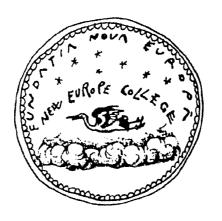
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# MEDIAEVAL SLAVONIC ANTI-CATHOLIC TEXTS FROM THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF THE ROMANIAN ACADEMY

On 25 May 1670, Petar Bogdan (1601-1674) arrived in Bucharest "by the grace of God and the will of the Holy Apostolic See Archbishop of Serdica, named of Sofia, Administrator of Thrace and Coastal Dacia, of Transalpine Wallachia, apostolic vicar." This is apparently the last visit of the superannuated Catholic prelate to the capital of the Wallachian principality and his experiences, related several months later (10 November 1670) in a detailed report<sup>2</sup> to the *Congregation for the Propagation of Faith* in Rome, narrate more than the bare facts: through subtlety of detail they reveal a historical and cultural situation, rich in contradictory tendencies, an intricate web of religious, political and personal motives which govern the thoughts and behavior of the ruler, the barons, the metropolitan, and the common people.

Welcomed to the palace with becoming courtesy by the Wallachian prince Antonie Vodă of Popești (1669-1672), Petar Bogdan becomes aware of the presence in this same room of the Orthodox metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia, Teodosie (1668-1672; 1679-1708). Then,

turning towards the metropolitan, the archbishop addressed him politely and congratulated him on his promotion, for he had been elevated only a few months before, and the other one stood as a madman, neither did he utter a word, nor made a gesture of urbanity. In a short while the archbishop bid the prince farewell. The cubicularius went out as well and when the other barons gathered round, they excused the metropolitan, saying: "Your Excellence, be not amazed at our metropolitan. He is a man uneducated, brought up since his youth in the mountains among the monks, and little does he care to know about what is becoming, so let him be excused."<sup>3</sup>

If we distance ourselves from the particular circumstances in which the 'meeting' between the two clerics described above took place (and to this we shall return later), it is worth noticing the commitment, explicitly stressed in the above quoted text, of Metropolitan Teodosie to the traditions and outlook of Orthodox monasticism. One look at the surviving monasteries in what are today Romania and Moldova is sufficient to convince us that it was precisely there that the traditions of the Byzantine Orthodoxy, which spread in Romanian lands, were preserved in their purest form. Its influence increased from the 14<sup>th</sup> century onward, through the continual communication with the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate, Bulgaria, Serbia, Russia, and a number of monastic communities in the Balkans, among which Mount Athos should be given precedence.

To begin I propose we assume that the outright disrespect and lack of courtesy on the part of Metropolitan Teodosie towards the Pope's vicar for Bulgaria and Wallachia can at least partially be explained in terms of the deep-rooted hostility towards Catholicism which the Byzantine Church had cultivated for centuries and bequeathed to the peoples that professed the Eastern Orthodox faith during the Middle Ages – Bulgarians, Russians, Serbs and Romanians.

As a result of the combination of historical circumstances, up until the end of the 17th century and early 18th century, the liturgy in the Romanian Orthodox churches in Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania was conducted predominantly in the Slavonic language, while the scriptoria and libraries of the Romanian monasteries mostly copied and housed Slavonic books. 4 With a view to this fact, the present paper aims to raise a number of difficult questions (though it will not provide definitive answers): Copies of which Byzantine anti-Catholic texts (in their mediaeval Slavonic translations) and original Slavonic works with a similar motivation were subject to dissemination in the Romanian principalities from the 15th until the 17th century? What was the significance of these copies with regard to the textual analyses of the respective works? How, during the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 18th century, were the mediaeval Slavonic polemical texts gradually superseded by their Romanian translations, or by direct translations from Greek into Romanian, which were disseminated as manuscripts or printed books.

This study is of a preliminary nature only, since it is based on direct observations of manuscript materials from the collection of the Romanian Academy. About one third of the Slavonic manuscripts in this collection, however, have no printed description, and for this reason I am unable to claim absolute thoroughness. Despite this, the 600 Slavonic manuscripts which have already been annotated, as well as a small number of

Romanian manuscripts from the collection of the Romanian Academy, provide a valuable source and create an opportunity not only for empirical observations but also for certain generalizations. My research trip to Belgrade also proved highly profitable, for there I was able to examine *de visu* a number of manuscripts from the collection of the Archive of the Serbian Academy, as well as to familiarize myself, with the help of the exceptionally rich microfilm collection of the Archaeographical Department of the National Library of Serbia, with a number of Serbian and Old-Bulgarian manuscripts from the virtually inaccessible collections of the Serbian Orthodox Church Museum and the monasteries in Peć, Savina, Nikoljac, Pljevalja, etc.<sup>6</sup>

First let us address the question of the character of the Byzantine anti-Catholic (or 'anti-Western') polemic. Undoubtedly, this changes considerably between the time of its origin under Patriarch Photius (858-867; 877-886) in the 6<sup>th</sup> decade of the 9<sup>th</sup> century and the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453, as a result of the changing political, cultural, and ethnic landscape in South-East Europe and the Middle East. As T. Kolbaba's recent observations have demonstrated, this polemical tradition can not and should not be regarded as a frozen set of "immutable" accusations and refutations concerning the dogmatic innovations and corrupt practices of the Western Christians. As the apt summary of the American author reads,

An issue becomes one of the crucial issues in the Greek theological literature only when it becomes a matter for debate within the Orthodox world... Debates about Latin practices and beliefs grew fierce and polarized less because of the intrinsic importance of the issue being debated than because of fundamental doubts about what it meant to be an orthodox, imperial Christian – what it meant to be, as they would have put it, a pious Roman.<sup>7</sup>

This serves to remind us that within the framework of the mediaeval *Pax Orthodoxa* (or in the language of D. Obolensky, *Byzantine commonwealth*<sup>8</sup>), polemical literature has as its purpose to shape, strengthen or reformulate a particular identity<sup>9</sup> which has not only a religious but also a political and even an ethnic aspect. It is relevant here to quote from I. Dujčev, who remarks that,

Byzantium gave the Christian religion to mediaeval Russia but at the same time provided it with the spiritual weapons to fight all forms of heterodoxy

and heresy... In supplying the Russians with all these polemical works Byzantium certainly contributed considerably to the strengthening of their orthodoxy, which was growing as a factor in Russian history, to the point of becoming identified with the notion of nationality.<sup>10</sup>

Written on the occasion of the appearance of the London reprint (1972) of A. Popov's book on "the Old-Russian polemical works against the Latins" (1875), the above conclusions reached by I. Dujèev are largely valid for Bulgaria and Serbia, where almost all mediaeval Slavonic translations of Byzantine anti-Catholic works analyzed by A. Popov originated and were copied and disseminated for centuries. They are no less relevant when it comes to the Romanian principalities, where these same texts, spread initially in Bulgarian and Serbian copies and often copied subsequently by local scribes, played an important role in shaping a specific ethnic consciousness. It should not be forgotten that, until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, what lay at the heart of the Romanian sense of unity was not so much the doctrinal system of Orthodoxy, but "an amalgam of faith and religious practices intertwined with ancient folk customs and beliefs that had been passed down from generation to generation." 11

As early as 1910, A. Jacimirskii, the most eminent foreign expert on the Slavonic manuscripts held in Romanian monasteries and libraries, noted the need for a systematic study of the mediaeval South-Slavic copies of the polemical anti-Catholic texts. 12 This, however, is yet to be done. Contemporary scholars are usually content to cite the two seminal works on this subject: A. Popov's book<sup>13</sup> and A. Pavlov's review.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, these authors almost exclusively analyze Russian manuscripts and are not well acquainted with the south-Slavic tradition of these texts, which left its imprint and developed on Romanian soil between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is reasonable to say that, since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the question of the mediaeval "Slavonic reception" of the Byzantine religious polemic against the Catholic West has only been posed in passing or on the basis of limited and relatively late manuscript material. A happy exception is a number of valuable works contributed recently by Y. Kakridis which provide us with an opportunity to appreciate with greater clarity and confidence the significance of a number of Slavonic translations of Byzantine polemical treatises made during the 14th century for the study of the original Greek texts, some of which are completely unknown at present.<sup>15</sup>

I would like to note that the study of the texts we are concerned with is to some extent complicated by one peculiar circumstance: it was only very rarely that mediaeval scribes would copy separate polemical texts; more frequently entire collections of such works were copied. Hence, the observations on each particular text should necessarily be augmented by an analysis of the accompanying works of identical character. The contents of these collections often varies considerably because few of the copyists refrained from altering the sequence of the texts, omitting some and replacing them with others borrowed from various manuscripts. Nevertheless, some of the earliest miscellanies of anti-Catholic texts, which subsequently influenced the tradition, can be identified and at least partially reconstructed.

