

**Proceedings of the International
Scientific Conference**

HISTORY AND THEOLOGY

Constanța (Romania)

November 17-18, 2020

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**Edited by
Rev. IONUȚ HOLUBEANU**



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INTRODUCTION

This volume includes the studies presented at the international conference “History and Theology,” which was organized by the Faculty of Orthodox Theology at the University “Ovidius” in Constanța and conducted online on November 17-18, 2020.

Through this conference, the organizers wanted to resume a previous initiative, from 2007, which sought to intensify communication and rapprochement between secular and church historians. As such, in 2007, 2008, and 2009, three international conferences were organized at the Faculty of Theology in Constanța in which lay researchers and theologians presented different results of their respective scientific projects.

The names of the researchers who participated in the first three conferences should be mentioned here. Since then, some of them have passed on to the eternal dwellings. These are the Romanian archaeologists Doina Benea from Timișoara, Victor H. Baumann from Tulcea, Mihail Zahariade from Bucharest, and Zaharia Covacef from Constanța. Some of the earlier participants were also at the 2020 event. These are Aleksander Minchev from Varna Archaeological Museum (Bulgaria), Alexandru Madgearu from the Institute for Defense Studies and Military History, Bucharest (Romania), and Costel Chiriac from the Iași Institute of Archeology (Romania). It is also gratifying that this year's edition was attended, for the first time, by several other researchers including Florin Curta and Ethan Williamson from the Department of History, University of Florida (USA), Bartłomiej S. Szmoniewski from the Institute of Archeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow (Poland), as well as Valentina Voinea, Cristina Paraschiv-Talmațchi, and Constantin Șova from the Museum of National History and Archeology of Constanța.

The 2020 conference was also attended by some of the theologians present at the 2007-2009 events. These are the church historians Mihai-Ovidiu Cătoi from Bucharest, as well as Cladiu Cotan, Nechita Runcan and Ionuț Holubeanu from the Faculty of Theology, Ovidius University of Constanța (Romania). Most of the church historians, however, were present for the first time: Emanoil Băbuș from the Faculty of Orthodox Theology, University of Bucharest, Marin Cojoc from the Faculty of Theology, University of Craiova (Romania), Daniel Danielescu from the Faculty of Orthodox Theology,

“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași (Romania), Gagu Cristian from the Faculty of History, Philosophy and Theology, “Dunărea de Jos” University of Galați (Romania), Adrian Marinescu from Munich, Sorin Rizea from the Diocese of Slatina and Romanai (Romania), as well as Nicușor Tucă, Corneliu-Dragoș Bălan, Dumitru Carabaș, Nicușor Morlova, Ionuț Chircalan, Gheorghe-Bogdan Atomei, and Ion Apostu from the Faculty of Theology, Ovidius University of Constanța.

This volume includes 22 studies that analyze topics related to different historical periods. In the study “Anchor of Faith: The Cult of St. Clement in Eastern Europe (ca. 500 to ca. 1050),” Florin Curta and Ethan Williamson analyze the evolution and spread of the cult of St. Clement of Rome in Eastern Europe on the basis of hagiographic, liturgical, artistic, and archaeological evidence. According to the oldest preserved hagiographic texts, the place of martyrdom and the first miracles of St. Clement was the Cherson in the Crimea. His following there is documented as early as the sixth century. The rediscovery of his relics in 861 by Constatine the Philosopher led to the revitalization of the cult of this saint throughout Eastern Europe. In the tenth and early eleventh century, the veneration of St. Clement as a great mediator and miracle-worker spread to Moravia, Bulgaria, Poland, Kiev, and Constantinople.

In the study “The Martyrs from the Danubian Provinces During the Reign of Galerius,” Alexandru Madgearu analyzes the documentary information about some of the Christians from the Roman provinces of Moesia Secunda and Scythia martyred at the beginning of the fourth century. In the first part of the study, the author focused on two groups of martyrs: Saints Passicrates, Valentinian, Nicander, Marcianus, Dasius, and Julius the Veteran, and Saints Maximus, Dada and Quintillianus, martyred in 303 and 304, respectively, at Durostorum (today Silistra, Bulgaria). In the second part of the study, the author analyzes the documentary information regarding Saints Epictetus and Astion, martyred at Halmyris on July 8, 304, and whose holy relics were discovered among the ruins of the cathedral of the ancient city in 2000.

