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PANOPLIA DOGMATIKE
BYZANTINE ANTI-HERETIC ANTHOLOGY IN
DEFENSE OF ORTHODOXY IN THE
ROMANIAN PRINCIPALITIES DURING THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

To begin a study of the *Panoplia Dogmatike* (hereafter PD) in the Romanian Principalities at the turn of the seventeenth century is to present in reverse order a long history of text transmission. This means taking as point of departure the first printed edition of anti-heretic anthology, made at the behest of Byzantine Emperor Alexius I Comnenus somewhere around the year 1110. Though this is unusual, it is justified because the Tirgoviște edition was not only the fruit of antiquarian interest but also deeply connected with current affairs. Constantin Brâncoveanu and Antim of Iviron, the ruler and metropolitan of Wallachia respectively, supported the enterprise as patrons. Without making significant changes to the original content, they once again recruited the *Panoplia* to the fight against heresy. This was possible only in a culture permeated by the language of values of Byzantium, which was far away yet always present in the Medieval Romanian Principalities. It is these clear echoes of Byzantium that will be the main focus of this article.

Had this edition of the PD appeared today, it would most likely have been welcomed on scholarly grounds. Nonetheless, the publication of the PD as a genuine authority in the fight against heresy was only possible because the Romanian Principalities were once part of the Byzantine Commonwealth: a group of nations that were politically autonomous but enjoyed strong and durable connections. Undoubtedly, Church and Orthodoxy formed the strongest bond between these people and continued to be a binding element long after the fall of the Empire.¹ In this light, the PD offers the possibility to trace the development of one of the flexible cultural nerves which made and sustained the Commonwealth. Commissioned at the initiative of the Byzantine emperor, the PD refuted

by means of Patristic texts each major heresy known to the court theologians of Emperor Alexius I. Together with the old heresies and the Medieval dualistic movements, the anthology also listed Judaism and Islam, because it was deemed that there was only one true religion. The PD was read for centuries in the confines of the Oikoumene as a key source of Orthodox theology (around 72 Greek manuscripts still exist, with a Slavonic translation from the fourteenth century and a Latin version printed in Venice in 1555).² The most recent Greek manuscripts date from the eighteenth century and, together with the edition of 1710, form the last editions in the long tradition of this text in the Byzantine Commonwealth. Thus, a study made from the vantage point of the eighteenth century might lead to a reevaluation of the importance of the PD and, conversely, might prove useful in viewing the coeval religious battles from the perspective of the Byzantine tradition in the fight against heresy. This approach is yet to be applied to the PD and may prove more dangerous than appears at first sight because it inevitably touches on the Byzantine legacy in South-Eastern Europe as reflected in the large controversies which shook Orthodoxy during the seventeenth century in terms of the Calvinist *Confessio* (1629) attributed to the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Cyril Lucaris and the intense Catholic missionary activities in the region.

It was not by chance that the PD appeared in Wallachia at the turn of the eighteenth century, at a time when the Principalities had already assumed an important role in the preservation of Orthodoxy. As a point of departure, this study will examine the direct references to the PD found in other books of polemic character and printed at around the same time in Wallachia and Moldova. These references attest that the anthology was still read and highly respected in the seventeenth century. A word of praise for the PD was spoken by none other than the leading Orthodox intellectuals of the time: the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheos II Notaras (1669-1707), called by Iorga “la plus fort tête de tout le clergé orthodox de l’époque”, and Meletios Syrigos (1586-1643), who was by far one of the best theologians of the century.

Both Meletius and Dositheos attest that the anthology was read in connection with recent or contemporary events and three important Church Synods of the seventeenth century: Jassy 1642, Jerusalem 1672 and Constantinople 1692. The way Meletius and Dositheos used the anthology suggests that the PD remained unchanged at the time, though it was still different from the anthology of which princess Anna Comnena speaks in

her *Alexiad*.³ In fact, the only printed text we have today of the PD is to an equal extent the anthology of the Orthodox theologians of the Romanian Principalities in the seventeenth century as it is the PD of Emperor Alexius Comnenus. The best known chapters from the twelfth century were this time read against the Calvinists, the Uniat Church of the Greek Catholics in Transylvania, the Catholics, and the Muslims of the Ottoman Empire. The references to the PD are found in books which themselves are a clear continuation of the Byzantine anti-heretic tradition. This suggests that the shift from manuscripts to print culture in the Danubian Principalities of the seventeenth century was more a change of gear than direction in the fight against heresy. The anti-polemic editions, which started appearing in 1682 in Moldavia and in 1690 in Wallachia, anticipate such monumental Byzantine works as the PD and that of John of Damascus, which appeared some thirty years later.⁴

The abundance of historical material on the people who supported the enterprise allows the printed PD to be placed in its natural context: in a history involving the editor, Metrophanes Gregoras of Dodone, the sponsor, the Metropolitan of Silistra Athanasius, the lesser known authors of the dedicatory verses in the book, and some well known people in Wallachia at the time – the metropolitan, Antim, and ruler, Constantin Brâncoveanu, together with his gifted son, Ștefan. And if the evidence of these people proves that the edition came out of the rigorous religious battles at the time, a logical next move will be to search for traces of conscientious alterations to the printed text (if any exist). Such a task is of critical importance, because the Tirgoviște text, reprinted in the PG with notes by Christian Friedrich Matthäi, remains the only printed edition of the PD used and quoted by scholars today. Finally, no study of the anthology in the Danubian Principalities would be complete without an examination of the late MSS, which co-existed with the printed text. Before attempting any of this, however, it will be useful to introduce this anthology with some preliminary observations.

Panoplia Dogmatike after Panoplia Dogmatike

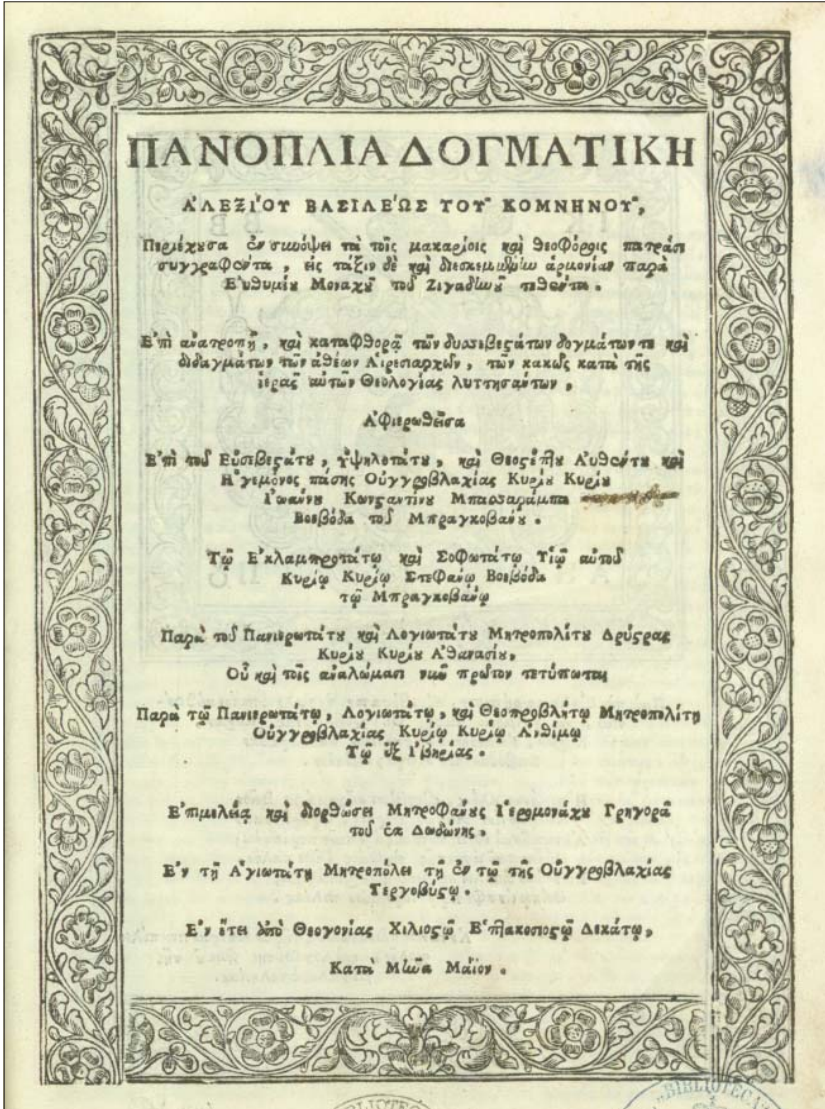
The PD was widely read throughout the Byzantine Commonwealth. Coeval sources from the seventeenth century try to persuade us that the *editio princeps* was carried out under conditions very close to those for the original PD – just as the Byzantine Emperor commissioned the PD on

the occasion of the Bogomil heresy, the rulers of the Danubian Principalities were continuing the same old war with the same old weapons. The subordinate position of the Great Church – without Byzantine Emperor – in the Ottoman Empire clearly shows how it would be rash to generalize using historical parallels, but the publication of the PD clearly shows how the methods of punishing heresy in the Byzantine Commonwealth had changed little from the twelfth century to the time of Constantin Brâncoveanu. With the exception of several well known cases involving the Bogomils, these methods rarely included the direct violence of the stake and burning, and instead involved the Ancient tradition of fighting heretics by means of anti-heretic anthologies. The PD was precisely an anthology of this kind, and if Byzantium could be accused of not being sensitive enough in pursuing heretics, it could equally be accused of being excessively persistent in this non-sensitiveness.⁵ The fact that it was possible to revive an anti-heretic anthology, after a gap of five centuries, implies that this is something more than just “in-sensitiveness”. The Byzantine way of persecuting heretics differed significantly from the way the West had persecuted, questioned and burnt heretics at around the same time the PD was compiled. This most prestigious anti-heretical book was an anthology of Patristic authors and not a Book of the Inquisitor. The question as to why Byzantium remained so neutral in terms of not chasing the “heretics” on a massive scale remains a tantalizing one, and even Berdiaev has passed on words of rapprochement.⁶

The difficulty that exists today of understanding the Byzantine way of combating heresy has also affected the PD. In modern scholarship it has not received due attention and is often passed over as a mere compilation. The only comprehensive study on the Constantinopolitan theologian who compiled the PD, Euthymius Zigabenus, was performed more than twenty years ago, and the main achievement of its author, Andreas Papavasileiou, is that he provides the reader with a useful inventory of all references to the MSS concerned with the PD.⁷ Thus, the PD is a niche, not yet entirely explored, in the otherwise developed scholarship on the two periods that are the subject of this study: the Comneni in the twelfth century and Romanian Principalities in the seventeenth century.⁸ The idea of approaching the PD from this perspective came to me when I started working with the source materials, which are available in Romania. I was confronted with the dilemma of whether to begin reading the secondary literature or jump immediately to the original sources. I chose

to begin with the original materials, many of which are available only in Romania. This article may thus not be able to provide thorough secondary literature on all the topics it touches on. In terms of the literature I used, however, I owe a special debt of gratitude to the studies of the Comneni period by Angold and Magdalino,⁹ while for the cultural development of Romania and the Byzantine theology after the fall of Constantinople I am indebted to the classic works in the field of Iorga, Runciman and Podskalsky.¹⁰

As a synthesis of the ancient tradition of anti-heretical anthologies, the PD can be best understood as part of the phenomenon characterized today as “la cultura della sylloge”.¹¹ In brief, the PD was more important than we perceive it to be today. It was a not collection of excerpts from the Church Fathers, but a source book on Patristics and a specific history of the Church and the fight against heresy. While the Synodicon of Orthodoxy – the list of heresies condemned in Constantinople after the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787 – was used for the annual commemoration in church of those who had fought for the faith, the PD represented another aspect of the same sacred history on the basis of theological texts. It had a dual use as an anti-heresy book and as a book about heresy, and was therefore both an offensive weapon and defensive work of scholarly interest in equal measure. That scholarly interest in deferent heresies was also an aspect of the PD is clear from the compilation of the PD and quality of the excerpts included. In some cases, Euthymius Zigabenus, the best Constantinopolitan theologian of the day, and his team were working in the same way modern editors do with Ancient texts. They collated several manuscripts and the outcome was a sort of medieval critical edition on some of the fragments of the Patristic authors included in the PD. As far as I know, there is as yet no study to show definitively where the fragments in the PD were taken from, though they possibly came from the anthologies of St John of Damascus. We should also not forget the Conciliar anthologies, which were appended to the decisions of church councils with the famous examples of how a fragment of writing by a patristic author was read from all the manuscripts, brought by the participants, in order to ensure that the text was not a forgery.¹² Whatever the case with the PD, it clearly follows the tradition of these Conciliar anthologies in which the right dogma was combined with philological accuracy.¹³ As we shall see later, during the seventeenth century the PD was still perceived as a kind of Conciliar anthology to be read in connection with the coeval church Synods. If Byzantium fought



ΠΑΝΟΠΛΙΑ ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙΚΗ

ἈΛΕΞΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΥ,

Περίχρησα ἐν συνόψει τὰ τοῖς μακαροῖς καὶ Θεοφόροις πατέρας
συγγραφόντα, εἰς τάξι δὲ καὶ διακριμῶν ἀριονίας παρὰ
Εὐθυμίου Μουραχῆ τοῦ Ζιγαδῶνα πεποιητά.