With these general considerations in mind, we can proceed to an analysis of one of the earliest miscellanies of the kind we are dealing with: manuscript BAR Ms. Slav. No 330, a compilation written using the Serbian spelling in the last decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. If It consists of three clearly defined sections. The first comprises texts discussing monastic life and discipline, Orthodox dogmatic and canon law. Here, incidentally, we find a short exposition "about the Frankish faith", which describes and anathematizes the two main deviations of the Western Christians – Holy Communion with unleavened bread and the addition of the *Filioque* clause to the Creed. The second section of the miscellany includes mostly polemic texts that target Catholicism. The third section contains the second Slavonic translation of the Chronicle of George the Monk, made in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the ending of which is missing. The existing part recounts the events from the Creation of the world until the death of the Byzantine emperor Alexander (912-913).

The Tale, briefly told, about how and what for the Latins split and were excluded from their primacy and from the commemorative books in which the orthodox patriarchs are listed, to be found in the second section, introduces the reader to the issue of the historical roots of the rift between Constantinople and Rome.<sup>22</sup> The anonymous Byzantine author stresses that all Roman popes up to the pontificate of Stephan VI (885-891)

were orthodox, professing the Creed..., as it was bequeathed by the Holy First Ecumenical council and was then confirmed and announced also by the six ecumenical councils, [to wit] that only from the Father does the Holy Spirit proceed – as Orthodox churches hold even to this day.

After the imperial coronation of Charles the Great (768-814), performed in 800 AD by Pope Leo III (795-826), certain Frankish heretics arrived in Rome and began to preach that the Holy Spirit proceeded not only from the Father but from the Son as well and that Holy Communion should be taken with unleavened bread. Wishing to prevent the spread of this heresy, Pope Benedict III (855-858) sent a letter to the four eastern patriarchs in which he asked them not to recognize any of the popes to succeed him after his death before they had received written testimony confirming his adherence to the orthodox faith. The implication of this text is absolutely clear: by breaking away from heresy-befallen Rome, eastern churches would be complying with the will of the former pope and become champions of true orthodoxy.

The first pope to adopt secretly the heretic additional *Filioque* was Formosus (891-896), and a century later the Constantinople patriarch Sergius (1001-1019) and the rest of the eastern patriarchs were forced to cast out of their diptychs the then pope, <sup>23</sup> who openly declared his approval for this heretic doctrine. After pronouncing an anathema on all those who failed to observe the prescriptions of the seven ecumenical synods, the anonymous writer concludes his story by announcing that after the aforementioned Sergius "it was Cerularius who was Patriarch of Constantinople and he too cursed the Latins, who openly became heretics."

The Greek original of the story was obviously written after the so-called "Great Schism" of 1054, most probably as early as the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>24</sup> it was published following 6 different copies from between the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>25</sup> We also have a fairly certain *terminus ante quem* for the appearance of the Slavonic translation – a copy of it was included in a Russian miscellany from 1261.<sup>26</sup> Since the manuscript tradition of the translation of this interesting work has never been subject to a special analysis, I will briefly present here the conclusions based on my study of the copies of the text to which I currently have access.

It appears the translation was completed shortly after the emergence of the original Greek text. The manuscript tradition of the Slavonic text has two main branches – a Bulgarian and a Serbian one, whose oldest extant copies date back to the same period (the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century). The Bulgarian branch, which extended through Serbia and Russia, is closer to the archetypal text of the translation.<sup>27</sup> The history of the Serbian branch is more complicated. The earliest copies in which it can be traced in fact reflect a revision of the text, which is notable for the fact that the title of the work mentions as its author, Michael Synkellus

(+ 846).<sup>28</sup> This redaction was prepared on the basis of an earlier version (which came into existence no later than the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century), at the core of which was a text belonging (or at least very closely related) to the Bulgarian branch of the manuscript tradition. This early revision of the work appears to have originated in Serbia and it can hardly be coincidence that today it is only known in three Serbian copies, the earliest of which being the one from Bucharest.<sup>29</sup>

The *Tale* is followed by a peculiar historical "dossier"<sup>30</sup> consisting of letters and other documents, copies of which can also be found in manuscript BAR Ms. Slav. No 155, a miscellany dating from the third quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, a Serbian copy of an older Bulgarian manuscript, which belonged initially to the Mount Athos monastery of Xenophon and was later (probably in 1779) brought to the Moldavian monastery of Neamţ by Paisij Veličkovskij (1722-1794).<sup>31</sup>

Folios 133v – 135 of BAR Ms. Slav. No 330 feature the well-known letter of Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople (1043-1058) addressed to the Patriarch of Antioch Peter III (1052-1056).<sup>32</sup> In this epistle, written in June/July 1054, literally days before the "Great Schism" became a fact on the 18 July of the same year, the head of the Byzantine church vented his anger and indignation at the behavior of the emissaries of Pope Leo IX (1049-1054) led by cardinal Humbert and staying in Constantinople at that time. The Slavonic translation of the epistle is a considerably shortened version of the Greek text, which nevertheless preserves some of the most caustic passages:

What should I say or how should I tell of their pride and brazenness: how they entered into my presence without uttering a word to me or at least slightly lowering their heads and did not want to give me the usual greeting from their bishop; neither did they want, when we had gathered together at the council to sit further back, away from the metropolitans, as required by the custom handed down to us, considering it an insult to themselves. What should I say about the even greater madness of theirs, that they did not humble themselves even before the imperial power and grandeur as they aspired too high and thought they stood higher than the rest, [and] entered the palace with crosses and scepters and none of these things did they perform properly.

Further, the patriarch includes a long list of the transgressions of the Latins, which is to become a true model and source of 'inspiration' for many orthodox polemicists during the centuries to follow.<sup>33</sup> This text is

an expression of radical intolerance not only towards the religious doctrine and liturgical practices of the Western Christians, but also towards a number of elements of their culture and traditions, which bear no relation to their "Orthodoxy". Even Byzantine readers must have found it strange that the patriarch pointed out as heretical deviations, along with the addition of the *Filioque* clause to the Creed, the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, the differences in observing fasts, and such 'problems' as the habit of Western monks of eating lard instead of butter, the custom among bishops of wearing a ring, and that among clerics of shaving etc. Despite the warning of the Bulgarian archbishop Theophylact of Ochrid (1088/1089 – after 1126) that the authors of such random and ever longer enumerations of the "Latin errors" only "mutilate the body of Christ on account of their own self-love", 34 these lists became extremely popular in Byzantium and the rest of the Orthodox world.

As confirmation we can cite the fact that in BAR Ms. Slav. No 330. Cerularius's list, overlong in itself, features in a perceptibly expanded and revised version. So far it has not been established whether a Slavic writer prepared this version of the text or whether it was translated directly from the Greek. Whatever the case, my observations on several unpublished Bulgarian and Serbian copies show that what A. Popov calls "the second redaction" of the Slavonic translation of the epistle, 35 containing only the list of "Latin errors", is in fact a shorter version of the text included in BAR Ms. Slav. No 330 and existing in a number of other copies. Closest to the Romanian copy examined here appear to be the copies from Ms. Nikoljac 49, f. 231 – 235 and Ms. Hilandar 189, f. 150 – 154v (the ending is missing).<sup>36</sup> In their turn, the text found in BAR Ms. Slav. No 330 and the manuscripts from its group sprang from the version closer to the archetypal translation, known from copies in the manuscripts Dečani 75, f. 300v – 302; Dečani 102, f. 256v – 259v and BAR Ms. Slav. No 155, f. 598 – 602.

