

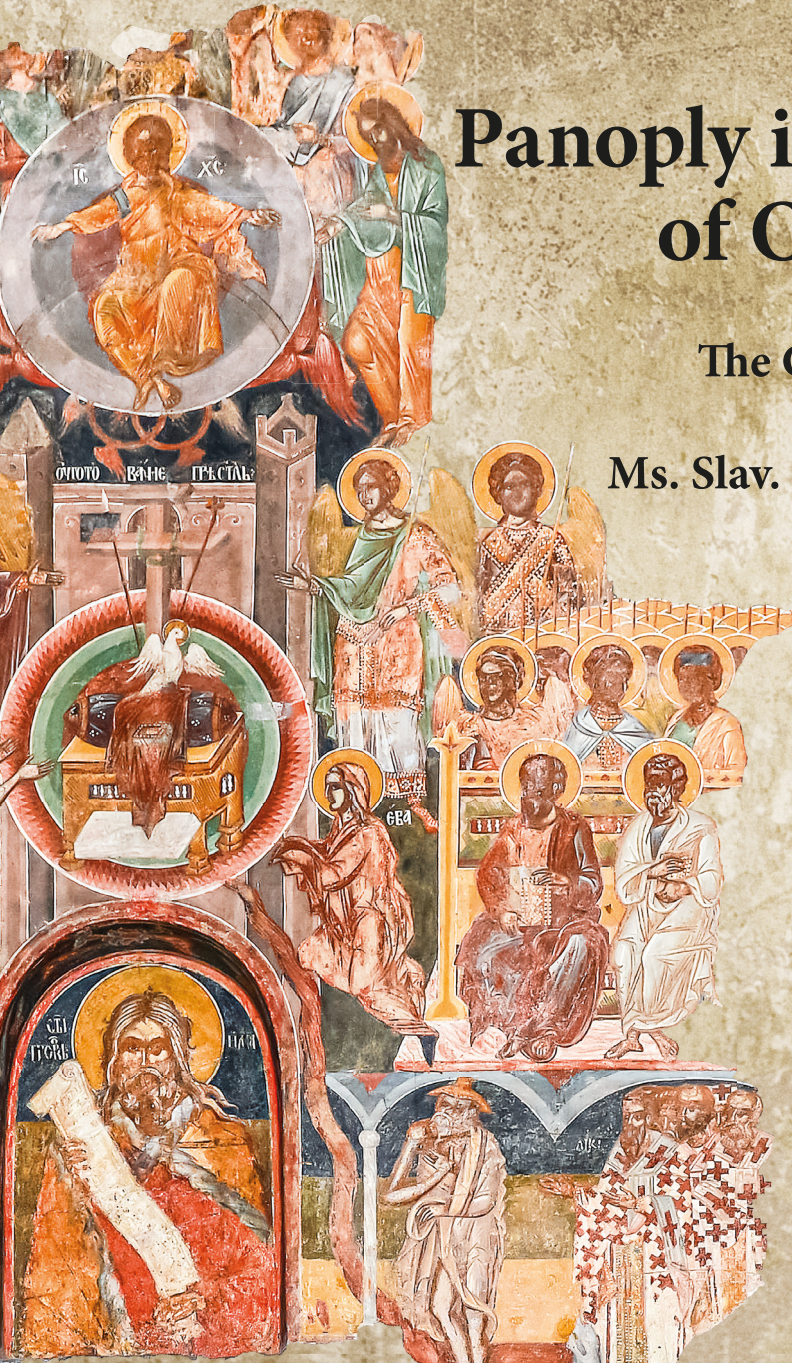
Series Ceranea  
vol. 9

Mariyana P. Tsibranska-Kostova  
Ivan Alexandrov Biliarsky

# Panoply in Defense of Orthodoxy

The Case of Moldavian  
Manuscript BAR  
Ms. Slav. 636, 16th Century

edited by  
Georgi Minczew



*Ceranea*  
— CERANEUM —

**W** WYDAWNICTWO  
UNIWERSYTETU  
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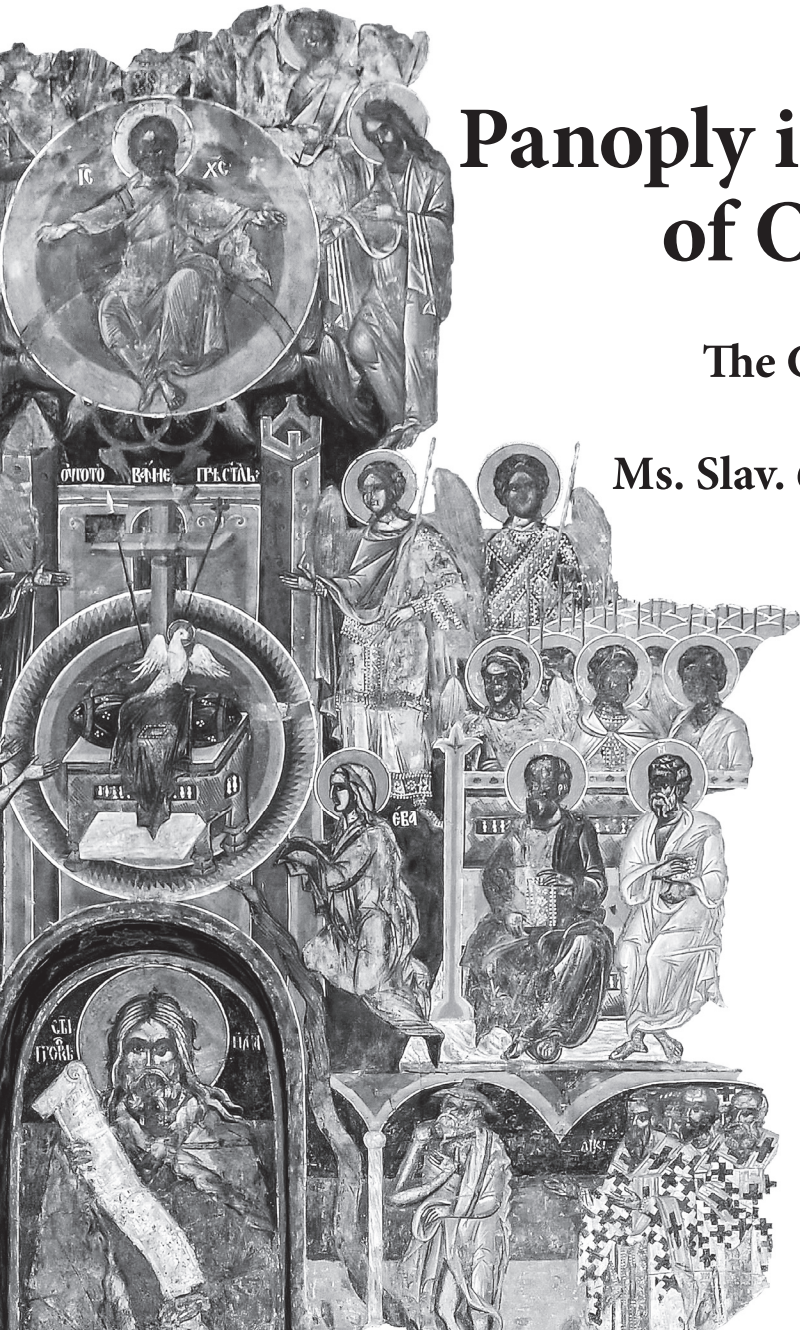
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Łódź 2021



# Series Ceranea

## Volume 9

University of Łódź, Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture  
of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe *Ceraneum*

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Mural paintings from the Prophet Elijah Church in Iliyantsi district, Sofia  
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*Take the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit,  
which is the word of God.*

Ephesians 6:17



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## Introduction

This book is devoted to a Slavic 16<sup>th</sup> century manuscript kept in the Library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences under no. BAR Ms. slav. 636 (henceforth, BAR 636), as well as, partially, to its twin manuscript, the so-called *Bisericiani Miscellany*, part of the Alexander Ivanovich Yatsimirsky collection, under no. 51, at the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg<sup>1</sup>. The first of the two manuscripts has long attracted our scholarly interest, resulting in several publications on the codex itself and the contents of some of its texts. Until we started our work on the manuscript, it had practically never been subject to a true scholarly description, except for the relevant notes in the then unpublished third volume of *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române și slave din Biblioteca Academiei române* by P. P. Panaitescu, a far from sufficient presentation. In 2018, this third volume was published with the revision of Z. Mihail. This revision was limited to a more systematic and comprehensible presentation of the marginal notes and of some parts of the contents<sup>2</sup>. The very definition of the collection as *Pravilă și Cronica sârbo-moldovenească* shows miscomprehension of the nature, contents and purpose of the manuscript. Several years ago, we titled one of our articles about this collection *Contra varietatem pugna latissima*<sup>3</sup>; through this somewhat lofty Latin wording, we tried to indicate the purpose that the compilers had assigned to their collection. The *Rules* (or more precisely, the *Pseudo-Zonaras Nomocanon* and some other canonical collections) make up the main part of the collection, but the chronicles, and more generally the historical parts, are in fact integrally linked to

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<sup>1</sup> It is available in a photocopy version at the Library of the Romanian Academy; for greater ease of citation, we will henceforth refer to its pressmark in the library – BAR 685.

