezia dalla sua fondazione fino all'anno 1400*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 1577 [= 7973], p. 3–390, 18th c.

M 1586 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della città fino al 1450*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 1586 [= 9611], p. 1a–229b, 16th–17th c.

M 1669 = Anon., *Cronichetta di Venezia* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 1669 [= 7645], p. 527–611, 18th c.

M 1833 = Anon., *Storia Veneta dalla fondazione della Repubblica sino all'anno 1750*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 1833 [= 8376], p. 1a–377b, 18th c.

M 1999 = Anon., *Epitome della Storia della Repubblica di Venezia* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 1999 [= 7918], p. 1a–171b, 17th–18th c.

M 2028 = Anon., *Cronica Veneta, dal 703 al 1420*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2028 [= 8559], p. 1a–187a, 18th c.

M 2034 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dalla fondazione della Città fino all'anno 1453* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2034 [= 8834], p. 6a–483b, coll. 1, 15th c.

M 2037 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dalla morte di Attila a quella del Carmagnola* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2037 [= 8561], p. 125b–210a, 16th c.

M 2046 = Anon., *Origine delle famiglie patrizie Venete coi loro stemme e colori. Cronaca di Venezia dal principio della città fino all'anno 1478. Serie dei Dogi di Venezia fino a Francesco Contarini, 1623* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2046 [= 7803], p. 103a–311b, 16th–17th c.

M 2395 = Anon., *L'origine delle case e Famiglie de Nobili veneziane; et altre cose attinenti alla Città, e Republica Venetiana (Cronaca fino al 1380)* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2395 [= 10319], p. 107a–219b, 17th c.

M 2541 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1310*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2541 [= 12433], p. 1a–175b, 17th c.

M 2543 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1356*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2543 [= 12435], p. 1a–101b, 16th c.

M 2544 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1382*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2544 [= 12436], p. 1a–80a, coll. 1, 15th–16th c.

M 2545 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1386*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2545 [= 12437], p. 1a, coll. 1–123a, coll. 2, 14th–15th c.

M 2546 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1386*, Venice, Biblitoeca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2546 [=12438], p. [1a]–[89a], 15th–16th c.

M 2548 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1405*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2548 [= 12440], p. 1a, coll. 2–68b, coll. 1, 15th c.

M 2549 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1410*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2549 [= 12441], p. 2a, coll. 1–64a, coll. 1, 15th c.

M 2550 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1410* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2550 [= 12442], p. 26a–130b, 16th–17th c.

M 2555 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1414* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2555 [= 12447], p. 1a–61a, 16th c.

M 2556 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1422*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2556 [= 12448], p. 1–215, 15th c.

M 2559 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1427*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2559 [= 12451], p. 1a, coll. 1–100a, coll. 1, 15th c.

M 2560 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1432*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2560 [= 12452], p. 1a–189b, 15th c.

M 2563 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1441* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2563 [= 12455], p. 1a–53b, 15th c.

M 2564 = Anon, *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1443, preceduta da una storia di Attila ed imperatori fino ad Enrico IV*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2564 [= 12456], p. 1a–279b, 15th c.

M 2565 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1443, preceduta da una cronaca di storia antica dalla Creazione al 1183 A.C.* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2565 [= 12457], p. 19a–125b, 15th c.

M 2566 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1443*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2566 [= 12458], p. 1a–145a, 15th c.

M 2567 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1444*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2567 [= 12459], p. 3a, coll. 1–231b, coll. 1, 16th c.

M 2568-1 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1444* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2568 [= 12460], p. 1b–193a, 16th c.

M 2568-2 = Anon., *Breve cronaca fino al 1369* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2568 [= 12460], p. 194b–233a, 16th c.

M 2569 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1446*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2569 [= 12461], p. 1a–215a, 15th c.

M 2571 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1457* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2571 [= 12463], p. 2a–464a, 16th c.

M 2572 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1471*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2572 [= 12464], p. 2a– [155a], 17th c.

M 2573 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1478* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2573 [= 12465], p. 17b–510a, 16th c.

M 2576 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1501*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2576 [= 12468], p. 2a–93a, 16th c.

M 2580 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1556*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2580 [= 12472], p. 4a–325b, 16th c.

M 2581 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1570*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2581 [= 12473], p. 1a–440a, 16th c.

M 2592 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1247* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2592 [= 12484], p. 3a–36a, 17th c.

M 2602 = Anon., *Cronica o'uero Memoriale di tutte le famiglie nobili di Venetia tanto uiuenti, come estinte* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2602 [= 12494], p. 187a–220b, 17th c.

M 2669 = Anon., *Cronica di Venetia fino al 1414* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2669 [= 12864], p. 73a–218b, 17th c.

M 2676 = Anon., *Cronica manoscritta di Venezia ed informazione di essa Città*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2676 [= 12878], p. 1a–60b, 18th c.

M IX 28-1 = Anon., *Cronica veneziana in terza rima fin al 1501* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. IX, 28 [= 6790], p. 1a, coll. 1–69b, coll. 1, 15th c.

M IX 28-2 = Anon., *Cronaca* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. IX, 28 [= 6790], p. 121a–151b, 159a–178a, 15th c.

M XI 77 = Anon., *Istoria Veneta, dall'Origine sino al 1361* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. XI, 77 [= 6929], p. 14a–43b, 16th–17th c.

M Z 18 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al MCCCCX* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. Z. 18 [= 4793], p. 53a, coll. 1–103a, coll. 1, 15th c.

M Z 20 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana, senza nome d'autore. Incomincia da Attila, e finisce nel MCCCCXLII*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. Z, 20 [= 4746], p. 2a–167a, 15th c.

M Z 21 = Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città sino all'anno MCCCCXLVI*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionel Marciana, Ms. It. Z, 21 [= 4763], p. 1a–159b, 16th c.

Magno = Magno Stefano, *Annali Veneti*, Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Cicogna fonds, Ms. 3530, p. 1a–301a, 16th c.

Marcello = *Petri Marcelli de Vitis Principum et gestis Venetorum Compendium*, Venice, 1502.

Marco = *Marci Chronica universalis* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. XI, 124 [= 6802], p. 1a–51a, 16th c.

MG 106 = Anon., *Cronica de Veniesia*, Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Archivio Morosini e Grimani fonds, Ms. 106, p. 2a–76a, 17th c.

MG 249 = Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia, dalle origini al 1427* [in miscellanea], Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Archivio Morosini e Grimani fonds, Ms. 249, p. 2a–73a, 16th c.

MG 327 = Anon., *Cronaca veneta, sino alla metà del sec. XVI* [in miscellanea], Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Archivio Morosini e Grimani fonds, Ms. 327, p. 188–901, 16th c.

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

Morosini A. = *Il Codice Morosini. Il mondo vista da Venezia (1094-1433)*, ed. Andrea Nanetti, 1, Spoleto, 2010.

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

Ott. 1120 = Anon., *Chronicha de tuta la provençia de la nobel çitade clamada Veniexia* [in miscellanea], Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottoboniani Latini fonds, Ms. 1120, p. 1a–258b, 16th c.

PD 236c = Anon., *Cronica de Veniexia* [in miscellanea], Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Provenienze Diverse fonds, Ms. 236c, p. 2a–291a, 16th c.

PD 312c = Anon., *Cronicade tutte le Casade Nobili de Venetia* [in miscellanea], Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Provenienze Diverse fonds, Ms. 312c, p. 14b–155a, 16th c.

PD 378c = Anon., *Cronica con le casade*, Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Provenienze Diverse fonds, Ms. 378c, p. [1a]–316a, 16th c.

PD 380c = Anon., *Cronaca veneziana*, Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Provenienze Diverse fonds, Ms. 380c, fascicle 4, p. 21a–30b, 16th c.

PD 391c = [Andrea Navagero?], *Origine della città di Vinetia*, Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Provenienze Diverse fonds, Ms. 391c, p. [1a]–[80b], 16th c.

PD 392c = Anon., *Cronaca veneziana*, Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Provenienze Diverse fonds, Ms. 392c, p. 1a, coll. 1–55a, coll. 2, 14th–15th c.

PD 482c = Anon., *Cronicha de tuta la provincia de la citae de Veniexia* [in miscellanea], Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Provenienze Diverse fonds, Ms. 482c, p. 1a–97a, 16th c.

