The reign, culture and legacy of Ştefan cel Mare, voivode of Moldova:

a case study of ethnosymbolism in the Romanian societies

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Volume 2

Illustrations, photographs and maps

ILLUSTRATIONS

Monasteries and churches

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1   View of Putna monastery in its valley setting, seen from the northwest in 1902. This image was published by K.A. Romstorfer in 1903, following the renovation works that he directed. Ştefan cel Mare's octagonal "Treasury Tower" can be seen on the extreme right of the precinct walls. Source: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Kloster Putna nach der neuesten Aufnahme 1904.

2   Putna seen from the southeast in 1904. Further work has been carried out – the roof of the Treasury Tower has been renewed, for example (Romstorfer 1904).

3   Plan of the Church of the Assumption at Putna, showing building phases and areas of archaeological investigation (1969-70 & 1972) (published in Bedros 2005, 73, after N.N. Puşcaşu). The ground plan of the first phase of Ştefan's building is shown by diagonal shading (the first block in the left-hand column of the scheme).
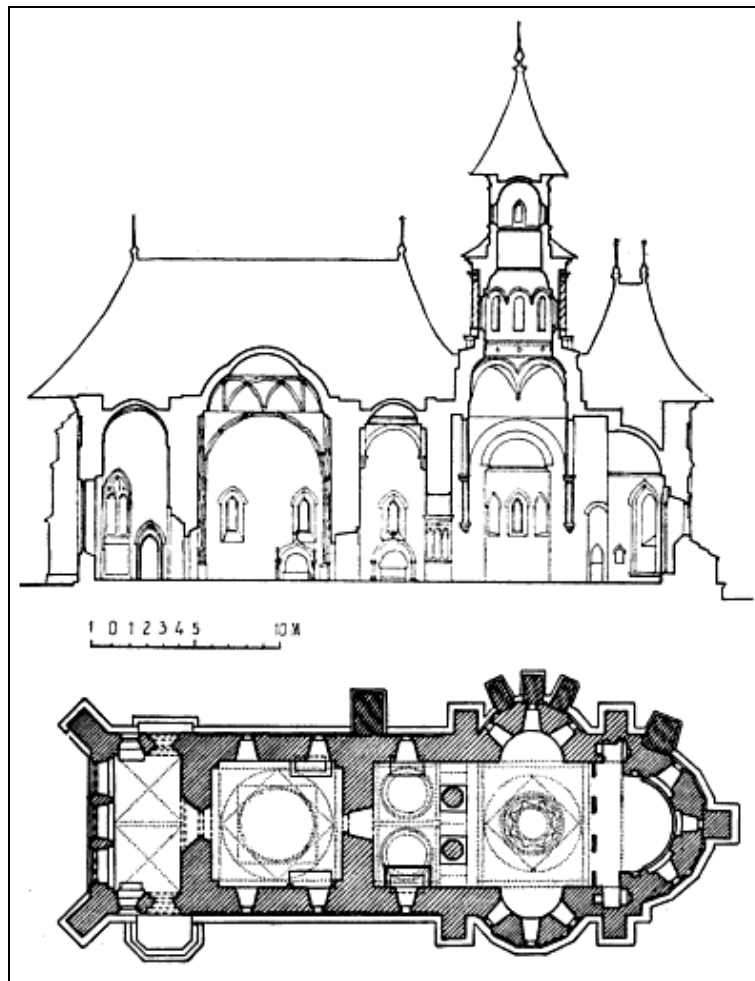
4   Elevation section and plan of the Church of the Assumption at Putna, published by Gheorghe Balş (Balş 1926, 145 & 146, after Romstorfer). This shows the church after several phases of restoration, but still following the founder's plan. From west to east, the key components of the plan are the porch (with a ceremonial entrance doorway in the south wall); the *pronaos* (where the monuments of Bogdan III and Princess Maria can be seen in recesses beneath the easternmost windows); the *gropniţa*, which contains the sarcophagus of Ştefan cel Mare beneath the southern window and that of Maria of Mangop beneath the northern window; and then the *naos* – the liturgical area of the church – beyond two columns.

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5   This image of the tomb of Princess Maria in the *pronaos* at Putna, published by Romstorfer in 1903, shows the style of a canopy – *baldachin* – following restoration, before further work was carried out in the church on behalf of King Carol II in the 1930s. Source:
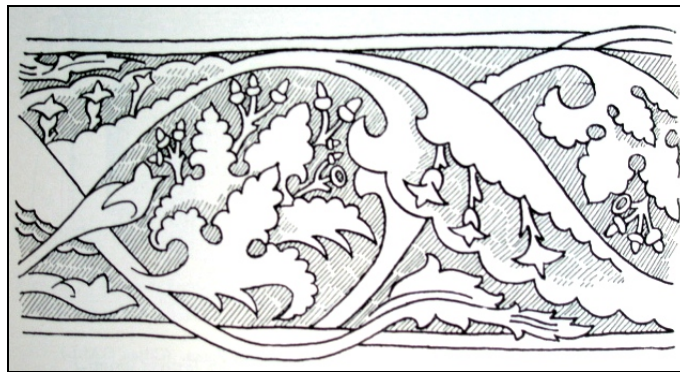
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6 & 7   The tomb of Ştefan cel Mare in the *gropniţa* at Putna. 6 is a recent image published on the [Stefan cel Mare](#) website; 7 is an image published in the Catalogue of 1958 (267). It is clear that the marble canopy has been remodelled even in the last half century, in addition to changes made to the decoration of the niche in the back wall. The tombstone in the foreground is that of Maria Voichiţa.