<sup>2</sup> P. P. PANAITESCU, Z. MIHAIL, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române și slave din Biblioteca Academiei române*, vol. III, partea I-a, № 636, București 2018, pp. 43–47.

<sup>3</sup> IV. BILIARSKY, M. TSIBRANSKA-KOSTOVA, “*Contra varietatem pugna latissima*”. *Un recueil juridique moldave et son convoi (BAR Ms. sl. 636, XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, “*Analele Putnei*” XII. 2, 2016, pp. 105–146.

the legal code, although it is they that have aroused the greatest interest of scholars of the Romanian past and historiography in the Romanian lands. Nevertheless, these are not separate parts that can be presented as such when characterizing the collection. True, the legal and polemical-doctrinal sections occupy the larger part of the manuscript – we may also qualify it as the most significant and defining (although we need hardly classify parts by rank of importance). We feel, however, that the individual sections should not be separated or placed in mutual opposition, as they form an integral whole based on their purpose. The collection was not compiled as a legal code, or for use by some law-enforcing authority; it was not compiled as a polemical collection for use in theological discussions. Neither was it compiled as a historical collection meant to preserve and disseminate knowledge about the past; it was compiled as an integral armament in the fight against religious deviations, for the victory of Orthodoxy over those deviations and for the Salvation of people.

In view of the above, we may state that the present book has two main objectives:

– One, to present our studies of the miscellany's components taken separately, but also as functional parts of the whole; and to publish the separate texts together with our commentary and source research.

– The second main objective is to present an integral study of the collection and its function, whereby the separate parts are viewed as subordinated to a general conception and a general purpose. Our working hypothesis regarding that conception and purpose is that the manuscript was meant to serve as an armor in the fight against religious deviations, heresies, and other doctrinal differences from Orthodoxy; the whole and each of its parts were subordinated to that plan, and that is the only explanation and justification for the inclusion of this or that text in the collection.

These objectives determine the structure of the book. First, we offer an overall study of the manuscript in the first part (undivided into chapters) of this monograph. We already mentioned why this is necessary: this presentation welds together the separate parts, places the manuscript in its own historical context within the Principality of Moldavia around the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and fills in the gaps left even after the publication of the third volume of P. P. Panaitescu's catalogue of Slavic manuscripts in the Library of the Romanian Academy.

The next parts cover the separate components of the collection. The second part (also not divided into chapters) is devoted to the collection's legal texts. This mainly refers to the Pseudo-Zonaras Nomocanon, also known as the anti-heretical and penitential collection of *Slavia Orthodoxa*. Its text is not published here in its entirety, but the parts of it that are, and especially the contents, give an adequate

idea of the source. The third part encompasses some doctrinal anti-heretical texts – as conventional as this qualification may be. In any case, they are related to the refutation of confessional, ritual and mundane deviations perceived as heretical at that time. Included in this part are the following texts: *Encyclical Letter of the Three Patriarchs*, of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, concerning the non-canonical actions of the ecclesiastical authorities of Constantinople following the Councils of Ferrara–Florence, as well as the two versions of the *Tale about Peter the Stammerer*, devoted to the deviations of Western Christianity. These texts far from exhaust the doctrinal part of the miscellany, but the main component of this part, *A Useful Tale about the Latins*, was already published by our colleague Angel Nikolov in two of his studies on anti-Latin controversy, together with other texts from this doctrinal complex. The fourth part of the monograph encompasses the collection's historical texts: the *Lists of Patriarchs*, the *Tale of the Ecumenical Councils* and the so-called *Moldavian Chronicles*. Understandably, the last mentioned have aroused the greatest interest of Romanian historians, insofar as the chronicles are an early example of Romanian historiography and present events from the history of Romanians, but also of Bulgarians, Russians and Serbs, inscribing them in world history by integrating them into the history of the Empire. Our task has been to ascertain the place and function of these texts within the legal and controversial collection. The last, fifth, section of the book is devoted to the presence in the miscellany of two apocryphal texts, the *Testament of Abraham* and the *Tale about How the Lord Created the Brotherhood of the Cross*. Both these copies are published in full and for the first time in the present book. In addressing the question as to why these texts were included in the collection, we encountered several difficult problems. Foremost, there exists a firmly fixed understanding that these apocryphal and non-canonical texts are essentially heretical. In a sense, this view is supported by the fact that some of them, perhaps most, were included at the time in particular lists of prohibited books. We believe there is a certain miscomprehension here. We do not deny that some of the non-canonical texts have served as a basis for heretical views or have resulted from such views, but it should be pointed out that their classification as “non-canonical” or “deuterocanonical” does not imply necessarily “anti-canonical”. Speaking about “deuterocanonical” works *stricto sensu*, we refer to writings of a biblical kind, similar to books from the Holy Scripture, from both the Old and New Testament, but which are not included in the canonical contents of Holy Scripture. Their being omitted should not surprise us. Different denominations include different books in the canon: on the one hand, there is the Judaic confession, on the other, there are the different Christian churches (Orthodox, Catholic, Coptic, Protestant denominations, etc.). The non-inclusion of books in the canon does indeed betray some suspicion of those books. Essentially, it means

the texts are not recognized as Divine Revelation, but it does not mean they are necessarily considered heretical. On the contrary, they are at times cited in canonical books of the Bible, in works of Church Fathers and in other fully canonical and official texts. It is in view of this that we should interpret and study the presence of the apocryphal works in the collection BAR 636.

The study of the collection's separate sections necessarily requires an interdisciplinary approach and a very wide perspective on Christian literature. We hope these studies will stimulate interest and open new horizons. The connection between these varied texts and their study as an integral whole has been a formidable challenge. After reading the whole book, the reader will judge how well we have met it.

We must say we were not alone in our efforts. When the authors are two, they cannot be alone, but we were also surrounded by friends. This book is the fruit of long collaboration with colleagues from Romania, especially from the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History and the Institute for Southeast European Studies. We have worked together for long years on many projects invariably concerning state power, law, words and images. We feel that the results of this collaboration are evident and not limited to this book, although the latter does hold a special place in our joint efforts. We have created and maintained a united community that, we hope, will continue to be fruitful in the future. The community in question includes not only our colleagues and friends from Bulgaria and Romania, but also those from Poland – the University of Lodz and the Ceraneum Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe, with whom we have shared ideas and views, happy and sad moments. This book has been made possible in its present form thanks to this collaboration. Creative work and life are connected. We feel in our case the connection has proven particularly strong as our joint research work has created a community of scholars from these three countries, and certainly from others as well, a community that will continue into the future.

## Part One

# The Slavic Manuscript BAR Ms. Slav. 636 in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest

## General Characteristics

Literature was central to Bulgarian-Romanian and Slavo-Romanian-Byzantine cultural relations during the Middle Ages insofar as it was an important factor determining the general cultural features of the Balkans and Southeastern Europe. The literary exchange, across the two shores of the Danube, between Bulgarian and Romanian medieval literature in Cyrillic script covered all genres of medieval literary culture: liturgical, apocryphal, homiletical, hagiographic, etc. Especially abundant was the culture of various kinds of miscellanies, which have survived in copies of precisely Moldavian or Wallachian origin. We may recall the discovery made by the Romanian Slavist Ion Iufu in the 1960s: when cataloguing Slavic manuscripts from the Dragomirna monastery in Moldavia, he formulated the concept regarding the Târnovo Reading Menaion in the ten-volume collection he designates as “Studion”<sup>1</sup>. A study of the copies made in Moldavia on the basis of medieval Bulgarian photographs demonstrates that the full collection of so-called Reading Menaions was one of the most important achievements in the work of the Târnovo men of letters: Dan Zamfirescu figuratively calls the collection “the massif central of the general cultural terrain”<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> З. Юфу, *За десеттомната колекция Студион (из архива на румънския изследвач Йон Юфу). Проучвания по случай Втория конгрес по балканистика, София 1970*, “Studia Balkanica” 2, 1970, pp. 299–343.

