Some Notes on the Life and Works of Maxim the Greek

(*Michael Trivolis, ca 1470 – Maksim Grek, 1555/1556*). Part 1: Biography

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Introduction

The paper focuses on the presently available data on the life and the work of Maxim the Greek. It sheds new light on already confirmed facts and stresses the main problematic topics of the scholarly treatment of his biography. Our conclusions will be based on manuscripts which belong to the period of the saint's life or soon afterwards, which means that we are not dealing with manuscripts dating from the late seventeenth century and later.¹

1 The Biography²

Michael Trivolis was born around 1470 in the town of Arta in the Trivolis family from Irina and Emmanuel. His parents took responsibility for his education which, as it seems, corresponded to the Byzantine system of higher education.

- 1 In seventeenth century his manuscripts had been corrected because of their own purposes by two opposite parties of the Church schism (see further A.T. Шашков, "Максим Грек и идеологическая борьба в России во второй половине XVII – начале XVIII в (подделка и ее разоблачение)" [A.T. Shashkov, "Maksim the Greek and the Ideological Struggle in Russia in the Second Half of the 17th – the early 18th cent."], in: *ТОДРЛ*, vol. 33, Leningrad, 1979, pp. 80–88; idem, *Сочинения Максима Грека в старообрядческой рукописной традиции и идеологическая борьба в России во второй половине XVII – первой половине XVIII в.* [The Works of Maksim the Greek in the Old Believers' Manuscript Tradition and the Ideological Struggle in Russia in the Second Half of the 17th – the First Half of the 18th cent.], PhD Thesis, Sverdlovsk, 1982, pp. 216–220).
- 2 Elie Denisssoff's monograph still remains the main source for the biography of the Athonite monk: *Maxime le Grec et l'Occident. Contribution à l'histoire de la pensée religieuse et philo-*

The small town of Arta (famous for public processions of Marian icons³ soon after the end of the age of the iconoclasm in 843) had a metropolia dependent on the Patriarchate of Constantinople.⁴ It was in Arta, which was the capital of the Despotate of Epiros, where after the period between 1171 and 1214 without a Byzantine emperor in Constantinople, another Greek court was established. It was the period when, before the Latin conquest of 1204, only half of the population in the area of Constantinople managed to migrate to north-western Greece – the highland area of Epiros, Acarnania, and Aetolia. While the Latin kingdom (with Baldwin of Flanders and the other part of Constantinople) was allotted to the Venetians, the Byzantines still held Epiros and Nicaea.

In Arta, Nicephorus Doukas and his wife Anna Palaiologina had built the five-domed Parigoritissa (dedicated to the Theotokos of Consolation) church (1284–1296), with the intention of covering the aims of funerary ritual duty. She also had established in the village nearby, called Vlacherna, the Monastery and the Church of Panagia of Blachernae (1250–1260)⁵ with frescoes depicting the processions in Constantinople.

In 1461, Arta was conquered by the Ottomans. Several violent Turkish invasions led to serious damage of Christian monuments. With regard to the number of destroyed icons, showing faces with blind (black) eyes, this region could be compared only to the destruction by the Ottomans a century later in the Balkan countries, especially in Bosnia.⁶

1.1 *The Youth*

Michael Trivolis had never mentioned other than the Greek sources of his early education. His bibliophile uncle Demetri Trivolis, who had well-established

sophique de Michel Trivolis, Paris – Louvain, 1943. For the most complete bibliography of Russian publications, see: Н.В. Синицына, *Максим Грек в России* [N.V. Sinitsyna, *Maksim the Greek in Russia*], Moscow, 1977; eadem, “Новые данные о российском периоде жизни преподобного Максима Грека: (материалы для научной биографии)” [“New Data on the Russian Period of the Life of St. Maksim the Greek (Materials for the Scholarly Biography)”], *Вестник церковной истории*, 4 (2006), pp. 221–236; eadem, *Максим Грек* [Maksim the Greek], Moscow, 2008; cf. also: eadem, *Сказания о преподобном Максиме Греке (XVI–XVII вв.)* [Narrations on St. Maksim the Greek (16th–17th cent.)], Москва, 2006.

3 A. Cameron, *The Byzantines*, West Sussex, 2010, p. 105.

4 R. Janin, *Les églises orientales et les rites orientaux*, Paris, 1955, p. 521.

5 M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, “The Basilissa Anna Palaiologina of Arta and the Monastery of Vlacherna,” in: *Les femmes et le monachisme byzantin: Actes du Symposium d'Athènes, 28–29 Mars 1988*, ed. J.Y. Perrault Athens, 1991, pp. 43–49.