Ἐπὶ ἀνατροπῇ, καὶ καταφθορᾷ τῶν δυσσεβειῶν δογματῶν καὶ
ἀδυναμῶν τῶν πᾶσι Λειτουργῶν, τῶν κακῶς κατὰ τῆς
ἱερατικῆς Θεολογίας λυττησάντων,

Ἀφιρωθεῖσα

Ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐσεβεῖατος, ὑψηλοτάτου, καὶ Θεοσιῆς Ἀυθέντου καὶ
ἡγούμενου πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κυρίου Κυρίου
Ἰωάννου Κωνσταντίνου Μπαουζακίμπα
Βασίλεως τοῦ Μπραγκοβίας.

Τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ Σοφιστικῶν Τίμων ἀπὸ τοῦ
Κυρίου Κυρίου Ἐπιφάνου Βασίλεως
τοῦ Μπραγκοβίας.

Παρὰ τοῦ Παιτριωτάτου καὶ Λογιωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Δρύσεως
Κυρίου Κυρίου Ἀθανασίου,
οὗ καὶ τοῖς ἀπαιλαμασι νῦν πρώτων πετύσσονται

Παρὰ τῶν Παιτριωτάτου, Λογιωτάτου, καὶ Θεοπροβλητῶν Μητροπολίτου
Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κυρίου Κυρίου Λιδίμου
Τῶν ἡγούμενων Ἰβηρίας.

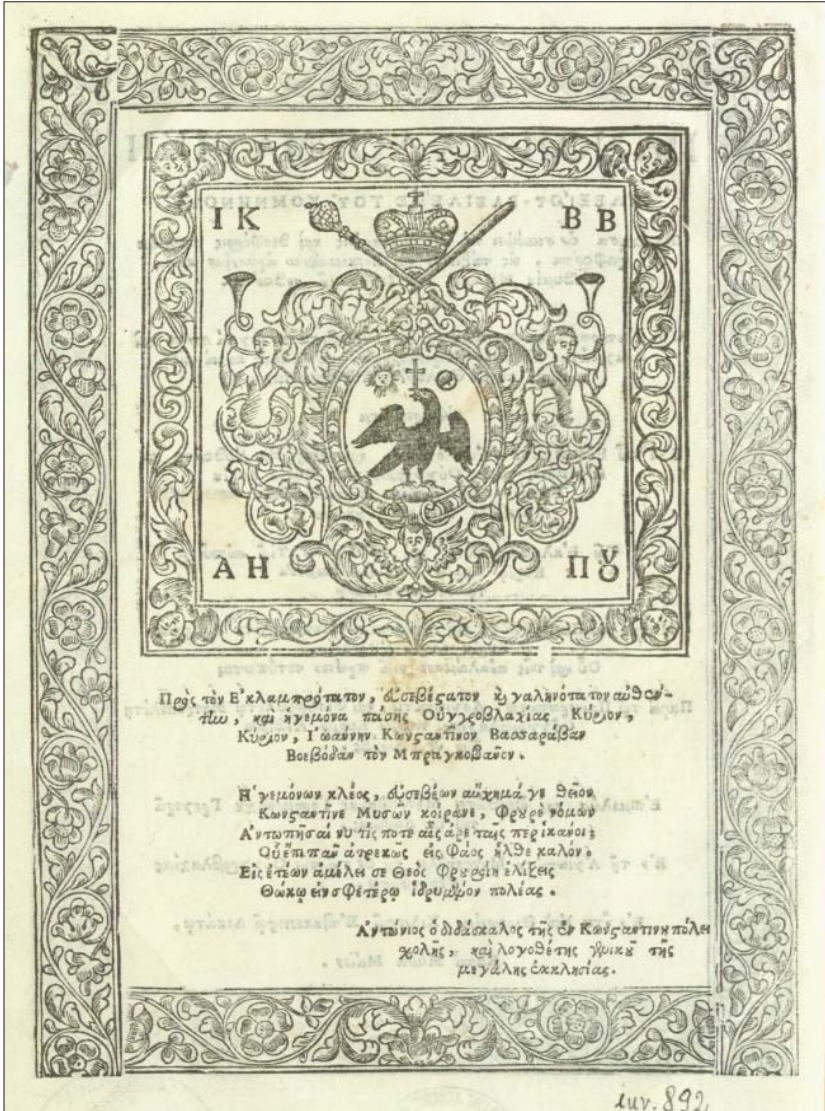
Ἐπιμελήσας καὶ διορθώσας ΜητροΦανίας Ἱερομονάχου Γεηγορά
τοῦ ἁγίου Δαδωνίου.

Ἐν τῇ Ἀγιωτάτῃ Μητροπόλει τῇ ἐν τῷ τῆς Οὐγγροβλαχίας
Τεργουβύσῃ.

Ἐν ἔτει κυρίου Θεογονίας Χιλιοσῶν ἑπτακοσῶν Διάκτου,

Κατὰ Μῶν Μάϊου.

Title page of the *editio princeps* of *Panoplia Dogmatike*,
printed in Tiroviste, 1710
Photo: courtesy of Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest



Second page of the Tiroviște edition of *Panoplia Dogmatike* with the coat of Arms of Prince Constantine Brancoveanu and short verse, written by Antonius Byzantius and dedicated to the ruler. Photo: courtesy of Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest.

heresy with medieval critical editions of Patristic authors, we would be fully justified in issuing some words of disbelief or even rapprochement. The PD, however, was an authoritative anthology that coexisted with a number of other anti-heretic texts. Compared with the intolerance of the attacks, by listing the errors of the Latins or other works of a similar character the PD remained among the most refined and high brow instruments of the fight against heresy, rarely attacking heretics, except where grounded on a dogmatic refutation.¹⁴ However, the anthology did still contain some hostile overtones, and it was not by chance that they were directed at the enemies of Orthodoxy during the twelfth century, i.e. Jews, Muslims, Bogomils, Paulitains and the Monophysite Armenians. The refutation of the Latins, however, was a more complicated case. Several years earlier, Emperor Alexius had greeted the leaders of the First Crusade in Constantinople. Moreover, the same theologians who participated in the PD project were also holding talks in Constantinople with the Grossolano and the representatives of Rome.¹⁵ Relations between East and West at the time were by no means straightforward and the militant tone of the PD suggests that the anthology was created by the most uncompromising circles in Byzantium.¹⁶ In the course of time, however, the belligerent tone of the anthology was mitigated. Compared with other books of the eighteenth century in Romania it represents the balanced voice of the ancient tradition. And if at the time of Alexius I it was pious and important to support this anti-heretical anthology, the same was equally true of a Romanian ruler in the eighteenth century, though other books were used on the frontline in the battle against heresy.

References to the PD

During the seventeenth century, the printing presses in Wallachia and Moldova were responsible for a small array of books directed against the Catholic and Calvinist propaganda in South-Eastern Europe.¹⁷ The leading position of the Romanian Principalities was due to the fact that they preserved their autonomy from the Ottoman Empire and became important centers of Orthodox culture. The Patriarchs of Jerusalem visited the Romanian Principalities frequently¹⁸ – the Patriarchs Theophanos (1608-1644), Paisios (1645-1660), Nectarios (1661-1669) and later Chrysantus (1707-1731). But of all the hierarchs, the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos (1669-1707) “loved Moldavia the most”, as Oikonomides puts

it.¹⁹ As the undisputed leader of Orthodoxy at the time, Dositheos made Wallachia and Moldavia the headquarters of his activities, and the printing presses, which the Patriarch supported, produced around eleven books of a polemical nature directed against the new “enemies of Orthodoxy”.²⁰ These editions remain as monuments to early printing in Romania and already paved the way for the future edition of the PD. In fact, the influence of the PD can be found in several of the editions, although the most important references to the PD are found in a book printed in Bucharest two decades before the edition of the PD itself. This is the book written against Lucaris and Calvin and published by Patriarch Dositheos in 1690.²¹ It is not too far fetched to suggest that this book might provide a clue as to who it was that actually inspired the edition of the PD and why it was printed in Târgoviște, with the support of the ruling dynasty of Brâncoveanu. Moreover, in the prologue the book is described as a second *Panoplia* “against the heresies of the present century”.²²

The volume contains two texts by Meletius Syrigos and Patriarch Dositheos himself. At different times, both of these men played a leading role in the Orthodox answer to the advancement of the Calvinist propaganda in South-Eastern Europe. The first text in the volume was written by Syrigos in connection with the Council of Jassy (1642). Patriarch Dositheos authored the second text in connection with the Council of Jerusalem (1672). The fact that both authors mention the PD and Zigabenus indirectly places the anthology in the theological and symbolic setting of two of the Orthodox Synods that marked seventeenth century. By the same token, their accounts contribute to an understanding of the key elements of the PD: the imperial initiative behind the book, the refutation based on a chronological principle, the tendency to ascribe the characteristics of older heresies to new ones, and details of the production of similar works, especially anthologies.

Reference by Patriarch Dositheos II in connection with the Synod of Jerusalem, 1672

In 1672 the restless Patriarch Dositheos convened the council of Jerusalem and ostentatiously related the event to the renovation of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, which had recently been taken from the Catholics. This Synod is considered a major event in the ecclesiastic history and theology of the seventeenth century and the seventy-one bishops

and clerics present condemned the Confession of Lucaris (1629), which professed most of the major Calvinist doctrines. They accepted the Confession written by Dositheos, who then prepared the text for the 1690 edition. The prologues to this edition also come from the hand of Dositheos, who presents the rulers of Wallachia and Moldova as the direct heirs to the Byzantine tradition in the fight against heresy. The role of the “Champions of Orthodoxy” is yet another example of the way in which the rulers promoted themselves as the direct heirs to the Byzantine Emperors.²³ This account is important to the understanding of the role of the Byzantine Emperor, the role of the ruler in the Principalities in the fight against heresy, and in particular, the commissioning of anti-heretic books and the PD itself. What does the Patriarch write in the volume’s solemn dedication to Constantin Brâncoveanu, the ruler of Wallachia, about the responsibilities of the Orthodox ruler?

But since it is not possible for the evil things to be destroyed, for it is always necessary to have something to set against the good, in ancient times pseudo-prophets appeared among the people. Pseudo-teachers rushed into the church and introduced pernicious heresies denying that the Lord bought their freedom, and many followed their perdition. And through them the way of truth was blasphemed by many people. God, however, is the avenger of justice and truth. Two weapons of justice He provided for the dissolution of the haughtiness of the heretics: on the one hand the teachers of the church, in order to eradicate (send to hell) the error with Holy Synods and with writings of their own; on the other, the Orthodox rulers, in order to secure them with endurance. Whence, the pious emperors because of this very reason convoked the Holy Synods in order to decide on the arising controversies, and they gave validity to the decisions with imperial rescripts, with edicts, with epistles, with orders and with other kinds of endeavor. In our times, the Blessed Basile Voevod exposed and put to shame the mixture of heresies, I say, the ungodliness of Calvin, when he convoked the Synod in Jassy and when he ordered the blessed Meletius Syrigos to write the present book for their [the Calvinists] final annihilation. Even though in the church the need was felt for this edition, it happens now due to reasons of necessity it remained as a deed for Your Highness to bring it to light, making it go to print, and to be a its supporter, by giving it as a present to the whole Church.²⁴

The parallel to Alexius I Comenus, who commissioned his theologian Zigabenus to compile the PD as a final refutation of the Bogomil heresy, might appear plausible and yet far fetched had Dositheos not continued

his address. Further on he claims that the anti-heresy position of Constantin Brâncoveanu was a logical continuation of the deeds of his noble ancestors from his mother's side, the imperial families of Comneni and Cantacuzeni.²⁵ He mentions five rulers as predecessors to the ruler: John II, Manuel I, John Cantacuzene, Matheus Cantacuzene. None other than Emperor Alexius I is then introduced as a founding father of the dynasty and a forerunner of Constantin Brâncoveanu and is said to have fought outstandingly (δυνατός) for the faith. His activities pertaining to Orthodoxy and the fight against heresy are highlighted. And immediately after the well-known episode of the burning of Basile the Bogomil at the hippodrome in Constantinople, a word of praise is offered to the PD. Alexius "ordered Euthymius Zigabenus and participated in the compiling against each heresy of the PD [Dogmatic Armory], the most beautiful book which is to exist in the Church".²⁶ Patriarch Dositheos goes on to fashion the subsequent rulers from which Brâncoveanu claims to share bloodlines and also places emphasis on their religious policy.

All this serves to prove that the parallel between Comneni and the Voivods of the Danubian Principalities does not exist by chance and it was still important for the seventeenth century ruler to be invested with the traditional image of the Champion of Orthodoxy – so much so that Dositheos invents the troublesome connection between the Comneni Dynasty from the twelfth century, the Moldavian ruler Vasile Lupu²⁷ (1634-1653), who organized the Synod in Jassy, and the family of Constantin Brâncoveanu, who supported the *Against Calvin* edition. A quick look at history shows that Lupu was in fact the ruler of Moldavia who waged war against neighboring Wallachia, which was equally strong at that time under the rule of Matei Basarab (1632-1654).