Pigno = Anon., *Cronica di Venetia*, Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Provenienze Diverse fonds, Ms. 388c, p. 96a–273b, 16th c.

Pseudo-Abbiosi = Camilo Abbiosi detto il Seniore di Ravenna, *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine della Città fino all'anno 1443*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2052 [= 8981], p. 1a–149b, 16th c.

Pseudo-Barbaro = Daniele Barbaro [?], *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1275*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2554 [= 12446], p. 1a–376b, 17th c.

Pseudo-Contarini D. = *Donato Contarini. Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città fino al 1433* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 95 [= 8610], p. 1a, coll. 1–253a, coll. 2, 15th–16th c.

Pseudo-Dandolo = *Cronica di Venexia detta di Enrico Dandolo. Origini – 1362*, ed. Roberto Pesce, Venice, 2010.

Pseudo-Dandolo 102 = Enrico Dandolo [?], *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della Città fino al 1373*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 102 [= 8142], p. 1a–100a, 17th c.

Pseudo-Dandolo 873 = [Enrico Dandolo?], *Cronaca di Venezia, dalle origini al 1433*, Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Correr fonds, Ms. 873, p. 78a, coll. 1–169a, coll. 1, 16th c.

Pseudo-Donato A. = Antonio Donà, *Cronaca Veneta dall'anno 687 al 1479*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 10 [= 8607], p. 1a–143b, 17th c.

Pseudo-Erizzo = *Cronaca Veneta attribuita a Marcantonio Erizzo, fino all'anno 1495*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 56 [= 8636], p. 1a–611a, 16th c.

Pseudo-Magno 513 = Stefano Magno, *Cronaca Veneziana dall'origine della Città sino all'anno 1555*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 513 [= 7879], p. 1a–198b, 16th c.

Pseudo-Magno 514 = Stefano Magno, *Cronaca Veneziana dall'origine della Città sino all'anno 1555*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 514 [= 7880], p. 1a–203a, 16th c.

Pseudo-Navagero = *Storia della Repubblica Veneziana scritta da Andrea Navagero patrizio veneto*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 23, ed. Lodovico Antonio Muratori, Milan, 1733, p. 923-1216.

Pseudo-Savina = Girolamo Savina [?], *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città sino al 1616*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 134 [= 8035], p. 1a–378a, 17th c.

Pseudo-Zancaruolo = *Cronaca Veneta supposta di Gasparo Zancaruolo, dall'origine della Città fino al 1446*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 1274 [= 9274], p. i a–cclxxxj b, 18th c.

Q 13 = Anon, *Cronaca Veneta o piu veramente Miscellanea di cronache e memorie Venete* [in miscellanea], Venice, Fondazione Querini-Stampalia, Ms. IV, 13 [= 1105], p. 35a–72b, 16th c.

Q 15 = Anon., *Repertorio d'una Cronaca veneta* [in miscellanea], Venice, Fondazione Querini-Stampalia, Ms. IV, 15 [= 1310], p. 29a–108a, 16th c.

Q 16 = Agostino Agostini, *Istoria Veneziana di Agostino Agostini. Dal principio della fondazione di Venezia sino all'anno 1570*, Venice, Fondazione Querini-Stampalia, Ms. IV, 16 [= 770], p. 2a–309a, 16th c.

Q 36 = Anon., *Origine delle famiglie nobili ossia Cronaca veneta dai primi tempi sino alla metà del secolo XV*, Venice, Fondazione Querini-Stampalia, Ms. IV, 36 [= 40], p. 24a, coll. 1–304b, coll. 1, 18th c.

Rosso = Anon., *Cronica Veneta del Rosso dal principio al 1355*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Foscarini fonds, Ms. CCLVI [= 6467], p. 1a–66a, 16th c.

Rotta = Giovanni Antonio Rota, *Cronaca Veneta a lui attribuito, che arriva al Doge Marino Grimani* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 125 [= 7460], p. 1a–74a, 16th c.

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

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

Sanudo = *Marini Sanuti Leonardi filii Patricii Veneti De Origine Urbis Venetae et vita omnium Ducum feliciter incipit*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 22, ed. Lodovico Antonio Muratori, Milan, 1733: *Vitae Ducum Venetorum Italicè Scriptae ab origine Urbis, sive ab anno CCCC XXI usque ad annum MCCCCXCIII*, p. 399–1252.

Sivos = Giancarlo Sivos, *Cronaca Veneta dal 421 al 1621*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 121 [= 8862], p. 4a–226b, 17th c.

Trevisan 519 = Niccolò Trevisan, *Cronaca di Venezia, continuata da altro Autore sino all'anno 1585, nel mese di Luglio, cioè sino alla morte del Doge Niccolò da Ponte*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 519 [= 8438], p. 29a, coll. 1–340b, coll. 1, 16th c.

Trevisan 1327 = Nicolò Trevisano, *Cronica*, Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Correr fonds, Ms. 1327, p. 5a–139b, 16th c.

Urb. 512 = Anon., *Cronicha in breve forma dela magnificha et inclita città de Venetia*, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbinati Latini fonds, Ms. 512, p. x a–274a, 16th c.

Valier = Anon., *Cronica veneta*, Venice, Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Cicogna fonds, Ms. 296 [= 3630], p. 1a–196b, 16th c.

Vat. 5281 = Anon., *Cronica di Venezia fino al 1410*, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticani Latini fonds, Ms. 5281, p. 1a, coll. 1–40b, 15th c.

Vat. 6089 = Anon., *Cronica Venetiarum. Dalle origini all'anno 1428*, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticani Latini fonds, Ms. 6089, p. 2a–231b, 16th c.

Veniera 791 = Anon., *Cronaca di tutte le Casade della Nobil Città di Venetia*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 791 [= 7589], p. 1a–201a, 16th c.

Verdizzotti = Francesco Verdizzotti, *De' fatti Veneti dall'origine della Repvblica sino all'anno M. D. IIII*, Venice, 1674.

VH = *Historia vulgo Petro Iustiniano Iustiniani filio adiudicata*, ed. Roberto Cessi-Fanny Bennato, Venice, 1964.

Vianoli = Alessandro Maria Vianoli, *Historia Veneta*, 1, Venice, 1680.

Vitaliani = Enrico Dandolo [?], *Cronicha*, Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Cicogna fonds, Ms. 3423 [= 2831], p. 1a–71a, 17th c.

Vitturi = Antonio Vituri, *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della città fino all'anno 1396*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2051 [= 8271], p. 1a, coll. 2–60b, coll. 2, 15th c.

WL 74-3 = Anon., *Cronicha de la magnifica et nobil citade de V*[*e*]*n*[*e*]*tia* [in miscellanea], Venice, Museo Civico Correr, Wcovich-Lazzari fonds, Ms. 74, p. 1a–196b, 16th c.

Zancaruolo = Gasparo Zancaruol, *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1446* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It. VII, 2570 [= 12462], p. 1 a–179a, 16th c.

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ÉCRITURE DE RÉCITS DE VOYAGE. AUTOUR DE PAUL D'ALEP, DE MAKARIOS AL-ZA'ĪM ET DE QUELQUES AUTRES VOYAGEURS ORIENTAUX

Paule Fahmé-Thiéry

> « L'écriture s'affirme comme l'acte par lequel le sujet devient autre et lui-même, opposant le présent de la rédaction au passé que la rédaction condamne justement au révolu. »
>
> *Sylvie Camet*

Lorsqu'au retour de son périple un voyageur se lance dans l'écriture du récit de son voyage il peut obéir à un ordre ou choisir de se conformer à une contrainte, qu'il a lui-même choisie. Pour Paul Ricœur, la narration est une articulation entre une expérience, ici un voyage, et une décision, celle d'écrire. Selon Paul Ricœur, l'expression linguistique et la narration jouent un rôle fondamental dans la constitution de soi et la compréhension des autres.

L'expérience du voyage est relativement courante, comme l'est la pratique de la *Riḥla*, récit de voyage dans le domaine arabe que j'ai choisi d'élargir au domaine ottoman.

Certains récits sont remarquables par l'affichage de leur dessein d'écrire, par le fait qu'ils sont sensiblement écrits pour être lus, diffusés, ou bien par le fait que c'est la narration des voyages qui installe le narrateur dans la postérité, comme dans le cas d'Evliyâ Çelebi.