6 Cf. L. Bréhier, *Vie et mort de Byzance*, p. 360.

lished links with the Italian coast, offered the twenty year old Michael an education that led him to Crete, Corfu, and possibly also through the Croatian islands. In 1490/91 he unsuccessfully ran for the Great Council of Corfu, having received twenty votes “pro” and seventy-three “contra,” while he was aspired by membership in the Venetian state system.⁷ Michael first resided in Florence, the city dedicated to the Holy Annunciation of Virgin Mary, where the scholar and grammarian John Laskaris (1445–1535, also Michael’s supervisor in translation and linguistic works), lived. In Florence, Michael Trivolis (“for John Laskaris”) had twice copied the Greek manuscript book *Geoponica* (between 1492 and 1495), which during the lifetime of John Laskaris was handed over to the Italian poet, diplomat, and philologist Andreas Nauggerius (1483–1529).⁸ It was already during his first active engagement with manuscript materials, when he had recognized the Byzantine (Greek) scientific contribution to Christian wisdom. It happened because he was copying the book twice from the manuscript that contained information about natural remedies, later used as the source for the terminology of curable formulas in Christian prayers and invocations,⁹ which has its origins in Patristic exegetical writings. He had also copied the *Geography* of Strabo and *The History of the Jews* by Flavius Josephus (both are now in the Vatican Apostolic Library),¹⁰ from which he later used certain literal expressions for an indication of personal biographical facts.¹¹ Not surprisingly, in his texts he mentioned contemporary news about the

7 I. Ševčenko, “The Four Worlds and the Two Puzzles of Maksim the Greek,” *Paleoslavica* XIX/2 (2011), p. 297.

8 The next note in Greek, handwritten by Mathew Devari, explains that from A. Naugerii the manuscript received by Cardinal Nicollo Ridolfi (d. 1550). After the death of I. Laskaris it was no longer in his possession, but it was a part of the collection of valuable manuscripts of N. Ridolfi; the latter became part of the collection of the French marshal Pierre Strozzi (1550–1558), and still later became part of Catarina Medici’s library (1558–1589), which in 1599 became part of the French Royal Library – today in Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: thus catalogued since 1604. Today it can be found recorded as Gr. 1994. See Б.Л. Фонкич, *Греческие рукописи и документы в России в XVI – начале XVIII в.* [B.L. Fonkich, *The Greek Manuscripts and Documents in Russian from the 16th to the Early 18th cent.*], Moscow, 2003, pp. 77–79.

9 See further S.M. Oberhelman, “The Power of the Word in the Early Modern Greek Medical Texts,” in: *Studies on Mediterranean Culture and History*, ed. by S.M. Oberhelman, Athens, 2014, pp. 149–165.

10 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *The Geography* of Strabo, Gr. Reg. 83; *The History of the Jews* by Flavius Josephus, Vat. Barb. Gr. 100.

11 For example, his famous indication of his own trip to the West («до Гадира») in the *First Letter to Feodor Karpov against the Latins*, and certain expressions that he clearly used in the text *About the Dominican and Franciscan Monasticism*.

exploration of new lands, for example, America. Despite the content of those old Byzantine books of science speaking against the involvement of individuality, at the end of copying the *Geography* of Strabo Michael Trivolis decided to conclude his work with sentences in verses as an ode to the ancient author. There is also an inscription of Michael Trivolis at the front of *Geoponica*.¹² Furthermore, the special forms of handwritten Greek words and letters¹³ that he had kept through his lifetime, confirmed the resemblance of his Greek manuscripts, the Greek *Psalter*, which he had copied in Russia,¹⁴ and his earlier copy of the *Geography* of Strabo.

According to his letters, in which he used several pseudonyms,¹⁵ Michael Trivolis lived in Milan, Ferrara, and twice, for a longer period, at the Mirandola castle¹⁶ where he taught Greek to Gianfrancesco Mirandola, the nephew of the famous Pico. In 1492, Michael first met Aldo Manuzio in the Florence apartment of John Laskaris. Within a few years he had been already in touch with the newly established printing house of Aldo Manuzio in Venice, and with Greek colleagues John Grigoropulos, Zacharias Kalliergis, the Cretan calligrapher and founder of the Greek Press in Medici Rome, Nikolas Vlastos, as well as the scholars of the Moschos family (Georges, John, and Demetrios), and Scipio Carteromachus. The correspondence with the last one is the most widely preserved from that period. At the end of the 1490s, he returned to Florence where he regularly attended the public sermons of Girolamo Savonarola and was present at his public execution. Michael Trivolis, who was also a friend of the Camaldolese monk Pietro Candido (Leuchheimon), entered San Marco Monastery in Florence in 1502, exactly four years after the death of Girolamo Savonarola (1498), but remained there less than a year. However, he left the monastery before being ordained as a priest (he was registered in *Liber vestitionum* as "Michael, son of Emmanuel from Arta" only under the section *Vestizione*, and not in the section *Professione*, which was an evidence of his only being a novice). In his letter from Florence (in 1504) to Scipio Carteromachus, he complained about his illnesses. He wrote:

12 The name of the copyist is in red ink, the note in black: "Michael: twice ten and twice four days did I, Michael, copy this work *Geoponica* for John Laskaris." Michael Trivolis wrote also the date of the binding of the codex: "In the year since the birth of Christ 1498, the month of June, 21st."