Leaving aside this discrepancy, Patriarch Dositheos repeats one statement twice in the text, and not by chance, namely that those imperial predecessors of Brâncoveanu are commemorated in the Synodicon of Orthodoxy, because they acted not only with political but also with ecclesiastic power (αὐτοκράτορες, βασιλεῖς - ἀρχιερεῖς) following Constantine the Great.²⁸ Naturally, Dositheos was implying that Constantin Brâncoveanu might be honored in a similar way by posterity. The Patriarch's wishes were not fulfilled and Brâncoveanu was killed in Constantinople, in 1714, together with his four sons. Nonetheless, this account may help us understand better the role played by the Emperor in the commissioning of the PD and the change that occurred in terms of the new position of the Great Church during Ottoman rule.

The Church during the Comneni is blamed for becoming more dependent on the will of the Emperors, who provided strong ecclesiastic organization but deprived it of spiritual leadership. The PD would not have existed today had Alexius I not requested it from his court theologians.²⁹ This statement is perfectly correct. However, the interference of the Emperor did not undermine in any way the authority of the PD, but rather added much dignity and prestige. In the eyes of posterity, the anthology was seen as one of the different far-sighted initiatives of the Comneni. This supports the view of Michael Angold that the strong ecclesiastic establishment of Comneni was crucial for the very survival of Orthodoxy after the fall of the Empire. When the Great Church had to face the new responsibilities as a representative of all Orthodoxy in the Ottoman Empire, the strong and centered organization created by the Comneni was ready to take on the new challenge. The PD fits precisely into this context. It was one of those imperial initiatives of the Comneni that became the embodiment of the tradition of the Oecoumene and gave Alexius I his name as a Champion of Orthodoxy. The popularity of the PD in the following centuries is sign that Alexius had done nothing wrong when he urged the Constantinopolitan theologians to compile the book.³⁰ The effects of this far sighted policy of the Comneni were still visible in the seventeenth century, when it remained a matter of importance to follow the Comnenian example – so much so that the image of Vasile Lupu and “his” theologian, Meletius Syrigos, is fashioned after the model of Alexius I Comnenus and his theologian, Euthymius Zigabenus. But this time the balance was changed and, despite the assertions of Dositheos, the story reversed – the initiative behind the PD came not from the ruler but from ecclesiastic circles.

Patriarch Dositheos is equally gifted as theologian and historian. He is also famous for his passionate defense of Orthodoxy. Thus, we might ask how far his testimony is of importance as evidence for the PD or whether it was just an image created by the zealous Patriarch who flattered Constantin Brâncoveanu while pursuing his own agenda.

As proof that this is not the case we find other references that portray Basile Lupu as a Byzantine emperor and confirm that he was indeed presented as a defender of Orthodoxy, just like Alexius I Comnenus. These references were collected by Iorga who concluded that Lupu “had reached and even superseded the Byzantine Emperors”.³¹ Among the most telling examples is the letter from the representatives of the Synod of Jassy to Vasile Lupu in which the ruler is called “defender of the

Church and true destroyer of heresies".³² Undoubtedly, Vasile Lupu must have spotted his chance in the Synod of Jassy to act as a Defender of Orthodoxy. Patriarch Dositheos does not fail to interpret the events in precisely this light and to make the commissioning of anti-heretical books one of the duties of the Orthodox ruler, whether Alexius I, Vasile Lupu, George Dukas or Constantin Brâncoveanu.

Reference by Meletius Syrigos in connection with the Synod of Jassy, 1642

Naturally, the activities of Cyril Lucaris aroused spirits much earlier in the course of the seventeenth century. The aim of the Synod in Jassy convoked by Vasile Lupu in 1642 was to condemn the *Confessio* of Lucaris and to elaborate a unanimous position of the Orthodox Church against the advancing propaganda of Protestantism. The next reference to the PD comes in relation to this Synod and from the book which Patriarch Dositheos had described as a kind of new *Panoplia*, which was given as a commission by the Moldavian ruler to his theologian, Meletius Syrigos. Meletios³³ was a religious adviser to Vasile Lupu and perhaps the most educated opponent of Cyril Lucaris. As representative of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch, he took the leading role in the Synod of Jassy and translated the famous Confession by Mogila³⁴ from Latin into Greek. The refutation of Meletius against Lucaris was the first part in the Bucharest volume of 1690. Syrigos was among the most educated men of his time and it thus comes as no surprise that he knows and quotes the PD. What is surprising, however, is the way in which he chooses to quote it.

This reference comes in connection to the IZ chapter of Cyril, "in which is rejected the actual presence of the Lord and the transformation of bread and wine into the body and blood of the Lord". This, in fact, is the problem of the transubstantiation, which formed a major theme in the disputes between the theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth century.³⁵ Syrigos provides a total refutation of Lucaris' *Confessio*, with several counter arguments, Biblical quotations and argumentation from the Patristic authorities in which he shows his thorough knowledge of the Patristic legacy authors. The testimonies of the Church Fathers proceed in generations, and each generation is measured as a hundred years. Thus, in the first generation we have Ignatios of Antioch and Dionysius

the Areopagite. In the twelfth generation, that is to say the twelfth century, comes Zigabenus together with Salomonas of Gaza. The account finishes with the fifteenth generation, presented by Meletius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Maxime Margounius, and Gabriel of Philadelphia.

Before coming to the quotation from Zigabenus and the PD, another detail deserves our attention. In this chapter of refutation, Meletius (un)consciously falls into the pattern of composition on which the PD and other anti-heretical books were based. This illustrates the depths of the tradition in the fight against heresy in which there is a panoply of authors arranged chronologically. But among the continuity, discontinuity is also visible. The authors are paraphrased and not quoted. As far as I am aware, it still goes unnoticed that in the original PD the order of excerpts from patristic authors in each chapter roughly corresponds to the solemn illustrations of Cod Vat Gr 666, the MS which might be the signature from the twelfth century. The Church fathers in this MS are waiting to give their works to the Emperor, arranged chronologically in terms of the period in which they lived, and the same logic is behind most of the chapters of Zigabenus. Thus, when, for example, excerpts from Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite are used as a refutation in a given chapter, these excerpts are always the ones to open the entry, just as the Areopagite will be the first to give his scroll to the Emperor in Vat. Gr. 666. In similar vein, Syrigos gives precedence to authors believed to have lived in the Apostolic times and, of course, the Areopagite is at the forefront.

After this necessary *transgressio*, we can return to the account by Meleitus Sirigos of Zigabenus. What follows is a translation of the entire entry on the PD, albeit the first part is not of general interest at this moment. Syrigos starts with a quotation from the *Commentary to the Gospel*,³⁶ another work also written by the court theologian to Alexius I.

During these times there flourished a certain Zigabenus, a most educated man, who says such words in his commentary on Mathew, in the KS chapter. He didn't say these are [semadia] symbols of my body and my blood, but these are my body and blood. And a little further [in the text]. Just as He deified the flesh, which He took on (if it is right to say "deified" because He didn't make divine the flesh according to nature) the other things pertaining to his life-giving body are also beyond words. And also in the *Panoplia*, in the KA chapter, he [Zigabenus] demonstrates extensively from the church fathers, who are Gregory of Nyssa and John of Damascus, the transformation [transubstantiation] of the bread and the

wine into the body and the blood of Christ. Because at that time in parts of Greece and the East there began to be heard the heresy of Berengar. This heresy had its beginning in Italy from the 1050 [AD]. Somehow, it grew also branches to those who inherited it and brought even to our lifetime the odor of death. And its ungodly and most defiled tongue then said that the body of Christ is not present in the Eucharist in the way in which the thing signified is out of the thing which is signifying and the depicted living man is in the dead image of him so that it is never possible to be the true body of God in the Eucharist, but the bread and wine remain again in their own nature. This late opinion – that to be about the bread and the body of Christ – was inherited by those named after Luther and they made this teaching their own, maintaining it until today. Because of this the fathers who were living at that time refuted it with most clear arguments, when they wanted to make manifest the mystery. And in a similar way the next generations to refute the impious opinions and words of those heretics.³⁷

At first sight this account adds one more heresy coeval with the compilation of the PD. It could form part of my future research, though some caution must be exercised given the anti-Calvinist bias of the author. A clue that a part of the PD might be related to the teaching of Berengar would offer the unique possibility to suggest that the PD refutes a movement which was a problem for the Western Church at the time the PD was compiled in Byzantium.³⁸ Taking into account the unstable relations between Byzantium and the West under Alexius I shortly after the First Crusade, the “Berengar clue” is very tempting because it implies another position of Constantinople and Rome, one much more flexible and ambiguous than is perceived nowadays. In order to prove or discard this theory, however, the early manuscripts of the PD must be examined. As we shall see later, the chapter Syrigos quotes is a problematic place in the PD *Corpus*. But whatever the case with the movement of Berengar, Syrigos’ account already anticipates a future edition of the PD. It provides one of the reasons to publish this anthology: the Orthodox theologians in the seventeenth century saw in it a refutation of Berengar, whom they considered a forerunner of Luther and Calvin. It should be noted that Berengar was often mentioned by Syrigos and by the theologians of the time.³⁹ As we shall see from the next reference, the PD became attractive not only because of the Berengar chapter, but also because of the parts against the Iconoclasts and the dualist heretics from the twelfth century, who were also considered forerunners of Calvinism.

Indirect reference in connection with the Synod of Jerusalem, 1692

The Synod of 1692 was again convoked by Dositheos in order to condemn his personal enemy, Caryophyllis.⁴⁰ Leaving aside the personal enmities, the Synod was provoked once again by the heritage of Cyril Lucaris and his controversial connection to the Calvinists. Caryophyllis, a disciple of Corydalleos and, therefore, an adherent of Lucaris, had to confront once more the powerful reaction Lucaris' ideas were continuing to cause in the Orthodox Church at the time. During all stages of this bitter confrontation, Patriarch Dositheos exploits the traditional patterns against heretics employed by the Orthodox Church. On the Sunday of Orthodoxy in 1692, the Patriarch publicly tore apart the condemned book by Caryophyllis. Later on, Dositheos wrote a treatise against Caryophyllis in which he presented his enemy as having the typical features of a heretic. This book came out just two years after the death of Caryophyllis, who died in Wallachia after having taken asylum at the court of Constantin Brâncoveanu. The next reference to the PD, albeit indirectly, comes from this refutation of Caryophyllis published in Jassy in 1694.⁴¹

In the prologue Dositheos notes that every heretic is a hypocrite and presents his adversary Caryophyllis in terms reminiscent of the behavior of a Bogomil adherent pretending to be Orthodox in order to escape further prosecution. The scene in which Caryophyllis is officially questioned over his Orthodoxy resembles the much quoted episode in which Emperor Alexius outwitted Basile the Bogomil, exposed him as a hypocrite heretic and, in connection with the trial, commissioned the *Panoplia*. Patriarch Dositheos, a theologian and historian of equal merit, is apparently alluding to this famous episode, though he doesn't mention it directly. The Patriarch is quick to conclude that Caryophyllis "was caught that he is from the heresy of Berengar and Calvin and the madness of the Manichees..." To a question why he doesn't believe in the teaching and the glory (doxa) of the church, Caryophyllis "anathemises those who are not inscribed in the teaching of the Church". Dositheos notes, somewhat ironically, that Caryophyllis thought that the Catholic church had the same teaching "as Symeon Vasilides, the Gnostics, Marcion, Ebion, the Manichees, the Messalians, the Bogomils, the Iconoclast Synod in Blachernae, set up during the rule of Copronymos, Berengar, Calvin, Luther, Lucaris, Corydalleos, and the teaching of his own and these companions".⁴²

Some of the ancient heresies mentioned are present in the anthology of Zigabenus and reading this text might explain why the PD has been so popular over the centuries, even if it refuted only those heresies known up until the twelfth century. At work in this case is the ancient practice of ascribing to new religious movements what was already known of older heresies. This also shows that the separation of the chapters in the anthology was not always considered as important as the diffusion between them, because some of the heresies were considered to have common views.⁴³ In the example quoted it is not the distinction but the common features of the different heresies that provide the continuity that makes it possible to connect the heretic movements of the early Christian period with Berengar and the teachings of Lucaris.

Old chapters against new enemies

The expression "*migma pasis kakias*" – mixture of every evil – could be applied to almost every heresy. The same expression is repeated in connection with the Bogomils by Symeon of Thessaloniki,⁴⁴ whose treatise *Against Heresies* was published for first time in Romania in 1683 by the renowned intellectual of the time John Comnenus Molivdos. The whole structure of this treatise is based on the PD, or a later re-working of the PD, and, according to Symeon the Bogomils, was a modified off-shoot of the Iconoclasts. From what we know, it appears that the Manicheans, Paulistians, Messalians, Bogomils, and even the Iconoclasts were conceived in the seventeenth century as forerunners of the Protestants, and therefore these chapters could be used effectively against them, and this was a strong reason behind the decision to publish the PD. The strongest argument was voiced by Meletius Syrigos, who pointed out that in a separate chapter the PD refutes Berengar, who was considered a forerunner of the Protestants.

