Examining the Role of Mount Athos in the Religious and Cultural History of Eastern Europe:

The Case of the Bulgarian Orthodox Monastery of Zograf and Its Monks, c. 1600-c. 1650

By

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Abstract

The main argument of this thesis is that Holy Mountain Athos, the biggest Orthodox monastic institution during the early modern period, and Zograf as a part of it, had a prominent, but still insufficiently examined place in the history of the Orthodox societies of Eastern Europe between the 1600s and the 1650s. The early 17th century, on the one hand, was a period marked by the intensification of the intra-Christian religious conflicts on a pan-European level and in this respect, Orthodoxy was no exception. On the other, these processes stimulated considerable cultural transformations within the Orthodox Church. Only recently, however, has the importance of Mount Athos for the history of the confessional encounters in the region and for the cultural evolution of the 17th-century Orthodox societies been addressed by the specialists. By exploring the biographies of a number of monks from the monastery of Zograf and their activity in all the Orthodox lands of Eastern Europe (from the Balkan peninsula, the Romanian Principalities, and contemporary Ukraine, to Moscow), I attempt to evaluate the overall significance of Athonite monasticism for the history of the early modern Orthodox religious culture. What was the importance of Athonite monasticism (exemplified by Zograf) for the confessional and cultural history of Orthodoxy in Eastern Europe during the first half of the 17th-century? In the first chapter of this thesis, based upon on a number of unpublished colophons from the old printed books collection of the Bulgarian monastery library, I will argue that the monks from Zograf, alongside other Athonite cloisters, played an important role in the history of the religious conflict in the Ukrainian lands in the first decade of the 17th century, following the Union of Brest (1596). Through establishing missing links to the Romanian historiographic research on the history of the early modern Orthodox church, the second chapter aims to reveal the contribution of Zograf monks to the ecclesiastical reforms in the Danubian Principalities in the 1630-40s.

Table of Contents

Introduction

The present thesis examines the history of the Bulgarian monastery of Zograf on Mount Athos and its monks during the first half of the 17th century. But *why* does this Athonite monastery merit a study? Until the end of the 14th century and the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans Zograf was one of the major centers of the medieval Byzantino-Slavic Orthodox culture and literary production. Later, during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, this and other Athonite monasteries contributed considerably to the process of the Balkan national revivals. It was in Zograf, in 1762, that the first modern history of Bulgaria was written – "The history of the Slavo-Bulgarians" by the monk Paisiy. Soon afterwards, it gained huge popularity and became one of the foundational works of the future Bulgarian historiography.[1] For this reason, Zograf is considered the "birthplace" of the contemporary Bulgarian national identity, while the year of 1762 itself is regarded as the beginning of the modern epoch in Bulgarian history.

This thesis will deal with the following historiographical problem: scholars have tended to concentrate their efforts predominantly on the medieval and modern history of Zograf, while the early modern period has received considerably less attention.[2] There are multiple and complex reasons for the lack of a comprehensive historical account about Zograf in the 17th century (and about Mount Athos as a whole) the main being the alleged scarcity of primary sources, the absence of integration between the historiographies on Orthodoxy in different Eastern European scholarly traditions, and the general lack of interest on behalf of church historians and theologians in the Ottoman period.[3] As this thesis will argue, the engagement with the past of

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[1] The most comprehensive account on the history of Zograf is the one by Cyril Pavlikianov, *Istoriya na balgarskiya svetogorski manastir Zograf ot 980 do 1804 g.* [The history of the Bulgarian monastery of Zograf from 980 until 1804] (Sofia, 2005), 7-13.

[2] For the sake of clarity, I intend to present the existing bibliography on the 17th-century history of Zograf in more detail in the following part on sources and later in the respective subchapters of the current text.

[3] Of course, it would be unjust to claim that there are no studies on the Ottoman period of the Athonite history: scholars such as Elias Kolovos, Phokion Kotzageorgis, Sophia Laiou, Aleksandar Fotić, Rumen

Zograf and its inhabitants' involvement in the history of the Orthodox societies of Eastern Europe in the 17th century could potentially reveal important aspects not only of the history of this particular Athonite monastery, but also of the broader confessional and cultural dynamics in the Christian East during the early modern era.

Structure of the thesis

The Chapter One of the present thesis will present the historical context of early 17th-century Eastern Europe by sketching the two main religious dynamics that marked the history of Orthodoxy in this period: on the one hand, the expansion of Catholic Reform and Calvinism in the European East during the late 16th century and, on the other hand, the Orthodox reform movement in the Ukrainian lands that unfolded as a reaction to the contact with the Western confessions. The Chapter Two will outline the involvement of the monks from Zograf in the confessional conflict between the Orthodox and the Catholics in the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom following the Union of Brest (1596). It will be argued that the monks from this monastery actively participated in the Orthodox Church's initiatives for countering the influence of Unionism in the Polish-Lithuanian lands in the 1600-10s by writing anti-Catholic polemical treatises, establishing new monastic institutions, and using printing for religious catechization. The Chapter Three will address the synchronous rise of Orthodox printing in Kiev and the Danubian

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Avramov, and other Balkan researchers have produced important academic works on the 16th-17th centuries. Here is just a small sample of some important works, which demonstrates clearly the main research foci in the field: Aleksandar Fotić, Sveta gora i Hilandar u Osmanskom carstvu XV-XVII vek [Mount Athos and Hilandar in the Ottoman Empire (15th-17th centuries)] (Belgrade, 2000); Elias Kolovos, Phokion Kotzageorgis, "Halkidiki in the Early Modern Period: To-wards an Environmental History," in Mines, Olives and Monasteries: Aspects of Halkidiki's Enviromental History (Thessaloniki, 2015), 124-154; Evangelia Balta, "Landed property of the monasteries of Athos and its taxation," Arab Historical Review for Ottoman Studies 19-20 (October 1999), 135-159; Monastic Economy Across Time: Wealth Management, Patterns, and Trends, ed. R. Avramov, A. Fotic, E. Kolovos, Ph. Kotzageorgis (Sofia, 2021); Phokion Kotzageorgis, "Ta monastiria os othomanikes topikes elit [The monasteries as a local Ottoman elite]," in Monasteria, oikonomia kai politike [Monasteries, economy, and politics], ed. Elias Kolovos (Heraklion, 2011), 163-190; etc.). Their research, however, has tended to concentrate more on topics such as the monastic economy, the networks of *metochia* (dependent monasteries and lands), on the participation of Athonite monk in the social and environmental history of the near-by region of Khalkidhiki, or the interaction with the Ottoman authorities, etc. However, the early modern religious history of Mount Athos is usually not their main focus of investigation.

Principalities. Moreover, it will demonstrate that monks from the monastery of Zograf played a pivotal role in the development of early modern Romanian printing, but also in the parallel transformation, which the early modern Romanian Church experienced in the 1630-40s. In the Conclusion, I will propose that the increased "missionary" activity far away from their Athonite home, otherwise unusual for the Orthodox monasticism, could be seen as part of the broader socio-religious developments characteristic for the "Age of Confessionalization."

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

When choosing a theoretical framework for approaching the religious history of the 17th century, scholars usually refer to the so-called *confessionalization theory*. "Confessionalization" is a concept coined in German historiography during the second half of the 20th century by the historians Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard.[4] It denotes a historiographical paradigm that interprets the 16th-17th centuries from the perspective of religion, focusing on the history of the confessional pluralization of the Latin Christendom as one of the driving forces behind the other important social and political processes of the epoch. At the center of this type of research are phenomena such as the political instrumentalization of religion and religious institutions for the needs of the rising territorial states in 16th-century Europe, religious homogenization and conversion, confession-building, social-disciplining, and so forth.

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[4] For an overview of the historiographical tradition – see Franz Brendle, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter* [The Age of Confessionalization] (Berlin, 2010), 148-160. I am very grateful to Prof. Tijana Krstić for introducing me into the topic and for providing me with important bibliography. Not being able to cite all the existing works that discuss the applicability of the concept of the confessionalization to the history of the 17th-century Orthodox world, I would like to cite here the ones that informed my own understanding of the problem: Tijana Krstić, "Can We Speak of 'Confessionalization beyond the Reformation? Ottoman Communities, Politics of Piety, and Empire Building in an Early Modern Eurasian Perspective," in *Entangled Confessionalizations? Dialogic Perspectives on the Politics of Piety and Community Building in the Ottoman Empire, 15th-18th Centuries* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2022), 25-115; Vasilios Makrides, "Konfessionalisierungsprozesse in der orthodox-christlichen Welt," in *Orthodoxa Confessio? Konfessionsbildung, Konfessionalisierung und ihre Folgen in der östlichen Christenheit Europas*, edited by Mihai.-D. Grigore, Florian Kührer-Wielach (Mainz, 2018); Eleni Gara, Ovidiu Olar, "Confession-Building and Authority: The Great Church and the Ottoman State in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," in *Entangled Confessionalizations? [...]*, 159-214.

The classical approach of Western historiography to the early modern religious history and the process of confession-building tends to focus on a set of "methods" through which the confessional unity of a given territory was sought to be achieved: the adoption of **written confessions** of faith intended to establish clear lines of distinction between the confessional groups; dissemination of the "correct belief" through **printing**; internalization of the new order through **education**; exertion of influence on the language (**vernacularization**); **enforcement of the new norms** with the help of the state and other institutional actors; **control** of the participation in rites and of the religious practices; and finally **persecution** of religious minorities.[5] These are some of the typical research foci for the specialists working on the religious history of the early modern period.

One of the central underlying ideas of the present thesis is that the continuous and intensified contact between Orthodoxy and the Western Christian groups at the end of the 16th – beginning of the 17th century resulted in a strong confessional reaction within the Orthodox Church. One of the central events approached in this text is, for instance, the Union of Brest from 1596 and the strong anti-Catholic reaction, which it triggered. On the other hand, the perceived threat of Calvinism during the second quarter of the 17th century also served as a major stimulus for the Orthodox elites and clergymen at different points of Eastern Europe to consider potential "measures" that could be taken against the advance of this rivaling Christian teaching. As it will be discussed, processes to an extent similar to the ones observed in the Western European historical context unfolded.

This is not to argue that the socially important actors in the case of the Orthodox societies had similar intentions or potential to enforce any confessional unity within their territories as their Catholic/Protestant counterparts. Neither should these complex developments of cultural and religious interaction be denigrated to the simple "import-reaction" scheme. However,

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[5] Gara, Olar, [Confession-Building and Authority], 176.

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the 17th century indeed witnessed a particular Orthodox response to the confessional tensions, which was expressed in the rising importance attributed by lay and ecclesiastical elites to Orthodox printing, strong interest in systematic religious education, and to an extent – vernacularizing tendencies.

In the present thesis it will be argued that Orthodox monasticism and more specifically the monks of Holy Mountain Athos were one of the social groups among the Eastern Christians in the 17th century, who were especially susceptible to the changes brought by the early modernity in the religious sphere. As this text aims to demonstrate, Athonite monks became deeply engaged with the printing and editing of sacred text, the introduction of novel teaching methods in the Orthodox religious education, and with conscious efforts for publishing of religious literature in the vernacular languages of the region for catechetical purposes. Moreover, due to their high mobility and interaction with representatives of other religious groups and their intellectual works, monks from Athos became some of the important agents of "knowledge transfer" in the European East.[6] I.e., through them confessional problematics affected diverse layers of the Eastern Christian groups, which were forced to articulate their Orthodox positionality in a response to the contact with competing confessions. By focusing on the biographies of a number of monks from the monastery of Zograf and their extensive networks, I hope to approach the topic of the Athonite contribution to the cultural transformation in the Orthodox space in the 17th century.

Sources and Bibliography

Here a few more introductory notes are in order regarding the sources of the present thesis. Generally, the main problem for studying 17th-century history of Orthodox monasticism

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[6] Kostas Sarris, Nikolas Pissis, Miltos Pechlivanos, *Confessionalization and/as Knowledge Transfer in the Greek Orthodox Church* (Wiesbaden, 2021), 1-9.

in the Balkans is the relative scarcity of primary materials. Particularly in Zograf, only a number of Ottoman[7] and Moldavian[8] documents from the first half of the 17th century are preserved, which are mainly related to the administrative problems surrounding the immovable property of the monastery in Athos itself, in the region of Khalkidhiki (Greece), and in the vicinity of the town of Vaslui (NE Romania). Important source for the history of the monastic community are the lists of the patrons of the monastery from the Ukrainian lands from the 1630s onwards,[9] alongside some acts testifying to the visits of Zograf monks to Moscow (which are kept in the Moscow National State Archive).[10] The only preserved Slavonic literary monument in Zograf from this period is the vita of a Saint called Pimen (the end of the 16th – the beginning of the 17th centuries). This is in fact the only topic related to the history of the monastery from this period that is relatively well researched in scholarship.[11] Lastly, the manuscript books of the

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[7] The Ottoman documents are still not published or analyzed, but I have been kindly provided by the scholar working on them, Dr. Grigor Boykov, with a translation of the content of the acts from the first half of the 17th century. See Mariya Kiprovska, Grigor Boykov, "Kolekciyata ot osmanski dokumenti ot arhiva na Zografskiya manastir [The collection of Ottoman documents in the archive of the Zograf monastery]," in *Zografski sabornik. Zografskiyat arhiv i biblioteka. Izsledvaniya i perspectivi* [The Zograf conciliar volume. The archive and the library of Zograf: state of research and perspectives for future research] by Dimitar Peev (ed.) (Sofia, 2019), 318-349.

[8] Petronel Zahariuc, "Vrazkite na Moldova sas Zografskia manastir na Sveta gora. Sastoyanie na prouchvaniyata [The connections between Moldova and the Zograf monastery in Mount Athos. The state of research]," in [*Zografski sabornik…*], 243-255; Cyril Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos 1230-1734* (Sofia, 2018), 461-548.

[9] The Zograf "Russian pomenik" (Document № 77, from 1639), which contains the names of a number of important patrons and financial contributors from the Ukrainian and Russian lands, will be published soon - https://zograflib.slav.uni-sofia.bg/mss/zogr0077 (last visited, May 2022).

[10] Nikolaos Merdzimekis, "Peri ton sheseon tes athonikes Mones Zografou meta Rosias ton tsaron: 16os-19os ai. [About the contacts of the Athonite Monastery of Zographou with Russia of the Tsars (16th-19th centuries)]," in *Balgariya, zemya na blazheni. In memoriam professoris Iordani Andreevi* (Sofia, 2010), 542; Veselin Goranchev, "Za vrazkite mezhdu Rusia I Pravoslavnia Iztok [On the connections between Russia, the Orthodox East, and the Bulgarian lands in the period XV-XVII c.]," *Epochi* XXVII, 2 (2019).

[11] Although the topic about the life of Saint Pimen is relevant to this thesis and deserves to be presented, due to the limited space it will not be possible to discuss it. I would only like to mention that Pimen was a real historical personality – a scribe and a painter, who together with a group of itinerant monks was active in the region of Sofia between the 1590s and 1610s and contributed to the renewal of a considerable number of monasteries in that region. Some researchers even discuss the possibility to interpret this and similar movements of itinerant Athonite monks in other parts of the Balkans as a *sui generis* "small" Orthodox monastic renewal in the Ottoman European provinces at the beginning of the 17th century: Elisaveta Mussakova, "Pimen of Zograf Manuscripts as an Example of Collaboration Among Scribes," *Hryzograf* 2 (2005), 170; Ivanka Gergova, "Zhitieto na sveti Pimen Zografski – kriticheski

Zograf monastery library and the colophons that they contain are also an important historical source.[12] Nevertheless, the fragmentary character of the information contained in these sources prevents scholars from drawing a comprehensive account of the history of the monastery and of the interaction of its inhabitants with the "outside world." The contribution of the present thesis is the introduction of a new primary source—in the first chapter I will present the most important information contained in the colophons of the 17th-century old printed books from the library of Zograf, most of which have not been utilized so far. These small notes give important glimpses into the biographies of a number of monks and their extensive networks in Eastern Europe.

As mentioned above, the history of the Zograf monastery and its inhabitants during the first half of the 17th century was approached only partially and from the point of view of other historical topics, but not as the central object of study. The only exception is the article of the Russian historian Vera Tchentsova, "Monks from Zograf in Kiev and Moscow in the 1620s and 1630s," which is the basis and the main inspiration for the present thesis.[13] Tchentsova has dealt systematically with the history of the Zograf monks' visits to Moscow in the 1620-40s. Tchentsova is the first scholar who paid attention to the fact that the first 17th-century Orthodox printers in Wallachia were monks from Zograf. My hope is to be able to expand her work by

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prochit [The Vita of Saint Pimen – a Critical Examination]", in E. Moussakova (ed.) *Etropolskata knizhovna shkola i kulturniyat zhivot prez XVII v. v balgarskite zemi* (Sofia, 2010), 268-280; Georgi Todorov, *Ravnoapostolat Sv. Pimen Zografski: Dalbokoto Vazrazhdane na Balgariya* [The equal-to-the-apostles St. Pimen from Zograf: the "profound" Renaissance of Bulgaria] (Sofia, 2021); Biserka Penkova (ed.), *Patishtata na balkanskite zografi [The Roads of Balkan Icon-Painter]* (Sofia, 2020); B. Penkova, T. Kuneva (ed.), *Korpus na stenopisite ot XVII vek v Balgaria [Corpus of 17th-Century Wall Paintings in Bulgaria]* (Sofia, 2013).

[12] Bozhidar Raykov (ed.), *Katalog na slavyanskite rakopisi v bibliotekata na Zografskiya manastir na Sveta gora* [Catalogue of the Slavic Manuscripts in the Library of the Zograf Monastery in Mount Athos] (Sofia, 1994).

[13] Vera Tchentsova, "Monahi iz Zografa v Kieve i Moskve [Monks from Zographou in Kiev and Moscow in the 1620s and 1630s]," *Istorisheskiy vestnik. Hristianstvo na Blizhnem Vostoke*, 20 (2017), 164-180.

exploring the role of the Zograf printers in the history of printing and the ecclesiastical transformations in the two other Romanian Principalities, Transylvania and Moldavia.

There is one last observation that I would like to make with regard to the use of secondary sources in the present thesis. My acquaintance with a number of different articles by Romanian, Ukrainian, and Russian scholars, lead me to the conclusion that although not being the central object of investigation, monks from Zograf were mentioned marginally in a great number of studies about Eastern Europe during the first half of the 17th century. Quite frequently, however, the researchers from the countries of the former USSR and Romania themselves did not know that certain historical figures they discussed were actually monks coming from the Balkans or Mount Athos. At the same time, Balkan scholars were not aware of the activity of these clerics in the Romanian/Ukrainian/Russian lands. There are many reasons behind the lack of strong interaction between the Balkan historians of the Ottoman/post-Byzantine period and the other Eastern European scholars: difficult access to source materials, linguistic barriers, narrow specialization in nationally circumscribed research fields, lack of institutional contacts between the historians of the 17th century in the respective countries, etc.

Because of the general absence of close integration between the historiographies on Orthodox Christianity in Eastern and Southeast Europe many connections and networks that bound these regions remained outside the scope of the academic research. I see the contribution of the present thesis precisely in the attempt to establish some missing links between these historiographic traditions, by focusing on the case of the monastery of Zograf in the 17th century.

Fig. 1 – Eastern Europe ca. 1600[14]

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[14] https://biega.com/history15.html (last visited, May 2022)

Chapter One

Historical Context: The Counter-Reformation and the Reform Movement within the Orthodox Church

In 1642 an Orthodox synod was convoked in the city of Iași, Moldavia, in order to refute the famous "Calvinist" Confession of Cyril Lukaris (a former patriarch of Constantinople, 1620-1638). Some of the central articles, approved by the Church council, concerned the Predestination doctrine and the Protestant repudiation of the Sacred tradition:

> "[…] These writings [of Lukaris] confess the Sacred Scripture deprived of the interpretations of the Church Fathers and doubt the inspired by God revelations communicated by the ecumenical councils […]. They consider God extremely unjust, […] arguing that only His will predetermines who will go into heavenly glory, and who in hell – without considering each one's [individual] actions; What would be more impious than this?"[15]

The publication of a confession with Calvinist content by this ecumenical patriarch (Geneva, 1629-1633) provoked much dissent among the ranks of the Orthodox Church. The synod in the Moldavian capital city of Iași was one of the first instances in the ecclesiastical history of the Eastern Church (represented by hierarchs from the Ukrainian, Romanian, and the Balkan lands) when it tried to distance clearly the Orthodox teachings from both Calvinism and Catholicism (as the subsequent articles testify, denying, for instance, the existence of the purgatory and the Catholic understanding of the transubstantiation). The prelates asked the Moldavian ruler to publish the synodal decisions by the means of the printing press recently established in his kingdom (1640) and to spread them publicly—the first occasion in which an Orthodox council expressed willingness to communicate its decisions to a broader Orthodox audience through print. The question emerges: why did the 17th-century Orthodox Church, which is typically represented as disinterested in post-Reformation theological controversies,

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[15] Ioannis Karmiris, *Ta dogmatika kai symbolica mnemeia tes Orthodoxou katholikes ekklesias* [The dogmatic and symbolic literary monuments of the Orthodox Church], Vol. II, (Graz, 1968), 655-662.

feel the need to take an active stand on these religious issues? One may start searching for the answer by looking at the two most important dynamics which intersected in the region of Eastern Europe at the time: the spread of the Counter-Reformation in the East and the Orthodox reform movement. Such introduction of basic facts and processes is important for the contextualization of the history of Zograf and its inhabitants ca. 1600.

The Counter-Reformation in the East

The second half of the 16th century was a time marked by the religious wars in Europe and the Catholic renewal policies of the post-Tridentine period. Since the pontificate of the famous reformer Gregory XIII (1572-1585), the Church of Rome made systematic efforts for the organization of missions among the Protestants, the indigenous people of the New World, and the Eastern Christians. The establishment of the "Congregatio de rebus Graecorum" [The congregation for the Greek affairs] (1573 – one of the institutional predecessors of the famous "Congregatio de Propaganda Fide") and of the Greek college of Saint Athanasius in Rome (1577), was an important institutional mechanism, which facilitated the creation of Uniate communities deep in the Ottoman and Eastern European hinterland. In the Balkans, there were successful missions since the 1580s in the Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian lands, whereas pro- and anti-Catholic factions in Constantinople competed to put their own candidates on the Ecumenical throne.[16] New Catholic and Uniate monasteries were established, local youths were sent in the educational institutions of Rome and Italy, Catholic religious literature was printed and widely disseminated in the local vernacular languages, etc. The main actors of these religious policies of the Papacy among the Balkan Orthodox populations were the Franciscan and

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[16] Antal Molnár, *Confessionalization on the Frontier: The Balkan Catholics between Roman Reform and Ottoman Reality* (Rome, 2019), 33-34; Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in captivity a study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the eve of the Turkish conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (New York, 1985), Ch. 4: Constantinople and Rome; Gerhard Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453-1821): Die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens* [The Greek theology in the period of the Ottoman rule] (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1988), 156-161.

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Dominican monastic orders. The Roman influence was so strong that even a group of Orthodox hierarchs, alumni of the Greek college in Rome, initiated a series of pro-Catholic rebellions in the Balkans during the Long War (1593-1606) between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires in order to support the Austrian forces.[17]

The Catholic Reformation expanded its outreach as far as Egypt and the Levant: for instance, the foundation of the Maronite College in Rome (1584) and the extensive printing program of Christian literature in Arabic served as a major impulse for the future strengthening of the connections between the Curia and the Arab Christians. At the same time, parts of the Oriental churches accepted Unionism (e.g., the Coptic church in Egypt in the period of 1595-1597, or the Malankara Church in India in 1599). The most significant success of the Eastern papal policies, however, was the Union of Brest (1596) when the majority of the Orthodox prelates in the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom entered into communion with Rome. This was a complex process in which the interests of the hierarchs coincided with those of the Catholic clergy and of the Polish king Sigismund III (1587-1632), one of the strongest proponents of the Counter-Reformation in Europe, alongside Philip II of Spain (d. 1598), and later Ferdinand II of Austria (1619-1637).