Alexander Minchev authored the study “‘*I Am the Light*’: Two Hanging Lamps from Bulgaria (Fifth-Sixth Centuries AD), which presents two fine and rare Early Byzantine hanging lamps discovered near the village of Christianovo (Stara Zagora Region, Bulgaria) and among the ruins of the city of Peristera in Late Antiquity (near today's Peshtera, Pazardzhik Province, Bulgaria). The author of the study dates the example from Christianovo to the fifth-sixth centuries, considering that it was made in a workshop in Constantinople. The example from Peristera is dated to the sixth century based on a coin issued during the reign of Emperor Justinian I

(527-565) discovered together with it. Minchev assumes that this example was produced in the Roman province of Thrace.

Valentina Voinea and Bartłomiej Szmoniewski present in the study “The Sacred and Profane Destination of the Karst Cave Space: The Case of the Dobrogea Gorges” the results of archaeological research carried out in three caves in Dobrogea (Romania) within the Romanian-Polish project “Study of the Prehistoric and Early Mediaeval Settlements in the Casimcea Valley in Central Dobrudja.” Human bones were discovered in the three caves. Their walls display various representations that reveal their use both in the pre-Christian period as well as in the periods of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Voinea and Szmoniewski appreciated that in order to clarify fully the purpose of these caves over time for the local population, it is necessary to continue the archaeological investigations. The results of future research must be correlated with the analysis of human settlements identified in the vicinity of the caves.

In turn, Cristina Talmațchi and Constantin Șova, authors of the study “Christian Elements Discovered in Early Medieval Settlements from Dobruja,” present the results of recent archaeological research conducted in some of the early medieval settlements of Dobrogea. The study concerns the fortified settlement at Oltina - “Capul Dealului,” the early-medieval living levels from Tropaeum Traiani and the vicinity of this former ancient settlement, the early-medieval fortification from Hârșova, and the contemporary settlement from Valu lui Traian. The complexes (constructions and tombs) and the various identified artefacts (crosses, objects with incised signs, bone pendants, etc.), which have a Christian connotation, demonstrate the Christian identity of the inhabitants of these settlements.

The priest Ionuț Holubeanu returns to the dating of the establishment of the first ordinary bishoprics on the territory of the Roman province of Scythia. In his study “A New Reading of the Data Concerning the Ecclesiastical Organization in the Roman Province of Scythia During the Sixth Century AD,” he introduces documented arguments that support the dating of this event to the reign of Emperor Justinian I (527-565), probably in the year 536. At present, most researchers concerned with this topic support the establishment of these bishoprics during the time of Anastasius (491-518). In addition, based on data from several literary documents and especially recent archaeological discoveries on the territory of the former Roman province of Scythia, Holubeanu appreciates that new episcopal sees were established on the territory of Scythia also after 536, during the second part of Justinian I’s reign and during the reign of Justin II (565-574).

In the study “Carosus from Scythia Minor, Archimandrite in Constantinople and Combatant in the Council of Chalcedon (451),” priest Marin Cojoc analyzes the case of Archimandrite Carosus, mentioned in documents from the Council of Chalcedon (451) and other textual sources. From his point of view, this archimandrite was originally from Tomis, the metropolis of the Roman province of Scythia. In fact, according to Carosus' own testimony, he was baptized there by St. Theotimus I (ca. 390-407), metropolitan of the province. Later, under unclear circumstances, Carosus became head of a monastery in Constantinople. He was also present at the Council of Chalcedon, at which the heresy of Eutyches and the Monophysites were condemned. From the author's point of view, Archimandrite Carosus, suspected of Monophysitism, would have signed Eutyches' conviction as a heretic after the conclusion of the final debates of the Council of Chalcedon.

In the study “Byzantines et latins during the reign of Alexis I Comnène. Orchestration statale et ritualisation des émotions,” the priest Emanoil Băbuș analyzes the relations between the Byzantines and the Latins in the age of the Komnenian dynasty based on their emotional feelings, recorded in the historical sources.

