

# THE DEFENCE OF THE ORTHODOXY BY MEANS OF THE PRINTING PRESS. ZEAL OF SAINT CONSTANTINE BRÂNCOVEANU AND STATE CONCERN DURING HIS REIGN

ION I. CROITORU

## 1. The tradition of the printing press in the Romanian Countries

The Romanian Countries were, for a long time, the only ones that used the art of the printing press in South-East Europe, due to their autonomy in relation to the Ottoman Empire, where the printing press was first rigorously forbidden, with certain exceptions, and then tolerated in the Christian communities of the Near East. Thus, the Jewish community had received the permission to introduce the printing press in the Ottoman Empire even since the end of the 15th century, only to print books for its own needs, not in the Arab language<sup>1</sup>; the Greeks managed to put into operation in Constantinople, for a short period of time (1627–1628), a printing press of Greek language, through the initiative of Patriarch Cyril Lucaris and with the help of the monk Nicodemus Metaxas, but which will be destroyed by Janissaries (January, 1628), following the plot of the Jesuits and of the French ambassador to the Porte, the printing activity being resumed only during the second half of the 18th century<sup>2</sup>; for the Arab Christian world, the art of the printing press *will grow durable roots in 1706 precisely with the Romanians' help*. The respective year represents the beginning of the Arab printing press in an Arab country, by the printing, in Aleppo, of an *Arab Psalter*, in the printing press set up there with the help of the Wallachian ruler Constantine Brâncoveanu (1688–1714)<sup>3</sup>.

The tradition of the printing press in Wallachia dates since the beginning of the 16th century, as a result of the initiative of the Prince Radu the Great (1496–1508) and the activity of the Serbian monk Macarius, who also became Metropolitan of Wallachia (1512–1521). He printed at Dealu Monastery, near Târgoviște, three books destined to the worship in the Orthodox Church, in Slavonic (1508–1512)<sup>4</sup>. Following this cultural act, the use of the printing press in

<sup>1</sup> Căndea 1989, 174–175.

<sup>2</sup> Podskalsky 2005. 100–101.

<sup>3</sup> Căndea 2001, 307, 311; see also Gdoura 1985.

<sup>4</sup> *Hieratikon* or *Leitourgiarion* (1508), *Octoechos* (1510) and *Tetraevangel* (1512), see *BRV* 1, 1, 9.

the Romanian Countries was enlisted in the European culture only 53 years after the first book printed using the invention of Johann Gutenberg (Mainz, 1455), just 37 years after the beginning of the circulation of the first book printed in Greek (Venice, 1471), only 25 years after the printing of the first book in Slavonic (Venice, 1483) and just 17 years after the printing of the first book using the Cyrillic alphabet (Krakow, 1491)<sup>5</sup>.

## 2. The role of the printing press for the *Reign* and for the *Church*

The use of the printing press generalized the utilization, in the Romanian society, of the printed books carrying the seal of the *Reign* and of the *Church*, as the only guarantees casting away all doubt regarding their Orthodox content<sup>6</sup>. Consequently, these books were meant to quench the thirst of culture and particularly of spiritual life, but also to defend the ancestral law, identified with the Orthodox faith. For instance, the cultural and spiritual situation of the Romanian society during the first half of the 17th century is specifically summed up by the Wallachian ruler Matthew Basarab (1632–1654), who mentions that, in his time, in the whole country there were *hunger and thirst, yet not for bread and water, but for prophet, for true spiritual food and water*<sup>7</sup>. Therefore, the *Reign* was aware not just of the need to restore the political-economic balance and maintain peace, conditions that were actually necessary for cultural progress, but also of the need to satisfy the *spiritual hunger* of the *Christian souls* of Wallachia, whose spiritual vitality, *by early hunger, will decrease*. The lack of spiritual food was due to the *decrease in number of the holy books* following the *frequent invasions and pressures from different peoples, of unbelievers or even of some of the believers*<sup>8</sup>.

These books, especially those written using the living language of the people, *so that they all may understand*<sup>9</sup>, as Saint Simeon Stephen, metropolitan of Transylvania (1643–1656) affirms, were printed not just to be used in the worship of the Church or as textbooks, but for *all the Romanian nation*<sup>10</sup>, according to the belief of Saint Varlaam, metropolitan of Moldavia (1632–1653), being addressed to those of *the same faith as ourselves... the Eastern Orthodox faith of our fathers and of the forefathers*<sup>11</sup> of the Romanians, with the clear desire not to let any part of the

<sup>5</sup> According to the order of printing of Slavonic books using Cyrillic letters, the printing press of Târgoviște is considered the fourth, after those of Krakow (1491), Venice (1493) and Cetinje (1493/1494). It ought to be mentioned that the Cyrillic printing press will continue for about 350 years in the Romanian Countries, with short breaks, getting to be considered the oldest Cyrillic printing press with a longer activity, being followed by the Russian one (1564) and the Ukrainian one (1567), see Croitoru 2012 (1), 250.

<sup>6</sup> Croitoru 2012 (2), 134.

<sup>7</sup> *Preface to the Slavonic Euchologion*, Câmpulung, 1635, see BRV IV, 184.

<sup>8</sup> *Preface to the Slavonic Euchologion...*, see BRV IV, 184–185.

<sup>9</sup> *Noul Testament*, Bălgrad, 1648, in BRV I, 170.

<sup>10</sup> Varlaam 1643. I, 2 r: see also BRV I, 139.

<sup>11</sup> Varlaam 1645. I r. 5 r: see also BRV IV, 191, 193.

Romanian nation go down the path of spiritual death, but to keep them all *within the teachings of the Orthodoxy, reinforced as unbent and unshaken pillars*<sup>12</sup>.

The importance of the printing press for the Romanians' spiritual life is assumed not just by the representatives of the *Church* but also by the *Reign*, as one can see from the words of Prince Matthew Basarab who, in his *Preface* to the *Slavonic Psalter* (Govora, 1637), exhorts his descendants to *carefully preserve this gift... because it is a treasure more valuable than all the earthly treasures, since gold, silver and [precious] stones are physical treasures, they adorn the body only temporarily, whereas this treasure, namely the printing press, adorns the human soul*<sup>13</sup>. The preoccupation of the *Reign* was to make out of the printing press an instrument meant to help the Orthodoxy from everywhere, which reflected the *common conscience of the then Orthodox world*<sup>14</sup>, since the printed works were also addressed *to other nations related to us*, in the respective case, related to the Ruler Matthew Basarab and to his subjects, *by faith... especially to the Bulgarians, to the Serbs, to the Hungarian-Wallachians, to the Moldo-Wallachians and to the others*<sup>15</sup>.

### 3. Printing centers of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu's time

The Church and the Reign reinforced the function of the printing press as an instrument of culture and promotion of the values specific of the Romanians' spiritual heritage, namely of the Christian Orthodox teaching, and, during Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu's reign, the elaboration of an editorial plan was achieved, which had in view multiple needs and purposes: Church service books in the various languages of the Orthodoxy, works used as manuals in schools, works meant to educate and fight the Roman-Catholic and Protestant doctrinal innovations, parenetic and popular literature etc.<sup>16</sup>

Actually, Saint Martyr Constantine Brâncoveanu stands out as a great protector of the Romanian culture and of the Orthodoxy from everywhere *by writing and printing press*, as, during his time, five printing centers operated, where, *on the decision or by the will or on the order and at the expense* of the Ruler, scores of books were printed in the languages in which the Orthodox faith was lived and expressed (Slavonic, Greek, Arabian and Romanian) at that time, in order to be given *as a gift* to those thirsting for Jesus Christ's teaching<sup>17</sup>.

Bucharest, Wallachian capital since the year 1659<sup>18</sup>, the place where the Metropolitan See was moved from Târgoviște in 1668<sup>19</sup>, had the privilege of being

<sup>12</sup> Varlaam 1645, 3 v; see also *BRV* IV, 193.

<sup>13</sup> *BRV* I, 105; Croitoru 2012 (1), 252.

<sup>14</sup> Croitoru 2012 (1), 252, note 114.

<sup>15</sup> *Preface* to the *Slavonic Psalter*, Govora, 1637. see *BRV* I, 105.

<sup>16</sup> See Șerbănescu 1964, 893–895; Rămureanu 1964, 919–920; Păcurariu 1996, 332–353; Croitoru 2012 (3). 344.

<sup>17</sup> Șerbănescu 1964, 885–888; Croitoru 2012 (3). 344.

<sup>18</sup> Event owed to the Wallachian Prince George Ghica (1659–1660, 1660), formerly Prince of Moldavia (1658–1659), see Olteanu 2002. 40.

a printing center where several printing presses operated during the long reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu.

The beginning of the printing activity undertaken in Bucharest is marked by the printing, in the year 1688, of the *Bucharest Bible* (*Biblia de la București*), in two *editiones principes*, the first under the patronage of Prince Șerban Cantacuzino (1679–1688), the second under the aegis of his successor, Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu. The *Bucharest Bible* was addressed to all the Romanians and it has been acknowledged, in point of the development of the Romanian language, a role similar to that of Luther's *Bible* for the German culture and language<sup>20</sup>. The printing of the *Bucharest Bible* cannot be connected only to confessional or catechetical reasons, or only to ritual reasons, but all these reasons intertwine for the cultural benefit of the hierarchy and of the intellectuals, to which one can add the two Princes' interest for asserting themselves<sup>21</sup>. This editorial event represented the fruit of the collaboration between the Church and the Reign, as well as the contribution of the lay intellectuals (the brothers Radu and Șerban Greceanu, the High Steward Constantine Cantacuzino) combined to that of the clerics (Bishop Mitrofan of Buzău, the Greek hierarch Germanos of Nyssa)<sup>22</sup>.

The place where the *Bucharest Bible* was printed was the *princely printing press* of Bucharest, whose activity was resumed, if we were to refer only to the second half of the 17th century, in the year 1687, when the printing of this *monument of Romanian language and printing art* began<sup>23</sup>. The functioning of the new princely printing press was due to the hierarch Mitrofan, formerly Bishop of Huși (1682–1686) and future Bishop of Buzău (1691–1702), arrived and settled in Wallachia, at the court of the reigning Prince Șerban Cantacuzino, in 1686, when Saint Dosoftei, Metropolitan of Moldavia (1671–1674, 1675–1686), had been obliged to withdraw to Poland, following the military campaign of King John III Sobieski (1674–1696). Mitrofan had been a remarkably diligent collaborator of Saint Dosoftei, regarding the printing of books in Romanian, and also of Dositheos, the Patriarch of Jerusalem (1669–1707), concerning the printing of the books in Greek defending the Orthodoxy<sup>24</sup>. In 1690, on the order of the Voivode Constantine Brâncoveanu, Mitrofan will also mould the Greek letters for the princely printing press, and beginning with 1691, when he is elected Bishop of Buzău, the leadership of the printing press is taken over by Saint Martyr Anthimus

<sup>19</sup> This move is due to the Wallachian reigning Prince Radu Leon (1664/1665–1669) and was confirmed by his act of June 8, 1668, issued by common consent with the Metropolitan Theodosius (1668–1672, 1679–1708) and the Bishops Seraphim of Râmnic (1668–1670) and Gregory of Buzău (1668–1691). It was the Church of the *Saint Emperors Constantine and Helen*, founded (in 1658) by Prince Constantine Șerban (1654–1658, 1660), which was declared Metropolitan Cathedral, see Croitoru 2012 (4), 393.

<sup>20</sup> Antonie 1981, 220.

<sup>21</sup> See Căndeia 1963, 651–671; Croitoru 2012 (2), 138–139.

<sup>22</sup> Croitoru 2012 (2), 138–139.

<sup>23</sup> Bădără 1998, 62, 64.

<sup>24</sup> Croitoru 2012 (1), 253.

the Iberian (Romanian Antim Ivireanul), at that time hieromonk. By the efforts of Saint Anthimus the Iberian<sup>25</sup>, the printing press will operate, with an interruption between the years 1694–1701, until the year 1705, for a first stage, when he was chosen Bishop of Râmnic, then, the printing activity will be resumed in 1714<sup>26</sup>. At the princely printing press of Bucharest, which functioned during the intervals 1687–1694, 1701–1705, 1714, having, thanks to Saint Anthimus the Iberian and to his disciples, Greek, Arabian, Cyrillic and Latin letters, 27 titles were printed: 7 in Romanian, 15 in Greek, 5 bilingual (one Greek-Romanian, one Greek-Arab, one Greek-Turkish<sup>27</sup> and two Romanian-Slavonic)<sup>28</sup>, out of which 26 during the reign of Constantine Brâncoveanu<sup>29</sup>. It ought to be mentioned that the 26 titles are books with a varied content, from biblical texts to patristic literature and from didactic-theological and parenetic books to descriptions of the Holy Places and classical literature<sup>30</sup>. It ought to be specified that 9 of the books edited in the respective printing press were given as a gift by the editors to the Orthodox believers from everywhere<sup>31</sup>.

Older than the *princely printing press* was the *metropolitan printing press* of Bucharest, whose functioning was due to the initiative of Metropolitan Varlaam II (1672–1679). He set up this printing press, in 1678, with *typographer masters* probably brought from the world of the Orthodox Brotherhoods, situated in the south of Poland or in Ukraine, but with printing material manufactured in Bucharest by the respective masters. The printing press functioned, during a first period of time, between the years 1674–1684<sup>32</sup>. A first attempt of reactivation of this printing press was that of Saint Martyr Anthimus the Iberian, in 1709, as Metropolitan of Wallachia (1708–1716), by printing a bilingual *Ceaslov* (*Horologion*), in Romanian and Slavonic<sup>33</sup>. Saint Anthimus the Iberian is also the initiator of the second attempt of resuming the activity of the Metropolitan printing press, by moving the printing press from Târgoviște to Bucharest, where his Greek work *Νοϋθεσίαι Χριστιανικοπολιτικάι* (*Christian-Political Counsels*) was printed, addressed to Prince Ștefan Cantacuzino (1714–1716), in 1715<sup>34</sup>. Therefore, at this

<sup>25</sup> For a synthesis of the printing activity of Saint Martyr Anthimus the Iberian, see Manu 2000, 80–115; Șerbănescu 1956, 690–766.

<sup>26</sup> Bădără 1998, 64, 67; Croitoru 2012 (1), 254.

<sup>27</sup> For the Turkish language, the karamanlidika writing was used, namely the writing of the Turkish language in Greek characters.

<sup>28</sup> Bădără 1998, 65; Croitoru 2012 (1), 254.

<sup>29</sup> The last title, printed in 1714, is a circular in Romanian, representing the *Stephen Cantacuzino's Charter for the exemption of priests from taxes* (*Hrisovul lui Ștefan Cantacuzino pentru scutirea preoților de dăjdi*), see BRV IV, 42; Bădără 1998, 67.

<sup>30</sup> Croitoru 2012 (1), 254.

<sup>31</sup> Bădără 1998, 65–67; Croitoru 2012 (1), 254.

<sup>32</sup> Bădără 1998, 60–61; Croitoru 2012 (1), 252–253.

<sup>33</sup> Bădără 1998, 67; Croitoru 2012 (1), p. 253.

<sup>34</sup> BRV I, 498–499; Legrand 1894 (17th-I), 123–124.

printing press, only one liturgical book was printed, the one mentioned above, during the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu<sup>35</sup>.

Another printing press that operated in Bucharest was the one created by Saint Anthimus the Iberian while he was a Wallachian metropolitan, in the Monastery of *All the Saints*, founded by him. He decided, by a *Statute* (*Așezământ*, 24 April 1713) and an *Archiereus' Charter* (*Hrisov arhieresc*, 20 July 1715), that there would be two printing presses, one for the Romanian language, and another one for the Greek language. It is considered that there was only one printing press, with two sections, in the above-mentioned languages<sup>36</sup>, which printed four books during the period 1713–1720<sup>37</sup>, but after the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu. However, we have mentioned this printing press as belonging to the epoch of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, because the delineation of its activity occurred even since his reign.

The Saints Anthimus the Iberian and Constantine Brâncoveanu, the first as Metropolitan, the second as reigning Prince, made efforts, between the years 1708–1714, to set up another printing press in Bucharest, in the Monastery of *Saint Sabbas* (*Sfântul Sava*), at the suggestion of the Greek Patriarchs Gerasimus II of Alexandria (1688–1710) and Chrysanthos Notaras of Jerusalem (1707–1731). The creation of this printing press is part of the fight for defending the Orthodox faith from the Roman-Catholic propaganda, by the printed book, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, illustrates the desire of the Greek hierarchs of holding a printing press under their direct control, because of the fact that, despite the generosity of Ruler Constantine Brâncoveanu and of Metropolitan Anthimus the Iberian, as well as in spite of their attachment to the cause of the Orthodoxy, nevertheless there were moments of tense relations. We shall remind of the conflict between Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem and Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, after the latter hosted John Caryophilles in Bucharest, and the problem of the Wallachian monasteries dedicated to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, which brought in dissension Metropolitan Anthimus the Iberian with Patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras, during the period 1709–1712<sup>38</sup>. Therefore, at that epoch, this printing press also belongs to Voivode Constantine Brâncoveanu, because its creation was delineated in his time, yet, we ought to mention, however, the fact that it begins its activity in the year 1715, being known later on under the name of the *Printing Press of the Văcărescus' School* (*Tipografia Școlii Văcăreștilor*)<sup>39</sup>. Summing up the printing

<sup>35</sup> The total of the books printed at this printing press, during its three periods of operation throughout the time of the second half of the 17th century and at the beginning of the 18th century, is 7, out of which 5 were meant for the Orthodox services and 2 were collections of homilies and moral education. As far as their language is concerned, three books were in Romanian, three more were bilingual Romanian-Slavonic and one was in Greek [Bădără 1998, 62; Croitoru 2012 (1), 253].