It is worth mentioning that the first documented religious encounter in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between Catholics and Orthodox in the late 16th century was directly related to the religious reforms of Pope Gregory XIII. The introduction of the new Gregorian calendar in the town of Lvov (Lviv) in 1583 was followed by mass unrest and a confrontation

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[17] For instance, Athanasios of Ohrid's support for the uprising in Himarra (1594), Dionysios Ralli in Tarnovo (1598), Dionysios of Larissa in Epirus (1600), but also in the Romanian (Banat uprising, 1594) and Serbian (the Herzegovina uprising, 1596) lands. – M. Yonov, "Zasilvane na osvoboditelnoto dvizhenie v kraya na XVI vek. Parvo tarnovsko vastanie [The strengthening of the liberation movement at the end of the 16th century. The first Tarnovo uprising]," in *Istoriya na Balgariya. Tom 4, Osmansko vladichestvo XV-XVIII v.* (Sofia, 1983), 185-202.

between the Catholic authorities and the local Orthodox who refused to commemorate the religious feasts on the new dates.[18] Such incidents of interconfessional tension would multiply towards the 1590s.

In scholarship it has been suggested that the main reason behind the Union of 1595/1596 was the fact that a part of the Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy favored the union with Rome at the expense of Constantinople as a means of attaining a "renewal/restoration," as the contemporaries termed it, of the organizational and spiritual life of the Orthodox Church.[19] At the time Calvinism, Anti-Trinitarianism, and other confessions were expanding rapidly in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, affecting even broader Orthodox communities and particularly the nobility. A feeling that their Church was losing ground and experiencing a deep "crisis" was widely spread among the Orthodox clergy and lay elites.[20] The Eastern Slavic bishops accused the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople of being unable to protect its subordinate Kievan Metropolitanate from the spread of the "heretical threats" and solve its own internal problems due to its subjugation to the "pagan rule" (the Ottoman Empire). More and more frequently they were turning their gaze towards the Church of Rome, admiring the global success of its proselytization efforts, etc. But most importantly, the future Uniate hierarchs saw the potential union with Rome as a way to receive royal protection in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, acquire equal rights with the Latin clergy, and as an effective means of countering the expansion of the Protestant Churches in the Kingdom.

The peculiar mixture of personal rivalries, driven by a set of political and economic interests, and above all the different visions of how to solve the "crisis" in the Orthodox Church,

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[18] M. Dmitriev, B. Florya, S. Yakovenko, *Brestskaya Unia i obshestvenno-politicheskaya bor'ba na Ukraine i v Belorussii* [The Union of Brest from 1596 and the socio-political struggles in Ukraine and Belarus at the end of the 16th – beginning of the 17th century], Vol. I (Moscow, 1996), 89.

[19] Boris Florya, "Brestskaya Uniya [The Union of Brest]," in *Pravoslavnaya Enciklopediya*, Vol. 6 (Moscow, 2003), 238-242.

[20] Dmitriev (ed.), [*Brestskaya Unia*], 140.

gradually led to the formation of two opposing factions in the 1590s—the higher clergy were more inclined to support Rome, while the nobility and the Orthodox urban dwellers tended towards Constantinople. Especially active were the Orthodox brotherhoods (guilds of craftsmen, the main patrons of the new schools and printing presses in towns like Vilnius and Lvov), which opposed the plans of the hierarchs, accusing them of betraying the paternal faith and of personal immoral life. In the end, after the decisive intervention of King Sigismund on behalf of the pro-Catholic group,[21] to whom he guaranteed his political support, the Uniate prelates proclaimed their acceptance of the Roman jurisdiction in the summer of 1595. The symbolical act of submission of the hierarchs took place in Rome on December 23, 1595 when two of them—Ipatiy Potiy and Kiril Terleckiy—read aloud a Catholic confession of faith, composed specifically for converting Eastern Christians, and declared their faithfulness to the decisions of the Council of Trent (1545-1563).[22] The final stage in this process was in the summer of 1596, when a part of the clergy accepted the Union at a regional council in the town of Brest.

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[21] Because of the introductory character of the current text, it is impossible to present all the important details in the history of the Union of Brest. However, one should note the significant role of the Polish Jesuits in the successful realization of the Union. Monks from the Jesuit order were the main advocates of the inclusion of the Orthodox Church within the Catholic hierarchy; they actively mediated between the Orthodox prelates and the Polish authorities and negotiated the conditions under which Unionism could be accepted. A crucial influence on King Sigismund III himself was his personal advisor—the Jesuit Piotr Skarga (1536-1612), famous for his reforms of the Catholic education in Poland and regarded as the intellectual leader of the Union. See Dmitriev, [*Brestskaya Unia*], 159.

[22] An interesting fact is that at the beginning of the same year (January 15,1595) the Coptic Church of Egypt also accepted the communion with Rome under Pope Clement VIII (1592-1602) with a special ceremony in the Eternal city (the union, however, lasted for only two years). Nevertheless, this fact could explain very well the active anti-Catholic position of the Eastern Orthodox patriarchs and especially of Meletios of Alexandria (Egypt). This Eastern Patriarch used to visit frequently Ostrog and prince Konstantin, and was deeply involved in the Polish-Lithuanian ecclesiastical affairs, playing even a catalyzing role for the inner-Orthodox conflict at its early stage. Meletius Pegas had a personal connection with the Zograf monk Vishenskiy, who will be mentioned later in this text. Moreover, Meletius was the uncle of Cyril Lukaris who inherited his position as a patriarch of Alexandria (1601-1620) before becoming Ecumenical patriarch. In the 1590s Lukaris served as a professor at the Ostrog academy (where he developed his strong connections to Protestant circles). An interesting fact is that Lukaris lived also in Holy Mountain for certain periods of his life. See Tomasz Kempa, "Kyrillos Loukaris and the confessional problems in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 104 (2011), 107.

The events from 1595-1596 provoked a deep rupture within the Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The strongest resistance was in the Orthodox areas controlled by Prince Ostrogskiy, the most powerful Orthodox magnate in the Kingdom. In 1596, under his leadership an alternative synod was convoked at Brest, parallel to the Uniate one, which refuted the decisions of the latter and proclaimed as legitime any act of resistance against the Uniate bishops and against the interference of the state authorities in the Orthodox ecclesiastical affairs. A fierce struggle unfolded for the control over key temples, monasteries, and printing presses. The leaders of the Orthodox faction even considered building a military coalition with the Polish Protestants against the royal religious policies. [23] This was a period of intense theological debates between the conflicting sides and of a flourishing of the genre of polemical religious literature. The sharp confessional and political conflict lasted until the official recognition of the Eastern Orthodox hierarchy in 1633 following the death of King Sigismund III.

The Orthodox reform movement

The forceful imposition of the Union, supported by the state authorities, and the perceived imminent threat of the expanding Protestant confessions catalyzed a strong Orthodox reaction within the early modern Ukrainian/Belarusian society—as a result, a "reform" movement aiming at the "restoration" of the Orthodox Church emerged that was going to mark the development not only of the ecclesiastical history of the Ukrainian lands, but broadly the history of Orthodoxy in the 17th century.[24] The central characteristics of the reform movement

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[23] Mihaylo Grushevs'kiy, *Istoriya Ukraini-Rusi. Tom. VI. VI - Borot'ba za i protiv unii po ii progoloshennyu, v zhityu i pismenstvi* [The history of Ukraine-Rus'. Volume 6 – Part 6. The struggle for and against the Union, active and literary confrontation] (Kiev, 1907).

[24] This term was used by the Patriarch of Alexandria Meletius (1549-1601) in one of his letters to the Russian Tsar Fyodor Ivanovich from 1593. The patriarch exhorted the tsar to support the Orthodox brotherhood of Lvov (lay religious movement) because of its important role for the process of "[…] restoration of the piety, threatened throughout the whole East, [… and the brotherhood's efforts] in support of Orthodoxy and the Greek learning that was totally annihilated in these lands [i.e., the Eastern Slavic territories]." – Dmitriev, [*Brestskaya Unia*], 126.

were the attempt to distance the Orthodox Church from the rivaling confessions, centralize administratively its authority, raise the educational level of the clergy and common believers, and propagate through print the proper Orthodox theological doctrine and liturgical practices.[25]

The first place where such a policy was systematically pursued was the Western Ukrainian city of Ostrog (Ostroh), the residence of the political leader of the Orthodox in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, prince Konstantin Ostrogskiy (1526-1608). A man with a Renaissance worldview and a generous patron, Prince Konstantin managed to gather in Ostrog a great number of clerics, theologians, and scholars (from Poland, Russia, Italy, and the Balkans), transforming the small provincial town into a printing and educational center which exerted crucial influence on the early modern Orthodox culture in Eastern Europe.[26] In 1576 he founded the Slavic-Greek-Latin academy of Ostrog—the first higher educational institution in *Slavia Orthodoxa*. The Erasmian *Collegium Trilingue* (Louvain, 1517), popular in 16th-century Europe, served as a model.[27] The difference in the case of the Ostrog Academy was that it was culturally oriented towards the Greek-Byzantine Orthodox tradition and Church Slavonic was taught instead of Hebrew. This institution is important because it attracted a lot of prominent personalities from the Orthodox Balkans and the Near East, such as the patriarchs Jeremias of Constantinople (1572-1595) and Meletios Pegas of Alexandria (1590-1601); the nephew of Pegas and future "Calvinist" patriarch of Constantinople Cyril Lukaris, who was a teacher for several years in the 1590s; and a host of other clerics including many Athonite monks. With

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[25] L. Zaborovskiy, M. Dmitriev, A. Turilov, B. Florya, *Brestskaya Unia i obshestvenno-politicheskaya bor'ba na Ukraine i v Belorussii v konce XVI – pervoy polovine XVII v. Chast' II.Brestskaya Unia. Istoricheskie posledstviya sobytiya* [The Union of Brest from 1596 and the social-political struggles in Ukraine and Belarus, Vol. II. The Union of Brest and the historical consequences] (Moscow, 1999), 15-48.

[26] I. Pasichnik (ed.), *Ostroz'ka Akademiya XVI-XVII st.: Enciklopediya* [The Ostrog Academy 16th-17th c.: Encyclopedia] (Ostrog, 2010), 42-54.

[27] Igor Myc'ko, "Ostroz'ka Slov'yano-Greko-Latins'ka Akademiya [The Ostrog Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy]," *Ostroz'ka davnina* 1 (Lvov, 1995), p. 14;

the foundation of the academy Prince Ostrogskiy contributed to the substantial intensification of the connections between the Orthodox of Eastern Europe.

Prince Konstantin and the learned milieu around him developed the first program for the systematic printing of the most significant Orthodox liturgical and theological texts. Here were printed many original works, such as the first Church Slavonic textbooks and grammar, but also the very first anti-Catholic and anti-Reformist polemical treatises. In short, Ostrog became one of the important places where Orthodox thinkers and clergy came into close contact with the ideas of the Western early modern theology, and from their interaction a complex process of cultural reception and conscious distancing emerged. Ostrog, and under its influence, places like Lvov and Vilnius produced a thriving synthesis of the Greek and Slavic cultures. The Ostrog academy in particular set a new model for the future Orthodox religious education in Eastern Europe (unlike the medieval, liturgically centered religious teaching at churches and monasteries) that was to be reproduced later in Kiev (1616), Wallachia and Moldavia (1636-1640), and the Russian Tsardom (1650s).[28]

It should be noted that much of the literary activity (writing of original works, translations, printing) was centered in a group of monasteries in the vicinity of Ostrog, which had close connections with Mount Athos.[29] After 1596, these monasteries around Ostrog became some of the centers of the Orthodox resistance to Unionism in the early 17th-century Ukrainian lands. Nevertheless, the question arises: what was the place of the monks from the Bulgarian monastery of Zograf in these historical developments, and what was its connection with Ostrog or generally the Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth?

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[28] Igor Myc'ko, Ostroz'ka slov'yano-greko-latins'ka akademiya: 1576-1636 rr. [The Ostrog Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy: 1576-1636] (Kiev, 1990), 47-57.

[29] Igor Myc'ko, "Dermanskiy kul'turno-prosvetitel'skiy centr i ego uchastie v ideologicheskoy bor'be na Ukraine (1570-1630s) [The Derman cultural and enlightenment center and its importance for the ideological struggles in Ukraine]," in *Fyodorovskie chteniya* (Moscow, 1981), 47-56.

Chapter Two

The Early Modern Printed Editions in the Library of the Monastery of Zograf, Ivan Vishenskiy, and the Orthodox Monastic Reform Movement in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

As mentioned in the Introduction, the fragmentary character of the sources from the 17th century is the main obstacle in front of every scholar interested in the history of the monastery of Zograf and its inhabitants during the early modern period. This is the reason why I decided to turn my attention to the colophons of the old printed books in the monastic library as a *sui generis* historical source for the 17th century.[30] In the present chapter, I will first give an account of the main results from the field work in the library of Zograf. In the second sub-chapter I will proceed with some of the more interesting findings, related to the personality of an Ukrainian monk called Ivan Vishenskiy, who was a prominent Orthodox thinker from the period after the Union of Brest. In the last subchapter, I will try to outline the contribution of Vishenskiy and other Athonite/Zograf monks to the Orthodox reform movement in the Ukrainian lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 1600-10s.

2.1. The early modern printed editions in the library of Zograf

The Athonite monastery of Zograf and its library have a rich and, in many aspects, unique collection—some of the earliest Cyrillic monuments in Europe (11th c.), charters of Byzantine and Bulgarian rulers (12th-14th c.), multiple Slavic and Greek manuscripts, and an especially rich collection of old printed books with a chronological range from the 16th to the

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[30] In the period 15-22 September 2021 I had the chance to visit the monastery of Zograf with the kind support of the monastic brotherhood. The librarian hieromonk Athanasiy devoted so much of his time for guiding me throughout the library's collection and provided me with valuable digitized copies of a part of the old printed books from the 16th-17th centuries. I would like to express here my immense gratefulness to him.

20th centuries. The research in the library of the monastery demonstrated that it possesses approximately 73 volumes printed between 1535-1671. These are mainly Church Slavonic books (40), but also a considerable proportion of Greek texts (25), and several bilingual Latin/Greek volumes (8).[31]

The old printed books from the library of Zograf indicate the broad transregional connections of the monastery in this period. The earliest editions, both Greek and Church Slavonic, originate from Venice, which by the end of the 15th century became one of the biggest printing centers of Europe, including for Orthodox books.[32] The monastic brotherhood of Zograf around the year of 1600 probably had in its possession a collection of the basic Greek liturgical texts necessary for church services, all of them printed in Venice: *Menaia* (Orthodox hymnography) (16); Patristic literature (7); Gospels (2). There are a few items the presence of which seems unusual in a remote Orthodox monastery from the 17th century: *Works and Days* by Hesiod (Venice, 1538), a compilation of the works of Plutarch (Frankfurt, 1620); and the *Ancient Greek Grammar* (Krakow, 1632) written by the Jesuit Jacob Gretser (1562-1625), one of the most prominent Hellenic scholars of the time. There are a few more editions originating from Western Europe: works of Saint John Chrysostom (Eton, near London, 1612), a panegyric in honor of Louis XIII (Paris, 1625), and a bilingual edition of John Chrysostom in Greek and

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[31] Here I must clarify that the books of the library were catalogued in the period between 2015 and 2017, including the old printed ones and the information was entered into an electronic database. However, this database is not publicly accessible and, thus, the 17th-century printed editions and their colophons have not been used so far as a source for the history of the monastery. My work consisted in the production of a checklist of the available old printed editions, the verification *de visu* of the work done by the previous cataloguers (as some mistakes in the entries appeared), the making of photos of a considerable number of colophons (mostly in Slavonic, but also in Greek and Romanian) that had to be virtually "deciphered," and the attempt for a systematic translation of these colophons. The main result of this work is a list of the early modern old printed editions from the library of Zograf and of their mainly Slavic and Greek colophons (Appendix).

[32] In the rest of the Orthodox world printing could not become a profitable commercial enterprise, despite the sporadic attempts (1490s – Montenegro and Krakow; 1510s – Prague and Romania). Apart from Venice, there were no permanent Orthodox printing presses until the end of the 16th century. See Mariyana Cibranska-Kostova, *Sbornikat razlichni potrebi ot Yakov Kraykov mezhdu Veneciya i Balkanite* [The compendium "Different prayers" by Yakov Kraykov between Venice and the Balkans] (Sofia, 2012), 10-25.

Latin (Paris, 1636). The colophons of these editions, unfortunately, do not reveal any information regarding the ways in which they reached the remote Athonite cloister. The comparison with the libraries of the neighboring monasteries, however, such as the Great Lavra, Vatoped, or Iviron, demonstrated the existence of identical early modern Venetian and other Western editions in their libraries.[33] This included not only religious but also lay literature such as *Universal History of the Origin and Empire of the Turks* by Francesco Sansovino (1573), Apollonius of Alexandria's books on the syntax (1590), the works of Thucydides (1594), Homer in vernacular Greek (1603), and so forth. Although lacking direct evidence, I would suppose that there is high probability that the Venetian book production reached the monastery of Zograf through Venetian-held Crete and other islands in the Aegean.[34] From Athos, this interest in classical, philosophical, philological, etc. works expanded in the late 16th century as far as the Ukrainian lands. Many Greek Venetian works were translated and reprinted in centers like Ostrog, Lvov, and Vilnius by monks from Athos or generally Orthodox clerics from the Balkans. Thus, the specific Venetian Greek Orthodox literature, which was heavily influenced by the Renaissance humanistic legacy in Italy found its (though meandering) way to the distant northern centers of Orthodox culture.

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[33] Thomas Papadopoulos, *Vivliothikes Agiou Orous. Palaia Ellenika Entypa* [The Libraries of Mount Athos. Old printed Greek books] (Athens, 2000), 3-50. Other Slavic monasteries of the time like Hilandar and Agiou Pavlou had in their collections the very same Greek liturgical books as Zograf.

[34] This is the case with other Athonite monasteries: Deno Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the „Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330– 1600)* (Yale University, 1976); Cibranska-Kostova, [*Sbornikat*], 14.
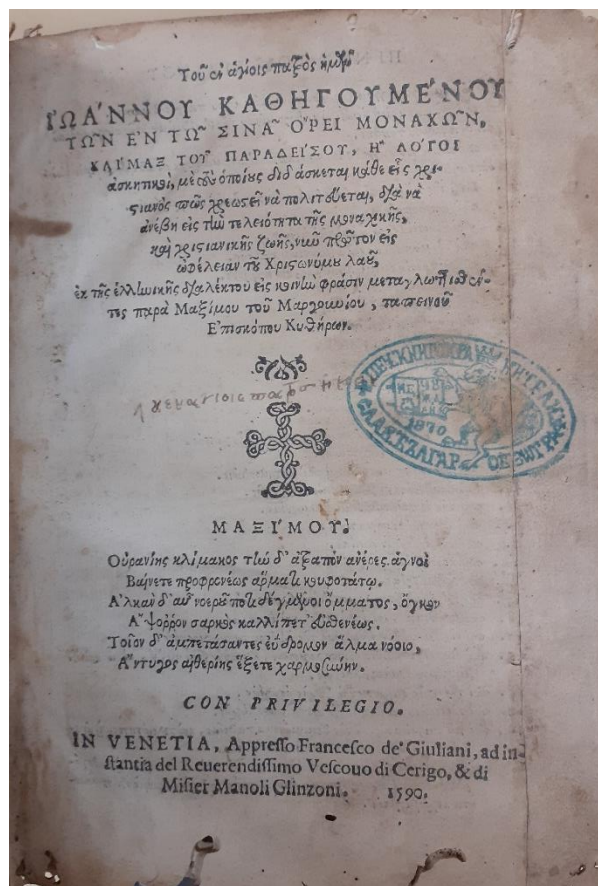
Fig. 2 – The Heavenly Ladder by Saint John Climacus [a book on Orthodox asceticism, 7th c.] (Venice, 1590), printed by the Orthodox bishop of Kythira Maximos Margunios (a teacher at the Greek school in Venice)

The Church Slavonic collection in Zograf presents diverse and rare editions. The earliest Slavic books originate again from Venice: a Book of Prayers and a *Triodion* (specific Orthodox hymnography) from 1554 and 1561, respectively. They were produced by the Vuković family who were the founders of the South-Slavic printing press in Venice (1519). The biggest part of the monastery collection of Church-Slavonic books originates from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (30), while a smaller section came from the Russian Tsardom (8). What could be briefly said about the history of printing in the Eastern Slavic lands is that the first *permanent* printing press was established in 1564 in Moscow under Ivan IV Grozny. Its first printers, Ivan Fyodorov and Petar Mstislavec, went in the 1570s to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. There they founded several printing houses in Vilnius, Lvov, and most importantly

in Ostrog (1575), where they were invited by Prince Konstantin Ostrogskiy. These, together with the printing house in Moscow, became the first *permanent* Orthodox printing facilities outside Venice. The printed production of Ostrog spread throughout the whole of Eastern Europe and deeply influenced the later publishing traditions in the region.

In the library of Zograf there are several valuable and rare early Ukrainian editions:

1. Gospels [printed by Peter Mstislavets], Vilnius, 1575;

2. Ostrog Bible [by Ivan Fyodorov], Ostrog, 1581 (3 copies);

3. *Book on the One true Orthodox Faith* [by Vasiliy Surazhskiy], Ostrog, 1588;

4. Church Slavonic-Greek Grammar, Lvov, 1591;

5. Works of Saint Basil the Great, Ostrog, 1594 (2 copies);

6. *Margaritarion* by Saint John Chrysostom, Ostrog, 1595;

7. *Didactic Gospels* [a collection of popular sermons], Krilos, Western Ukraine, 1606;

8. The Teachings of Saint John Chrysostom, Ostrog, 1607;

9. *Testamentum* [the testament of pseudo-Basilios I to his son emperor Leon the Wise – Byzantine political theory], Ostrog, 1607.

In this group are important editions like: Gospels (Vilnius, 1575), one of the earliest printed books from the Belarussian lands by Petar Mstislavec; the famous Ostrog Bible (1581), the first Slavic printed Bible comprising both the Old and New Testament, printed by the other pioneer of Orthodox printing, Ivan Fyodorov; the first Church Slavonic-Greek grammar (Lvov, 1591); diverse editions of patristic literature (Ostrog (1594-95), etc. According to their colophons, the majority of these early Ukrainian editions were brought to the monastery already at the beginning of the 17th century.[35] It is important to mention that each of these books is related

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[35] See Appendix: Regarding the overall collection of 73 old printed volumes, what could be said is that according to the Greek and Slavic colophons, 8 were obtained by the monastery in the period 1607-1622 (all of them are among the early Rus'ian/Ukrainian editions from the list above), three books have colophons dated in the middle of the century (1652, 1662, 1673), 10 from the middle of the 18th, and one from the 19th century. The rest ca. 51 books either have no inscriptions on them, or the existing

to the main Orthodox cultural centers in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. To a large extent this collection reflects the history of printing and education in that region. But what is most interesting about these early Ukrainian volumes is that behind each one of them there is an important "social history" to be reconstructed. Their colophons reveal networks that linked this Balkan monastery and the Orthodox in the Ukrainian lands at the beginning of the 17th century (as will be discussed in the following subchapter), and in my personal opinion, we have good reasons to suppose that their appearance in Zograf is not a coincidence.