Priest Claudiu Cotan is the author of the study “The Role of the Typikon in the Organization of Byzantine Monasticism in the Eleventh Century.” In this work, he offers an overview of Byzantine Typika from the eleventh century. The author points out the importance that these documents later had in the reorganization of monastic life in the Orthodox Church.

Priest Mihai Cățoi is the author of the study “*Miracula Sancti Demetrii II.5: Comments, Clarifications, Working Hypotheses.*” Based on the data presented in the writing of *Miracula Sancti Demetrii II.5* and information gathered from other documents, he deduced that the preservation of the identity of the citizens of the Empire among the descendants of the Roman population taken prisoner by barbarians was due to their uninterrupted practice of the Christian religion. In addition, the author advances the hypothesis that Church structures from the period before the great Slavic-Avar invasion continued their existence, to some extent, after the barbarians occupied the Balkan Peninsula, and until the beginning of the Middle Ages.

Priest Cristian Gagu addresses a current issue: “Church and Religious Life of Christians in the Pandemic Times.” Based on extant historical documents, the author presents the measures that civil authorities from different historical periods took during pandemics. At the same time, he exposes the attitude of Church authorities at that time toward those measures. This approach of the author is useful in the context of the crisis

caused by the spread of the Sars-CoV-2 virus. He helps clarify certain decisions of the Orthodox Church authorities caused by this pandemic, and reject the conspiracy theories supported by some of the believers.

A study that analyzes a current issue for the Orthodox Church is that of Adrian Marinescu: “Patristic Phenomenologies of Orthodox Contemporaneity: Patristics - Post-Patristics - Neo-Patristics in the Recent Theological Debate in Greece.” The author takes as a starting point the decisions of the conference organized in Volos (Greece) in 2010 and the reactions against them drafted at the counter-conference in Athens in 2012. The task of the two scholarly meetings was to clarify the relationship between the writings of patristic Fathers and of the so-called post-patristic theological authors. The clarification of this relationship is particularly important since at the moment an attempt is being made to achieve a theological rebirth within the Orthodox Church.

The priests Corneliu-Dragoș Bălan and Nicușor Tucă also take on a current topic in their study “The Antinomy Between the Sin of Intolerance and the Suffering Assumed as Pain, Penance or Change.” Starting from the religious reform initiated by John Calvin in Geneva, the two authors reveal the harmful consequences of the attempts to impose certain principles by force. Historical experiences of this kind have shown that such attempts have not led to the desired social peace, but have instead generated great personal and collective traumas.

Ionuț Chircalan, author of the study “Challengers and Defenders of the Corpus Dionysiacum for the Orthodox Church in the Twentieth and Twentyfirst Centuries,” analyzes the arguments invoked by the supporters and contestants of the theological writings attributed to St. Dionysius the Areopagite. At the same time, he assesses the consequences that the imposition of one or another of these points of view could have on the Church's teaching.

In another study, “Cynics, Hedonists, Stoics, and the Issues of Human Imperfection,” authored by the priest Gheorghe Atomei, offers the basic principles of some of the pre-Christian philosophical currents: Cynicism, Hedonism, and Stoicism. The author mainly considers their perspective on human imperfection and how they have tried to overcome it.

In the study “Guerre et philanthropie pendant les années archpastorales de l'évêque, ensuite métropolitain Iacov Stamati (1782-1803),” priest Daniel Niță-Danielescu presents and analyzes the actions of one of the metropolitans of Moldavia, Iacov Stamati, during the wars at the end the eighteenth century and the first years of the next century. In particular, the author focuses on the actions of this Romanian hierarch during the Austro-Turkish war of 1788-1791. From his point of view, the analysis of the

attitude of this metropolitan enables a better understanding of the connection between theology and history in order to evaluate correctly the origin, importance, and significance of historical events.