<sup>36</sup> Bădără 1998, 68.

<sup>37</sup> Croitoru 2012 (1), 254–255.

<sup>38</sup> Bădără 1998, 69; Croitoru 2012 (1), 255, note 140; see also Croitoru 2014, 201–232.

<sup>39</sup> Bădără 1998, 69; Croitoru 2012 (1), 255.

activity of Bucharest, namely the first printing center of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu's time, one can conclude that two printing presses were in operation, and two more were being set up.

The second printing center of Wallachia related to the epoch of the ruler Constantine Brâncoveanu was in Buzău. In this locality, a *princely printing press was set up*, whose beginnings are related to the year 1691, when Mitrofan, mentioned above, is chosen Bishop of Buzău (1691–1702). He organized this printing press at the desire of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, with the aim of putting into practice the *vast editorial programme* of the reigning Prince, which foresaw, among others: a) assuring the books of worship for the liturgical needs of the Wallachian Orthodox Church; b) supporting, by the printing press, the Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire; c) putting into circulation the texts necessary in order to defend the Orthodoxy from the Roman-Catholic and Protestant proselytism<sup>40</sup>. During the period of the years 1691–1706, the princely printing press from Buzău published, by the efforts of Bishop Mitrofan and his disciples, merged with those of his successor in the episcopal see, Bishop Damascene the Teacher, known in Romanian as Dascălul (1702–1708), 20 titles or 31 books, if we consider the fact that the *Menaion*, as title, had 12 volumes printed separately. Out of these titles, regarding the language, 3 were in Romanian and the rest bilingual (Slavonic-Romanian), but, in point of their content, 17 represented books of worship for the liturgical use of the Orthodox Church in the Romanian Countries, and three were books of dogmatic, ascetic-moral and canon teaching<sup>41</sup>.

A third printing center was at Snagov Monastery, where first a princely printing press functioned, with printing material taken from Bucharest. In relation to the creation of this printing press, endowed with Greek, Slavonic and Arabic letters, a hypothesis that circulated is that, because of the conflict between Constantine Brâncoveanu, the Ruler of Wallachia, and Dositheos, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, in relation to John Caryophilles, it would have been desired to print the books as far as possible from the Princely Court. Another hypothesis relates the creation of the respective printing press to the appointment of Saint Anthimus the Iberian as hegumen of Snagov Monastery (1694), and, in this context, the princely printing press from Bucharest or a part of it would have been moved to Snagov<sup>42</sup>. Beyond these hypotheses, one can note, based on the analysis of the topics included in the editorial programme, that the aim pursued by Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu and Metropolitan Theodosius, by the creation of this princely printing press, was to defend the Orthodoxy both inside of it (the conflict between Patriarch Dositheos and the Logothete John Caryophilles, the need of books for the Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire), and outside of it (the fight to resist

<sup>40</sup> Bădără 1998, 70; Croitoru 2012 (1), 256.

<sup>41</sup> Croitoru 2012 (1), 256.

<sup>42</sup> Bădără 1998, 74; Croitoru 2012 (1), 257, note 158.

the propagandas of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation)<sup>43</sup>. By the endeavours of Saint Anthimus the Iberian, as hegumen of Snagov Monastery (1694–1704), who had also been entrusted the leadership of the printing press, were printed, during the period of the years 1694–1701, 15 works and 16 titles<sup>44</sup>, out of which 6 books were printed in Romanian, 6 in Greek, one in Slavonic and 2 bilingual (Slavonic-Romanian and Greek-Arabian)<sup>45</sup>. The topics are, nevertheless, varied: 6 books containing liturgical texts (2 in Greek, 2 in Romanian and 2 bilingual, Slavonic-Romanian and, respectively, Greek-Arabian), 3 of dogmatic literature (2 in Greek and one in Romanian), to which one can add a book title from each of the following categories: panegyric and didactic-theological literature in Greek; Slavonic grammar; popular history, morals and literature in Romanian<sup>46</sup>. It is considered that the status of the princely printing press changes and it becomes the property of Saint Anthimus the Iberian, between the years 1700–1701, printing only one book in Greek, in the year 1701<sup>47</sup>. After this date, Saint Anthimus the Iberian returns to Bucharest, where he will print in the princely printing press 13 books, during the period of the years 1702–1705<sup>48</sup>.

The fourth printing center was at Râmnic. The date of creation of this printing press from this episcopal residence is related to the appointment of Saint Anthimus the Iberian as Bishop of Râmnic (1705–1708), in 1705, after 16 March<sup>49</sup>. After this event, the printing activity of Snagov Monastery ceased, and the printing material was distributed to the printing presses of Bucharest and Buzău, but also Râmnic. At this episcopal printing press were edited, during a period of just 3 years (1705–1707), 9 books and 10 titles, 3 books being in Romanian, 3 in Greek and 3 more bilingual, Slavonic-Romanian<sup>50</sup>. Precedence was given to the liturgical books, which were 4 (one in Romanian, with two titles, and 3 bilingual Slavonic-Romanian), to which one can add a dogmatic and polemical work in Greek, a didactic-theological book in Romanian, a book of panegyric literature in Greek and

<sup>43</sup> Bădără 1998, 74; Croitoru 2012 (1), 257; for the activity of the Counter-Reformation see also Barbu 2008.

<sup>44</sup> Two titles were printed in one volume, in Greek, and offered as a gift to the Orthodox believers: *Ορθόδοξος Ὁμολογία τῆς Πίστεως* (*Orthodox Confession of Faith*) and *Εἰσαγωγικὴ Ἐκθεσις περὶ τῶν τριῶν Μεγίστων Ἀρετῶν Πίστεως, Ἐλπίδος καὶ Ἀγάπης* (*Introductory Presentation of the Three Cardinal Virtues Faith, Hope and Love*, 1699), see *BRV* I, 378–389; *BRV* IV, 211; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 61.

<sup>45</sup> Bădără 1998, 76; Croitoru 2012 (1), 257; see also Șerbănescu 1976, 349–355; Chițulescu 2009 (1), 57–60; for the same study, but enriched, see Chițulescu 2009 (2), 126–132.

<sup>46</sup> Bădără 1998, 76; Croitoru 2012 (1), 257–258.

<sup>47</sup> Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, *Προσκυνητάριον τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους τοῦ Ἀθωνος* (John Comnenus, *Proskynetarion of the Holy Mount Athos*), Snagov, 1701, see *BRV* I, 422–423; *BRV* IV, 213–215; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 12–13.

<sup>48</sup> Bădără 1998, 79.

<sup>49</sup> Bădără 1998, 77.

<sup>50</sup> Bădără 1998, 80; Păcurariu 1994 (II), 145; Croitoru 2012 (1), 258.

a book of homiletic literature in two editions, separately for the languages Greek and Romanian<sup>51</sup>.

The fifth printing center of the time of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu was at Târgoviște, former official capital of Wallachia, but also former metropolitan residence<sup>52</sup>. The resuming of the printing activity in Târgoviște, in 1709, after an absence of 57 years, is due to Saint Anthimus the Iberian, who became Metropolitan of Wallachia (1708–1716) in 1708. The printing material was brought from Râmnic, so that the new printing press from Târgoviște is considered his property. Endowed with Greek and Cyrillic letters, the printing press of Târgoviște operated between the years 1709–1715, its activity being interrupted only between the years 1711–1712, because of the Russian-Ottoman confrontations<sup>53</sup>. In the presses of this printing center were edited 21 works, out of which 14 in Romanian, 5 in Greek, one trilingual Slavonic-Romanian-Greek, and another one bilingual, namely Slavonic-Romanian<sup>54</sup>. As far as their topics are concerned, the largest number is represented by the liturgical books, summing up 13 titles, out of which 9 in Romanian, 2 in Greek, one trilingual and another one bilingual. To these, one can add 2 books of moral-philosophic literature (one in Greek, another in Romanian), 3 books of teaching for priests (one in Greek, two in Romanian), one dogmatic book (in Greek) and one of popular literature (in Romanian), one juridical text (in Romanian) and a pilgrimage book of the Holy Mount Sinai, printed in the same volume with a liturgical book in Greek<sup>55</sup>.

Before moving on to another point of this study, it ought to be mentioned that the first printing presses of certain Christian communities in the East were created with Romanian support (engraving of the letters, equipment, training of the typographer masters etc.), given precisely during the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu. To fill this gap in matters of books for *the Orthodox among the Arabs*, Saint Anthimus the Iberian will print, with letters made by him, two books: a *Greek-Arabian Hieratikon/Leitourgiarion* (Snagov, 1701)<sup>56</sup> and a *Greek-Arabian Horologion* (Bucharest, 1702)<sup>57</sup>. These books bear the mark of the Orthodox world's brotherhood of that time: the contribution of a Georgian typographer, Saint Anthimus the Iberian; the initiative of Athanasius III Dabbās, Patriarch of Antioch (1685–1694, 1720–1724), who lived in Wallachia for more than four years (1700–1704); the patronage of the Christian Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, who offered

<sup>51</sup> Bădără 1998, 80–81; Croitoru 2012 (1), 258.

<sup>52</sup> Even though the metropolitan residence had been moved to Bucharest in 1668, the metropolitans had the habit of returning to Târgoviște, during the periods when the rulers of the country preferred to stopover in the former capital [Păcurariu 1994 (II), 125].

<sup>53</sup> Bădără 1998, 81–82.

<sup>54</sup> Bădără 1998, 82; Croitoru 2012 (1), 259.

<sup>55</sup> Bădără 1998, 82–83; Croitoru 2012 (1), 259.

<sup>56</sup> BRV I, 423–433; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 1–2.

<sup>57</sup> BRV I, 442–447; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 19–20.

those books as a gift to all the priests of the Patriarchate of Antioch<sup>58</sup>. The act of printing of these books also has a threefold purpose: introducing the spoken Arabian language in the worship, instead of the Syriac language, a process similar to the replacement of the Slavonic by the Romanian in the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries; materializing the Prince's cultural plan of offering support to the Orthodox Church of the peoples in the East; reinforcing the efforts of the Patriarchs of Antioch, to be able to face the Roman-Catholic and Protestant proselytism, which was making use of printed books<sup>59</sup>. After the above-mentioned books were printed, the printing material manufactured in Wallachia (1700) to print books in Arabian was transferred, totally or in part<sup>60</sup>, to Aleppo (1706–1724), by Patriarch Athanasius III Dabbās<sup>61</sup>. Because of the disputes between the Orthodox believers and those who had begun to embrace Uniatism, the Arabian printing press is moved, in 1724, at Balamand Monastery, near Tripoli, yet, after a while, a part of the printing press gets to the locality of Zaurak, where, completed with the necessary parts, it continued its activity<sup>62</sup>, while another part is taken to the Monastery of *Saint John* of Choueir (Lebanon, 1734–1899), being considered *the printing press with the longest activity in the Arabian world*<sup>63</sup>. The argument brought in favour of this statement is the fact that the different stages of the Arabian printing press that took place in the West, during the 15th–17th centuries, were due either to the curiosity manifested by the European humanists to the Oriental cultures or to the activity of the missionaries in the East and to the Eastern policy of the Western Great Powers. Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu will open, however, by his help, a new stage in the history of the Arab Christian culture, namely the initiatives of printing the Arabian books will go from the foreigners' hands into those of the Arabophone Christians, who are, this time, direct beneficiaries of the books<sup>64</sup>.

At the supplication of King Vakhtang VI, sent to the Princely Court of Wallachia by Chrysanthos Notaras, Patriarch of Jerusalem<sup>65</sup>, the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu and Metropolitan Anthimus the Iberian sent a typographer master, namely Michael Stephen (Iștvanovici), a disciple of the latter in the art of the printing press, to Tbilisi. Taking together with him a team of specialists and printing material made in Wallachia by Saint Anthimus the Iberian, at the expense of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, Michael Stephen printed, during a first stage of his activity in Georgia, between the years 1709–1711, a number of 9 liturgical and teaching books. After his voyage of the year 1712 to Holland,

<sup>58</sup> Croitoru 2012 (1), 259.

<sup>59</sup> Podskalsky 2005, 103.

<sup>60</sup> For an analysis of these topics see Feodorov 2014 (1), 264–267.

<sup>61</sup> Bădără 1998, 106; Croitoru 2012 (1), 260.

<sup>62</sup> Bădără 1998, 106; Simonescu 1964, 532–538; Păcurariu 1964, 608; Croitoru 2012 (1), 260.

<sup>63</sup> Cădea 1989, 175; Croitoru 2012 (1), 260.

<sup>64</sup> Croitoru 2012 (1), 260, note 182.

<sup>65</sup> Păcurariu 1996, 354.

where he improves his art of the printing press, Michael Stephen returns to Georgia, where he and his disciples continue their printing activity until the year 1722, when the printing press is destroyed by the Ottomans<sup>66</sup>.

In this way, with the help offered by the Church and the Reign of Wallachia, represented at that moment of history by the Saints Anthimus the Iberian and Constantine Brâncoveanu, the Arabian and Georgian Orthodox Christians received, by God's iconomy, support in the defence of the Orthodoxy and of the being of their nation, as they were being threatened by the Western propagandas and the danger of Islamization.

#### 4. Books defending the Orthodoxy from the Western propagandas

In the context of the 17th century disputes, when the Orthodox Romanians of Transylvania were subjected to an intense propaganda of Calvinization<sup>67</sup>, replaced afterwards, after the fall of the Principality under Habsburg rule (1687)<sup>68</sup>, by that of Catholicization, while the Eastern Patriarchates were haunted by Western missionaries, the Church and the Reign in the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries made efforts to keep their *ancestral law* accurate and consolidate the Orthodoxy among the Romanians from the three Countries, but also among their faith brothers, but of other nations, having in view especially those under the rule of the Ottoman Empire.

The printing press, used not just in the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries, but also in Transylvania, became, in the frame of the epoch, an instrument of defence of the Orthodox teaching from the heterodox doctrines. Acquiring books was considered a *truly heavenly gift and treasure*<sup>69</sup> in the book *Învățăături preste toate zilele (Teachings for all the days)*, printed at the Monastery of the *Assumption of the Theotokos* in Câmpulung (Wallachia), in 1642<sup>70</sup>, because the teachings, written by *many and great teachers... to all the Christians*, were meant to bring the true light on the meaning of the *Holy Scripture* and for the benefit of the spiritual life, as an exhortation to running away from *evils* and from *those who have organized themselves badly*<sup>71</sup>, a reference, in other words, to those of other faiths<sup>72</sup>.

This function of the book was fully cultivated as well during the epoch of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, and the printings included in the editorial

<sup>66</sup> Păcurariu 1996, 355; Croitoru 2012 (1), 261; for more details on the activity of the typographer Michael Ișvanovici in Georgia, see Feodorov 2014 (2), 47–61.

<sup>67</sup> See Croitoru 2012 (5), 467–526.

<sup>68</sup> Transylvania was occupied by the Habsburgs in the year 1687, and by the declarations of the Dieta (Legislative Assembly) of the Principality of 9 and 10 May 1688, confirmed as well on 13 May, the same year, by the Dieta summoned in Făgăraș, the annexation of the Principality to the Habsburg Empire was proclaimed, a situation maintained, with some changes (Austro-Hungarian dualism, between the years 1867–1918), until the year 1918 [Croitoru 2012 (5), 520–521].

<sup>69</sup> BRV I, 127.

<sup>70</sup> BRV I, 125.

<sup>71</sup> BRV I, 127.

<sup>72</sup> Croitoru 2012 (6), 707.

programme of the Church and of the Reign had the aim of reinforcing the Orthodox conscience and of defending the *right-believers* from the misinterpretations of the truths of faith brought by the Reformation or by the innovations promoted by the Counter-Reformation. In its way, each printed book had a mission to accomplish, a truth of faith to defend from those who were contesting it, such as, for instance, the veneration of the Saints and of the holy icons, the divinity of Jesus Christ, the transformation of the Holy Gifts into the Body and the Blood of the world's Saviour Jesus Christ etc. We shall choose, however, from among these books, also limiting ourselves to the rule of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, only those whose content presents the Orthodox teaching, entirely or partially, but aiming to defend the Orthodoxy from the Western propagandas.

As we have mentioned above, the start of the editorial programme consists in the printing of the *Bucharest Bible*, in 1688, a cultural and ecclesial event of significant momentum, as it was allowing the *Romanian Christians to know the laws of God*; and the word of God, *as a light that had been under a basket until then*, was put by the Ruler Șerban Cantacuzino, but also by the effort of the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, who, first as *Great Logothete*<sup>73</sup> and *ispravnic*<sup>74</sup>, then *crowned with the reign and rule of the entire Oungrovlachian Country*<sup>75</sup>, completed the good thing begun, *on a lampstand, to give light to the nations in the house of the Church: Romanians, Moldavians and Oungrovlachians*<sup>76</sup>. It ought to be specified that the printing of the *Bucharest Bible*, achieved in the *princely printing press*, had the blessing of the Wallachian Metropolitan Theodosius and the consent of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, mentioned in the first *Preface*<sup>77</sup>, addressed by Prince Șerban Cantacuzino to the whole clergy of the Church, to the boyars and to all the Orthodox Christians, but also the blessing of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, in its second *Preface*, signed by Patriarch Dositheos<sup>78</sup>. It ought to be mentioned, therefore, that, during the archpastorate of Metropolitan Theodosius and the rule of Saint Constantine

<sup>73</sup> See the title paper in BRV I, 281.