Fig. 3 – The Ostrog Bible (1581)[36]

Before proceeding to the following section, I would like just to mark one last point regarding the general place and importance of printing for the literary life in the monastery. In my opinion, as in other Orthodox monastic libraries, in Zograf at the beginning of the 17th

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ones are with religious content and do not provide any historical information. There are also similar Ukrainian 17th-century books in the other big Slavic monastery on Holy Mountain, the Serbian Hilandar. This information is from the unpublished catalogue of the old printed editions of the Serbian monastery, which was kindly provided to me by the Ukrainian researcher Dr. Sergey Shumilo.

[36] https://zografnasledstvo.com/%D0%BA%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%B3%D0%B8/scan28832/

century the small group of printed books had only *complementary functions* to the much larger manuscript collection.[37] My general observation is that despite the rise of Orthodox printing, manuscripts remained the preferred form of book production among the Athonite monks.

2.2. The venerable Ivan Vishenskiy (mid. 16th c. – 1620s) and his literary works

The most significant discovery among the collection of early Ukrainian editions from Zograf was the following colophon in book № 22 (see Appendix), *Margaritarion* (patristic literature, Ostrog, 1595): "*To Ioann Vishenskiy in the Holy Mountain of Athos. I bestow* [this book]*, Vasiliy Andreevich."* Who were these personalities and what was their relation to Zograf?

Ivan Vishenskiy (mid. 16th century – 1620s) was the most popular author of Orthodox religious polemical works in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Before becoming a monk on Mount Athos in the 1580s, Vishenskiy was part of the intellectual circle around the Academy of Ostrog.[38] One of the notorious events in the life of Vishenskiy was when Patriarch Meletius of Alexandria (1549-1601), mentioned earlier as one of the chief opponents of the Union of Brest, sent in 1596 a messenger from Egypt to Mount Athos and to the Polish Kingdom with a number of important letters addressed to the leaders of the Orthodox faction, in-

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[37] To this day, in the library of Zograf are preserved ca. 187 handwritten books dated before 1650 (Bozhidar Raykov (ed.), *Katalog na slavyanskite rakopisi v bibliotekata na Zografskiya manastir na Sveta gora* [Catalogue of the Slavic Manuscripts in the Library of the Zograf Monastery in Mount Athos] (Sofia, 1994), 440-441). Based on the colophons and on the comparison with other Athonite libraries, probably there were no less than 30-35 old printed books that were present at the monastery library during the first half of the 17th century. When compared to the manuscript collection, they account for only ca. 15 % of all the literary items there. Of course, these numbers can only give us a general idea of what place printed production had for such an early modern institution and no absolute value could be attributed to them.

[38] The most recent and complete work on the life of Ivan Vishenskiy is Sergei Shumilo, *Starets Ioann Vishenskiy: Afonskiy podvizhnik i pravoslavnyj pisatel-polemist* [The Elder Ivan Vishenskiy: An Athonite Hermit and an Orthodox Polemical Writer] (Kiev, 2016).

cluding Ivan Vishenskiy. The reason for writing the letter to Vishenskiy was the difficult position of the Church in the territories of the Polish Crown.[39] More specifically, Patriarch Meletius asked Vishenskiy to prepare a polemical answer to the book entitled *An apology of the Synod of Brest* (Vilnius, 1597), written by the head of the Jesuit order in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Piotr Skarga. Skarga was one of the chief advisors of King Sigismund III on his religious policies and the "ideological leader" of the Unionist movement. In his treatise, the Jesuit monk elaborated arguments in favor of the decision of the Uniate bishops to join the Church of Rome, polemicizing against Orthodoxy. And indeed, in 1599-1601 the refutation of the work of Skarga written by Vishenskiy was ready for print. It became part of a book called *Knizhka* (a "booklet") with different writings of Vishenskiy on the problems of the religious life of the Orthodox in the Polish lands, which acquired considerable popularity.

In the period of 1604-1606, Ivan Vishenskiy left Mount Athos and together with other Athonite monks departed for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This "mission," as it will be discussed in the following subchapter, served as an important stimulus for the Orthodox monastic reform movement in the Ukrainian lands. After his return to Holy Mountain in 1606, Vishenskiy continued in subsequent years his literary activity and exchanged frequently correspondence with representatives of the Ukrainian nobility, hegumens of important monasteries, the Orthodox brotherhoods, etc. His last works, which were signed in Zograf, date from 1610, 1616, and 1619, i.e., shortly before the end of his life (early 1620s).[40] Ivan Vishenskiy became

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[39] The patriarch urged Vishenskiy to leave Athos and to serve the spiritual needs of the Orthodox in the Polish Kingdom: "[…] Understand this secret, oh, my child, and do not remain in the wilderness, in order to live for yourself […]. I am not criticizing the reclusion in the desert, as long as I am myself in favor of it, but being concerned for the salvation of our neighbors, I call you into the battle lines of the sons of God. Your brothers in Poland […] are endangered from losing the sacred gifts […]. Even Saint Elias, despite his life in the desert, did not stop to announce to the people the way to salvation and did not hesitate to die for the truth […]" Shumilo, [*Starets Ioann Vishenskiy*], 63.

[40] Shumilo, [Starets Ioann Vishenskiy], 107-109.

probably the most important Orthodox polemical author of the early modern period in the Eastern Slavic lands and is regarded in contemporary Ukrainian historiography as one of the key ecclesiastical figures of the epoch. About his personal popularity and the importance of the ties with Mount Athos testifies one of the decisions of the first council of the newly restored Kievan metropolitanate from 1621:

> "[It is necessary] to call from the Holy Mountain of Athos venerable Rus' men, among whom the blessed Kiprian and Ioann Vishenskiy and the rest who are dwelling there, in pious and God-loving life. It is a spiritual necessity to send Rus' men [and monks] that struggle to lead their life virtuously, to Athos as in a spiritual school."[41]

But what other information about Vishenskiy can the old printed books in Zograf provide us with, apart from the fact that one book from Vishenskiy's personal library (the above-cited colophon, book № 23) has been preserved among the early Ukrainian collection in the monastery?

Two editions initially unidentified by the previous cataloguers attracted my attention during the field work in the library of Zograf. After a period of research in some digitized collections, one of them appeared to be of particular interest: a *Church Slavonic-Greek Grammar* (№ 15 in the Appendix), printed in Lvov (1591). In many of his letters Ivan Vishenskiy mentions precisely this edition and stresses its importance for the studying of the two languages sacred for Orthodoxy, Greek and Church Slavonic, as a "key" for the understanding of its theology and liturgical practice.[42] The second unidentified old printed book appeared to be one of the first polemical anti-Catholic treatises composed in the early modern Ukrainian lands, *Book on the One True Orthodox Faith* (№ 13 in the Appendix) by Vasiliy Andreevich Surazhskiy (1588). Part of the learned milieu at the court of Prince Konstantin, Vasiliy Andreevich was

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[41] Shumilo, [Starets Ioann Vishenskiy], 16.

[42] "[…] As I am afraid that you may poison and put to death your children with the Latin deception and heresy, I recommend you and advise you […] so that your children could be saved […] and do not lose their Christian faith: first of all, they should study the "key" or the Greek and Slavonic grammar […]" followed by the rest of the Orthodox liturgical books. See Ivan Eremin, *Ivan Vishenskiy – sochineniya* [Ivan Vishenskiy – collected works] (Moscow, 1955), 175-176.

responsible for the administrative organization of the Slavic-Greek-Latin academy in Ostrog[43] and also directed the Ostrog printing house in the 1580s–early 1600s.[44] Many of the theological arguments of Vishenskiy were borrowed from this text of Vasiliy Andreevich. The colophon presented at the beginning of this subchapter proves an old opinion in scholarship that Vasiliy Andreevich was personally acquainted with Ivan Vishenskiy. I would suggest that apart from book № 22, which according to its colophon belonged undoubtedly to Vishenskiy, there is a great probability that these two other books, preserved today in Zograf, were also part of Vishenskiy's personal library.
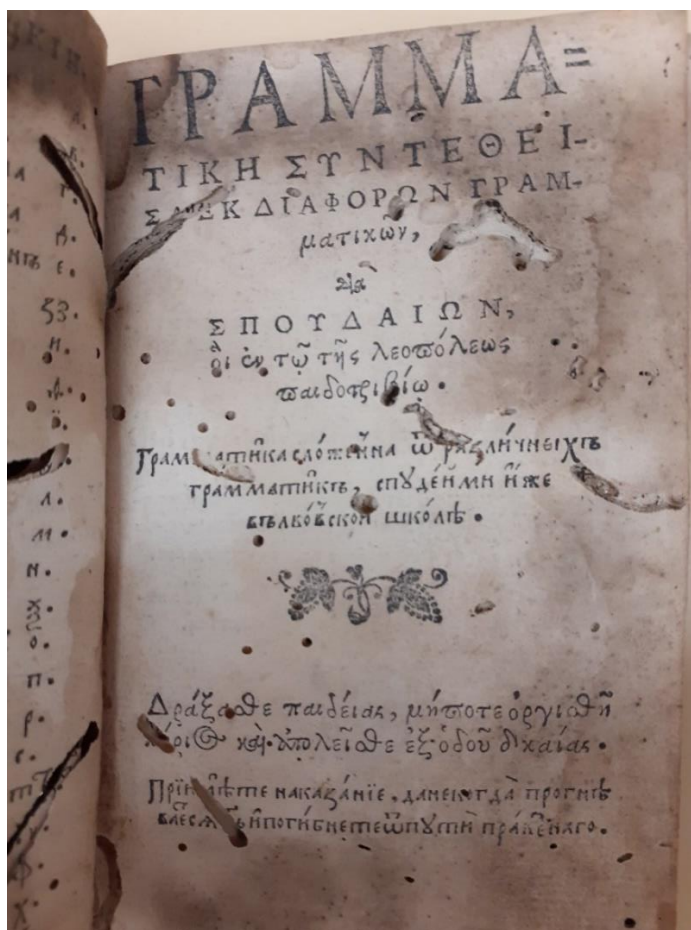

Fig. 4 – Greek-Church Slavonic Grammar (Lvov, 1591)

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[43] Igor Myc'ko, "Ukrainskiy pisatel'-polemist Vasiliy Surazhskiy—spodvizhnik Ivana Fyodorova [The Ukrainian writer-polemicist Vasiliy Surazhskiy—an associate of Ivan Fyodorov]," in *Fyodorovskie chteniya* (Moscow, 1982), 18-23.

[44] Myc'ko, [Ukrainskiy pisatel'-polemist Vasiliy Surazhskiy], 19.

The literary works of Ivan Vishenskiy

In order to understand Vishensky's central role in the religious politics of the Orthodox church in the Polish-Linthuanian Commonwealth, it is necessary to look more closely into his writings. With its more than 200 contemporary print pages, *Knizhka*, the masterpiece of Vishenskiy is one of the rare instances (if not the only one) of a literary monument by an Athonite monk from ca. 1600, which reflects firsthand the religious worldview and the position of this monastic community towards: 1) the confessional questions of the time and 2) the cultural transformations that the Orthodox societies were experiencing. Here I would like to outline briefly some of the central ideas on these two questions presented in the writings of Vishenskiy.[45]

1) At the very beginning of *Knizhka*, Vishenskiy introduces one powerful image, which reminds the reader of the third temptation of Christ in the desert.[46] There in a very poetical form the Athonite monk describes a dialogue between a "poor wanderer" and the devil. In exchange for his voluntary submission to the evil power, the wanderer is promised the rule over "all the kingdoms of the world and their splendor," glory, riches, but also to become one of the "dignitaries" in the devil's "kingdom"—a bishop, a cardinal, or even a pope; a hetman, a chancellor, or even a king (and many other official positions in the Polish administrative system). Alluding to the situation in which the Orthodox ecclesiastical elite at the time was, Vishenskiy presents their choice between Orthodoxy and Unionism as a choice between Good and Evil, salvation and eternal condemnation, Christian rejection of the temptations of this

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[45] Eremin, [*Ivan Vishenskiy*], 8-16, 170-206. It is suggested that because of the highly critical positions, which Vishenskiy took against the Catholic clergy and state, the Ostrog and Lvov printing presses declined to publish his *Knizhka*, as the literary genre to which it belonged—"pism uszczypliwych" or acrimonious/sarcastic letters—was prohibited by the law. *Knizhka*, however, became widely spread in manuscript form.

[46] The epigraph of *Knizhka* is the following quote from the Gospel of Mathew, Chapter 4:8-10: "Again, the devil took him to a very high mountain and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and their splendor. "All this I will give you," he said, "if you will bow down and worship me." Jesus said to him, "Away from me, Satan! For it is written: 'Worship the Lord your God, and serve him only."

world (the political pressures) or sinful collaboration with "the ruler of this world" in exchange for ephemeral benefits. For Vishenskiy, the pope of Rome has long ago bowed in front of the evil power and has accepted from it the "temporal sword." The engagement of the Papacy into worldly, political affairs, and its close association with the lay rulers, for Vishenskiy is the central motive around which his negative representation of Catholicism is structured.

In a response to the words of Skarga in one of his earlier books, where he advises the Polish king to support the Union "with his lay power," Vishenskiy replies to the Jesuit leader:

> "Is this your rightful teaching, oh, Jesuit, that the spread of the evangelical truths should be supported by the lay authorities and that what you cannot unite through the Gospel [namely, the non-Uniate part of the Orthodox Church with Rome], you put efforts to achieve through tyranny? And where in the Gospel and in the teachings of the Apostles have you read that any teacher with his words and advice should prompt the lay authorities [...] to oppress those who are free?"[47]

The true Church for Vishenskiy is the one that is persecuted, the one that is in a constant struggle with the devil in his realm (namely, the earthly reality), and not the one that collaborates with the evil "world" (as the Catholic Church does). For Vishenskiy the Eastern Church is a church of martyrs, deprived from "external glory" or wealth, subjugated and persecuted (the "Greeks" under Turkish rule, and the "Rus'" under the Catholic one), as Christ and His disciples were. The successful proselytization, the riches, the strong political positions, etc., which the Roman Church had, and which were used by Skarga as a proof for the Divine benevolence towards the Roman See, for Vishenskiy were rather an indicator of a pernicious alliance with the "ruler of this world."[48]

The argument of the "collaboration" with the devil and the pursue of riches and wordly success is also at the center of the accusations of Vishenskiy against the Orthodox bishops, who defected to Unionism. In his only published work, entitled *From the Holy Mountain of*

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[47] Ivan Eremin, [*Ivan Vishenskiy*], 243.
[48] Ivan Eremin, [*Ivan Vishenskiy*], 158-160.

Athos, traveling (printed in Ostrog in 1598 alongside works of Meletius Pegas and Prince Konstantin himself),[49] Vishenskiy warns his reader:

> "[…, Some people claim that] even though the pastors have apostatized […,] we are not going to be saved without them. But this is not so, it is not so. It is possible [to reach salvation] without them too, because God had expelled them from the Church and deprived them of their honor […] they have entered the barn not through the door, but through a hole […]."

For Vishenskiy, the bishops were lacking moral qualities, and this led them to Union:

> "[…who] among those bishops has fulfilled from his youth while he was still a lay person, not only the orders of the Lord, but even one of the teachings of the Gospel? […] Weren't they all throughout their lives and even in the present moment engaged in quarrels, disputes, court procedures against their neighbors […] who among them has rejected the world, his landed estates, his family ties; who among them became poor, so that he could free himself from the old man; who has purified himself through fast; who became experienced through a reclusion in the desert and distance from the human society?"

Accusing the bishops of simony, accumulation of wealth, estates, servants, pride of being part of the aristocracy, etc., Vishenskiy considered that already before 1596 the Orthodox hierarchs were serving not the ideals of Christianity but the ideals of the "lord of this world," i.e., the devil. They were deceived by the power of the Roman Church, the success of its missionary efforts, splendor, and riches. Those who had to bear and suffer all the religious persecution were in fact the first ones who transformed from "pastors of the sheep" into "wolfs."

The *Knizhka* of Vishenskiy was widely disseminated orally, including through sermons, and it acquired a broad popularity due to its eloquent and convincing style.[50] It is interesting to mention that in certain places in his text Vishenskiy provides his reader with a set of simple and effective arguments that any Orthodox could potentially use in a theological dispute with

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[49] Eremin, [*Ivan Vishenskiy*], 292, 329-332. The book itself is preserved in 26 copies today: *Evgeniy Nemirovskiy, Slavyanskie izdaniya kirillovskogo (cerkovnoslavyanskogo) shrifta: 1491-2000* [Slavic editions with a Cyrillic (Church Slavonic) script], Vol. II, 2 (1593-1600) (Moscow, 2012), 142-144.
[50] Shumilo, [*Starets Ioann Vishenskiy*], 110-118.

a Catholic/Uniate on topics concerning the differences between the Orthodox and the Catholic Church (*Filioque*, Papal primacy, transubstantiation, purgatory, calendar change, etc.).[51]

As researchers have pointed out, probably due to his activity in the multiconfessional towns of Western Ukraine, Vishenskiy could have been confronted with writings of Protestant authors from which he received certain influences (although he was conscious of the distance between Orthodoxy and Protestantism). Generally, in the works of Vishenskiy are intertwined, on the one hand, the idea of the "crisis" of the Orthodox Church and society, and, on the other, the desire for return to the evangelical purity of the Gospel as the only possible way for the renewal of piety.[52] These two ideas would dominate later the thinking of the other important Orthodox hierarchs, including the first Kievan bishops after the restoration of the Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy in 1621, and especially of the famous archbishop-reformer Peter Mogila (1632-1647).

2) The works of Vishenskiy's deserve deep and extensive analysis, but I would like to focus my attention briefly on his views on the religious education as expressed in his treatise "A disputation of the wise Latin with the foolish Rus'in" (1608-1609). As all the other participants in the intellectual circle in Ostrog, Vishenskiy believed that the conscious efforts for religious catechization of the parishes may bring the desired spiritual renewal. Vishenskiy himself proposed that the spread of religious enlightenment through "literature, science, printing of books, and schools" may be a solution to the problems of the Orthodox Church. On the other

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[51] E.g., in an imaginative dialogue between a "Rus'in" and a "Latin" on the question of the *Filioque*, Vishenskiy proposes his Orthodox reader to ask his opponent: "For what reason then the first [ecumenical] council [in Nicea] did not add this word "and from" [the Son], when it affirmed and concealed the Orthodox faith? Was it not a conciliar and unanimous decision taken together with the pious pope?" - Eremin, [*Ivan Vishenskiy*], 100-101.

[52] "The wrath of God [writes Vishenskiy to his readers] is ready to fall on your land [i.e., the Orthodox in the Polish Kingdom], and for that reason take a refuge to the penitence and to the moral rectification according to the orders of God as soon as possible […]." – Sergey Shumilo, "Duhovno-literaturnoe nasledie afonskogo startsa Ioanna Vishenskogo [The spiritual-literary heritage of the Athonite elder Ioann Vishenskiy]," *Rocznik Teologiczny. Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna w Warszawie*, LX (2018), 117-118.

hand, in the writings of this Athonite monk we may observe a fundamental tension between two radically different educational systems that were competing in the Orthodox Polish-Lithuanian schools, and later in the Danubian Principalities and the Russian Tsardom: the traditional Orthodox religious "education" and the Western early modern seminaries.

The main problem, which Vishenskiy accentuates strongly in all of his writings, is that the Orthodox schools in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth adopted uncritically the teaching methods and the curriculum of the Catholic schools and particularly of the Jesuit colleges because of their widely acknowledged effectiveness. The blind import of everything "Latin" in Vishenskiy's view ran the risk of potentially introducing a spirit of "Latinization" in the Orthodox religious life, the end-product of which is apostasy from Orthodoxy:

> "Explain to me, [Vishenskiy asked the Orthodox theologians,] o wise and honorable teachers, with the help of your artfulness and grammatical, dialectical, rhetorical, and philosophical knowledge, how was it possible that Christ opened the minds of those simple people who followed him, so that they could understand the Scripture? [i.e., the first Christians had a simple and sincere faith and did not need to possess any lay knowledge, in order to know the mysteries of the faith]." "[…] They [the Catholics] think that through their pagan comedies [the theatrical stages, practiced in the Jesuit colleges] they can acquire the Mind of Christ, but this is not true. As long as someone is still captivated by this human and external wisdom […] and follows the pagan teachers, Plato and Aristotle, and the rest, he will be only praising and exalting himself [which is contrary to the Christian teaching for simplicity and humbleness]. You, simple, uneducated, and humble Rus'in, hold yourself tight to the simple and artless Gospel—in it there is eternal life hidden for you."[53]

After extensively arguing that to study the writings of "Plato, Aristotle, and similar to them forgers and comedians" is a vain and useless effort, Vishenskiy claims that:

> "[…] I am not opposing the studying of grammar as a key for the understanding of the art of speech or the other sciences […] but I am reprimanding our contemporary, newly hatched Rus'ian philosophers who do not know how to read in the church the Psalter, nor the Book of Hours. And if someone among them learns even a few lines from the fables of Aristotle, then he becomes ashamed to read the Psalter, and starts considering the rest of the Church [liturgical] order as something plain and silly. […] In this way, instead of humility, simplicity, and [spiritual] poverty, among you rule the pride, stealth, fraud, and greed."

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[53] Eremin, [*Ivan Vishenskiy – sochineniya*], 100.

This worldly knowledge, in Vishenskiy's opinion, may become an obstacle for the spiritual progress of the individual. According to Vishenskiy's notorious saying: "instead of the false dialectics," the Orthodox students need to study "the God-praising Book of Hours;" instead of "sly syllogisms and wordy rhetoric" the "prayerful Psalter;" instead of "philosophy […] that teaches the […] mind to fly in the sky" the "tearful and humble Octoichos;" instead of the sophisticated scholastic explanations of the Gospels and the Apostolic Letters, the students should learn "a simple interpretation [of the Bible …] that is able to insert the power of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of those who listen […]." Vishenskiy concludes that "[…] our Rus' underwent the apostasy from the faith [namely, the Union], because it was greedy for the pagan eloquence of Aristotle […]."[54]

Thus, we may observe in the writings of Vishenskiy an Orthodox/Athonite reaction to a novelty coming from the early modern Western world. On the one hand, there was a recognition of the utility of the Western cultural "imports" in the sphere of knowledge-production and education. On the other, a clear realization that their adoption may bring fundamental changes in the Orthodox religious traditions and worldview. Vishenskiy made a conscious effort to distance the proper Orthodox teaching of religion from what he considered to be a spiritual threat. This complex process of cultural reception/distancing was a common development in Europe during the period of the confessional pluralization and polarization.

2.3. The role of Athonite monasticism in the Orthodox monastic reform movement in the Ukrainian lands (1600-10s)

Given that presenting a detailed history of the Athonite monks' involvement in the Orthodox monastic reform movement in the Orthodox regions of the Commonwealth is impossible within the framework of an MA thesis, I would here like to introduce only some of the main

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[54] Eremin, [*Ivan Vishenskiy – sochineniya*], 175-176.

figures and events besides Vishenskiy, examined recently by the Ukrainian historian Sergey Shumilo.[55] I would also like to add to the "list" of Athonites with contribution to the Ukrainian ecclesiastical history one new name: a certain monk Leontiy, who appears frequently in the colophons of the Zograf early Ukrainian collection of old printed books.