In another study titled “Aspects of Saint Anthim the Iberian's Connections with Sinai,” Adrian Marinescu presents the multiple connections of one of the metropolitans of Wallachia, Anthim the Iberian (1708-1716), with the monks of the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai. Anthim the Iberian was an Orthodox theologian of Georgian origin, concerned with printing and actively involved in most of the events that marked the life of the Wallachian Orthodox Church in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. His connections with the monks of Mount Sinai were also determined by the fact that, at that time, the monastery of St. Catherine owned several monasteries and properties in Wallachia, donated by Romanian voivodes.

The priest Nicușor Morlova exposes in the study “Patriarch of Jerusalem Chrysanthos Notaras (1660-1731): A Scientist of His Time” the connections of Patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras with the Romanian lands. This Orthodox theologian who became patriarch of Jerusalem, is considered one of the main defenders of the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, he was open to Western culture, which he promoted and integrated into the patterns of the Eastern Orthodox faith. Chrysanthos Notaras also mediated the spread of Greek Orthodox culture and that model of academic education in the Romanian lands. In this article, the author capitalizes on information gathered from several little-known sources.

Priest Ion Rizea details in his study “Petre D. Roșca (1849-1922) - A Great Oltenian Founder and Philanthropist” the charitable actions of an important Romanian businessmen from the second half of the nineteenth century to the first quarter of the twentieth century. Petre D. Roșca lived in Balș, a small town in Oltenia (Romania). Out of a desire to thank God for the significant wealth he had accumulated through trade, he funded several local philanthropic projects. Most notable are the construction of the church of Sts. Apostles Peter and Paul, the “Princess Maria” orphanage, a hospital and two schools, all located in Balș.

Priest Nechita Runcan details the personality of Patriarch Nicodim Munteanu (1939-1948) of Romania: “Patriarch Nicodim Munteanu of Romania - Enlightened Scholar and Patriot.” This patriarch led the Romanian Orthodox Church during the difficult years of the Second World War and during the establishment of the Communist regime in Romania. Although he was subjected to great pressures from the Communist leaders, Nicodim Munteanu remained faithful to Christian principles, defending with dignity the Church he led.

In the study “Several Churches Built in Constanța County Between 1923 and 1950,” Dumitru Carabaș presents the historical information gathered from the archives about several Orthodox churches built in Constanța County (Romania) in the interwar period. These are the churches of St. Emperors Constantine and Helen from the village of Adîncata, the Dormition of the Mother of God from Cobadin, St. Emperors Constantine and Helen no. 1 and St. Emperors Constantine and Helen no. 2 from Constanța, the Dormition of the Mother of God from Cumpăna, St. Parascheva from Grădina, the churches from Măgura, Năvodari, Nisipari, Palazul Mic, Poarta Albă, and Potârnichea as well as the small churches from Carvăn, Conacu, Lanurile and Mamaia Sat.

Priest Ion Apostu discusses the activity of Metropolitan Gurie Grosu of Bessarabia (1928-1936). This hierarch defended the interests of the Romanians in the territory between the Prut and the Dniester, which was under the occupation of the Russian Empire between 1812 and 1918. Gurie Grosu opposed the Russification policy of the Bessarabian Romanians, which was supported by the Russian authorities. His main effort was to print books and magazines in the Romanian language. After the return of Bessarabia to Romania in 1918, Gurie Grosu was elected Metropolitan of Bessarabia (1928). However, his relations with the authorities in Bucharest were strained.

The organizers of the “History and Theology” conference are grateful and indebted to those who participated in the scholarly gathering and contributed valuable studies to the publication of this volume. We hope that this book will be useful to researchers, students, and all those interested in the topics presented.

Ionuț Holubeanu
July 12, 2021

**ANCHOR OF FAITH: THE CULT OF ST.
CLEMENT IN EASTERN EUROPE
(ca. 500 TO ca. 1050)**

Florin CURTA*
Ethan WILLIAMSON**

Abstract: Devotion to the papal martyr St. Clement of Rome spread dynamically throughout early medieval Eastern Europe as different social and political elites promoted his cult. The earliest hagiographic texts associated him with Cherson in Crimea, the site of his martyrdom and miracles. There the Chersonese venerated him by the sixth century, where his relics reportedly resided beneath the sea. When, in 861, Constantine the Philosopher discovered the relics and relocated them to the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul, Clement's cult revived and became mobile. From the tenth to the early eleventh century, rulers embraced his memory from Moravia and Bulgaria to Poland, from Constantinople to Kiev, as a powerful intercessor and miracle worker. By the mid-eleventh century, the significance of these characteristics diminished and his role as a Roman pope and Church Father took center stage. This study examines the evolution and diffusion of the cult of St. Clement in the region through hagiographic, liturgical, artistic, and archaeological sources.