8   The tombstone of Ştefan cel Mare (source: Stefan cel Mare).

9   Detail of the acanthus leaf and acorn decoration in the centre of Ştefan's tombstone (from Catalogue 1958, 268).

10   Detail of the front panel of the sarcophagus, showing the incomplete inscription on the rim of the tombstone and auroch-head decoration in the carving on the pedestal (socle) (source: Stefan cel Mare).

11   The sarcophagus of Maria of Mangop. Detail of the "swallow tail" carving on the socle (source: Székely 2004, 25). (The tombstone of princes Bogdan and Petru can be seen fast against the base of the sarcophagus.)

12   The embroidered tombcover of Maria of Mangop (source: Stefan cel Mare).

13   "The Dormition of the Holy Voivode Stephen the Great", Putna monastery 2004 (source: Stefan cel Mare). Ştefan's soul is shown in the blue roundel being borne to the Pantocrator. It is an interesting coincidence that Ştefan's body was laid in his tomb wrapped in the "mantle of a prince" and with his head raised on a bed of tile or brick, rather like the body in a Dormition icon.

14   The Dormition of the Mother of God, Novgorod School, 15th century. This icon shows the central features and abiding composition of Dormition iconography: the Mother of God "asleep in death" while her soul – a child dressed in white – is received by Christ.

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15   Plan of the Mirăuți Church, showing archaeological trenches and the outline of the rectangular Muşatin church beneath the triconch walls of the larger contemporary fabric. Published by Matei, after Gheorghe Sion (Matei 2003, 24).

Image unavailable

16   Plan of the Church of St. Nicholas at Bălineşti, showing archaeological trenches (2002 & 2003) (Puşcaşu 2005, 7).

17   Excavation plan of Bălinești, showing the position of the Tăutu family burials in the church (together with later inhumations). Ioan Tăutu was buried in the *naos* in "Crypt 2" (Puşcaşu 2005, 15).

18 & 19   Elevation (seen from the south) and ground plan of the Church of the Dormition at Căpriana monastery. The elevation shows the outsize, bulbous baroque tower over the *naos* and the bell tower at the west end, both dating to remodelling of the church in the 19th century. The ground plan, however, follows that of 15th- and 16th-century Moldovan triconch churches. The areas shaded black on the plan show Postică's 1993 excavation trenches (Ghimpu 2000, 127 and 132, after Gheorghe Postică).

Fortresses

20   Plan by Postică of the Orheiul Vechi landscape, showing the site of the medieval citadel ("Citadela") on the Peştere promontory high above the River Răut. Three associated earthwork ditches ("Valul") transect the promontory, where the site of a 15th-century church ("Biserică") and 14th-century Tatar bath houses ("Baia"), a mosque and a caravansarai ("Han" – a residence and stable block) can also be seen (Postică 2006, Fig. 1).

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21   Plan of the citadel at Orheiul Vechi, showing the *pârcălab*'s residence adjacent to the northern wall (Postică 2006, Fig. 48).

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22   Plan of the citadel at Orheiul Vechi, showing areas of archaeological work carried out between 1996 and 2001 (Postică 2006, Fig. 2). (The *pârcălab*'s residence was first excavated by Smirnov in the 1950s – see photograph 35.)

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23   Drawings and sections of two bronze cannon discovered by Postică in Sector 76, together with a stone shot and details of the heraldic stamps found on each gun (Postică 2006, Fig. 68) [see photographs 5 and 38].

ORHEIUL VECHI

**COMPLEX MUZEAL
SUB CERUL LIBER**

Cuprinde monumente arheologice
şi landşafturi naturale
amplasate în valea râului Răut,
între satele Trebujeni şi Butuceni,
la circa 60 km nord-est de Chişinău.

Complexul muzeal
«Oraşul medieval Orheiul Vechi»
s. Butuceni, judeţul Orhei
Moldova, MD-3552
tel. (373) +235-34-242
http://orhei.dit.md

24 & 25 Promotional images for the Orheiul Vechi "Museum Complex in the Open Air", featuring Christian religious structures on the Butuceni promontory. Note the logo in the bottom left hand corner of the "Salvati Orheiul Vechi" (*Save Orheiul Vechi*) leaflet. This represents the National Association of Young Historians of Moldova, and is a stylised version of the auroch's head symbol of the Muşatin voivodes (see Chapter 4, clause 3 and photograph 23).

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<div style="border: 1px solid black; text-align: center; padding: 100px;">**Image unavailable**</div>

26 & 27   Plans of the fortress complex at Cetatea Albă, showing the main components of the fortress and the names of the towers and bastions thought to have been given by the Ottomans. Published by the Akkerman Fortress Project (Akkerman), after Šlapac's publication of a survey from 1955 (Šlapac 2001, 90). (A = Citadel, B = Garrison Yard, C= Civil Yard, D = Port Yard.)

Image unavailable

28   "Another Constantinople": a view of Cetatea Albă in the 18th century, seen from the north (Ghimpu 2000, Fig. 3). The Citadel and Garrison Yard are in the foreground; a mosque can be seen in the Civil Yard, close to the dividing wall with the Garrison Yard. Ghimpu labels this anonymous picture a "reconstruction".

Image unavailable

29   "The Siege of Constantinople", fresco on the exterior south wall of the Church of the Annunciation, Moldoviţa monastery; painted in c.1537 by Toma of Suceava (reproduced in Ogden 2002, 77). The walls of Constantinople shown here reflect components of military architecture found at Ştefan's fortresses within the Principality: crenellated stone walls, banded masonry, gun ports in the walls, and towers capable of mounting cannon. Only the angular character of these towers specifies the nature of the early Byzantine walls at Constantinople; Ştefan's great fortresses, such as Suceava and Neamţ, feature rounded towers with "battered" bases (for an example, see photograph 27). The angular towers shown here are more in keeping with Ştefan's Treasury Tower at Putna monastery (see photograph 40).