Even if the Calvinist activities and the legacy of Cyril Lucaris were the strongest reasons for the publication of the PD, the chapter against the Latins was also seen as a welcome text in the seventeenth century given the danger of Unia in Transylvania. Potentially, some other chapters could also be used against "enemies" of Orthodoxy and this question touches on the attitude shown to the "others" in the Romanian Principalities. The entry "Against the Armenians" might have been read against the Armenians of the time. At least, this is suggested by the MS

604(262) from Library of the Romanian Academy, which is an anti-heretical miscellany against the Armenians and Latins dating from the sixteenth century.⁴⁵ The provenance of this MS might be connected with Moldova, where in 1551 there was an act of persecution against the Armenians that was never repeated. During the following century, in the years 1683-85, Armenians emigrated from Moldova to Transylvania because of war and not persecution. From approximately the same period comes data about the Paulitians in the Romanian Principalities. During the Middle Ages these Paulitians were settled by the Byzantine Emperors in the region near the modern town of Plovdiv (Bulgaria). Over the course of time some converted to Catholicism or Islam⁴⁶ and took part in a revolt against the Ottoman Empire, as a result of which they emigrated to the Romanian Principalities. Although plausible, I am yet to find any direct testimony proving that the chapters against the Paulitians and the Armenians in the PD were read against these groups. Naturally, the question of the chapter against the Jews also deserves attention, given that in 1715, five years after the publication of the PD, there appears perhaps the first data about a pogrom against the Jews in which their Synagogue was destroyed in Bucharest.

The popularity of the PD during the seventeenth century shows the practice of the fight against new religious movements in their relation to heresies of the past in full swing. Scholars face enormous difficulties in distinguishing the peculiarities of each movement in this practice, but then this is exactly what made books like the PD classics in the fight against heresy. Three of the accounts on the PD come from Patriarch Dositheos and books he printed in the Romanian Principalities. The sources of that period probably contain more references to the PD, and not only in Greek, as yet undiscovered by me. However, the testimonies of Dositheos anticipate the Greek Târgoviște edition of 1710, and the story of the people who published this volume suggests that the restless Patriarch not only gave inspiration to the enterprise through his activities but also had some direct involvement in this edition, which was published three years after his death. If this can be proved then the words of the Patriarch quoted here would have the weight of a first hand account of the reason to publish the PD and would connect it directly with the Calvinist and Catholic propaganda in South-Eastern Europe.

The Târgoviște Edition of 1710

The title of the printed PD mentions as patrons of the edition Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu, his son Stefan and two Metropolitans, Antim the Metropolitan of Hungo-Wallachia and Athanasius of Silistra. The short coeval verses of dedication are followed by the address of Athanasius of Silistra to the ruler of Wallachia Constantin Brâncoveanu. Then, as in a dyptich, come the opening pages of the PD from the twelfth century with the original dedicatory verses and the address to the Emperor Alexius Comnenus.⁴⁷ The clue for the possible connection of this edition of the PD with the Patriarchate of Jerusalem comes from the life and activities of the man directly responsible for the quality of the published text: the hieromonk Metrophanes Gregoras of Dodone.

The immediacy of the accounts on Metrophanes Gregoras show a somewhat unexpected picture of this monk, who was born in Northern Greece and led a life characterized by travel, adventure and even a miracle. He must have been a notable character among the men of letters at the court of Constantin Brâncoveanu, where he spent the last period of his life and edited seven books of superb quality. Contrary to all expectations, Metrophanes enjoyed the wine, the play of table and was heavily addicted to cigarettes. At least this is the picture provided by Nicolae Mavrocordat, who knew Metrophanes personally and even wrote a treatise "Against Tobacco", which Metrophanes answered with a parallel work entitled "Speech for Tobacco". (Mavrocordat replied in turn with a further treatise against the tobacco.)

Despite being a heavy smoker, Metrophanes reached the Patriarchal age of hundred and four years and was mentioned in several accounts of his contemporaries. In treating these accounts, however, a certain amount of caution must be exercised because there were at least two other Metrophanes at this time in the Romanian Principalities: Metrophanes the bishop of Buzău, who was also a well known editor, and Metrophanes of Nyssa, the confessor of Brâncoveanu who became the Metropolitan of Hungro-Wallachia after the death of his predecessor, Antim of Iviron.⁴⁸

Demetrius Procopius gives the following brief description, which fits entirely with what we might expect from the editor of a monumental book like the PD: "Metrophanes Gregoras of Dodone: skilled in the Greek language, educated in secular learning as well as in our sacred education, poet and hierokeryx; reads and studies the sacred Scriptures and the holy writings of the Church Fathers".⁴⁹ A first hand testimony is given by

Daponte, who recalls a meeting with Metrophanes, who by then was already laden with years:

At the age of twenty eight or twenty nine, I went to Bucharest in the month of June, 1730, at the time Mihail Racoviță Bogdan was a ruler, ten months after the great zorbaliki(?), which deposed Sultan Ahmed and imposed Sultan Mahmud; I got to know Metrophanes, and when talking with him he told me that he was one hundred and four years old, and not a long time afterwards he passed away.⁵⁰

In his account Daponte also provides a list of the services to Saints, written by Metrophanes, several verses (including one on the dangerous charms of love), and a letter to Nicolae Mavrocordat in which Metrophanes explains how due to sickness he is unable to write verses for a book by Nicolae.

He not only had a long but also an adventurous life, even including a miracle that took place on the eve of St. Demetrius' Feast in 1687.⁵¹ In a first hand narrative Metrophanes describes how the Patriarch of Constantinople, Jacob, (presumably during his third term as Patriarch, i.e. 1687-1688) sent him on a mission to Macedonia together with some younger companions during a turbulent time of power struggles in Constantinople. Suddenly awakened at midnight, Metrophanes and his companions were dragged to a prison and accused of being Austrian spies intending to betray the region to the Austrians. When the local judge saw the patriarchal seal, he refused to pass any judgment citing insufficient evidence. The accusers rushed to the neighboring villages and gathered around fourteen people ready to give false testimony. Thus, in less than twenty four hours, Metrophanes found himself condemned to death. During what he presumed to be the last night of his life, the future editor of the PD recalls how he fell to his knees with "hot prayers and tears", when suddenly, around midnight; St. Demetrius appeared to him in his cell riding a red horse and said that God has given life to Metrophanes. Of course, a happy ending was to follow soon afterwards: a man arrived, unlocked the cell door, provided a horse, and Metrophanes and his young companions were saved during the night before the Feast of St. Demetrius. As a token of gratitude Metrophanes later wrote a service to St. Demetrius. The story is made up of common motives and shows another facet of the reality in which the people of the time most likely lived. Metrophanes appears to be describing his vision of St. Demetrius,

as he had probably seen him on an icon, riding a red horse. The allegation that he was a spy for Austria can be explained in terms of the 1682-1699 war between the Ottoman Empire and Austria, which involved the second siege of Vienna in 1683 and the final peace of Sremski Karlovci (Karlovitz, Karlóca) in 1699. In the year in question (1687) the Ottomans had lost Eger and the second battle of Mohacs to Austria. The internal problems of the Empire mentioned in the account fit well with the chronology, because this year saw sultan Mehmed IV (1648-1687) deposed and the coming to power of Süleyman II (1687-1691). However, the question as to what kind of mission Patriarch Jacob sent Metrophanes on to Macedonia remains something of an enigma. The connection between the monk and the Patriarch might also be revealing because the list of patriarchs of Constantinople shows how Jacob exchanged the position of Patriarch three times with Dionysius IV and how apparently there was a certain division in Constantinople in which Metrophanes may also have been involved.⁵²

The important historical events of the time had their repercussions for the life of Metrophanes, and the abundant material, which also includes some interesting letters, allows us to write a micro-history of life in the Ottoman Empire as presented by this educated Greek monk. However, such a task can not be attempted here, with the exception of a few significant details. As a man of letters, Metrophanes possessed a library, and two MSS bear his name as owner.⁵³ One of these MSS preserves his *ex libris* – appended to a text by Corydalleos – together with a historical note from the years in which Köprülü Grand Vezir Mustafa (son of Mehmed) (1689-1691) was in power.

Living in Wallachia, Metrophanes witnessed the tumultuous years which followed the killing of Constantin Brâncoveanu and his four sons by the janissaries in Constantinople. He wrote a short chronicle describing the downfall of Brâncoveanu, the rule of Stephan Cantacuzene (1714-1715), followed by the accession of the first Phanariote ruler of Wallachia Nicolae Mavrocordat (1715-1716).⁵⁴ The chronicle is dedicated to the next ruler, John Mavrocordat (1716-1719).

Above all, however, Metrophanes is best known as an editor. In the period 1705-1715 (or 1721) he edited seven books in Wallachia, all in Greek and differing in content, but all of an ecclesiastical nature and of outstanding quality, and in most cases containing his own verses of dedication. As editor Metrophanes was part of the printing team of Antim of Iviron, the greatest name in book printing at the time and who made

contributions reaching far beyond the confines of the Romanian Principalities. Undoubtedly, Metrophanes knew Antim personally, even writing a service to St. Antim on his request. Antim quickly advanced in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and, not wishing to abandon book printing, moved his printing activities to the places of his new appointments. Following Antim, Metrophanes worked as editor in Bucharest, Râmnic and Târgoviște. A close examination of the books edited by Metrophanes reflects the change in climate around 1710 after the appointment of Antim as Metropolitan of Hungro-Wallachia. The new Metropolitan entered into conflict with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Chrysantos Notaras, over the possession of the monasteries in the Principalities under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Metrophanes sided with Chrysantos and edited his last two books under the patronage of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. A review of the books edited by Metrophanes might help us understand more about the PD and its context.⁵⁵

These books will be presented here together with some short notes on the historical background and connection, if any, to the PD. A certain amount of caution must be exercised, however, because such a detailed approach could result in an erroneous view of Metrophanes and exaggerate his role in the Romanian Principalities. In order to be honest, we need to underline that he, a man who was highly professional and precise in his work, was one of the most educated men involved in book printing at the time. His task was described as *epimeleia kai diorthosei* – “care and correction” – which implies that he was responsible both for the technical merit and the quality of the editions.

The Service to Saint Vessarion, Bucharest, 1705

The first book of hieromonk Metrophanes Gregoras of Dodone appeared on 2 April 1705, when the *Service to Saint Vessarion*⁵⁶ was published in Bucharest. St. Vessarion, the bishop of Larissa (c. 1490-1540), was a very important saint because of his miracles against the plague.⁵⁷ I was not by chance that the book has undergone several reprints. At first glance, a service to a saint should not be connected in any way with the belligerent spirit of an anti-heretical anthology such as the PD. Nonetheless, the common editor of the volumes is not the only connection between the books. It suffices to read the epigram on page 26 dedicated to St. Vessarion,

which has the telling title “by Metrophanes against the sacrilegious papists” and probably refers to a case of *furta sacra* – “theft of pieces from the relics of the Saint” .⁵⁸

Tomos Haras, Râmnic, 1705

In the same year, some six months later, there appeared the next editorial work from Mithrophanes from the printing press in Râmnic, where Antim was a bishop at the time. This was the famous *Tomos Haras*,⁵⁹ which, despite the ironic name, was an answer to the Act of Union with the Catholic Church by a portion of Romanian Orthodox clergy in Transylvania in 1700.⁶⁰ Naturally, the tone of this volume is belligerent, and this, in fact, is one of the famous editions by Patriarch Dositheos, who also wrote a detailed prologue on the relations between East and West during Photius (α verso-τυ recto) and yet another commentary on the Synod of Photius, which were inserted in the main body of the book (103-134).⁶¹ This second commentary is a fragment of perhaps the most famous work of Dositheos, *History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem*,⁶² a history of the Church from the early days of Christianity up to the personal experience of Dositheos as the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Metrophanes was also the editor of this famous book. That a fragment of the *History* was published in *Tomos Haras* suggests that in 1705 Metrophanes had already received the manuscript of this important book, which he published some ten years later. *Tomos Haras* itself had attracted much attention, but here it also provides a probable direct connection between the leader of the Orthodox Dositheos and Metrophanes.

Being responsible for the publication of *Tomos Haras*, Metrophanes didn't miss the opportunity to make his own humble contribution to the spiritual fight of the Orthodox through two short epigrams addressed to Constantin Brâncoveanu and Patriarch Dositheos. He finishes the address to Constantin Brâncoveanu with a comparison between the fight against heresy and the Lernean Hydra, the nine-headed monster killed by Heracles. Given that it is not possible to treat in detail all the dedicatory verses by Metrophanes, this epigram will be used as an illustration of this side of his editorial work. The epigram was placed under the coat of arms of Constantin Brâncoveanu and read as follows:

If you truly urge me to sing of the man, ruler and father,
Give me another leader similar to him
And I will extol for you that ruler
If you are not able to do so. But my spirit leads me
To turn to this very outstanding sovereign with praises.
Rejoice love with the leader of the sacred people
Pride of the cities in Hungro-Wallachia, the bravest of all
You most sweet son of the famous wisdom
Constantine the Greatest Most Serene Basarab
May you have life for many circles of the sun
Because you didn't kill the Hydra of Heracles
But adorned your fatherland with printing
Destroying the heresy of the blasphemous pope-idolaters
Brâncoveanu, Basarab, glory of the pious.