<sup>74</sup> The brothers Radu and Șerban Greceanu remind in the first *Preface to Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu* (*Predoslovie către domnitorul Constantin Brâncoveanu*), included in the collection *Mărgăritare* (*Pearls*, București, 1691), that he was, before taking over the princely throne, *vel Log. ispravnică*, namely *Great Logothete in charge of the printing of the Bible*, see BRV I, 319. In this context, the *ispravnic* had the obligation of *organizing, overseeing and following up, for the editor and in his name, the materialization of the editorial projects*, his activity being *directly, immediately and decisively related to the typographers' activity* (Bădără 1998, 170).

<sup>75</sup> As it is mentioned in the title paper, see BRV I, 281.

<sup>76</sup> This was the conviction of Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, expressed in his *Preface* (*Predoslovie*) addressed to *the very illuminated, very Christian, very glorified, Christ-loving Prince and protector of the entire Hungary-Wallachia, Ioan Șerban Cantacuzino Basarab Voivode*, in *Biblia, adică Dumnezeiasca Scriptură* (*The Bible, namely the Divine Scripture*), see BRV I, 289.

<sup>77</sup> BRV I, 286.

<sup>78</sup> See BRV I, 287–290; on the paternity of this *Preface* (*Predoslovie*), attributed to Senechal Constantine Cantacuzino, see Croitoru 2012 (7), 423, note 874.

Brâncoveanu, was achieved, for the first time, the complete printing of the *Holy Scripture* in Romanian, in editions meant for the worship (*Apostolos* or *Epistle Lectionary*, *Evangelion* or *Gospel Book*, *Psalter*), but also for the cultural needs and the defence of the ancestral law, by knowing and living the word of God (*Biblia de la 1688/The 1688 Bible*)<sup>79</sup>.

The need was, in the context of the epoch, that the acquisition of the *ancestral law* by the reading of the *Holy Scripture* ought to be accompanied by the explanations of the Holy Fathers, because *many Christians*, at that time, *do not hold on to*, namely did not respect, *the true rules of the good faith*, and *when they read the Holy Scriptures... they make other interpretations according to the whims of their heart and not according to the thought of the Holy Scripture and of the Holy Fathers of yore, who were full of the gift of the Holy Spirit*<sup>80</sup>. The term *heretical*, used by Saint Varlaam in the *Teaching at the Cheese-fare Sunday* (*Învățătură la Duminica lăsatului sec de brânză*) and employed exclusively against the *Calvinists and Lutherans*<sup>81</sup>, is replaced by the typographer Michael Iștvanovici (Stephen) in the text cited above and included in the *Kiriakodromion* or *Evangelhia învățătoare* (*The Teaching Gospel*), which he printed at Alba Iulia, in 1699<sup>82</sup>. Michael Iștvanovici realized, according to the specialists in this domain, *a true synthesis of the homiletic, liturgical and hagiographic literature* up to his time, choosing, with the accord and the blessing of Metropolitan Athanasius of Transylvania (1697–1701), the most adequate forms of expression in order to draw the attention of the Romanians in the Principality on the dangers of being led astray from the true faith, but also in order to avoid eventual repercussions to their disadvantage, coming either from the Calvinists and the Lutherans, whose regime could have returned to the Principality, or from the Roman-Catholics, whose propaganda had intensified after the conquest of Transylvania by the Habsburgs<sup>83</sup>.

To meet the demand to understand the word of the *Holy Scripture*, by the living and the teachings of the *Holy Fathers of yore*<sup>84</sup>, the series of teaching books printed in the *princely printing press* of Bucharest, in Romanian, is opened by the collection of patristic discourses *Mărgăritare* (*Pearls*). In order to bring light upon the *interpretations* made by some *according to the whims of their hearts*<sup>85</sup>, in other words, on the issues regarding the truths of faith, and in order to offer the Christians *the teachings useful for the soul and for the body*<sup>86</sup> coming from the Holy Fathers (John Chrysostom, Anastasius of Sinai, Basil the Great, Maximus the

<sup>79</sup> Croitoru 2012 (4), 398.

<sup>80</sup> Lupaș 1957, 799; Croitoru 2012 (6), 714.

<sup>81</sup> Varlaam 1643, I, 33 r–v.

<sup>82</sup> BRV I, 372–377, 538.

<sup>83</sup> See Lupaș 1957, 798–799; Croitoru 2012 (6), 712–714.

<sup>84</sup> The expression is cited in the previous paragraph.

<sup>85</sup> The expressions are taken from the previous paragraph.

<sup>86</sup> *Cuvânt către de bine voitoriul cititoriu* (*Word to the reader of good-will*), in *Mărgăritare* (*Pearls*), București, 1691, see BRV I, 320.

Confessor, Ephrem the Syrian etc.)<sup>87</sup>, the respective collection was translated from Greek into Romanian by the brothers Radu and Șerban Greceanu<sup>88</sup>, being reviewed, as for the Romanian language, and printed by hierarch Mitrofan, in 1691<sup>89</sup>. In the first *Preface* (*Prefață* or *Predoslovie*) of the volume<sup>90</sup>, the translators bring to light the fact that the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu had an editorial programme, which foresaw the printing of books in Greek and in Romanian, *not with small or few expenses*<sup>91</sup>, including the *Holy Scripture* (*Sfânta Scriptură*) and translations of works of the Holy Fathers as well as writings defending the Orthodox faith from the Roman-Catholic and Protestant propagandas<sup>92</sup>.

At that moment, a part of the editorial programme was already completed. Thus, the brothers Greceanu remind of the fact that the printing of the *Holy Bible* (*Bibliia Sfântă*) in Romanian, mentioned above, *has been completed*; this action had been started during the rule of Șerban Voivode, when Constantine Brâncoveanu fulfilled for the respective print the function of *Great Logothete ispravnicu*, yet the latter *earnestly* made all the efforts *to complete it during the happy days of [his] reign*<sup>93</sup>, namely in 1688, at the printing press of Bucharest<sup>94</sup>. The Greceanu brothers then mention another feat of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu<sup>95</sup>, who was *glad* for the accomplished thing<sup>96</sup>, namely, the book of *Meletios Syrigos against the Calvinist heresies and the questions of Cyril Lucaris, Patriarch... of Constantinople*, together with the *additions Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, anew against the Calvinist heresies brought together from here and there*<sup>97</sup>. In fact, the brothers

<sup>87</sup> Croitoru 2012 (6), 726.

<sup>88</sup> *BRV* I, 315. Biographic data on those who endeavored to put to good use the printing press during the rule of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu [the brothers Șerban and Radu Greceanu, Bishop Mitrofan, Saint Anthimus the Iberian, Bishop Damascene the Teacher (Damaschin Dascălul), Michael Stephen (Iștvanovici), George Radovici, the Greek Hieromonk Mitrofan Grigorás of Dodona, Hieromonk Philotheus sin Agâi Jipei] can be found in Petrescu 2014 (1), 75–91; for the same study, with a slightly modified title, see Petrescu 2014 (2), 161–178; concerning other details on the Greek scholars involved in the printing activity of the same period (monk Athanasius Tomaidis, Vissarion Makres, Panagiotis Synopeas or of Sinópe, the iatrophilosopher John Comnenus, Mitrofanis Grigorás), see Moldoveanu 2014, 190–197.

<sup>89</sup> *BRV* I, 321. It ought to be noted that the respective patristic collection also interested the Russian Orthodox believers. On 6 July 1693, Saint Dosoftei of Moldavia finished translating this collection into Russian, after the second edition of Venice in New Greek (1683), sending the manuscript to the Russian Tsar, John V and Peter I, for publication [Croitoru 2012 (6), 726].

<sup>90</sup> It ought to be mentioned that the whole content of the book *Mărgăritare* (Pearls) is preceded by two *Prefaces* or *Discourses* (*Predoslovie* or *Cuvântare*), the first to Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, the second to the readers, both signed by the brothers Șerban, *second logothete*, and Radu, *logothete*, see *BRV* I, 316–321.

<sup>91</sup> *BRV* I, 319.

<sup>92</sup> Croitoru 2012 (6), 727.

<sup>93</sup> *BRV* I, 319.

<sup>94</sup> Bădără 1998, 65.

<sup>95</sup> *BRV* I, 298–299; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 458.

<sup>96</sup> *BRV* I, 319.

<sup>97</sup> *BRV* I, 319.

Radu and Șerban Greceanu were referring to the works in Greek: *Κατὰ τῶν καλβινικῶν κεφαλαίων, καὶ ἐρωτήσεων Κυρίλλου τοῦ Λουκάρεως Ἀντίρρησις* (*Counter-Statement against the Calvinist Principles and the Questions of Cyril Lucaris*) by Meletios Syrigos, professor and protosingelos of the Great Church of Constantinople, and *Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τῆς καλβινικῆς φρενοβλαβείας* (*Manual against the Calvinist Madness*) by Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem<sup>98</sup>.

The two works had been printed in one volume in Bucharest, in 1690<sup>99</sup>, *at the expense and under the supervision* of the reigning Prince<sup>100</sup>, and after the title page there were three epigrams, the first and the third being written by Chrysanthos Notaras, as *Hieromonk and Archimandrite of the Holy Tomb*, and the second by Antonius Spandonis, *Dicheofilax* or *Just Protector of the Great Church and teacher of sciences of the School of Constantinople*. The first two were addressed to Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, and the third to Meletios Syrigos<sup>101</sup>. Then follow two *Prefaces*, signed by Patriarch Dositheos<sup>102</sup>, being two letters of his, composed in the month of May of the year 1690, at Adrianople, from where they were sent to Ruler Constantine Brâncoveanu<sup>103</sup>. After the summary, the volume also includes the *Decisions* of the Synod of Constantinople of 1638, the *Decisions* of the Synod of 1642, held in Constantinople, and approved in Jassy, during the same year<sup>104</sup>, the *Life of Meletios Syrigos* written by the same Patriarch<sup>105</sup>, and the *Letter* of the Synod of Jassy (1642) sent to Prince Basil Lupu<sup>106</sup>.

As far as the book of Meletios Syrigos is concerned, Patriarch Dositheos mentions, in *First Preface*, in which he describes the phenomenon of the sects and the fight of the Church, by learned teachers and pious emperors, for the defence of

<sup>98</sup> BRV I, 298; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 458; Croitoru 2012 (6), 728.

<sup>99</sup> Croitoru 2012 (6), 728–729.

<sup>100</sup> BRV I, 298, 299; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 458.

<sup>101</sup> BRV I, 299–300; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 459–460.

<sup>102</sup> For *Preface I* see BRV I, 301–304 (Greek text) and 304–307 (translation in Romanian); as far as the Greek text of this *Preface* is concerned, see also Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 461–466. For *Preface II* see BRV I, 307–309 (part of the Greek text) and 309–311 (the translation of this part in Romanian); concerning the same Greek text, see also Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 466–470. For older complete translations of these two *Prefaces* from Greek into Romanian, done by C. Erbiceanu, see *Prefașa dela cartea lui Meletie Sirig. Scrisă de Dositeiu Patriarhul Ierusalimului și în care se descrie origina neamului lui Constantin Brâncoveanu și după tată și după mamă* (*Preface from Meletios Syrigos's book. Written by Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and describing the genealogy of Constantine Brâncoveanu both on the father's side and on the mother's side*), in Erbiceanu 1904–1905, 1212–1218; *A doua prefață la cartea lui Meletie Sirig tot de Patriarhul Dositeiu* (*The second Preface to Meletios Syrigos's book, also by Dositheos the Patriarch*), in Erbiceanu 1904–1905 (2), 1344–1350.

<sup>103</sup> Dură 1977, 242.

<sup>104</sup> Dură 1977, 246.

<sup>105</sup> See BRV I, 311–312 (Greek text) and 312–313 (translation in Romanian); for the Greek text, see also Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 470–472.

<sup>106</sup> See BRV I, 313–314 (Greek text and translation); for the Greek text, see also Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 472–473.

the faith<sup>107</sup>, and the genealogy of the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, both on his father's side, on which he was related to the reigning families of Wallachia, and on his mother's side, by whom he was related to Byzantine emperors, showing the brave acts and measures taken against the heretics by five Byzantine emperors, whom the Patriarch considers to be the reigning Prince's ancestors<sup>108</sup>, that Meletios Syrigos wrote *the present book*, namely *Counter-Statement against the Calvinist Principles and the Questions of Cyril Lucaris*, at the exhortation of Prince Basil Lupu, by which he *condemns the heresies of the present century*<sup>109</sup>. For Patriarch Dositheos, these *heresies* were the new protestant doctrines, contested at the Synod of Jassy (1642), through the diligence of Basil Lupu, who *confuted and put to shame mixtures of heresies, namely Calvin's impiety*<sup>110</sup>. It is supposed that Meletios wrote this work between the years 1636–1640<sup>111</sup>, therefore, before the Synod of Jassy, held in 1642, and, according to the testimony of Patriarch Dositheos, beside the exhortation of Prince Basil Lupu to draw up this book, he also received the impetus of Patriarch Partenius I of Constantinople<sup>112</sup>. It ought to be specified that, for the 1690 edition, Patriarch Dositheos chose the variant that Meletios Syrigos himself prepared from *Old Greek* into *common Greek*, and *many of the noblemen of Wallachiabogdania*, namely *Wallachia* or the *Romanian Country* situated near *Bogdania* or *Moldavia*, *knowing the Greek language well, wanted to translate it easily into the Wallachian language, to become the benefit of community in the whole Church*<sup>113</sup>.

In the *Second Preface*, Patriarch Dositheos shows, among other things, the bad consequences of heresies, makes a short historical reference to Luther's Reform and Calvin's heresy, a short reference to the Synod of Jassy, and also to the discussions and positions taken, at that time, by him and by the Eastern patriarchs, because of the emergence of the *Pseudo-Lucarian Confession*, attributed to Saint Cyril Lucaris the New Martyr<sup>114</sup>, while he was Patriarch of Constantinople<sup>115</sup>, in relation to the Calvinist propaganda carried out among the Orthodox population of Poland, Lithuania, Podolia, Ukraine and Transylvania<sup>116</sup>. Actually, the same Patriarch Dositheos shows, in the same *Preface*, that the reason of the printing of the respective volume was given by the Orthodox people of Transylvania. They

<sup>107</sup> *First Preface*, in *BRV* I, 302–303, 305–306; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 462–463, 464–466.

<sup>108</sup> *First Preface*, in *BRV* I, 302–303, 305–306; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 462–466.

<sup>109</sup> *First Preface*, in *BRV* I, 304, 307; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 466.

<sup>110</sup> *First Preface*, in *BRV* I, 301, 305; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 462.

<sup>111</sup> Croitoru 2012 (6), 729, note 198.

<sup>112</sup> *Second Preface*, in *BRV* I, 308, 310; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 469–470.

<sup>113</sup> *Second Preface*, in *BRV* I, 308, 310; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 469.

<sup>114</sup> About this Calvinizing *Confession of Faith*, published in Geneva, first in Latin (*Confessio fidei*, 1629), then in Greek (*Ἀνατολικὴ ὁμολογία τῆς χριστιανικῆς πίστεως* – *Eastern Confession of the Christian Faith*, 1633), see Croitoru 2012 (8), 554–559.

<sup>115</sup> Saint Cyril Lucaris was first of all Patriarchs of Alexandria (1601–1620), then of Constantinople, on several times: 1612, 1620–1623, 1623–1633, 1633–1634, 1634–1635, 1637–1638.

<sup>116</sup> *Second Preface*, in *BRV* I, 307–308, 309–310; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 446–470.

had asked the Patriarch Dositheos, around the year 1680, when he was in Wallachia, to give them *certain writings to be able to answer the Calvinists, who were bothering them excessively*<sup>117</sup>.

The *Manual of Patriarch Dositheos against the Calvinist Heresy* was the third edition of the *Confession of Faith* that he himself had drawn up on the occasion of the Synod of Jerusalem, held in the year 1672. The first two editions of this *Confession* had been printed in Paris, in 1675–1676 and 1678<sup>118</sup>, by Roman-Catholics, in the name of the Synod of Jerusalem, whereas the edition of Bucharest appeared in the Orthodox environment, bearing the name of the Patriarch himself. Moreover, this last edition comprised the corrections, completions and additions that Patriarch Dositheos had made both to *The Decisions* of the Synod of Jerusalem (1672), and to *The Confession* approved then<sup>119</sup>. These modifications also include a change of title. While in the previous editions the title was the *Shield of the Orthodoxy/Ασπίς Ὀρθοδοξίας*, in the edition of Bucharest the title becomes *Manual against the Calvinist Madness (Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τῆς καλβινικῆς φρενοβλαβείας)*<sup>120</sup>, with the mention that in the text of the 1690 volume, the title of Patriarch Dositheos' *Confession*<sup>121</sup> also appears under the form *Ἐγχειρίδιον ἐλέγχον τὴν καλβινικὴν φρενοβλαβείαν*, namely *Manual proving the Calvinist Heresy*<sup>122</sup>.