J'ai retenu un peu moins d'une dizaine de récits de voyage réalisés par des voyageurs orientaux entre le X^{e} et le XIX^{e} siècle, récits écrits à leur retour ou, dans plusieurs cas, bien après la réalisation de leur périple.

Ils appartiennent à des genres différents. Récits de mission, tels que celui d'Ibn Faḍlān, rédigé en 921, qui mène l'auteur chez les Bulgares, ou celui du cheikh Rifâ'a al-Ṭahṭâwî qui réside à Paris de 1826 à 1831 pour une mission réalisée à la demande du pacha d'Égypte, Muḥammad 'Alī.

Un autre genre est celui des récits de pèlerinage, comme dans le cas de 'Abdelġānī al-Nābulsī. D'autres récits encore sont liés à la fonction du scripteur, comme pour Būlus Ibn al-Za'īm, Makarios Ibn al-Za'īm ou bien Elias al-Mawṣilî, tous trois prélats.

On peut enfin repérer un dernier genre de récits de voyage, celui répondant à des critères spécifiques tels que description d'itinéraires, de lieux, de faits de société, d'institutions ou de techniques. Cette dernière catégorie met la description de ce qui a été vu et visité au centre du récit. Evliyâ Çelebi, qui pour Nicolas Vatin est l'auteur du « premier récit de voyage » ottoman, dévoile son dessein de s'adresser à un lecteur : « J'ai mis tout mon zèle à mettre par écrit la largeur des pays et la longueur des fleuves… »[1].

De la même manière, l'adresse à un lecteur, son interpellation, est claire dans le récit de voyage de Hanna Dyâb. Elle permet, au même titre que la description de ce qui a été vu et visité, l'inclusion dans la catégorie générale du récit de voyage.

Un court récit daté de 1634 fait partie du petit corpus que j'utilise, celui de Ramaḍān bnou Mūsā al-'Utayfī, jeune voyageur damascène de vingt-quatre ans. Il réalise un voyage qui le mène de Damas à Ba'albek du Liban. Il se prépare au voyage en se référant au Coran, aux Hadiths, à la Torah et à des dictons populaires. Des dix-huit pages de son récit, il consacre l'intégralité de son premier chapitre à « l'éloge du voyage », *madḥ al-safar*. Il s'agit là d'une incitation volontariste au voyage qui assure que « l'eau courante est préférable à l'eau stagnante ». Ce récit nous fournit une appréciation positive du statut du voyage d'orientaux au XVII[e] siècle. Nous avons là une initiation et une découverte de l'Autre.

Le voyage apparaît comme une réalisation supérieure et sa narration, nous le verrons, est un accomplissement.

Les genres n'enferment cependant pas les récits de manière univoque. Ces récits peuvent s'écarter légèrement ou un peu plus de leurs normes. Par rapport au récit de voyage défini comme « une narration à peu près linéaire faite par le voyageur de ses déplacements »[2], le récit d'un voyage de pèlerinage est le plus normé.

Pourtant Al-Nābulsī, érudit pieux soufi, qui réalise un pèlerinage dans la région de Tripoli et de Baalbek au Liban, prend quelques degrés de liberté par rapport à des normes qu'il connaît bien et dont les canons ont été fixés par des ouvrages célèbres, tel que celui d'Ali Ibn Abi Bakr al-Harawī (d. 1215). Il se conforme totalement au genre des *ziyārāt*, visites de mausolées et de couvents, il se réfère aux récits érudits et codifiés et confirme, ce qui plus est, de son autorité de *faqīh*, l'exacte attribution des lieux visités. Il a cependant un accent libre de ses souvenirs et laisse transparaitre ses émotions en décrivant la beauté des

[1] *Apud* N. Vatin, « Pourquoi un turc ottoman racontait-il son voyage ? Note sur les relations de voyage chez les Ottomans des Vâki'ât-i Sultân Cem au Seyâhatnâme d'Evliyâ Çelebi », *Études Turques et Ottomanes*, doc. de travail no. 4, URA 1425, Paris, CNRS, p. 14, n. 51, qui cite le *Seyaḥatnâme* d'Evliyâ Çelebi (Istanbul, 1896-1938, vol. I, p. 30), où l'auteur définit son projet en ces termes.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

paysages, rares pour un damascène, de mer, de torrents, de ponts et de moulins. Tout à sa fonction de pèlerin érudit, il dénonce cependant à ‘Anūt, dans le Mont Liban, de manière imagée et volontairement caricaturale les « poux aussi gros que de petits éléphants » et il se plaint amèrement du froid à ‘Aynātā, toujours au Mont Liban. Le narrateur apparait derrière le pèlerin et le récit de voyage s’anime.

En mission diplomatique chez les Bulgares de la Volga (*al-fulġār*), Ibn Faḍlān est chargé par le calife de Bagdad de porter une somme destinée à la construction d’une forteresse. Cette mission donne lieu à un rapport officiel remis au Calife commanditaire. De manière distincte, vraisemblablement différée, il nous livre un véritable récit de voyage, vif et précis. Il décrit ce qu’il a vu et vécu, les manières de se vêtir, de boire et de manger, il rapporte les itinéraires, les rites funéraires, il observe les populations slaves qu’il a croisées, il décrit les lieux… Il observe que ses hôtes « ne se nettoient pas ». Lui-même, porteur des valeurs civilisatrices de l’Islam, a pris l’initiative d’emporter des voiles comme cadeau pour les femmes de ses hôtes. Mais il échoue à « obtenir que les femmes se voilassent devant les hommes ». Il dévoile, ce faisant, son ressenti de narrateur.

Rifâ‘a al-Ṭahṭâwî (1801-1873), jeune cheikh de l’Université Al-Azhar du Caire en mission de découverte scientifique et technique au XIX^{e} siècle, à un moment où le récit de voyage s’est émancipé des normes de genre, aborde le sujet des femmes de manière frontale. Après avoir décrit les tissus et les bijoux dont elles se parent, Al-Ṭahṭāwī exalte la finesse de leur taille : « C’est une merveille qu’une fois la taille serrée avec la ceinture on puisse la tenir de ses deux mains, tellement elle est fine ». Il va plus loin : « Les femmes ont l’habitude d’attacher à la ceinture une pièce de fer blanc qui va du ventre au bout de la poitrine, pour que leur taille soit toujours droite, sans une courbe ». Observation minutieuse, peut-être personnelle, voire directe…qui s’écarte de la mission scientifique proprement dite…et qui introduit une dimension personnelle dans le récit de voyage.

La genèse, les justifications d’un récit de voyage sont souvent inscrites dans le genre du récit lui-même. Nicolas Vatin examine nombre de relations de voyages réalisées par des Ottomans aux XV^{e}-XVII^{e} siècles. Récits-guides de voyage, récits d’exil, de captivité, récits à la gloire de la dynastie régnante… leur genèse est inscrite dans la commande qui en a été faite ou bien dans les objectifs qui les animent, souvent de compassion, en ce qui concerne les récits de captivité.

Vatin pose une question qui nous intéresse particulièrement : pourquoi un Turc ottoman racontait-il son voyage ? Au-delà des genres d’appartenance qui permettent de répondre au pourquoi immédiat de la rédaction, sa conclusion doit être retenue : « Pour qu’un Ottoman de l’époque classique racontât son voyage,

il fallait d'abord qu'il en éprouvât le besoin vital »[3]. Ce besoin vital constitue le fil rouge de ma contribution.

Cependant, le pourquoi de la rédaction n'apparaît pas toujours clairement. Il est souvent exposé dans les premiers paragraphes du manuscrit et il peut arriver à manquer lorsque justement les premières pages sont manquantes.

Le cas le plus éloquent et le plus accompli de l'exposé des motifs dans les prémices du récit de voyage nous est fourni par la *Riḥla* ou la *Safrat* de Būlus al-Za'īm, Paul d'Alep, et le cas le plus déroutant d'absence évidente de justification de la rédaction nous est fourni par Hanna Dyâb dans un manuscrit acéphale[4] où les cinq premiers folio sont manquants.

Būlus se récuse d'abord de ses capacités, il éprouve le besoin de s'expliquer longuement sur sa décision d'écrire ce récit de voyage, pudeur et humilité mêlées. Son « ami sincère », le diacre Gabriel, « parfaitement lettré et d'une science supérieure », le presse d'entreprendre la rédaction de son périple. Būlus oppose un refus, en arguant de son incompétence dans « l'organisation du choix des dires et de l'analyse des mots ». Il va finir par céder à l'insistance de son ami afin de confirmer par son propre témoignage les faits rapportés par d'autres voyageurs. Ces hésitations et la décision finale sont authentiques, elles expriment « tranquillement (la) propre identité »[5] de Būlus et disent les motifs immédiats de la rédaction du récit.