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30   Sketch plan of Suceava Castle (after G. Ionescu) published in 1965 by Matei and Andronic. The black walls of the interior are labelled in the key as "walls of the Muşatin castle" (the late 14th-century foundation, consolidated in the 15th century); the grey exterior walls are described as "walls at the time of rebuilding" (the works of Ştefan cel Mare). The north range of the castle is depicted speculatively by dotted lines; it is questionable whether three square towers, as shown here, would have formed part of the castle plan, given the gradient on the north side. The apse of the castle chapel is shown within the enlarged walls of the east tower. This plan also highlights the curious angle of the tower in the southeast corner (an adaptation which forms part of Ştefan's work at the site). (Matei and Andronic 1965, *planuri*.)

Image unavailable

31 Plan of the Suceava Castle plateau and excavation work in the Field of Ditches (after Ion Nestor), published by Batariuc in 2004. The legend is made up of: *Săpături* (trenches), *Locuințe de paiantă* (timbered houses), *turnuri* (towers), *cuptoare de var* (kilns), *Condute de apă* (water pipes or conduits), and *Locul descoperirii tezaurelor* ("treasure" discovered here!). (Batariuc 2004, *ilustrații*.)

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32   Detailed plan of Suceava Castle (Matei 2004, fig. 12, after Sion). The walls of the core, rectangular Muşatin fortress are shown in green; the first phase of the extended enceinte built for Ştefan is shown in blue (together with work to the interior of the castle), and the second stage is shown in red – with semi-circular bastions enveloping square towers and the man-made moat being shored-up by a massive retaining wall running from the northeast of the site.

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33 & 34   Plans of Cetatea Nouă (Roman), left, and Neamț, published by Matei after Sion and Constantinescu, respectively (Matei 2004, figs. 11 & 16). On both plans, the walls of the core Muşatin fortresses are shown in blue, with the augmented defences dating to the 1480s shown in red. Not only is the evolution of castle design seen at Suceava repeated at Neamț, from rectangular plan with square towers to asymmetrical plan with circular or semi-circular bastions, but it is also evident from both the above plans that Ştefan's developed fortresses extended the fortified precincts by means of advanced artillery platforms. The curved path of stone pillars which carried the approach bridge over the moat at Neamț is a unique feature.

Princes' Courts

35   Map of Suceava, showing the location of the citadel (*Cetatea de Scaun*) to the east of the settlement, separated from it by the Cacaina stream; the Mirăuţi Church; and the site of the princes' court near the Church of St. Demetrius (Sf. Dumitru) in the heart of the town. The arc of the 15th-century defensive ditch (*şantul de apărare al oraşului*) can be seen stretching from the northwest to the southeast of the town; the settlement was protected on the north side by the river Suceava, which was diverted further north after 1892. (Matei 1989, 200.)

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36   Composite plan of the buildings of the princes' court at Suceava in the 14th and 15th centuries. "C1" may have been the first *casă domnească,* built by Petru I Muşat. "T" is the stone foundation of a watchtower. The east wing comprises "C3" – first built by Alexandru cel Bun – and "C4", Ştefan's extension, dated after 1485. Source: cIMeC.

37   Revised plan of the princes' court at Suceava, focusing on the building phases associated with Ştefan cel Mare, before and after 1485 (*Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România*, 2005, 467).

38   Sketch plan of the excavated features of the princes' court at Bacău, including the Biserica
        Precista, the voivode's residence and a tower house or guard post (Artimon 1986/7).
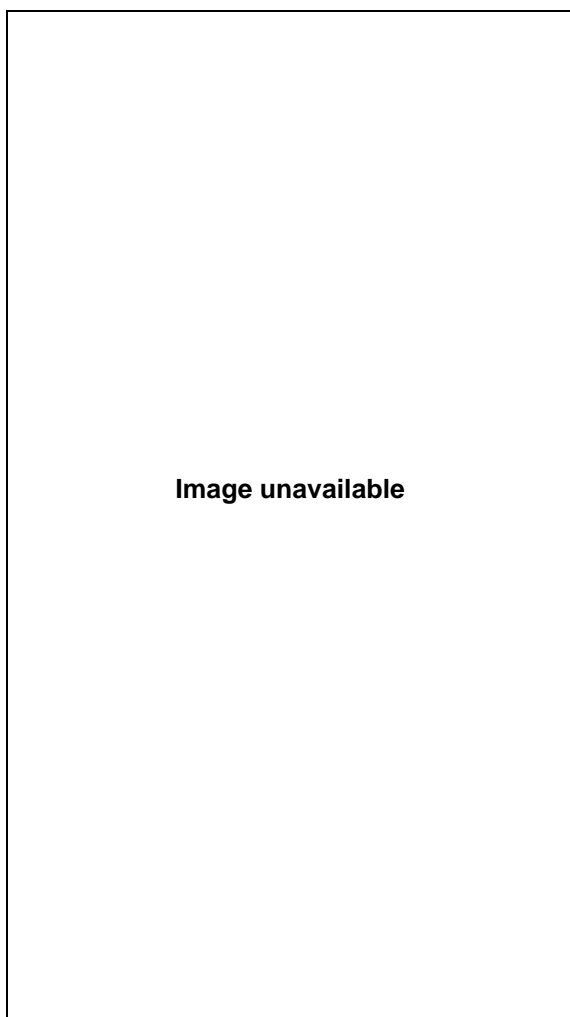
39 & 40   A 15th-century tile, excavated at the princes' court at Vaslui, which depicts a cavalry procession at the wedding of Ştefan cel Mare and Maria of Mangop in 1472 (Rădulescu 2006, Figs. 1 & 2).