Keywords: cult of saints, St. Clement of Rome, Synaxarion of Constantinople, Menologion of Basil II, kanon, Constantine and Methodius, inscription, Bulgaria, Rus', Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Crimea, coins

Upon learning of Constantine, the Pope of Rome sent for him. And when he came to Rome, the Apostolic Father himself, Hadrian and all the townspeople came out to meet him, carrying candles. For he was carrying the relics of St. Clement the Martyr and Pope of Rome. And at once God wrought glorious miracles for his sake: a paralytic was healed, and many others were cured of various maladies. And even captives were at once liberated from the hands of their captors when they invoked Christ and St. Clement.¹

* Florin CURTA: Department of History, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL, USA; e-mail: fcurta@ufl.edu.

** Ethan WILLIAMSON: Department of History, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL, USA; e-mail: ethanjwilliamson@ufl.edu.

¹ Marvin Kantor, *Medieval Slavic Lives of Saints and Princes* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1983), p. 77.

According to the *Life of Constantine the Philosopher*, the earliest text written in Old Church Slavonic, the return to Rome of the remains of the first-century pope in 867 was a joyful and momentous occasion. The translation of the relics by the Byzantine scholars and missionaries Constantine and Methodius from Cherson in the Crimea to Rome sparked a renewed interest in St. Clement and a revival of his cult between the ninth and the eleventh century, the period during which Christianity began to spread throughout parts of Eastern Europe. Devotion to Clement expanded broadly, but not always directly or evenly. In Bohemia and Hungary, churches were dedicated in his name, and he was venerated first and foremost as a pope. The Roman connection is also conspicuous in the decoration of the Hungarian coronation mantle. Much like in Hungary, Clement held political significance for the ruling dynasties of Bulgaria, Poland, and Rus'. In Byzantium, Clement occupied a consistent place in liturgical memory, even though his cult was never prominent. The notice for his feast day in the Synaxarion of Constantinople highlights his martyrdom in the Black Sea and the miracle of the withdrawing water enabling the faithful to venerate the relics.² An illumination in the Menologion of Basil II depicts the people of Cherson approaching the relics under the sea with candles, a clear indication that the miracle was more important than any other event in Clement's life.³ In Byzantium, and especially in Rus', the cult was therefore closely associated with Cherson. It is most likely from Rus' that members of the Piast dynasty in Poland learned about St. Clement as well. For the cult of a saint to expand beyond its community of origin, it needs to recreate a sense of continuity and belonging. The physical presence of relics—and thus the presence of the saint—can be a powerful way of establishing a cult in a new place.⁴ In 988, Prince Vladimir brought relics of St. Clement from Cherson—along with local Greek clergy—to Kiev as part of his project of Christianization.⁵ The bones of such a prominent saint, a

² *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e Codice Sirmondiano nun Berlonensi*, edited by Hippolyte Delehaye (Brussels: Socii Bollandiani, 1902), col. 255-56.

³ *Menologium Basilii II*, in *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana Vat gr. 1613, 204*, complete digitized edition available at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613/0226 (visit of September 16, 2020).

⁴ Even then, the removal from their original context can strip them of much of their meaning. Supplementary hagiographic texts were important in establishing their legitimacy. See Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

⁵ Ildar Garipzanov, "The journey of St Clement's cult from the Black Sea to the Baltic region," in *From Goths to Varangians. Communication and Cultural Exchange Between the Baltic and the Black Sea*, edited by Line Bjerg, John H. Lind, and Søren Michael Sindback (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2013), pp. 369-80, here 370.

successor of St. Peter, would help tie the Rus' to the Christian world with its Roman past. Conversion to Christianity in Eastern Europe meant incorporation into that world of shared community and memory. Our paper comprehensively explores that process, and the development of the cult of Clement across the region, through the examination of hagiographic, liturgical, art-history, and archaeological sources. Devotion to the papal martyr was fixed around its two ancient centers—Rome and Cherson. From each point it radiated outward into the growing territory of the Christian East.