The folios, which follow in BAR Ms. Slav. No 330, feature two letters exchanged in 1053-1054 between Dominic, Archbishop of Venice and Peter III, the Patriarch of Antioch.<sup>37</sup>

At the beginning of his excessively polite letter, the Archbishop of Venice justifies, by putting forward a number of historical arguments, his right to carry the dignity of "patriarch" and proceeds to complain about the, in his opinion, unfounded attacks of the Constantinopolitan clergy<sup>38</sup> against the Eucharist with unleavened bread practiced by the Western church, requesting the Antiochian patriarch's opinion on this issue. In his

written response, Patriarch Peter stresses that no bishop or archbishop, apart from those of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, has the right to use the title of "patriarch". Further, the Antiochian pontiff expresses his support for Constantinople's position and firmly denounces the use of unleavened bread as a practice alien to the ecclesiastical tradition.

The two letters were translated into the Slavonic language at the same time using a Greek text which at certain points deviates from the one published more than a century ago in J.-P. Migne's *Patrologia graeca*. In turn, the copies of the Slavonic translation sometimes differ from each other and some of the oldest extant copies contain secondary or erroneous readings, while some of the later ones preserve the initial correct variant.

Further, in BAR Ms. Slav. No 330 a series of texts can be found which deal with the negotiations carried out in 1233-1234 on the formation of a union between the churches of Rome and Constantinople, conducted under the auspices of the Nicene emperor John III Dukas Vatatses (1222-1254).<sup>39</sup> The ecclesiastical council summoned for this purpose by the Constantinopolitan patriarch (in exile), Germanos II (1222-1240), had its meetings first in Niceaea (in Bythinia) between the 15 and 28 February 1234 and subsequently continued its work in Nymphaeum (in Lydia) between 27 March and 8 May 1234. The titles of these three texts are written in red ink: Exhortation of Patriarch Germanos to the Cruel Latins; Confession of the Roman Pope, brought by his emissaries, called fremenurii [i.e. Minorites or Franciscans], to the Holiest Patriarch of Constantinople, kyr' Germanos; Reply of the Holiest Ecumenical Patriarch kyr' Germanos and of his Holy Synod to the fremenurii sent by the Pope and the Latins who accompany them.<sup>40</sup>

The three texts are closely interrelated but the logical sequence in which they should be studied is different from that in the manuscript. Firstly, the *Confession*, which the emissaries of Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) read at the council's meeting on 29 April 1234, offers the reader a clear-cut idea about the position of the Papacy on the question of the origin of the Holy Spirit. <sup>41</sup> The Slavonic translation, provided with a rather wordy title, renders only the first few lines of this long document, ending with the words: "And he who does not profess that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son is on the road to perdition." This is followed by the signatures of the three papal emissaries: "Ougo of the Order of the Dominican brothers-preachers" (in a number of copies, the name Ougo becomes the Slavonic interjection "oubo"); <sup>43</sup> "Amonie of the Order of

the brothers" (the word 'Minorites' was omitted, which disrupts the meaning); and "fremenur, who is of the same order" (in the earliest copies of the translation the correct "Radulfo, who am of the same order" is to be found).

The *Reply* discusses and refutes the dogmatic views expressed in the *Exposition*. The short polemical fragment at the beginning is supplemented by a compendium of extracts from works by eminent church fathers, which should endorse the position of the Nicene theologians. The *Exhortation*, on the other hand, presents the heated discussion between Patriarch Germanos and the Pope's emissary Hugo, who contested Byzantium's arguments against *Filioque* and tried to defend Rome's position availing of some books in the Greek language, forged in the spirit of "heresy".

Further, BAR Ms. Slav. No 330 features a short text entitled *Of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople. To the Romans, about the Holy Spirit and the unleavened bread offered by them,* which again returns the reader to the question of the historical roots of the rift between Rome and Constantinople and denounces communion with unleavened bread. <sup>44</sup> Although the title mentions the name of the renowned Patriarch Photius, this is actually a work compiled by an anonymous Byzantine author in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century / beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The Bucharest copy is almost identical to that published by A. Popov. <sup>45</sup>

The collection of anti-Catholic works in our miscellany concludes with two pieces of writing of a purely theological nature: the treatise by the Presbyter of the Studion monastery, Nicetas Stethatos (11<sup>th</sup> century), *Epistle to the Romans*<sup>46</sup> (devoted to the unleavened bread, Saturday fast and priests' marriages) and *From the Oration to Adrianopolites, against the Latins concerning the unleavened bread* by John, Patriarch of Antioch.<sup>47</sup> It is also worth mentioning, however, the treatise by Nicetas the Philosopher Paphlagon (c. 885-950), discussing the fact that the Last Supper of Christ and his disciples took place a day before the Jewish Passover.<sup>48</sup> Although it does not contain a single direct accusation aimed at Western Christians, this work has been described by A. Pavlov as "one of the earliest, if not the earliest, attempt at a literary dispute with the Latins on the issue of the unleavened bread."<sup>49</sup>

The observations on BAR Ms. Slav. No 330 show that this miscellany, intended to be read by monks, included the Slavonic mediaeval translations of some of the most significant and authoritative Byzantine

anti-Catholic texts. Moreover, the compiler of the manuscript did not perform the selection of these texts: he simply borrowed this collection of texts from an earlier manuscript. My research so far proves that a series of anti-Catholic works, virtually identical in its contents, was included in a Serbian miscellany from the monastery of Nikoljac (near Bijelo polje, Montenegro), copied in 1556.<sup>50</sup> A fair degree of similarity is also displayed in a manuscript dating from 1400/1410, in the collection of the monastery of Pljevlja<sup>51</sup>, as well as a manuscript from the Archive of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, copied in 1734.<sup>52</sup>

The next manuscript from the collection of the Romanian Academy we shall examine in some detail is BAR Ms. Slav. No 685 – *Nomocanon* (a miscellany of ecclesiastical rules), copied in 1512 at the Monastery of Neamţ by Hierodeacon Nicodem by order of the Moldovian ruler Bogdan (1505-1517) for the benefit of the Monastery of Bisericani in Northern Moldavia. <sup>53</sup> Appended to the part of the miscellany dealing with legal matters is a series of anti-Catholic texts, which gained considerable popularity in the Moldavian lands during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The collection opens with a Useful Tale about the Latins, [of] when they split from the Greeks and from the Holy God's church and how they found the heresy to serve with unleavened bread and abuse the Holy Spirit – a detailed historical account of the split between Rome and the Eastern churches. The beginning of this text is very similar to the already discussed Tale, briefly told... Next comes a list of the Latin transgressions, followed by a rather confused tale in terms of chronology of how the Byzantine emperors succeeded in converting the Bulgarians, Russians, and Hungarians, all traditionally hostile towards the empire. But the onset of invasions of various barbarian peoples from the east, north and south weakened the empire and allowed the Latins to attract the Hungarians to their faith. The tale ends with the conclusion that the Latins, having seen the wars of the pagans against the Greeks, "became worse enemies of the Christian faith and God's Church, and thus established over the earth their foul faith and their evil heresies." The Slavonic text represents a translation of a now lost Greek original prepared in the Bulgarian lands under Byzantine rule no later than the very beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>54</sup>

On the following folios<sup>55</sup> we find a number of texts against the Catholic custom of fasting on Saturday, and priests' celibacy, shaving, and wearing of long hair and rings. Without acknowledging his source, the compiler of the miscellany borrows articles from Nicetas Stethatos' polemical treatise *To the Latins, about the unleavened bread,* whose translation

enjoyed considerable popularity in all Slavic countries after the 13<sup>th</sup> century owing to its inclusion in the so-called *Kormčaja kniga*, compiled in 1219 by the first Serbian archbishop, Sava (1219-1235).<sup>56</sup>

According to A. Jacimirskij, <sup>57</sup> the author of the only description of the manuscript published so far, f. 244-248 feature the polemical work *About the Franks and the other Latins* – a Slavonic translation of one of the relatively early Byzantine lists of the Catholic errors, which during the Middle Ages was, for no particular reason, attributed to Patriarch Photius. <sup>58</sup> It should be noted, however, that the copyist of BAR Ms. Slav. No 685 was working with a corrupt manuscript from which not only the folios with the second part of the treatise, *About the Franks and the other Latins*, but also the beginning of the following text, *About the unleavened service and about the Latins and their service*, was missing. The scribe must have been completely unaware of the missing folio and did not indicate by a dividing mark or a title the point of contact between the two texts.