PHOTOGRAPHS

All photographs by the author, unless specified

1   Ştefan cel Mare

1.1   Statuary and images
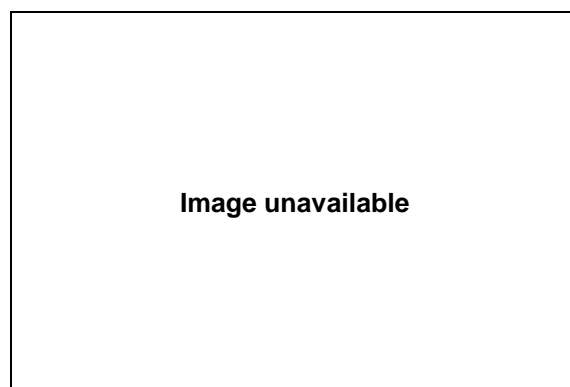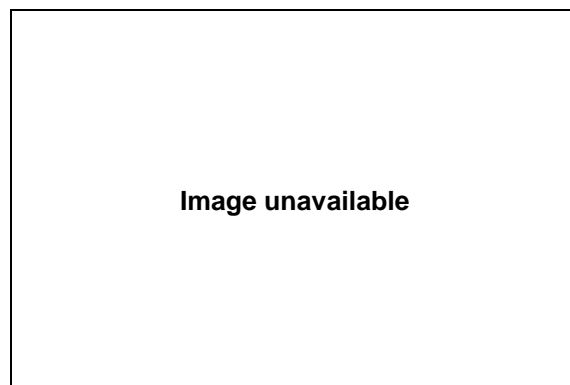
1   Statue of Ştefan cel Mare, Chişinău (Moldova) (sculptor: Alexandru Plămădeală, 1928), seen on the front cover of the commemorative booklet issued by the Department for Inter-ethnic Relations of the government of Moldova, June 2004. The subtitle is "symbol of the independence of the Republic of Moldova".

2 & 3 Ştefan's facial features are modelled on a miniature of 1473 produced at Humor monastery, which is supposedly a portrait drawn from life. (Sources: Chisinau and Cimbru 2005, v.)

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4   Images of Ştefan cel Mare by contemporary Moldovan artists, published in the commemorative booklet issued by the Department for Inter-ethnic Relations of the government of Moldova, June 2004. They are all remarkably similar, indicating a consensus amongst local artists concerning Ştefan's features and appearance. The rather troubling work by Vasile Didic is actually entitled "Moldova and hope. Immortality and ephemerality", echoing the poetry of Eminescu, which calls for Ştefan to rise up from the grave and lead his people again.

5   The medieval gallery, National History Museum, Chişinău, July 2006. An heroic equestrian image of Ştefan cel Mare dominates a relatively spartan display of armour and weaponry. A shield featuring the auroch's head symbol hangs above the cabinet on the left-hand side. The two small cannon were discovered in excavations at Orheiul Vechi in the 1990s (see photograph 38).

6   Statue of Ştefan cel Mare, outside the Palace of Culture, Iaşi (Romania) (sculptor:
         Emmanuel Frémiet, 1883). The Palace of Culture stands on the site of the medieval
         princes' court complex in Iaşi; the nearby Church of St. Nicholas, founded by Ştefan
         in 1491/2, completed an ensemble of voivodal buildings which became the seat of
         the princes of Moldova in the early modern period (see photograph 24).

         The side panels depict scenes from Ştefan's major victories, including the battle of
         Codrii Cosminului (1497), at which trees were felled upon the retreating Polish forces
         of John Albert Jagiełło. The plinth includes an inscription which states that the statue
         was funded by public subscription.

7   One version of the pantheon of heroes: "Voivodes Statuary" (19th century), university district, Iaşi. From left to right: Dragoş (1350s), Alexandru cel Bun (1400-32), Ştefan cel Mare (1457-1504), Mihai Viteazul (1593-1601), Petru Rareş (1527-1538, 1541-1546), Ion Vodă cel Viteaz (1572-74), Vasile Lupu (1634-53), Dimitrie Cantemir (1693).

8 & 9   Suceava Castle (Romania). Plaque commemorating the 500th anniversary of the death of Ştefan cel Mare, raised by the District Council of Suceava and the Bucovina Museum Complex.

The text reads: "Unveiled on the occasion of the commemoration of the 500th anniversary of his transition into eternity".

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10 & 11   Scenes from the celebrations of Ştefan's 500th anniversary at Putna (Romania), July 2004. The icon of his "Dormition" is processed amidst Romanian flags. Source: The Holy Monastery of Putna.

1.2 Archaeological sites and monuments

1.2.1 Churches of the Moldavian Style

12   Church of the Holy Cross, Pătrăuți (Suceava County, Romania), dedicated by Ştefan cel Mare in 1487.


13 & 14   Pătrăuți, the west wall (the Last Judgement) and detail of the south wall – simple "baguettes croisées" decoration on the window jambs.

15 Pătrăuți: Interior, west wall, *pronaos*. "The Cavalcade of Constantine". Fresco (1490s) referencing Constantine's vision of a blazing cross in the sky before the battle of the Milvian Bridge (312). After restoration; seen from conservator's scaffold.