<sup>2</sup> D. ZAMFIRESCU, *O nouă viziune asupra istoriei culturii bulgare din secolele XIV–XVIII*, ed. R. VÂNTURILOR, București 2013, p. 229.

Our subject of description and analysis here is a collection of miscellaneous works preserved in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest. It was prepared in a monastic environment and contains medieval works in various genres, but of a predominantly legal and anti-heretical orientation. They all served one purpose: to preserve and reproduce the supporting theses of Orthodoxy in the dogmatic, canonic and historical aspect.

Following the traditional structural division of a collection into core and periphery, it may be expected that this type of literary monument implies the existence of a complex set of factors determining its composition: the choice of proto-graphs by the compilers; a historical context influencing their combination; the role of the literary school or literary center as regards the dissemination of a specific type of production; the transcribers' preferences and individual interventions. That is why, in the presentation that follows, we will present the full contents of the collection under study and will try to outline the cultural-historical context of its application.

\* \* \*

Manuscript BAR 636 is familiar to scholars; parts of it were published as early as a century ago, but so far it has not been the subject of comprehensive description except in the recently published third part of the Catalogue of the Slavic manuscripts of the Library of Romanian Academy by P. P. Panaitescu and Z. Mihail<sup>3</sup>. But even that work is not quite full and precise. This manuscript has provoked interest because it contains transcriptions of Moldavian chronicular works. It was recently discussed in a monograph by A. Nikolov dealing with one of the most interesting texts within the collection: *A Useful Tale about the Latins*<sup>4</sup>.

Manuscript BAR 636 is a miscellany of 338 pages of sturdy and smooth paper bearing a watermark depicting a wild boar<sup>5</sup>. Paper watermarked with a filigreed boar was produced in Silesia and Austria; the paper used in this particular manuscript was made in Schweidnitz and was widely used in Moldavia at the end of the third and early fourth decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It was later disseminated in

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<sup>3</sup> P. P. PANAITESCU, Z. MIHAIL, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române și slave din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, vol. 3, partea I-A, București 2018, pp. 43–47.

<sup>4</sup> А. НИКОЛОВ, *Повест полезна за латините. Паметник на средновековната славянска полемика срещу католицизма*, София 2011.

<sup>5</sup> А. МАРЕȘ, *Filigramele hirtiei întrebuințate în țările române în secolul al XVI-lea*, No. 351, București 1987, p. 65. In the same manuscript, A. Mares discovered paper with filigrees of the type No. 350–357.

Transylvania and Maramureş as well<sup>6</sup>. It is important to our discussion that such paper was not used for copying purposes in Moldavia from the years 1527 to 1543. In fact, the date of the manuscript could be specified not only by the watermark on the paper but also by the note on f. 303v, which indicates the year 1557. This date is not inconsistent with the data as to the filigree. We may conclude that the manuscript was completed on 9 August 1557, at the time of the Moldavian ruler Alexandru Lăpuşneanu (1552–1561 and 1564–1568) and the Metropolitan Bishop of Suceava Gregory II, and written by Hierodeacon Hilarion, a disciple of this metropolitan bishop, most probably in the Neamţ Monastery.

The size of the pages is 160/200 mm (4°), and of the text area, 100–110/160 mm, with 20 lines per page. The script is a legible, fine, large semi-uncial. The text is written in black ink, and in red for the headings, initial letters, the numbers of the rules and other signaling elements. The main body of the book was written by a single copyist; the text that runs from the Mount Athos typikon (f. 320r) almost to the end was written in another hand in a smaller semi-uncial font. We find the handwriting of a third copyist in the small textual segment on ff. 337v–338r. We may suppose the quill was changed several times (see ff. 24r, 180v, 220v, 272r and others). There is an obvious mixture of handwritings and times of writing in the marginal notes (ff. 207v, 220r, 303v).

The manuscript has no original foliation. The numeration of the sheets is stamped on them and separately marked with a pencil, the two numerations being different from the very beginning of the book: that written in pencil does not include the first sheet, which is glued to the inner side of the binding cover. In the present description, we will use the stamped numeration, although f. 1 is not part of the book sections. The gatherings (tetrads) are numbered according to the traditional Cyrillic system (the first one, at f. 2, has the number *д*). The tetrads contain eight sheets each. The last numbered tetrad is *лн*, which ends at f. 319v. There is no numeration after that.

The orthography of the main copyist complies with the norm known in scholarly literature as “Târnovo orthography”, which was established in Târnovo in the pre-Euthymian age and by Patriarch Euthymius himself. It was disseminated in Bulgarian literature in the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century, and after the fall of Bulgaria under Ottoman rule, it became a prestigious literary norm for manuscripts created in Wallachia and Moldavia. Its basic characteristic traits in BAR 636 are:

– The use of two signs for the nasals, with a complete absence of signs for the iotated nasals. For instance: *хотани дшж оуистити* f. 58r, *да ѿлжват са* 76r, *ѿ аззыкь, вждѣ* f. 77r, *пласати* f. 93r; the consecutive writing of graphemes for the nasals of the reflexive particle *са* and the oppositional conjunction *нж*.

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. XXIX, XXXVI.



– The rule of combining two nasals in contact position one after the other always in the sequence жл: *дрог҃жл понимѣ* f. 62v, *на пагоу҃вж тѣлеснжл* f. 63r, *такоежл* f. 93v, *на пас҃жл великжл* f. 173v.

– Traces of non-systemic mixing of nasal signs together with their etymological use: *тѣвѣл* f. 26r, *въ жзы* (from *лзга* ‘illness, suffering’), *слоужжи* f. 88r, *съ неж* f. 126r, *ѿ прикиж* f. 135, *пощ҃ждѣти* f. 136r, *кромѣ великыж нжждж* f. 137v. In connection with the prevalently etymological use of nasal signs, we will note that there are very rare cases of substitution of the nasals by a reflex that is untypical for the manuscript, as for instance *съязь* < *съжзь* ‘chains; a transitive connection between people’ on f. 139r.

– Two signs for the “ier” (ъ and ѡ) vowels, where overall the etymological distribution of the prefixes and prepositions is generally preserved, but they are interchangeable at the end of the word. Here are some examples from a single page, f. 137r: *разоумомъ, съврѣшени възрастомъ, да възмѣѡ, потантъ, речеть, творить, вжджтѣ, оудъ*. A paerchik sign is also used for the omitted “er” or the latter is not marked at all.

– The “eri” (ы) sign is always written as ы and stands at its etymological place or is substituted by и: *прѣбываѣ* f. 93v, *присыненикъ* f. 126r, *съкрыеть* f. 127r, *изыти* f. 136v, *рыбы, сыра* f. 174r etc.

– The etymological use of the “yat” vowel; in many cases, it stands after the consonants л, н, р which indicates compliance with an archaic model: *сѡтнѣго* f. 64v, *родителѣ* f. 95v, *раздѣлѣжт* f. 119r, *мала лелѣ* f. 125v, *црѣ* f. 137v, *ближнѣго* f. 147r, *ѡрганѣти* f. 170v, *въ землѣ* f. 264v, *оуправлѣеть* f. 265r, etc.

– With regard to the consonants, it is worth noting the successive reflex of the groups шт, жд without exception, and the presence of a sign for the affricate dz (s) used more frequently. By these features, the manuscript of the basic text justifies the expectation that the Bulgarian literary tradition was applied in Moldavia after the fall of the Second Bulgarian Empire under Ottoman rule. However, the orthographical data are not a direct consequence of the nature of the used protographs but rather prove the long-known fact that the Târnovo orthographic norms were in use in the literary production of the Moldavian principality in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It is noteworthy that the manuscript shows no signs of Serbian linguistic influence typical for the literary monuments originating in Walachia in that same period.

The binding is made of skin, and has wooden boards. It is in bad condition. There are remnants of book locks. The front and back cover have geometrical vegetal decoration on the skin. On the front cover, there is a stamped depiction of the Council of the Holy Apostles and the descent of the Holy Ghost above them.