The English translation does not fully render the mixture of rare and ancient words with the clichés in the writing of Metrophanes. The metaphor of the Hydra seems to be *locus communis* and the Wallachian Prince Radu Brâncoveanu also employs it in eulogy to Dositheos.⁶³ To the classical imagery one might add the comparison of Meletius Syrigos in the above mentioned *Against Calvin*, in which the man who is able to tackle all the heresies is expected to have the sharp eye of none other than Lynceus, the hero who helped the Agronauts in their search for the Golden Fleece.⁶⁴ References to mythology and rhetoric are yet another aspect in the fight against the heretics. Leaving aside any parallels reaching back to Byzantium, it suffices here to understand the odd comparison, which was employed for the PD in 1710. In the prologue, written in heavy and artificial Greek, Athanasius of Silistra compares the dogmatic *Panoply* of Alexius with the shield of Achilles, as described in *Iliad*.⁶⁵ This comparison is not successful simply because Athanasius is not precise when saying that Achilles received only a shield while Alexius is equipped with a whole armory. However, this parallel might also be revealing, because it comes back to the ever-present pattern which made princess Anna Comnena give the historical account of her father the title *Alexiad*, in a clear reference to the *Iliad*.

Biblos with all the services of the Church 1709, Târgoviște

This is an essential edition with the *Liturgies and Services*⁶⁶ to be read in the Church throughout the ecclesiastic year. It was initiated by Antim of Iviron, who also wrote the prologue to the book. Metrophanes left a colophon in the main body of the edition where some blank space was left at the end of the Pentecostarion. This colophon had not been noticed as yet. It is an example of the fluctuation in the shift from manuscripts to printed text, since we have an editor who has left a printed note fashioned in a similar way a scribe would write at the end of a manuscript:

Metrophanes Presbyter Grygoras from Dodone,
 End, Glory to the God in Trinity,
 Who gave strength to my humble mind,
 Both to think right and to correct
 The divine books of the Orthodox
 Whoever of the leaders or the whole clergy
 Delighting in the lois of these books
 All of you, forgive me, if something in the books
 Looks worse than the word good and divine

Willful servant of your love, the most humble among presbyters,
 Metrophanes of Dodone.⁶⁷

Service of Saint Catherine, Târoviște, 1710

Published several months before the PD, this edition of the *Service to St. Catherine*⁶⁸ again shows that Metrophanes had certain affiliations with the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The tradition of close relations between the Romanian Principalities and the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai began in the sixteenth century and was strictly respected, especially by the Wallachian princes. On the other hand, Dositheos, as Patriarch of Jerusalem, was also in close contact with Sinai. Thus, this small and very elegant book had a strong reason to be published exactly at that time and place. As supporters of the edition we can mention only the ruler Constantin Brâncoveanu and the Metropolitane Antim. The book again contains verses of dedication by Metrophanes, to the Voievod, the Metropolitan and St. Catherine.

Panoplia Dogmatike, Târoviște, May, 1710

Seen in the context of the other books by Metrophanes, it becomes apparent that the PD was the last edition made in close collaboration with Antim of Ivron. The summer of the same year saw the start of the conflict with Antim and the next Patriarch of Jerusalem, Chrysanthos Notaras, who was also a nephew of Dositheos. Metrophanes, who already had some affiliation to Jerusalem, took the side of Chrysanthos and from this moment onwards edited only books commissioned by Chrysanthos. The PD came out some months before the escalation of the conflict. Given the fact that for five years Metrophanes had edited one of the important books of Dositheos, it is plausible that the PD was also connected in some way to Jerusalem.

Syntagmation, Bucharest, 1715

This time the supporter of the edition⁶⁹ was the next Patriarch of Jerusalem, Chrysanthos. Metrophanes dedicated some verses of dedication to him and the new ruler of Wallachia, Stephan Cantacuzene (1714-1715). It is worth noting that this book contains Cyrillic script for the Slavic names used, and the Cyrillic script is also present in the last book, which has its lengthy title rendered also in Slavic in parallel with the Greek.

History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, or Dodekabyblos, 1715-1722

This history, known by the short title *Dodekabyblos*, is a monumental work for the entire period.⁷⁰ It was written by Patriarch Dositheos and represents not only the history of Jerusalem but also the History of the Christian Church from the early times to Christianity until the time of Patriarch Dositheos. In the last part of the book Dositheos gives a first hand account of the troubled time of his own term as Patriarch of Jerusalem. The edition of this huge work is a story in itself. This story is traced by Kournoutos in an excellent way. Chrysanthos Notaras commissioned Metrophanes with this posthumous edition by Patriarch Dositheos. At the time “poor Metrophanes”, as Kournoutos puts it, must have been around eighty-five years old. Both his poor health and the

political changes in the Principality prolonged work on the edition by more than five years. Chysanthos, who was extremely well versed in the craft of book printing, played an active role in the edition and maintained correspondence with Metrophanes, a part of which has been preserved and gives a moving insight into Metrophanes, who, partially paralyzed and in bed, continued with the work at the request of the Patriarch.

In this work Dositheos makes another mention of the PD, which was written before its publication in 1710 but appeared after it and therefore deserves to be noted here. Although heavily dependent on the account by Anna Comnena in the *Alexiad*, Dositheos highlights the fruitful source for the heretic movements, which is to be found in the Byzantine canon law texts such as Balsamon.⁷¹

An illustration of the subsequent distribution of the books edited by Metrophanes might be given by Cod BAR 1052.⁷² Dating from the eighteenth century (1725 on f. 2), this manuscript is a catalogue of the books *for personal use* belonging to Constantin Mavrocordat.⁷³ Even though this inventory is not full, it contains three books edited by Metrophanes: *Tomos Haras*, the *Syntagmation*, and *The History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem*. By chance, the same editions show that Metrophanes had a clear affiliation with Dositheos and Chysanthos, who supported these books as Patriarchs of Jerusalem. The presence of these volumes in the library of Mavrocordat shows that they were not apparently of primary interest, but were a requisite of a good library collection.

Although the main burden of the editorial work was carried out by Metrophanes Gregoras, this edition of the PD was the result of the efforts of a group of people who contributed to the best of their capacity. All Wallachian editions of that time mention the ruler Constantin Brâncoveanu, and therefore it is not possible to draw any conclusions as to any direct involvement on the basis of the title page. The mention of his son, Stephen, however, deserves further investigation, because he had literary interests and was himself an author of several works printed at the time.⁷⁴ The sponsor Athanasius, the Metropolitan of Silistra, is recorded in history mainly for his contribution to this book. As the Metropolitan of a town with a Turkish garrison, he preferred to avoid any possible tensions and spent much of his time at the court of Constantin Brâncoveanu. On the other hand, the court of Brâncoveanu was an attractive center for many other theologians and men of letters who came to Wallachia from different places.⁷⁵ In the year of the edition Athanasius was in Istanbul. A connection of the edition to Istanbul is provided by the

authors of the dedicatory verses, two of whom were teachers at the Patriarchal Academy in Phanar. Three short verses – in praise of Brâncoveanu, Athanasius and the book – came from the hand of less well known people. Nonetheless, the information found in the edition provides one more small detail about the milieu of the PD. These authors are mentioned as “deacon Ioannikius Khadzi” and “the learned man George Khadzithanu”. The title of *khadzi*, when added to the names of the Orthodox Christians, is always used to indicate a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher. The honor which this title brought with it is still remembered today, and the addition of word to the family name of a pilgrim is still, albeit rarely, used in some parts of the region.

Procopius has left an account of Antonius and Churmuzious, the other authors of the verses who were both teachers at the Constantinopolitan School. Behind this account we find a family tragedy: these two men turn out to be brothers and premature death ends both their promising careers. Procopius is concise in his account:

Antonius Byzantius – a teacher at the Constantinopolitan School, a man of letters, diligent and industrious, experienced in the Greek language, educated in secular learning as well as sacred education – would have made a great contribution as a man responsible for youth wishing to pursue philology, had he not passed away quite so young.

Churmuzious Byzantius – brother of Antonius, no lesser in virtue and education – who had traveled to Italy and listened to the learned men in Padua, also became a teacher at the Constantinopolitan School and would have been no less useful to his disciples as a lecturer if premature death had not cut his life short.⁷⁶

Alterations to the content of the edition

Knowing that some heresies in the anthology were read in the seventeenth century as forerunners of Calvinism and the editor of PD was writing fervent verses against the Catholics, the question arises as to how far the printed text followed the contents of the PD as attested in the manuscript tradition. In other words, which manuscripts were used for the edition and to what extent are they representative for the text of the PD? At this stage, I am unable to provide a definite answer. A collation between the printed text and Cod. Vat. Gr. 666, dating from the twelfth century and containing the first volume of the PD, shows that the editors

in Târgoviște did an excellent job. Here I can provide only preliminary notes on the second volume of the PD as attested in Cod. Gr. 297 from the National Library of Greece,⁷⁷ also dating from the twelfth century. The printed text in this edition is very close to the early MS of the twelfth century and the large number of excerpts is precisely rendered. Nonetheless, there are two significant interventions and, in the context of seventeenth century, this edition of the PD provides two new chapters, which, as far as can be ascertained, were not attested in the early manuscripts. These interventions provide yet further proof that the PD was used as a real weapon in the fight against the Catholics and the Calvinists, and therefore the anthology was equipped with individual chapters against the Latins and a chapter on transubstantiation.

Separate chapter against the Latins

In the Târgoviște edition, reprinted in the PG, there is a short chapter attributed to Patriarch Photius.⁷⁸ In the early Cod. Gr. 297 the chapter against the Latins (ff. 116 verso-118 recto) is denoted as a subchapter or, more precisely, an appendix.⁷⁹ It is called both in the table of contents (f.185 recto) and the main text (ff. 228 verso-230 recto). Without a thorough study of the manuscript tradition, it is not possible to reach any conclusions, however this important alteration must have appeared much earlier than the Târgoviște edition. The evidence on the “moving chapter” comes from the only known copy of the Slavonic translation of the PD, dating from the fourteenth century and stored at the Library of the Romanian Academy under BAR MS Slav 296. The text against the Latins is labeled there as chapter (f. 116 verso). The translator of the text, or another man of letters, again compared this Slavic translation with another Greek manuscript and noted some differences. For the item “Against Latins” he left a note in the margin stating that this chapter should be a subchapter and the note even provides a definition in Church Slavonic of the Greek word for subchapter.⁸⁰

New chapter on transubstantiation

Collated against MS 297 we see that that the chapter Meletius Syrigos quotes as a direct refutation of Berengar does not exist at all. In MS 297

this is a part of the chapter against the Paulitians (ff. 310 recto-334 recto). The text “About the cross, about the holy baptism and about the transformation of the Lord’s body and blood” is presented simply as a part of this chapter on f. 331 verso. Undoubtedly, this alteration connects the publication of the PD with Calvinist propaganda and the legacy of Cyril Lucaris. Another trace also leads to the context of sixteenth century. The *ex libris* of the manuscript of Ivron contains a note that it belongs to Maximus Margounius (1549-1602), the Greek humanist scholar and later Orthodox Bishop of Cythera who was a leading figure at the time and, being heavily involved in Church affairs, was also connected with Lucaris.⁸¹

As Christian Friedrich Matthäi observed more than two centuries ago, the edition in Tirgoviște is based on the MS or MSS with an abridged version of the PD that omits the chapters against Agnoetos and Origen.⁸² According to Matthäi these short chapters were missing from the large number of manuscripts he consulted, probably because the heresies they refuted appear to have been considered obsolete. The chapter “Against the Saracens” was omitted *timore turcos*. Nonetheless, this *editio princeps* remains of high quality and closely follows the early MSS from the twelfth century.

The first logical step is to search for the MS or MSS of the PD in Romania. As far as I can ascertain, the collection of the Romanian Academy does not include a complete MS that could have been used as *textus receptus* for the edition. Under the communist regime, MSS from different parts of Romania were taken to Bucharest, with the Romanian Academy holding the largest Greek collection. MSS are also kept in the Synodal Library and the National Library of Romania. Which MS or MSS were used as a basis for the edition of the PD becomes an even more obscure question after having studied the period and seen the mobility of the Orthodox theologians and, by logical extension, the texts.