It has been appreciated that the volume printed in the *princely printing press* of Bucharest, in 1690, shared as a gift by Patriarch Dositheos, thanks to the financial help offered by the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, the texts being *arranged and corrected* or *reviewed* by Michael Makres of Ioannina (Greece), Notary of the Great Church of Constantinople, and the printing being entrusted to Mitrofan, at the time former Bishop of Huși<sup>123</sup>, still represents a reaction of the representatives of the Orthodoxy against the *Lucarian Confession and Protestantism in general*<sup>124</sup>.

Another book reminded by the brothers Radu and Șerban Greceanu in the first *Preface* of the collection *Mărgăritare (Pearls)* is *Mărturiia pravoslavnică (The Orthodox Confession)*, about which they say that it is in their hands to be translated *from Greek into Romanian*, but which they attribute to Patriarch Nectarius of Jerusalem (1661–1669)<sup>125</sup>. About this mention, it is possible, on the one hand, that the Greceanu brothers may have had in view the translation of Patriarch Nectarius' work, *Counter-Statement against Papal Primacy (Περὶ τῆς*

<sup>117</sup> *Second Preface*, in *BRV* I, 308, 310; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 469. On the Calvinist and Lutheran propaganda in Transylvania, but also in Wallachia and Moldavia, see Croitoru 2012 (9), 467–526.

<sup>118</sup> Croitoru 2012 (6), 728, note 188.

<sup>119</sup> Croitoru 2012 (6), 730.

<sup>120</sup> Dură 1977, 245.

<sup>121</sup> On *The Confession* of Patriarch Dositheos, see more details in Croitoru 2012 (10), 655–664.

<sup>122</sup> *BRV* I, 299; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 459.

<sup>123</sup> *BRV* I, 298–299, 314–315; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 458–459.

<sup>124</sup> Καρμίρη 1949, 71, 81; Croitoru 2012 (6), 728.

<sup>125</sup> *BRV* I, 319.

ἀρχῆς τοῦ πάπα Αντίρρησις), printed in Greek at Jassy, in 1682<sup>126</sup>. On the other hand, simultaneously to the edition of the patristic collection *Mărgăritare* (*Pearls*) was also prepared the translation into Romanian of the *Confession of Faith* attributed to Saint Peter Mogila, after the edition of Amsterdam (1666), which also included a *Preface* signed by Patriarch Nectarius, of November 20, 1662. My opinion is that the Greceanu brothers refer to the latter text of Patriarch Nectarius, since there is no indication, during the same period, of any translation in Romanian of this Patriarch's work printed earlier in Jassy<sup>127</sup>.

The two translators announce, in the same first *Preface*, that they also want to finish translating and printing *other works*, as well, *for the benefit of community*<sup>128</sup>, which we shall see below. However, if we follow the activity of the *princely printing press* of Bucharest, there appears, in 1690, *to be shared for free to the Orthodox*, a *Manual against the Papists' Schism* (Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τοῦ Σχίσματος τῶν Παπιστῶν), written by Hieromonk Maximus the Peloponnesian<sup>129</sup>, a disciple of Meletios Pegas, Patriarch of Alexandria<sup>130</sup>. In the *Preface*<sup>131</sup> of the book, addressed to the *Orthodox readers*, it is affirmed that *many have wanted to prevent the printing of the Manual, because it tells the naked and clear truth, but finally truth has prevailed, and the reigning Prince has deemed it right [to have it printed] and the respective booklet has been printed in memory of the wise, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to teach and support all the Orthodox*<sup>132</sup>. The *Manual* included the Orthodox teaching regarding the Roman-Catholic innovations on *Papal primacy, on the procession of the Holy Spirit, on unleavened bread, on the transformation, namely on the trans-substantiation of the Holy Mysteries*, in other words, of the Precious Gifts into the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, *on the purifying fire or Purgatory, on the joy of the Just, namely if they have received the promise*<sup>133</sup>.

The exhortation to printing had been given by Patriarch Dositheos, who must have been as well the author of the *Preface*, while through this polemic treaty, an answer was being given to the activity of propagation of the Roman-Catholic doctrine by different means<sup>134</sup>, one of them being the printing of books spread by the *Congregation for Propaganda of the Faith* (*Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*) among the Orthodox of the Ottoman Empire<sup>135</sup>. At the same time, it has been stated

<sup>126</sup> BRV I, 251; Legrand 1894 (17th-II), 401; Τζιπάκης 1966, 396; Croitoru 2012 (6), 727, note 181.

<sup>127</sup> Croitoru 2012 (6), 727–728, note 181.

<sup>128</sup> BRV I, 319.

<sup>129</sup> BRV I, 297–298; BRV IV, 207; Legrand 1894 (17th-II), 475; Bădără 1998, 66.

<sup>130</sup> BRV I, 297; Legrand 1894 (17th-II), 475; Bădără 1998, 66.

<sup>131</sup> For the whole text of this *Preface* in Greek, dated January 1690, see Legrand 1894 (17th-II), 476–478; for an old translation in Romanian of the respective *Preface* see BRV I, 370–372.

<sup>132</sup> BRV I, 298.

<sup>133</sup> BRV I, 298; Legrand 1894 (17th-II), 478.

<sup>134</sup> Legrand 1894 (17th-II), 476–477.

<sup>135</sup> It ought to be signalled that *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* took the initiative of creating a printing press of its own (1622), where, during the period 1628–1677, 45 books were printed, in Latin and Greek (classical and vulgar). Out of them, 37 were addressed especially to the Orthodox,

that this book was also an answer given to the Archbishop of Iconium, John Matthew Caryophilles (Ioannis Mattheos Caryophyllios), considered one of the most aggressive supporters of the Roman-Catholic propaganda by the book, several anti-Orthodox works being attributed to him in the epoch, among which *Counter-Statement to Nilus of Thessalonica on Papal Primacy* (Αντίρρησις πρὸς Νεῖλον τὸν Θεσσαλονίκης περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πάπα) or *Confutatio Nili Thessalonicensis de Primatu Papae*, printed in Paris, in 1626<sup>136</sup>. The printing of this book was correlated as well to the statement of defence against the Roman-Catholic propaganda in Transylvania, supported by the Court of Vienna, but also against the similar one in Little Russia, carried on with the help of Poland. In this context, the book became widely known and got to be translated in Russian and Romanian, whereas the Greek edition was very hard to find at the beginning of the 18th century. For instance, in 1714, Alexander Helladius declares it *rarer than the white raven*<sup>137</sup>. The translation into Russian was realized by Theodor Polikarpov († 1731), a disciple of the brothers Ioannikios (John) and Sophronius (Spyridon) Leichoudis<sup>138</sup>, and was disseminated in manuscript<sup>139</sup>.

The translation into Romanian of the work of Hieromonk Maximus the Peloponnesian was impressed in the *princely printing press* of Snagov Monastery, in 1699<sup>140</sup>. For editorial reasons, the title of the book was replaced by a suggestive one: *Carte sau Lumină, cu dreapte Dovediri din Dogmele Besearicii Răsăritului, asupra dejghinării Papistașilor, descoperită și așezată de prea învâșatul Ieromonah Maxim Peloponiseanul* (*Book or Light, with right Demonstrations taken from the Dogmas of the Church of the East, on the Discord of the Papalists, discovered and arranged by the very erudite Hieromonk Maximus the Peloponnesian*)<sup>141</sup>. It is mentioned, on the title page, that the work was printed *on the order and at the sole expense* of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, during the archpastorate of Metropolitan Theodosius, its printer being Hieromonk Anthimus the Iberian, *in order to be given as a gift to the Orthodox believers*<sup>142</sup>.

most of them having a catechetical, dogmatic and apologetic content. In this context, many of the books printed in Greek, both in Wallachia and in Moldavia, represented the answer of the Orthodoxy to the wave of books in Greek that the Congregation was spreading among the Orthodox of the Ottoman Empire. Under the pretext of culturalization, the aim of the Congregation was, in fact, to disseminate the Roman-Catholic propaganda in the Balkan Peninsula and in the East, so as to attract as many Orthodox Christians as possible to the union with Rome. Using a series of Greek scholars who had received tuition at the Greek College *Saint Athanasius* of Rome, the Congregation would send them to different regions of the Eastern Christianity, arming them with the respective books, while some of them got to be infiltrated in the hierarchy of the local Orthodox Churches, with the evident intention of triggering from inside the Orthodoxy a movement favourable to the union with Rome (Podskalsky 2005, 102; Papacostea-Danielopolu-Demény 1985, 157–161; Papacostea 1983, 261).

<sup>136</sup> Papacostea-Danielopolu-Demény 1985, 161; Legrand 1894 (17th–I), 216.

<sup>137</sup> Bădără 1998, 66; Legrand 1894 (17th–II), 475.

<sup>138</sup> Turdeanu 1985, 309.

<sup>139</sup> Turdeanu 1985, 309–310.

<sup>140</sup> BRV I. 370; BRV IV, 210; Bădără 1998, 77.

<sup>141</sup> BRV I. 370.

<sup>142</sup> BRV I. 370.

Going back to the activity of the princely printing press of Bucharest, the series of books of teaching in Greek is concluded by Sevastos Kyminitis' work (1630/1632–1702) *Dogmatic Teaching of the All Holy Eastern and Universal Church* (Δογματικὴ διδασκαλία τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἀνατολικῆς καὶ καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας), printed in 1703<sup>143</sup>. The author, to whom one more book in Greek had been printed at the princely printing press of Snagov Monastery, in the year 1701, entitled *Eortologhion* (Ἑορτολόγιον)<sup>144</sup>, had been a director and a professor of the Princely Academy in Bucharest (1689/1693–1702)<sup>145</sup>.

Considered during his epoch *the most faithful keeper of the philosophical* (according to Theophilos Corydalleus) *and theological Tradition* (in conformity with Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem) *of the Orthodox Church of those times*<sup>146</sup>, Kyminitis presents in his last book, printed post-mortem, three aspects of the Orthodox teaching concerning: 1) *when the Holy Gifts are transformed into Christ's Body and Blood*; 2) *that the Theotokos was submitted to the ancestral sin*; 3) *that the meridai, namely crumbs or portions, are not transformed into Christ's Body and Blood*<sup>147</sup>. In this way, he touched upon some points of faith of both the Roman-Catholic doctrine, namely the moment of the transformation, the immaculate conception (*immaculata conceptio*) of the Lord's Mother, which later became a dogma of the Roman-Catholic Church (1854), and of the Calvinist doctrine, such as the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Divine Eucharist, the honouring due to the Mother of the Lord<sup>148</sup>. It ought to be specified that the *Dogmatic Teaching of the All Holy Eastern and Universal Church* was printed in two editions, one dedicated to Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and another dedicated to Peter the Great, the Russian Tsar, *at the expense* of Postelnic (Chamberlain) George Kastriotis († 1716), a Greek diplomatist at the Court of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, in order to be given *as a gift to the Orthodox believers*<sup>149</sup>. The book was printed by Hieromonk Anthimus the Iberian, and the arrangement and correction of the text is attributed to the scholar John of Ephesus<sup>150</sup>.

In 1691, it is printed in Buzău, in the new *princely printing press*, set up by Hierarch Mitrofan, formerly Bishop of Huși (1682–1686) and new Bishop of Buzău (1691–1702), being the one who had taken care of the printing of the books in Bucharest, *Pravoslavnică Mărturisire* (*Orthodox Confession*), which was the translation from Greek into Romanian of the *Confession of Orthodox Faith* approved at the Synod of Jassy (1642)<sup>151</sup>.

<sup>143</sup> BRV I, 450–451; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 25.

<sup>144</sup> BRV I, 416–419; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 9; Bădără 1998, 77.

<sup>145</sup> Croitoru 2012 (6), 744, note 308.

<sup>146</sup> Podskalsky 2005, 345.

<sup>147</sup> BRV I, 450; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 25.

<sup>148</sup> Podskalsky 2005, 347, 349–350; Croitoru 2012 (6), 744–745.

<sup>149</sup> BRV I, 450–451; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 25; Bădără 1998, 67.

<sup>150</sup> BRV I, 450–451; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 25. On the scholar John of Ephesus, who became a professor at the Princely Academy of Jassy, see Bădără 1998, 168.

<sup>151</sup> BRV I, 321.

The translation and printing of this *Confession* in Romanian was part of the editorial plan of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, announced by the brothers Radu and Șerban Greceanu in the first *Preface* of the collection *Mărgăritare (Pearls)*<sup>152</sup>, which we have mentioned above. Actually, this thing is also reminded by the translator of the text of the *Confession of Orthodox Faith*, the Logothete Radu Greceanu, in the first *Preface (Prefață or Predoslovie)* of the book, signed by him and addressed to the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu<sup>153</sup>, who had also entrusted to him the printing of his translation, in quality of *ispravnic*<sup>154</sup>. In this *Preface*, Radu Greceanu characterizes the *Confession* as being *a canon and a straightener by which the divine and apostolical dogmas of the Church of the East are known and straightened*, without which *no true Christian... can do something holy or some great feat for the salvation of his soul*<sup>155</sup>. Then, Radu Greceanu shows that Saint Peter Mogila drew up the respective *Confession*, without specifying any further details, to fight against *many tares and heresies*, sown among the Russian Christians by *those who hate the truth and want others also astray as themselves*<sup>156</sup>. To reinforce the authority of the text, Radu Greceanu emphasizes the fact that the *Confession* was proven true and confirmed by *the test and decision of four Patriarchs, of Constantinople, of Alexandria, of Antioch and of Jerusalem, and of many Hierarchs and clerics of the Great Church of Constantinople*<sup>157</sup>. In this point, the translator is directly referring to the Synod of Constantinople, of March 1643, when the *Orthodox Confession* of Saint Peter Mogila was approved<sup>158</sup>. Radu Greceanu adds one more detail, regarding the authority of the *Confession* and the decision of the Synod of Constantinople, affirming that *similarly the book of Nectarius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, confesses and proves it true, all these being in the Greek book*<sup>159</sup>. We shall remind that the brothers Radu and Șerban Greceanu had referred to Patriarch Nectarius in the first *Preface* of the patristic collection *Mărgăritare (Pearls)*<sup>160</sup>, and above we have mentioned that this Greek book of the respective Patriarch was not *Counter-Statement against Papal Primacy* (Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πάπα Αντίρρησις), printed in Jassy, in the year 1682, as there is no information about any translation of this book in the respective epoch, but the *Book or Letter* of the Patriarch of November 20, 1662, printed as *Preface* in the edition of the *Orthodox Confession* of Amsterdam<sup>161</sup> of the year

<sup>152</sup> BRV I, 319.

<sup>153</sup> BRV I, 322.

<sup>154</sup> BRV I, 321.

<sup>155</sup> BRV I, 322–323.

<sup>156</sup> BRV I, 323.

<sup>157</sup> BRV I, 323.

<sup>158</sup> Croitoru 2012 (6), 731, note 209; see also Croitoru 2012 (11), 572–573.

<sup>159</sup> BRV I, 323.

<sup>160</sup> BRV I, 319.

<sup>161</sup> Croitoru 2012 (11), 575.

1666<sup>162</sup>, after which the 1691 translation was actually made, edition that contained the respective *Preface* and the act of the Synod of the year 1643<sup>163</sup>.

It ought to be added that Radu Greceanu comes with one more detail regarding the translation of the *Confession*, namely, that he had had not just the help of his brother Șerban, but also that of Senechal Constantine Cantacuzino<sup>164</sup>. In fact, the Senechal was part of the group of translators of liturgical, biblical and theological books, being known in his epoch not just for his erudition, but also as *one of the promoters of the printing in Wallachia of certain polemical books opposed to the Roman-Catholic doctrine and the Protestant innovations, and a collaborator for other books*<sup>165</sup>. After having highlighted the authority of *Pravoslavnică Mărturisire (Orthodox Confession)*, printed by Bishop Mitrofan *on the order and at the expense of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu*<sup>166</sup>, Radu Greceanu affirms, in the *Preface to the Orthodox Reader (Prefața către cetitorii pravoslavnic)*, being the second *Preface* of the book also signed by him, that *the greatest, the best and the most useful thing for man is salvation, which represents the aim and the top of all the good things, of all the miracles, of all the mysteries*, and his exhortation is that each Christian ought to read it *several times*, because only in this way he will be able to know and be aware of *the trodden path of the Orthodox faith and of the all holy and true Eastern Church, leading to eternal life*<sup>167</sup>.

The series of the books of teaching is concluded in the printing press of the Episcopate of Buzău, if we refer only to the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, by the printing, in 1702, thanks to the efforts of the same typographer Mitrofan, of a brochure in the languages Slavonic and Romanian<sup>168</sup>, under the title: *Învățătură preoșilor pe scurt. De șapte Taine ale Besearicii, cu dreapte dovediri den Pravila Sfinților Părinți (Brief Teaching for the Priests. On the Seven Holy Mysteries of the Church, with right Demonstrations taken from the Rule of the Holy Fathers)*<sup>169</sup>. Metropolitan Theodosius, *on [whose] order and at [whose] sole expense the respective book had been printed*<sup>170</sup>, in two editions, one for Wallachia, and another one for Moldavia, the name of Theodosius being replaced by that of *Antonius, Archbishop and Metropolitan of the entire Moldavia*<sup>171</sup>, draws the attention, in the *Preface to the Priests (Predoslovie către preoși)*, that he has found *some things that go against the apostolical teachings and the mysteries of the Holy Church*:

<sup>162</sup> Not in 1667 or 1668, as it has been wrongly claimed. On the correction of this error, see Croitoru 2012 (11), 575, note 97.