Decoration: some of the initial letters are written calligraphically, and the basic marginal notes are placed within decorated borders. There is a particular decoration above the heading in several places:

- f. 1r – a later interlacing frame drawn in black and red ink. Above it, there is a cross, encircled by the inscription IC XC НИ КА.
- f. 2r – above the heading, there is a multi-colored interlacing design.
- f. 24r – interlacing design above the title and an interlaced initial A.
- f. 320r – a multi-colored interlacing decoration above the title, with, above it, a cross encircled by the sign IC XC НИ КА.

## 1. The contents of the manuscript

1. f. 2r – Nomocanon.

Прѣсло́віе пока́нію правіло ст҃хъ ѿцѣ съвѣ́рныхъ. въсе́и въсе́ленѣи.

Beginning – Подѡбаеѣтъ быти архіе́рею съмы́слнь...

The first written text on f. 2r is entitled Прѣсло́віе пока́нію правіло ст҃хъ ѿцѣ съвѣ́рныхъ въсе́и въсе́ленѣи. This first rubric includes many short texts, such as a credo, norms for the fasts, and separate rules. There is an interesting text, in imperative form, which gives prescriptions as to how it befits a Christian to live; it is on f. 11v under the heading ѿ а́плькыхъ оуставъ како подѡбаеѣтъ жити хрѣ́тіанинѣ. It elaborates and expands the topic of God's Ten Commandments, and has a strong moralizing strain, as evident in the following excerpt: **Законода́вецъ Мѡѵсеѣ** ре́кшоу и́лѣтѡ. се́ да прѣ́ лицемъ вашнмъ пѣ́тъ жн́зни и́ пѣ́тъ съмрътн. и́ потомъ и́збернѣ по́лезное. да жн́вь вѣ́дешн. It includes an explanation of the mode of calculating the day of the Pascha in the following brief paschalia (ff. 16v–17r): **Пасха́ліа** о́врѣ́тена на прѣ́стенн клеопáтрннѣ. вѣ́негà о́снѡвáніа по́лагаахѣ́ стлѣ́па кѡ́стантіна влѣ́гочстнѡваго. Съмо́трн ѡ́творѣн ѡ́цн кѡ́га ѣ́ дѣ́, и́ ѿ то́го днѣ́ ѡ́ктѡврѣ́ева съчѣ́тн рѣ́в днн. и́ тоу́ о́браще́шн непогрѣ́шено днѣ́ стѣ́ж пáсхы :~

– f. 18r – сказа́ніе кра́тцѣ́ кннѣ́сѣ́ сѣи. Content of the Nomocanon.

– f. 24r – Пра́вило ст҃ы́ а́плъ. и́ ст҃хъ зѣ́ съвѣ́ровъ . и́ и́ны ст҃хъ ѿцѣ́. въсе́мъ члѣ́кѡ́ на въсе́кѣ́ж потрѣ́бѣ́ж заповѣ́ѣ́ разлн́ны :~

Beginning – Я́зъ Пѣ́тръ и́ Пáвлѡ́, а́плы хѣ́ви.

– f. 28r – о́ кнáсѣ́ . и́ о́ тѣ́бѣ́ (f. 28v) и́же по́ вла́стнѣ́ж и́. и́ о́ ра́вѣ́ повѣ́леніе заповѣ́ди бѣ́жн :~

– f. 35r – о́ ро́днтелѣ́ и́ о́ члѣ́дѣ́ правіло ~

– f. 40v – іѡ́нна мнн́ха, члѣ́да вѣ́лікаго васі́ліа. и́же наречѣ́нь вѣ́ члѣ́до послѡ́ушáніа. о́ испѡвѣ́даннн та́инны́ грѣ́хѡ́ повѣ́неніе ѡ́цѣ́ дѣ́хѡ́вны́.

– f. 54v – о́ цркви́ и́ о́ стѣ́мъ прича́щеннн

- f. 56r – о́ по́стѣ вели́кы́ же и́ ма́лыхъ :—
- f. 60r – запо́вѣди ѿ оубѣи́ствны́хъ грѣсѣ́
- f. 66r – стѣхъ а́плѣ запо́вѣди, о́ съзѣ́ани цр́кѡвнѣмъ :—
- f. 67v – пра́вило о́ вѣроу́жцїи въ га́ди и́ звѣра. и́ часѡвы и́мжцїи. и́ дни, ѡ́вы зли. ѡ́вы же двѡбри. и́ о́ ины́хъ непѡбны́ —
- f. 68r – о́ малакїи
- f. 70v – запо́вѣди о́ мрѡ́щинахъ —
- f. 103r – ѡ́ пра́виль съвѡра антїо́хїискаго
- f. 119r – Па́кы се́ запо́вѣи́ и́ны ѡ́ за́кѡны́ кни́гъ. ѡ́ съро́ствѣ и́ о́ запо́рѣше́ныи бра́цѣ. и́ о́ рѣ́личны́ степе́ни ро́да. и́хже по́бае̄ блюсти ѡ́ стго́ крѡ́енїа и́ ѡ́ еже по па́лѣти крѡ́ве. въкѡ́кѣ же и́ о́ бра́чны́ ро́жакѡ́ :—
- f. 153r – а́ се́ па́кы о́ инѡ́кѡ́ и́ ѱре́е̄ прѡ́чѡа же гла́вы смѣ́реномѣ́ рїи. пове́лѣнїа стѣхъ ѡ́цѣ́ тїи. о́ приклю́чажцїихъ са́ въ инѡ́кѡ́ ѱре́е̄. и́ и́же по́ вла́стїа̄ сжцїи́ . и́ о́ разлі́чны́ съгрѣ́шенїи́. поо́ученїе̄ д̄шепо́лезно. трѣ́воу́жцїи́мъ па́стирѣ́ на кїи́ждо грѣ́. и́злѡ́жены на о́чищенїе̄. и́ зра́вїю̄ поло́женїе̄ —
- f. 176r – степе́ни ро́ствѡ́. и́ ѡ́ бра́цѣ́ за́кѡннѡмъ. и́ о́ еже безъ за́кѡна̄ поса́гажцїи́мъ. и́ о́ разлі́чи съро́ства̄ еже ѡ́ крѡ́ве и́ ѡ́ па́лѣти. и́де́же по́бае̄тъ бра́къ сътѡ́рити. и́ и́де́же не по́бае̄тъ. и́ и́де́же до̄ӣ ли́це ко̄е̄ ли́бо прїве́сти на вѣ́а̄ и́ ко̄е̄ не прїве́сти. и́ ко́то́раа̄ възвранѣ́тъ за́кѡнъ, и́ ко́то́рыӣ не възвранѣ́тъ. и́ ко́то́рыӣ расѣ́ждае̄тъ :— As it follows the table of contents preceding the Nomocanon, this text should be the last in it. Here we will include the next two, which usually accompany it in the copies.
- f. 180r – о́ пра́зникѡ́ и́ по́стѣ́ и́ квѡ́лнопрѣ́кловенїи́ възвраненїи́ или́ пове́лѣны́ выва́ти.
- f. 181v – ѡ́ запо́вѣ́ден стѣхъ а́плѣ :~. Coming under this rubric are a few more small fragments of miscellaneous content: separate rules of Sabbaths or Fathers of the Church; excerpts from vitae of St. Nicholas and St. Pachomius; a reading from the Lapsaik, etc.
- f. 188r – и́злѡ́женїе̄ о́ правосла́внѣ́ вѣ́рѣ. и́ о́ стѣ́ки и́ живѡтѡ́ро́ацѡ́ и́ е́диносѣ́жцїнѣ́ и́ не́раздѣ́ліа́мѣ́ трѡ́ци.
- f. 194r – и́злѡ́женїе̄ дрѡ́гое̄ ѡ́ іо́устннїа́на и́злѡ́жено са́дрѡ́жцѣ́ :~ The text ends on f. 196r around the middle of the page, of which the second half is empty.
- 2. f. 196v – the beginning of a new text without a heading: a dogmatic definition related to the Holy Trinity.  
Beginning – Цр́ѣ́ вѣ́кѡ́ѡ́ тѡ́ворецъ́ нѣ́боу́ и́ зѣ́мли. мо́рю же́ и́ въ́сеӣ въ́се́ленѣ́ки. The end of this text is on f. 206r, and the rest of the page is empty.
- 3. f. 206v – the first patriarchs of Jerusalem. There is no original title – the title was added in red ink at a later date and by the same hand that wrote the marginal notes. In the margin, there is an added note regarding the patriarch Narcissus; the

note is written on five lines in red ink, probably by the main copyist Hierodeacon Hilarion:  $\text{ѿ вѣти накіи .лѣтомъ ѿ спїтїе/ныа срѣти. вѣ вѣ лѣтѣ рѣ ти :— (=106).$

4. f. 207r – **Сказанїе ст҃хъ въ сеіенскѣ седмь съборѣ.** A tale of the seven ecumenical councils.