Ce faisant, Būlus obéit aussi aux injonctions de son père Makarios al-Za'īm. Makarios formule un impératif de diffusion des écrits. Il va jusqu'à menacer les lettrés de son temps : « la lecture des livres et leur audition attentive… et surtout leur copie (sont un bienfait suprême)… l'abandon de la copie des livres est une erreur, un grand péché et une infraction aux commandements de Dieu »[6]. Copie des manuscrits et rédaction dans lesquelles s'engage le Patriarche Makarios aussi, insistance à écrire, faire écrire et se montrer écrivant : « Lorsque j'étais pour la seconde fois dans les pays étrangers…je m'appliquais (à copier) pour ne pas rester oisif et je retirais des (enseignements) des livres grecs ».

Chez Būlus comme chez Makarios, l'écriture est à la fois un choix, motivé, et un devoir, et dans le cas de Būlus, on le verra, un accomplissement.

L'absence des cinq premières pages du manuscrit de Hanna Dyâb nous laisse, dans un premier temps, perplexes quant aux motifs de sa rédaction. Le

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[4] *D'Alep à Paris. Les pérégrinations d'un jeune Syrien au temps de Louis XIV*, éd. par P. Fahmé-Thiéry, B. Heyberger et J. Lentin, Paris, 2015.

[5] H. Kilpatrick, « Journeying Towards Modernity. The *Safrat al-Baṭrak Makāryiūs* of Būlus Ibn al-Za'īm al-Ḥalabī », *Die Welt des Islams*, 37, 1997, nr. 2, p. 20.

[6] J. Rassi-Rihani, « Sources arabes du *Livre de l'Abeille* (*Kitāb al-Naḥla*) de Makaryūs Ibn al-Za'īm », *Parole de l'Orient*, 21, 1996, p. 215-244.

récit qui nous est parvenu commence abruptement par une scène de repas dans le couvent où Hanna a cherché une vocation monastique. La suite ne nous renseigne pas plus sur le pourquoi de la rédaction de ce long récit de voyage, foisonnant, alerte et détaillé, qui mène Hanna d'Alep à Paris en passant par l'Égypte, la Lybie, la Tunisie, puis l'Italie et Marseille.

Pourtant, Hanna écrit pour être lu. Il s'adresse à des lecteurs ou bien à des auditeurs, il donne des conseils aux voyageurs. Il écrit en s'adressant à des personnes qu'il met en garde, auxquelles il veut éviter des déconvenues ou des difficultés. En Égypte, cruellement piqué par des moustiques, il conseille aux voyageurs de se couvrir d'une moustiquaire… Il anticipe ce qu'il va écrire : « Je le mentionnerai à bon escient », écrit-il à propos des connaissances en joaillerie de Paul Lucas, le voyageur du Roi, dont Hanna est l'accompagnateur. Il prend soin de veiller à ce que le lecteur ne s'ennuie pas : « Je n'ai écrit que le peu de beaucoup pour ne pas lasser le lecteur ». L'interpellation du lecteur, la volonté, le souhait d'être lu caractérisent ce récit de voyage. Écrire pour être lu semble évident, sans que nous sachions d'emblée pourquoi Hanna écrit-il.

Dans le cas de Hanna Dyâb, la question du « pourquoi » de l'écriture aiguise plus particulièrement nos questionnements : une durée inhabituelle sépare la réalisation du voyage de sa rédaction. Plus de cinquante années séparent le voyage dans les pays francs, en 1708, de sa rédaction, étalée sur deux années à Alep en 1763 et 1764.

On sait que les récits de voyage, manuscrits, étaient un genre d'ouvrages prisé et relativement courant. Dans le manuscrit de Hanna Dyâb une mention de bas de page laisse à penser que ce manuscrit a été conservé, puis retrouvé. Dans une note retrouvée dans un autre manuscrit de voyage, celui d'Elias al-Mawṣilî en Amérique, c'est Hanna Dyâb lui-même qui est mentionné. Il a peut-être possédé ce manuscrit irakien et s'en est inspiré pour écrire à son tour.

Que Hanna écrive pour être lu et probablement écouté semble une évidence. Concernant proprement le dessein d'écriture de Hanna, l'hypothèse que l'on peut formuler est simple et a été formulée à propos du récit de voyage d'Ibn Faḍlān. Ayant souvent raconté ses pérégrinations, Hanna, jouant le rôle du conteur qu'il était réellement, aurait éprouvé au soir de sa vie le besoin de laisser une trace qui demeure et perdure après lui.

L'écriture de l'histoire de son périple intervient après une longue vie. Le jeune homme qui a échappé au poids de sa fratrie est devenu un notable, il achète et vend des biens fonciers[7]. Ce récit est probablement pour Hanna un achèvement et une épiphanie de son personnage. Le narrateur de l'histoire qui tourne son regard vers lui-même et le personnage qui voyage se sont fondus en

[7] Une page manuscrite concernant Hanna nous est parvenue par les soins d'un chercheur de nos amis, que je remercie ici. Elle mentionne des biens fonciers que Hanna donne en location à Alep quelques trente ans après son retour dans sa ville natale.

une personne constituée. Hanna Dyâb s'est probablement découvert en écrivant l'histoire de sa vie.

Les récits de voyage sont considérés par certains auteurs comme des autobiographies ou des ego-documents. Hilary Kilpatrick nous a donné en 1995 une première version de sa magistrale étude sur la modernité de la littérature arabe des récits de voyage, dans un colloque portant sur l'*Autobiographie dans la littérature arabe moderne*[8].

Le souci d'être compris, qui s'incarne dans l'utilisation du dialecte vernaculaire, notamment dans la *Safrat* rédigée par Būlus, est l'un des signes de cette modernité. Le caractère autobiographique du récit de Hanna est évident dans ce récit de voyage, puisque près de tout ce que nous savons de lui nous en est parvenu. Nous retenons ici l'éclatante constitution de soi qu'il opère à travers cette écriture au terme de sa vie.

Des marqueurs de cette construction d'identité peuvent être repérés dans chacun des deux récits de voyage. Ils sont significatifs de la constitution de soi par l'écriture. Le déroulé de la narration, pour Būlus et pour Hanna, la comparaison entre le scripteur des premières lignes et celui qui clôture son récit nous permet de mettre en évidence le chemin parcouru, qui a fait d'un narrateur un homme qui s'est construit par l'expérience de l'écriture.

Le narrateur Hanna évoque sa vie personnelle, ses sentiments. Il parle librement de lui-même, se mettant en valeur ou bien racontant lucidement ses difficultés, voire ses incartades. Il a peur, hésite, interroge ses compagnons sur la bonne conduite à tenir. Il ment et dévoile ses mensonges. En Anatolie, sur le chemin du retour, il rencontre un commandant pour qui il invente l'histoire d'un père médecin qui l'aurait envoyé faire des études de médecine à Marseille. Or ce commandant avait fréquenté les frères de Hanna à Alep et se faisait servir une liqueur de cerises par un apprenti… qui était le jeune Hanna lui-même ! Hanna, dans son récit, nous raconte et raconte à ses compagnons son mensonge et les craintes de son dévoilement auxquelles il a heureusement échappé.

Avec cette même veine bravache et lucide, Hanna pratique une autodérision étonnante : lorsqu'il se fait piquer par les moustiques en Égypte il se regarde dans un miroir sans se reconnaître, tant il a enlaidi, le visage « enflé », affublé de « nouvelles joues » et de « nouvelles paupières » au-dessus des siennes, il s'enferme dans sa chambre sans manger jusqu'au soir, tant il « avait honte de croiser des gens » !

Son regard sur soi peut être analysé comme un puissant marqueur du personnage qui s'est constitué. Ce regard met en cohérence les premiers pas du jeune homme qui a fui secrètement sa fratrie, en affirmant être devenu un « homme qui connaît son chemin » et celui qui a construit son identité au fil de ce voyage et de son récit, cinquante-quatre ans plus tard.

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[8] H. Kilpatrick, *Autobiography in Modern Arabic Literature*, EMTAR conference, 1995.