The Beginning of the Cult

While the earliest texts about the life and martyrdom of St. Clement were written in Rome, the earliest mention of the cult refers to Crimea—more than two centuries before Constantine and Methodius made their triumphal entry.⁶ Around the close of the fourth century, an unknown Roman author composed the *Martyrium Clementis* in Latin.⁷ Sometime later, in the fifth century, it was translated into Greek.⁸ The *Martyrium* recounts the

⁶ *Contra*: Elena V. Ukhanova, “Kul't sv. Klimenta, papy Rimskogo v istorii Vizantiiskoi i drevnerusskoi cerkvi IX-1 poloviny XI v.,” *AION-Slavistica* 5 (1997), 505-70, here 520 and 530-36, who believes that the cult was initiated in Constantinople only in the ninth century, as part of an attempt to prop Christianity in the Empire (and on its Crimean periphery) in the post-843 decades, and in the context of the Photian schism and the relations with Rome. For a similar position, see Thomas Lienhard, “Et Saint Clément reprit chair: tradition et adaptation d'un thème hagiographique durant le haut Moyen Age (VI^e-XI^e siècle),” *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift. Hagiographie und Historiographie im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik*, edited by Richard Corradini and Max Diesenberger (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), pp. 363-72, here 366, who wrongly maintains that neither the *Martyrium*, nor the *Miraculum* existed at the time of Constantine's discovery of the relics in Cherson.

⁷ Stefan Albrecht, “Odalric of Reims und sein Bericht über die Translation der Reliquien des Hl. Clemens,” *Byzantinoslavica* 68 (2010), 157-71, here 163 believes that the *Martyrium* was written in Rome, but embellished and extended in Cherson. See also Mario Ziegler, “Der heilige Clemens von Rom – sein Leben und seine kultische Verehrung,” *Quaestiones Mediaevi Novae* 14 (2009), 27-39, here 31-36.

⁸ *Die Klemens-Biographie*, edited by Franz Xaver Risch, Die Pseudo-Klementinen 4 (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008). Iurii K. Begunov, “Sv. Kliment Rimskii i slavianskoi tradicii: nekotorye itogi i perspektivy issledovaniia,” *Vizantinorossika* 4 (2005), 1-61, here 1 has instead argued for the priority of the Greek over the Latin text, but without reference to the demonstration of the exact contrary in P. Franchi de Cavalieri, “La leggenda di S. Clemente papa e martire,” *Note agiografiche* 5 (1915), 1-41, whose conclusions were then adopted by Hippolyte Delehaye, *Etude sur légendier romain. Les saints de novembre et de décembre* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1936), pp. 96-116.

persecution that Clement suffered as a disciple of St. Peter and early shepherd of the Roman Church. Eventually, Emperor Trajan exiled Clement to Chersonesus, where Clement performed a number of miracles (such as finding water for workers in a marble quarry), converting a great number of locals to Christianity, and establishing numerous churches.⁹ He was eventually condemned to death by being cast into the sea, with an anchor tied to his neck. According to the *Martyrium*, Clement's body was washed to the shore. Two of his disciples took it and piously placed it in a marble sarcophagus.

Clement is first mentioned as a martyr in Rufinus of Aquileia's *De adulteratione librorum Origenis*, written in 397, and then in a letter of Pope Zosimus (417-418).¹⁰ A collection of miracles was put together at some point during the fifth or the first half of the sixth century. The original text is lost, but a short version appears in the *Glory of the Martyrs*, which Gregory of Tours wrote in the last decades of the sixth century. According to that account, on the day of Clement's martyrdom (presumably November 25), the sea miraculously "recedes three miles and offers a dry path to people who walk and travel all the way to his tomb."¹¹ It is worth noting that Gregory of Tours moved the tomb of the saint from the shore (where, according to the *Martyrium*, Clement's body was buried by his disciples) to the open sea, no doubt in order to accommodate the story of the miracle. Without mentioning Cherson (or Crimea, for that matter), Gregory of Tours knew that locals celebrated the festival of the saint by traveling to the shrine