5. f. 220r – a chronicle note. The text is known and was published by Ioan Bogdan<sup>7</sup>.

Beginning – в лѣтѣ  $\text{ꙗ$ ца (6961=1453) вѣ архїеіпкпъ кѣ іѡсѣ ѿ нѣмїескѣ монастырѣ..

6. f. 220v – Moldavian chronicle published by I. Bogdan<sup>8</sup>.

Beginning/Title – хрїтіанстїи црїе дѣ съборѣ.

7. f. 226r – **Патрїарси ѿ дѣ съборѣ въ кѡстѣтїа грѣ.** A tale and list of the archbishops of Constantinople and the ecumenical patriarchs from Mitrophanes (306–314) to Philotheus Kokkinos (1354–1355, 1364–1376). The text was not published by Ioan Bogdan and remains unpublished to date. We present it in its entirety, and with an accompanying study, in the section on the historical texts in the manuscript.

8. f. 228r – marginal note (see the respective place!).

9. f. 228v – encyclical epistle of the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem concerning the Council of Florence (April 1443). The text is written in black ink; the title and some of the initials are in red ink. In the outer corner of the page, below, on the left, there is a calculation of the year, written in the 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> century:

6951

5508

1443

This refers to the month of April 6951 since the creation of the world, which corresponds to April 1443 AD.

10. f. 232r – **Повѣсть полѣзнаа ѿ латїнѣ когдѣ ѡлжчїшѣ ѿ грѣкѣ. и ѿ стѣ ѡжїа цркве. и како изѡборѣтѡшѣ себѣ ѣреси еже ѡпрѣснѡчнѣ слоужити. и хѣла на ст҃го дѣха ←.** This is the *Useful Tale about the Latins* – a polemical anti-Latin work. As already pointed out, Angel Nikolov has made a comprehensive study on this text, together with a critical edition of the text; special attention is devoted to this particular copy<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> I. BOGDAN, *Cronice inedite atingăntoare la istoria romînilor*, Bucureşti 1895, p. 96, translation on pp. 101–102. In Ioan Bogdan's publication, the text of this note (or notes) is added to the chronicle, which actually comes after it.

<sup>8</sup> I. BOGDAN, *Cronice inedite*, pp. 91–101 (text and translation).

<sup>9</sup> А. НИКОЛОВ, *Повест полезна за латините. Паметник на средновековната славянска полемика срещу католицизма*, София 2011, see particularly pp. 79–85.

– f. 254v – ѿ φράσης . ἢ ѿ πρώτης λατινᾶς ~.

– f. 260r – ἤκει въ сѣхъ ѿца нашего нѣкѡна. An excerpt from Nikon of the Black Mountain against the Latins.

– f. 262v – ἡνα повѣ ннκήφωρα κληста. ὁ βέρκ χβ'ѣ' ~.

11. f. 263v – Слово ѿ нѣмѣчьскѡ прѣлѣщени, како наоучи гѣгнивыи Пётръ ѣреси —. “A sermon against the German error, or How Peter Mongos taught the heresy” – a polemical anti-Latin work.

12. f. 265r – Слово ѿца нашего фѣѡсіа пеще' скаго нгоумѡна. къ нѣславоу кнѡс (added in the margin: ὁ латинѡ). The text is on a similar topic as the preceding one and is a Russified variant of the history of Peter Mongos.

13. f. 272r – 'О исправленн мѡло вѣ крѡцѣ вѣрѣ. ἢ ὁ ннзложенн нечѣстнѣвѣ ѣретнѣ . ἢ кын ѡ ѣретнѣ ἢ ѡ кждоу гѡвн сѡ . сѣлоучн бо сѡ ѡ днѣн нѣкынѣ сѣвраніоу сѣмоу бытн ἢ глатнѣ ѡ сн ~ Added to this text are some erotapocritic fragments by St. Cyril of Alexandria.

14. f. 281v – Повѣданіе въ крѡцѣ . како ἢ коего радн дѣла ѡлжчншѡ ѡ нѣ латинѣ . ἢ нзвръженн выша ѡ прѣвѣнца своегѡ ἢ ѡ кнѣгъ помѣнннѣ . ἢдеже пишѣ сѡ право /f. 282r – missing sheets/. In the left margin below the text, there is an indication written on 6 lines in red ink: михаила сиггѣла іерѡлмскаго нзложеніе православнои вѣрѣ —

15. f. 282r – ...пннцн . ѡвн же бѣголюбнн . ѡвн нечѣстнѣнн . ѡвн же хрѣтіанѣ . ѡвн оубо сѣтъ дроушн . ѡвн же блнжннн . ѡвн же неклѡчннн . ѡвн же вѣсѣчьскын ѡтоужѣнн . ѡвн же, ἄще ἢ нѣмѡщнн ѡбачѣ сѣпрѡтнѣвннцн ~ The beginning is missing, due to missing sheets from the manuscript. What follows are fragments from dogmatic anti-heretical works by St. Athanasius of Alexandria, St. Anastasius of Antioch, St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Basil the Great, St. John Chrysostom, St. John Damascene, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Anastasius of Sinai. We present some of them with the titles.

– f. 282v – лѣствнчннково

– f. 282v – хрѣтннѣ . вѣроуан едннѣ бытн вѣтѣво въ равнѣ властн ѿца ἢ снѡ ἢ сѣго дѣха . чрѣрѣннаа слѡва ѣретннѣ . ~

– f. 284v – анастѡсіа патрїарха . блжѣнаго [бжїего?] града велнкыѡ андіѡхіѡ, ἢ кѣрнаѡ алеѣанѣрѣскаго, нзлѡженіе въ кратцѣ ὁ вѣрѣ по вѣпрошенїѡ ~

– f. 287v – сѣго васнліѡ, ѡ слѡва еже на дѣта ἢ енѡмїѡ ~

– f. 287v – тогѡже ѡ посланїѡ еже послѡ къ вратѣ своемоу, грнгрїорїоу епѡпу ннссїнскомоу . ѡ разѣленн сѣщѣства ἢ сѣстаѡва •

– f. 288r – Златооубство, ѡ вѣсѣ сѣго дѣха ~

– f. 289r – велнкааго васнліѡ ὁ сѣтѣмѣ дѣсѣ.

The last rubric (ff. 302v–303r) concerns the continuity between the Old and New Testaments and seems to announce the Old Testament Apocrypha that follow.

16. f. 303v – marginal note.

17. f. 304r – *Ἰβελήνιε ὤψιδυ ἡσμεμοῦ ἀβραάμ ὡ ζάβ'ετ'ε ἀρχιετρατήγῳ μηχανῳ*  
:~ The Testament of Abraham.

18. f. 316r – *οὐκάζη κάκο σὺτβόρη γῆ βράετβο κρῆετνοε* :~ This is a copy of part of *Tale of the Tree of the Cross* by Priest Jeremiah. F. 319v is empty.

The latter two texts represent the apocryphal line of the manuscript. Their presence in this collection is justified by asserting the idea of salvation of souls by God's judgement on people, which is related here to human justice on earth.

19. f. 320r – *ῶ σῦβραηῖα ῥέκше ῶ τήпнка εῖтыж гворы . пражннцн ὀ ῥάβοу'е* :~ :~  
:~ A collective rubric, in which the highlights are a monthly list of remembrances of saints from Mount Athos and anti-heretical fragments against the Armenians, which, according to the text, are drawn from the rules of ecumenical patriarch St. Nicephorus. The main reason for this mention is the fact that the text basically deals with the Orthodox fasts and feasts, and hence refutes the Armenian Artsivur fast.

20. f. 337r – *ὀ млъчаннᾰ ἄввᾰ гρηгῴрῖа сннанта*. Only the title is written on this page. The text itself begins on f. 337v and continues to f. 338r, being written in a different hand. Above it, in the margin, there is added: *д'канῖа б'гооу'гᾰнаа, троу'п'кнῖе*.

Beginning – *Пр'вкоε о'во по'вае млъч'алникъ . гак' ὀснованῖе н'м'ктн*.