Chez Būlus, outre la distance par rapport au style classique soulignée par Hilary Kilpatrick, on peut noter l'expression de sentiments personnels, ceux de la peur et de l'émotion, la place du raisonnement déductif. Les descriptions de la faune et de la flore, de la manière de manger et de boire sont certes classiques dans un véritable récit de voyage, mais ils soulignent surtout la grande curiosité de Būlus.

Le signe d'un choix individuel peut être également repéré : à Constantinople il abandonne le groupe qui accompagne son père le Patriarche et part seul à la recherche d'une église, celle de la Theotokos Pammakaristos, l'église des Saints-Apôtres, dédiée à la Vierge et convertie en mosquée en 1585. Il la retrouve effectivement et se réjouit de relier ce qu'il sait à ce qu'il voit. Chemin individuel et choix individuels.

Būlus s'autorise également à parler de lui-même. Il mentionne ses oublis, se lamente d'être loin d'Alep et se languit de retrouver sa ville natale. À Constantinople il admire les surcharges des sculptures et fait suivre ses descriptions par une analyse « de manière moderne »[9]. En dépit d'un contrôle discret par la norme, Būlus introduit un regard sur lui-même. Ces marqueurs personnels nous intéressent.

C'est dans la dernière partie de son récit que Būlus change, pourrait-on dire, de statut. Rentré à Damas au terme d'un voyage de sept années, il expose abondamment la manière dont il entreprend le réaménagement de la résidence patriarcale, les ordres qu'il donne aux ouvriers, les choix de matériaux qui lui semblent adéquats, la précision des comptes qu'il a tenus ,en puisant dans les sommes récoltées. C'est un homme qui est en posture de donner des ordres et qui est conscient de leur pertinence par rapport aux objectifs de la collectivité à laquelle il appartient, au nom de laquelle il a entrepris ce long voyage et pour laquelle il a finalement rédigé ce récit.

La distance est grande entre le scripteur des premières lignes de la *Safrat*, qui se refuse à écrire par crainte de ne pas être à la hauteur des enjeux de l'écriture, et l'homme accompli qui prend les rênes d'une construction matérielle et symbolique, qui la réalise et qui l'expose dans son récit. C'est un homme qui à la fin d'un récit de voyage, et par la vertu de cette narration, fait le récit de son propre accomplissement.

Les deux récits de Būlus et de Hanna sur lesquels je me suis attardée illustrent la manière dont l'identité personnelle, inscrite dans un récit de soi, se constitue d'abord comme identité narrative. Le personnage, à travers son histoire

[9] C. Walbiner, "'Images painted with such exalted skill as to ravish the senses...': Pictures in the Eyes of Christian Arab Travellers of the 17th and 18th Centuries", in *La multiplication des images en pays d'Islam: De l'estampe à la télévision (17e–21e siècle)*, éd. B. Heyberger et S. Naef, Istanbuler Texte und Studien, 2, Würzburg, 2003, p. 15-30.

racontée, « subit la contrainte de tenir sa singularité de la cohésion et de l'unité de sa vie »[10], telle qu'il la livre au lecteur.

Les voyageurs et leurs récits de voyage (chronologiquement)

921 Ibn Faḍlān
Voyage chez les Bulgares de la Volga, traduit par Marius Canard, 1983, Paris.

1634 Ramaḍān bnou Mūsā al-'Utayfī
Riḥlatān 'ilā Lubnān. Zwei Beschreibungen des Libanon, texte arabe établi et édité par Salaheddine al-Munaggid et Stefan Wild, Orient Institut, Beyrouth, 1979.

1640 Evliyâ Çelebi
Seyaḥatnâme, Istanbul, 1896-1938.

1652 Būlus Ibn al-Za'īm et son père, le Patriarche Macaire III d'Antioche
Safrat al-baṭrak Makarios Ibn al-Za'īm al-Ḥalabī, Ms. Ar. 6016, BnF, Paris.

1668 'Abdelġānī al-Nābulsī
Riḥlatān 'ilā Lubnān. Zwei Beschreibungen des Libanon, texte arabe établi et édité par Salaheddine al-Munaggid et Stefan Wild, Orient Institut, Beyrouth, 1979.

1680 Elias al-Mawṣilî
Un Irakien en Amérique au XVII^e siècle, récit de voyage édité et présenté par Nûrî al-Jarrâh, traduit de l'arabe par Jean-Jacques Schmidt, Paris, Actes Sud/Sindbad, 2011.

1708 Hanna Dyâb
D'Alep à Paris. Les pérégrinations d'un jeune Syrien au temps de Louis XIV, récit traduit et annoté par Paule Fahmé-Thiéry, Bernard Heyberger et Jérôme Lentin, Paris, Actes Sud, 2015.

1826 Rifâ'a al-Ṭahṭâwî
L'or de Paris : relation de voyage 1826-1831, traduit et présenté par Anouar Louca, Paris, Actes Sud/Sindbad, 2012.

[10] J. Honvault, « Une génération après… La mémoire du passé ottoman dans l'autobiographie yéménite contemporaine », *Chroniques Yéménites*, 15, 2008, p. 17.

ENGLISH CAPTIVITY NARRATIVES FROM NORTH AFRICA AS POPULAR TEXTS

Paul Auchterlonie

The Ottoman Turks conquered Algiers in 1519, Tripoli (Libya) in 1551, and Tunis in 1574, and incorporated both the cities and the vast hinterlands they controlled into their empire. From the second half of the 16th century to the beginnings of the 19th, the economy of all three states, plus that of the independent kingdom of Morocco, were based in large part on the activities of their naval forces. These navies (often known as corsairs, privateers or even pirates) preyed on Christian shipping in the Mediterranean and the North Atlantic, capturing many thousands of ships. However, the most important source of revenue for the Barbary states, as Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli and Morocco were known, was neither the ships themselves nor their cargo, but the captured crews and passengers, whose numbers were augmented by constant raids on the coasts of the Christian countries of the Mediterranean, from Greece to Spain.

It has been estimated that from 1530 to 1780 between one and one and a quarter million white Europeans ended up as slaves in the Barbary states.[1] Most slaves died in captivity, a few escaped, some converted to Islam, but a substantial minority were ransomed. Ransoms were perhaps the most important source of revenue for the Barbary states, particularly in the 17th century, and became a serious issue for both the populations and the governments of the Christian states of Europe, which needed to raise the money required to redeem the slaves. The Roman Catholic orders, the Trinitarians and the Mercedarians visited North Africa almost annually, in the 17th century, to secure the release of captives,[2] while the Spanish Crown collected between half and three-quarters of a million silver *reales* annually for the redemption of Barbary captives between 1648 and 1669.[3] In 1642, the English Parliament had to pass an Act for the Relief of Captives taken by Turkish, Moorish and other Pirates, which enforced

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[1] R. C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800*, New York, 2003, p. 23.
[2] *Ibid*., p. 170 *sqq*.; J. W. Wolf, *The Barbary Coast: Algeria under the Turks, 1500 to 1830*, New York, 1979, p. 157 *sqq*.
[3] E. G. Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age*, Madison, 1983, p. 115, Table 5.

a 1 % tax on all goods shipped into or out of England, and English households and church congregations were regularly asked for money "for the relief of captives", to which all classes were expected to contribute.[4] As a result of the financial exactions demanded of the Christian population, the Barbary states were familiar to many Europeans; in addition, many people, particularly those living in ports or near coastal areas, would know personally someone who had been captured by the corsairs or had been ransomed from them. As a result, captivity narratives, which are the published accounts of those former slaves who returned home and described their experiences, would be both familiar and exotic.

Although there were enslaved Christians in North Africa from almost every Christian nation, the most numerous and the most studied captivity narratives are those published in England, which range from John Fox's narrative published in 1589 to the fourth edition of Thomas Troughton's, published in 1788. The bulk of these thirty-five or so narratives were written in the 17th century; there were far fewer published in the 18th century, although these were greater in length than their predecessors. This study, following in the footsteps of Nabil Matar, Daniel Vitkus, and other pioneers of Anglo-Muslim relations of the early modern period, will explore further how these narratives correspond to themes commonly employed in English "popular" literature, from the age of Elizabeth I to that of George III.

