

Book Reviews

J. Koder, M. Hinterberger, and O. Kresten, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, 3. Teil, Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1350–1363, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, Volumen XIX/1 (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften), Vienna 2001, pp. 609 + 8 plates.

Augerius von Busbeck —Emperor Ferdinand I's diplomatic ambassador to the Sublime Porte under Süleyman the Magnificent from 1555 to 1562— returned to Vienna with 264 Greek manuscript codices, which he had bought in Constantinople. Among them were two registers of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which contained records of documents. These documents, which are extremely important for the history of the Patriarchate and cover the period 1315-1402, were first published by Franz Miklosich and Josef Müller in Vienna between 1860 and 1862. Needless to say, their edition did not meet all the demands of modern scholarship, so, naturally, a new one was needed. The Byzantine Committee of the Austrian Academy of Sciences assumed this major undertaking in association with Vienna University's Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, under the supervision of the late Herbert Hunger, to present scholars with a work that would remain a monument for ever. The first volume, comprising the documents from the years 1315-1331, was published in 1981, and the second followed in 1995, with the documents from the period 1337-1350. The publication of these documents was accompanied by a further three noteworthy publications of the Austrian Academy, which were connected with the documents. The first was by Caroline Cupane, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel. Indices*, 1. Teil, *Indices zu den Urkunden aus den Jahren 1315-1331*, which was published in 1981. This was followed in the same year by a series of studies by specialists under the supervision of Herbert Hunger, titled *Studien zum Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel*, vol. I. The second volume, by Hunger and Otto Kresten, was published in 1997. Two years earlier, in 1995, Cupane and Elisabeth Schiffer, in association with Ewald Kislinger, had produced an index to both volumes of documents titled: *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel. Indices. Teil 1 und 2, Indices zu den Urkunden aus den Jahren 1315-1350*. This extremely useful volume comprises two detailed indexes of names and words, all Greek, followed by a list of quotations from the documents, together with a list of the 175 documents

included in the two volumes. It is already obvious that these supplementary publications make it much easier for scholars to study the documents.

The third volume, which is the subject of this review, comprises, in numerical order, documents 176-271, which span the period June 1350 - April 1363: thirteen years, during which the patriarchal throne was occupied by two Hesychast patriarchs, men of considerable learning and energy, Kallistos I (first term of office: June 1350 - December 1353), Philotheos Kokkinos (first term of office: December 1353 - 1355), and Kallistos I again (second term of office: February (?) 1355 - April 1363). It was a time of internal instability in Byzantium, owing to the rivalry between John Kantakouzenos and John V Palaiologos (which led to the change of patriarchs) and to Ottoman expansionism, as the Ottoman Turks seized Adrianople, Philippopolis, and Gallipoli, thus gaining control of the Dardanelles. Meanwhile, a church council vindicated the teaching of Gregory Palamas in 1351, and the Hesychasts thus proved victorious. The relentless advance of the Ottoman Turks and their capture of territories belonging to the Empire caused the Byzantine state to shrink; but not the Patriarchate, so that the jurisdiction of the Church extended much further than that of the state.

The documents published in this volume are interesting from many points of view. They mainly cover Kallistos's two terms of office, which totalled more than eleven years, and Philotheos's first term, which, though it lasted only one year, was nonetheless very active. Documents 188-210 were issued under Philotheos; all the rest during Kallistos's two terms. So most of them relate to the administration of the Patriarchate under Kallistos and reflect his ecclesiastical policy regarding the administration of the Patriarchate, its relations with other Orthodox churches and with the secular authorities, and internal problems of the Church. Kallistos seems to have been determined to set right the affairs of the Church that needed rectifying. His first acts concern the exoneration, exculpation, and pardoning of repentant, formerly heretical monks (Nos. 177-179). He seems to have decided to address the question of the conduct and attitudes of the parish clergy quite forcefully. In pursuance of his decision to monitor the priests' discharge of their pastoral duties he created the rank of exarch, whose function was to monitor and direct the work of the parish priests (Nos. 181-183). However, it seems that not all the priests complied with Kallistos's recommendations, that they comport themselves in a manner befitting the sanctity of their status; and certain exarchs proved unworthy of their mission. Kallistos therefore asked them all to submit a written acceptance of his instructions and a promise to comply with them (Nos. 221-225, 227-232, 243). The priests' signatures reveal that most of them were illi-