Late MSS that coexisted with the edition

It was a common phenomenon that printed texts coexisted with the manuscript version of the text. Thus, the seventeenth century MSS of the PD, although fragmented and late, also deserve our full attention. Significantly, these are fragments of texts from that part of the PD which could be used against contemporary “enemies”. Thus, MS BAR 587 (667)

in Bucharest contains an as yet unidentified fragment of the PD containing chapters against the Armenians, Pailitians, Bogomils, Saracens (ff). It should be noted that the early manuscripts of the PD also underwent transformations following the new agenda. The pages of the aforementioned Cod. Gr. 297 (12 c.) were restored at the end of the seventeenth century. The restorer, called Zaphiri, added a new colophon (f. 367 verso) that mentioned the Metropolitan of Larissa and Entire Greece and gave the date of 1692. To the subchapter against the Latins Zaphiri was added an ornamented initial letter (f. 228 verso), emphasizing the importance of this text. Another MS – Cod. Gr. 2972 – which belonged to the library of Constantin Mavrocordat Balitza, and is now in The National Library of Greece in Athens, only contains the chapter against the Armenians (ff. 509 verso-517 verso). Finally, the MS in Bucharest – BAR 1300, written in 1765 – speaks directly about the printed edition and one of the chapters it omitted. The chapter against the Saracenes of the PD (ff. 56 recto - 67 verso) is included in this Anti-Islamic anthology together with the explanation that it is not present in the 1710 edition “because of a fear for those who rule over us (God knows their sins)”.⁸³

Conclusion

The research performed in Romania yielded results that went far beyond my initial intentions and the present article represents my first humble attempt to read an authoritative anti-heretic anthology from twelfth-century Byzantium in the historical setting of the Romanian Principalities during seventeenth and eighteenth century. This vantage point clearly shows that the PD was still read as genuine authority in the fight against heresy and the old chapters were read in connection with the new opponents of Orthodoxy. The first and only Greek edition of the PD from Târgoviște was to an equal extent the *Panoplia* of the Orthodox theologians of the seventeenth century as it was the *Panoplia* of the Byzantine Emperor Alexius I Comenus, because this was an edition of outstanding quality with subtle but significant alterations to the content. The PD remained highly authoritative in the Danubian Principalities in the seventeenth century, so much so that some coeval sources fashioned the image of Moldavian Ruler Vasile Lupu and “his” theologian Meletius Syrigos after the model of Alexius I and his court theologian Euthymius Zigabenus. Confronted with the growing influence of the Catholics and

Calvinists in the region, Orthodox leaders once more recruited the PD to religious cause. The abundant material I have found will allow me to continue my research and write a “micro-history” of the book used against heresy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This micro-history should include details of the variations in the content of the PD and the occasions on which the anthology was used. This study has shown how the anthology was reused in at least three important Synods in the seventeenth century – the Synod of Jassy (1642), the Synod of Jerusalem (1672), and the Synod of Constantinople (1692) – and it is highly plausible that it continued to be used during the following century. Inevitably, such an approach touches on the attitude towards other groups in the Romanian Principalities, and indeed the anthology contains chapters against the Jews, Muslims, Armenians, Paulitians and all other groups living together with the Orthodox. In order to create a coherent view this history should also take into consideration sources other than those written in Greek, which have formed the focus of my study until now. The multi-language milieu of the Danubian Principalities needs to be investigated in terms of a Romanian translation of the PD. The collections of the libraries in Bucharest hold a number of Church Slavonic and Russian manuscripts on heresy coeval with the edition of the PD. In addition, research is required into the possible existence of a translation of the anthology into Arabic, since during the seventeenth century the Principalities were in close contact with Syria and printed a number of books in Arabic as an answer to Protestant and Catholic propaganda in the Middle East. Finally, the edition of the PD represented a contribution by rulers and Orthodox leaders connected with the Romanian Principalities to the preservation and continuation of the Orthodox tradition of the fight against heresy – a battle which almost never included direct violence, but always drew on the ancient tradition of anti-heretic texts and anthologies. The problem of heresy and otherness in Byzantium has as yet not been examined in parallel with the Romanian Principalities and needs further research, an undertaking which promises to be a fruitful enterprise.

Abbreviations

BRV: BIANU, N. HODOȘ, D. SIMONESCU, *Bibliografia românească veche (1508-1830)* I-IV, Bucharest, 1903, 1910, 1912, 1944

BH: LEGRAND, É., *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-septième s.*, I-V, Paris, 1894-1896; reprint Paris, 1962

MS, MSS: manuscript, manuscripts

PD: *Panoplia Dogmatike*

PG: *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, ed. J. -P. MIGNE, Paris, J. -P. Migne, 1863

RAS: Romanian Academy (of Science), Bucharest

Picot, Anthime : PICOT, É., "Notice biographique et bibliographique sur l'imprimeur Anthime d'Ivire, métropolitain de Valachie", in *Nouveaux Mélanges Orientaux, Mémoires, textes et traductions publiés par les professeurs de École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes, à l'occasion du VII^e Congrès international des orientalistes réuni à Vienne (Septembre 1886)*, Paris, 1886, pp. 513-560

NOTES

- 1 OBOLENSKY, D., *The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe, 500-1453*. St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, N.Y., 1982; IORGA, N., *Byzantium after Byzantium*, repr. Center for Romanian Studies, Iași, 2000.
- 2 *Euthymii ... orthodoxæ fidei dogmatica Panoplia: hucusque Latinis incognita, et nunc primum per Petrum Franciscum Zinum Vronensem e Græco translata*, Venetiis, 1555. Reprinted in Paris and London the following year. Both editions are available at the Gennadius Library in Athens. In the prolog to the Paris edition, held at the Gennadius Library, Zinus interprets the significance of the PD and the organization of the anthology. Of the importance of PD he writes:
Verum ecclesiae suae non defuit benignissimus Deus. Quemadmodum enim nec per malos philosophos, nec per tyrannos unquam permiserat totam sui cognitionem deleri, ita nec eam perverti a pertinacibus rerum novarum inventoribus et Haereticis passus est, sed magnos semper illis viros opposuit, qui disputationibus, scriptisque suis tanquam gladiis et propugnaculis adversarios confodientes et repellentes, veram Ecclesia doctrinam pietatemque retinuerunt ac defenderunt. Hi Christiane reip. magnopere quidem omnes profuere, sed precipue tamen Euthymius Monachus Zigabenus, qui Alexii Imperatoris iussu non unam, aut alteram, aut paucas haereses, ut reliqui, sed omnes, quae superioribus temporibus ad suam aetatem usque debacchate fuerunt, aut certe plurimas, atque praecipuas infectatus, rationem edocuit qua possent omnes labefactari, atque convelli. Omnia enim armorum genera, quibus Christianae veritatis propugnatores diversis temporibus adversarios prostaverunt, et veritatem ipsam tutati sunt, congregavit et pulcherrimum quodam veluti armamentarium constituit, et adornavit, in quo et pacis tempore magna cum voluptate licet intueri, quo genere armorum qui hostes devicti sint, et bellis ingruentibus tela ad novos hostes superandos depromere.
- 3 COMNENA, A., *Alexiade: Regne de l'empereur Alexis I Comnene, 1081-1118*, ed. B. Leib, Paris.
- 4 The PD is described in BRV, 160, pp. 482-483 and in Picot, *Anthime*, 39, p. 552. While writing this article I consulted two copies of this edition – one found in the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, and another in the Gennadius Library, Athens. The first books published with the support of Patriarch Dositheos were published in Moldova in 1680 and in Wallachia in 1690. Μαξιμου τοῦ Πελοποννησίου, ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τοῦ σχήματος τῶν Παπιστῶν, BRV I, 89, pp. 297-298, BH II, 635; Νεκταρίου, Περὶ ἀρχῆς τοῦ πάπα, BRV I, 75, p 251-258; BH II, 568. The edition of John of Damascus appeared in 1715 in Jassy, Moldova, described in BRV I, p. 501. For a bibliography of book-printing in the Principalities at the time see note 23.
- 5 Having introduced the comparison with the West, Paul Magdalino notes that any conclusion is as yet premature although “it is no less striking that the

- society which created the Inquisition also created the universities, scholastic philosophy and the science of jurisprudence". MAGDALINO, P., *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993, p. 393.
- 6 Berdiaev.
- 7 PAPAVASILEIOU, A., *Euthymios-Ioannès Zygadènos. Bios Sygraphai*, Leukosia, 1979.
- 8 In more recent times the *Panoplia* was used as a source for the religious movements of the Comnenian period, see OBOLENSKY, D., *The Bogomils: A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism*, U P, Cambridge, 1948; GARSOÏAN, N., *The Paulician heresy. A study of the origin and development of Paulicianism in Armenia and the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire*, The Hague, Paris, Mouton, 1967. To the bibliography on PD by Papavasileiou should be added also the more recent article by PÁSZTORI-KUPÁN, I., "Fragments of Theodoret's *De sancta et vivifica Trinitate* in Euthymius Zigabenus' *Panoplia Dogmatica*", in *Augustinianum*, 2, 2002.
- 9 Naturally, the bibliography on the Comneni starts with CHALANDON, F., *Les Comnènes Études sur l'Empire Byzantin au XI et au XII siècles. Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène, 1081-1118 (Les Comnène, vol. I)*, Paris, 1900; CHALANDON, F., *Jean II Comnène-1118-1143-et Manuel I Comnène-1143-1180 (Les Comnène, vol. II)* Paris, 1912; ANGOLD, M., *Church and society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995; MAGDALINO, P., *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993.
- 10 IORGA, N., *Istoria bisericii românești și a vieții religioase a românilor*, Neamul Românesc, vol 1-2, Bucharest, 1908-1909; RUNCIMAN, S., *The Great Church in captivity: a study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the eve of the Turkish conquest to the Greek War of Independence*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1968; PODSKALSKY, G., *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Turkenherrschaft (1453-1821): die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens*, C. H Beck, München, 1988. The book by Podskalsky is quoted in the present study using the edition: PODSKALSKY, G., *He Hellenikç theologia epi tourkokratias, 1453-1821*, Morphotiko Idryma Ethnikis Trapezis, Athens, 2005. For a recent study on the subject with focus on the Romanian Principalities see ELIAN, A., *Bizanțul, Biserica și cultura românească, Studii și articole de istorie*, Trinitas, Jassy, 2003.
- 11 ODORICO, P., "La Cultura della Sylloge", in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1990.
- 12 MANGO, C., "The availability of books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750-850", in *Byzantium and its image: History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and its Heritage*, Variorum Reprints, Aldershot, Hampshire, 2003.

- ¹³ ALEXAKIS, A., *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and its archetype*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C. 1996.
- ¹⁴ KOLBABA, T., *The Byzantine lists: errors of the Latins*, University of Illinois Press, 2000.
- ¹⁵ There are many studies dedicated to East and West relations. For a recent bibliography and interpretation see MAGDALINO, P., *The Byzantine background to the First Crusade*, Canadian Institute of Balkan Studies, Toronto, 1996.
- ¹⁶ This statement needs further explanation not possible here. For an analysis of the Comnenian system see the classic article see by BROWNING, R., "Enlightenment and Oppression in Byzantium" in *Past and Present*, 69, 1975, pp. 3-23. Later, in the case of MS BAR 560 (318) Zigabenus and a fragment of the PD appear in an anti-Latin anthology together with authors such as Niketas Stethatos, Nicholas of Methone and Nicholas of Andida and John Phrounes.
- ¹⁷ On this subject see: DELETANT, D., "A Survey of the Rumanian presses and printing in the sixteenth century", in *Slavonic and East European Review*, LIII, 131, 1975, pp. 161-174; DELETANT, D., "Romanian presses and printing in the seventeenth century", II, in *Slavonic and East European Review*, 61, 4, 1983, pp. 481-511; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, D., "Τὰ ἐν Μολδαβίᾳ ἑλληνικὰ τυπογραφεῖα (1642-1821)", in *Athina*, 75, 1974-1975, pp. 259-301; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, D., "Ἐκδόσεις ἐκκλησιαστικῶν βιβλίων ἐν Μολδαβίᾳ, Γεωργίᾳ καὶ Συρίᾳ (1680-1747)", in Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 1972-1973. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, D., "Τὰ ἐν Βλαχίᾳ ἑλληνικὰ τυπογραφεῖα καὶ αἱ ἐκδόσεις αὐτῶν (1690-1821)", in *Athina*, 76, 1976-1977; TURDEANU, E., "Le livre grec en Russie: l'apport des presses de Moldavie et de Valachie", in *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, 26, 1950, pp. 69-87; TURDEANU, E., "Les controverses des Jansénistes et la création de l'imprimerie grecque en Moldavie", in *Études de littérature roumaine et d'écrits slaves et grecs des Principautés Roumaines*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1985, pp. 175-296. See also CHIABURU, E., "Tipografia din Moldova și lumea ortodoxă în secolul al XVII-lea", in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie din Iași (AIIAI)*, XXXVII, 2000, pp. 105-125. For details in the historical context see SIMONESCU, D., "Le monastère de Cetatzuia (Jassy), foyer de l'Orient Orthodoxe", in *Balkania* (Bucharest), VI, 1943, pp. 357-365.
- ¹⁸ Naturally, the historical context behind this edition is very important. For a general introduction see: IORGA, N., *Histoire des Roumains et de la Romanité Orientale*, Bucharest, 1937-1945; SUGAR, P., *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*, University of Washington Press, Seattle and London, 1993; CASTELLAN, G., *Histoire des Balkans (XIV^e-XX^e siècle)*, Fayard, Paris, 1995. For a further study of the context and Balkan region see