16	Pătrăuți: Interior, *naos.* Votive fresco (1490s) showing, from right to left, Ştefan cel Mare, his heir Voivode Bogdan, Ştefan's third wife, Maria Voichiţa, and two of their young children. Source: Stefan cel Mare.

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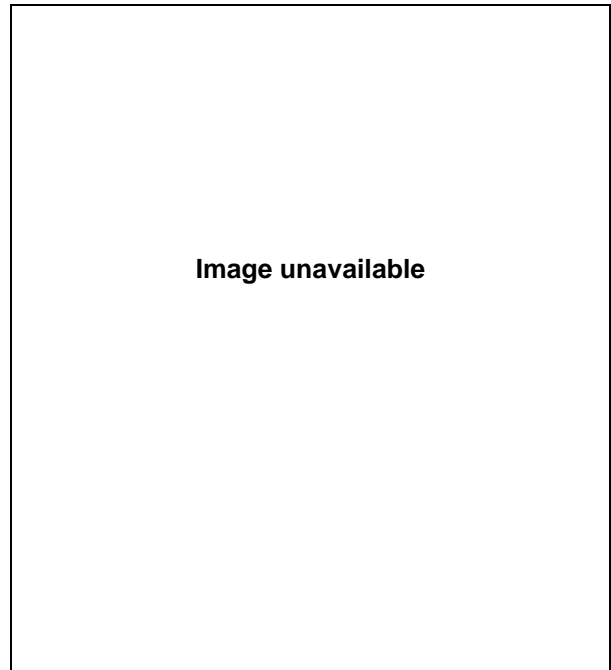
17 – 20   Church of St. George or the Mirăuţi Church, Suceava (c.14th century, restored by Romstorfer in the late 19th century and renovated further in the 1990s). This was the Moldovan coronation church at the time of Ştefan cel Mare and burial site of Ştefan's first wife, Evdochia of Kiev. The probable fragment of her tombstone, discovered in 1996, is shown bottom right (20) – source: *Magazin Istoric*.
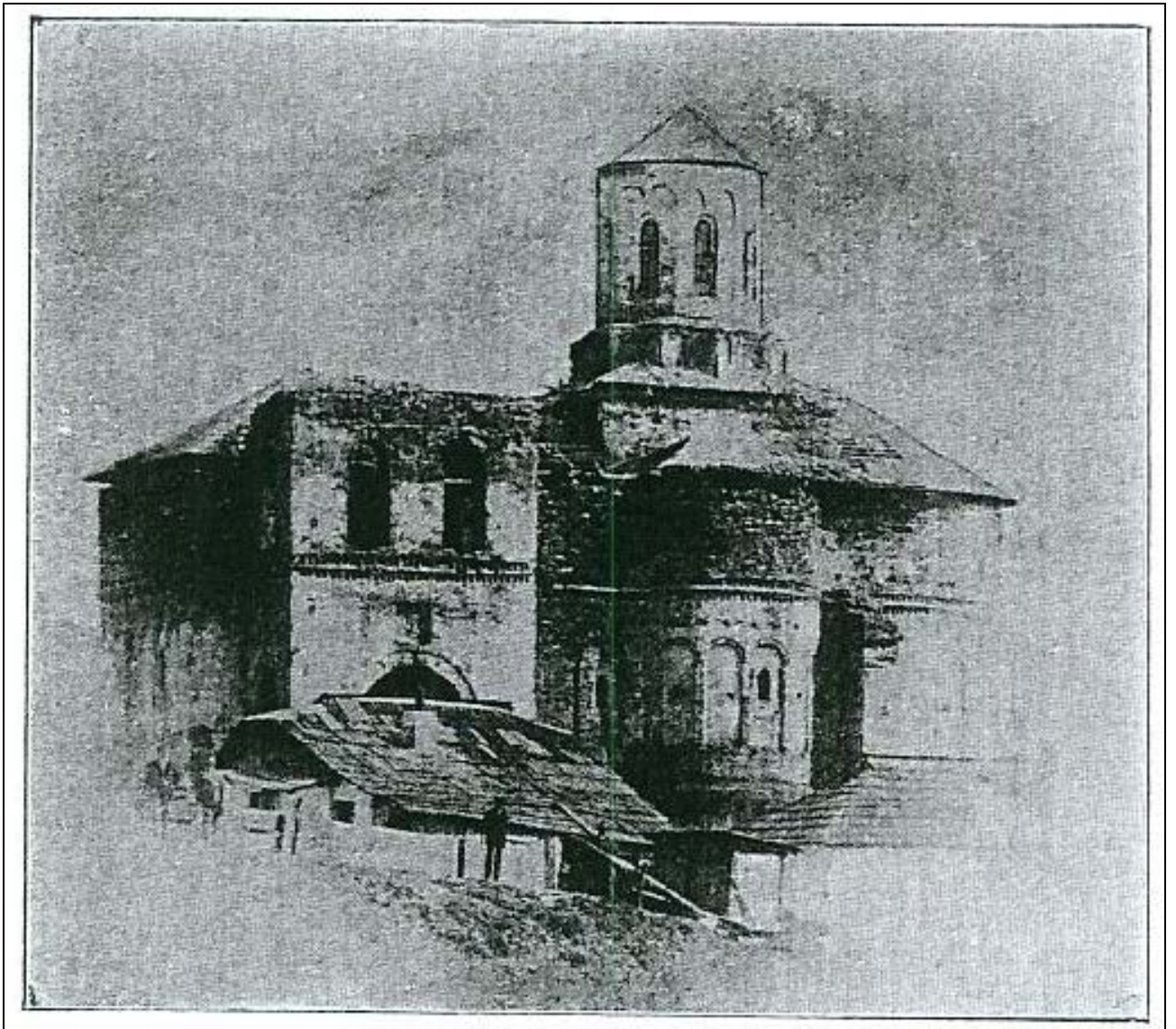
21   The Mirăuți Church in the 1890s, prior to restoration by K.A. Romstorfer (source: Balş 1926, 164).