Further, the miscellany also contains a fragment of *Tacticon* by Nicon of the Black Mountain,<sup>59</sup> compiled in Antioch around the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century and full of attacks against the Catholics,<sup>60</sup> and a *Short account of Christ's suppers* by Patriarch Nicephorus Kallistos Xanthopulos (ca. 1256-1335),<sup>61</sup> which are followed by two rather curious anti-Catholic texts, thematically interrelated and imbued with a spirit of extreme intolerance.

The first of these is entitled *Oration on the fallacy of the Germans, how Peter the Mutterer taught [them] a heresy*<sup>62</sup> and is in essence a short apocryphal story about the imaginary founder of the "Latin heresy", who used to wear silk clothes, a hat with horns and gloves, trimmed his beard and ordered everybody to trim their groin, eat various unclean and foul things, ordered priests to take seven wives and concubines, musicians to play in the temples, etc. The anonymous writer concludes his account with the words: "Let it be known that it is in Peter the Mutterer that the Latins believe and not in Saint Peter. And if somebody professes the Latin faith, be they cursed so that the Christians are not tempted by the perverse<sup>63</sup> Latin faith."

The second text is a *Story about the Latins*, <sup>65</sup> compiled by the hegumenos of the Monastery of Pečora, St. Theodosius (+ 03.05.1074) and addressed to the grand duke of Kiev, Izjaslav Jaroslavič (1054-1078). <sup>66</sup> The expanded and interpolated redaction of the text, to be found in BAR Ms. Slav. No 685, <sup>67</sup> begins with the authors confession that he was brought

up by a "father and Christian mother" to live according to the honest and Orthodox law,

and not to follow the dim and abominable Latin faith, nor to go with them, nor to observe their customs, nor to take communion their way and not to listen to any of their preaching; and to guard against all their ways: neither to give my daughters to them in marriage, nor to become related by marriage to their sons, nor to arrange marriages between my sons and their daughters; in no deed to get close to them: neither to swear brotherhood, nor to be best man, nor to bow to him, nor to kiss him; and from the same vessel neither to eat, nor to drink with them... Because they do not believe right, nor do they live clean. <sup>68</sup>

There then follows a short account of the founding of Constantinople, the decline of old Rome and the election of Peter the Mutterer, "one of the Vandals, of Latin stock", as pope.<sup>69</sup> The description of the imaginary founder of Catholicism and of his "teachings" coincides almost literally with that in *Oration about the Fallacy of the Germans...* Next comes a random list of 34 errors of the Latins, among which unleavened bread and *Filioque* come as low as numbers ten and eleven, followed by further accusations, such as that Catholics eat out of the same vessel together with dogs and cats; drink their own urine and wash their eyes with it; eat wild horses, tortoises, donkeys, dead animals, bears, beaver tails, and tallow; their priests do not marry but live with their female slaves; their bishops have concubines and go to war; their women, when they give birth, wash in the same vessels from which they later eat and drink, and so on.<sup>70</sup>

It is obvious that we are dealing here with a text whose author makes unashamed use of invention and vilifications in order to create in the mind of the orthodox reader a completely negative and repulsive image of the Western Christians. Taking into account the peculiarities of the Byzantine anti-Catholic polemic, this approach is hardly surprising. The anonymous Slavic scholar who edited the *Oration about the Latins* by Theodosius of Peèora skillfully "embellishes" the vitriolic text of the Kievan hegumenos with many new and "valuable" details, turning it into a favorite reading matter for the orthodox clergy and monks.

It is interesting to note that the cycle of anti-Catholic works included in BAR Ms. Slav. No 685 enjoyed considerable popularity in the Moldavian lands. The earliest copy of this cycle can be found in a miscellany copied

in the second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century by the well-known scribe from the monastery of Neamţ, Gavril Uric.<sup>71</sup> In 1557 hierodeacon Ilarion copied the texts that concern us from BAR Ms. Slav. No 685 or from its antigraph into his bulky miscellany, compiled by order of Gregory, the metropolitan of Suceava, and donated to the Neamţ monastery.<sup>72</sup> The same texts were included in the famous *Kievan Miscellany*, written in c. 1554-1561 in Baia (near the Neamţ Monastery) and the monastery of Bistriţa (Northern Moldavia),<sup>73</sup> as well as in Ms. Hilandar 481 – a miscellany from the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century brought in 1590 to Mount Athos by Athanasius, the hegumenos of the Bistriţa Monastery.<sup>74</sup>

All these Slavonic miscellanies employ Old-Bulgarian orthography, which is hardly a coincidence. Undoubtedly, they originate from a collection of texts compiled in Bulgaria during the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and including a series of polemical (predominantly anti-Catholic), historcal, hagiographical and dogmatic texts.<sup>75</sup> The compilation of this miscellany was most probably prompted by the vehement opposition of the Bulgarian ruling circles against the union formed in Lyons in 1274 between the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus (1259-1282) and the Roman Church. An active role was played in these events by the emperor's niece and Bulgarian tsaritsa, Maria Palaeologena, who tried to organize joint resistance against the union of the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria.<sup>76</sup>

Eventually, Michael VIII's attempt to impose his church union by force on Byzantine society failed and he earned the reputation of being one of the most impious rulers of the "New Rome". For example, for centuries in Mount Athos there circulated legendary tales in Greek and Slavonic about the violence and atrocities committed by the emperor's Western mercenaries against the disobedient Athonite monastic brotherhoods.<sup>77</sup> These texts were read and copied in the Romanian lands, evidence of which still exists in a number of (though rather late) manuscripts from the collection of the Romanian Academy.

Thus, in 1777, somewhere in the vicinity of the Hermitage of Deleni (also known as Lacuri monastery, 3 km northwest of Hîrlău), the monk Jeronimus copied a *Story about the monastery of Xeropotamou, which is situated in the holy Mount Athos and what was done there by the Latin-thinkers.*<sup>78</sup> Another late manuscript, donated by Father Mitrophan in 1818 to the monastery ('skit') of Poiana Mărului (in the mountains above Buzău), includes *Epistle confessional, sent by all inhabitants of Mount Athos to emperor Michael Palaeologus...*, <sup>79</sup> in which the Lyons

union is described as "destruction for the entire body of the Church", <sup>80</sup> and *Story about our venerable fathers in the holy Mount Athos killed by the Latin-thinking emperor Michael and by those who are with him, Latins and Latin-thinkers.* <sup>81</sup>

The most interesting invective directed at Michael VIII's religious policy, however, appeared even before the emperor's death and was soon translated into the Slavonic language. This is the *Dialogue of Panagiotes with an Azymite* – a work belonging to Byzantine "low" literature, which presents an imaginary public dispute, held in the presence of Michael VIII and a number of distinguished Byzantines, between the champion of Orthodoxy Constantine (referred to as *Panagiotes* or *Philosopher*) and one of the Pope's representatives, referred to as Azymite. Unfortunately, the Greek text has never been a subject of special study, which makes it difficult to answer the question about the correlations among the three versions of the Slavonic translation identified by A. Popov. A

The manuscript BAR Ms. Slav. No 649, written in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and donated in 1869 to the Bulgarian book club in Tulcea by Mančo Džudžov, contains a copy of the second redaction of the translation, which, however, is characterized by a number of individual peculiarities.<sup>85</sup>