In the period after the Union of 1596, due to the lack of a canonically elected Orthodox bishop in the territories of the Commonwealth who could ordain clergy, there was a severe need for priests and monks who would serve in the local churches and monasteries. Since the 1600s more and more frequently clerics from the Balkans were performing these functions and as a result of this the contacts between Mount Athos and the Ukrainian lands gradually intensified.[56] Athonite monks from a number of monasteries neighboring Zograf had very strong connections with Ostrog, and more specifically with a number of cloisters in its vicinity, under the patronage of Prince Konstantin. In these monasteries they actively engaged with the translation and printing of polemical anti-Catholic treatises, and with teaching in the local Orthodox religious schools.[57]

The first known larger movement of monks was in 1601/2, when a group departed from Mount Athos for Ostrog.[58] This group was headed by the monk Isaakiy Boriskovich. Prince Ostrozhskiy placed at their disposal the Dermanskiy monastery, where Isakiy Boriskovich became a hegumen. This monk himself served patriarch Meletios Pegas of Alexandria and was a close friend of his nephew, the future Orthodox patriarch of Egypt and later Istanbul, Cyril Lukaris, who also taught at the Ostrog academy in the 1590s. In 1596 Boriskovich was the messenger who brought the letters of Patriarch Pegas from Egypt to Vishenskiy in Mount

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[55] Sergei Shumilo, *Rozvitok ukrainsko-afonskih duhovno-kulturnih zv'yazkiv u XVII – pershii tretini XIX st.* [The Development of Ukrainian-Athonite Cultural Relation in the 17th – 19th centuries], PhD Dissertation (Kiev, 2021). The following overview is largely based on the information in this thesis.
[56] Shumilo, [*Rozvitok ukrainsko-afonskih duhovno-kulturnih zv'yazkiv u XVII*], 72-83.
[57] Myc'ko, [Dermanskiy kul'turno-prosvetitel'skiy centr], 47-56.
[58] Ibid.

Athos, urging him to engage in polemic with the Jesuit Piotr Skarga. At that time Meletios Pegas was struggling against the Catholic missions in Egypt (the Coptic Church even entered for the period of 1595-1597 into communion with Rome). Pegas was also supporting the organization of the anti-Catholic resistance movement in the territories of the Polish Crown. Even the travel of the monks from Athos to Ostrog in 1601 was planned by Patriarch Meletios and coordinated by Prince Ostrogskiy.[59] By introducing the Athonite monastic regulations in the Dermanskiy and the neighboring monasteries, by opening a religious school, and a printing press, the goal was to prepare skilled clerics for the needs of the local church congregations.

In 1602 Isaakiy Boriskovich called other Ukrainian monks from Athos to Ostrog to assist him in his editorial, printing, and educational work there. One of them was Kiprian from Ostrog, who studied at the University of Padua and in Venice with the support of Prince Konstantin. He was one of the monks from the Ukrainian lands who accompanied Patriarch Meletius Pegas in Egypt and the future patriarch of Constantinople Cyril Lukaris referred to him as a person "most educated and skillful in the Greek language and sciences."[60] Kiprian made translations from Greek to Church Slavonic of a number of contemporary theological works, printed in the 1580s-1590s in Venice. These included *The homilies of Makarios of Egypt* (1598), the compilation of aphorisms *A bee* (1599), *A regulation concerning the seven sacred mysteries* by Gabriel Severos (a bishop of the Venetian Greek diaspora) (1603), and others.[61] As mentioned, Ostrog was one of the places (alongside Lvov and Vilnius) from which the Venetian Greek literature found its way into the Orthodox Eastern Slavic lands through the

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[59] Myc'ko, [Dermanskiy kul'turno-prosvetitel'skiy centr], 50.

[60] Sergei Shumilo, "Uchastie v antiuniynom soprotivlenii afonskogo arhimandrita Matfeya i ego svyazi s Ioannom Vishenskom i Kiprianom Ostrozhaninom [The contribution of the Athonite hegumen Matfey to the anti-Unionist resistance and his connections with Ioann Vishenskiy and Kiprian from Ostrog]," *Rocznik Teologiczny. Chrześćijańska Akademia Teologiczna w Warszawie* LXI, 4 (2019).

[61] Shumilo, [Uchastie], 644.

mediation of Balkans monks. In 1605, in Dermanskiy monastery Kiprian finished his translation of the *The Homilies of Saint John Chrysostom on the Gospel of John*, which was printed in 1606/7.[62] It is important to note that one copy of this edition is present among the books in the library of Zograf (№ 32 and 33 in the Appendix).

In 1604 Ivan Vishenskiy arrived in the Ukrainian lands too and established himself initially in the Dermanskiy monastery alongside his close collaborator Boriskovich. In 1605 together with another important Athonite monk from the monastery of Vatoped, Iov Knyaginitsky (a former teacher at the academy of Ostrog and an editor at the printing press in Dermanskiy monastery between 1602-4),[63] Vishenskiy went to Galicia. Together with Knyaginitsky they helped a number of Western Ukrainian monasteries, such as Ugornickiy, Unevskiy, Pochaevskiy, and others, to adopt the Athonite monastic regulations. In 1606/7 in the Carpathian Mountains Iov Knyaginitskiy founded with the support of Vishenskiy the famous Manyav skete. Many monks from this skete would later play an important role in the ecclesiastical life of the Ukrainian lands.

As a result of the Athonite missionary impulse from the 1600s-10s, towards the middle of the century more than 50 new monasteries started functioning.[64] In all these monasteries were introduced the Athonite monastic regulations. This measure was supported by Prince Konstantin and other Orthodox magnates, as they aimed at transforming the monasteries in their realms from institutions owning large landed estates, and functioning more like lucrative latifundia, to spiritual and cultural centers. Here was reflected one of the big debates in the early modern Orthodox Church about the social importance of the Orthodox monasteries and

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[62] Myc'ko, [Dermanskiy kul'turno-prosvetitel'skiy centr], 51.
[63] V. Pidgayko, "Iov Knyaginitskiy," in *Pravoslavnaya Enciklopediya* [Orthodox Encyclopedia], Vol. XXV (Moscow, 2010), 280-287.
[64] Shumilo, [*Rozvitok ukrainsko-afonskih duhovno-kulturnih zv'yazkiv*], 78.

more specifically their right to possess or not material properties—the controversy between the so-called "possessors" and "non-possessors."[65]

In the colophons of the old printed books from Zograf (№ 11, 18, 19, 31 in the Appendix) frequently appears the name of another monk, Leontiy from Bitola (in today's Northern Republic of Macedonia), whose contribution to the Orthodox reform movement has not been known so far (i.e., the founding of one or potentially two new monasteries in Western Ukraine). Judging by his name, Leontiy most probably was a monk in the region of Prilep-Bitola, from where many Zograf monks from the 17th century originated. As mentioned, Vishenskiy left for the Ukrainian lands in 1604 in relation to the monastic reform initiative. Probably he was accompanied by other Zograf monks and as the early Ukrainian collection in Zograf testifies, it could very much be the case that Leontiy was one of the monks engaged in this process.
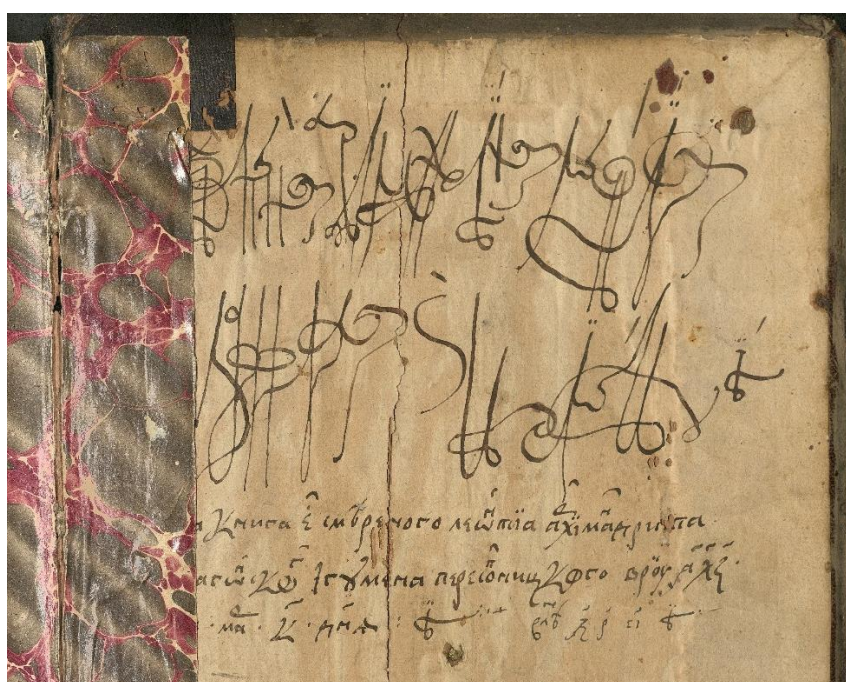

Fig. 5 – a colophon by hieromonk Leontiy from the book Didactic Gospels (Krilos, 1606), which he signed in 1608 as an archimandrite of Pelagonia and a hegumen of the Peresopnitskiy Monastery in Western Ukraine[66]

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[65] Shumilo, [*Starets Ioann Vishenskiy*], 72.

[66] https://zografnasledstvo.com/%D0%BA%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%B3%D0%B8/scan13930/

Based on the information from the colophons from Zograf, the following chronology of the life of Leontiy can be reconstructed: between 1605 and 1607 Leontiy was a hegumen of the Peresopnitskiy monastery,[67] one of the largest monastic centers in Western Ukraine.[68] In August 1607, Leontiy became the hegumen of the Saint Nicolas *metochion* of Zograf near the city of Iassy in Romania.[69] In 1610 he played a major role in the foundation of the Polonskiy monastery in Western Ukraine.[70] In 1612 Leontiy was located in the monastery of Potoc (near the Wallachian capital city of Târgovişte, Romania) and copied two books (*Menaion* and *Euchologion*) there for the needs of the newly founded Polonskiy monastery back in the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom.[71] In 1615 he was again in Wallachia. In 1622 he was in the monastery of Zograf, where he brought with him a Psalter with interpretations (written probably north of the Danube) and donated it to the monastery (manuscript № 123).[72] The last known information about him dates from 1623 when he sent a Gospel from the 14th century to the monastery of

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[67] Serhij Horin, "Peresopnitskiy monastir do 1630 goda [The Peresopnitsa Monastery of the Nativity Virgin Mary till 1630]," (Kiev, 2009). Horin, as well as the rest of the secondary sources cited below, were not aware that this was a monk from Zograf or the Balkans, because while in the Ukrainian lands, Leontiy used different surnames: "the Serb," "archimandrite Pelagoniyski," "archimandrite Prilepski," "Leontiy of Peresopnitsa," etc. His identification and the tracing of his activity in different places in the Balkans, the Romanian, and the Ukrainian lands, was possible thanks to the colophons from Zograf.

[68] In this monastery, in 1561, the first book was translated into the old literary Ukrainian language. Since 1991 the presidents of Ukraine take a special oath on this book upon their inauguration.

[69] Since the end of the 16th century it was a common practice among the Wallachian and Moldavian nobility to donate extensive plots of arable land and dependent monasteries (*metochia*) to the Athonite convents. A charter from 1606 by the Moldavian ruler Ieremia Movila confirms to Zograf its possession of the Saint Nicolas monastery near Iassy. Leontiy was its hegumen between 1607 and 1610. The networks of *metochia* to the north of the Danube were important because they served as the "base" from which Athonite monks interacted with the Orthodox in Russia and the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom: C. Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos 1230-1734* (Sofia, 2018), p. 546.

[70] Igor Pasichnik (ed.), *Ostroz'ka Akademiya* [The Ostrog Academy] (Ostrog, 2010), 371.

[71] Pasichnik (ed.), *Ostroz'ka Akademiya*, 371; Concerning the location of the now extinct monastery of Potoc, see Lidia Cotovanu (Bucureşti), *Despre închinarea controversată a mănăstirii Potoc Butoiul la Sfântul Ştefan de la Meteora* (sec. XVI-XVII) [About the controversial donation of the monastery of Potoc near Butojul to the monastery of Saint Stephen of Meteora (16th-17th centuries)]–Minutes of the International Colloquium (organised in the framework of the project): Românii şi Creştinătatea Răsăriteană (sec. XIV-XX), Facultatea de Istorie, Univeristatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" (Iaşi, 27-28 septembrie 2019).

[72] Raykov, [*Katalog na slavyanskite rakopisi v bibliotekata na Zografskiya manastir*], 85.

38

Lyubar, again in Western Ukraine.[73] This monastery of Lyubar was directly related to the monastery of Zograf (it was founded in 1604 as part of the monastic reform in Ukraine initiated by Athonite monks, and most probably by the involvement of monks from Zograf). Both the Polonskiy and Lyubar monasteries were in the domains of the son of Konstantin, Alexander, who continued the work of his father as a patron of Orthodox monasticism.[74] The broad geographical area in which Leontiy operated can give us an idea about the span of the Athonite monks' networks throughout the whole of Eastern Europe.[75] These networks played a central role in the subsequent ecclesiastical history of the region.

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In conclusion to this chapter, I would argue that although numerically the number of monks arriving from Mount Athos was not so significant, nevertheless, due to their religious knowledge, the close connections with the Orthodox magnates and the higher clergy, and the charisma of their monastic way of life, the Athonites, including those from Zograf, possessed a considerable "social capital." With its help they made an important contribution to the Orthodox reform movement in the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom. In my opinion, the above-mentioned Athonite missionary impulse, expressed in the creation of new monasteries, the active participation of monks in printing, and their interest in new popular literary genres, necessary for the catechization of broader groups, or for polemical purposes, were caused to a large extent by the changed confessional environment in the epoch after the Union of Brest. The broader social and religious processes, which were taking place in the Orthodox world during the early

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[73] Pasichnik (ed.), [Ostroz'ka Akademiya], 371.

[74] Pasichnik (ed.), [Ostroz'ka Akademiya], 331.

[75] Monks like Vishenskiy and Leontiy were not an exception; during the late 16th and the beginning of the 17th century there was a considerable number of monks either originating from the Ukrainian and Romanian lands or traveling frequently there, but most of them remain anonymous. See A. Turilov (ed.), "Zograf, bolgarskiy monastyr' na Afone [Zograf the Bulgarian monastery on Athos]," in *Pravoslavnaya Enciklopediya*, Vol. 20 (Moscow, 2009), 301–313. According to the Uniate cleric Canachio Rossi, who visited Mount Athos in 1628, the monastery of Zograf was known as "monasterium Russorum" or "the monastery of the Rus'ians": Hoffman, G. "Athos e Roma," *Orientalia Christiana* V, 1, (October 1925), 164.

17th century, are reflected in the early Ukrainian collection of old printed books in Zograf. With the present background we could better understand the later activity of Zograf monks in the 1630s-40s and their role in the cultural transformations in the Eastern European region, which is the core topic of the subsequent chapter of the thesis.

Dnieper

● Ostrog

⊞ Dermanskiy Monastery

● Kiev

⊞ Polonskiy Monastery

● Lvov

⊞ Pochaevskiy Monastery

⊞ Lyubar Monastery

⊞ Ugornicky Monastery

⊞ Manyava Skete

Dniester

Prut

⊞ Holy Hierarchs Monastery
● Iassy

⊞ Dobrovat Monastery

Mures

⊞ Zograf Metochia

● Alba Julia

● Brasov

⊞ Campulung

⊞ Govora Monastery

⊞ Dealu Monastery
● Targoviste

⊞ Potoc Monastery

Danube

● Nicopol

⊞ Cherepish Monastery

⊞ The Holy Mountain of Sofia

Maritza

Vardar

⊞ Zograf Metochia

⊞ Holy Mountain

41

Fig. 6 - Zograf networks in Eastern Europe during the first half of the 17th century.

The road of the Zograf monks from Athos to Ostrog/Kiev passed through:

(several clarifications to the map)

Zograf *metochia* **(near Serres)** – according to the Ottoman registers from the archive of Zograf, examined by Mariya Kiprovska and Grigor Boykov,[76] the Zograf landed properties in the Balkans were concentrated in the region of Khalkidhiki and around Serres, from where the road connecting Holy Mountain and Sofia passes.

The Holy Mountain of Sofia – there was a particularly strong connection between Zograf and the monasteries of the Holy Mountain of Sofia, which experienced a period of revival at the beginning of the 17th century. A group of itinerant monks from Zograf, headed by a monk called Pimen (to whom belongs the only known Bulgarian *vita* of a saint from the 17th century) renewed more than 14 monasteries in the vicinity of Sofia ca. 1600.[77] One of them, the **Cherepish monastery**, is located on the main road connecting the area around Sofia with Northern Bulgaria. The monasteries in this region of Western Bulgaria have particularly rich collections of Ukrainian and Romanian old printed books,[78] which testifies that they were important stations on the road from Athos to the Orthodox lands to the North of the Danube and vice versa.

Nicopol – the most important city in the region of NW Bulgaria at the beginning of the 17th century and one of the main points where the Danube could be crossed in the direction to Wallachia. Nicopol and the neighboring Svisthov are the cities in Northern Bulgaria where the highest concentration of old printed books from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Danubian Principalities is present.[79]

Wallachia – the monastery of Zograf did not possess landed estates or dependent monasteries in Wallachia, but a number of monks from Zograf frequented the monasteries in the vicinity of Târgoviște, as it will be discussed in the following chapter.

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[76] Kiprovska, Boykov, [*Kolekciyata ot osmanski dokumenti ot arhiva na Zografskiya manastir*], 333.

[77] Ivanka Gergova, "Rezbata v atelieto na sv. Pimen Zografski [The wood carvings produced by the artistic group of Saint Pimen from Zograf]," *Problemi na izkustvoto* 2 (2008), 23-32.

[78] Anissava Miltenova, "Ruskite rakopisni i pechatni knigi v balgarskite zemi prez Kasnoto Srednove-kovie [Russian Manuscripts and Old Printed Books in the Bulgarian Lands during the Late Middle Ages]," in Marshruti na knizhovnoto obshtuvane mezhdu Iztochnite i Yuzhnite Slavyani (XI-XX vek) (Sofia, 2020), 337-356.

[79] Ibid.

Zograf *metochia* **(near Vaslui)** – according to the Moldavian documents preserved in Zograf and examined by Cyril Pavlikianov,[80] the monastery of Zograf possessed a considerable number of landed estates in the vicinity of the contemporary town of Vaslui in NE Romania. One of the most important dependent monasteries was the Dobrovăț Monastery donated by the Moldavian ruler Vasile Lupu (1634-1653) to Zograf in 1651. These *metochia* provided the Zograf and the other monasteries of Holy Mountain with a "base," where many Athonite monks resided, while in these provinces.

Generally, the movement of the Zograf monks followed the geography of the region and more specifically the curve of the Carpathian Mountains. One may suppose that the monks from Zograf could have had contact with many other monastic centers along the route between Athos and Ostrog/Kiev, but these connections have not been examined so far.

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[80] Pavlikianov, [*Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*], 546-548.

Chapter Three

Zograf Monks in the Orthodox Lands of Eastern Europe in the 1630-1640s

The second quarter of the 17th century was a period of significant transformations in the Orthodox ecclesiastical culture. The encounter with Catholicism and Protestantism, expanding their influence in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Ottoman Empire, and the Transylvanian Principality at the expense of Orthodoxy, was a significant stimulus for the Eastern Christian clergy and nobility to consider possible measures that would contribute to the "renewal," as the contemporaries termed it, of the Orthodox Church. The increased role of printing and the extensive editorial work done over the existing corpus of Orthodox theological and liturgical books were the two "mechanisms" through which, on the one hand, a confessional unity was sought to be achieved, while on the other, a number of important changes in the traditional Orthodox literature and culture took place. This period became known in the contemporary sources and in later East European historiography as the time of the "correction of books."[81] Beginning with Kiev in the 1620s, this phenomenon later spread from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to Wallachia and Moldavia in the 1630-40s, and to the Russian Tsardom in the 1650s. As this chapter will attempt to demonstrate, Athonite monks, including from Zograf, were some of the protagonists of this process.

In the first section of the current chapter, I would like to outline the information known in scholarship regarding the involvement of monks from Zograf in the printing activity of the most important Orthodox printing house during the first half of the 17th-century, the Kievo-Pecherskaya lavra. Due to inability to access primary materials, I base my exposition on the

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[81] For an overview of the topic and the existing bibliography – Elena Kuz'minova, "Knizhnaya sprava [The correction of books]," in *Pravoslavnaya Enciklopediya*, Vol. XXXVI (Moscow, 2014), 122-134.

work of Vera Tchentsova, who, as mentioned in the Introduction, has produced the only systematic work on the movement of monks from Zograf to Kiev and Moscow in the 1620-30s.[82] I would like to expand the work of Tchentsova by introducing some non-utilized information from Ukrainian secondary sources. Then, in the second subchapter, I would like to outline the contribution of the monks from Zograf to the religious reforms in the Danubian Principalities from the middle of the 17th century, and more specifically, to the development of Romanian printing. Here, again, beginning with the work of Tchentsova, who is the first author to realize the important role of Zograf monks in the history of Wallachian printing, I would like to contribute to the topic by introducing important information from Romanian secondary sources, and also from a manuscript kept in the monastic library of Zograf. Lastly, in the third subchapter, I would like to propose a hypothesis according to which the first Orthodox printers in Transylvania, including the author of the first translation of the New Testament in Romanian, were Zograf monks.

3.1. The Zograf monks on the road to Moscow in 1624, the ecclesiastical reforms of Peter Mogila in Kiev (1632-1647), and the printing workshop in the Kievo-Pecherskaya lavra

The end of the war between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Russian Tsardom (1609-1618) marked the beginning of a new period in the development of the Orthodox Church. As a result of the peaceful conditions in the region, a huge number of Orthodox monks and clerics from the Near East and the Balkans, including monks from Zograf, renewed their visits to the Polish and Russian lands (interrupted for more than a decade due to the war)

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[82] Vera Tchentsova, "Monahi iz Zografa v Kieve i Moskve [Monks from Zographou in Kiev and Moscow in the 1620s and 1630s]," *Istorisheskij vestnik. Hristianstvo na Blizhnem Vostoke* 20 (2017), 164-180.

in a search for financial aid for their churches/monasteries.[83] They traveled through the Romanian Principalities and the Orthodox territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to the Tsar's capital, thus reinforcing their networks throughout the territories of the Orthodox East. These networks were of great importance for the ecclesiastical and even political history of the region until the middle of the 17th century.

Vera Tchentsova has recently explored documents from the Moscow National State Archive which demonstrate that Zograf monks traveled to Moscow with the mission of gathering alms for their monastery in 1624.[84] This was the first visit of monks from this Athonite monastery to the Russian Tsardom since the early 1600s. The group of Zografites traveled together with the bishop of Lutsk Isaakiy Boriskovich. The old contacts between Isaakiy Boriskovich of Lutsk and the Zograf monastery, dating from the end of the 1590s, explain partially why the Zograf monks on their journey to Moscow were in the company of the second most important hierarch in the Kievan Metropolitanate at the time. Isaakiy was sent by the Kievan archbishop Iov Boretskiy (1620-1631) to the Russian capital as a representative of the Cossack leaders, in order to negotiate the conditions under which the Orthodox in the Polish-Lithuanian realm could become subjects of the Tsar.[85] Although there is no direct evidence proving that the Zograf monks participated in political discussions, the fact that on this diplomatic mission the Ukrainian bishop was accompanied by these Athonite monks is of considerable interest.[86]

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[83] Goranchev, [Za vrazkite mezhdu Rusia i Pravoslavnia Iztok], 305.