<sup>163</sup> Croitoru 2012 (6), 731, note 210.

<sup>164</sup> BRV I, 328.

<sup>165</sup> See Croitoru 2012 (7), 422–424.

<sup>166</sup> BRV I, 323.

<sup>167</sup> BRV I, 323–324.

<sup>168</sup> Bădără 1998, 73.

<sup>169</sup> BRV I, 433.

<sup>170</sup> BRV I, 433.

<sup>171</sup> BRV I, 539; BRV IV, 215–216; Bădără 1998, 73.

*especially related to the Holy Baptism, the Holy Communion and the Great Myron, namely the Chrismation. These breaches, which the Metropolitan wanted in every way to pull out and to unroot, were the consequence of both the priests' ignorance, and of those hostile to the Church, in other words, the influences of the Western propagandas*<sup>172</sup>, and to come up against the respective situations, these teachings had been printed for the priests, taking advice from the *Holy Scriptures* and the *Rule of the Holy Fathers on the Seven Mysteries ordained and ordered by Christ our Lord Himself*<sup>173</sup>. Concerning the author of this brochure, the opinions are divided, some attributing it to Metropolitan Theodosius, and others to Bishop Mitrofan himself<sup>174</sup>.

The polemics created by the Western propagandas managed to divide into camps even the supporters of the Orthodoxy, as it happened with the dispute between the Great Logothete John Caryophilles (c. 1610–1692) and the Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, concerning, especially, the acceptance or not of the use of the term *trans-substantiation* (Romanian: *transsubstanfiere*; Greek: *μετουσίωσις*) in the Orthodox teaching, as Patriarch Dositheos had done in his *Confession* (1672, Jerusalem). Following the disputes emerged in Constantinople and the condemnation of his *Notebooks*, at a Synod summoned *ad-hoc* by the Ecumenical Patriarch in 1691 (Constantinople), Caryophilles is forced to go into exile and takes refuge in Wallachia, where he arrives at the beginning of the year 1692. He is received with great honours by Stolnic (Senechal) Constantine Cantacuzino and Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, and also by Metropolitan Theodosius, who will accommodate him at Radu-Vodă Monastery in Bucharest. The Metropolitan was grateful to him, because he had received the help of Caryophilles, in 1679, when he returned to the Metropolitan throne, after having been deposed in the year 1672, following the political fights between the boyar parties, respectively that of the Cantacuzinos, whose partisan he was, and that of the Băleanu family. Caryophilles was highly regarded by Saint Anthimus the Iberian, at that time Hieromonk, despite the friendship that connected all those mentioned to Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem<sup>175</sup>. It has been affirmed that, during the debates, there were also violent discussions between Patriarch Dositheos and Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, when the latter intervened in favour of John Caryophilles, on which occasion the Patriarch would have reproached the ruler, according to some historians, precisely during a sermon that he uttered in Bucharest, during the second part of the year 1692, the following: *the ecclesiastical laws have not been established on the Wallachian Mountains, nor by the Wallachian rulers, but in Constantinople and by emperors and synods; therefore, if Caryophilles has something to say, let us go*

<sup>172</sup> Croitoru 2012 (6), 732.

<sup>173</sup> BRV I. 434–435.

<sup>174</sup> Croitoru 2012 (6), 731, note 212.

<sup>175</sup> In fact, the conflict between the Great Logothete John Caryophilles and Patriarch Dositheos goes through several stages, to which one can also add several reasons. For all these, see Croitoru 2012 (12), 752–783; Croitoru 2014, 201–232.

together to Constantinople and let him speak. And this is how he reduced Basarab, namely Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, to silence<sup>176</sup>.

These contradictory discussions did not ruin the friendship relations existing between the reigning Prince and the Patriarch, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, they denote the fact that the ruler was aware of the disputes and the intrigues of Constantinople. For this reason, Caryophilles was not regarded as a heretic in Bucharest, and Senechal Constantine Cantacuzino asks him to provide answers, in writing, to several questions regarding some controversial points of faith, such as the divine providence, predestination, the role of good deeds, free will (*liberum arbitrium*) etc. Caryophilles gave answers to the questions asked by Cantacuzino, yet they remained in manuscript<sup>177</sup>. Patriarch Dositheos, finding out about the writing of Caryophilles, prints a *Manual* at Cetățuia Monastery, near Jassy, in 1694, two years after the death of the Great Logothete. The aim of this work, entitled *Manual against John Caryophilles* (*Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καρυοφύλλου*)<sup>178</sup>, was to fight against the writings and teachings of John Caryophilles, especially those he had written on the Divine Eucharist. At the end of the book, Patriarch Dositheos also added the *Synodal Tomos* of 1691 against the manuscript *Notebooks* (*Caiete*) and the heresy of Caryophilles, signed by Callinicus II, Patriarch of Constantinople, and by himself<sup>179</sup>.

The reaction in Bucharest was that, at the exhortation of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu and of Senechal Constantine Cantacuzino, Saint Anthimus the Iberian printed in the princely printing press of Snagov Monastery, whose Starets he was (1694–1704), the manuscript work of John Caryophilles, corrected and reviewed, on his request, by the scholar Sevastos Kyminitis<sup>180</sup>. Thus, the work appears in the year 1697, as a posthumous work of Caryophilles dedicated to Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, bearing the title *Manual on several questions and solutions, or on the examination and confirmation of several necessary dogmas of the Church* (*Ἐγχειρίδιον περί τινων ἀποριῶν καὶ λύσεων, ἢ περί ἐξετάσεως καὶ ἐπιβεβαιώσεως ἀναγκαίων τινῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας δογμάτων*)<sup>181</sup>.

The work appears under a catechetical form, as questions and answers, including, after the title page, a first *Prologue* of Saint Anthimus the Iberian to the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, followed by another *Prologue to the Readers*. As far as the second *Prologue* is concerned, we have shown in a recent study that it also belongs to Saint Anthimus the Iberian<sup>182</sup>. The writing of

<sup>176</sup> Croitoru 2012 (12), 764.

<sup>177</sup> Croitoru 2012 (12), 764; Croitoru 2014, 219–220.

<sup>178</sup> *BRV* I, 337–338; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 30–37; Bădără 1998, 90.

<sup>179</sup> Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 37; Croitoru 2012 (12), 765.

<sup>180</sup> Croitoru 2012 (12), 765–766.

<sup>181</sup> *BRV* I, 349–350; Legrand 1895 (17th –III), 45; Bădără 1998, 76: for the analysis of the content of this book, see Croitoru 2012 (12), 767–770.

<sup>182</sup> Croitoru 2014, 221–222; for a new translation of the first *Prologue*, and for the unpublished translation of the second *Prologue*, made by the author of this study, see the Annexes 1 and 2 in Croitoru 2014, 227–232.

Caryophilles, representing, in a first stage, the fruit of the collaboration between himself and Senechal Constantine Cantacuzino, then, in the second stage, of that between Professor Sevastos Kyminitis and Saint Anthimus the Iberian<sup>183</sup>, stirred quite a lot of interest, being used as teaching material in the Princely Academy of Bucharest<sup>184</sup>, while, at the beginning of the 18th century, it was translated into Romanian, under the title: *Questions of the famous gentleman Constantine Cantacuzino, brother of the late Șerban Vodă Cant[acuzino], ... and answers ... of the among teachers scholar and discourse giver John Caryophilles, the Great Logothete of the Holy and Great Church of the See of Constantinople...*, which were translated from Greek into Romanian at the exhortation of Father Flor, teacher of Slavonic [and] hartofilax (Întrebări ale blagorodnicului dumnealui pan Constandin Cantacozino, fratele răposatului Șărbăn Vodă Cant[acozino], ... și răspunsuri ... ale celui dintre dascăli învățat și cuvântător Ioan Careofil, marele logofăt al sfintei și marei Biserici a scaunului Țarigradului..., care s-au tălmăcit de pre limba elinească pre limba românească prin îndemnarea popei Flor, dascal slov[enesc] hartofilax)<sup>185</sup>.

In 1699, the third edition in Greek of the *Orthodox Confession* (Ὁρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία) of Saint Peter Mogila appears, being printed in the princely printing press of Snagov Monastery<sup>186</sup>. The first edition had been printed in 1666, in Amsterdam, on the initiative of the Great Dragoman Panagiotis Nikousios (1603–1672), in Greek. The second edition, in Greek and Latin, appeared in 1695, in Leipzig, by the care of the Swedish Protestant L. Normann<sup>187</sup>.

The edition of the *Orthodox Confession* of Snagov, entitled the *Orthodox Confession of the Faith of the Universal and Apostolical Church of the East* (Ὁρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία τῆς Πίστεως τῆς Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ανατολῆς)<sup>188</sup>, reproduced the edition of Amsterdam, being, however, the first in the Orthodox world<sup>189</sup>, appearing by the printing work of Saint Anthimus the Iberian, who was calling himself, out of humility, *the least of the hieromonks*, although he was Staretz of Snagov Monastery, the text being *arranged and reviewed* by Panagiotis of Sinópe, a locality in the area of Pontus Euxinus (the Black Sea). The book appeared *on the exhortation and at the expense* of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, *in order to be shared for free to the Christian multitudes*<sup>190</sup>. A major role in the printing of the book also went to Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, his aim being to face the Protestant and Roman-Catholic or Latin propaganda, as it results from his two letters, which accompany the text of the *Confession* as

<sup>183</sup> Croitoru 2014, 222–223.

<sup>184</sup> Vergatti 2014 (1), 49, 51; see also Vergatti 2014 (2), 72–74; Croitoru 2014, 222.

<sup>185</sup> For bibliographic references regarding the Romanian translation of this *Manual*, preserved in several manuscripts, see Croitoru 2012 (12), 770–771, note 148.

<sup>186</sup> BRV I, 378–379; BRV IV, 211; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 61–62; Bădără 1998, 77.

<sup>187</sup> Croitoru 2012 (11), 575.

<sup>188</sup> BRV I, 378; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 61.

<sup>189</sup> Croitoru 2012 (11), 575.

<sup>190</sup> BRV I, 378–379, 385, 389; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 61–62, 74.

*Prefaces*, the first to the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu (February, 1699)<sup>191</sup>, and the second to the Orthodox readers (January, 1699)<sup>192</sup>.

The text of the *Orthodox Confession*, written in vulgar Greek, was printed in one volume with an *Introductory Presentation on the Three Cardinal Virtues, Faith, Hope and Love* (Εἰσαγωγικὴ Ἐκθεσις περὶ τῶν Τριῶν Μεγίστων Ἀρετῶν Πίστεως, Ἐλπίδος καὶ Ἀγάπης), written in classical Greek and attributed to Hieromonk Vissarion Makres (1635–1699) of Ioannina (Greece)<sup>193</sup>. The importance of this writing is shown by Patriarch Dositheos himself at the end of the *Preface to the Orthodox readers*, where he affirms that he has sent the work of Vissarion to the reigning Prince because *not just by its arrangement, but also by its division and meanings it has great resemblance with the Orthodox Confession*, and the reigning Prince, taking it in his hands... *decided to have it printed together with the Orthodox Confession, so that the two works may be in one volume; namely to be read, one as the Orthodox Confession of the holy and apostolical, universal Church of Christ, being rule and canon of the Orthodox faith, and the other as interpretation and formulation of an Orthodox teacher*<sup>194</sup>. To reinforce even more the fight of defence of the Orthodox believers from the Protestant propaganda, Patriarch Dositheos added, in the same volume, a text of Saint John of Damascus on the veneration of the holy icons, *From Saint John of Damascus' Book On Icons* (Ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ Βίβλου Περί Εἰκόνων)<sup>195</sup>.

The importance of the volume, containing three titles, and of the philanthropic, cultural and missionary work of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu are signalled as well by the epigrams addressed to him and following after the title page: five signed by Sevastos Kyminitis Trapezuntios (of Trapezunt), one of Physician John Comnenus, three signed by students of the Princely Academy of Bucharest, and three more signed by students of two Schools of Ioannina<sup>196</sup>.

To strengthen the Orthodox faith in front of the Western propagandas, especially of the Protestant one, another work printed in the princely printing press of Snagov Monastery, in 1700, was *Învățătură creștinească foarte de folos* (*Very Useful Christian Teachings*), with the blessing of Metropolitan Theodosius<sup>197</sup>. The book was the first printing of George Radovici, who had learnt the art of the printing press from Saint Anthimus the Iberian, his spiritual father, as he himself confesses in *Predoslovie către domnitorul Constantine Brâncoveanu* (*Preface to the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu*), to whom he also dedicates this

<sup>191</sup> See Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 66–68.

<sup>192</sup> See BRV I, 381–385 (Greek text), 385–389 (Romanian text); Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 68–75.

<sup>193</sup> BRV I, 378–379; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 61; Bădără 1998, 77; Croitoru 2012 (6), 733–734; on Vissarion Makres see Ică sr. 2014, 174–177.

<sup>194</sup> BRV I, 385, 389; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 75.

<sup>195</sup> Dură 1977, 250; Croitoru 2012 (6), 736.

<sup>196</sup> BRV I, 379–381; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 62–65. On the interpretation of some of these epigrams and a new translation, see Croitoru 2015, 99–122.

<sup>197</sup> BRV I, 390, 538; BRV IV, 213; Bădără 1998, 77.

work<sup>198</sup>. Radovici praises the Prince for his concern especially *for the Church needs and the adornment of politics and the things that include the divine knowledge of the Orthodox teachings and the acquisition of the good deeds, which absolutely includes the printing press as well*<sup>199</sup>. In the same *Predoslovie* (Preface), Radovici reveals that the work he is printing is a translation from Greek into Romanian, done by Hieromonk Philotheos Svetagoreţul or the Athonite<sup>200</sup>. Translator from Greek into Romanian also of the work *Floarea darurilor* (*The Gifts' Flower*), printed by Saint Anthimus the Iberian in Snagov, in 1700<sup>201</sup>, but also of a *Catavasier*, printed in two editions (Târgovişte, 1714 and 1715)<sup>202</sup>, Hieromonk Filotheos was identified by the researchers as Filotei, sin Agăi Jipei (namely Filotheos, son of Aga Jipei), author of the first *Romanian Manual of Psaltical Music*, namely *Psaltichia românească* (1713)<sup>203</sup>.

*Floarea darurilor* (*The Flower of Virtue*) was a variant of Tommaso Gozzadini's writing, *Fiore di virtù*, also known under the name of *The Bee* (*Albinușe / Albina*), being a collection of maxims taken from the *Holy Scripture*, from certain patristic and ecclesial texts, as well as from different classical or medieval authors. This writing was appreciated in this epoch, and the hierarch and typographer Mitrofan also left a translation of it from Greek into Romanian, done in the year 1689 and kept in manuscript (The Library of the Romanian Academy, *Romanian Manuscript* 1357)<sup>204</sup>.

Radovici also draws the attention on the content of the book printed by him, affirming, in the second *Preface* (*Predoslovie*) belonging to him and addressed to the readers, that it includes *teachings, in brief and easy, which are understood without pains by everyone*<sup>205</sup>. These teachings are grouped into 38 chapters (*capete*)<sup>206</sup>, with the recommendation to read a chapter each day<sup>207</sup>.

The election of Saint Anthimus as Bishop of Râmnic (1705–1708) occurred in the context of the intensification of the Roman-Catholic propaganda in the East, but also in Transylvania, where the Jesuits had managed, with support from the Court of Vienna, to break the unity, spiritual and of faith, of the Romanians of Ardeal (Transylvania) with those of Wallachia and Moldavia (1701)<sup>208</sup>. He takes

<sup>198</sup> BRV I, 391.

<sup>199</sup> BRV I, 391.

<sup>200</sup> BRV I, 391.

<sup>201</sup> BRV I, 393.

<sup>202</sup> BRV IV, 41–42, 43; Bădără 1998, 83, note 312.

<sup>203</sup> Croitoru 2012 (6), 732, note 218.

<sup>204</sup> Croitoru 2012 (2), 144–145, note 127.

<sup>205</sup> BRV I, 392.

<sup>206</sup> See BRV I, 392–393.

<sup>207</sup> BRV I, 392.

<sup>208</sup> The Uniate process goes through two stages: a) a first stage occurred in the year 1697, under the Transylvanian Metropolitan Teofil (1692–1697), which stage, although unfinished, created a precedent; b) the second stage occurred between the years 1698–1701, under Metropolitan Athanasius Anghel, see Mărculeț-Bucur 2014, 9–45.

the place, in Râmnic, of Bishop Ilarion (1693–1705, † 1712), deposed from the episcopal see during a synod led by Patriarch Dositheos himself (March 1705), under the accusation of philo-Catholic inclinations (he had allowed the Roman-Catholics to have a church built in Râmnic and to bury their dead in the cemetery of the Episcopate)<sup>209</sup>. By his designation at Râmnic and the printing press set up by him in this Episcopate, Saint Anthimus the Iberian continued two aspects of the editorial programme promoted by Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, more exactly, supporting the Orthodoxy and defending the position of introduction of the Romanian language in the worship<sup>210</sup>. By both of these aspects it was, in fact, pursued to reinforce the Orthodoxy, namely by books of teaching and by the messages of the liturgical texts<sup>211</sup>. Actually, the printing press of Râmnic will become in the 18th century an important center defending the Orthodoxy, by means of the book, from the Roman-Catholic propaganda in Transylvania<sup>212</sup>.