I will not dwell on the first part of the dispute, in which Panagiotes "amazes" his opponent with his "deep" knowledge of the secrets of life and the structure of the world. Having established his intellectual superiority, the champion of Orthodoxy launches an attack on the 72 heresies of the Catholics. It is here that the tendency towards "trivialization" and denigration of the religious dispute, towards the actual substitution of existing differences between orthodox Christians and Catholics by outright lies and fabrications, so characteristic of the Byzantine polemical literature, reaches one of its peaks. This is illustrated in the following straightforward example. Panagiotes asks Azymite why the Pope shaves. Azymite explains that during the night an angel visited the Pope and ordered him to cut his beard. What follows is Panagiotes' vehement refutation: "This is not true, now you have lied! Listen, Azymite, let me tell you the truth... The Pope wanted a certain woman. So he sent the woman [a letter] to come and lie with him. Then the woman sent him [a letter] saying: 'If you want me to come and lie with you, shave off your beard.' And the Pope cut his beard and sent [a letter] to the woman. The woman said, 'Because you cut your beard and shamed your honor for the sake of my female sex... I don't want to come to you!" It further

relates how the Pope convened an ecclesiastical council and announced that an angel sent by God had told him that he and his bishops should cut their beards to become worthy of an angelic order. "This is what you have been doing ever since," this absurd tale is concluded by Panagiotes, "and a woman shamed you and you shaved your beards for the sake of the female sex."<sup>86</sup>

The lively interest towards this pure propaganda in Bulgaria and Serbia at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries seems to be completely unrelated to the classic religious dispute. On the other hand, however, if we bear in mind the fact that the Lyons union confronted the orthodox Christians with the necessity of stating firmly their attitude towards the papal primacy, the appearance of such a "compromising sexual revelation", targeted at the Roman pontiff, lends itself to a logical explanation.

Inspired by Panagiotes' denunciatory story, an anonymous South-Slavic man of letters (a Serb or Bulgarian) created a separate work entitled *A story about how Rome fell from the orthodox faith*. The text, as it is known to date, comes from three copies from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, housed in the Library of the Romanian Academy, <sup>87</sup> the Church Historical Archive and Museum in Sofia, <sup>88</sup> and the Archive of the Serbian Academy of Sciences. <sup>89</sup> It is yet to be studied or published. I will present here only the opening section of the work, which is contained in the only surviving folio of the Bucharest copy.

The *Story* begins with an introduction consisting of brief questions and answers, which prove that this oration was written at the Seventh Ecumenical council, after Rome had been turned away from the Orthodox faith by Peter the Mutterer and Paul Ermon made pope by Basil the Great. These two mysterious *personae* were obviously "borrowed" from the second redaction of the *Dialogue of Panagiotes with an Azymite*, where it says: "Peter the Mutterer and Paul of Samosata. They brought about this heresy and to you they transferred their foul-smelling heresy – heretics, cursed by the holy fathers at the Seventh council; and you have clung to this heresy ever since." The mention of Paul of Samosata clarifies the logic of the exposition – this patriarch of Antioch was removed and excommunicated by a local council on charges of heresy and suspicions of sexual dissipation. <sup>91</sup>

Further in the *Story* there follows a rather unusual paraphrasing of the tale about the lewd pope, familiar from the *Dialogue of Panagiotes with an Azymite*. Pope Ermon

sent a letter to the maiden's house, which read as follows, "The Pope bows to you. Come to the apostolic throne to have dinner with the Pope." And the maiden was God-wise, filled with the Holy Spirit. When the letter arrived, she threw it into the fire; and the second, and the third, and the fourth, and the fifth, and the sixth. The seventh one was angry. The seventh letter said, "Maiden, you can not escape from the Pope's hands." The maiden... sent a letter to the Pope; she wrote, "Holy Pope, send me your golden hair, and your beard and moustaches, if you want to make love to me. For I am of better stock, of Israel's blood." The maiden wrote the letter so that the Pope would leave her alone. Said the maiden that if the Pope shaved his beard and his moustaches for the sake of a woman, the earth would sink, the heavens would come apart, that is why the Pope would not do it.

The Pope, however, fulfilled the maiden's wish, "The maiden saw the Pope's golden beard and moustaches and cried bitterly, cut her golden hair, and hit her head into the stones." Firmly resolved to expose the Pope, she composes a letter, which is read aloud all around Rome: "Let it be known to you, rulers and Roman lords, this is how Rome fell. The Pope shaved off his beard and his moustaches for the sake of a woman's eyes." The Pope is on the verge of suicide but then Peter the Mutterer comes to him, consoles him and writes his first false heretical book in which it says, "Let it be known to the East, and the West, and the South, and the North! Know, brothers, that this night Archangel Michael came and brought this letter from heaven, and told us to follow Saint Peter the Apostle's rule – every one must shave their beard and moustache..."<sup>92</sup>

In a remarkable manner the author of the *Story* reworks his literary original, introducing a number of additional colorful details and heightens the dramatic quality of the situations described. Particularly important and practically without precedent in that age is the fact that he employs stylistic devices and lexis characteristic of the oral folk tradition. Undoubtedly, in future this newly discovered work will attract scholarly attention and will be studied in detail.

The *Dialogue of Panagiotes with an Azymite* did not escape the notice of the Muscovite defenders of Orthodoxy in the 17<sup>th</sup> century either. Here it was published for the first time in 1644 in the so-called *Kirillova kniga* ('St Cyril's book'). 93 However, this printed edition contains a number of – sometimes rather brutal – alterations of the text, as we already know it. For example, in a curious manner, the Russian editor transforms the woman's refusal to meet the Pope "because you cut your beard and shamed yourself, disgraced your rank and ruined your honor for the sake

of *my woman's beard below the navel.*"<sup>94</sup> Even more interesting is the following long addition: overcome by grief and despair, the Pope taught some pigeons to perch on his shoulders and feed on seeds placed in his ears. He appeared with these pigeons on his shoulders before the council of the Western bishops and announced that God had sent his angel to him as a pigeon with a message and told him that he and his [spiritual] children should from then on shave their beards.<sup>95</sup>

It should be stressed here that Kirillova kniga abounds in such grotesque passages. The compilers and the publishers of this huge volume were ordered by the Russian tsar Mikhail Feodorovič (1613-1645) to gather as many as possible of the most biting polemical texts against Judaism, Catholicism, Lutheranism and Calvinism in existence around the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. 96 The appearance of this Slavic Panoply was an expression of the increased power and confidence of the Muscovite state, while the unrestrained and aggressive tone of a number of the texts included in it provoked the angry reaction of the few Europeans who managed to acquaint themselves with its contents. 97 The book, however, enjoyed enormous popularity in Russia - 1032 out of a total of 1163 copies published were sold within the first three months of its appearance.<sup>98</sup> Odd printed and manuscript copies of the book crossed the borders of the country and contributed to the consolidation of the orthodox resistance against the onslaught of Catholicism and the various Protestant teachings.99

During the second half of the 17th century, Kirillova kniga gained popularity in Wallachia as well. Evidence for this is given by two manuscripts from the collection of Romanian manuscripts in the Library of the Romanian Academy: BAR Ms. Rom. No 1570 (written in 1667)<sup>100</sup> and BAR Ms. Rom. No 1917 (from the end of the 17th century). 101 These are bilingual manuscripts which include texts from Kirillova kniga, accompanied by a parallel Romanian translation. The two manuscripts are incomplete and neither of them has the title page of the book, and it is for this reason that a number of contemporary scholars have regarded them as Romanian translations of certain Slavonic handwritten miscellanies. The comparison between the two manuscripts shows that each of them contains a section of one full Romanian translation of Kirillova kniga. When, where and by whom the translation was made is impossible to determine for the time being. 102 Such an undertaking, however, could hardly have been the product of a personal initiative or whim - obviously this is a translation done at the behest of the high

ecclesiastical circles in Wallachia around the middle or second half of the  $17^{th}$  century.