The 17th century saw both a huge growth in publishing and a substantial increase in literacy. James Raven has suggested that the "400 different titles of books published in the first decade of the sixteenth century" had grown into 6,000 titles during the 1630s and to over 20,000 separate titles by the end of the century,[5] aided in no small part by the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695, which finally permitted printing outside the confines of London, Oxford, Cambridge, York and Dublin for the first time.[6]

As for literacy, Margaret Spufford points out that the standard work published by David Cressy in 1980 (*Literacy and the Social Order*), in which he shows that the 70 % of his sample of 40,000 men who signed the 1642 loyalty oath made only a mark, hides very substantial regional variations.[7] She goes on to argue convincingly that writing was taught in schools after reading, and that being unable to sign one's name did not preclude a basic reading ability. She

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[4] N. Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689*, Gainesville, 2005, p. 68 *sqq*.
[5] J. Raven, "New Reading Histories, Print Culture and the Identification of Change: the Case of Eighteenth-Century England", *Social History*, 23, 1998, 3, p. 275.
[6] J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1997, p. 132; T. Belanger, "Publishers and Writers in Eighteenth-Century England", in I. Rivers (ed.), *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England*, Leicester, 1982, p. 6.
[7] M. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England*, London, 1981, p. 22-23.

suggests that there "was an absolute minimum reading public of 20 per cent of men in the least literate areas in 1642".[8] So, if the audience for reading material in 17th-century England was not insubstantial, what did they read (and, to a lesser extent, how did they read it)? There was no doubt that "for early modern English men and women, the most important book was the Bible. The Bible was for all classes the first book heard and read, and the text they read most often."[9] After the Bible, sermons, pious tracts and godly books formed the second tier of material which the majority of people read, with John Bunyan's works published in the second half of the seventeenth century being especially popular in both religious and non-religious circles.[10] John Brewer suggests that the Bible and religious material was read "intensively", and that "because they contained matter of special importance, they had to be thoroughly absorbed and digested".[11]

The other side of the coin from intensive reading is extensive reading, i.e., reading as a pastime and for pleasure. This market was well catered for by the chapbook publishers, who produced inexpensive publications of rarely more than 24 pages. Numerous authors have pointed out that chapbooks and the like in both the 17th and 18th centuries were designed for and read by all classes. Not only is there evidence that authors from Bunyan and Samuel Johnson to Boswell and William Morris enjoyed chapbooks,[12] but Jonathan Barry has pointed out that 17th-century methods of instruction were based on learning by rote, from the simplest primers at the age of five to classical texts at grammar school, and that it is, therefore, no wonder that "for the upper classes, indeed, if there was a world of private reading, it may have been in large part that of 'popular' literature [such as] ballads, romances and the like."[13] The same point of inclusivity is made by Tessa Watt:

> This idea that the broadsides and chapbooks were aimed at and consumed by a definable social group may be a myth. The audience presupposed within the cheap print itself appears to be inclusive rather than exclusive, addressed to both 'readers' and 'hearers'; as substantial householders expected to employ labourers, and as couples 'whose whole stocke could hardly purchase a wedding ring'.[14]

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[8] *Ibid*., p. 22.
[9] K. Sharpe, "Reading Revelations: Prophecy, Hermeneutics and Politics in Early Modern England", in K. Sharpe and S. N. Zwicker (eds.), *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, Cambridge, 2003, p. 123.
[10] M. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories…*, p. 210; F. M. Harrison, *A Bibliography of the Works of John Bunyan*, London, 1932.
[11] J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination…*, p. 170.
[12] M. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories…*, p. 74-75.
[13] J. Barry, "Literacy and Literature in Popular Culture: Reading and Writing in Historical Perspective", in T. Harris (ed.). *Popular Culture in England, c. 1500-1850*, Basingstoke, 1995, p. 84.
[14] T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 3.

Margaret Spufford has made an extensive study of chapbooks, basing herself on the collection amassed by Samuel Pepys in the 1680s and the trade publications of that period. Her analysis shows that "godly books" formed well over a quarter of all chapbooks, but that most chapbooks were non-religious and told merry tales or were historical romances, such as Bevis of Southampton and Robin Hood. In addition to chapbooks, popular reading seems to have consisted of advice books, almanacs, ballads and broadsides, the latter being publications which consisted of a single sheet. Among the subjects found in much of this popular literature are several themes which are commonplace in captivity narratives.

One of the most important of these themes is a belief in the providence of God. Providence is basically a belief that all matters are under the divine guidance of God, and was a powerful element in English ideology from the Reformation to the Victorian era. Providence, as seen through 16th and 17th-century chapbooks is the main theme of Alexandra Walsham's extensive study *Providence in Early Modern England* (1999). She explains that

> The Puritans were simply the 'hotter' sort of providentialist ... the difference between their beliefs about divine activity and those of their neighbours and peers was essentially one of temperature rather than 'substance'. Providentialism was not a marginal feature of the religious culture of early modern England, but part of the mainstream, a cluster of presuppositions which enjoyed near universal acceptance.[15]

Walsham goes on to argue that "providentialism played a pivotal role in forging a collective Protestant consciousness, a sense of confessional identity, which fused anti-Catholicism and patriotic feeling and which united the elite with their social inferiors",[16] and she shows how all sorts of pamphlets and ballads on "sudden death, alarming prodigies and destructive fires and storms"[17] were pervaded by a sense of divine providence. Even romance stories such as John Reynolds's *The Triumph of God's Revenge* (1640) pay "parenthetical deference to the workings of providence".[18] Spufford also shows that an important sub-branch of the godly books in Pepys's collection "tended to rest more heavily on demonstrations of God's mercy and love",[19] and takes as examples *The Day of Grace or Christ's Tears over Jerusalem* (1687), which reassured readers that they would never be "forsaken of God",[20] and the

[15] A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England,* Oxford, 1999, p. 2.
[16] *Ibid*., p. 5.
[17] *Ibid*., p. 63.
[18] *Ibid*., p. 112.
[19] M. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories…*, p. 208.
[20] *Ibid*., p. 209.

chapbook version of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, with its strong sense of God's providence.[21]

Captivity narratives were equally anxious to show that English slaves in North Africa had not been deserted by their Protestant God, since they told the stories of those who had been delivered from hardship and danger in foreign lands and had returned safely to England. The early narrative of John Fox, who escaped from captivity in Alexandria in 1577 after thirteen or fourteen years as a slave, is laced with remarks such as "our God showed himself to be a God indeed, and that He was the only living God" and how "they knew how their God, who had delivered them out of Egypt, was such a loving and merciful God".[22] Richard Hasleton spent five years as an Algerian galley slave, escaped, was recaptured, survived attempts to convert him both to Roman Catholicism and to Islam, and was eventually ransomed, returning to England in 1593.[23] Vitkus sees Hasleton's escape as analogous to the "larger spirit of resistance exhibited by the English Protestant nation as a whole" and "ample evidence that a providential God" was on the side of the English.[24] William Okeley, captured by corsairs in 1639, served as a slave in Algiers until he escaped by sea and returned to England in 1644. He entitled his book *Ebenezer, or a Small Monument of Great Mercy*, and continually exhorts his readers "to learn from hence, in what state soever the providence of God shall place them, therewith to be content",[25] while the last chapter of his book is entitled *The Providences of God which Attended Us and Conducted Us All Safe to England*.[26]

A second theme of chapbooks, as identified by Walsham, consists in "jingoism, xenophobia and anti-popery";[27] indeed, she goes on to say that "expressions of 'divine Anglophilia' certainly suggest that prophetic preaching helped to enhance the incipient nationalism of early modern England, promoting sentiments that could be insular, chauvinistic, and ethnocentric in the extreme".[28] There are, similarly, manifold examples of anti-Catholic and anti-Islamic rhetoric in 17th-century captivity narratives. Okeley called Muhammad

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[21] *Ibid*., p. 198.
[22] J. Fox, "The Worthy Enterprise of John Foxe, in Delivering 266 Christians out of the Captivity of the Turks", in D. J. Vitkus (ed.), *Piracy, Slavery and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*, New York, 2001, p. 66.
[23] R. Hasleton, "Strange and Wonderful Things Happened to Richard Hasleton ... in his Ten Years' Travails in Many Foreign Countries", in D. J. Vitkus (ed.), *Piracy, Slavery and Redemption…*, p. 71-95.
[24] D. J. Vitkus, *Introduction* to "Strange and wonderful things happened to Richard Hasleton…", p. 72.
[25] W. Okeley, "Ebenezer, or a Small Monument of Great Mercy Appearing in the Miraculous Deliverance of William Okeley", in D. J. Vitkus (ed.), *Piracy, slavery and redemption…*, p. 139.
[26] *Ibid*., p. 190.
[27] A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England…*, p. 246.
[28] *Ibid*., p. 289.