The series of teaching books was opened in Râmnic by the printing of the large book *Tome of Joy* (Τόμος χαρᾶς), in 1705<sup>213</sup>, which completed the trilogy in Greek of the works *Tome of Reconciliation* (Τόμος καταλλάλαγης, Iași-Cetățuia, 1692–1694)<sup>214</sup> and *Tome of Love on the Latins*, namely the Roman-Catholics (Τόμος ἀγάπης κατὰ Λατίνων, Iași-Cetățuia, 1698)<sup>215</sup>, published after the collection and selection of many Greek writings, done by Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, with the obvious aim of defending the Orthodoxy in the context of the development of the Western propagandas.

The *Tome of Joy*, printed in two editions or, at least, in two press runs<sup>216</sup>, comprised the following works against the Roman-Catholics: *The Epistles of Photios, the All Holy Patriarch of Constantinople* (Αἱ Ἐπιστολαὶ Φωτίου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως)<sup>217</sup>; *The 8<sup>th</sup> Holy and Ecumenical*

<sup>209</sup> Păcurariu 1994 (II), 165. While some historians affirm that Bishop Ilarion was defrocked [Păcurariu 1994 (II), 165], others believe that he was only removed from the episcopal see and became head of the Snagov Monastery, maintaining his rank of bishop, see Bădără 1998, 79; Ștrempel 1972, 422, note 35; Șerbănescu 1956, 727 and note 174.

<sup>210</sup> Bădără 1998, 79.

<sup>211</sup> It seems that the whole printing activity, regarding the liturgical books in Romanian, had been concentrated for a while in Râmnic, which explains the fact that the princely printing press of Buzău, since the year 1702 under the leadership of Bishop Damascene the Teacher, will run out of orders starting with the year 1704 or 1706 (Bădără 1998, 73–74, 80).

<sup>212</sup> See Molin 1960, 458–471; Teodorescu 2010, 257–260; Popescu 2014, 279–291.

<sup>213</sup> BRV I, 463; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 43.

<sup>214</sup> BRV I, 338; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 28.

<sup>215</sup> BRV I, 369; Legrand 1895 (17th–III), 54.

<sup>216</sup> The first press run contains 5 epigrams addressed to Ruler Constantine Brâncoveanu and signed by students of the Princely Academy of Bucharest, while the second press run, with some modifications in the title, contains the specification that the volume was printed *under the supervision and with the corrections of Mitrofan Grigorás of Dodona*, and the replacement of the 5 epigrams by 2 of the same Mitrofan, hieromonk and master typographer, one addressed to Ruler Constantine Brâncoveanu, and another to Patriarch Dositheos (BRV I, 464; Bădără 1998, 80).

<sup>217</sup> Saint Photios the Great was Patriarch of Constantinople during the periods 858–867 and 877–886.

*Synod. Some Notes to this Holy Synod* (Ἡ Ἁγία καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ ὁγδὴ Σύνοδος, Σημειώσεις τινὲς εἰς ταύτην τὴν Ἁγίαν Σύνοδον)<sup>218</sup>; *The Counter-Statements against the Primacy of the Pope of Rome by Iatrophilosopher Nicholas* (Τὰ Ἀντιρρήτικὰ κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάππα τῆς Ρώμης, Νικολάου Ἱατροφιλοσόφου)<sup>219</sup>; *Discourse against the Pope's Primacy, by Meletius of Alexandria* (Λόγος Μελετίου Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάππα)<sup>220</sup>; *Dialogue of an Ecclesiarch Monk with Another Monk against the Latins* (Διάλογος Ἱερομνήμονος μοναχοῦ μετὰ τινὸς ἐτέρου Μοναχοῦ κατὰ Λατίνων)<sup>221</sup>. In the long *Preface* accompanying the volume, Patriarch Dositheos, at whose *expense and care* it was printed<sup>222</sup>, speaks, among others, about the phenomenon of the Uniate Churches, including direct references to the situation of Transylvania: *at Beciu, namely Vienna, where one can find the throne of the emperor of Germany, there is a Cardinal called Kollonitsis*<sup>223</sup>, *who wrote from Vienna that the Serbians and the Wallachians and the Romans*<sup>224</sup>, *wherever they are in Hungary and Erdelia*<sup>225</sup> *and Serbia and Horvatia*<sup>226</sup> *should read the Symbol of Faith with addition*<sup>227</sup>, *should receive the azymes, should confess the Purgatory and should proclaim the Pope of Rome as infallible and almighty shepherd of the whole Church*<sup>228</sup>. Therefore, Patriarch Dositheos, calling *Papism the separation from the true God, and Uniatism nothing but a pact with the devil*<sup>229</sup>, was attacking the propaganda for union led by Rome, especially that

<sup>218</sup> This Synod was held in Constantinople, during the period 879–880, by the care of Saint Photius the Great, as Patriarch, and was joined as well by Pope John VIII's delegates. At this Synod were annulled the anathemas imposed on Saint Photios by the Synod of 869–870 (Constantinople: at this synod it had been imposed the papal primacy on the Eastern Church), condemned the *Filioque* doctrine and rejected the papal primacy over all the Churches. Actually, the 879–880 Synod is regarded as a Synod that condemned papist heresies and is accepted as the 8<sup>th</sup> Ecumenical Synod by some scholars, be they clerics or lay people, of the Greek world, see <http://www.cuvantul-ortodox.ro/recomandari/2014/02/11/ips-hierotheos-vlachos-despre-al-optulea-sinod-ecumenic-879-880-respingerea-primatului-papal-si-condamnarea-ereziei-filioque/> (accessed, 01.09.2015).

<sup>219</sup> Patriarch Dionysius speaks about him in his *Preface*, mentioning that his name is Nicholas Kerameus, native of Ioannina, who arrived in Jassy, where he practiced medicine and was professor, I shall add, during the period of the years 1651–1672. The same Patriarch, indicating the year of Kerameus' death († 1672), highlights the context of the writing of the latter's work and the place where he was buried, namely the Monastery of the *Holy Apostles*, founded by Prince Duca Voivode, dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre, see *BRV I*, 465–466; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 44.

<sup>220</sup> The title actually refers to Meletius Pegas, Patriarch of Alexandria during the periods 1590–1600, 1601.

<sup>221</sup> *BRV I*, 463.

<sup>222</sup> *BRV I*, 463; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 43.

<sup>223</sup> The text refers to Cardinal Leopold Karl von Kollonitsch (1631–1707), who, becoming Archbishop of the Roman-Catholic Archdiocese of Esztergom and Primate of Hungary, in 1695, played an important role in the union of the Orthodox Metropolitanate of the Romanians of Transylvania with the Roman-Catholic Church.

<sup>224</sup> In other words, the Byzantine or the Orthodox, namely the Greek.

<sup>225</sup> Ardeal or Transylvania.

<sup>226</sup> Croatia.

<sup>227</sup> Reference to the *Filioque* addition.

<sup>228</sup> *BRV I*, 464–465.

<sup>229</sup> *BRV I*, 464, 466.

undertaken by Cardinal Leopold Karl von Kollonitsch, while, through the printing of the volume in Râmnic, Saint Anthimus took care to also remove the influences of the Roman-Catholic faith, that Bishop Hilarion would have spread in those places<sup>230</sup>.

Another aspect of the activity of Saint Anthimus the Iberian at Râmnic was his preoccupation for the education of the clerics, especially regarding their sacerdotal activity and as spiritual guides for the people, by word of mouth and by written word. In this sense, he edited a brochure in Romanian, *Învățătură pre scurt pentru Taina Pocăinței* (*Short Teaching on the Mystery of Repentance*), printed in Râmnic, in 1705<sup>231</sup>. The work is divided into two parts: the first is addressed to the priests and the believers, while the second only to the confessor<sup>232</sup>.

Saint Anthimus the Iberian was characterized by the same pastoral care after the departure from Râmnic and his election as Metropolitan of Wallachia (1708–1716). Thus, in the printing press of Târgoviște, owned by Saint Anthimus<sup>233</sup>, George Radovici prints for him, in 1710, the work *Învățătură bisericească la cele mai trebuincioase și mai de folos pentru învățătura preoților* (*Ecclesial Teaching about the Most Necessary and the Most Useful Things for the Education of the Priests*)<sup>234</sup>. This writing of Saint Anthimus is made up of three great parts: the first part includes fundamental elements of the Orthodox faith, useful both for the priests and for the believers; the second part contains exhortations and teachings on the Mystery of Repentance or Confession; the third part is a *small treaty of Canon Law*, related to the pastoral activity of the priests<sup>235</sup>. Consequently, this work is characterized as a *small Catechism, comprising in brief what ought to be necessarily known by a believer from the teaching of his Church*<sup>236</sup>. The two brochures of Saint Anthimus the Iberian, to which one can add *Capete de poruncă la toată ceata bisericească* (*Chapters of Commandments for all the ecclesial flock*), printed in Târgoviște as well, in 1714, but during the reigning Prince Ștefan Cantacuzino<sup>237</sup>, were given as a gift to the priests, with the order to be preserved as *permanent guidelines (îndreptare permanente)* in the ecclesial life<sup>238</sup>.

The series of teaching books in Greek, but also of the books printed during the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, is concluded by the *Πανοπλία δογματική* (*Dogmatic Panoply*), printed in Târgoviște, in 1710<sup>239</sup>. It was the *editio*

<sup>230</sup> Boghiu 2005, 18; Papacostea-Danielopolu-Demény 1985, 169.

<sup>231</sup> Șerbănescu 1956, 729; Bădără 1998, 80; Croitoru 2012 (13), 357.

<sup>232</sup> Ștrempele 1997, 145–147; Croitoru 2012 (6), 742. See the text of this brochure reedited in Antim 1972, 347–361.

<sup>233</sup> Bădără 1998, 81.

<sup>234</sup> BRV I, 481, 548–550; Bădără 1998, 82.

<sup>235</sup> BRV I, 549–550; Ștrempele 1997, 207–212; the text of the respective writing was reedited in Antim 1972, 363–383.

<sup>236</sup> Șerbănescu 1956, 739.

<sup>237</sup> BRV I, 492–493; this work, which could be structured in three parts, was reedited in Antim 1972, 385–394.

<sup>238</sup> Croitoru 2012 (13), 357; Croitoru 2012 (6), 742–743.

<sup>239</sup> BRV I, 482; BRV IV, 223; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 95; Bădără 1998, 83.

*princeps* of this work in Greek, with certain omissions that we will see below, because before the year 1710 the *Dogmatic Panoply* had gone through different editions, whole or partial, but in Latin<sup>240</sup>. This book comprises, *in brief, what the blessed and God-bearing Fathers have written, put in order and in harmony according to the reflection of Monk Euthymius Zigadenus or Zigadenos*, on the exhortation of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), *to overturn and break into pieces the unpious dogmas and teachings of the Godless heresy inventors*. The printing was carried out by Saint Anthimus the Iberian, while *the arrangement and the correction* of the text were assured by Hieromonk Mitrofan Grigorás of Dodona<sup>241</sup>.

As far as the author's name is concerned, in the specialized literature, a distinction is made between the two almost homonymous writers and scholars. The first lived during the time of the Emperor Basil II Bulgaroctonus (976–1025) and Constantine VIII (1025–1028). The second lived during the time of the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, known by the name of Euthymius Zigadenus or Zigabenus. He was a monk at Peribleptos Monastery and it has been stated that he was helped to draw up the *Dogmatic Panoply* by the scholar John Fournes<sup>242</sup>.

The *Dogmatic Panoply* is divided into 25 titles, some of them having several chapters<sup>243</sup>, while the aim of the printing of this book was to illuminate the believers on certain older heresies, which could be found, under a new form, either in the Roman-Catholic innovations, such as the *Filioque*, a doctrine appropriated as well by the Protestants, or in the Protestant doctrines, which were rejecting points of the Orthodox Christian teaching on the Holy Trinity, as was the case of the Anti-Trinitarians, the veneration of the Saints and of the holy icons, the transformation of the Precious Gifts precisely into the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the *Holy Tradition* etc.<sup>244</sup> The editors from Wallachia were, however, careful to adapt the text to the needs of their epoch, and this can be noticed from the difference that exists between the text published in *Patrologia Graeca*, volume 130, col. 9-1362, and the *editio princeps* of Târgoviște. Thus, the respective editors shortened Euthymius Zigadenus' *Prologue*, mentioned 27 titles in the *editio princeps*, without keeping, however, the titles XIX and XX, which were against the Agnoets and against Origen. At the same time, they omitted, out of political reasons, due to the vicinity with the Porte, the last title (XXVIII) of the original text, which was against the Saracens or Muslims. In exchange, a text of Saint Photius the Great was added, *Paratitle by Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople, from the Letter to Michael, Hospodar of Bulgaria, on the Seven Ecumenical Synods* (Παράτιτλος Φωτίου, πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Μιχαὴλ τὸν

<sup>240</sup> Braniște 1958, 503. 507.

<sup>241</sup> BRV I, 482; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 95; Șerbănescu 1956, 736; Croitoru 2012 (6), 746.

<sup>242</sup> Braniște 1958, 501–503; Croitoru 2012 (6), 746, note 330.

<sup>243</sup> For more details, see Croitoru 2012 (6), 747.

<sup>244</sup> Croitoru 2012 (6), 747.

ἄρχοντα Βουλγαρίας Ἐπιστολῆς περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων)<sup>245</sup>, also kept in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* edition<sup>246</sup>.

It ought to be mentioned that the *titles* IX, XXIV and XXVII, which concerned the sects of the Manicheans, Paulicians and Bogomils, were topical for the situation in Wallachia, where followers of the Bogomilism, arrived from Bulgaria, had settled. They gave birth to a popular literature which, although arrived among the Orthodox Romanians as well, finally did not leave on them any influence either from the literary perspective or the perspective of the content of their faith and the conception on the worship of the Church<sup>247</sup>.

Therefore, the *Dogmatic Panoply* appeared in the epoch, by the fragments that the compiler had brought together from different Holy Fathers and Church writers (Dionysius the Areopagite, Evagrius Ponticus, Athanasius the Great, Gregory the Theologian, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, Maximus the Confessor, John of Damascus, Photius the Great etc.), as a small patristic encyclopaedia, drafted according to a well-conceived thematic design and meant to fight the phenomenon of heresies and sects in general, bringing with it, as the signatory of the first *Prologue* of the book noted, *the antidotes against any heretical vanity*<sup>248</sup>. He was Athanasius, Metropolitan of Drisra, at whose expense the *editio princeps* of the *Dogmatic Panoply*<sup>249</sup> had been printed, and, in his *Prologue* addressed to Saint Martyr Stephen Brâncoveanu (1685–1714), to whom he consecrated the respective edition, he was convinced that by the dogmas presented in the book, the believers were taking *all the arms of God*<sup>250</sup>, namely they were taking on that *panoply* or armour of the Holy Spirit *against the enemies of faith*<sup>251</sup>. Actually, Euthymius Zigadenus was perceiving his work, in his *Prologue* to the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, designed to be in the edition of Târgoviște the second *Prologue* of the *Dogmatic Panoply*, as a *deposit of arms of the dogmas*, ready for fight at any moment<sup>252</sup>. For this reason, according to the same Metropolitan Athanasius, the *Dogmatic Panoply* was, in the context of his epoch, the *phalanx fighting against the heretics*, old and newer, because the Orthodox believers, aware of the dogmas of faith and grouped around them, were able to fight *against the grouping that was heretical and adversary to God*<sup>253</sup>.

<sup>245</sup> Croitoru 2012 (6), 748.

<sup>246</sup> Braniște 1958, 507, 509; Croitoru 2012 (6), 747 (and note 332), 748.

<sup>247</sup> Câmpeanu 2002, 142; Croitoru 2012 (6), 748.

<sup>248</sup> Ἀθανασίου μητροπολίτου Δρίστρας, *Πρόλογος πρὸς τὸν Στέφανο Βοεβόδα τὸν Μπραγκοβάνο*, in Ζιγαβινού 1710, II r–v.

<sup>249</sup> BRI<sup>1</sup>, 482; Legrand 1918 (18th–I), 95.

<sup>250</sup> See *Ephes.* 6: 13.

<sup>251</sup> Ἀθανασίου μητροπολίτου Δρίστρας, *Πρόλογος...*, in Ζιγαβινού 1710, II r.

<sup>252</sup> Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Ζιγαδηνού, *Πρόλογος μετ' ἐγκωμίων τῶν πρὸς βασιλεῖα Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ εἰς τὴν Δογματικὴν Πανοπλίαν*, in Ζιγαβινού 1710, V v.

<sup>253</sup> Ἀθανασίου μητροπολίτου Δρίστρας, *Πρόλογος...*, in Ζιγαβινού 1710, II r.

The printing of the *Dogmatic Panoply* in Târgoviște was an expression of the unity of faith of the Orthodox. As one could see from the title page<sup>254</sup>, the book was printed in the *All Holy Metropolitanate of Târgoviște of Oungrovlachia*, namely in Wallachia, at the expense of the Metropolitan of Dristra (Dorostolon, Silistra), Athanasius, whose eparchy, situated on the right side of the Danube, in nowadays' Bulgaria, had close connections with the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries, especially with Wallachia, where the hierarchs of the respective eparchy could often be found, receiving many facilities and much support<sup>255</sup>. At the same time, the book was bearing the blessing of the Oungrovlachian Metropolitan, Saint Anthimus the Iberian, who was also the typographer master, as well as the accord of Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, the *editio princeps* being dedicated to his second son, the Holy Martyr Stephen Brâncoveanu. This edition was reviewed and overseen by the Greek hieromonk Mitrofan of Dodona, who expressed his joy for the support in printing by verses placed at the end of the *Dogmatic Panoply*<sup>256</sup>.