Let us now return again to Archbishop Peter Bogdan's experiences in Bucharest in 1670. In his report to the *Congregation for the Propagation of Faith* he remarks sadly on the public reaction to the collapse of the hastily and incompetently reconstructed Catholic temple in the capital of Wallachia. Shortly before that the newly ordained Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheus (1669-1707) spent a few months in Bucharest, seizing every opportunity to heap insults on the Roman Church, and at the festive service on Good Thursday excommunicated the First Throne because it fell into heresy.

And because the aforesaid church of the Catholics had collapsed... almost all schismatics say: "The church of the papists collapsed because our patriarch had excommunicated it." This rumor spread throughout the whole area, so that everybody who came to Bucharest, a monk or a layman, Wallachian or Greek, nobleman or ordinary person, the whole schismatic people, they all throng as if to see a miracle and grow stronger in their schism. Infinite is the number of fools! 103

So, during his last visit to Bucharest Peter Bogdan witnessed the beginning of new processes in the spiritual life of Wallachian society. Patriarch Dositheus, who wished to eliminate the Catholic influence in the Holy Lands, <sup>104</sup> would during the years to follow turn Wallachia and Moldova into strongholds in his struggle against Catholicism and Protestantism. During the rule of the enlightened prince Constantin Brăncoveanu (1688-1714), Greek academic education and publishing in the Greek language became a new dominant in the cultural life of the Wallachian principality. The militant anti-Catholicism fostered by Dositheus was welcomed here in the last decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when Catholic Austria laid hands on Transylvania and its orthodox clergy experienced a deep internal spilt, culminating in 1697-1698 in the union with Rome proclaimed by the Alba Iulia Councils. <sup>105</sup>

It can be claimed that the appearance in the manuscript tradition of Romanian translations of various polemical texts during the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the publication in Wallachia and Moldova at that time of a number of polemical works in Greek and Romanian thanks to the efforts of Patriarch Dositheus, determined the gradual decline of interest in the classic Slavonic anti-Catholic works discussed in the

present paper. This problem should be examined further in the context of the general tendency in the Wallachian lands, which became apparent at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, towards a gradual marginalization and ousting of the Slavonic language from church life. 106 Along with this, well-focused and detailed research should be conducted to determine whether and to what extent the numerous Slavonic translations of Greek and Romanian printed books of a polemical nature, disseminated in manuscript form across Russia and Serbia during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, contributed to overcoming some of the mediaeval anachronisms in the thinking of the Slavonic orthodox polemicists from the Enlightenment. 107

### **NOTES**

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- <sup>17</sup> BAR Ms. Slav. No 330, f. 1 116.
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- <sup>20</sup> BAR Ms. Slav. No 330, f. 116 v 178 v.
- In fact, after f. 281v, where we find described certain events from the rule of Basil I (867-886), there are missing folios, and f. 282 was misplaced there / it relates the events surrounding the Byzantine campaign against Bulgaria in 917/; the order of the following folios is also confused.
- <sup>22</sup> BAR Ms. Slav. No 330, f. 132v -133v.
- According to the anonymous writer, the name of this pope was Christophorus, which casts doubts on the authenticity of this section of the story. It appears that here we stumble upon a late and confused echo of the events accompanying the dismissal of the anti-pope Christophorus (903-904) and the appointment of Pope Sergius III (904-911).
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- The rest of them are: Archive of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU), Ms. 51, Serbian, 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century. (STOJANOVIĆ, LJ. *Katalog rukopisa i starih štampanih knjiga. Zbirka Srpske Kraljevske akademije*, Belgrade, 1901, 186-187); Ms. Hilandar 301 (*Nomocanon* from 1620).
- <sup>30</sup> BAR Ms. Slav. No 330, f. 133v 144.
- JACIMIRSKIJ, A. Slavjanskija i russkija rukopisi rumynskikh bibliotek [= Sbornik Otdelenija Russkago Jazyka i Slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk, T. LXXIX], Saint-Petersburg, 1905, 763-767; PANAITESCU, P. Manuscrisele..., 219-225; VASILJEV, LJ., GROZDANOVIĆ, M., JOVANOVIĆ, B. "Novo datiranje...", p. 50.
- Cf. BAR Ms. Slav. No 155, f. 598 602. Greek text with parallel Latin translation: MIGNE, J.-P. (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completes. Series Graeca*, T. CXX, Parisiis, 1880, coll. 781-794 ("Michaelis sanctissimi archiepiscopi Constantinopolis novae Romae, et oecumenici patriarchae, Cerularii, ad Petrum sanctissimum patriarcham Theopolis magnae Antiochiae"). See also: GRUMEL, V. *Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople, Vol. I. Les actes des patriarches, Fasc. 3 1043 à 1206*, Socii Assumptionistae Chalcedonenses, Paris, 1947, 5-7 (No 866).
- KOLBABA, T. *The Byzantine Lists: errors of the Latins,* University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago, 2000.
- Here I cite the tract *Concerning Those Who Accuse the Latins* after: KOLBABA, T. *The Byzantine Lists...,* p. 92.
- POPOV, A. *Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor...*, 50-56; PAVLOV, A. "Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor...", 227-229.
- Two later versions were produced on the basis of copies of the text, similar to these three: the first, which appeared no later than the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, is known from Ms. JAZU III a 47, f. 545v-547 (MOŠIN, V., *Ćirilski rukopisi Jugoslavenske akademije. I Dil. Opis rukopisa*, Jugoslavenska akademija

### ANGEL NIKOLOV

- znatnosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb, 1955, 61-67; HRISTOVA, B. *Opis na răkopisite na Vladislav Gramatik*, Izdatelstvo "PIK", Veliko Tărnovo, 1996, 25-48) and Ms. Hilandar 469, f. 276-279v, and the second Ms. Hilandar 301, f. 120v-123 and Ms. SANU 51, f. 22-24v.
- BAR Ms. Slav. No 330, f. 135r-v, 135v 140v. Cf. BAR Ms. Slav. No 155, f. 588-598. Greek text with parallel Latin translation: MIGNE, J.-P. (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completes. Series Graeca*, T. CXX, Parisiis, 1880, coll. 756-781 ("Venerando coangelico domino et spirituali nostro fratri, sanctissimo archiepiscopo Gradensi seu Aquileiae, Petrus misericordia Dei patriarcha Theopolis magnae Antiochiae").
- In the Slavonic translation the Greek word "κλήρος" 'clerus', 'clergy' is rendered as "εμεργα" 'council'.
- On the Greek original of this 'dossier' see: LAURENT, V. Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople, Vol. I. Les actes des patriarches, Fasc. 4 1208 à 1303, Institut française d'études byzantines, Paris, 1971, p. 82.
- <sup>40</sup> BAR Ms. Slav. No 330, f.140v 144. Cf. BAR Ms. Slav. No 155, f. 602 604v.
- Editions of the text: GOLUBOVICH, H. "Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum, seu Relatio Apocrisiarorum Gregorii IX de gestis Nicaeae in Bithynia et Nymphaeae in Lydia 1234", in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XII, 1919, 455-458 (Latin text); WADDINGUS, L. *Annales Minorum, seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*, T. II (1221-1237), Quaracchi, 1931, 374-381 (Greek and Latin texts).
- <sup>42</sup> Cf. identical reading in Ms. Dečani 75 и Ms. Dečani 102.
- <sup>43</sup> Cf. Ms. Pljevlja 12.
- <sup>44</sup> BAR Ms. Slav. No 330, f. 144-145.
- POPOV, A. *Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor...*, 40-43. The two significant additions to the published text in the Bucharest copy are identical to those in a late Russian copy: BYČKOV, A. Opisanie cerkovno-slavjanskikh i russkikh rukopisnykh sbornikov Imperatorskoj Publičnoj biblioteki, T. I, Sankt-Peterburg, 1882, p. 262.
- The Greek text has been published in: DEMETRACOPULUS, A. *Bibliotheca* ecclesiastica, continens graecorum theologorum opera ex codicibus manuscriptis Mosquensibus, T. I, Leipzig, 1866, 18-36.
- This seems to be a reference to the Antiochian patriarch John IV (V) Oxeites (1089-1100).
- <sup>48</sup> BAR Ms. Slav. No 330, f. 154-158.
- <sup>49</sup> PAVLOV, A. "Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor..." p. 223.
- <sup>50</sup> Ms. Nikoljac 49, f. 226-264v (STANKOVIĆ, R. "Datiranje...", 179-181).
- Ms. Pljevlja 41, f. 237-321v (STANKOVIĆ, R. Rukopisne knjige..., p. 15).
- <sup>52</sup> Ms. SÁNÚ 135, f. 425-477v (STOJANOVIĆ, LJ. *Katalog rukopisa...*, 102-114).