⁹ The place to which Clement's exile and martyrdom is associated is called *Chersona*. As Stefan Albrecht, "Cherson als Zentralort auf der südwestlichen Krim (6.-10. Jahrhundert)," in *GrenzÜbergänge. Spätromisch, frühchristlich, frühbyzantinisch als Kategorien der historisch-archäologischen Forschung an der mittleren Donau. Akten des 27. internationalen Symposiums der Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donauraum, Ruma, 4.-7.11.2015*, edited by Ivan Bugarski, Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáská, Vujadin Ivanišević and Daniel Syrbe, *Forschungen zu Spätantike und Mittelalter*, 4 (Remshalden: Verlag Bernhard Albert Greiner, 2016), pp. 355-84, here p. 369 notes, the use of Cherson, instead of Chersonesus is an indication of a late antique origin of the text. For the lack of any topographic details in the *Martyrium*, see Elżbieta Jastrzębowska, "Il culto di S. Clemente a Chersoneso all luce della ricerca archeologica," in *Studi su Clemente Romano. Atti degli incontri di Roma, 29 marzo e 22 novembre 2001*, edited by P. Luisier, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 268 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 2003), pp. 127-37, here 127.

¹⁰ Denis Kashtanov, Alexander Korolev and Andrei Vinogradov, "The chronology of the hagiographic tradition of St. Clement of Rome," in *Byzantine Hagiography. Texts, Themes, and Projects*, edited by Antonio Rigo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), pp. 201-20, here 205.

¹¹ Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs* 35, edited by Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1885), p. 60; English translation by Raymond Van Dam (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988), p. 56.

in the middle of the sea, and praying at the saint's tomb. A woman coming to the shrine during the festival accidentally left her son behind, when the faithful had to return to the shore at the end of the day, for the sea water was coming back. However, a year later, when, distressed and in mourning, she went to Clement's tomb to pray on the saint's festival, she found the child asleep next to her.¹² The miracle of the child definitely marks the beginning of the cult of St. Clement, but Gregory has another, more geographically precise miracle to relate.

According to him, relics of St. Clement were brought to the territory of Limoges, in western Gaul, by a "man [who] happened to travel by" and who presented the relics to the local priest. The authenticity of the relics was demonstrated to all when they miraculously regenerated a dry spring, invoked in prayer by the priest and "the [people in the] neighborhood."¹³ That Clement had the power to bring water to the surface, even though his own tomb was under the water for much of the year, is a subtle, but very powerful theme with interesting reverberations in the saint's cult in Eastern Europe. We shall return to that aspect below. For the moment it is important to note that, while lacking any geographical precision, Gregory of Tours's account in his *Glory of the Martyrs* implies that the saint's body was venerated somewhere, in a place from which relics could be brought to Limoges. Both the miracle of the child and the hydraulic properties of the relics suggest that before 600, the cult was well established.¹⁴

If there already was a cult of St. Clement in the sixth century, where was it based? Because the translation of the relics celebrated in the passage from the *Life of Constantine* cited in the opening of our article involved their discovery in Cherson, scholars have assumed that the man "travelling by," who is mentioned in Gregory of Tours's *Glory of the Martyrs*, must have brought the relics of St. Clement from the main city in the Crimea. A cult therefore must have been already in existence in Cherson at that time, and probably originated earlier, at the same time as the city became a diocese under Jerusalem (fourth or fifth century).¹⁵ In the late nineteenth century, the Russian general-turned-archaeologist Aleksandr Berthier Delagarde (1842-1920) advanced the idea that the tomb of St. Clement was on a small peninsula (previously an island) in the Kazachiia Bukhta, to the

¹² Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs* 35, pp. 60-61; transl., pp. 56-57.

¹³ Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs* 35, p. 61; transl., p. 57.

¹⁴ Stefan Albrecht, *Quellen zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Krim*, Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 101 (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2012), p. 91.

¹⁵ Albrecht, "Cherson als Zentralort," p. 369; Begunov, "Sv. Kliment Rimskii," p. 3.