It ought to be mentioned that in the specialized literature is pointed out the printing of a *Discourse of Praise on Priesthood* (Περὶ Ἱερωσύνης Λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικός) by Chrysanthos Notaras, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in Greek<sup>257</sup>, included in the activity of the princely printing press of Bucharest<sup>258</sup>. As the title page declares, Patriarch Chrysanthos uttered the respective *Discourse* on the occasion of his ordination as Metropolitan of Caesarea of Palestine, *in the year of salvation 1702, 5 April, precisely on the day of Holy Easter*, in the Resurrection Church of Jerusalem<sup>259</sup>. However, this *Discourse* was printed only after his election as Patriarch of Jerusalem, on February 7, 1707, in Constantinople, an event after which he came to visit Wallachia and Moldavia for about two years<sup>260</sup>. Consequently, the date of the printing of his *Discourse* in the year 1702<sup>261</sup> is considered erroneous<sup>262</sup>, since the respective work was included, in Greek, in the last part of a volume printed in Jerusalem, in the year 1728<sup>263</sup>, containing, in the first part, the work of Patriarch Chrysanthos *Manual about the Superiority par Excellence of the Holy City of Jerusalem and of the Lord's Holy and Life-Giving Sepulchre* (Ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ τῆς κατ' ἐξοχὴν ὑπεροχῆς τῆς ἁγίας Πόλεως

<sup>254</sup> BRV I, 482; Legrand 1918 (18th-I), 95.

<sup>255</sup> Braniște 1958, 503. 507.

<sup>256</sup> BRV I, 483; Legrand 1918 (18th-I), 95–96; Croitoru 2012 (6), 749–750, note 360.

<sup>257</sup> Legrand 1918 (18th-I), 17, 58.

<sup>258</sup> BRV I, 441.

<sup>259</sup> BRV IV, 234–235.

<sup>260</sup> Πατρινέλης 1968, 388; Legrand 1918 (18th-I), 58. Patrinelys affirms that Chrysanthos was ordained as metropolitan on April 6, 1702, see Πατρινέλης 1968, 388.

<sup>261</sup> See BRV I, 441; BRV IV, 217.

<sup>262</sup> Legrand 1918 (18th-I), 17. 58. Although this mistake is signalled even in BRV IV, 217, and I highlighted it myself in the year 2012 [see Croitoru 2012 (13). 352; Croitoru 2012 (4). 399; Croitoru 2012 (6). 732], it still continues to be repeated in the studies dedicated to the printing press of the epoch of the reigning Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, see Petrescu-Agnes 2014, 117.

<sup>263</sup> BRV IV. 234; Legrand 1918 (18th-I), 221.

*Ιερουσαλήμ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ζωοδόχου Τάφου τοῦ Κυρίου*), followed, as a second part of the respective volume, by *Sobornical Letter to All the Orthodox Believers, for the Help of the Holy Sepulchre* (*Carte săbornicăscă la toți pravoslavnicii creștini, pentru ajutorul sf(â)ntului Mormânt*), in Greek, Romanian and Slavonic<sup>264</sup>.

### 5. Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, a second Zorobabel and another Ptolemy of the latter times

In the five printing centers that operated during the time of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu (Bucharest, where two printing presses activated, the princely printing press and the metropolitan printing press, while two more were during the time of the Ruler's life, namely the printing press of Saint Anthimus the Iberian of the Monastery of *All the Saints* and the printing press of *Saint Sabbas Monastery*; Buzău, where a princely printing press functioned; Snagov, where one can first find a princely printing press, then the private printing press of Saint Anthimus the Iberian; Râmnic, where an episcopal printing press operated; Târgoviște, where a private printing press of Saint Anthimus the Iberian functioned), were printed, *on the decision or with the accord or on the order and at the exclusive expense* of the reigning Prince, to be given *as a gift* to those thirsting for Jesus Christ's teaching, books with a varied content, from those destined to the worship in the Church to those of philosophical reflection and theological thinking.

The respective books were part of the editorial programme assured by the Church, by means of its clerics, and by the Reign, by the good will of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, a special role going to the works defending, directly, the Orthodoxy, from the propagandas of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. Their number is impressive for the respective epoch: 15 volumes and 23 titles<sup>265</sup>. It ought to be kept in mind that, out of the 15 volumes, 7 were printed

<sup>264</sup> BRV IV, 234–235. Issued in August 1727, the *Sobornical Letter* (*Carte săbornicăscă*) is signed by Paisios, Patriarch of Constantinople, together with 13 metropolitans, among which there was also the name of Metropolitan Daniil (Daniel) of Oungrovlachia (BRV IV, 234).

<sup>265</sup> We shall evoke only the volumes containing several titles together: *Counter-Statement against the Calvinist Principles and the Questions of Cyril Lucaris* (Κατὰ τῶν καλβινικῶν κεφαλαίων καὶ ἐρωτήσεων Κυρίλλου τοῦ Λουκάρεως Ἀντίρρησις) by Meletios Syrigos and *Manual against the Calvinist Madness* (Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τῆς καλβινικῆς φρενοβλαβείας) by Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, printed in a single volume in Bucharest, in 1690; *Orthodox Confession of the Faith of the Universal and Apostolical Church of the East* (Ὁρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία τῆς Πίστεως τῆς Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀνατολῆς) by Saint Peter Mogila, printed in Snagov, in 1699, along with two more titles: *Introductory Presentation on the Three Cardinal Virtues, Faith, Hope and Love* (Εἰσαγωγικὴ Ἐκθεσις περὶ τῶν Τριῶν Μεγίστων Ἀρετῶν Πίστεως, Ἐλπίδος καὶ Ἀγάπης), attributed to Hieromonk Vissarion Makres (1635–1699) of Ioannina, and *From Saint John of Damascus' Book on Icons* (Ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ Βίβλου Περὶ Εἰκόνων); *Tome of Joy* (Τόμος χαρᾶς), printed in Râmnic, in 1705, volume in which Patriarch Dositheos reunited the following five writings: *The Epistles of Photios, the All Holy Patriarch of Constantinople* (Αἱ Ἐπιστολαὶ Φωτίου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως); *The 8<sup>th</sup> Holy and Ecumenical Synod. Some Notes to this Holy Synod* (Ἡ Ἁγία καὶ Οἰκουμενικὴ ὀγδὴ Σύνοδος, Σημειώσεις τινές εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν Ἁγίαν

in Romanian, other 7 in classical and vulgar Greek, and a volume is bilingual, Slavonic-Romanian. The books were addressed to the Orthodox from everywhere, a fact reinforced as well by the printing of some of them in two editions or press runs<sup>266</sup>. One can specify as well another feature of the respective printings, namely the fact that most of them are *editiones principes*, either in Romanian or in Greek, exceptions being, if we have in view whole works and not just parts of them<sup>267</sup>, the *Manual against the Calvinist Madness* (Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τῆς καλβινικῆς φρενοβλαβείας) or the *Confession of Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem*, printed along with Meletios Syrigos's work in a single volume (Bucharest, 1690) and representing the third edition in Greek, but the first in the Orthodox world<sup>268</sup>, and also the *Orthodox Confession of the Faith of the Universal and Apostolical Church of the East* (Ὁρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία τῆς Πίστεως τῆς Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀνατολῆς) by Saint Peter Mogila, printed along with two more titles (Snagov, 1699), being also the third edition in Greek and the first in the Orthodox world<sup>269</sup>. Moreover, two of the titles printed were edited in Romanian and in Greek<sup>270</sup>.

Σύνοδον); *The Counter-Statements against the Primacy of the Pope of Rome* by Iatrophilosopher Nicholas (Τὰ Ἀντιρρήτικὰ κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάππα τῆς Ρώμης, Νικολάου Ἱατροφιλοσόφου); *Discourse against the Pope's Primacy*, by Meletius of Alexandria (Λόγος Μελετίου Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάππα); *Dialogue of an Ecclesiarch Monk with Another Monk against the Latins*, namely the Roman-Catholics (Διάλογος Ἱερομνήμονος μοναχοῦ μετὰ τινὸς ἐτέρου Μοναχοῦ κατὰ Λατίνων). We have not included *The 1688 Bible* (*Biblia de la 1688*) in this category, although it includes several titles, because they constitute a unitary corpus.

<sup>266</sup> *Învățătură preoților pe scurt. De șapte Taine ale Besearecii, cu dreapte dovediri den Pravila Sfinților Părinți* (*Brief Teaching for the Priests. On the Seven Holy Mysteries of the Church, with right Demonstrations taken from the Rule of the Holy Fathers*, Buzău, 1702) had two editions, one for Wallachia, and another one for Moldavia, the name of Metropolitan Theodosius being replaced by that of Anthony, Metropolitan of Moldavia; Sevastos Kyminitis's work, *Dogmatic Teaching of the All Holy Eastern and Universal Church* (Δογματικὴ διδασκαλία τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἀνατολικῆς καὶ καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, Bucharest, 1703) was printed in two editions, one consecrated to Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and another one dedicated to Peter the Great, the Tsar of Russia; the *Tome of Joy* (Τόμος χαρᾶς, Râmnic, 1705) was printed in two editions or, at least in two press runs.

<sup>267</sup> As it happens in the case of the title *From Saint John of Damascus' Book On Icons* (Ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Λαμασκηνοῦ Βίβλου Περὶ Εἰκόνων), printed in the volume of Snagov (1699), or of the different books or parts of the *Holy Scripture* already printed in Romanian and never all together, as in *The 1688 Bible* (*Biblia de la 1688*).

<sup>268</sup> The first two editions had been printed in Paris, in 1675–1676 and 1678.

<sup>269</sup> The first edition had been printed in Amsterdam, in 1666, and the second, bilingual, Greek-Latin, in Leipzig, in 1695.

<sup>270</sup> The *Manual of Hieromonk Maximus the Peloponnesian, against the Papists' Schism* (Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τοῦ Σχίσματος τῶν Παπιστῶν, Bucharest, 1690) was translated from Greek into Romanian, being printed (Snagov, 1699) under the title *Carte sau Lumină, cu dreapte Dovediri din Dogmele Besearecii Răsăritului, asupra dejghinării Papistașilor, descoperită și așezată de prea învățatul Ieromonah Maxim Peloponiseanul* (*Book or Light, with right Demonstrations taken from the Dogmas of the Church of the East, on the Discord of the Papalists, discovered and arranged by the very erudite Hieromonk Maximus the Peloponnesian*); the *Confession of Faith* by Saint Peter Mogila appears first in a translation into Romanian, *Pravoslavnica Mărturisire* (*The Orthodox Confession*, Buzău, 1691), then in Greek, *Orthodox Confession of the Faith of the Universal and Apostolical Church of the East* (Ὁρθόδοξος Ὁμολογία τῆς Πίστεως τῆς Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, Snagov, 1699), both editions relying on the edition of the *Confession* of Amsterdam (1666).

They were edited with the contribution of scholars, lay men and clerics, of various nationalities, some of them contributing with the writing [the authors were either contemporary of the epoch (Saint Martyr Anthimus the Iberian, John Caryophilles, Sevastos Kyminitis, Hieromonk Vissarion Makres of Ioannina etc.), either from other nearby periods (Saint Peter Mogila, Hieromonk Maximus the Peloponnesian)] or with the gathering of the different works in specially ordained volumes (Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem), others with the translation (Spatharus Nicolae Milescu, the brothers Radu and Șerban Greceanu, Senechal Constantine Cantacuzino, Hieromonk Philotheos sin Agăi Jipei etc.), helped along by typographer masters (Saint Martyr Anthimus the Iberian, Hierarch Mitrofan, George Radovici etc.) or text reviewers (the same Hierarch Mitrofan, Michael Makres of Ioannina, John of Ephesus, Hieromonk Mitrofan Grigorás of Dodona, Panagiotis of Sinópe etc.). Their efforts and collaboration fully illustrates the unity of faith, which had, in that epoch, a greater value than the ethnical one, as well as the desire of defending a spiritual settlement, specific to the living of the Orthodox faith and without having caused crises on the level of the psychological and spiritual being, as it had happened in the West. It ought to be specified that during that time the Orthodox faith, identified with the *ancestral law*, represented the fundamental element of the Romanians' identity, and the printing activity of Wallachia meant a wonderful example, worth following, of collaboration between the Church and the Reign, in other words, between the Church and the State, in order to defend this element from the new confessional and ideological concepts, put into circulation among the Romanians not out of the need of an inner quest, but in order to fragment their spiritual, cultural and ethnic unity.

This is why, in the context of the epoch, the fight for the defence of the Orthodox faith from the Roman-Catholic and Protestant proselytism constituted a priority in the vast editorial programme of the Church and of the Reign, even leading to a certain, yet not exclusive, specialization of the printing press centers of Wallachia. For instance, the printing press center of Buzău will get to promote the introduction of the books of worship in Romanian, but also of the books of teaching and of defence of the Orthodoxy in the same language, while the center of Snagov will stand out as a center specialized in books for the Orthodox of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, a special place in the editorial programme patronized by the Church and the Reign, in the time of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu, was held by the printing of books in Greek, following the call, made by Greek theologians and hierarchs, to support, with dogmatic works, the fight of defence of the Orthodoxy from the propagandas led by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation<sup>271</sup>. Actually, the persecution of the Christians in the East was no longer moving the hearts of the Christian rulers of Europe, to offer them help, as Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu was doing, during that time.

<sup>271</sup> Bădără 1998, 65; Croitoru 2012 (I). 254.

The whole printing activity developed in Wallachia during the reign of Saint Constantine Brâncoveanu was often praised by Greek and Romanian scholars, be they typographer masters or reviewers, lay men or members of the Church clergy (Sevastos Kyminitis, John Comnenus, Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, Metropolitan Theodosius, Hieromonk Philotheos sin Agăi Jipei etc.), who called him *a second Zorobabel* and *another Ptolemy* of the latter times<sup>272</sup>. For instance, in the *Prologue to the reigning Prince (Prologul către domnitor)* of the *Menaia of the Month of September (Mineiul lunii lui Septembrie, Buzău, 1698)*<sup>273</sup>, considering the Ruler's political, ecclesial and cultural achievements, Metropolitan Theodosius of Wallachia likened Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu to Saint Constantine the Great, to the King and Prophet David, but also to *a second Zorobabel*, since he *edified from foundation very great monasteries and renewed many churches for God's glory*, while he did all these *loving the good decency of the divine houses and the places of worship of His glory*<sup>274</sup>. As a token of appreciation for the printing of the *Menaia (Mineie)*, *on the order and at the exclusive expense of the very illuminated Prince*<sup>275</sup>, even though the parts translated from Greek into Romanian language were only the *Typikon (Tipicul)*, the *Old Testament Readings (Paremiile)* and the *Synaxarion (Sinaxarul)*, as well as some prayers, the others being printed in Slavonic, Metropolitan Theodosius affirms, in the same *Prologue*, that the reigning Prince, *like another Ptolemy*, gathered together *many and famous translators*, who, *by translating, understandable to all made the Canons singing the things of the Saints*, so that *all [the Saints] have become teachers about many and useful things*, since he had all these, namely the 12 *Minaia*<sup>276</sup>, printed. One can notice, therefore, that Ptolemy's motive<sup>277</sup> included, in the respective epoch, not just the action of the translation of the word of the *Holy Scripture* in the living language of a people, but also its separate printing, as it had happened, for instance, with the *Bucharest Bible (Biblia de la București, 1688)*, or its interpretation in different books of worship and of teaching.

Thus, by all these contributions of Saint Martyr Constantine Brâncoveanu, realized with the help of the people around him, Wallachia became a *precinct of culture and a strong lighthouse of Orthodox liveliness*<sup>278</sup>, while the epoch of Saint Martyr is characterized as *the reign of the book by excellence*<sup>279</sup>, representing the fruit of the collaboration between the Church and the State. Consequently, the

<sup>272</sup> See, for more details, Croitoru 2015, 99–122.

<sup>273</sup> BRV I, 365.

<sup>274</sup> BRV I, 366.

<sup>275</sup> BRV I, 365.

<sup>276</sup> BRV I, 367.

<sup>277</sup> Whether the respective Ptolemy is Ptolemy II Philadelphus (289–246 B.C.), according to the tradition, or Ptolemy Philometor (180–145 B.C.), in conformity with the modern critics, reference is made to the translation of the *Old Testament* from Hebrew into Greek. see Croitoru 2015, 110–111.

<sup>278</sup> Șerbănescu 1964, 895.