22   Church of St. Demetrius and bell tower, Suceava, undergoing restoration in August 2008. Built by Petru Rareş in the 1530s near the princes' court, on the probable site of a monastery founded by Ştefan cel Mare to celebrate his victory in the battle of Grumăzeşti.

23 Petru Rareş's dedication inscription, on the exterior south wall of the Church of St. Demetrius, Suceava, surmounted by a restored plaque depicting the auroch's head symbol of the Muşat dynasty.

24 & 25   Church of St. Nicholas, Iaşi. Founded by Ştefan cel Mare in 1491/2 but rebuilt in the 19th century; the dedication stone is probably original, remounted in the west wall in 1939.

26   The Church of the Three Hierarchs, Iaşi, undergoing restoration in the summer of 2008.

1.2.2   Fortresses and residences

27 & 28   Suceava Castle, August 2008, seen from the south and on the approach
                 bridge over the moat in the northeast sector, on the final day of the annual
                 "Festival of Medieval Arts" dedicated to Ştefan cel Mare. The deep moat and
                 rounded bastions with battered bases are the most notable legacy of
                 Ştefan's building work here. Much of the castle was rebuilt in the communist
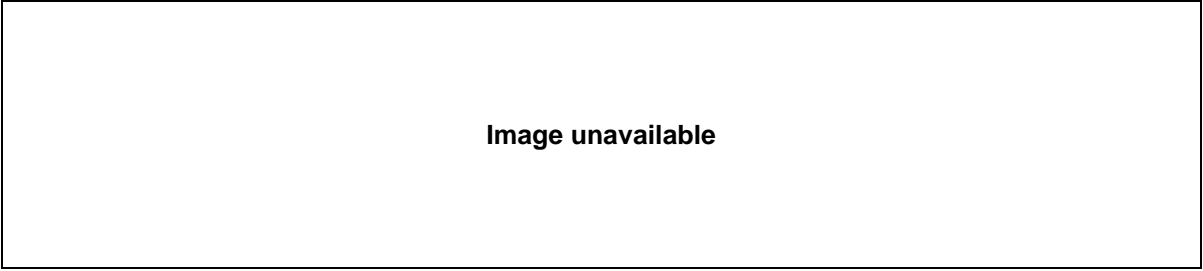   era.

The curtain walls and bastions, looking north

The northeast defensive bastions (showing two building phases) and the ruins of the chapel tower

29 & 30   Photographs taken during the rebuilding of Suceava Castle in the 1960s (source: Matei and Andronic 1965, see illustrations 30 and 32).

31   Suceava Castle: inner wall attributed to the period of Alexandru cel Bun; outer wall (rebuilt) attributed to the period of Ştefan cel Mare.

32 – 34   Site of the Princes' Court, Suceava, August 2008. The site is boarded-up and overgrown, despite a project of excavation and restoration having been initiated in the year 2000. In 2002, Ogden described the site, rather harshly, as a "rubbish strewn pile of rubble" (Ogden 2002, 212).

35   Smirnov's excavation of the "governor's residence" (*palatul pârcălabului*) within the citadel on the Peştere promontory at Orheiul Vechi (1950s). Source: On display in the National History Museum, Chişinău.

36   The citadel at Orheiul Vechi, May 2005. The western perimeter wall and backfilling in the area of Sector 76 of Postică's excavations (1996-2001).

37   The northern wall of the citadel, showing one of the bastions, facing the village of Trebujeni on the far side of the River Răut.

38   The southwestern corner of the citadel, showing backfilling in the area of Sector 76 of Postică's excavations (1996-2001). The upright pillars in the foreground represent the entrance to a small cellar of a residential building, in which two bronze cannon thought to date to the reign of Ştefan cel Mare were discovered (see photograph 5).

39   View from the southern perimeter wall across the Peştere promontory towards the Butuceni promontory (the southern element of the Orheiul Vechi landscape).

40   The Treasury Tower at Putna monastery. Source: [The Holy Monastery of Putna](#).

41   Statue of Prince Alexandru Lăpuşneanu of Moldova (1552-61 and 1564-68), at the head of the street in Iaşi which bears his name. Lăpuşneanu was the first of many to restore Ştefan cel Mare's monastery at Putna. The pedestal bears the logo of "Iaşi 600". The year 2008 was celebrated in Iaşi as the anniversary of the city's "foundation" in 1408; documentary evidence records that 1408 was the year in which Alexandru cel Bun granted trade privileges in Iaşi to merchants from Lvov.