[84] Tchentsova, [*Monahi iz Zografa v Kieve i Moskve*], 164-180. The 1600s witnessed the phenomenon of the increased mobility of monks from Athos, travelling to gather alms from the Balkans and the East European regions, as far as Spain, Holland, and Germany: Stefano Saracino, "Greek Orthodox alms collectors from the Ottoman Empire in the Holy Roman Empire: extreme mobility and confessionalized communication," in Kostas Sarris, Nikolas Pissis, and Miltos Pechlivanos, *Confessionalization and/as Knowledge Transfer in the Greek Orthodox Church* (Wiesbaden, 2021), 79-110.

[85] Tchentsova, [*Monahi iz Zografa v Kieve i Moskve*], 171.

[86] An important detail, however, that Vera Tchentsova has found, is that according to the document RGADA. F. 52. Op. 1. D. 9 from the Russian state archive in Moscow (30 August 1624), one of the Zograf monks, Meletiy, before his travel to Russian capital visited the Zaporozhian Cossack leader Maksim Grogorovich and brough sensitive information about the relations between the Cossacks and the Tatars in the Zaporozhian region. See Tchentsova, [Monks from Zographou in Kiev and Moscow], 182, n. 54.

For the purposes of the present thesis of greater importance is the fact that this group of Zograf monks was also accompanied by the most important Kievan printer at the time, Pamvo Berinda (d. 1632). A person with humanistic education and author of some of the first philological treatises in old literary Ukrainian language, Berinda is the initiator of many emblematic early modern Kievan editions. Pamvo Berinda had to present a special gift from the archbishop of Kiev to Tsar Mikhail Fyodorovich (1613-1645)—a luxurious edition of the works of Saint John Chrysostom (4th c.), printed in Kiev in 1623. This was one of the first and most important editions of the recently founded Kievan printing press (1615), the most prolific Orthodox printing facility in the early modern period. Interestingly, this work of Chrysostom, alongside several other Kievan prints from the 1620s, is also present in the library of Zograf.[87] One of the Zograf monks from this group mentioned by name in the sources was a monk called Meletiy the Macedonian. He was the most important Zograf printer of the 17th-century, and his name will appear frequently in the following parts of this chapter. As Vera Tchentsova asserts, these Moscow documents from 1624, although lacking detailed information, are the first historical testimony indicating the existence of ties between the Zograf monastery and the printers of the Kievo-Pecherskaya lavra.

The ecclesiastical reforms of Peter Mogila in Kiev (1632-1647)

The 1620s witnessed the decrease of the religious tensions in the territories of the Polish Crown, caused by the Union of Brest (1596), and the gradual normalization of the relationship

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[87] In the library of Zograf (Appendix) is preserved one copy of this otherwise rare edition from 1623 (№ 42) and although there are no colophons testifying that it was brought to Zograf after this travel from 1624 to Moscow, I am personally inclined to think that its presence in the Zograf library is not a coincidence. There are two more Kievan volumes from the 1620s preserved in the library of Zograf : *Limonarion*, 1628; and the teachings of Avva Dorothei, 1628 (№ 46 and 47). Pamvo Berinda, who was, as mentioned, in contact with monks from Zograf, directed the work on these editions. See Yaroslav Isaevich, *Ukrain'ske knihovydannya: vytoki, rozvytok, problemy* [The Ukrainian printing: origins, development, problems] (L'viv, 2002), 172-173.

between the Orthodox clergy and the Polish-Lithuanian authorities.[88] The Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy in the Ukrainian lands was restored with the help of the patriarch of Jerusalem Theophanes III in 1620, when he, on his way back from Moscow, ordained in Kiev the first canonical bishops since 1596. This happened under the protection of the Cossack leaders and with the tacit approval of the Polish-Lithuanian government, which was dependent on the Cossack military forces in its confrontation with the Ottoman Empire (1620).[89] Many of the newly elected bishops were Athonite monks such as Isaakiy Boriskovich and some of them had played an important role in the Orthodox reform movement during the previous decade.

Only after the election of the new king Ladislaus IV in 1633 was the Orthodox Church legally recognized, and in the following two decades it benefitted from the relative stability in the country. Under the pro-Catholic archbishop Peter Mogila (1632-1647), the Metropolitanate of Kiev was able to strengthen its positions with the introduction of many important reforms. By regaining part of the material possessions and landed estates, lost to the Polish authorities/the Orthodox magnates, and by emancipating the Church from the external influence of mighty lay figures, Mogila managed to centralize it administratively and to exert strict control over the Orthodox clergy and parishes.[90] Of no less importance were Mogila's innovations in the field of Orthodox education. Benefitting from the previous experience and also from the personnel of the already closed Orthodox schools in Ostrog (Ostroh) and Lvov (L'viv), bishop Mogila supported the foundation of a modernized religious seminary in Kiev (1632). The curriculum in the Mogilan Academy, as it became known, borrowed the model of the contemporary Jesuit seminaries in the rest of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth—the students were

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[88] Zaborovskiy (ed.), [*Brestskaya Unia*], Vol. II, 121-122.

[89] Zaborovskiy (ed.), [*Brestskaya Unia*], Vol. II, 17-34.

[90] The administrative reforms of Mogila closely resembled the ones introduced earlier in the organization of the Catholic Church as a result of the decisions of the Tridentine council: Liudmila Charipova, "Orthodox Reform in Seventeenth-Century Kiev: The Evidence of a Library," *Journal of Early Modern History* 17 (2013), 295.

expected to become acquainted with the classical seven liberal arts, the antique Greco-Roman authors, a strong accent was placed on the study of Latin at the expense of Greek, etc. This gradually led to significant cultural transformations in Kiev at the time, which were a belated manifestation of a process already known in the Catholic Church from the 16th century, name a fusion even in the sphere of religious education of Church culture with Renaissance humanistic values, interest in the classical antiquity, and especially in philology.

Of no less importance was the influence of Peter Mogila on the evolution of the Orthodox tenets of faith in the context of the confessional confrontation with Unionism and Protestantism. During the 1630s, the personal rivalry between Peter Mogila and the "Calvinist" patriarch in Istanbul Cyril Lukaris reached its highest point.[91] After the death of the latter in 1638, Peter Mogila was the chief initiator of the synod in Iași (Iassy) (1642), mentioned at the beginning of the present thesis, which set out to expose and condemn the Calvinist influences on the Ecumenical Patriarchate. This Church council approved a document called "Orthodox Confession of Faith" composed by Peter Mogila, a text designed to reformulate the basic tenets of Orthodox theology in opposition to Protestantism. Hence, the most authoritative Orthodox confession of the 17th century was formulated to a large extent as *a reaction* to the encounter with rivaling Christian groups.

The printing workshop in the Kievo-Pecherskaya lavra

The printing press in Kiev, as mentioned, started functioning in 1615, when the specialists and the typographic materials from the earlier printing houses in Western Ukraine (Ostrog, Krilos, Lvov) were transferred to the Kievo-Pechersk monastery by the bishop Elisey Pletenetskiy. The first Orthodox paper factory in Radomysl near Kiev (1612) started providing

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[91] An interesting fact is that as a part of the "wave" of Orthodox printing, Lukaris established the first Greek typography in the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul (1627), where several polemical works by Meletius Pegas were printed and an attempt was made to produce an edition of the Bible in vernacular Greek.

the new press with the necessary printing materials. Around the Kievo-Pecharskaya lavra and the printing house an active intellectual circle was formed. Monks and learned men such as Zahariy Kopistenskiy, Pavel Berinda, Lavrentius Zizaniy, etc., initiated a systematic program for the printing of the most important Orthodox theological and liturgical texts, for the publishing of new translations from Greek and Latin, of different grammars, dictionaries, religious polemical works, and even political treatises.[92] Particularly strong were the vernacularizing tendencies – many editions were translated and printed into old literary Ukrainian.[93] This fundamental intellectual and literary work, called already in the contemporary sources "исправление книгъ" or "книжная справа" (the correction of books), marked the later development of the Orthodox religious and lay culture not only in the Polish-Lithuanian lands but also in the rest of the Orthodox European East, in the sense that it set the model according to which the literary centers in the Romanian and Russian lands started functioning.

Here I would like to bring a few more clarifications regarding the essence of the process of "correction of books." Because of the late arrival of printing in the Orthodox world, even in the 17th century there were **no standard editions of basic religious texts**, from the Bible to everyday liturgical books. What is typical of the earlier manuscript tradition (both in Latin and Greek Christendom) is that each manuscript had its own unique characteristics and could differ drastically from other copies of the same text depending on the epoch, place of origin of the scribe, etc. Many dialectical and other particularities could have left their mark on the original, changing many words, phrases, and even the meaning of whole passages (which was a considerable difficulty for the Christian theologians). Already the first printers were confronted with the problem of which among the multiple manuscript variations of a given text (even of the

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[92] Yaroslav Isaevich, *Ukrain'ske knihovydannya: vytoki, rozvytok, problemy* [The Ukrainian printing: origins, development, problems] (L'viv, 2002), 169-171.

[93] E.g., the popular *vitae* of Orthodox saints, translated from the Greek work of Nicephorus Kallistus Xanthopoul (Anfologion, Kiev, 1619), would be used later as an important catechetical text, translated also in Romanian and vernacular Russian. See Isaevich, [Ukrain'ske knihovydannya], 176, 388-390.

Bible) to choose for printing. This process of "standardization," of selecting and editing of texts had a long history in early modern Europe. For instance, the first "standard" edition of the Latin Bible officially approved by the Catholic Church appeared only in 1592 (the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate), after almost half a century of editorial work (since a decision of the Council of Trent from 1546). As mentioned in the previous chapter, this process of editing/correction of the ecclesiastical books began for the first time with considerable intensity in the most important 16th-century Orthodox printing house of Ostrog (where the first "corrected" Church Slavonic text of the Bible was issued in 1581). The same process continued unfolding throughout the rest of the Orthodox lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, before finally reaching its apogee in Kiev in the 1620s-40s, from where it "dispersed" to the other Orthodox countries. Athonite monks had a crucial role in transmitting these trends to the Danubian Principalities and later to the Russian Tsardom.

Regarding the relationship between Kiev, its cultural institutions, and Mount Athos, what could generally be argued is that during the first half of the 17th century the Kievan literary production, probably due to the intensified contacts with the Balkans, experienced strong Greek and South-Slavic influences. There is scarce direct evidence, however, confirming the presence of representatives of the Zograf brotherhood, particularly in Kiev. The first one comes from a manuscript kept in the Athonite monastery of Hilandar, in which the afore-mentioned Zograf monk Meletiy the Macedonian informs that he has bought the book in the Podolian city of Bar in 1632 and refers to himself as a "printer" (certainly a printer in Kiev, as long as it was the only functioning Orthodox printing house in Eastern Europe at the time, except for Moscow).[94] This was the same monk Meletiy the Macedonian, who in 1624 together with other monks from Zograf travelled in the company of the leading Kievan printer Pamvo Berinda. The second

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[94] L. Stoyanovich, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi* [Old Serbian colophons and inscriptions], 1 (Beograd, 1902), № 1240. See also Isaevich, [Ukrain'ske knihovydannya], 178, note 53. The library of Hilandar, like the one of Zograf, has a rich collection of early modern Ukrainian and Kievan editions.

one is from an archival document kept in Moscow, according to which the Zograf monk Stefan had established himself in the Kievo-Pecherskaya lavra between 1629-1636 and was heading to the Russian capital with the task of gathering books.[95] Little could be said about their actual activity in the process of printing of books, while in Kiev. But both of these monks would later play an important role in the history of printing in Romanian lands. In 1633, Zograf monks arrived from Kiev in Wallachia together with a group of other Ukrainian printers and by using their experience acquired from Kiev, these Zograf monks established the first 17th-century Romanian printing house under the patronage of the Prince Matei Basarab.[96] These events will be the main subject of the following part of this chapter.

3.2. The epoch of Matei Basarab and the introduction of printing in Wallachia

Fig. 7 – The Danubian Principalities in the 17th century[97]

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[95] Tchentsova, [Monahi iz Zografa v Kieve I Moskve], 178-182.

[96] In my opinion, research in the archive of the Kievo-Pechersky monastery in Kiev or the city archives from the early 17th century may bring further evidence and many details concerning the history of the Zograf monks in Kiev.

[97] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wallachia#/media/File:Mihai_1600.png (last visited, June 2022)

The rule of Matei Basarab (1632-1654) in Wallachia was a period of until then rarely

seen political stability—military successes and financial prosperity marked the 22 years of his

reign (the longest among the 17th-century Wallachian princes). In Romanian historiography,

the time of Matei Basarab's tenure is regarded as a period of serious efforts made by the ruler

and the country's elite for the introduction of reforms in the ecclesiastical life, based on the

example of the Kievan Metropolitanate under Peter Mogila, e.g., changes in the organization

of the Church institutions, reform of the liturgical practices, the establishment of an Orthodox

academy in Wallachia and printing presses, patronage of the ecclesiastical arts and architecture,

etc. Influenced by the Byzantine imperial traditions, Matei Basarab assumed the role of a generous patron of the Orthodox Church even outside the borders of his realm.[98] The traveler Paul

of Aleppo, in his description of the visits of the patriarch of Antioch Makarios to Europe in the

1640s, wrote:

> "[Matei Basarab] has built multiple churches and blessed monasteries [in the Wallachian lands…] and he has bestowed rich gifts upon them. And he has also sent many alms to Jerusalem and to the blessed churches and monasteries all around the world […]."[99]

The monasteries of Holy Mountain also benefitted from Basarab's generous support.[100]

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[98] Ion Niță, "Matei Basarab și contribuția sa la susținerea Orotodoxiei Sud-Est Europene [Matei Basarab and his contribution to the sustainment of Orthodoxy in South-East Europe]," in *Epoca lui Matei Basarab: studii și comunicări: Analele Universității din Craiova. Seria Istorie*, X, 10 (2005), 31, note 3; 42-57 – Basarab has founded between 30 and 40 new temples mainly in Wallachia, but also in Moldavia, Transylvania, and the Ottoman lands.

[99] Ion Niță, "Matei Basarab și contribuția sa […]," 30.

[100] In 1645 Matei paid the considerable debts of the Athonite community towards the Ottoman authorities.
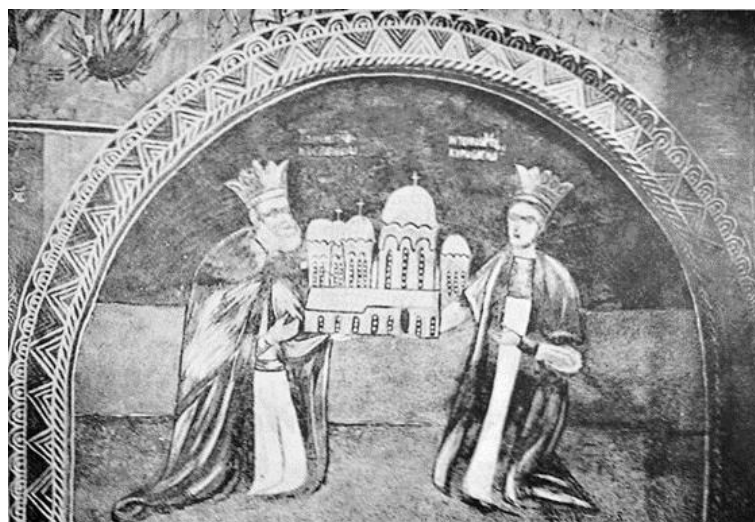
Fig. 8 – A mural painting depicting Basarab and princess Elena in a temple, which was erected with their financial support in 1643 in the Athonite monastery of the Great Lavra[101]

At the same time, a Church Slavonic school and an academy called "Schola Graeca et Latina" were established in the capital city of Târgoviște, organized on the model of the Orthodox academies in Ostrog, Lvov, and Kiev. Foreign specialists started teaching there, such as Paisios Ligarides and Meletios Syrigos (disciples of renowned Italian universities and some of the most influential Orthodox theologians in the middle of the 17th century), Rafael Levaković, a famous Catholic missionary in the Balkans, and others.[102] In the ecclesiastical reform program of Matei Basarab important role was played by personalities such as the patriarch of Constantinople Cyril Lukaris as well as the chief chancellor Udriște Năsturel, the Wallachian bishop Theofilus, the ruler's spouse princess Elena, and other parts of the Wallachian elite, influenced at the time by contemporary Baroque culture. Chancellor Năsturel, for example, was the owner of the biggest collection of classical Latin texts and contemporary Catholic re-

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[101] Nicolae Iorga, [The Romanian rulers depicted in contemporary works of art] Domnii români după portrete şi fresce contemporane: adunate şi publicate de preşedintele comisiunii N. Iorga / Comisiunea Monumentelor Istorice (Sibiiu, 1930), 96-97.

[102] Gabriel Boriga (ed.), *Enciclopedia oraşului Târgovişte* [An Encyclopedia of the city of Târgovişte] (Târgovişte, 2012), 377-378.

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ligious literature in the region. The learned milieu of Târgoviște stimulated the creation of original works in Orthodox theology, and also of translations from Greek, Church Slavonic, and Latin in vernacular Romanian. All these were important manifestations of the so-called 17th-century "Wallachian Renaissance."

One of the central elements in the ecclesiastical reform program of Matei Basarab and his collaborators was printing. In his report from the 10 August 1637 the Catholic missionary Francisc Marcanick describes in the following way the intentions of Matei Basarab concerning the printing of Orthodox religious literature:

> "Matei Voda […] has in mind to reprint the ecclesiastical books from the Eastern rite, which are used in church services by the prelates and the monks of his domain and from many other provinces such as: Moldova, Rus'ia, Bulgaria, Serbia, Rascia, Herzegovina, and the larger parts of Thrace and Macedonia, reaching even Holy Mountain."[103]

Following the successful example of the Kievan program for religious "renewal," in Wallachia similar attempt was made to enhance the confessional self-awareness of the Orthodox parishes through the cheap and more accessible printed book production. For this reason, printing houses were established in Târgoviște and some neighboring monasteries in the 1630s.[104] In the following paragraphs I will try to outline the connection of the Wallachian printing centers with the monks from Zograf and the historical importance of these contacts for the Romanian early modern culture.

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[103] Gheorghe Ionescu, "*Contributii la cunoasterea aşezămintului cultural medieval mănăstirea Govoro din judeţul Vilcea* [A contribution to the history of the medieval cultural establishment of the monastery of Govora in the municipality of Vilcea]," *Arhivele Olteniei*, XV, 86-88 (1936), 119. Another missionary, the Bulgarian Catholic archbishop Peter Bogdan Bakshev, during his visit to the Wallachian capital in 1644 describes in a similar way the strong contacts between Matei Basarab and monks and clerics from the Balkans. See – *Arhivite govoryat № 71: Vatikanski izvori za balgarskata istoriya XVII* v. [Vatican Sources for the Bulgarian History], (Sofia, 2019), 54-56.

[104] The last attempt for establishing a printing house in Wallachia dates to the 1550s, while the last printed book in the Romanian lands appeared in 1588 (Braşov) and it was followed by a large interruption of almost half a century up until 1635: Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria literaturii religioase a Românilor pănă la 1688* [A history of the Romanian religious literature until 1688] (Bucharest, 1904), 95.

In the preface of the first printed Wallachian book from this period, *Euchologion* (*A Book of Prayer*, Church Slavonic; Câmpulung, 1635), which is usually attributed to the Wallachian ruler himself, Matei Basarab (supposedly) narrates the story of the appearance of this first printing facility in his principality.[105] Shortly after his ascension to the Wallachian throne (1632) Matei decided to create a printing house in his principality "for the needs of the Church" and asked the Kievan bishop Peter Mogila to assist him with acquiring the necessary printing materials and experienced specialists. According to the Romanian researcher Gheorghe Ionescu, the contact between Mogila and Basarab took place in the spring of 1633.[106] Of particular importance is the fact that the communication between the archbishop of Kiev and the

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[105] "*Then as I was ruling over this land* [Wallachia] *with the grace and help of my All-Merciful Lord, I saw that in the whole area there was hunger and thirst, not for bread and water, as the prophet says, but for food and drinks for the soul – I speak about the Word of God, with which the soul is feeding itself* […]." Matei Basarab then continues: "[…] *together with some of the most venerable and trustful noblemen* […] *we considered what efforts can we make for the satisfaction of a such most severe* [spiritual] *hunger* […] *and we understood that it is due to the scarcity of Godly books that this evil came, and that again through their multiplication it will disappear.*" While searching for a solution "[… God] *showed us a man, a foreigner, a venerable hieromonk* [called] *Meletiy the Macedonian, who has arrived from the Rus'ian countries, and who told us: I saw the work of printing, and as I was examining to learn about its price, I came to* [ask] *you, whether it will please you* [to establish a printing press]. *Then immediately, as we were consulting with one of his fellows, a man called Nectariy Pelagoniyski, and together with him our faithful servant Stefan the Runner, we sent them* [both] *in Rus'ia for the printing materials* […]." Basarab sent a letter with his plea and gifts for bishop Peter Mogila, and he received from Kiev "[…] *a printing press with five types of scripts, and also an experienced typographer with it, called Timofey* [Verbitskiy], *alongside the others, to whom we showed this place and city called Câmpulung and ordered that they live* [and work] *there* […]." In his concluding remarks Matei Basarab (or someone among his learned collaborators), after addressing "[…] *everyone, who is in a union with us through this deep and wise language* [Church Slavonic] *and in the* [Orthodox] *faith* […] *Moldo-Wallachians, Hungaro-Wallachians, Rus', Serbs, and Bulgarians,*" refers to printing as a "gift" and a "treasure," through the use of which the desired Orthodox spiritual renewal could be achieved. This preface from 1635 illustrates **the pan-Orthodox scale of the ideas of the Wallachian elites for ecclesiastical reforms** and of **the importance of the Athonite (and particularly Zograf) monks**, for the realization of their initiatives. See *A book of prayer*, Church Slavonic; Câmpulung, 1635 (Sig. CR XVII II 11) from the digital collection of the Romanian National Library in Bucharest: http://digitool.bibnat.ro/ (last accessed, May 2022).

[106] Ionescu, [Contributii], 105-106, 112. The first edict of Matei Basarab, which mentions the printer Meletiy the Macedonian, dates from 06.01.1634, when the Wallachian ruler granted the Zograf monk with the rule over the Oltenian monastery of Govora. This proves that the contact between them was established prior to that date. After examining to chronology of the early reign of Basarab, Gheorghe Ionescu asserts that the most probably time when the mission of Meletie to Kiev could have been realized is in the spring of 1633. It is interesting to mention that the proclamation by Matei Basarab on 06.01.1634 of Meletie as a hegumen of Govora ("this extremely devout and worthy man," as the Wallachian ruler referred to the Zograf monk in his edict) was made in front of the Wallachian Divan (nobility council), which testifies for the close relation between the prince and the Athonite monk.

Wallachian court was mediated by the monk Meletiy (or Meletie) the Macedonian, mentioned in the previous subchapter, who worked previously in the printing facilities of Kiev. He was sent by Basarab on his "mission" to Peter Mogila together with the monks Nectariy from Bitola and Stefan "the Runner." As a result of this travel, in 1633-1634 these Balkan monks returned from Kiev to Wallachia accompanied by printers from the Kievo-Pecherskaya lavra and established there under the patronage of Basarab's court the first 17th-century printing workshops.