- In fact, BAR Ms. Slav. No 685 is a photocopy of the original manuscript, which at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century became part of A. Jacimirskij's personal collection. This collection was subsequently transferred to the Library of Saint-Petersburg Academy of Sciencies (signature 13.3.23). Manuscript description: JACIMIRSKIJ, A. *Iz slavjanskikh rukopisej. Teksty i zametki*, Moscow, 1898, p. 2, 85-92.
- <sup>54</sup> NIKOLOV, A. "'A Useful Tale'…", 99-119.
- <sup>55</sup> BAR Ms. Slav. No 685, f. 235 244.
- POPOV, A. Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor..., 125-133; TROICKI, S. "Kako treba izdati Svetosavsku Krmčiju (Nomokanon sa tumačenjima)", in Spomenik Srpske akademije nauka, CII, Odeljenje društvenih nauka, Nova serija 4, 1952, 87-88.
- JACIMIRSKIJ, A. *Iz slavjanskikh rukopisej...*, p. 89.
- HERGENROETHER, I. *Monumenta...*, 62-71 (Greek text and Latin translation); POPOV, A. *Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor...*, 58-69 (edition of the mediaeval Slavonic translation from the Serbian *Kormčaja* with parallel Greek text); KOLBABA, T. *The Byzantine Lists...*, p. 178.
- <sup>59</sup> BAR Ms. Slav. No 685, f. 249-252.
- LEVY-RUBIN, M. ""The errors of the Franks" by Nikon of the Black Mountain: between religious and ethno-cultural conflict", in *Byzantion*, LXXI, 2001, 422-437.
- 61 BAR Ms. Slav. No 685, f. 252.
- BAR Ms. Slav. No 685, f. 253-255v. Edited by POPOV, A. *Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor...*, 22-23. See also the discussion in PAVLOV, A. "Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor...", 205-212.
- <sup>63</sup> The word 'perverse' ("радвращеннои") is missing from the copies published by A. Popov.
- <sup>64</sup> BAR Ms. Slav. No 685, f. 255v.
- <sup>65</sup> Beginning on BAR Ms. Slav. No 685, f. 255v.
- 66 POPOV, A. *Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor...*, 69-81.
- The copy from Ms. Slav. No 685 is practically identical to Gavril Uric's mid-15<sup>th</sup> century copy (see below) edited by A. Jacimirskij. Hereafter I refer to this edition (JACIMIRSKIJ, A. *Iz slavjanskikh rukopisej...*, 23-27).
- <sup>68</sup> JACIMIRSKIJ, A. *Iz slavjanskikh rukopisej...*, p. 23.
- <sup>69</sup> JACIMIRSKIJ, A. *Iz slavjanskikh rukopisej...*, 23-24.
- JACIMIRSKIJ, A. *Iz slavjanskikh rukopisej...*, 24-25.
- JACIMIRSKIJ, A. *Iz slavjanskikh rukopisej*..., p. 2, 28-30; JACIMIRSKIJ, A. *Grigorij Camblak. Očerk ego žizni, administrativnoj i knižnoj dejatel'nosti,* Saint-Petersburg, 1904, 376-377. More generally about the literary activity of Gavril Uric see MIHAILA, G. "Rukopisi Gavriila Urika Njameckogo i ikh literaturnoe značenie", in *Tărnovska knižovna škola*, 2, 1980, 81-88; PASKAL', A. "Itogi i zadači izučenija rukopisej Gavriila Urika kak rannikh istočnikov po istorii slavjano-moldavskoj knižnosti XV veka", in *Issledovanija po*

#### ANGEL NIKOLOV

- istočnikovedeniju istorii SSSR dooktjabr'skogo perioda, Institut istorii SSSR, Moscow, 1989, 4-32; PASKAL', A. "Novye dannye o knižnoj dejatel'nosti Gavriila Urika Njameckogo, in *Tărnovska knižovna škola*, 5, 1994, 409-413.
- BOGDAN, I. *Cronice inedite atingătoare de istoria românilor*, București, 1895, 81-90; JACIMIRSKIJ, A. *Iz slavjanskih rukopisej...*, 2-3
- BOGDAN, I. Vechile cronice moldovenesci pana la Urechia. Texte slave cu studiu, traduceri si note, Bucuresci, 1891, 3-11; TYUTYUNDŽIEV, I. Bălgarskata anonimna hronika ot XV v., "Elpis", Veliko Tărnovo, 1992, 34-39. The manuscript is currently housed at the Central Research Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, indexed as Poč./Ber. 47 116.
- MATEJIC, P., H. THOMAS, Catalog. Manuscripts on Microform of the Hilandar Research Library (The Ohio State University), Vol. I, Resource Center for Medieval Slavic Studies, the Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1992, p. 569.
- 75 The two earliest copies of this miscellany still in existence – one, Bulgarian, from 1360/1370 (Ms. Pljevlja 12) and one, Serbian, from the last guarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (National library of Serbia, Rs 11) – are a somewhat distorted reflection of its contents. It seems that the miscellany opened with an Introduction, the so-called Tale about the restoration of the Bulgarian Patriarchate in 1235; followed by Useful Tale about the Latins, To the Latins, about the unleavened bread by Nicetas Stethatos, the aforementioned fragment from Tacticon by Nikon of the Black Mountain, About Christ's Suppers by Nicephoros Calist, Oration on the fallacy of the Germans, how Peter the Mutterer taught [them] a heresy, To the Latins about the unleavened bread, About the Franks and the other Latins, Brief story about the Latin heresies, Confession of the Roman pope.... Patriarch Germanos's Reply. Devotional and kind exhortation to the cruel Latins by Patriarch Germanos, Confession about the Holy and Life-giving Trinity, Brief exposition on faith by Anasthasius of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria, Tale, briefly told, about how and why the Latins split..., Exposition on faith in brief by Maxim Confessor, Short Vita of Constantine-Cyril the Philosopher (Dormition of Cyril).
- <sup>76</sup> NIKOLOV, A. "'A Useful Tale'…", 107-108.
- ŽIVOJNOVIĆ, M. "Sveta gora i Lionska unija", in *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog insituta*, XVIII, 1978, 141-154; BOŽILOV, I. ""Măčenie na zografskite monasi". Legendi i fakti", in *Svetogorska obitel Zograf*, T. II, Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Ohridski", Sofia, 1996, 175-188.
- BAR Ms. Slav. No 575, f. 127-132 (PANAITESCU, P. *Catalogul...*, p. 431). According to A. Turilov, this is a Bulgarian text written in the first half of the 14th century, which is known today solely from East-Slavonic copies (such as the Bucharest one). These copies share a common archetype, brought into the Suprasl monastery (near Bialystok, Poland) in 1546 (TURILOV, A. "Maloizvestnyj istočnik po istorii idei "Tret'ego Rima" u juznykh slavjan

(Povest' o Ksiropotamskom monastyre)", in Rimsko-Konstantinopol'skoe nasledie na Rusi: ideja vlasti i političeskaja praktika, Moscow, Rossijskaja akademija nauk, Institut rossijskoj istorii, 1995, 137-139). It seems to me that the question about the origin of this Story will not be fully resolved before the as yet unpublished Greek texts dealing with Xeropotamou's fate have been studied in detail. (BINON, S. Les origines légendaires et l'histoire de Xéropotamou et de Saint-Paul de l'Athos. Étude diplomatique et critique. Publiée par les soins de F. Halkin, Bureaux du Muséon, Louvain, 1942, 110-113). I am obliged to A. Turilov for the additional information offered in a personal letter to me from 5 April 2005. The observation contained in it that this text does not vary significantly in the available copies and differences are largely due to orthographic variations and occasional omissions is generally confirmed by the comparison between the Bucharest copy and the only printed edition of the work (VIŠENSKIJ, I. Sočinenija. Podgotovka teksta, stat'ja i kommentarii I. Eremina, Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1955, 332-335).