<sup>279</sup> Bugariu 2014, 827.

example of this collaboration between the sacerdotal power and the secular one, realized in the Byzantine Empire, and imitated, through the inheritance of the Orthodox spirituality, also in the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries, a reality grasped by the historian Nicholas Iorga through the famous syntagma *Byzantium after Byzantium*<sup>280</sup>, projects, over the centuries, the rule of Saint Martyr Brâncoveanu as a *cultural monarchy*<sup>281</sup>, in which he considered himself a *continuer of the ecumenical emperors and patron of the Orthodoxy*, making available for the Christians from everywhere, and not just for the Greek, his printing press<sup>282</sup>, being regarded in history as a *Maecenas of the culture* in the languages Romanian, Slavonic, Greek and Arabian<sup>283</sup>, as well as protector of the Orthodox East<sup>284</sup>.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ANTIM IVIREANUL 1972 – *Opere*, ed. G. Ștrempel, București.
- ANTONIE PLĂMĂDEALĂ 1981 – *Dascăli de cuget și simțire românească*, București.
- BARBU 2008 – *Purgatoriul misionarilor. Contrareforma în Țările Române în secolul al XVII-lea*, București.
- BĂDĂRĂ, D. 1998 – *Tiparul românesc la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea și începutul secolului al XVIII-lea*, Brăila.
- BOGHIU, S. 2005 – *Sfântul Antim Ivireanul și mănăstirea Tuturor Sfinților*, București.
- BRANIȘTE, M.M. 1958 – *Panoplia dogmatică, în editio princeps, Târgoviște, 1710. Împrejurările în care a fost alcătuită Panoplia*, MO, 10, 7–8, 501–510.
- BUGARIU, V. 2014 – *Tiparul și cartea bisericească în vremea lui Constantin Vodă Brâncoveanu*, in *Simpozionul Internațional “Taină și mărturisire”, ediția a VIII-a, Caransebeș, 27–29 aprilie 2014*, Cluj-Napoca, Caransebeș, 827–834.
- CÂMPEANU, I. 2002 – *Bogomilismul, mișcare social-politică și religioasă*, Cluj Napoca.
- CÂNDEA, V. 1963 – *Semnificația politică a unui act de cultură feudală*, Studii, 16, 3, 651–671.
- CÂNDEA, V. 1989 – *Opera lui Constantin Brâncoveanu în Orientul Apropiat*, in *Constantin Brâncoveanu*, ed. P. Cernovodeanu, F. Constantiniu, București, 170–179.
- CÂNDEA, V. 2001 – *În 2008 – cinci secole de tipar românesc*, in *Logos Arhiepiscopului Bartolomeu al Clujului la împlinirea vârstei de 80 de ani*, Cluj-Napoca, 307–312.
- CHIȚULESCU, P. 2009 (1) – *O redescoperire: “Acatistul” tipărit la Snagov în 1698 de Sfântul Antim Ivireanul*, Revista română de istorie a cărții, 6, 6, 57–60.
- CHIȚULESCU, P. 2009 (2) – *O redescoperire: un “Acatist” tipărit la Snagov în 1698 de către Sf. Antim Ivireanul*, Libraria. Studii și cercetări de bibliologie. Anuar, 8, 126–132.
- COTAN, Cl. 2014 – *Sfântul Constantin Brâncoveanu*, in I. Moldoveanu, M. Săsăujan (coord.), *Constantin Brâncoveanu și contribuția lui la sporirea patrimoniului cultural educațional, spiritual și social-filantropic al Țării Românești în contextul european al veacului al XVIII-lea*, București, 283–312.
- CROITORU, I. I. 2012 (1) – *Tipografii*, in idem, *Ortodoxia și Apusul în tradiția spirituală a românilor. Unitatea Ortodoxiei și apărarea credinței ortodoxe în fața propagandei protestante din secolul al XVII-lea*, vol. I (henceforth: Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul*, I), Târgoviște, 250–275.

<sup>280</sup> See Iorga 2000: Iorga 1992; Iliescu 1986. 35–44.

<sup>281</sup> Năstase 1981. 211.

<sup>282</sup> Iorga 1940. 548.

<sup>283</sup> Moldoveanu 2014. 165.

<sup>284</sup> See Cotan 2014, 283–312.

- CROITORU, I.I. 2012 (2) – *Ortodoxia – tradiția culturală și de civilizație a românilor*, in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul*, I, 121–152.
- CROITORU, I.I. 2012 (3) – *Sfinții Martiri binecredinciosul domnitor Constantin Vodă Brâncoveanu (1654–1714), împreună cu fiii Constantin (1683–1714), Ștefan (1685–1714), Radu (1690–1714) și Matei (1697/1698–1714) și cu sfetnicul Ianache († 1714)*, in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul*, I, 341–350.
- CROITORU, I.I. 2012 (4) – *Mitropolitul Teodosie (1668–1672, 1679–1708)*, in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul*, I, 391–401.
- CROITORU, I.I. 2012 (5) – *Propaganda protestantă în Țările Române*, in idem, *Ortodoxia și Apusul în tradiția spirituală a românilor. Unitatea Ortodoxiei și apărarea credinței ortodoxe în fața propagandei protestante din secolul al XVII-lea*, vol. II (henceforth: Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul*, II), Târgoviște, 467–526.
- CROITORU, I.I. 2012 (6) – *Folosirea tiparului în Țările Române pentru apărarea Ortodoxiei în fața propagandei protestante*, in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul*, II, 705–751.
- CROITORU, I.I. 2012 (7) – *Stolnicul Constantin Cantacuzino (1639/1640–1716)*, in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul*, I, 418–425.
- CROITORU, I.I. 2012 (8) – *Contactele românilor cu primele dispute între Ortodoxie și Protestantism*, in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul*, II, 527–559.
- CROITORU, I. I. 2012 (9) – *Propaganda protestantă în Țările Române*, in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul*, II, 467–526.
- CROITORU, I.I. 2012 (10) – *Contactele românilor cu hotărârile sinodale din a doua jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea*, in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul*, II, 655–664.
- CROITORU, I.I. 2012 (11) – *Sinodul de la 1642*, in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul*, II, 560–603.
- CROITORU, I.I. 2012 (12) – *Poziția Bisericii Ortodoxe și a Domniei din Țara Românească în controversa dintre patriarhul Ierusalimului Dositei Notaras (1641–1707) și marele logofăt Ioan Cariofil (c. 1610–1692)*, in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul*, II, 752–783.
- CROITORU, I.I. 2012 (13) – *Sfântul Ierarh Martir Antim Ivireanul (1650–1716), mitropolitul Țării Românești*, in Croitoru, *Ortodoxia și Apusul*, I, 350–363.
- CROITORU, I.M. 2014 – *Contribuția Sfântului Antim Ivireanul la controversa dintre patriarhul Ierusalimului Dositei Notaras și marele logofăt al Patriarhiei Ecumenice Ioan Cariofil, în Spiritualitatea mărturisitoare a culturii românești în perioada Sfântului Martir Constantin Brâncoveanu*, coord. Ș. Zară, Col. *Studia Academica* I, Râmnicu Vâlcea, 201–232.
- CROITORU, I.M. 2015 – *Exemplul unei domnii creștine pentru vremurile actuale: Sfântul Martir Constantin Brâncoveanu, un Zorobabel și Ptolemeu al epocii de atunci și de acum*, in *Misiune, spiritualitate, cultură, Simpozion Internațional Pocăință și Euharistie, Mărturisire și Martiriu. Familia Brâncovenilor și sensul existenței umane în lumea contemporană*, 2–3 iunie 2014, Târgoviște, 99–122.
- DURĂ, I.V. 1977 – *‘Ο Δοσίθεος Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ ἡ προσφορά αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς Ρουμανικὰς Χώρας καὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν αὐτῶν*, Αθήναι.
- ERBICEANU, C. 1904–1905 (1) – *Prefața dela cartea lui Meletie Sirig. Scrisă de Dositeiu Patriarhul Ierusalimului și în care se descrie origina neamului lui Constantin Brâncoveanu și după tată și după mamă*, translated by C. Erbiceanu, BOR, 28, 1212–1218.
- ERBICEANU, C. 1904–1905 (2) – *A doua prefată la cartea lui Meletie Sirig tot de Patriarhul Dositeiu*, translated by C. Erbiceanu, BOR, 28, 1344–1350.
- FEODOROV, Ioana 2014 (1) – *Tipărituri pentru ortodocșii arabi sub patronajul lui Constantin Brâncoveanu. Noi considerații*, in N. Chișăr, I. O. Abrudan, P. Guran (coord.), *Epoca lui Constantin Brâncoveanu în context sud-est european: biserică, societate, geopolitică*, Sibiu, 251–272.
- FEODOROV, Ioana 2014 (2) – *Sprîjin duhovnicesc prin tipar pentru creștinii georgieni în vremea Domnului Constantin Brâncoveanu*, in *Spiritualitatea mărturisitoare a culturii românești în perioada Sfântului Martir Constantin Brâncoveanu*, coord. Ș. Zară, Râmnicu Vâlcea, 47–61.
- GDOURA, W. 1985 – *Le Début de l’Imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie. Evolution de l’Environnement culturel (1706–1787)*, Tunis.

- ICA SR., I. I. 2014 – *O versiune comentată uitată a Mărturisirii Ortodoxe publicată cu sprijinul Sfântului voievod Constantin Brâncoveanu și semnificația ei*, in N. Chifăr, I. O. Abrudan, P. Guran (coord.), *Epoca lui Constantin Brâncoveanu în context sud-est european: biserică, societate, geopolitică*, Sibiu, 168–178.
- ILIESCU, O. 1986 – *La naissance d'une idée politique: Byzance après Byzance*, RRH, 25, 1–2, 35–44.
- IORGA, N. 1940 – *Histoire des Roumains et de la Romanité Orientale*, vol. VI, *Les Monarques*, Bucarest.
- IORGA, N. 1992 – *Byzance après Byzance*, Paris.
- IORGA, N. 2000 – *Byzantium after Byzantium*, Iași, Oxford, Portland.
- LEGRAND, E. 1894 (17<sup>th</sup>-I) – *Bibliographie Hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-septième siècle*, I, Paris (Bruxelles, 1963).
- LEGRAND, E. 1894 (17<sup>th</sup>-II) – *Bibliographie Hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-septième siècle*, II, Paris (Bruxelles, 1963).
- LEGRAND, E. 1895 (17<sup>th</sup>-III) – *Bibliographie Hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-septième siècle*, III, Paris, (Bruxelles, 1963).
- LEGRAND, E. 1918 (18<sup>th</sup>-I) – *Bibliographie Hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-huitième siècle*, I, Paris (Bruxelles, 1963).
- LUPAS, I. 1957 – *Cartea românească de învățătură de la 1643, retipărită într-o ediție transilvană la Alba Iulia în 1699*, Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei, 33, 10–12, 790–806.
- MANU, D. 2000 – *Mitropolitul Antim Ivireanul ctitor al literaturii române vechi*, GB, 56, 9–12, 80–115.
- MĂRCULEȚ, V., BUCUR, Al. 2014 – *Unirea Bisericii românești din Transilvania cu Roma și ruptura de Biserica Răsăriteană (1697–1701)*, in *Cultura brâncovenească în contextul culturii europene. Simpozion științific 22–24 septembrie 2014, Mănăstirea Sâmbăta de Sus*, coord. O. M. Glodarenco, Craiova, 9–45.
- MOLDOVEANU, I. 2014 – *Sfântul Constantin Brâncoveanu, sprijinitor al Ortodoxiei de limbă greacă*, in I. Moldoveanu, M. Săsăujan (coord.), *Constantin Brâncoveanu și contribuția lui la sporirea patrimoniului cultural educațional, spiritual și social-filantropic al Țării Românești în contextul european al veacului al XVIII-lea*, București, 161–198.
- MOLIN, V. 1960 – *Tiparița de la Râmnic, mijloc de luptă ortodoxă împotriva Catolicismului din Transilvania (1705–1800)*, MO, 12, 7–8, 458–471.
- NASTASE, D. 1981 – *L'idée impériale dans les pays roumains et le "crypto-empire chrétien" sous la domination ottomane. Etat et importance du problème*, Symmeikta, 9, 201–250.
- OLTEANU, R. 2002 – *Bucureștii în date și întâmplări*, București.
- PAPACOSTEA, V. 1983 – *Originile învățământului superior în Țara Românească*, in idem, *Civilizație românească și civilizație balcanică. Studii istorice*, București, 295–282.
- PAPACOSTEA-DANIELOPOLU, C., DEMENY, L. 1985 – *Carte și tipar în societatea românească și sud-est europeană (secolele XVII–XIX)*, București.
- PACURARIU, M. 1964 – *Legăturile Țărilor Române cu Patriarhia Antiohiei*, Studii Teologice, 16, 9–10, 593–621.
- PĂCURARIU, M. 1996 – *Cultura în timpul lui Constantin Brâncoveanu*, BOR, 114, 7–12, 306–360.
- PĂCURARIU, M. 1994 – *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, II, București.
- PETRESCU, V. 2014 (1): *Slujitori ai cărții și tiparului epocii brâncovenești*, in *Carte, tipar și bibliotecă în epoca brâncovenească. Mentalități și programe culturale*, ed. O. M. Sachelarie, G. Buluță, A. Erich, V. Petrescu, Pitești, 75–91.
- PETRESCU, V. 2014 (2) – *Slujitori ai cărții și tiparului*, in V. Petrescu, A. Erich, *Tiparul epocii brâncovenești*, Târgoviște, 161–178.
- PETRESCU, V., ERICH, AGNES 2014 – *Tiparul epocii brâncovenești*, Târgoviște.
- PODSKALSKY, G. 2005 – *Ἡ Ἑλληνική Θεολογία ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας 1453–1821. Ἡ Ὁρθοδοξία στὴ σφαῖρα ἐπιρροῆς τῶν δυτικῶν δογματῶν μετὰ τὴ Μεταρρύθμιση, μετάφραση πρωτοπρ. Γ. Δ. Μεταλληνού, Ἀθήνα*.

- POPESCU, S. 2014 – *Cartea românească – pavăză a Ortodoxiei și a Neamului românesc la vremuri de grea cumpănă. Doi mari ierarhi tipografi la Râmnic: Sfântul Antim Ivireanul (1705–1708) și Damaschin Dascălul (1708–1725)*, in *Spiritualitatea mărturisitoare a culturii românești în perioada Sfântului Martir Constantin Brâncoveanu*, coord. Ș. Zară, Râmnicu Vâlcea, 279–291.
- RAMUREANU, I. 1964 – *Constantin Brâncoveanu sprijinitor al Ortodoxiei*, BOR, 82, 9–10, 916–930.
- SIMONESCU, D. 1964 – *Cărți arabe tipărite de români în secolul al XVIII-lea (1701–1747)*, BOR, 82, 5–6, 524–561.
- ȘERBĂNESCU, N. 1956 – *Antim Ivireanul tipograf*, BOR, 74, 8–9, 690–766.
- ȘERBĂNESCU, N. 1964 – *Constantin Brâncoveanu cititor de cultură românească*, BOR, 82, 9–10, 879–899.
- ȘERBĂNESCU, N. 1976 – *Încă o carte tipărită de mitropolitul Antim Ivireanul*, BOR, 94, 3–4, 349–355.
- ȘTREMPPEL, G. 1972 – *Introducere*, in *Antim Ivireanul, Opere*, ed. G. Ștrempel, București, V–LXII, 415–455.
- ȘTREMPPEL, G. 1997 – *Antim Ivireanul*, București.
- TEODORESCU, D. 2010 – *Tipografia Râmnicului (1705–1827)*, Valachica. Studii și cercetări de istorie și istoria culturii, 23, 257–260.
- TURDEANU, E. 1985 – *Les controverses des Jansénistes et la création de l'imprimerie grecque en Moldavie*, in idem, *Etudes de littérature roumaine et d'écrits slaves et grecs des Principautés Roumaines*, Leiden, 275–315, 448–449.
- VARLAAM MITROPOLITUL 1643 – *Carte românească de învățătură dumenecile preste an și la praznice împărătești și la svinți mari*, I, Iași, 1643, in idem, *Opere*, ed. M. Neagu, Chișinău, 1991.
- VARLAAM MITROPOLITUL 1645 – *Cartea care se cheamă Răspunsul împotriva Catehismului calvinesc*, Dealu, 1645, in idem, *Opere. Răspunsul împotriva Catehismului calvinesc*, ed. M. Teodorescu, București, 1984.
- VERGATTI, R. ȘT. 2014 (1) – *Câteva observații asupra Academiei Domnești brâncovenești*, in C. N. Vergatti, A. Erich, R. Ș. Vergatti, *Brâncovenești. Sfinții Martiri Brâncoveni. Culegere de studii*, Curtea de Argeș, 31–94.
- VERGATTI, R. ȘT. 2014 (2) – *Câte ceva despre evoluția Academiei Domnești în epoca brâncovenească, în Sfântul Constantin Brâncoveanu, ocrotitorul Episcopiei Slatinei și Romanaților. III – Moștenirea culturală și spirituală*, Slatina, 60–106.

\*\*\*

Ζιγαβινού, Εὐθυμίου 1710 – *Πανοπλία δογματική*, Τάργοβιște.

Καρμίρη, Γ. Ν. 1949 – *Ἡ Ὁμολογία τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων Δοσιθέου*, Ἀθῆναι.

Πατρινέλης, Χ. Γ. 1968 – *Χρῦσανθος. Ὁ Νοταρᾶς. Πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων*, in *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια* 12, col. 387–390.

Τζιράκη, Ν. Ἐμμ. 1966 – *Νεκτᾶριος. Πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων (25 Ἰανουαρίου/9 Ἀπριλίου 1661 – Ἰανουάριος 1669)*, in *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, 9, col. 396–397.

\*\*\*

<http://www.cuvantul-ortodox.ro/recomandari/2014/02/11/ips-hierotheos-vlachos-despre-al-optulea-sinod-ecumenic-879-880-respingerea-primatului-papal-si-condamnarea-ereziei-filioque/> (accessed, 01.09.2015).