The first one was initially located in the small town Câmpulung near the capital of Târgoviște and was active from 1634 onwards. Leading role in the printing process there had the Ukrainian monks that arrived from Kiev together with Meletie—Timofey Verbitskiy, mentioned in the preface of Matei Basarab from the first printed volume from Câmpulung (1635), and his assistant Ivan Glebovich. They were two of the most famous printers in Kiev in the 1620s-30s and close collaborators of the chief printer Pamvo Berinda. They remained in Wallachia only for a short period of time, and after the establishment of the first printing press in Câmpulung in 1635 they returned to their homeland.[107] The group of monks from the Balkans, led by Meletie, remained in Wallachia and started working from 1636 onwards in the second Wallachian typography in the monastery of Govora in the Western region of Oltenia.[108] From 1643-44, the printing press of Govora together with the printers was transferred to the capital city of Târgoviște.[109]

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[107] Isaevich, [Ukrain'ske knihovydannya], 182.

[108] Gheorghe Ionescu, "[The monastery of Govora and the abbotship of Meletie] Mănăstirea Govora și egumenia lui Meletie Macedoneanul," Buletinul monumentelor istorice XL, 2 (București, 1971), 29.

[109] They were active until the death of Basarab (1654) – after it the printing in the Wallachian lands was interrupted again for a quarter of century until 1678 – Ioan Bianu, Nerva Hodoș, *Bibliografia românească veche Vol. I (1508-1716)* [Old Romanian Bibliography] (Bucharest, 1903), 217. It was only in the 1690s that the quantity and quality of printed materials in the country surpassed the book production of the 1640s.

Fig. 9 – On the left – a miniature of Matei Basarab and his wife Elena, holding a book (from a contemporary manuscript).[110] On the right – the preface of Matei Basarab in the Euchologion from Câmpulung (1635).[111]

On 30 January 1637 the first printed edition appeared in Govora: a *Book of Psalms* in Church Slavonic.[112] Meletie the Macedonian himself composed the afterword of the book, which contains the following information important for this study:

"According to the order of the bright master Ion Matei Basarab Voevoda, and with the blessing of the sacred archbishop Theophilus, with the mercy of God a metropolite of the whole Hungaro-Wallachian land, […] I was ordered to print this book called Psalter, I the lowliest among the hieromonks, Meletiy the Macedonian, hegumen of the coenobitic monastery of Govora, in the temple of the Dormition of the Mother of God, because I had a great desire for this typographic work of art [since the time] when I became a monk in Holy Mountain Athos, in the great Bulgarian lavra, called the monastery of Zograf."[113]

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[110] Nicolae Iorga, [The Romanian rulers depicted in contemporary works of art], 96-97.

[111] Signature number: CR XVII II 11, From the digital collection of the Romanian National Library in Bucharest: http://digitool.bibnat.ro/ (last accessed, May 2022).

[112] Probably a reprint of an earlier Kievan Psalter from 1628 that Meletie worked on (?) while in Kiev – Isaevich, 182.

[113] Bianu, Hodoș, [Bibliografia românească veche], 104-105.

This unique remark left by the 17th-century monk is the only direct proof that confirms the identification of the Wallachian Meletie the Macedonian with the monk Meletie from Zograf, active in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1624-1632, who, as Vera Tchentsova has recently discovered,[114] was taught in Kiev "the art of printing" by the great 17th-century printers of the Kievo-Pecherskaya lavra.

There is no certain information about all the collaborators in the printing press of Govora. Apart from Meletie, the only names of other printers that appear in the prefaces of the Govora editions are the ones of the hieromonks Stefan from Ohrid and Nectariy from Bitola. In Romanian scholarship, to the best of my knowledge, no attention has been paid to the background of these monks. From where did they come? Where have they acquired their skills in printing? Were they part of a certain monastic network? Many similar questions remain unanswered in Romanian scholarship due to the lack of sufficient sources. Usually, these monks are seen just as part of the "wave" of Balkan clerics that arrived in the Romanian lands in the first half of the 17th century.

I would suggest that the other known Govora printers, Stefan and Nectariy, were also monks from Zograf. Their names appear in the already cited preface of Matei Basarab from 1635 according to which Meletie the Macedonian was sent on his mission to bishop Mogila in Kiev together with "Nectariy Pelagoniyski" and "Stefan the Runner." Both monks, as their later printing work demonstrates, were professional printers, and given their connections with Kiev, most probably, as in the case of Meletie, they have worked at the Kievo-Pecherskaya printing house. Pelagonia is the ancient name of the contemporary city of Bitola in North Macedonia, whereas Ohrid is an important cultural center in its vicinity. Probably, both monks

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[114] Vera Tchentsova, "Monahi iz Zografa v Kieve i Moskve [Monks from Zographou in Kiev and Moscow in the 1620s and 1630s]," *Istorisheskij vestnik. Hristianstvo na Blizhnem Vostoke* 20 (2017), 164-180

Nectariy and Stefan came from this Balkan region, as Meletie himself, which was the place of origin of the majority of the Zograf monks since the Middle Ages.

In the documents from the Russian state archive Vera Tchentsova has discovered information about a hierodeacon from Zograf, called Stefan, who travelled to Moscow in 1636 in order to gather ecclesiastical books and financial aid.[115] According to his own testimony, given in front of the Russian border guards, this hierodeacon Stefan lived for the previous 7 years (between 1629-1636) in the Kievo-Pecherskiy monastery in Kiev. Given the similarity of the names, the common place of origin, and occupation, I would propose that this hierodeacon from Zograf Stefan is identical with the printer and collaborator of Meletiy the Macedonian, monk Stefan from Ohrid. Literacy and the knowledge of printing were rare skills, especially at the beginning of the 17th century, and the possibility that there were several monks with the name Stefan from the Balkans who were working at the Kievo-Pecherskaya printing house simultaneously seems to me improbable. Moreover, monks with the names Nektariy, Meletiy, and Stefan appear in two documents and a manuscript from Zograf from 1625, 1626, and 1629.[116]

Thus, the proximity to Meletie who was a Zograf monk, the common origin from the region of Macedonia, the information about the travel of the printer Stefan from Zograf to Russia in 1636, and the presence of similar names in documents from Zograf, are my arguments for claiming that Stefan from Ohrid and Nectariy from Bitola were, as Meletie the Macedonian, part of a broader network of Zograf monk printers active in Eastern Europe in the second quarter of the 17th century. These monks had strong ties with the flourishing printing facilities of

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[115] Tchentsova, [Monahi iz Zografa v Kieve I Moskve], 178-182.
[116] Pavlikyanov, [Istoriya na balgarskiya svetogorski manastir], 116; Raykov, [*Katalog na slavyanskite rakopisi v bibliotekata na Zografskiya manastir*], 59 – a *Menaion* for September (№ 69), written by the Moldavian scribe Vartolomey, was donated to the monastery in 1626 by a hierodeacon Stefan.

Kiev, where they have probably worked and acquired their skills, which were later used for the printing of the Romanian editions from the 1630-40s.

The printing activity of the Zograf monks in the monasteries of Govora and Dealu

The printing press at the monastery of Govora became the most important Romanian printing center in the 1630s. There, between 1637 and 1642, the following editions were printed: a Church Slavonic Psalter (1637), a Slavonic Psalter with a Book of Hours (1638), and a separate edition of the Book of Hours (1638).[117] In April 1640, the best-known monument of the early modern Romanian legal literature was printed in the same monastery, the *Nomokanon* or *Pravila de la Govora*. This was the first Romanian vernacular translation of Byzantine canon law, intended to become the basic judicial handbook for the ecclesiastical courts. A second edition was printed in the same year for Transylvania (where it was brought probably by Meletie the Macedonian, as will be discussed in the following subchapter) and it was later reprinted in the first Moldavian printing press in Iassy (1646).[118] The *Nomokanon/Pravila* was based on an earlier Kievan edition from 1624 (reprinted in 1629), used by the monks from Zograf and Meletie as a model. There were many common elements that were probably due to the working experience of Meletie in the printing workshop of the Kievo-Pecharskaya lavra: e.g, the same Cyrillic type, the similar page layout and baroque floral ornaments, etc. The very first book from Câmpulung (1635), the liturgical books from Govora (1637, 1638), the Nomokanon, etc. – all these and later Church Slavonic editions that were printed in the 1640s in the Danubian Principalities used Kievan prototypes, thus establishing a remarkable continuity between the Ukrainian and Romanian printing traditions.[119]

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[117] Bianu, Hodoș, [Bibliografia românească veche], 104-125.

[118] The translation was prepared by Mihail Moxalie (Moxa) on the basis of the Byzantine medieval Byzantine author Emanuel Malaxos, the author of the first historical chronicle written in Romanian (1620).

[119] Isaevich, [Ukrain'ske knihovydannya], 182-183.

Fig. 10 – On the right – the title page of the Romanian edition of the Nomokanon/Pravila (Govora,1640).[120] On the left – the Kievan original of the Nomokanon (1624).[121]

The last work printed by Meletie in the monastery of Govora was the "Didactic Gospels" from 1642 (a collection of sermons, popular catechetical religious literature in the 17th century). The printing process began in Govora, but it was finished in the monastery of Dealu in the capital of Târgoviște in 1642 where the printing press of Govora was transferred together with the specialists and the printing materials. The "Didactic Gospels" was an edition of the Gospels accompanied by sermons, vitae of saints, and interpretations of the Bible for popular use. It was translated into Romanian by the hieromonk Silvester/Silvestru (who made a translation of an earlier book from Govora—*Sinaxar* (Vitae of saints) from 1641[122]). Silvester was assisted in the translation by the afore-mentioned great chancellor Udriște Năsturel, one of the

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[120] From the web pages of the project "Digital catalogue of the old printed Romanian books" – a joint initiative of the University of Bucharest and the Metropolitanate Library of Bucharest: http://www.ti-pariturivechi.ro/document/pravila (last accessed, May 2022).

[121] Nomokanon (Kiev, 1624) – digital collection of the Ukrainian national library in Kiev https://cdiak.archives.gov.ua/ (last accessed, May 2022).

[122] Bianu, Hodoș, [Bibliografia românească veche], 106.

intellectual leaders of the ecclesiastical reform initiative in Wallachia. Udriște was also the author of the prefaces to many editions from Govora, which demonstrates the close collaboration in their editorial work between the Zograf monks and the Wallachian nobility. In the preface to this last edition from Govora from 1642, Udriște Năsturel expresses his fear that too many people accepted the "heresy" (referring to the processes of conversion to Calvinism in Transylvania).[123] For him, the purpose of this Govora volume was to strengthen the Orthodox faith of its readers and thus help protect the Orthodox "flock" from the "wolfs." And it is a historical fact that in the Danubian Principalities in the 1640s a number of anti-Protestant councils were organized (Iassy, 1642; Târgoviște, 1645) that discussed the need for a strong reaction against the Calvinist proselytism of the Transylvanian rulers and of some Orthodox clerics who were influenced by the Reformed Christianity (e.g., the famous case of the Constantinopolitan patriarch Cyril Lukaris).[124] The translation of this Orthodox catechetical piece of literature in vernacular Romanian by the chancellor Năsturel and the Govora monk Silvester was to a large extent response to the publication of a Calvinist catechism printed in Transylvania in Romanian at the request of the Calvinist Prince George I Rákóczi and disseminated in the same year of 1642.[125] It acquired considerable popularity even in the other Danubian Principalities. Bishop Varlaam of Moldova, who was one of the main participants in the anti-Protestant council in Iassy from 1642, while on a visit to Targovishte in 1644/45 to chancellor Udriste Nasturel read the Calvinist catechism and as a response to it he wrote one of the most famous Moldavian

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[123] Năsturel initiated the publishing of the Didactic Gospels, in his own words "[…] because I saw among our nation many […] who due to their lack of piety and due to foreign teachings deviated, and because of their silly and shortsighted mind they excommunicated themselves from the faith in the one truthful and rightful Church of God, uniting themselves with the heretics […] For this reason, with zeal I wanted and I thought to prepare for these brothers of mine this sacred book, which is called a Didactic Gospels with interpretations, so that our Christianity of the Holy Church of the East be preached […]." – Mircea Păcurariu, *Legăturile bisericii ortodoxe din Transilvania cu Ţara Românească şi Moldova în secolele XVI-XVIII* [The ecclesiastical contacts of Orthodox Church of Transylvania with Wallachia and Moldavia in the 16th-18th centuries] (Sibiu, 1968), 39.

[124] Păcurariu, [*Legăturile bisericii ortodoxe din Transilvania*], 36-39.

[125] Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române* [History of the Romanian Orthodox Church], Vol. 2 (Bucharest, 1991), 53.

refutations of the Calvinist teachings, *Response to the Calvinist catechism* (Iassy, 1645).[126] On the other hand, the Orthodox bishop of Transylvania at the time, Ilie Iorest, in 1642 refused to comply with the order of the Calvinist authorities in Transylvania to distribute the catechism among the Orthodox churches of his bishopric. For this reason, he was imprisoned and later expelled from the capital city of Alba Iulia.[127] This reminds us again of the strong confessional tensions in this epoch and of the importance of printing for the religious polemics/as a means of catechization used by the different Christian groups.

Another significant event related to the development of printing in the Principalities was the foundation by Matei Basarab of the first Romanian paper mill (and to my knowledge the first in the Balkans at all) in the town of Râmnicu Vâlcea (1642) in the vicinity of Govora.[128] It continued functioning even after the demise of its founder and provided paper for the Wallachian printing houses throughout the rest of the 17th and the 18th centuries.

The last information about Meletie appears in a reprint of the "Didactic Gospels" (1644), made in the new location of the Govora printers, the monastery of Dealu in Târgoviște.[129] In the preface to this volume Meletie defines himself as an "editor" of the book and responsible for the gathering of manuscripts, which have to be corrected and prepared for publishing. Here I would like to add that in the printing program of the Wallachian ruler and his advisors the "correction of the ecclesiastical books," mentioned earlier, also had a prominent place. The editorial interventions on behalf of Meletie and the other printers from Zograf in the text of the "Didactic Gospels" and other works that appeared earlier in Govora/later in Dealu is an example of the increased sensibility of the Orthodox learned men from the epoch towards the philological intricacies surrounding the liturgical and theological texts inherited from the

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126 Mircea Păcurariu, [*Legăturile bisericii ortodoxe din Transilvania*], 36-37.
127 Păcurariu, [*Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*], 66.
128 Ion Niță, [Matei Basarab și contribuţia sa], 61.
129 Bianu, Hodoș, [Bibliografia românească veche], 146.

Middle Ages. Precisely in the 1640s, in the printing presses in Dealu and Câmpulung, multiple ecclesiastical books were "corrected" by monks also from other Athonite monasteries, such as Hilandar and Iviron.[130] Liturgical works like "Liturghier" (1646), Triodion (1649) were edited, even an edition of the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis was translated from Latin into Church Slavonic by the chancellor Udriște Năsturel (1647).[131] As recently scholars such as Vera Tchentsova and Violeta Barbu have discovered, in the 1650s, this process had its continuation in the Russian Tsardom, where monks from Holy Mountain played a crucial role in the reforms of patriarch Nikon.[132]

The most important printer in Moscow from this period, as Tchentsova demonstrates, was hieromonk Dionysios from Iviron.[133] He was the chief editor and printer of multiple "corrected" volumes that appeared in the Russian capital, which brought many novelties to the interpretation of the Orthodox doctrine and liturgical practices. This was perceived by large parts of the Russian society as a *sui generis* "heresy" and became the most important reason for the severe 17th-century schism in the Russian Church. Before establishing himself in Moscow, however, Dionysios worked in the 1640s as a printer at the printing press of Câmpulung near Târgoviște—there is high probability that together with Meletie the Macedonian they participated in the same network of Athonite monks.[134] Thus, monks from Holy Mountain, including ones from Zograf, made an important contribution to the cultural transformations, which the Orthodox Church and societies in general experienced in the middle of the 17th century.

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[130] Tchentsova, *Ikona Iverskoy Bogomateri (Ocherki istorii otnosheniy grecheskoy cerkvi s Rossiey v seredine XVII veka po dokumentam RGADA)* [The Icon of Mother of God from Iviron: Essays on the history of the relations of the Greek Church with Russia in the 17th century according to the documents of the Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents] (Moscow, 2010), 289-290.

[131] Bianu, Hodoș, [Bibliografia românească veche], 158-160.

[132] Violeta Barbu, *Purgatoriul misionarilor: contrareforma în țările Române în secolul al XVII-lea* [The purgatory of the missionaries: the Counter-Reformation in the Romanian Principalities in the 17th century] (Bucharest, 2008), 452-460.

[133] Tchentsova, [*Ikona Iverskoy Bogomateri*], 290-291

[134] The details of the history of the Athonite human networks in Wallachia and their editorial work there are important topics that can be addressed on a later stage.

Apart from the typographic activity, one of the intentions of the Wallachian ruler and his advisors was to establish an Orthodox academy in the monastery of Govora, borrowing the model of the academy in Kiev reformed by Peter Mogila. In a document from 1636 issued for the monastery of Govora, patriarch Theophanes III of Jerusalem (the one who restored the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Kiev in 1620) describes the efforts of the Wallachian elite to gather in the monastery of Govora:

> "[…] not only learned teachers and printers […] but also children, who would study the sacred letters […] and as much as they can, they should know the internal and the external wisdom of the humans [τὴν ἔσω καὶ ἔξω σοφίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων]."[135]

As the last term from the quote implies, the ideas of the humanistic education were not unknown to this Orthodox hierarch. The school as such, however, did not become a permanent institution. It is supposed that in this monastery were trained some of the printers that worked later in the other Wallachian printing presses.[136] Although this attempt for establishing a religious school was later abandoned, after 1646, as mentioned, such academies started functioning in Târgoviște, forming an important part of the ecclesiastical reform program of the Wallachian nobility.

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[135] *Documenta Romaniae Historica, 1635-1636*, Vol. 23 (Bucharest, 1985), 403-406. In my own reading of this document (Greek), what is meant by "internal wisdom" is Orthodox spirituality, while with the term "external wisdom" in this document from patriarch Theophanes are signified the worldly or secular disciplines that had to be introduced in the curriculum (probably according to the plan of people like Udriște Năsturel?), such as Latin, geography, arithmetic, etc. According to the same document the annual sum given to Govora from the state treasury was 1000 florins, used for the printing of books and for the salaries of the printers. Matei Basarab issued a few more edicts stating that after his death the income from a number of villages should remain for the monastery of Govora, trying in this way to provide financial stability for this printing and educational institution, while the document signed by the highly authoritative patriarch of Jerusalem functioned as a legal guarantee for the right of the monastery to possess the annual sum and the income from the nearby villages: *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, 1635-1636, Vol. 23 (Bucharest, 1985), 265-268. See: Ioneschu, [A contribution], 116; Ion Niță, "Matei Basarab și contribuția sa […]," 75.

[136] Ionescu, [A contribution], 120.

The overall importance of the activity of Zograf monks in the monastery of Govora was that there was located not only the most prolific Romanian printing press of the early 17th century and also the first Wallachian Orthodox academy, but it became the place from which soon afterwards these Wallachian printers dispersed and started working in other 17th-century printing houses in Transylvania and Moldavia. Zografites were among the most important transmitters of this new technology, but also, as already mentioned, of the ecclesiastical reform program of the Kievan bishop Mogila and his followers in the Romanian lands. One of the general conclusions that could be made about the role of Athonite monasticism (on the example of Zograf) in the early modern period is that such monks were the "glue" that connected spiritually and intellectually the diverse parts of the Orthodox Commonwealth. Through their work, the Zograf monks and other early modern Orthodox printers in the Danubian Principalities transmitted common texts, ideas, meanings, and even esthetics throughout a vast space in Orthodox Eastern Europe.

3.3. Zograf monks in Transylvania and the first translation of the New Testament in Romanian by hieromonk Silvestru

In 1639-1640 a part of the Govora monks who worked in Wallachia departed for Transylvania where they established the first permanent Orthodox printing press in the capital city of the province, Alba Iulia. There they came into close contact with the Calvinist ruler Prince George I Rákóczi (1630-1648) and with the local Calvinist clergy. By outlining the main information that I was able to extract from Romanian secondary sources[137] on the biographies of

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[137] Nicolae Jorga, *Istoria literaturii religioase a romînilor până la 1688* [The history of the Romanian religious literature until 1688] (Bucharest, 1904), 140-155; Dr. Dumitru, A. Vanca, "Moştenirea liturgică a Bălgradului. Importanţa tipăriturilor bălgrădene în stabilirea şi fixarea formularelor liturgice româneşti [The liturgical tradition of Belgrad: the importance of the Belgradian printed production for the stabilization and fixation of the Romanian liturgical formulas]," Litere VII (Sibiu, 2016), 325-356; Eugen Pavel, "Meşteri tipografi Bâlgrâdeni între 1567-1702 [Printers from Belgrad in the period of 1567-1702]," *Apulum* (Alba Iulia, 1979), 299-309.

the monks-printers from Govora who went to Alba Iulia in the 1640s, I would like, on the one hand, to make certain proposals regarding their monastic background.[138] On the other, I intend to approach the complex interaction between the Orthodox clergymen and the Transylvanian Reformed Church, which had significant effect on the later Romanian literary culture and spirituality. A hypothesis that I would like to present, is that the author of the first translation of the New Testament in Romanian that appeared in Alba Iulia in 1648, hieromonk Silvester, was an Athonite monk from Zograf.

Zograf monks in Transylvania

Matei Basarab had an especially close connection with the Calvinist prince of Transylvania George I Rákóczi (1630-1648), whose support proved crucial for the ascension of Basarab to the throne in Wallachia amid the severe political struggles of 1632. The relationship between the two rulers remained friendly and resulted in the intensified cultural contacts between the Orthodox Romanians in the two principalities. In the 1640s several monks who worked in Govora departed for Transylvania where they established the first Orthodox printing press in the capital city of the province – Alba Iulia (/Belgrad).

The chronology of the activity of the Wallachian monks in the Principality of Transylvania is the following: in 1639 one of the disciples of Meletie the Macedonian – Popa Dobre –

I was able to obtain electronic copies of the following bibliography with the kind support of the Romanian National Library in Bucharest: Eva Mârza, *Din istoria tiparului românesc. Tipografia de la Alba Iulia* [Towards the history of Romanian printing: the printing press of Alba Iulia], 1577-1702 (Sibiu, 1998); Eugen Pavel, *Carte şi tipar la Bălgrad* [Books and printing in Belgrad] (Cluj-Napoca, 2001); Mircea Păcurariu, *Legăturile bisericii ortodoxe din Transilvania cu Ţara Românească şi Moldova în secolele XVI-XVIII* [The ecclesiastical contacts of Orthodox Church of Transylvania with Wallachia and Moldavia in the 16th-18th centuries] (Sibiu, 1968).