- WOLFF, L., *Inventing Eastern Europe: the map of civilization on the mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1994; TODOROVA, M., *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford University Press, New York-Oxford, 1997. In particular, for the relations between the Patriarchs of Jerusalem GREGORESCU, I., "Legăturile Țărilor Române cu Ierusalimul. Patriarhii Ierusalimului în Țările Române (veac XVII-XVIII)", in *Studii Teologice*, VIII, 1956, 5-6, pp. 349-362.
- ¹⁹ D. Oikonomides, "Τὰ ἐν Μολδαβία ἑλληνικὰ τυπογραφεία (1642-1821)", in *Athina*, 75, 1974-1975. On the relations of Dositheos with the Romanian principalities KARATHANASSIS, A., "Des Grecs à la Cour du Constantin Brâncoveanu, voevod de Valachie (1688-1714)", in *Balkan Studies*, 16, 1, 1975, pp. 56-69; KARATHANASSIS, A., Οἱ Ἕλληνες λόγιοι στὴ Βλαχία (1670-1714), Hidryma Meleton Chersonesou tou Haimou, Thessaloniki, 1972; CİCANCI, O., "Cărturari greci în Țările Române (sec. XVII- 1750)", in DUȚU, AI. (coord.), *Intellectualii din Balcani în România (sec. XVII-XIX)*, Bucharest, 1984, pp. 15-58.
- ²⁰ Of the studies on the restless Patriarch Dositheos II of Jerusalem worthy of mention is GONNEAU, P., CROCE, G., in: J.-M. MAYEUR, *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours IX: L'âge de raison (1620-1750)*, Paris, pp. 512, 573-575, 586-587, 593, 595. KAPTEREV, N., *Snoshenija Ierusalimskago patriarha Dosifeja s russkim pravitel'stvom (1669-1707)*, Moskow, 1891; PALMIERI, A., *Dositeo, patriarca Greco di Gerusalemme. Contributo alla storia della teologia Greco-ortodossa nel secolo XVII*, Libreria editrice fiorentina, Florence, 1909; KARMIRES, I., "Ἡ ὁμολογία τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων Δοσιθέου", in *Theologia*, 19, 1948, pp. 693-707; 1949, 20, pp. 99-119, 245-279; STĂNILOAE, D., "Viața și activitatea patriarhului Dosofteiu al Ierusalimului și legăturile lui cu Țările Românești", in *Candela*, 40, Cernăuți 1929; APOSTOLOPULOS, D., MICHAELARES, P., "Ἡ Νομικὴ Συναγωγὴ τοῦ Δοσιθέου. Μία πηγὴ καὶ ἕνα τεκμήριο, Kentro Neollchnikōn Erevnōn 35, Ethniko hidryma erevnōn Athens, 1987; PAPADOPULOS, Chr, "Δοσίθεος, πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων (1641-1707)", in *Nea Siōn*, 5-6, 1907, pp. 97-168. THEMELES, T., "Αἱ σύνοδοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων. Ἡ σύνοδος τοῦ πατριάρχου Δοσιθέου", in *Nea Siōn*, 19, 1924, pp. 499-520; GRUMEL, V., "Le περί μεταθέσεων et le patriarche de C/ple Dosithée", in *Études Byzantines*, 1, 1943, pp. 239-249; PANAITESCU, P., "Patriarhul Dositei al Ierusalimului și Mitropolitul Dosoftei al Moldovei, cu prilejul unei scrisori ineditate", in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, 64, 1946, pp. 93-103; CAMARIANO-CIORAN, A., "Jérémie Cacavala et ses relations avec les Principautés roumaines", in *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, 3, 1965. FONKIË, B., "Ierusalimskij Patriarch Dosifej I ego rukopisi v Moskve", in *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 29, 1969, pp. 275-299; ELIAN, A., "Patriarhul Dositei și literatură patristică", in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, 92, 1974; JIVI, A.,

- “Opere Teologice Byzantine editate în Țările Române de către patriarhul Dositei al Ierosolimului”, in *Studii Teologice*, XXXVII, 1975. FYRIGOS, A., “Per l’identificazione di alcune opera ignoti auctoris contenute nel Τόμος ἀγάπης di Dositeo, patriarca di Gerusalemme (e recupero di un opuscolo antilatino di Barlaam Calabro”, in *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 20-21, 1983-1984, pp. 171-190.
- ²¹ BRV I, 90, pp. 298-315; BH, II, 632.
- ²² Ἐπεὶ σὺν φιλάρετος αὐτὸς καὶ πανευλαβῆς εἰς τὴν μητέρα σου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, εἶτα καὶ τὸ σὸν γένος ἀρχικὸν καὶ αὐθεντικὸν καὶ μάλιστα ἀνάκτων καὶ αὐθεντῶν τοιούτων ὅπου ἐδήλωσεν ὁ λόγος, ἵδιον σὸν καὶ ὁ τύπος τοῦ παρόντος βιβλίου, ὅπου ἐλέγχει τὰς τοῦ παρόντος αἰῶνος αἱρέσεις· ὅθεν δικαίως συκατένευσας καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ᾧ | ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκκλησίαι | πρεσβείαν. BRV I, 90, pp. 303-304.
- ²³ PIPPIDI, A., *Tradiția politică bizantină în țările române în secolele XVI-XVII*, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, Bucharest, 1983. Also PIPPIDI, A., “L’ Homélie prononcée par Étienne Cantacuzene, prince de Valachie (1716)”, in: *L’Empereur hagiographe: Culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine / textes réunis et présentés par Petre Guran; avec la collaboration de Bernard Flusin*, Bucarest, 2001.
- ²⁴ BRV I, 90, p. 301.
- ²⁵ The relationship between Brâncoveanu and the Comneni was made possible through Cantacuzenos using the prince’s maternal line. PIPPIDI, A., “L’ ordre Constantinien et les généalogies Byzantine”, in *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, 3, 1997; IONESCU, D., “Terban Cantacuzène et la restauration byzantine. Un idéal à travers ses à travers ses images”, in *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, 1, 1979; PIPPIDI, A., “Fables, bagatelles et impertinences’ Authour de certaines généalogies byzantines des XVI^e – XVII^e siècles”, in *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, 1, 1979.
- ²⁶ ἐπρόσταξεν Εὐθύμιον τὸν Ζυγαβητὸν, καὶ συνέγραψεν κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων τὴν δογματικὴν πανοπλίαν, τὸ ὡραιότατον βιβλίον ὅπου νὰ εἶναι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. BRV I, 90, p. 302.
- ²⁷ For more on Lupu see *Byzance après Byzance* pp. 163-164, 168-169, and also the letter by Syrigos and the others in the Synod of Jassy as the exclusively Orthodox ruler Legrand II 1894 pp. 472-473. In the Nectarius edition Dositheos flatters the ruler Doukas by saying he is better than his father Vasile Lupu.
- ²⁸ Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ πέντε οὗτοι αὐτοκράτορες οὐ μόνον βασιλεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς, καθ’ ὃν τρόπον ἡ ἐκκλησία ψάλλει περὶ τοῦ Ἰσαποστόλου Κωνσταντίνου· καθότι μὲν Ἀλέξιος ἠγωνίσθη διαφῶρος ὑπὲρ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. BRV-I, 90, p. 302.
- ²⁹ MAGDALINO, P., *The empire of Manuel*, p. 369.

- ³⁰ ANGOLD, M., *Church and society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995.
- ³¹ For more on Vasile Lupu see IORGA, N., *Byzance après Byzance*, Bucharest, 1935, pp. 163-164, 168-169; CAMARIANO CIORAN, A., *Les Académies princières de Bucarest et de Jassy et leurs professeurs*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1974, pp. 4, 5, 10, 12, 13, 21, 22, 34, 84, 90, 412, 663.
- ³² Ἐπειδὴ γάρ σοι τὸ σύνθημα δέδωκεν ὁ κύριος τοῦ εἶναι τῆς ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτοῦ πρόμαχον καὶ τῶν αἰρέσεων γενναῖον καταλύτην, σὲ μόνον ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἡγεμόνων ὡς εὐχρηστον αὐτῶ ἐκλεξάμενος. BRV I, 90, p. 313.
- ³³ For a bibliography of Syrigos see B H II, pp. 470-472. Podskalsky, 271-278. On the writings of Syrigos in connection with the Synod of Jassy see ERBICEANU, C., "Scrierea lui Meletie Sirig contra Calvinilor și a lui Ciril Lucaris, compusă prin ordinul Sinodului ținut la Iași 1642", in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, 18, 1894-1895, pp. 6-27; PALMIERI, A., "La Storia, la data e il valore simbolico del Sinodo di Jassy (1642)", in *Bessarione*, 8, 1910-1911, pp. 16-33.
- ³⁴ For more on the context see the important study on Greek-Russian relations at the time ALTRICHTER, H., *Moskaus griechisches Jahrhundert, Russisch-Griechische beziehungen und Metabyzantinischer einfluss 1619-1694*, Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1995. On the *Confessio* of Mohyla see ELIAN, Al., "Contribuția grecească la Mărturisirea Ortodoxă", in *Balkania* (Bucharest), 5, 1946. For the connections of Peter Mogila and Danubian Principalities see CAZACU, M., "Pierre Mogyla (Petru Movilă) et la Roumanie: Essai historique et bibliographique", in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies, Special Issue, The Kiev Mohyla Academy, Commemorating the 350th anniversary of its founding* (1632), 13, 1\2 1984, pp. 188-221.
- ³⁵ Monograph on the topic with bibliography:
TZIRAKES, N. Ἡ περιμετουσιώσεως εὐχαριστικῆ ἔρις. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ὀρθόδοξον περὶ μεταβολῆς διδασκακίαν τοῦ 17^{ου} αἰῶνος, Athens, 1977, On pp. 165- 166 Tzirakes mentions PD and takes for granted the connection of the anthology with Berengar. More on the problem of transubstantiation in the first appendix of PODSKALSKY, G., Ἡ εὐχαριστιακὴ ἐρίδα τοῦ 17^{ου} αἰῶνα', in *He Hellenikῆ theologia epi tourkokratias*, pp. 487-492.
- ³⁶ Commentaria veterum in sacrosancta quatuor Christi Euangelia ex Chrysostomi aliorum sentiunt, Oecumenio? scriptis magna ex parte collecta, autore quidem, ut pleri interprete vero Iohanne Hentenio.
- ³⁷ The quotation comes after the edition (BRV 90) kept in the library of the RAS, p. 134.
- ³⁸ Of the many studies of Byzantium, the West and the Crusades, I would mention just one which refers more directly to problem discussed and provides further bibliography, see note 17.

- 39 N. Tzirakes, 'Η περί μετουσιώσεως εὐχαριστική ἔρις. Συμβολή εἰς τὴν ὀρθόδοξον περὶ μεταβολῆς διδασκαλίαν τοῦ 13^{οῦ} αἰῶνος. Athens, 1977.
- 40 On Caryophyllis and the Synod of 1691 see Podskalsky pp. 305-311.
- 41 Δοσιθέου πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων, Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καρυοφύλλη, BRV, 97, pp. 337-338; BH II, 661.
- 42 ... Πάλιν λέγοντές του ὅτι πιστοὶ διατὶ δὲν πείθεσαι εἰς τὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ δόξαν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὅπου διδάσκει περὶ τοῦ μυστηρίου πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν; ὁ Καρυοφύλλης ἀπεκρίνετο ἀνά θεμὰ τον ὅπου δὲν ὑποτάσσεται εἰς τὴν διδασκαλίαν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας | ἐνύει δὲ καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν Σίμωνα τὸν Βασιλείδην, τοὺς Γνωστικούς, τὸν Μαρκίωνα, τὸν Ἐβίωνα, τὸν Μανιχαῖον, τοὺς Ἀμσσαλιανούς, τοὺς Βογομίλους, τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κοπρωνύμου εἰς τὴν Βλαχέρναν τῶν Εἰκονομάχων σύνοδον, τὸν Βερεγκάριον, τὸν Καλβῖνον, τὸν Λούτερον, τὸν Λούκαριν, τὸν Κορυδαλέα καὶ τὸν ἑαυττὸν του, καὶ τοὺς ὀπαδοὺς αὐτοῦ]. The whole passage is quoted after BH II, p. 35.
- 43 This had already been already observed by Franciscus Zinus, the translator of the PD into Latin. In the prolog to the Latin edition he divides the heretics into two groups: *externi* and *intimi*. Zinus writes: "*Quaedam sunt in omnibus adversariis communia, quaedam singulorum praecipua contra tela. Quidam enim a nobis in omnibus fere dissentiunt, quidam videntur nobiscum vel paucis vel multis in rebus convenire.*" This quotation comes from the Paris Latin edition of the PD held at the Gennadius Library, Athens.
- 44 Συμεῶν τοῦ Μακαρίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης, Κατὰ αἰρέσεων, BRV, 81, pp. 273-275; BH II, 578.
- On the translation of the works of Symeon of Thessaloniki in Russia carried out from a book sent personally by Dositheos see: PAPAPOPOULOS, Chr. 'Οἱ πατριάρχαι Ἱεροσολύμων ὡς πνευματικοὶ χειραγωγοὶ τῆς Ῥωσίας κατὰ τὸν 13^{οῦ} αἰῶνα', in *Nea Siôn*, 5, 1907.
- 45 MS BAR 604 (262).
- 46 ANGELOV, D., *Bogomilstvoto v Balgaria*, Sofia, 1969. p. 123-137; IVANOV, J., "Proizhod na pavlikianite spored dva balgarski rakopisa", in *Journal of the Bulgarian Academy of Science* (BAN), 24, 1922, pp. 22-31; Jovkov, M., *Pavlikiani I pavlikianski selishta v balgarskite zemi XV-XVIII vek*, Sofia, 1991.
- 47 Short description on Athanasius and the edition in KARATHANASES, A., *Οἱ ἔλληνες λόγοι στὴ Βλαχία (1670-1714)*, Hidryma Meleton Chersonesou tou Haimou, Thessaloniki, 1982, pp. 143-144.
- 48 Antim of Iviron was a key figure at the time and champion of book printing in the Principialties. For recent studies of him, including bibliography, see ŞTREMPEL, G., *Antim Ivoreanul*, Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest, 1997.
- 49 Ἱερομόναχος ἀνὴρ ἐλλόγιμος εἰδὴ μων τῆς ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου, πεπαιδευμένος τὴν τε θύραθεν, καὶ

τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱεραν παιδείαν, ποιητῆς καὶ ἱεροκέρυξ· ἀναγινώσκει καὶ μελετᾷ τὰς θείας γραφάς, καὶ τὰ τῶν πατέρων τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἱερὰ συγγράμματα.' Δημητρίου Προκοπίου, 'ἐπιτετημένη ἐπαρίθμησις τῶν κατὰ τὸν παρελθόντα αἰῶνα λογίων Γραικῶν, καὶ περὶ τινῶν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι ἀνθούτων'.