The following sheets are empty or filled with marginal notes of a later date.

## 2. Marginal notes and additions

1. On the back of the front cover, there is a note in Romanian, written on four lines and dating from the 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> century:

Pravila sfinților apostoli.

sec. XVI (și XVIII) –

(v. ff. 220, 228, 302v, 337 și 337v).

Under this note, there is another, written on three lines:

*чЕТЕ ЛАВЗИ*

*ЧЕЕЛА ЧЕ ЕШИ ФИРІЧЕ ДЕ ῶМВ<sup>А</sup>*

*ТАРЕ ВЧВМЬ*

Below, in a different hand, four lines in Romanian, in Cyrillic script:

*+ ТѠТЬ ῶМВЛ ДЕ СВѠ ТЪРВ*

*СѠАРЕ ДАКᾰ ВИНЕ ЧАСᾰ МѠАРЕ*

*ТѠТЬ ῶМВ<sup>А</sup> ДЕСВТЬ*

*Тарасіе де Фасᾰ*

The marginal note indicates the name of the copyist: Tarasius of Thassos. This information allows us to draw some conclusions regarding the manuscript. It obviously had a turbulent history and traveled through different ethnic environments, as confirmed by other marginal notes and by the use of three alphabets (Cyrillic, Latin and Greek) in the notes. Such traveling of books can be considered part of the processes that created the shared religious-cultural environment of Southeastern Europe.

2. f. 1r – two illegible notes on the side and below the decoration. Top left side: illegible and cut off. The legible part is: тно грѣшнѣ.

Below, under the interlacing frame (on a single line):

чине нѣ съ ва лѣса дѣ тоатѣ нѣ ва пѣтѣ пречепе пе двѣ<sup>м</sup>

3. f. 1v – a note on 13 lines, probably dating from the 19<sup>th</sup> century:

кѣтѣ славе ав кѣтѣ Гедѣ<sup>м</sup> лѣ<sup>м</sup> варлѣ<sup>м</sup>

съ съ шіе тѣ авме

↪ нѣнѣ чинѣ марѣ

↪ іако добла марѣ

↪ стѣм оудобреніе

↪ вѣспрїими виФлема бѣжїи митрополїи

↪ по рождествѣ твоѣ бѣгоневѣто влѣце

↪ поѣ хѣ петра іакова іѡана

↪ іави сѣ кѣтантинѣ црю

↪ прѣвнѣ ѡче бѣгоное Фѣдѣ

↪ прѣвнѣ ѡче изъидѣ бежанїе и правенѣ

↪ инѣкѣ множѣтва наставника

↪ видѣ елїсаветѣ кѣ двѣ марїе .

↪ шї ѡ многогладница кѣ тоатѣ славе дѣ вїнѣ

4. f. 5r – погыблѣ ѣ (beside the text: сѣмь погыбуоль ѣсть)

5. f. 10v – instruction written on four lines in red ink: ѣ нарѣ<sup>т</sup> сѣ чѣ<sup>а</sup> стѣго васїліа (beside the text: іѡаннѣ мнѣ оученикѣ стѣго васїліа).

6. f. 26r – instruction on two lines, written in red ink: ѡ празнїцѣ стѣхѣ аплѣ (beside the text – и стѣхѣ и вѣсѣхвалнѣ аплѣ петра и павла . сѣ празнїкѣ съврѣшати и почитати).

7. f. 26v – a note on eight lines, written in red ink: не тѣчїа мирѣнѣ . нѣ инѣкѣ вѣ пѣстынѣ праздновати и почитати ~ (as far as to the text: вѣ сѣ оубо вѣсѣ днѣ вѣ нѣ же празновати повѣлѣхѣ вѣсѣкѣмоу хрѣтїанїноу...).

8. f. 34r – addition/note on line 26, written in black ink. This seems to be an omission of the rule in the text:

Дїакѣ вѣ оустнѣ ѡскврѣннѣ сѣ да изврѣже/т сѣ . чтѣже ѣ в<sup>а</sup> сѣ<sup>а</sup> нынѣ глѣтѣ, ѡще положїи глѣтѣ вѣ оустнѣ жѣнскаго сѣма . и вѣ<sup>а</sup> истицїанїе . сѣ тлѣквѣ

въ оустнѣ ѡсквернивыи сѧ . азъ оубо не пишю . та же и вѣдѣи гавѣ . съдѣавыи тоѡ,  
и прїемлаи съ бѣгъ исповѣданїе . рассждѣи.

It is located in the margin next to the following rules: “Дїакноу же аще приключит сѧ сїе...” and “Іерей аще влѣдитъ, да изворъжет сѧ. а жена ѡгдѣ аще хоще ѡставиши ѡ цѣломъдрїа ради своего...” It seems the text of the note should be between them.

9. f. 53r – ѡ мѣжкълѡжствѣ — (next to the text: Мѣжкълѡжество же на три члѣсти и вещи бывае...).

10. f. 59v – an addition to an omission in the text: василїе (next to: и глеть сѣ тѣи великии сѣи). This refers to St. Basil the Great, whose name is omitted.

11. f. 63r – an addition of 8 lines, written in black ink, except for the first letter, “a” in red: а оуби выи видѣль ѣ совѡж. како изволи сїце да ѡпасеть / сѣбе :— (next to the text about the murder: видѣхѡ же и другоѡ оубїиство выважше...).

12. f. 69r – added three lines in red ink: еже ѣ паче ѣства (next to one of the subdivisions of ѡ малакїи. ест же и другоги грѣ содѡскы. еже съ женож лѣкати, и въ афѣдровнѣ влѣдити. еже ѣ велико везакѡнїе).

13. f. 78r – indication on two lines in red: ѡ прѣхѡженїи іерей — (it signals the text: іерей аще прѣиде въ инж зѣмла или въ инж грѣ, или вѣ такова. да не ѡставае слоужити).

14. f. 85r – addition/clarification in red: въ з днѣ (next to the text: аще ли жена рѡди на сѣжѧ пасхѧ, то до сѣмага днѣ да оумыет сѧ водою).

15. f. 85v – indication in the upper margin in red: приѣмши прѣже млтвж: — (placed under the text: аще іерей крѣтитъ кого либо третїцеж. да ѡлжнит сѧ ѡ іерейства).

16. f. 86r – added in black ink: и ѡпїе сѧ (next to the text: іерей аще неслоужитъ литоургїѧ или дїаконъ. нж тако ѡбыаетъ сѧ и ѡблѣвает сѧ).

17. f. 101r – clarification written in black on two lines: нж даши бѧ ради (written next to the text, that some monks, out of self-renunciation and heroism, have entirely given up drinking wine: тако прѣбываѡ подвига ради великаго и добраго, желѡше бѧ ради).

18. f. 101v – праѡена (next to the text: съвра въ константїни градѣ. сѣга и правослѡвнаѡ Ѳеѡра црїца).

19. f. 104v – two lines written in black ink: съ правослѡныи (next to the text: да причѣстит сѧ съврѣшенными хрѣтіанами...).

20. f. 119v – clarification on one line, written in black ink: ѡвнѣ свѣтѣ (to: еже ѡ брачнаго рѡждѣства знажци сѧ. сирѣчь соугѡубы свѣтѡвѣ).

21. f. 121r – clarification on two lines, written in black ink: такожд и вра (next to the text: а дѣды къ вноукоу второу сжть степенї).





37. f. 222v – ψ̄ м̄а. Written next to the text about John Tzimiskes, but it is a correction of the number.

Further below on the same page, written on three lines in black, across from Isaac Komnenos (ἱσακίη и): κώμνιη β̄ λ̄β̄ и λ̄иъ, г̄.

38. f. 223r – correction on one line, in red: васіліӣ і̄ω̄ к̄̄ (written above: іωάνнь вагр̄δ̄р̄ѡ̄н̄и ӣ с̄т̄і л̄ѣ).

39. f. 224r – indication/heading on two lines at the beginning of the presentation about Moldavia: за странъ мѡд̄д̄скаа.

40. f. 226r – written in the margin across from the text about the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> ecumenical councils: Нестѡрїа̄ мр̄т̄скаго. ѡ̄ антїѡхїа̄ вѡ с̄ща. кѡ̄стантїнова же гр̄аа стѡ̄. не бл̄гочестївна в̄р̄жче на вьвша —.