[138] Vera Tchentsova ("Monks from Zographou in Kiev and Moscow in the 1620s and 1630s") has established the link between Meletie's role in the history of printing in Wallachia and him being identical with the monk Meletie who visited Moscow in 1624. The contribution of the present thesis project is in the exploration of the activity of the Zograf monks in Transylvania and in the claim that apart from Meletie, the printer Stefan from Ohrid and the translator Silvester of Govora (some of the most important personalities who worked in the Orthodox printing press in Alba Iulia) were likewise monks from Zograf. These developments are unknown in the Bulgarian scholarship on the period and the link to the academic results of the Romanian researchers of the 17th century is in itself a contribution.

reached Alba Iulia and transferred a part of the printing materials from Govora. There he published several minor liturgical works for everyday use in vernacular Romanian (1640), as well as one of the Govora volumes, *Didactic Gospels* (1641). Paradoxically, but according to the researchers, the *Calvinist catechism* written in vernacular Romanian (1642, Transylvania)—the book which, as mentioned in the previous subchapter, caused much confessional controversies in the 1640s in the Romanian lands—was most probably printed in the workshop of Popa Dobre.[139]

In 1640 hieromonk Meletie the Macedonian brought to Alba Iulia several volumes of his *Nomokanon/Pravila* of Govora at the request of the Orthodox bishop of Transylvania Ghenadie. Following Ghenadie's sudden death in the same year, Meletie became a candidate for the local episcopal throne. He was recommended to the Transylvanian court by a member of the nobility, Ștefan Csernátoni, who worked as an ambassador to the court of Matei Basarab. In Alba Iulia Meletie from Zograf came into close contact with Geleji Katona István, the Calvinist bishop of Transylvania (1633-1649). Geleji was famous as a reformer of the religious education in the province, and as a close advisor of Prince Rákóczi. Under his initiative a Calvinist printing press was founded in Alba Iulia in 1638 with the help of specialist from the Netherlands.[140]

In September 1640 the Calvinist religious authorities headed by Geleji presented to Meletie 24 requirements, with which he had to comply in order to become an Orthodox bishop of Transylvania. According to the fifth one Meletie had to:

> "[…] translate our prayers for each day, as for the morning, as well as for the evening, to write them down, to print them, and to order that they are read every day in the church […]."[141]

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[139] Pavel, [Carte şi tipar la Bălgrad], 40-41. – The following overview of the Orthodox printing activity in Transylvania is largely based on the cited work of Eugen Pavel and Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române* [History of the Romanian Orthodox Church], Vol. 2 (Bucharest, 1991), 61-77. The Romanian authors, however, have not paid attention to the background of the Govora monks. The novelty of the thesis is in the suggestion that the monks printers in Alba Iulia were originally from Athos, and that their movement could be traced from Transylvania, back to Wallachia, Kiev, and Mount Athos.
[140] Pavel, [Carte şi tipar la Bălgrad], 36.
[141] Pavel, [Carte şi tipar la Bălgrad], 38.

Already in the autumn of 1640 the first edition with different prayers for everyday use in vernacular Romanian appeared in Alba Iulia. These were "Prayers for when you get up in the morning," "Prayers for when you prepare for sleep in the night," "Prayers to the Mother of God," etc. Although the authorship is not clear, according to the Romanian researcher Eugen Pavel, most probably these vernacular editions were printed by Meletie (together with Popa Dobre in 1640) as a response to the requirements of the Calvinist religious authorities.[142] Thus, it is interesting to see the direct relationship between the vernacularizing tendencies in the later work of the Zograf printers in Wallachia in the 1640s and the religious policies of the Reformed Church in neighboring Transylvania.

Geleji Katona István in a letter to Prince Rákóczi expressed his approval of the candidature of Meletie. Nevertheless, for political reasons, the position was given by the Transylvanian prince not to the "Wallachian," but to the "Moldavian" candidate for the bishop's post, Ilie Iorest (1640-1643), who was soon afterwards removed from the bishopric due to his refusal to allow the *Calvinsit catechism* to be distributed in the Orthodox churches.[143] Matei Basarab insisted that Meletie should return to Wallachia and continue his printing work there. Meletie's last editions appeared in Govora and Dealu in the period of 1641-1644 and afterwards he disappears from the sources.

Later in Transylvania under the new Orthodox bishop Simion Stefan (1643-1656), who was influenced by the example of the cultural activity of the bishops in Wallachia and Moldavia, a number of important ecclesiastical books were printed. In 1648 in Alba Iulia appeared the first full translation of the New Testament in Romanian language (which became the basis of the subsequent Romanian editions of the Bible) and of a Psalter in 1651. Nothing was known about the printers, who prepared these editions, until the second half of the 20th century, when

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[142] Ibid.
[143] Păcurariu, [*Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*], 65-68.

a colophon in a book kept in Șcheii Brașovului (the historical Bulgarian neighborhood of Brașov) was found. According to the anonymous author, he and a printer called Stefan spent a night in Șcheii on their way from Wallachia to Alba Iulia.[144] In Romanian scholarship it is assumed that this Stefan the Printer was the very same Stefan from Ohrid, who worked together with Meletie the Macedonian in Wallachia between 1638-1643. In 1644 Stefan arrived in Alba Iulia/Belgrad most probably in order to join the preparations for the printing of the New Testament in Romanian. According to the specialists, in Alba Iulia were used materials from Câmpulung (types, ornaments, pictures, etc.), which again demonstrates the continuity between the Wallachian and the Transylvanian printing centers.[145]

Although the facts presented above are well known in Romanian historiography, I argue that from the first Transylvanian printers who arrived ca. 1640 in Alba Iulia it was not only Meletie who was a Zograf monk, but also Stefan from Ohrid. Most probably the Wallachian/Transylvanian printer Stefan (1638-1651) was identical with the Kievan printer Stefan from Zograf (1629-1636), as discussed in the previous subchapter.[146] Certainly it will not be

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[144] [In Church Slavonic:] "To be known when I was together with Stefan the Printer in the village called Șinca [small village near Făgăraș, to the north of Brașov], and I have remained for a night and until noon [on the following day] in the house of the priest Radu, as I was coming from Wallachia, and as I was going to Belgrad [Alba Iulia] in the days of Rákóczi George, king of Ardeal [Transylvania], in the time of the archbishop Stefan, metropolite of Ardeal, in year from the creation of the world 7143, and from the Birth of Christ 1644, and then the king was preparing himself to go to the army [in order to enter] into a war with the German emperor [Rákóczi joined the Thirty Years War in February, 1644]." There is no evidence who is the exact author of this colophon. Pavel Binder, "Din istoria legăturilor tipografice dintre Țara Românească și Transilvania. Ștefan, tipograful Noului Testament din Alba Iulia (1644 – 1648) [On the history of the printing contacts between Wallachia and Transylvania. Stefan, the printer of the New Testament from Alba Iulia]," *Limba română* XXIII 3 (1974), 246.
[145] Pavel, [Carte și tipar la Bălgrad], 98.
[146] On the basis of the information presented so far in the thesis, the following hypothetical chronology of Stefan's life may be reconstructed: in 1626 the hierodeacon Stefan donates a manuscript, written by a Moldavian scribe, to the monastery of Zograf (presumably he could have travelled to the Moldavian *metochia* of the monastery of Zograf, from where he could have brought the manuscript). In 1629 Stefan from Zograf establishes himself in the Kievo-Pecherskaya Lavra, where he remains, according to his own testimony, until 1636. In 1633 together with Meletie the Macedonian and Nectariy from Bitola he negotiates in Kiev the sending of the specialists and printing materials needed for the printing press in Câmpulung, Wallachia, founded by Basarab. In 1636 hierodeacon Stefan from Zograf travels to Moscow, in order to gather financial aid and books there, but he is not allowed to cross the border in Putivl'. The name Stefan from Ohrid appears on the books printed in Govora between 1638 and 1642. After the transfer of the Govora printing press to Dealu, Stefan from Ohrid participates in the printing of a Church

71

right to claim that only Zograf printers worked in the Orthodox press of Transylvania in the 1640s.[147] Nevertheless, in my view, it is important to take into account the Athonite background of these monks printers, because this information once again points out to the significance of the monastic networks of Holy Mountain for the spread of printing and printed editions in the Orthodox space in the 17th century.

The author of the first translation of the New Testament in Romanian – hieromonk Silvestru

The translation and printing of basic religious texts in Romanian was itself a "joint" initiative of the Orthodox bishop of Transylvania Simion Stefan and the Calvinist authorities. As mentioned, Prince Rákóczi was actively supporting the Calvinist education and printing of books in his realm and the initiative for publishing in Romanian could be seen as a part of his policies for the proselytization of the local Orthodox population to Calvinism.[148] In 1640 the Calvinist bishop Geleji Katona István proposed the inheritance of the diseased Orthodox bishop Ghenadie to be used for the printing of books in Romanian. In August 1643 Geleji wrote a letter to the Orthodox archpriests informing them that, due to the "scarcity of Bibles," an edition of the Scriptures in Romanian is prepared for printing and that the translation is being made by a Romanian cleric, who is fluent in Greek and Latin. Geleji required the local Orthodox clergy

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Slavonic book in Câmpulung in 1643. In 1644 Stefan the Printer travels to Alba Iulia, where he most probably participates in the printing of the New Testament (1648) and the Psalter (1651) in Romanian vernacular language.

[147] The bishop Simion Stefan himself and a printer called Gheorghie Rusus from Sabiia are the only other known by name printers in Alba Iulia at the time apart from the Govora monk Popa Dobre, Stefan and Meletie from Zograf. – Pavel, [Carte și tipar la Bălgrad], 44-56.

[148] In the preface to the New Testament edition, bishop Simion Stefan turns to Prince Rákóczi: "[…] And when Your Mightiness saw and learned that we, the Romanians, who are in the country of Your Mightiness, that we do not have neither the New Testament, nor the Old, Your Mightiness was merciful as it is usual for a king, and you have ordered me to search among my priests learned clerics and educated men […] who would be able to translate the New Testament […] from Greek, Slavonic, and Latin; and this order of Your Mightiness I have fulfilled and Your Mightiness was merciful [once again], to bring for us foreign printers who created for us a printing press, and you have paid [their labor] from the treasury of Your Mightiness […]" – Bianu, Hodoș, [Bibliografia românească veche], 168-169.

to gather the taxes for the previous ecclesiastical year, as they would be used to cover the expenses for the translatory work.[149]

In August 1644 Prince Rákóczi gave 50 florins and clothes to the translator, hieromonk Silvester (Szylveszter pap), a "hegumen of Govora," as a reward for his work.[150] Romanian historiography has identified this Silvester as one of the earlier Govora printers, who probably arrived in Transylvania alongside other Wallachian printers. For the first time the name of Silvester appears in one of the Govora editions, *Sinaxar* (short *vitae* of saints in vernacular Romanian) from 1641, as a "hegumen of Govora." In September 1642 was published the volume *Didactic Gospels*, which was translated in the vernacular language again by Silvester in collaboration with the most well-educated Wallachian nobleman of the time, the chancellor Udriște Năsturel. While in Govora Silvester was for sure in contact with Meletie from Zograf, Stefan from Ohrid, Nectariy, and other Kievan printers with whom we worked on the editions from 1641-1642.

Given that the translation of the New Testament was finished by Silvester in 1644, most likely Stefan from Ohrid (and presumably other specialists) arrived in Transylvania in the same year in order to join the printing process. The real work started, however, only after 1646, due to difficulties with the finding of the necessary printing materials and due to the inaccuracies in the Romanian text produced by Silvester that had to be corrected. In the preface to the already printed New Testament from 1648 the bishop of Transylvania Simion Stefan states:

> "Hieromonk Silvester started to translate this Testament by the order and at the expense of Your Mightiness [i.e., Prince Rákóczi] and he made many efforts, as much as it was possible to him, and soon he passed away. We found many shortages and errors in his text, because of his inability to understand the Greek language and books […]."[151]

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[149] Binder, [Din istoria legăturilor], 247.
[150] Binder, [Din istoria legăturilor], 245-248.
[151] Bianu, Hodoș, [Bibliografia românească veche], 169.

Silvester prepared only the rough translation, which was later revised by a number of learned scholars before publishing.[152] The analysis of Eugen Pavel has demonstrated that Silvester and the later editors used a bilingual edition of the New Testament in Greek and Latin, probably one of the published by the Calvinist theologian Theodore Beza ca. 1600. Other 16th-century editions like the Sixto-Clementine Vulgata, the Ostrog Slavonic Bible, the Luther Bible, and the first Hungarian Károli Bible (a Calvinist translation) were used to control the Romanian text.[153] Apart from the cited remark from the bishop Simion Stefan about Silvester's sudden death, there is no other information concerning the Govora monk after August 1644, when he was paid by Prince Rákóczi for his work,

Hieromonk Silvester from Zograf

Vera Tchentsova has worked with a number of documents related to the visits to Moscow of a monk from Zograf, called Silvester, in the 1640s.[154] This Silvester appears several times in the documents kept in the Russian state archive. In 1639 he was part of a diplomatic mission sent by the Moldavian ruler Vasile Lupu (1634-1653) to Moscow in order to discuss important state issues (related to the diplomatic negotiations between the High Porte and Moscow concerning the fortress of Azov/Azak that was taken by unruly Cossack forces in 1637—Lupu was the mediator between the two conflicting sides).[155] In 1641 Silvester was again in Moscow, bringing important information from the Moldavian ruler. On his journey back to

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[152] Pavel, [Carte și tipar la Bălgrad], 44-56 – It is supposed that Daniil Andrean Panoneanul (an editor at the printing press of Dealu in Târgoviște) and logofatul Dumitru (a learned Orthodox from Brașov) who were famous at the time for their literary works, could have participated in the process of editing. It is worth mentioning that one of the few known with certainty scholars, who edited the translation of Silvester, was the Calvinist cleric Csulai György. – Levente Nagy, *Reforma la romani. Un fenomen de transfer cultural in secolele XVI-XVII* [The Reformation among the Romanians. An example of a cultural transfer from the 16th-17th centuries] (Oradea, 2021), 205-212.

[153] Pavel, [Carte și tipar la Bălgrad], 179-180.

[154] Tchentsova, [Ikona Iverskoy Bogomateri], 208-209. The visits of Silvester to Moscow were known already to earlier specialists: L. Pushkarev, V. Kostakel, V. Russev (ed.), *Istoricheskie svyazi narodov SSSR i Rumanii v XV – nachale XVIII veka: Dokumenti i materiali* [The historical connections between the people of the USSR and Romania in the 15th – beginning of the 18th centuries. Documents and archives], Vol. 2 (Moscow, 1968), 51; 56, note 57.

[155] Tchentsova, [Ikona Iverskoy Bogomateri], 208.

74

Iassy he accompanied the reciprocal Russian embassy, and according to the report of the Russian ambassador Budrovskiy:

> "[…] he, the elder Silvester, was translating to the ruler Vasile [our words] and he was speaking to him secretly."[156]

Most probably, as Tchentsova suggests, Silvester was part of the group of Balkan and Eastern monks and clerics in Moldavia, which was patronaged by the ruler Lupu, and assisted him in his diplomatic correspondence with the Orthodox rulers of Eastern Europe. The last information about Silvester's visits to Moscow is from 1649, as Tchentsova has discovered, when he was part of the entourage of the Patriarch of Jerusalem Paisios (sent on a diplomatic mission by Bogdan Khmelnitsky to negotiate Russian support for the Cossack uprising from 1648).[157]

The Moldavian ruler Vasile Lupu was himself influenced by the example of the ecclesiastical reforms of Peter Mogila in Kiev, and of Basarab's cultural activity in Wallachia. In a similar way, Lupu established a number of "reformed" Orthodox institutions in his principality.[158] In 1640 he created the first Slavonic-Greek-Latin academy in his capital, borrowing the model of the Mogilan Academy in Kiev. In the same year was established the first printing press in Moldavia in the monastery of the Three Hierarchs in Iassy (ran again by monks from the Kievo-Pecherskaya lavra). There were printed important works in Church Slavonic and Romanian (including reprints of earlier Govora editions). It is worth mentioning that during his mission to Moscow in 1641 Silvester from Zograf was instructed by Vasile Lupu to ask the Russian Tsar Mikhail Romanov to send experienced painters from Moscow to work in this newly built monastery of the Three Hierarchs. In the very same monastery in Iași the notorious

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[156] Ibid.

[157] Tchentsova, [Ikona Iverskoy Bogomateri], 206.

[158] Ilieşi Ioan, *Domnitorul Vasile Lupu, sprijinitor al vieţii culturale şi bisericeşti în secolul al XVII-lea* [The ruler Vasile Lupu – a patron of the cultural and religious life in the 17th c.], (PhD dissertation, Baia Mare, 2006), 30-31.

Synod from 1642 was convoked at which the Calvinist confession of Cyril Lukaris was condemned (mentioned in Chapter One. Historical context).

The question of whether the Zograf monk Silvester who served Vasile Lupu in Moldavia in 1639-41 is identical to the hieromonk Silvester from Govora who only a few years later translated the New Testament into Romanian is worth the attention. Two monks with identical names, both of them connected with Zograf (as long as Silvester of Govora worked together with the Zograf monks on the Wallachian printed editions), and with knowledge of the Romanian language (Silvester of Govora as a translator in Transylvania, while Silvester from Zograf as a personal translator of the Moldavian ruler). Moreover, both of them were connected to institutions, founded with the support of Peter Mogila—the Govora printing press in Wallachia, and the printing press at the monastery of the Three Hierarchs in Iași. Given the increased mobility of the Athonite monks at the time, it is not impossible to suppose that after returning from Moscow in early January 1641, Silvester could have joined the other Zograf monks for the printing of the first book, in which his name appears – *Sinaxar* (Govora, 1641).

This, however, would remain only a suggestion, as long as there is no direct evidence confirming the identification of Silvester from Govora as Silvester from Zograf. Unfortunately, I was not able to find information about hieromonk Silvester in the 17th-century collections of administrative documents from Moldavia and Wallachia.[159] On the other hand, an objection could be raised. If we accept that Silvester from Zograf traveled to Moscow for the last time in 1649, then the information about the death of Silvester from Govora in Transylvania sometime after 1644 appears to be problematic.[160]

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[159] *Documenta Romaniae historica*, series "A" for Moldavia and "B" for Wallachia for the 1630s-1640s. Not all the volumes for Wallachia in the 1640s are accessible online and some further research there may bring positive results.

[160] This information, as mentioned, comes from the preface to the Romanian Bible edition from 1648 by the bishop of Transylvania Simion Stefan. Probably the Orthodox bishop did not have any information about Silvester after 1644 and as a "rhetorical move" he decided to attribute a sudden death to Silvester. This suggestion appears plausible if we look at one inconsistency of Simion Stefan. In his preface he claims that Silvester has made many mistakes in the translation, because he lacked

One small finding, however, attracted my attention – while reading the work of Yaroslav Isaevich on the history of Ukrainian printing, I noticed a piece of interesting information about a hieromonk from Kiev called Silvester. This hieromonk Silvester was from the Kievo-Pecherskaya Lavra and ca. 1640s (?) he wrote a versed panegyric for Matei Basarab, praising his efforts to create an Orthodox school and printing press in Wallachia.[161] Unfortunately, Isaevich does not clarify which is this manuscript, where is it kept, from which year it is, was it examined by any scholar, etc. I was not able to find additional information on this question.

However, in case the information from Isaevich is correct, I think this will be a valid argument to suppose that Silvester from Kiev could have been related to Silvester, the translator from Govora. As discussed in the subchapter on the ecclesiastical policies of Matei Basarab, the first attempt to establish an Orthodox school in Wallachia was in the monastery of Govora, under the guidance of Meletie from Zograf (1636), while the academies in Târgoviște appeared only in 1646. On the one hand, Silvester from Govora inherited from his predecessor Meletie the responsibility for managing the school at the monastery. On the other, one may conclude that the monk Silvester from the Kievo-Pecherskaya also had some personal contact with the Wallachian educational institutions founded by Basarab. Therefore, in case the versed panegyric was written in the period before 1646, there is a great chance to suppose that the two Silvesters were in contact, or even that they could have been the one and the same personality.

Moreover, if we take into account all the history of the movement of Zograf monks between the Balkans and the Orthodox cultural centers in Eastern Europe, the hypothesis that

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knowledge of Greek. But according to the cited earlier letter from the Calvinist bishop Geleji to the Orthodox archpriests, the translator of the New Testament (Silvester) **knew** Greek and was also able to understand Latin. Eventually many interpretations of these fragmented pieces of information could be elaborated, but none of them could be valid without a solid documentary evidence.

[161] Isaevich, [Ukrain'ske knihovydannya], 182, note 70: "In the educational activity of Matei Basarab participated and the hieromonk from the Kievo-Pecherskaya Lavra Silvester. A manuscript book with verses from him has been preserved in which the Wallachian ruler is being praised for that he founded "a school in the Slavonic language" and that he "introduced a printing press in a fertile but suffering from hunger land." According to the words of Silvester 'the printing press is full of benefits and glory for the one who realizes its power.'"

the hieromonk Silvester from Govora, the author of the first rough translation of the whole New Testament in Romanian, is a monk from Zograf seems plausible. Given that the other monks in Govora (Meletie, Stefan, and possibly Nectariy) also had strong connections with the Kievo-Pecherskaya lavra and respectively Athos (the monastery of Zograf), then it is not hard to imagine the following hypothetical chronology of Silvester's life: the Zograf monk Silvester could have resided in the 1630s at the Kievan Lavra, where he could have been engaged in printing and editorial work. In the same decade between 1633-1636, his fellow monks from Zograf participated in the foundation of the printing press and the Orthodox school at Govora in Wallachia. While in Kiev Silvester wrote an ode in honor of Matei Basarab for his efforts to support the Orthodox culture. In the period of 1639-1641 Silvester served the Moldavian ruler Vasile Lupu, while from 1640/1641 onwards he became a hegumen of the Govora monastery when the former hegumen Meletie from Zograf resigned in order to attempt to become a bishop of Transylvania. In 1641-1642 together with Udriște Năsturel Silvester made important translations in vernacular Romanian, while in 1643-1644 he worked in Transylvania on the Biblical translation for Prince Rákóczi.

Nevertheless, this remains only a suggestion. The only way to find a solution to this problem would be the research at the archives of the monastic brotherhood of the Kievo-Pecherskaya lavra or the Romanian National Archive in Iassy by specialists versed in the history of the period. In case it is verified, the hypothesis of the relation of Silvester, this important personality for the Romanian ecclesiastical history, with the monastery of Zograf, may become a further stimulus for the scientific examination of the Athonite ecclesiastical networks in Eastern Europe in the first half of the 17th century and their critical importance for the history of the local Orthodox societies.

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This thesis ends its observations with the beginning of the Khmelnitsky Uprising in the Orthodox territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1648). This incident provoked a chain of diplomatic and political events that lead to the biggest war in the middle of the 17th century in Eastern Europe—between the Russian Tsardom and the Rzeczpospolita for control over the Ukrainian territories (1654-1667). In this conflict were engaged and other European powers such as the Swedish Kingdom, Transylvania, and ultimately the Ottoman Empire. Reasons directly related to the Khmelnitsky Uprising caused the fall of Vasile Lupu (1653), which was soon followed by the sudden death of Matei Basarab (1654) (while archbishop Peter Mogila passed away already in 1647). The demise of the patrons and the general political instability put an end to the Orthodox printing activity in the Danubian Principalities and in the Ukrainian lands in the 1650s. The printing presses would renew their work only towards the end of the 1660s in the case of Kiev (when the city became a permanent part of the Russian Tsardom), while in the case of the Romanian Principalities—towards the end of the 1680s. Athonite monks would play again an important role in the later stages of the printing history of the region and would continue to exert their influence on the development of the Orthodox literary culture in Eastern Europe throughout the rest of the 17th century.

Concluding remarks

The strong involvement of hermits from Zograf in "worldly affairs" far beyond the walls of their monastery was not a unique, but rather a widely observed phenomenon at the beginning of the 17th century. Early modernity was generally characterized by the more intense presence of religious orders and movements in the social and even political history of the European societies. One may easily recall the crucial role which the Jesuit monastic groups played in the history of the Counter-Reformation and re-Catholicization of Habsburg Central Europe during the biggest religious war of the 17th century, the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648); or the Puritan movement and its influence over the course of the synchronous civil unrest in England. On the other hand, if we consider the European East, we may observe not less impressive parallels: the Russian Tsardom, following the end of the quasi-religious war with the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom in 1618, was ruled de facto by a monk, Patriarch Filaret, the father of the first officially crowned Romanov. At the same time, in the Ottoman Empire, the Muslim religious movement of the Kadızadelis, often labeled as reformist and "puritanical," also exerted a decisive influence on the development of Ottoman social life and politics.