- BAR Ms. Slav. No 383, f. 290-300 (PANAITESCU, P. Catalogul..., p. 182). The same text features in a miscellany from A. Jacimirskij's collection, which was written in the second half of the 18th century by Paisij Veličkovskij (SREZNEVSKIJ, V., F. POKROVSKIJ, Opisanie rukopisnogo otdelenija Biblioteki Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk, T. I/2, Petrograd, 1915, 131-132).
- <sup>80</sup> BAR Ms. Slav. No 383, f. 297.
- BAR Ms. Slav. No 383, f. 300v-303. This is basically a literal translation of the Greek text published in LAMPROS, S. "Ta Patria tou Agiou oros", in *Neos Ellēnomnēmōn*, 9, 1912, 157-161.
- SPERANSKIJ, M. "K istorii "Prenija panagiota s azimitom", in Vizantijskij vremennik, II, 1895, 526-527.
- KOLBABA, T. *The Byzantine Lists...*, 179, 182-183. To the literature sited there one should also add KRASNOSEL'CEV, N. "Prenie Panagiota s azimitom" po novym grečeskim spiskam", in *Letopis' Istoriko-filologičeskogo Obščestva pri Imperatorskom Novorossijskom universitete, Vizantijskoe otdelenie*, III (VI), 1896, 295-328.
- POPOV, A. *Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor...*, 238-286.
- BAR Ms. Slav. No 649, f. 3v-18. Description of the manuscript: Srednebolgarskij perevod Khroniki Konstantina Manassii v slavjanskikh literaturakh, Izdatel'stvo Bolgarskoj akademii nauk, Sofia, 1988, 90-94. Cf. MILTENOVA, A. Erotapokriseis..., 196-197, 207.
- BAR Ms. Slav. No 649, f. 11-11v. Cf. POPOV, A. *Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor...*, 273-274. The Greek copies published so far, as well as the first redaction of the Slavonic translation, do not include this motif.
- BAR Ms. Slav. No 421, f. 142v-143v. The manuscript is *convolute*, and the folios that concern us date back to the third quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (VASILJEV, LJ., GROZDANOVIĆ, M., JOVANOVIĆ, B. "Novo datiranje...",

- 59-60). Description: PANAITESCU, P. *Catalogul...*, 237-242 (The *Story* was not identified due to its condition and was described as "Legenda apocrifă *Despre despărțirea bisericii catolice de biserica prevoslavnică*").
- <sup>88</sup> CIAM Ms. No 1161, 62-69v, 16<sup>th</sup> century. About the manuscript: KOŽUHAROV, S. "Neizvesten prepis na Solunskata legenda", in *Bălgarski* ezik, 16, 1966, 491-495; MILTENOVA, A. *Erotapokriseis...*, 297-298.
- SANU Ms. № 147, f. 26-31v, 17th-18<sup>th</sup> century. (STOJANOVIĆ, LJ. *Katalog...*, p. 191).
- BAR Ms. Slav. No 649, f. 12v. Cf. POPOV, A. Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor..., p. 275.
- Euseb. Caes. Hist., Lib. VII, XXX. 13-14 (Eusebius of Caesarea, *The Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II [= The Loeb Classical Library, No 265]*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 2000, p. 220, 222)
- <sup>92</sup> CIAM Ms. No 1161, f. 62v-64v (I take into account, however, some other better readings of the other two copies).
- ZERNOVA, A. Knigi kirillovskoj pečati, izdannye v Moskve v XVI-XVII vekah. Svodnyj catalog. Gosudarstvennaja Ordena Lenina biblioteka SSSR imeni V. I. Lenina, Moscow, 1958, p. 59, No 169; NIESS, H. Kirche in Rußland zwischen Tradition und Glaube? Eine Untersuchung der Kirillova kniga und der Kniga o vere aus der 1. Hälfte des 17. Jarhunderts, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Götingen, 1977; KAGAN, M. "Kirillova kniga", in Slovar' knižnikov i knižnosti Drevnej Rusi, 3/2, Izdatel'stvo "Dmitrij Bulanin", Saint-Petersburg, 1993, 163-166; OPARINA, T. "Prosvetitel' Litovskij neizvestnyj pamjatnik ideologičeskoj bor'by XVII v.", in Literatura i klassovaja bor'ba epohi pozdnego feodalizma v Rossii. Otvetstvennyj redactor E. Romodanovskaja, Izdatel'stvo "Nauka" Sibirskoe otdelenie, Novosibirsk, 1987, 43-57; OPARINA, T. "Prosvetitel' Litovskij", in Slovar' knižnikov i knižnosti Drevnej Rusi, 3/3, Izdatel'stvo "Dmitrij Bulanin", Saint-Petersburg, 1998, 275-277.
- 94 BAR Ms. Rom. No 1570, f. 27.
- <sup>95</sup> BAR Ms. Rom. No 1570, f. 27-27v.
- 96 NIESS, H. Kirche in Rußland..., 12-17.
- 97 NIESS, H. Kirche in Rußland..., 11-12.
- 98 NIESS, H. Kirche in Rußland..., p. 11.
- <sup>99</sup> KACZIBA, Á. *Budimpeštinski rukopis Hristofora Račanina (Sadržaj, paleografski opis i pravopis)*, Institut za slavistiku Univerziteta "Jožef Atila", Szeged, 1999, 25-33.
- STREMPEL, G. Catalogul..., I, p. 372.
- 5TREMPEL, G. Catalogul..., II, p. 102; BARBU, V. Miniatura brâncovenescă. Manuscrise illustrate și ornamentate, Editura Merediane, București, 2000, 73-75.
- Judging by some notes on the manuscripts, BAR Ms. Rom. No 1570 was housed at the bishopric of Buzău, and BAR Ms. Rom. No 1917 at the bishopric of Rămnic (at least since 1791).

- Dokumenti za katolièeskata propaganda..., 301-302 (Latin text), 331 (Bulgarian translation).
- FONKIČ, B. "Ierusalimskij patriarh Dosifej i ego rukopisi v Moskve", in *Vizantijskij vremennik*, XXIX, 1969, 275-299; PANČENKO, K. "Osmanskaja imperija i sud'by pravoslavija na Arabskom Vostoke (XVI načalo XIX veka)", in *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies*, II, 1999, no. 5, 89-92 (http://www2.let.uu.nl/Solis/anpt/ejos/EJOS-II.5.html).
- RUFFINI, M. Biblioteca stolnicului Constantin Cantacuzino. Traducere din limba italiană de D. Panaitescu și T. Pârvulescu. Prefață de V. Cândea, "Minerva", București, 1973, 142-146, 154-155; PIPPIDI, A. "Pouvoir et culture en Valachie sous Constantin Brancovan", in Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes, XXVI, 1984, 285-294; MIRON, G.-M., "...poruncește, scoale-te, propoveduește..." Biserica Greco-Catolică din Transilvania. Cler și enoriași (1697-1782), Pressa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, p. 35, 37-44.
- PANAITESCU, P. Începuturile..., 220-226; ZACH, K. Orthodoxe Kirche..., 184-187.
- SREČKOVIĆ, P, Nekoliko srpskih spomenika [= Spomenik Srpske Kraljevske Akademije XV], Belgrade, 1892, p. 24; KOSTIĆ, M., "Akatolička književnost u Srba krajem XVIII v.", in Glasnik Srpske Pravoslavne Patrijaršije, II, 1921, 312-313; TURDEANU, É. "Le livre grec en Russie: l'apport des presses de Moldavie et Valachie (1682-1725)", in Revue des Études slaves, XXVI, 1950, 69-87; RYKOV, JU. "Rukopisi, popolnivšie v 1987 g. ranee postupivšie sobranija", in Zapiski Otdela rukopisej, 51, 2000, 96-97.