The text by Procopius published in SATHAS, C., *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, Veince, 1872. vol. 3, pp. 501-502.

50 Καισαρίου Δαπόντε, Κατάλογος ἱστορικὸς ἀξιόλογος τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρηματισάντων ἐπισήμων Ρωμαίων, in SATHAS, C. *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*. Veince, 1972, pp 113-119. Daponte provides one letter, several poems and a list of the other works of Metrophanes.

51 ZAVIRA, G. I., Νέα Ἑλλάς ἢ Ἑλληνικὸν Θέατρον,

52 Podskalsky gives the following chronology on the Patriarchs of Constantinople based on the Julian calendar. Jacob (10th August 1679-30th July 1682; Dionysius IV Mouselimes (30th July 1682-10th March 1684); Parthenius IV (10th March 1684-20th March 1685); Jacob (20th March 1685-end March 1686); Dionysius IV Mouselimes (end March 1686-12th October 1687); Jacob (12th October 1687-3rd March 1688). If the chronology of the text of Metrophanes is correct, then he must have been sent to Macedonia during the first days of the third appointment of Jacob as Patriarch. Podskalsky, pp. 497-498.

53 Reference to this MSS is provided in the excellent article on Metrophanes and one of the books he edited, KOURNOUTOS, G., P., 'Η Δωδεκάβιβλος τοῦ Δοσιθέου εἰς τὴν τυπογραφίαν τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου, Θεολογία, 24 (1953) 250-273 p. 261.

The MS with the ex-libris is described by POLITI, L., "Χειρόγραφα μοναστηριῶν Αἰγίου καὶ Καλαβρύτων", Ἑλληνικά, ενδεκατος, 1939, p. 89. Kournoutos gives the following reference to the second MS: Ἐυδοκίμου Ξηροποταμηνοῦ, Κατάλογος Χειρογράφων μονῆς Ξηροποτάμου, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1932, p. 81.

54 The text of this history is published by RUSSO, D., "Mitrofan Griroras Cronica Tării Românești (1714-1716)", in *Revista Istorică Română*, 4, Bucharest, 1934 pp. 1-43; the same text reprinted in RUSSO, D., *Studii Istorice Greco-Române, Opere postume*, vol. 2 Bucharest, 1932, pp. 409-462. Review on this book by Chrysostomos Papadopoulos in Θεολογία, vol. 1E, 1937.

55 See the references providing reviews of the books of Metrophanes: KOURNOUTOS, G. P.,

'Η Δωδεκάβιβλος τοῦ Δοσιθέου εἰς τὴν τυπογραφίαν τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου', in *Theologia*, 24, 1953, pp. 260-262.

ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, D., "Τὰ ἐν Βλαχία ἑλληνικά τυπογραφεῖα καὶ αἱ ἐκδόσεις αὐτῶν (1690-1821)", in *Athina*, 76, 1976-1977; pp. 73-74, 67, 94, 96-97, 99 BĂDĂRĂ, D., *Tiparul Românesc la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea și*

- Începutul secolului al XVIII-lea*, Muzeul Brăilei, Editura Istros, Brăila, 1998. pp. 168-169 on Metrophanes; p. 153 on Athanasius of Silistra.
- 56 BRV I, 148, p. 463. BH III, 32.
- 57 PAUN, R., "Reliques et pouvoir au XVIII^e siècle roumain. Le dossier de problème", in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1-4, 2001 (Bucharest, 2002), pp. 63-73.
- 58 In fact Metrophanes wrote two epigrams in the book: the one discussed here and the other addressed to Constantine Brâncoveanu. Both epigrams were reprinted in BH I, pp. 38-39. A translation of the epigram about Vessarion reads as follows:
A robber has sold for gold to godless papists
Robber sold for money
the glorious body of Vessarion.
but his head remains for nourishing of piety
your firmness in the teachings
of the Catholic Church through the abundant miracles
strengthening the feast-loving faithful.
- 59 BRV I, 149, pp. 463-466; BH III, 37.
- 60 The act was agreed by the Bishop of the Romanian Orthodox Church on the one hand, and the representatives of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church and the Habsburg Imperial Court in Vienna on the other. See also the view of HITCHINS, K., "The idea of nation among the Romanians of Transylvania" in *Nation and National ideology. Past, Present and Prospects. Proceedings of the international Symposium held at the New Europe College, Bucharest April 6-7, 2001, Bucharest, 2002.*
- 61 The title of this entry is Σημειώσεις Δισιθέου πατριάρχου' Ιεροσολύμων, εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν σύνοδον, αἰτινες κείνται ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ βιβλίῳ τοῦ περὶ' Ιεροσολύμοις πατριαρχευσάντων τεύχους.
- 62 For the *History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem* see note 53.
- 63 Λογίδιον εἰς τὸ κοσμοσωτήριον πάθος τοῦ θεανθρώπου λόγου, BRV I, 145, pp. 457-460
- 64 The volume of Syrigos is available from the Romanian Academy. The comparison with Lynceus is on page a - ποῖος ὄξυδερκῆς Λυγκεύς ἤμπορεῖ να ταῖς περάσῃ ἀλάβωτος; quoted after BRV 90.
- 65 This prolog is an example of the "distorting mirror" of Byzantine literature and highlights once more the difficulty with the levels of the Greek Language. Athanasius had written in a highly clacissizing manner, with perplexing sentences and Homeric language. Reading this prolog is so difficult that the editors of the BRV have left it without Romanian translation.
- 66 Βιβλος ἐνιαύσιος τὴν ἄπασαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀκολουθίαν, BRV I, 157, pp. 480-481; Picot, *Anthime*, 550. With the commentary by Picot "Cette énorme volume, supérieurement imprimé fait honneur à la Typographie de Tirgoviste" quoted from KOURNOUTOS, G., p. 261. The

book is wonderful, in black and red ink with brown leather binding with the medallion of the Old Testament Trinity in gold and small flowers. The copy in RAS has the original book lock.

67 This colophone comes after the text of the Pentecostarion:

Τέλος, θεῶ δὲ δόξα τῷ τρισηλίῳ,
τῷ δόντι ἰσχύν τῷ ταπεινῷ μου νοῶ,
Ὁρθῶς νοῆσαι καὶ διορθῶσαι ἅμα,
τῶν ὀρθοδόξων τάςδε τὰς θείας βίβλους.
Ὅσοι γε οὖν μοι ποιμένες κληῖρος θ' ἄπαις,
Οἱ ἐντρυφῶντες τῶνδε τῶν βιβλίον Ἶοις,
σύγγνωτε πάντες, εἰ τι τῶν ἐν ταῖς βίβλοις
Ὅψις παρήκεν ἦττον εὐθέος λόγου.

Ὁ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης πρόθυμος θεράπων τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
εὐτελῆς Μητροφάνης
ὁ ἐκ Δωδώνης.

68 BRV I, 159, pp. 481-482; Picot, *Anthime*, 551. Available in the library of RAS.

69 Περί τῶν ὀφθίκων, κληρικῶν καὶ Ἀρχοντικῶν, BRV I, 173, pp. 499-500. Available from the library of RAS.

70 Ἱστορία περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πατριαρχευσάντων, BRV I, .BH III, 97. Available from the library of RAS.

71 The length of the passage prohibits is quotation here. It can be found on pages 784-785 of the first edition.

72 N. CAMARIANO, N., *Catalogul manuscriselor grecești din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, II, Bucharest, 1940, p. 183.

73 The catalog of the library of Mavrocordat was published by IORGA, N., "Pilda bunilor Domni din trecut", in *Anele Acad. Rom., sect., ist. ser.* II, vol. 37, 1914, pp. 85-120.

74 At least books were authored by the Prince BRV I, 127, pp. 419-421; BRV I, 128, pp. 421-422; BRV I, 135, p. 441; BRV I, 142, pp. 452-453.

75 See note 20.

76 Ἄντωνιος Βυζάντιος, διδάσκαλος τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει σχολῆς, ἀνὴρ ἐλλόγιμος, φιλόπονος, φιλομαθῆς, δαήμων τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσας, πεπαιδευμένος τὴν τε θύραθεν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱεράν θεολογίαν· πολλῆς ἂν εἴη ὠφελείας πρόξενος τοῖς φιλολόγοις τῶν νέων τῇ προόδῳ τοῦ χρόνου; εἰ μὴ γε κομιδῇ νέος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο.

Χουρμούσιος Βυζάντιος, ἀντάδελφος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, καὶ καθ' οὐδὲν ἐκείνου ἀρετῇ καὶ παιδείᾳ ἀπολειπόμενος· ἀπέπλευσε δὲ οὗτος καὶ εἰς Ἱταλίαν, καὶ τῶν ἐν Παταβίῳ σοφῶν πρὸς καιρὸν ἠκροάσατο, ἐχρημάτισε καὶ διδάσκαλος τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει σχολῆς· καὶ εἴη ἂν οὐκ ἐλάττωνος ὠφελείας πρόξενος τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς εἶγε μὴ ἄωρῳ θανάτῳ ἀπετμήθη τοῦ βίου.

- Δημητρίου Προκοπίου, επιτετημένη ἐπαρίθμησις τῶν κατὰ τὸν παρελθόντα αἰῶνα λογίων Γραικῶν, καὶ περὶ τινῶν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι ἀνθούτων, in SATHAS, C., *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*. Veince, 1872. vol. 3, p. 491.
- 77 Taken from the reference in Budapest.
- 78 On the authorship dispute between Photius and Zigabenus, see PAPAVALSILEIOU, A.,
- 79 Παράτιτλος is the used term. For the last section of the PD the same term is used. Zinus translated this concluding entry in the following way: "Appendix. - Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani ex epistola ad Michaellem Bulgariae principem de septem synodis oecumenicis". See PG 130.
- 80 See PANAITESCU, P., *Manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei R. P. R.*, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, Bucharest, 1959, pp. 395-396. GEORGIEVA-GAGOVA, N., "Edin veroiaten prevodacheski avtograf ot parvata chetvart na XV vek" (probable signature of a translator from the first quarter of the fifteenth century), in *Paleobulgarica*, 25, 1, 2001.
- 81 On Maxime Marounius and bibliography see PODSKALSKY, pp. 188-206.
- 82 Euthymius Zigabenus, *Commentarius in quatuor evangelia graecae et latinae/ Textum graecum...ad fidem duorum codicum...diligenter recensuit et repetita versione latina Jo. Hentenii suis adiectis animadversionis edidit Christ. Frid. Matthaei*, Asher, Berlin and London, 1845. This book is available in Gennadius Library, the text concerning the PD is presented in the PD 130 coll. 9-11.
- 83 The note reads as follows: Ἐλεγχος σαφῆς τῶν Ἰσμηλιτῶν καὶ τῆς φλυαρίας τῶν ἑξαίρετων δογματῶν αὐτῶν, ὅστις ἦν συνημμένος τῇ Δογματικῇ πανοπλίᾳ Εὐθυμίου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Ζιγαβηνοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ συνετυπώθη αὐτῇ, διὰ τὸν φόβον [τῶν] (οἷς κρίμασιν οἶδε κύριος) τῶν κρατούντων ἡμῶν, ᾧ φιλαναγνώστα. BAR 1300 is described in CARATAȘU, M., *Catalogul manuscriselor grecești din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, vol. 3, Bucharest, 2005, pp. 317-319. The MS entered the collection of the Romanian Academy in 1952 and is of unknown provenance.