As this thesis tried to demonstrate, monks from Zograf and the other monasteries of Mount Athos were strongly engaged in the religious controversies that unfolded in the Orthodox territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as a result of the Union of Brest (1596). As the collection of early Ukrainian books kept in the library of Zograf reveals, some of the important ecclesiastical figures of the early modern Kievan Metropolitanate were related to this monastery. The polemicist Ivan Vishenskiy, the administrator of the Ostrog printing press Vasiliy Andreevich, the close collaborator of the Patriarch Meletios Pegas (and of Cyril Lukaris) – the future bishop of Lutsk Isaakiy Boriskovich, and others. The Athonite networks proved crucial for the functioning of the Orthodox Church in the Ukrainian lands in the period after 1596. The colophons of the old printed Zograf books demonstrate the engagement in the

Ukrainian affairs not only of monks originating from the Eastern Slavic lands, but also of clerics from the Balkans (Leontiy). Moreover, humanistic cultural influences reached the ecclesiastical centers in the Ukrainian lands through the mediation of monks from Athos and the Balkans, who were influenced by the Greek literary production of Venice.

As discussed in Chapter Three, Zograf and other Athonite monks were among the pioneers of the still uncommon technology of printing in the European East. The Zograf monks in the 1630s were able to acquire considerable experience in the most advanced printing center in the region at the time—the Kievo-Pecherskaya Lavra. There they not only acquired technical skills in printing, but in addition they were affected by the humanistic in its essence interest for philology. This allowed the Zograf and other monks from Holy Mountain later to become some of the protagonists in one of the most significant cultural processes in the 17th-century history of Orthodoxy—the transfer of the reform initiatives of the bishop Peter Mogila from Kiev to the Danubian Principalities, and later to the Russian Tsardom. In Kiev, as well as in the Romanian lands and Moscow, the influence of the "correction of books" phenomenon would be felt for a long time in the ecclesiastical history of the respective countries.

Only recently attempts were made to approach Athonite monasticism and its past in the context of the broader early modern religious history. When comparing Athonite and other early modern "agents of confessionalization" in the 17th century (for instance, the Jesuit order), the similarities are considerable—increased missionary pathos, active engagement with printing, educational initiatives, proximity to sovereigns, production of new genres of religious literature, etc. Zograf is only one example—a comprehensive study of the activity of the other monasteries of Holy Mountain may bring further interesting results regarding the importance of this monastic center for the history of the Orthodox societies in the 17th century.

Appendix

List of the Old Printed Books from the Library of Zograf, 1535-1671

Legend:

Green - old printed books with colophons written by monk Leontiy from Bitola.
Purple - books which may have belonged to Ivan Vishenskiy.
Orange - books which where brought from Ukraine in the 17th-18th centuries (according to the language characteristics of the colophons).
Blue - Ukrainian books which arrived in Mount Athos only in the 18th century.
Red - no information available

№0	Language	Title	Year	Origin	Signature	Pages	Colophons
1	Greek	Menaion	1535	Venice			
2	Greek	"Works and Days" by Hesiod	1538	Venice	25272		

3	Greek	Sticherarion [a specific type of religious chants] for the Month of June	1549	Venice	28127		Greek - On the inner side of the back cover: "When [they] stole the mules of the monastery, year 7170 (1662)" 1r: "year 1751, passed away the protosyngelos father Theodoulos from Prangeli [?] in the month of June, 6th, day Thursday." below another inscription with different ink, but similar handwriting: "his mahalas [?] was sold for 1650 grosia"
4	Greek	Gospels	1552	Venice	24189		Greek - On the inner side of the back cover: "This divine and holy Gospel belongs to the humble hieromonk Sampson and I bought it for 160 grosia and silver coins and whoever steals it to have upon himself the curses of our wise and God-bearing fathers and his soul to be in one place with that of Juda. Month April in the year of 7160 (1652)."
5	Church Slavonic	Euchologion [a book of prayers for the priests, printed by Vićenco Vuković]	1554	Venice	9372	276	Slavonic - On the back side of the front cover: "To be known when this liturgy was in the priest mister Gavriil hieromonk, this was written by the sinful and useless mister ? hieromonk."
6	Greek	Menaion for the month of September	1555	Venice	26546	206	
7	Greek	Menaion for the month of October	1556	Venice	26546	212	
8	Church Slavonic	Triodion [Vićenco Vuković]	1561	Venice	28831	512	Slavonic - 256v: "To be known that this book Triodion was mortgaged [for] 185, Gregory Kirlo [?]"; lower on the same page with the same hand: "In the year of 7120 [1612] Iov was in the metochion of the monastery of Zograf in Karea [the center of Mount Athos] when he mortgaged this book Triodion, Gregory"; "The woman gave this book in order to be commemorated, remember God the woman, and Stoyan, and Dracho, and Kalina." 257v - a colophone with the handshrift of monk Leontiy: on the upper part of the page: "РΛ" ([7]130 = 1622); below: "Bestow many years, Lord, to the faithful and Christ-loving master [?] who is dignified and to all Christians."

9	Church Slavonic	Gospels [printed by Peter Mstislavets - one of the first printed books of modern Belarus]	1575	Vilnius	19546	802	No colophons.
10	Church Slavonic	Ostrog Bible	1581	Ostroh/Ostrog, Ukraine	28832	1436	Slavonic - 6v: "This book called Bible was given in 1581 by hieromonk Kalita [...] in the archbishopric of Chernigov [Ukraine]"; 24r: a note from 1754: "This book belonged to the Kazak skete"; 631v: "[?] This book [?] That [?] year 1753" (handwriting identical with the one of the note from 1754 on page 24r).
11	Church Slavonic	Ostrog Bible	1581	Ostroh	18866		Slavonic - No foliation - on the last page: "This Bible was given as a mortgage for seven ducats [Venetian gold or silver coins] to Ioann Daskal from the monastery of Zograf, which [ducats] he took for the needs of the monastery - Petronius four ducats and Orest priest three dukats." Inner side of the back cover - a secret writing (by the hand of Leontiy): "ибωθц?всеб. кв(/а?)ωθ въ лет зраθ" ("in the year 7119" - according to the Year of Creation = year 1611).
12	Church Slavonic	Ostrog Bible	1581	Ostroh	24087		Colophon in Romanian on the first pages. The Romanian inscription is in Cyrillic and is identical with the colophon in a Romanian Menaion (Sig. 12508) from the 18th century brought from the monastery of Neamt, Moldavia, around 1827. Some of the colophons in the Preface are from around 1700 - during the time of the ruler of Wallachia Konstantin Brâncoveanu (1654-1714).
13	Church Slavonic	Book on the One true Orthodox Faith [anti-Catholic polemical treatise - Vasiliy Surazhskiy]	1588	Ostroh	6561	500	Greek/Slavonic - Colophons on the inner side of the front cover: "αγιως ο θεως" "силуан [?] αψε [1705?] ? в апостол июна 14" [?]
14	Greek	Patristic Literature - Heavenly Ladder by Saint John Climacus [a popular	1590	Venice	5420	357	On the titel page in Greek: "[This book belongs to?] father Gennadios [?]."

		book on Orthodox asceticism, 7th c.]					
15	Slavonic/Greek	Shurch Slavonic-Greek Grammar	1591	Lvov	26908		No foliation, in the middle part of the book on a few successive pages in Slavonic: "This book was sold to me the sinful Porfyrios." An illegible inscription in Greek on the last page - verso: "εγνωσε εκ θ[?] κε μετα ε[?] να εξεταζεις [?]ρ δια [?] ξα έβδομη cια [?] ε[?]" - probably an advice by some of the anonymous readers for the others (who would start reading this book) on which pages (e.g., ξα - 61) they should concentrate while reading?
16	Greek	Menaion for the month of September	1592	Venice	24330	198	
17	Greek	Menaion for the month of October	1592	Venice	24330	204	
18	Church Slavonic	Patristic Literature - Works of Saint Basil the Great	1594	Ostroh	19277	600	Slavonic - 606v: "This book was donated by Leontiy hieromonk."
19	Church Slavonic	Patristic Literature - Works of Saint Basil the Great	1594	Ostroh	14192		Slavonic - Last page, verso: "This book called Basil the Great belongs to Leontiy, archimandrite of Prilep, hegoumenos of Peresopnitski monastery in the year of 7113 (1605), he wrote with his powerful (?) hand."
20	Church Slavonic	Patristic Literature - Works of Saint Basil the Great	1594	Ostroh	14193		No colophons.
21	Church Slavonic	Patristic Literature - Margaritarion - a collection of works by Saint John Chrysostom	1595	Ostroh	9912		Slavonic - Titel page - 4r: "The sinful priest Mitrofan from Nikolski wrote on this book with his hand." 8r: "Mitrofan from Białystok [contemporary Eastern Poland], priest of the temple of Saint Niclas with his hand [following signature]." Another hand - 8r: "This book called Margaritarion I, Ioan Kolubovich (?), bought it from pan Stefan Usekevich (?) in June 1st 1720, and who would try to take a possesion of it secretly and is late [to give it back] to be punished by eternal punishment from the Rightful Judge. Amin." 549v: "I Joan Ko[?]ovich sold [?] this book to pan Pavel [son of?] Pavel."

22	Church Slavonic	Patristic Literature - Margaritarion - a collection of works by Saint John Chrysostom	1595	Ostroh	8933		A Slavonic colophon at the end of the preface - no pagination: "To Ioann Vishenskiy in the Holy Mountain of Athos. I give - Vasiliy Andreevich."
23	Greek	Menaion for the month of December	1595	Venice	24313	288	Colophon on inner side of the front cover. Illegible due to bad quality of the photo.
24	Greek	Menaion for the month of January	1595	Venice	24162	276	
25	Greek	Menaion for the month of February	1596	Venice	24162	154	
26	Greek	Gospels	1599	Venice	24160	248	Greek - On the inner side of the front cover: "This book belongs to [?]."
27	Greek	Menaion for the month of April	1603	Venice	28286	392	
28	Greek	Menaion for the month of July	1606	Venice	27922	454	See Menaion for June, 1610 (27922).
29	Greek	Menaion for the month of August	1606	Venice	27922	176	See Menaion for June, 1610 (27922).
30	Greek	Menaion for the month of May	1606	Venice	28286	120	
31	Church Slavonic	Didactic Gospels [a collection of sermons - popular genre of the 17th c.]	1606	Krilos, Western Ukraine	13930	840	Slavonic - Inner side of the front cover: "In the year of 7116, from the Birth of Christ 1607, the month of August 26th, the Leontiy, archimandrite of Pelagonia and Prilep [in contem. North Macedonia], was ordained as an hegumen of the monastery of Saint Nikolas of the Magyars near the town of Jassy." Another colophon below informs us that: "In the year of 7123, from the Birth of Christ 1615, in the month of March, I arrived in the lands of Ungro-Vlahia in Târgoviște, in the days of the pious and Christ-loving lord Ion Radul Voevoda [Radu Mihnea - 1611-1616]." In the down right of pages 8-40 (recto) - a colophon: "This Holy Gospels with an interpretation of Saint Callistus [14th c.], patriarch of Constantinople, belonged to Leontiy, archimandrite of Prilep and Zograf, and with the will and help of God it was bestowed to the church of the saint and

							glorious great among the martyrs of Christ George and in the temple of [the monastery] called Zograf, so that he could be an assistant of mine in the time of the fearsome Day of judgement [...] I wrote this in the year of 7130 [1622], the month of June 3 [In the rest of this colophone there is information about a plague in Mount Athos in that particular year and curses against those who would attempt to steal the book.]" On the inner side of the back cover: "This book belongs to the humble Leontiy, archimandrite of Pelagonia and a hegumen of Peresopnitski monastery [an important monastery in Western Ukraine from the 16th c.] in the year of 1607, in the month of March 20, 7115."
32	Church Slavonic	Patristic Literature - The Teachings of Saint John Chrysostom [from p. 130 begins another book - "Testamentum"]	1607	Ostroh	3431	352	50v - a small note with Ukrainian influences - the handwriting resembles others from the 17th century - actually this is the handwriting of hieromonk Leontiy - see 51v and his inscription on the book from 1594. 71v - "do not fall in despair!"
33	Church Slavonic	Testamentum - the testament of pseudo-Basilios I to his son emperor Leon the Wise [Byzantine political theory]	1607	Ostroh	3431		The handwriting is of hieromonk Leontiy. See: Patristic Literature - The Teachings of Saint John Chrysostom (Sig. 3431).
34	Greek	Menaion for the month of March	1609	Venice	28286	136	
35	Greek	Menaion for the month of June	1610	Venice	27922	126	In Greek on page 3v: "This present book belongs to the holy martyr Mina and if someone attempts to take it away let him be excommunicated." 4r: "This book belongs to father Gregorios and whoever takes it away let him have the curse of the Holy Virgin."
36	Greek/Latin	Patristic Literature - Works of Saint John Chrysostom	1612	Eton, England	13813		A damaged colophon in Greek. Interestingly, but volumes from this series are kept also in Sofia, library of BAN: http://digilib.nalis.bg/xmlui/handle/nls/25523/browse?type=dateissued

37	Greek/Latin	Patristic Literature - Works of Saint John Chrysostom	1612	Eton, England	24165		A brief colophon with the year ZPAI [?] (7111 - 1603) – illegible.
38	Church Slavonic	Church Slavonic Grammar [by Meletiy Smotritski]	1619	Vievis, near Vilnius	20611		Colophone in Polish 235-236: "In Adventum […]"
39	Church Slavonic	A garden for the soul [a liturgical book of prayers written by the medieval Athonite monk Thikaras]	1620	Vilnius	15665	346	Slavic - 5r-7r: "I Paisiy hieromonk from Zograf bought this book in Karea from Theodosius the bookseller, 1854 June 15 for 40 grosha."
40	Church Slavonic	A garden for the soul	1620	Vilnius	16005		Latin - 1r-2r: "Ex Bibliotheka Kievopieciariensis Santa Lavra"; Slavic - 140r: "This book [belongs to] the diacon Stepan Thedorov."
41	Greek/Latin	Plutarchus Chaeronensis. Omnia opera [The complete works of Plutarch]	1620	Frankfurt	18225	1358	Probably late arrival at the monastery.
42	Slavonic/Vernacular	Patristic Literature - Homilies of Saint John Chrysostom on the Epistles of Saint Paul	1623	Kiev	18781		Slavonic colophons with religious content and no historical information.
43	Greek/Latin	Institutionum linguae Graecae: Liber tercius de syllabarum dimensione. Pro schola rhetorices	1624	Cologne	12998/3	190	Colophons in Latin and Church Slavonic on the inner side of the front cover - illegible!
44	Greek/Latin	Pierre Bertrand de Mérigon. Ludovici Justi Regis Panegyricus [Greek and Latin - a panegyric in honour of the French king Louis XIII]	1625	Paris	27936		
45	Greek	The text of the Divine Liturgy by Saint John Chrysostom	1626	Venice	26455		No colophons with historical information.

46	Church Slavonic	Patristic Literature - Abba Dorotheus of Gaza	1628	Kiev	19607	802	61r - a small colophone on the margin of the page, written in old Ukranian literary language: "The source of all the virtues [are] the obedience and the humility!" 184 - old. Ukr.: "See, you, o monk, who has anger" 306/307 (picture 160); and other similar.
47	Church Slavonic	Limonarion [vitae of saints]	1628	Kiev	19607		Both the books from 1628 are with new covers and probably the colophons (if any) were lost.
48	Greek/Latin	Institutionum linguae Graecae : Liber secundus de octo partibus orationis pro tertia classe	1632	Krakow, Luxembourg	12998/1	286	See: Cologne, 1624.
49	Church Slavonic	Gospels	1633	Moscow	14833		On the inner side of the front cover: "This book [belongs to] the village Novaya Sloboda [to the temple of] Archangel Michael." - A small village in the Chernigov region of modern Ukraine, once part of the border line between the Tsardom of Moscow and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the middle of the 17th century there was founded the Sofronievskiy monastery. Probably its proximity to the main road from Moscow to Kiev and the South could explain the appearance of this book in the monastery of Zograf in the 18th (?) century?
50	Greek/Latin	Patristic Literature - Works of Saint John Chrysostom [bilingual edition, Vol. 1]	1636	Paris	28132	976	Latin - Titel page: "PI: Johannes Hilg[…?] possessor hujus l[ibri] Anno 1673"
51	Greek/Latin	Patristic Literature - Works of Saint John Chrysostom [bilingual edition, Vol. 2]	1636	Paris	28187	860	No colophons.
52	Church Slavonic	The story of Barlaam and Joasaph [legendary saints from India, whose vita is based on the life of Gautama Buddha]	1637	Kutein Monastery, Belarus	1327	734	On the inner side of the front cover - probably late inscriptions in Romanian. Slavonic - 374r: "I, the sinful hieromonk Aaron, send this holy and beneficial for the soul book from Constantinople to the Holy Mountain of Athos, to the old fellow traveller and collaborator of ours, the respectful father hiromonk Varlaam from Jerusalem, and

							[let this book] be for him and those he hear him [when he reads it aloud] and for the ones who read it beneficial for their souls, and let them pray for me, the sinful." Lower on the same page: "I am very grateful to you, brother, for the books you sent me - two "Heavenly Ladder" which I gladly and with great joy accepted."
53	Church Slavonic	Didactic Gospels	1637	Kiev	18824		Slavonic - On the inner side of the front cover: "This book called Gospels…" - the same handwriting as in the colophon of the Ostrog Bible (Sig.: 28832) which originated from the Chernigov region. 25-29: "This book Gospels with interpretations was bestowed to the Russian skete called Mavrovir in the church of the Feast of the Holy Encounter, for the abolition of the sins and for the health of [... - following the names of contributors], 1754." Probably this book, together with other Ukrainian editions, arrived first at the skete Mavrovir and was later transferred to the monastery of Zograf. On the inner side of the back cover: "This book belongs to monk Simeon, a dweller of the Andreevski skete, year 1767, month December, 15th."
54	Greek	A new book called Paradise [Greek vernacular vitae and catechetical materials composed by monk Agapios Landos]	1641	Venice			A colophon in Greek with a stamp of Saint Dimitrios and an inscription in Arabic letters.
55	Greek	Theotokarion [a collection of hymns praising the Mather of God]	1643	Venice	24274	174	No colophons.
56	Church Slavonic	Gospels	1644	Vilnius	14834		No colophons. It is interesting to mention that this edition was prepaired by the hegumen of the Eve Orthodox monastery near Vilnius named Gavriil "the typographer of the convent." Again as in the case of monk Meletius Meceadonul (one of the first printers in Wallachia, c. 1635, a monk from Zograf) and other printing institutions

							established in Eastern Europe, they were deeply connected with monks and monasticism.
57	Greek	Menaion for the month of December	1644	Venice	27326		
58	Church Slavonic	Euchologion	1646	Kiev	28829		Slavonic - 5r-125r: "This book called Euchologion of Peter Mogila [belongs to] the church of Prophet Ilias which is on the Novgorod metochion of priest Peter Antipov, his own, which was to him the priest Peter Antipov given by his spiritual daughter, gostinoy sotni?, the widow Natalia Grigorieva Nosova, but in commemoration of her husband gostinoy sotni?, the trader Andrey Evstratov Nosov, 1739, February 4th."
59	Greek	Η Παλαιά Διαθήκη/Vetus Testamentum Graecum [The Old Testament]	1647	Leipzig	24196		No colophons.
60	English/Dutch	A copious english and netherduych dictionaire	1647	Roterdam	15614		
61	Church Slavonic	Church Slavonic Grammar by Meletiy Smotritski	1648	Moscow	10994	950	Slavonic - 48r: "This book called Grammar belongs to the monastery called Zograf where the temple of the saint and great among the martyrs of Christ George is located where his holy and made not by human hand image was found [following on the next pages - warnings against those who would attempt to steal the book], 7221 [1713], February 10th in the monastery of Zograf." For now it appears impossible to assert when precisely this book was transferred to the monastery of Zograf - was it also part of the 18th-century transfer of books or it was brought earlier during the 17th c.?
62	Church Slavonic	Nomocanon [a collection of ecclesiastical law]	1653	Moscow	18787		
63	Church Slavonic	Church Slavonic-Russion Dictionary [composed by Pavel Berinda at the beginning of the 17th century, Kiev]	1653	Kutein Monastery, Belarus	18082		

91

64	Church Slavonic	A Spiritual Mirror [sermons on the vanity of worldly life]	1654	Kutein Monastery, Belarus	994/1	636	Slavonic - 9v: "This book "A Spiritual Mirror" and "A Heaven for the Mind" hieroschimonahos Kodrat gave in the Holy Mount Athos to the monastery of Saint George of Zograf." Beneath with different ink is written the year "1749." A later inscription with a warning against attempts of stealing the book from 1797.
65	Church Slavonic	A Heaven for the Mind [miracle stories from Mount Athos, a popular reading in the 17th century] (in one book body with "A Spiritual Mirror")	1659	Iversky Monastery, Russia	994/2	160	See: Kutein 1654.
66	Church Slavonic	On the apparition of the sacred and healing relics of saint Jakov Borovitski and his miracles (in one book body with "A Spiritual Mirror" and "A Heaven for the Mind")	1659	Iversky Monastery, Russia	994/3	60	See: Kutein 1654.
67	Church Slavonic	Anthology [vitae of saints]	1660	Moscow	13506	554	
68	Church Slavonic	Patristic Literature - Pateric [Vitae of Saints from the Pecherskaya Lavra in Kiev]	1661	Kiev	12124		
69	Church Slavonic	Patristic literature - Anthology of the works of Gregory of Nyssa, Basil the Great, Athanasios from Alexandria, and John from Damascus	1664/1665	Moscow	13923	816	On the inner side of the front cover in Slavonic with part of the text in Latin characters: "Year 1740 [1746?] I arrived in the land of Wallachia on May, 4th day, I hierodiacon Innokentiy Lewandowsky [the family name is written with Latin characters] not by my free will, but under coercion [afterwards not legible]." On the inner back cover - names for commemoration, a damaged inscription with the name "Symeon Kirilov" and the year 1755.

92

70	Church Slavonic	Patristic literature - Anthology of the works of Gregory of Nyssa, Basil the Great, Athanasios from Alexandria, and John from Damascus	1664/1665	Moscow	21562		On the inner side of the front cover - colophon in Romanian, written twice - once with Cyrillic and once with Latin chracters: "Together with Stephan hierodiacon from the saint metropolis I have bought this book of the theologians from the logofet Gregory Kocesku. It was in the course of the year, from the creation of the world 7246, from the Birth of Christ 1738, January, after I came from katane [not legible?]." On list 1v - colophon in Romanian (Cyrilic letters): "This book called Gregory of Nyssa was bestowed by knyaz Boris Alekseevich Ludavikovich [? - last name not certain]." On lists 2r-10r in Slavonic: "This book called Gregory of Nyssa was taken from Svishtov by the hegumen Paisios. It was bestowed by Pancho for his and his parent's salvation. He gave it to the holy monastery of Zograf in the year of 1771, December 26."
71	Church Slavonic	A New Sky with New Stars [a book on the miracles of Mother of God, Latin influences]	1665	Lvov	1279		
72	Church Slavonic	A Piece between God and Human [a book on the sacrament of confession, heavily influenced by Catholic theology]	1669	Kiev	21425		8-100: A long inscription, hard to be read, with no years. The handwriting resembles the one of the books brought by Ukrainian monks around the middle of the 18th century to the Mavrovir skete.
73	Church Slavonic	The vita and service of Saint John of Rila	1671	Kiev	9510		No colophons with historical information.

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