42 & 43   Statue of Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza, Piaţa Unirii, Iaşi. Cuza faces the tree-lined Blvd dul Ştefan cel Mare şi Sfânt, with the Palace of Culture (site of the late medieval princes' residence in Iaşi) in the distance.
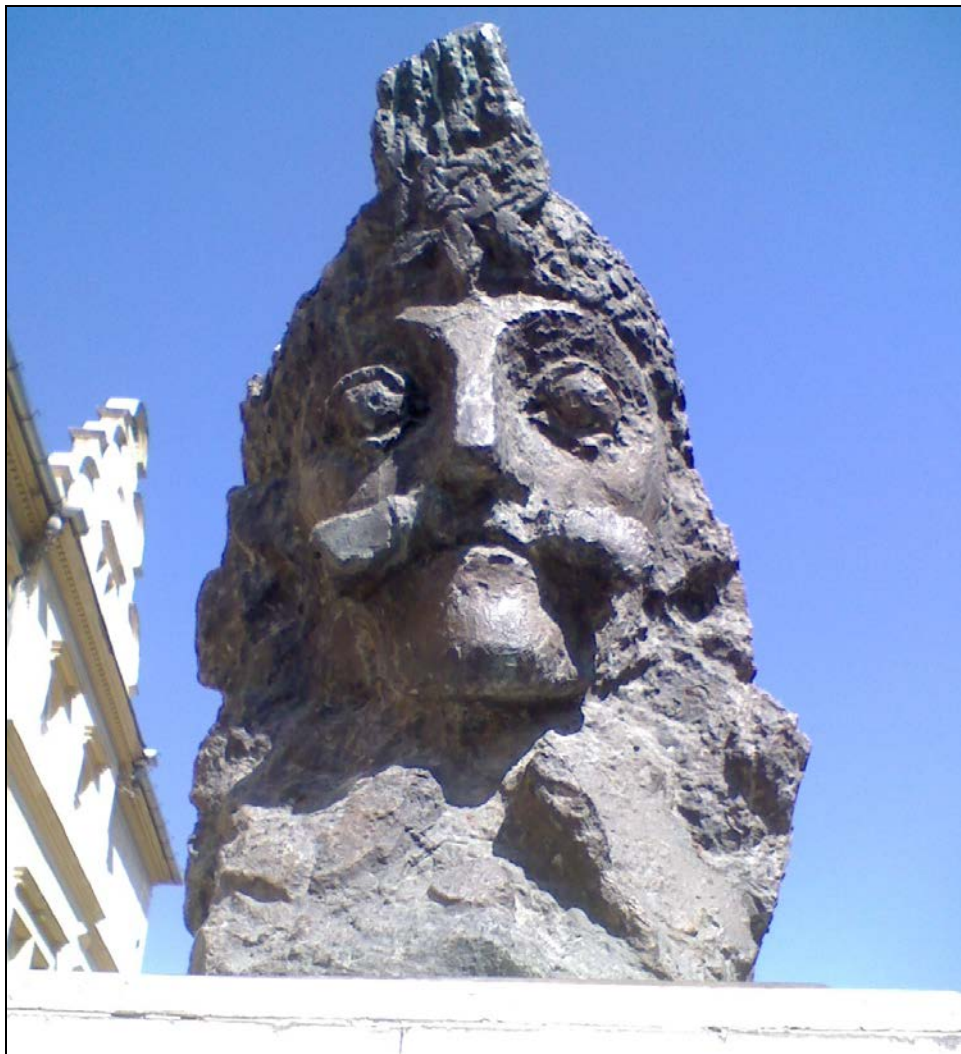
44 & 45   Bust of Vlad III of Wallachia (known as "Vlad Ţepeş" and "Dracula") in the centre of Sighişoara (Romania), the town of his birth. The plaque describes him as "Lord of Wallachia" (*Ţarii Româneşti*). (Photographs courtesy of Dr Catherine Skinner.)

46   An undated fresco uncovered within "Casa Dracula", the medieval house in Sighişoara that is thought to have been the birthplace of Vlad Tepeş. It has been suggested that the fresco depicts members of the family of Vlad Dracul (McNally and Florescu 1995, 15-17). (Photograph courtesy of Ms Sarah Cullum and Dr Catherine Skinner.)
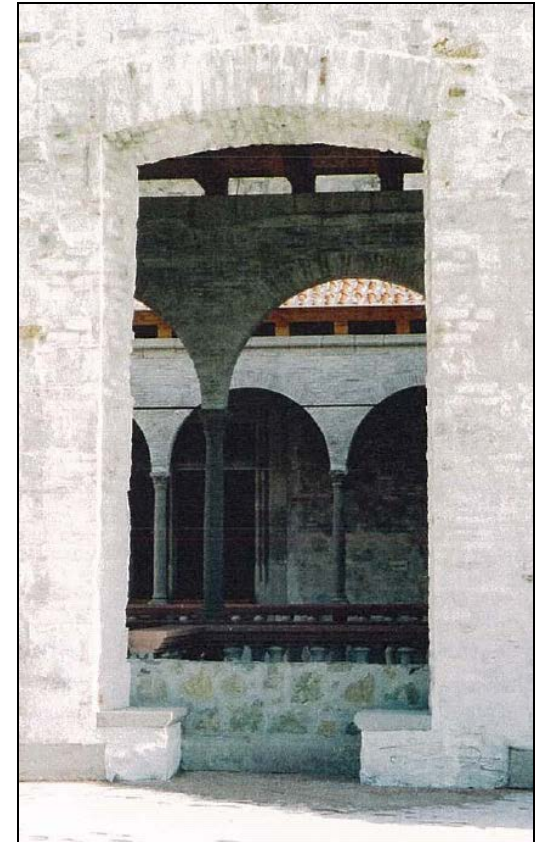
47 & 48   On the left, a view of the reconstructed summer palace of King Matthias Corvinus at Visegrád (Hungary), with Visegrád Castle visible on the hilltop above (winter 2001). On the right, a detail of a reconstructed courtyard within the palace.

49 & 50   Statue of Stephen of Hungary, King and Saint (sculptor: Alajos Stróbl, 1906), set in the Neo-Gothic surrounds of the Fisherman's Bastion (erected at the turn of the 20th century), on Castle Hill, Buda (Hungary). The pedestal shows scenes from the king's life.