terate (they wrote, for instance, “στέργον”, “ὄρησθέντα”, “τα ἀνότερα δῖλο-θέν”, “ὠρισθέντα”, “ἡέρομῶναχός”), betraying the educational level of the pastors of the Empire’s capital. Their epithets and surnames are also of interest to students of Byzantine society or the Greek language. A number of documents regulate monasterial affairs (Nos. 184, 197-200, 258), while at the same time there are cases of immorality between monks and nuns (No. 202), to the extent that, while Philotheos was patriarch, a “διατεθρυσλημένη” abbess turned her convent into a brothel, which was frequented by monks (No. 205). No less illustrative of the general social decline is the case of a sorceress, who did eventually, however, admonished by Kallistos, give up the practice of magic. The document recounting the details of this case (No. 180) also describes the tribulations suffered by Byzantine society on account of the breakdown of moral values, to which is attributed, among other things “... ἡ παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἀσεβῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀθέων ἐπελθοῦσα χαλεπή καὶ μεγάλη αἰχμαλωσία καὶ ὁ ἀφανισμὸς καὶ ἡ φθορὰ καὶ ἡ διασπορά, ἦν ὑπέστη καὶ ὑφίσταται ἀθλίως τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν γένος, περὶ ὧν οὔτε ἀκούειν δυνατὸν οὔτε λέγειν ἀδακρυτί” (p. 40). Some of the documents deal with diocesan issues (Nos. 188-190, 266, 270, 271).

A number of documents concern international relations. Kallistos was informed by the senate about Genoese and Venetians’ settling in Constantinople, following an agreement contracted between them and Emperor John V Palaiologos, whereupon the Patriarch was quick to issue a statement approving the agreement, on terms, however, that would safeguard the rights and invulnerability of the Church (No. 260). Sigillate letter No. 238 confirms an earlier document regulating the relations between Greek and Georgian monks in Iveron Monastery, recognizing the sovereign rights of the former, “ὡς τῶν Ἰβήρων ἐκ τε τῆς συνήθους περὶ τὰ καλὰ ἀμελείας καὶ τῆς ὀλιγότητος τούτων καὶ ἀνεπιστημόνου ἐπιστασίας” (p. 369). It is interesting to note that the document refers to the Panagia Πορτιάτισσα (p. 374), not Πορταῖτισσα. Another interesting point is what Kallistos says in a letter to the Patriarch of Antioch (No. 239) concerning the dismissal on charges of immorality of the abbot of Hodegon Monastery, which had been made over for the use of the clergy of the Patriarchate of Antioch: “... ὁ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πατριαρχικὸς θρόνος, ἅτε δὴ οἰκουμενικὸς ὢν, προνόμιον ἔκπαλαι κέκτηται παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων εἰς τὰς ἑκασταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκκλησίας τὰ παρεμπύπτοντα ἐν αὐταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἀναγκαῖα ζητήματα διερευνῶν καὶ ἐξετάζειν ...”. He was thus pointing out the ecumenical rights of his throne, given that the Patriarch of Antioch had not been willing to accept the decisions of the Council of Constantinople condemning the oppo-

nents of Hesychasm (see J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas*, Paris 1959, pp. 143-149). Kallistos returned to this subject in a letter (No. 249) to the prelates of the throne of Antioch, asking them to tell him, since their own patriarch was keeping silence, whether the Metropolitan of Tyre was still disseminating prejudice against the Hesychasts. He sent a similar letter (No. 250) to the clergy and laity of the Metropolis of Side, asking them to cease recognizing their metropolitan because he was a heretic and was thus being excommunicated.