41. f. 227r – two additions/corrections in the presentation about the ecumenical patriarchs:

written across from the place where Patriarch Ignatius is mentioned<sup>11</sup>: ї̄ л̄ѣ с̄нь мїхаїла ц̄р̄ѣ. ӣ вьв̄̄ нїкїфѡра ц̄р̄ѣ (the underlined text of the number and years is a correction, written in red ink, of the indicated 11 years in the text proper).

written across from the place where Patriarch Stephan is mentioned<sup>12</sup>: с̄нь васіліа̄ ц̄р̄ѣ.

42. f. 228r – a long marginal note<sup>13</sup>, written in a different hand in black ink; only the invocation cross and the initial И are in red:

† Изволенїемь ѡ̄ца̄ ӣ с̄ь послѣшенїем̄ с̄на̄ ӣ с̄ьвр̄шенїем̄ с̄т̄го̄ д̄ха̄ . р̄аченїем̄ б̄ж̄твєны̄. расп̄але же д̄х̄ѡ̄нїӣ. см̄ѣренїем̄ грїгорїем̄ мїрополӣ с̄ѡчѣсскыи. жєлаа̄ж нап̄аати с̄а б̄ж̄тєнаго̄ Кнїг̄ж сїа̄ рєкѡмаа̄ пр̄авїӣ ӣ приплѡдїти къ ст̄ѡрїцѡ̄ рєннѡе, д̄арѡватїӣ ѡ̄ пр̄ѣм̄лїтїваго̄ г̄а̄ і̄ѵ̄ х̄а̄. т̄ѣм̄же пот̄ж̄цатєнѡ̄ ӣз̄ьѡ̄вр̄ѣтє. ӣ ӣспїс̄а̄ ӣ о̄ӯкрасӣ еӣ по с̄е̄ д̄аде̄ іа̄ по с̄ьм̄р̄ти с̄ѡеӣ в̄т̄ м̄лѣж̄ с̄ебє̄ ӣ п̄амє̄ рѡдїтелє̄ с̄ѡӣ в̄т̄ ц̄ркѡ̄ ӣдє̄ е̄ х̄р̄а̄ в̄т̄з̄нєнїа̄ г̄а̄ нашє̄ і̄ѵ̄ х̄а̄ в̄т̄ ѡ̄б̄ыт̄ѣлӣ п̄ад̄осѡт̄р̄арѡвѡ̄<sup>14</sup>. а̄ ктѡ̄ поквєӣ с̄а̄ в̄т̄з̄ан

<sup>11</sup> On St. Ignatius, ecumenical patriarch (847–858, 867–877), see: *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford 1991, vol. II, col. 893–894; *Prosopographie der Mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, Berlin–New York 2000, Bd. I/2, no. 2666, pp. 173–179; Вл. СТАНКОВИЇ, *Цариградски патријарси и цареви Македонске династије*, Београд 2003, p. 40 sq. et passim.

<sup>12</sup> On Stephan I, ecumenical patriarch (886–893), son of the basileus Basil I, see: Вл. СТАНКОВИЇ, *Цариградски патријарси и цареви Македонске династије*, pp. 230–236.

<sup>13</sup> The marginal note is published, together with the Romanian translation and cited literature in: *Însemnări de pe manuscrise și cărți vechi din țara Moldovei. Un corpus*, eds. I. САПРОȘU, E. СHIA-BURU, vol. I (1429–1750), Iași 2008, pp. 77–78.

<sup>14</sup> Sic! P. P. Panaitescu reads it as *наздо съраровѡ* (P. P. PANAITESCU, *Catalogul Ms. Slave*, vol. III, a type-written copy in the reading room for manuscripts of the Library of the Romanian Academy, p. 141). The word is translated as Pantocratorului. That is how it is printed in: *Însemnări de pe manuscrise și cărți vechi din țara Moldovei*, vol. I, p. 78. It may be a mistaken form of “Pantocrator” or of

ѿ илѣ и<sup>н</sup>з<sup>м</sup>ѣнѣнѣ и<sup>н</sup> прѡд<sup>д</sup>ати и<sup>н</sup>дѣ . а<sup>н</sup> к<sup>т</sup>о да в<sup>с</sup>дѣ прѡклѣ ѿ г<sup>д</sup>а б<sup>г</sup>а с<sup>в</sup>ѣтвѡшаго н<sup>б</sup>о и<sup>н</sup> з<sup>м</sup>ѣл<sup>л</sup>. и<sup>н</sup> ѿ тѡ пр<sup>ч</sup>т<sup>і</sup> его м<sup>т</sup>р<sup>е</sup>. и<sup>н</sup> ѿ д<sup>л</sup> е<sup>н</sup>ли<sup>с</sup>ти. и<sup>н</sup> т<sup>н</sup>и<sup>н</sup> с<sup>т</sup>ы<sup>н</sup> ѡц<sup>н</sup>ъ и<sup>н</sup> в<sup>ъ</sup> ник<sup>е</sup>и. и<sup>н</sup> ѿ наш<sup>е</sup> с<sup>л</sup>ѣб<sup>р</sup>ен<sup>і</sup>а да не в<sup>с</sup>дѣ прѡщ<sup>е</sup> ам<sup>н</sup>и — / в<sup>ъ</sup> л<sup>ѡ</sup> з<sup>д</sup>ѣ (=7075=1567).

43. f. 243r – indication written in red: повѣсть — (next to: ѡ в<sup>л</sup>г<sup>р</sup>ѣ).

44. f. 246r – сар<sup>а</sup>кыни. The designation сар<sup>а</sup>цины is present in the text, and we may ask who made the correction and why. Was it a Greek? Because this is a Greek pronunciation.

45. f. 248r – note in black ink: placed in brackets and crossed out: з<sup>н</sup> прѣвн<sup>н</sup>е (рѣ).

46. f. 259r – a corrected number of the year of Constantine Monomachos and Patriarch Michael: the year written in the text: “в<sup>ъ</sup> л<sup>ѡ</sup> з<sup>д</sup>ѣ” (= 6552) is corrected to: х<sup>ѣ</sup>г<sup>ъ</sup> (= 663). This is probably a correction of the last two digits of the year.

47. f. 265r – a note on two lines in red, next to the sermon of St. Theodosius of Pechora: ѡ л<sup>а</sup>тин<sup>н</sup>ѡ.

48. f. 273v – note on four lines, written in black ink, referring to the uncreated nature of the Son: ѿ и<sup>н</sup> в<sup>ѡ</sup> с<sup>в</sup>ѣр<sup>о</sup>рен<sup>о</sup>е, л<sup>ѣ</sup>ч<sup>ы</sup>ш<sup>е</sup>е р<sup>о</sup>ж<sup>ѣ</sup>н<sup>н</sup>о<sup>е</sup>.

49. ff. 275v–276r – indication about the kings under which the councils took place (only the first council, under Constantine, is on f. 275v, the rest are on f. 276r):

а<sup>н</sup> в<sup>ѣ</sup>л<sup>і</sup>к<sup>ы</sup> к<sup>ѡ</sup>с<sup>т</sup>а<sup>н</sup>т<sup>і</sup>н<sup>ъ</sup> —  
в<sup>ъ</sup> ф<sup>е</sup>ѡ<sup>с</sup>т<sup>і</sup>е в<sup>ѣ</sup>л<sup>і</sup>к<sup>ы</sup>  
г<sup>ъ</sup> ф<sup>е</sup>ѡ<sup>с</sup>т<sup>і</sup>е м<sup>а</sup>л<sup>ы</sup>н  
д<sup>ъ</sup> м<sup>а</sup>р<sup>к</sup>і<sup>а</sup>н<sup>а</sup> б<sup>л</sup>а<sup>г</sup>о<sup>г</sup>  
е<sup>ъ</sup> и<sup>в</sup>с<sup>т</sup>і<sup>н</sup>і<sup>а</sup> в<sup>ѣ</sup>л<sup>і</sup>к<sup>ы</sup>  
з<sup>ъ</sup> к<sup>ѡ</sup>с<sup>т</sup>а<sup>н</sup>т<sup>і</sup> б<sup>р</sup>а<sup>д</sup>а<sup>т</sup>ы<sup>н</sup>  
и<sup>н</sup> и<sup>р</sup>і<sup>н</sup>а м<sup>і</sup>т<sup>и</sup> е<sup>г</sup>ѡ

50. f. 277v – a picture of a hand pointing a finger and an indication, written on three lines in red ink: с<sup>ѣ</sup> на в<sup>ъ</sup>т<sup>ѡ</sup>р<sup>ѣ</sup> с<sup>ѣ</sup>в<sup>ѡ</sup>р<sup>ѣ</sup>.