"a cobbler" and claimed that Islam was no more than a patchwork of "Jewish and monkish fopperies".[29] Joseph Pitts, who spent fifteen years in Algiers in the late 17th-century, calls Muhammad a "bloody impostor"[30] and a "juggler" or fraudster.[31] Pitts also rails against Roman Catholics, comparing "papists" to the "blind infidels" of Islam for their habit of praying to saints,[32] accuses Turkish soldiers of indulging in sodomy with boys,[33] and gives numerous examples of Algerian cowardice and cruelty.[34] Thomas Phelps, a slave in Morocco in the 1680s, compares the ruler of Morocco, Mulay Isma'il, to "Sicilian tyrants and Roman emperors",[35] and accuses him of being a "monster of Africk, a composition of gore and dust, whom nothing can atone but human sacrifices".[36] On the other hand, Phelps claims that in England

> the government secures every man in the possession and enjoyment of what God's blessing has allowed. Here even the poor and needy, the impotent, and those whom the hand of God has touched have a comfortable subsistence…[and] that the plenty and great liberty of the English subjects is no great happiness to them because they never weigh their condition with what is the lot of other nations.[37]

The third theme common to captivity narratives and popular literature is the exotic, the tales of strange occurrences, listed by Watt as "miracles, monsters, witchcraft, unusual weather and sensational murder".[38] Walsham also comments on how

> 'strange and wonderful newes' of terrible disasters, sudden accidents, and bizarre prodigies was a major theme of the blackletter broadside ballads and catchpenny quarto and octavo pamphlets which flowed from city publishers in growing profusion between 1560 and 1640.[39]

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[29] W. Okeley, "Ebenezer…", p. 153.
[30] J. Pitts, "A True and Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammetans, with an Account of the Author's Being Taken Captive", in D. J. Vitkus (ed.), *Piracy, slavery and redemption…*, p. 293.
[31] *Ibid*., p. 294.
[32] *Ibid*., p. 234.
[33] *Ibid*., p. 236.
[34] *Ibid*., p. 234, 240, 246-247.
[35] T. Phelps, "A True Account of the Captivity of Thomas Phelps", in D. J. Vitkus (ed.), *Piracy, slavery and redemption…*, p. 204.
[36] *Ibid*., p. 204.
[37] *Ibid*., p. 197.
[38] T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety…*, p. 265.
[39] A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England…*, p. 33.

The captivity narratives are equally full of strange doings. Pitts talks of a river in Algeria whose "water was hot enough to boil an egg",[40] while Mr. T. S., an unidentified slave who was taken to Tlemcen in Algeria probably in the 1650s, speaks of people being boiled alive in a brass pot in the shape of a lion,[41] of witches' Sabbaths,[42] and of flying serpents.[43] The adventures of the captives themselves were very striking: Okeley built a boat under the noses of his captors while in prison, took the various parts of the boat to the shore separately, assembled them there, then sailed the boat successfully to Majorca;[44] Pitts's escape from captivity in Algiers took almost a year and involved elaborate disguises, walking across the Alps and almost freezing to death at the gates of Frankfurt,[45] while Francis Brooks's daring escape from Morocco was only made possible by the assistance of a local Moor, who was later "taken and burnt".[46]

However, it is important to note that, towards the end of the 17th century, there was a marked change in the historical background against which captivity narratives were written. England had signed a treaty with Algiers in 1682, so that it became increasingly less common for English men and women to end up as slaves there; Tunisia and Tripoli had become weaker, and the only real danger to British subjects after 1700 remained Morocco, particularly under the aggressive rule of Mulay Isma'il and his immediate successors. As a result, people in England became less directly involved with the Barbary states either through knowing a person who had been captured by corsairs, or through contributing funds towards ransoming slaves. There was, therefore, less demand for short, providentialist, anti-Muslim and anti-Catholic captivity narratives, and the only features that the captivity narratives published in the 18th century retain in common with earlier examples are a steadfast belief in divine providence, and an emphasis on cruelty and hardship in an exotic location. This still echoed popular sentiments, as providentialist reading for less well-educated audiences remained significant, and the classics of providentialism by Bunyan and Defoe remained best-sellers during the whole Georgian era. As Pat Rogers says, "the texts which did over time enjoy real currency at the lower end of the market [were] *The*

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[40] J. Pitts, *A Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans...*, 3rd ed., London, 1731, p. 191.
[41] T. S., *The Adventures of Mr. T. S., an English Merchant Taken Prisoner by the Turks of Argiers and Carried into the Inland Countries of Africa, with a Description of the Kingdom of Argiers...*, London, 1670, p. 183-184.
[42] *Ibid*., p. 199-200.
[43] *Ibid*., p. 73-75.
[44] W. Okeley, "Ebenezer…", p. 173-180.
[45] J. Pitts, "A True and Faithful Account…", p. 326-339.
[46] F. Brooks, *Barbarian Cruelty Being a True History of the Distressed Condition of the Christian Captives under the Tyranny of Mully Ishmael, Emperor of Morocco, and King of Fez and Macqueness*, London, 1693, p. 113-114.

Pilgrim's Progress [and] *Robinson Crusoe*",[47] and indeed, "the only authors in Neuberg's list [of chapbooks] that provided texts that survived [both] as ordinary classics and stock items in the chapbook repertoire were Bunyan and Defoe".[48] Dozens of eighteenth century editions of Bunyan "testify to his enduring renown among all classes of society",[49] while "generations of readers responded to the book [Robinson Crusoe] as a story of survival, [and] as a parable of conquest over fear, isolation and despair".[50] Rogers shows how editorial prefaces to the cut-down 1735 edition of Robinson Crusoe emphasized that the story provided evidence of the "wonderful providence of God", while he also refers to the chapbook version of the 1750s whose front matter again included a reference to "the wisdom of divine providence".[51]

This emphasis on providentialism can be seen in the captivity narratives of Pitts, Pellow and Troughton. Pitts produced a third edition of his book in 1731 and a fourth in 1738, and in the preface to these almost identical editions, he continues to assert that "whatever the Success of this Book may be, I declare my principal End in its Publication, is giving Glory to GOD, by whose gracious Providence I am releas'd from Slavery and brought again into my own native Country".[52] Thomas Pellow introduces his book *The History of the Long Captivity and Adventures of Thomas Pellow, in South-Barbary...* (Bath, 1751) by saying that God "of his great providence... bringeth the prisoner out of captivity, as he hath, of his infinite mercy (in his own appointed time) delivered me",[53] while Thomas Troughton in his *Barbarian Cruelty…* (London, 1751) ascribes his survival after shipwreck and his "unparallel'd sufferings and almost incredible hardships"[54] to divine providence.

However, while all three authors believed deeply in God's providence, there are significant differences between Pitts, who had been a prisoner in Algiers in the 1680s, and Pellow and Troughton, whose captivity in Morocco dates from the first half of the 18th century. For example, Pellow and Troughton do not share Pitts's anti-Muslim and anti-Catholic views, both dealing with Islam in a straightforward manner and both failing to mention Roman

[47] P. Rogers, "Classics and Chapbooks", in I. Rivers (ed.), *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England*, Leicester, 1982, p. 29.
[48] *Ibid*., p. 25.
[49] *Ibid*., p. 29.
[50] *Ibid*., p. 33.
[51] *Ibid*., p. 33.
[52] J. Pitts, *A Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans…*, p. xi-xii.
[53] T. Pellow, *The History of the Long Captivity and Adventures of Thomas Pellow, in South-Barbary, giving an Account of his Being Taken by Two Sallee Rovers, and Carry'd a Slave to Mequinez, at Eleven Years of Age...*, Bath, 1751, p. 4-5.
[54] T. Troughton, *Barbarian Cruelty; or, an Accurate and Impartial Narrative of the Unparallel'd Sufferings and Almost Incredible Hardships of the British Captives, Belonging to the Inspector Privateer, Capt. Richard Veale, Commander…*, London, 1751, title-page and p. 11.

Catholicism at all in their narratives. Even more significant is the approach Pellow and Troughton take to the historical element of their stories, by incorporating into their narratives some of the recently developed themes of English historical writing.