In 1355 the son of Emperor John V Palaiologos, Andronikos IV, contracted a marriage with Kyratza, the daughter of the Bulgar Tsar, John III Alexander, which Kallistos ratified with the consent of the Synod (No. 261). Important for the history of the Church of Romania are Kallistos's documents of 1359 and 1360 (Nos. 243 and 244), with which he appointed Hyakinthos Metropolitan of Hungary and Wallachia and subordinated the metropolis of Hungary and Wallachia to the Oecumenical Patriarchate (see also N. Jorga, *Istoria Bisercii Românești și a vieții religioase a Românilor*, vol. I, Bucharest 1928, pp. 30-33). Documents 193-196, signed by Philotheos, and 259 and 262, issued during Kallistos's second term of office, concern the settling of internal issues of the Church of Russia and are noteworthy and, to a great extent, unique sources for the study of its history. The documents in question concern the Patriarchal Synod's promotion of Alexios, Bishop of Vladimir, to Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia (Nos. 193-195; see A.-E. Tachiaos, *Ἐπιδράσεις τοῦ Ἡσυχασμοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν πολιτικὴν ἐν Ρωσίᾳ*, Thessaloniki 1962, pp. 29-41), the transfer of the seat of the Metropolitan of Russia from Kiev to Vladimir (No. 196), and the settling of the disagreement between the Metropolitans of Lithuania and Russia (Nos. 259, 262). Document No. 264 concerns the relations between the Patriarchates of Bulgaria and Constantinople, being Kallistos's reply to two Bulgarian monks (Theodosios and his disciple Romanos), who had complained to him that the Patriarch of Bulgaria no longer made reference to the Patriarch of Constantinople and was also committing other irregularities, thus causing a cooling of relations between the two churches (see Tachiaos, *Ἐπιδράσεις τοῦ Ἡσυχασμοῦ*, pp. 98-99; cf. V. Zlatarski, "Bil'li e sv. Teodosij Târnovski donosnik' pred Carigradskata Patriaršija", V biblioteka, priloženie kâm' Cârkoven' Vestnik' kn VII, VIII; IX (1903) 97-116).

The documents are edited with absolute palaeographical rigour, conclusively replacing the Miklosich-Müller edition. This rigour gives us a clear picture of how the patriarchal secretariat operated, while the editors' respect for the language of the codices reveals linguistic details that are especially

important for historians of the Greek language. One distinctive feature is particularly worth noting: on pp. 372 and 412 (and elsewhere too) we find “τοαποτοῦδε” and “εἰστοεξῆς”, examples of crasis which are quite unexpected in 14th-century patriarchal literature. All that remains for us now is to wait and hope that it will not be long before the Viennese Byzantinists complete this splendid project, which makes a monumental contribution to the study not only of the history of the Oecumenical Patriarchate and other Orthodox churches in southern and eastern Europe, but of other disciplines too.

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James W. Cunningham, *The Gates of Hell: The Great Sobor of the Russian Orthodox Church, 1917-1918*, edited by Keith and Grace Dyrud, introduction by Keith Dyrud. A *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* supplement (Minnesota Mediterranean and East European Monographs IX), University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 2002, pp. xxx+524.

This weighty and elegantly printed volume is the posthumously published work of J. W. Cunningham (1937-1994), who worked under the guidance of a well-known specialist in Russian history, Professor Theofanis Stavrou, who also wrote the foreword. Cunningham devoted years of his life to the study of the history of the Russian Church in the period before and during the Communist Revolution. He read thousands of pages of Russian records, a considerable proportion of which he translated into English. The fruit of this study was to be a trilogy, of which, however, he managed to produce only two parts: *A Vanquished Hope: The Movement for Church Renewal in Russia, 1905-1906*, Crestwood, NY 1981 (also published in Russian translation as *S Nadezhdoj na Sobor*, Overseas Publications Interchange Ltd., London 1990), and the present volume, which, as its title indicates, concerns the preparations for, and the proceedings of, the great Council of the Russian Church, which was tremendously important for that Church and took place in a troubled political and ecclesiastical atmosphere.

In his introduction (pp. xxiii-xxx), Keith P. Dyrud gives a brief outline of Cunningham's text, which comprises eighteen chapters. It begins with the period before the Tsar was deposed, when considerable ferment was going on within the Church and there were calls for change, but the Tsar, who was essentially the head of the Church, was resisting it. Things did change when, on 2 February 1917, the Tsar was forced off the throne and the Church found