51. f. 278r – indication written on two lines in red ink: на р<sup>ѣ</sup>т<sup>і</sup>ѣ с<sup>ѣ</sup> —.

52. f. 279r – note about the heretic Mament, written on nine lines in red ink: с<sup>ѣ</sup> в<sup>ѡ</sup> і<sup>ер</sup>л<sup>и</sup>м<sup>л</sup>ѣн<sup>ъ</sup> р<sup>ѡ</sup>д<sup>ѡ</sup> в<sup>ы</sup>. д<sup>р</sup>ѣв<sup>н</sup>іи е<sup>р</sup>ет<sup>і</sup> с<sup>і</sup>р<sup>ѣ</sup> прѣв<sup>н</sup>ы м<sup>а</sup>м<sup>і</sup>ѣт<sup>ъ</sup> с<sup>ѣ</sup>л<sup>о</sup>ж<sup>ѣ</sup> с<sup>а</sup> п<sup>ѣ</sup>р<sup>с</sup>и.

53. f. 279v – a note next to the writing about the heretic Paul, a line in red ink: и<sup>н</sup> в<sup>ѣ</sup>щ<sup>і</sup>.

54. f. 280r – a note written in red next to the text about St. Cyril of Alexandria: ѡ т<sup>ѣ</sup>ж<sup>ѣ</sup>.

and shortly below, next to the writing about the Son and the Word: ѿ з<sup>д</sup> ѡ х<sup>ѣ</sup>г<sup>ъ</sup> —.

“Pantosotir”. On this question, see E. TURDEANU, *Le Sbornik dit ‘de Bisericani’: Fausse identité d’un manuscrit remarquable*, “Revue des études slaves” 44. 1–4, 1965, pp. 37–40.

55. f. 283r – two notes written in red:

next to the writing about Arius: Ѡ ТОМВ ЖЕ АРІЕ ПРЕЗВѢТѢ СЫИ АЛЕЖАНЪСКИА ЦРКВЕ.

in the lower margin, under the writing about Eunomius: БѢ ЕУНОМІЕ ГАЛЪНИИ СЫИ, КИЗИКЪ ЕПЪ. ГОРША СЪЛѠ Ѡ АРІА, НЕПѠВНА ѠЦѢ ЛААШЕ А СНА :—.

56. f. 284r – written in red ink in the upper margin, concerning the birth of the Son from the Father: НЕРОЖЕНО РОЖЕНО ИСХОДНО.

57. f. 287r – note written in red on six lines, regarding the Holy Trinity: ЕСТЬВО ВѠ ТРЦА А НЕ ЛИЦИ, ГЛѠ. И ЕДИНОСЖИШЕСТВО.

58. f. 289r – in black ink, next to St. Basil's writing on the Holy Ghost: ἀθανάσιε. The note may have been written by a Greek; in the manuscript there are other such notes written in the two alphabets.

59. f. 289v – a note, next to the text about controversy with the Montanists, written on five lines in black ink: БѢ СЪЗДАВЪ ЧЛКА ПРѢ ВЪЗЕ Ѡ ЗЕМЛА И ѠВРАЗѠ СВОИ ПОЧЪ ЕГѠ —.

60. f. 292r – a note on two lines, written in black ink, next to the text about understanding God: И СНА НЕ БЫВАѢ.

61. f. 294v – a hard-to-read note, written in red next to the text concerning Eriphanus of Cyprus: ПОКРЫВ ГНИЖЪ ВЖТВЪ И ПАКЪ НЕ ѠПНЕ НАП ЖЕ САТ.

62. f. 301r – indication on four lines, in red ink: ДО ЖЕ ВѠ КВНЕ БГОСЛО/ВІΟΥ.

63. f. 301v – note in red ink: ГДЪ ПРРКЪ —.

64. f. 303v – a large marginal note-colophon, written by the copyist of the manuscript in a legible short hand in black ink, with only three initials in red. It is framed in a red border with modest ornamentation. Below, to the right, next to the number of the tetrad, which ends with – 36 (АѢ) – a hand from the 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> century has calculated the year of the date in the note:

7065

5508

1557

The text of the marginal note<sup>15</sup>:

ИЗВОЛЕНІЕ ѠЦА . И СЪ ПОСПѢШЕНІЕ СНА . И СЪВЕРШЕНІЕ СТГО АХА . НАЧА СІА КНИГА НА ИМА ПРАВИЛА СТЫ АПЪ. И СЪВЕРШИ ПОВЕЛЕНІЕ И ДААНІЕ ПРѢВѠЩЕННА МИРОПОАИТА СОУЧАСКА КЪ ГРИГѠРИА . ЕЖЕ И НѢМЕСКА ЗОВѢ СА . И ДАДЕ ІА ВЪ МОНАСТЫ ИДЕ ХРА Е ВЪЗНЕНІЕ ГА БА И СПСА НАШЕ ІУ ХА . ДА БЖДЕ ЕМЪ ВЪ ВѢКЪ ВѢКА ПАМА . А КТО РАЗОРИ НАША ДААНІА БЕЗ НА ЕЛВЕНІА, ДА БЖДЕ ПРОКЛА Ѡ СПСА НАШЕГО ІУ ХА, И Ѡ ПРЧТАА Е МТРЪ . И Ѡ В'СѢХ СТЫ . И ИСПИСА СА РЖКОЖ ЕРОДІАКОНА ІЕЛАРИѠНА, ВЧЕНИКА

<sup>15</sup> The colophon was published, together with the Romanian translation, and cited literature, in: *Însemnări de pe manuscrise și cărți vechi din țara Moldovei*, vol. I, p. 72.

тѡгоже мнрополита . въ дни алеѡдра воѣ/вѡ . в лѣто 7224 (7065 CM = 1557 P. Xp.) мѣца а̄ с̄ (или е̄).

65. f. 327v – an indication written on two lines in black ink next to the text about how the impious Armenians fast: ѡ а̀рмѣнѣхъ :

66. f. 333v – note on the side of the sheet, written in a later hand, in black ink:

Пи аз мнѡгѡгрѣшнѣи / ѡриен ѡрѣтъ – there follows something resembling a signature лѣ 7224 а̄ : л̄ ѡ іасхъ.

7265 Aug. 30

5508

1757

67. f. 338r – later note: ѡли рѣдѣли дѣканіѡ радї часѡ.

Below, in the same hand, in Greek and Cyrillic letters – φίλοφειω̄ δίακονω̄ .

On the side, a note dating from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, by the monk Iorest, written in mixed Latin and Cyrillic letters:

ĬOREST – ѣрмонѡв / 7224 а̄ л̄ ѡ іасхъ

Below, calculation of the year:

7265 Aug. 30

5508

1757

68. f. 338v – note written in Romanian, in Cyrillic script:

Правла ачатъж ѡѣ а свѣтѣ мѣстири нѣѡцѡ шѣ фѣиѣ стрикатъшѣ делегатъ ѡ а̀ легатъѣ ѣ смерени Іѡн [лѣ 7224] (7224 = 1716/7). The term “humble” is usually used by a metropolitan bishop in reference to himself, but we cannot say with certainty that the reference here is to a metropolitan.

69. f. 339r – several later notes in Romanian, in Cyrillic script:

† Дѡне милвещи не пѣроу рѡга сѣлви ма̀ко шѣ а̀ тѣтѡрѡ сѣиѡло тѣ (written on two lines).

а̀ шѣиѡцѣ сѣ фѣе кѣ а̀трѡѡ а̀ сѣ чѣсѡри а̀рѡв іѡ мнѡтѣ сѣ сѣмѡшк (calculation of the hours and minutes in the year) “In știință să fie că întru un an sânt ceasuri 1162?, iar minute sînt 249 720” (f. 339).

70. f. 339v – two writings, of a later date and in Romanian, in Cyrillic script: one of them is a list on 11 line, and under it is a one-line note.

71. The back of the back cover. There are several spoiled notes, which are illegible. In addition:

Чине нѡ сѣ ва лѣсѡ де тѡате, а̀ причепе не Дѣнезев, нѣ поате тѡтѣ ѡмѡ

Чѣстѣтѣ (written vertically)

Сѡрѣ дѣ а̀тѣ пѣтрѡѡ а̀чѣл дѣсѡате