Feather and Brewer have shown that of the 200,000 or so titles published in Britain in the 18th century, although religion still predominated with more than 50,000 titles, history and geography had become significant topics for publishers, with over 25,000 titles printed between 1700 and 1800.[55] Flavel and Kaufman have also shown how popular historical and geographical works were bought extensively by the subscription libraries which sprang up in the latter part of the 18th century,[56] while Brewer demonstrates that history was the most popular subject borrowed in the twelve years from 1773 to 1784 from the Bristol library, which "housed a large collection of travel literature on the Levant, the Mediterranean and North America".[57] History and geography were also popular with lower-class readers as well, as we can see from the diaries of Thomas Turner, a shopkeeper from East Hoathly in Sussex. Between 1754 and 1765, the diaries record that Turner read just over 100 monograph titles, including *Letters from a Moor to his Friend at Tunis* (1736), Patrick Gordon's *Geography Anatomiz'd* (1693), and Joseph Pitton de Tournefort's *Voyage into the Levant* (1741), as well as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and Edward Young's *A Vindication of Providence* (1728).[58]

The history-writing of the 18th century was marked according to Karen O'Brien by a "connection between classicism, patriotism and the appreciation of English liberties",[59] while Jeremy Black suggests that in much historical writing of the period "people were reduced to a single set of motives and attributes. This was obviously conducive to xenophobic views and conclusions [and that] history was in part a story of why the English were different".[60] Jeremy Black also quotes Edward Nares (1762-1841) who "presented history as of value because it

[55] J. Feather, "British Publishing in the Eighteenth Century: a Preliminary Subject Analysis", *The Library*, 6, 1986, no. 1, p. 32-46; J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination…*, p. 171.
[56] M. K. Flavel, "The Enlightened Reader and the New Industrial Town: a Study of Liverpool Library, 1758-1790", *British Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies*, 8, 2008, no. 1, p. 21-23; P. Kaufman, "Readers and their Reading in Eighteenth-Century Lichfield", *The Library*, 5, 1973, no. 2, p. 112.
[57] J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination…*, p. 180-181.
[58] T. Turner, *The Diary of Thomas Turner,* ed. by D. Vaisey, Oxford, 1984, Appendix D.
[59] K. O'Brien, "The History Market in Eighteenth-Century England", in I. Rivers (ed.), *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays*, London, 2001, p. 112.
[60] J. Black, "Ideology, History, Xenophobia, and the World of Print in Eighteenth-Century England", in J. Black and J. Gregory (eds.), *Culture, Politics, and Society in Britain, 1660-1800*, Manchester, 1991, p. 212.

displayed the providential plan... coming to the reassuring conclusion that the British victories proved divine support".[61]

Pitts himself was little interested in history and his remarks on Algeria are often chronologically confusing, since they are interwoven with autobiographical reminiscences at almost random parts of the narrative and are always subordinated to Pitts's desire to provide as accurate an account as he could of the "Religion and manners of the Mahometans". Moreover, Pitts draws no comparison between the English state and the Algerian one, save for the obvious observation that each is founded on different religious principles. Both Pellow and Troughton, on the other hand, make much of British constitutional freedom in contrast to foreign despotism and arbitrary rule. Pellow is keen to underline "the exceeding happiness he enjoys in living under an English government, where his life and property is always secure, where he is subject to the laws only and where he cannot be violated by arbitrary power",[62] while Troughton extols those who live in England, in the first edition of 1751, saying "how happy ought every Briton to think himself, who enjoys his freedom without controul, under the mild government of His Majesty King George", which he contrasts with the misfortune of living in the "dominions of an arbitrary and despotic prince",[63] going on to claim in the first Exeter edition of 1787 that

> No earthly blessing is more precious than liberty, and... no people possess it more eminently, and know how to esteem it more justly, than TRUE BRITONS... Born and educated under the mild and equitable government of the laws..., the sentiments of benevolence and humanity and a detestation of tyranny and despotism become natural principles in a British bosom.[64]

Pellow's narrative of his time in Morocco is much clearer than that of Pitts, since he periodically inserts specific dates into the narrative, and narrates his autobiography in a straightforward chronological manner. However, the xenophobia and arrogance of mid-18th-century Britain is reflected by the fact that Pellow continually mentions the tyranny of Mulay Isma'il's rule (the word "tyrant" is mentioned at least fifteen times in the narrative), which he contrasts with Britain's good government on several occasions. Despite Pellow's highly superior and moral stance, his 19th-century editor, Robert Brown, considers that

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[61] *Ibid*., p. 197.
[62] T. Pellow, *The History…*, p. 2.
[63] T. Troughton, *Barbarian Cruelty; or, an Accurate and Impartial Narrative…*, p. 3.
[64] T. Troughton, *Barbarian Cruelty; or, an Accurate and Impartial Narrative of the Unparalleled Sufferings and Almost Incredible Hardships of the British Captives Belonging to the Inspector Privateer, Capt. Rd. Veale...*, Exeter, 1787, folio A2.

"[Pellow's] book may be treated as a fairly accurate picture of Morocco between 1715 and 1738",[65] while the 21st-century historian Giles Milton claims that:

> Arab records [as well as letters written by his own shipmates] support [Pellow's] version of events. The newly translated Chronicles of Muhammad al-Qadiri reveal that Pellow's account of the Moroccan civil war is remarkable for its accuracy [and] his revelations about life in Meknes also tally with Moroccan sources[66],

a conclusion which is shared by Magali Morsy in the introduction to her scholarly translation of Thomas Pellow's story into French.[67] Troughton's first edition of 1751 mentions the phrase "arbitrary and despotic power" half-a-dozen times and applies the epithet "cruel" or "tyrannical" to various Moroccan rulers and officials at least ten times. The later Exeter editions of 1787 and 1788 retain the epithets "despotic", "cruel", "tyrannical", and "arbitrary", though these terms are mentioned with less frequency than in the first and second editions. In addition, in these later editions, the captivity narrative is reduced in length by eighty pages or so, but in compensation, a complete history of Morocco from Roman times up to the civil war of the 1730s is inserted, taking up 120 pages, thus making Troughton's work almost more of a historical survey than a captivity narrative. Troughton's fourth edition of 1788 can also be considered the final example of the genre written by a native-born Briton.

In conclusion, it can be seen that 17th-century captivity narratives contain many of the elements of popular literature, particularly an emphasis on divine providence, on the exotic and strange, and on a growing sense of English Protestant nationalism. From the publication of Francis Knight's narrative in 1640 to that of the first edition of Joseph Pitts in 1704, however, these themes are diluted by historical, topographical and ethnographical observations, culminating in Pitts's book, which is as much a primer on Islam and its rites as it is the autobiography of a former North African slave. Pitts's book can also be seen as the dividing line between 17th-century attitudes and those of Pellow and Troughton of the mid-18th century. Admittedly, Pellow and Troughton continue the providentialist theme, still popular among all classes in Hanoverian Briton, and still tell an exciting story of personal hardship and divine deliverance from barbarous and cruel foes. Both, however, particularly considering the appendix to the Exeter editions of Troughton, are as much history books as they are

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[65] T. Pellow, *The Adventures of Thomas Pellow, of Penryn, Mariner: Three and Twenty Years in Captivity Among the Moors*, ed., introd., and notes by R. Brown, London, 1890, p. 38.
[66] G. Milton, *White Gold: the Extraordinary Story of Thomas Pellow and North Africa's One Million European Slaves*, London, 2004, p. 8.
[67] T. Pellow, *La relation de Thomas Pellow: une lecture du Maroc au 18e siècle*, transl. and introd. by Magali Morsy, Paris, 1983, p. 9-62.

captivity narratives, and both share the English 18th-century historians' delight in British liberty as well as their distaste for a foreign arbitrary and despotic rule. This is not to say that neither of these books would not have been popular with the working classes, since we know that the less well educated did read some history and travel, but both Pellow and the later editions of Troughton seem to be aiming more at the growing middle-class market for historical and geographical literature. Their books also show how the xenophobia of early modern England, born of the fear and envy of the powerful empires of Spain and the Ottomans, had evolved into xenophobia based on an innate sense of British providential superiority and a conviction, that they, as Britons, were living in what one of the greatest of 18th-century philosophers and historians called "the best of all possible worlds".

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