MAPS
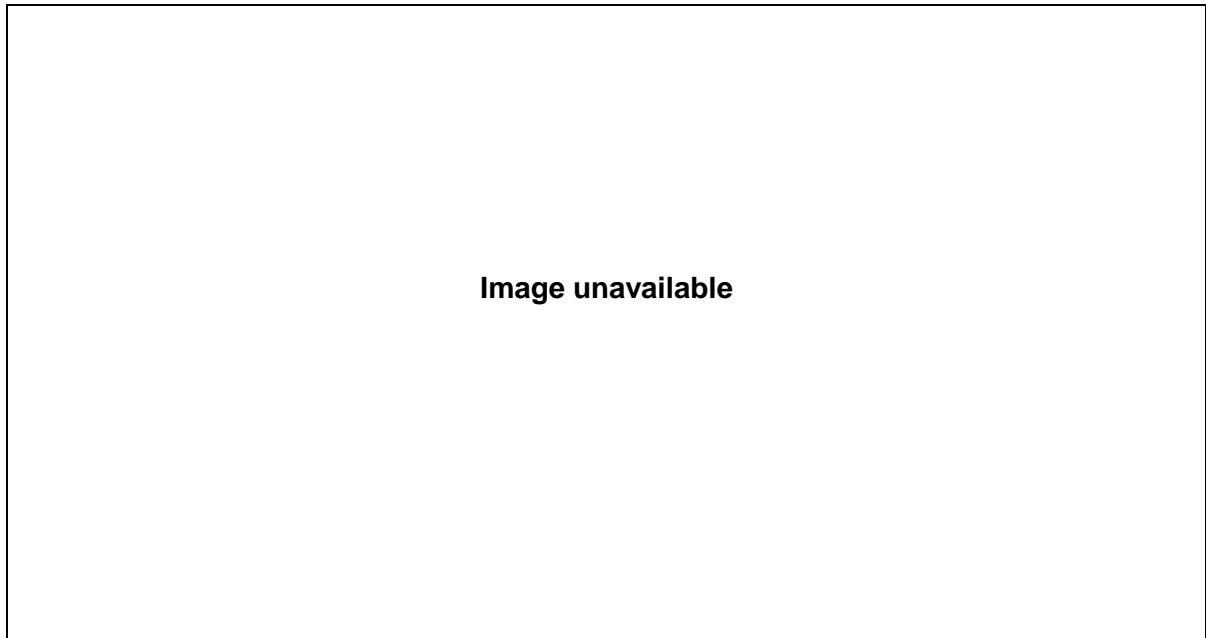
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1 General location map for the republics of Romania and Moldova (2010 national borders)
(© Google)

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2 Map of selected key locations in the Principality of Moldova (2010 national borders) (© Google)

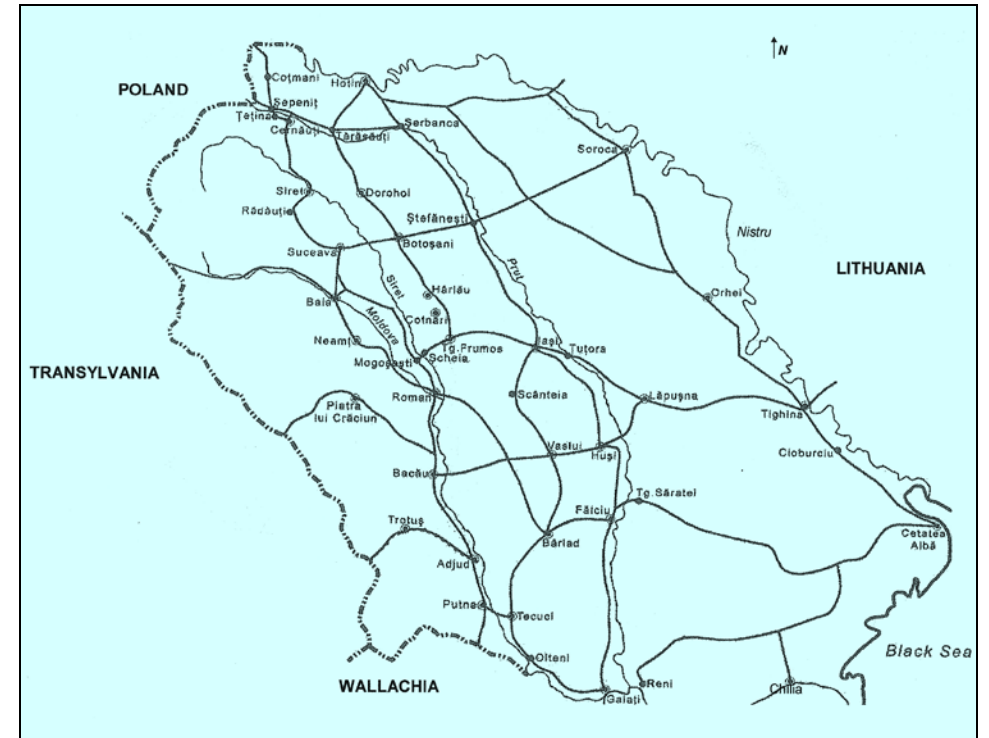**3 Selected churches and monasteries of Bucovina** (© Google)

4 The eight counties of Moldavia, Republic of Romania

Scale: 1:8 890 000

5 The Romanian principalities in the 15th century: land borders and major hydrography

6 The Principality of Moldova: detail of towns, settlements and roads
(after Rădvan 2010, xxiii)