13 The letters κ , μ , ν , β .

14 Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library, РНБ, Соф. 78.

15 For example: "Dorileos Trivolis, Lakedemonian from Sparta" (to I. Grigoropolis, Mirandola, March 1500).

16 Also preserved is a letter from 1500 that M. Mousouros wrote to M. Trivolis to Mirandola (Ambrosiana, Mss. Id. 2002).

Apart from that I have neither time nor peace in my soul and mind, not only because I have not found it with anyone in here, but also because I am being tossed and turned like a ship shaken by changeable winds out on the open sea. Therefore I shall not write anything else but only that I have given up monastic life due to illnesses that plague me, and not for any other reason.¹⁷

In comparison to the previous ones, in this letter there were present the words addressed to God in the language of Michael Trivolis. But his illnesses were more closely resembled something that was difficult to express at the time. Physical weakness was the only cause that could be a sufficient excuse for an escape from a fraternal society with a disappearing sense of the worship of the Divine will. It was rather a reflection of circumstances that led people to decide consciously not to rely on God's law, but only to follow human needs. In the terminology of a believer, Michael was continuing to write in his letter to Carteromachus, yet addressed to the Venetian printing house of Aldo Manuzio (it was also his last station on Italian ground), where he literally begged him: "In front of the face of the Redeemer himself, please, take over my work, as you have started, save me from my present burden and in some way or another, lead me to you all."¹⁸

Michael Trivolis had edited the newly printed Greek books in the workshop of Aldo Manuzio, while at the same time there was setting up of a programme of *Nel' Accademia*. The fact that Michael had in his possession a copy of *Dioscorides* (printed in 1499 in Manuzio's printing house) proved that he was most probably transcribing the oldest and the most-sought-after Greek manuscripts, which were all the examples of the previously illuminated manuscripts, some of which he was asked by the Florentine humanists to translate into Latin as far as he was believed to have been included also in the circle of educated men who were assigned to assemble the famous Medici Library. Therefore, he could undoubtedly be placed among those editors and translators of the second Greek immigration that settled in Italy after the fall of Byzantium.¹⁹ Besides those already mentioned above, his classmates were also Nikolaos Vlastos, Giovanni Crastone, Nikolaos Sophianos,²⁰ and Pachomius Rusanus. The latest

17 Преподобный Максим Грек, *Сочинения* [St. Maksim Grek, *Works*], vol. I, Moscow, 2008, p. 9.

18 Максим Грек, *Сочинения*, vol. I, p. 99.

19 Ševčenko, "The Four Worlds," p. 296.

20 G. Podskalsky, *Von Photios zu Bessarion. Der Vorrang humanistisch geprägter Theologie in Byzanz und deren bleibende Bedeutung* (Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte im östlichen Europa, 25), Wiesbaden, 2003, p. 81.

research proves that A. Manuzio used the commendable handwritten script of Michael Trivolis (as *Druckvorlagen*) for the first prints in at least one of the publishing house's Greek editions, and most certainly the *Idyll* of Theocritus.²¹ Therefore, it is not surprising that Michael felt that the printing house of Aldo Manuzio was the only place of refuge where he could work with ancient texts and, as a result, some form of intellectual stability or support. The latter feeling was noticeable in his own interpretation of the typographical printing sign-symbol of A. Manuzio (as Erasmus of Rotterdam offered his own interpretation)²² showing a clearly expressed metaphor of a human life and faith – in the image of an anchor:

That Aldus Manutius, 'the Roman', founded such wise and contemplative example with which reminded of all those Orthodox believers from the Emperor to the illiterate one, how they could obtain eternal life if they really wanted to. By the anchor is imagined the confirmation of firm faith, and the image of a fish proposes the human soul.²³

During the years 1499–1500, the first Greek Orthodox community was established in Venice.²⁴ Aldo Manuzio, called by Maksim the Roman (римлянинъ),²⁵ as Byzantine Emperors called themselves ("Emperors of the Romans"),²⁶ designed a special plan for the printing of Greek liturgical books, which, however, for unknown reasons, was never realized. In fact, two earlier attempts to print liturgical books for Orthodox Christians had also failed. The author of the first attempt was the Cretan Georgios Alexandrou who had printed the *Psalterion* in Venice in 1486, and the other was Aldo Manuzio himself.²⁷ John Laskaris and Mark Mousouros (the first professor of Greek language at the University of

21 D. Speranzi, "Michele Trivoli e Giano Lascari, Appunti su copisti e manoscritti greci tra Corfu e Firenze," *Studi Slavistici*, 7 (2010), p. 280, n. 94.

22 E. Garin, *Kultura renesanse: istorijski profil*, Beograd, 1982, p. 66; A. Wolkenhauer, *Humanistische Bildung und neues Selbstverständnis in Druckerzeichen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 72 (1998), p. 165.

23 Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, собр. Рум. 264, 99r.

24 Already in 1490 at Corfu Michael Trivolis was aspiring to membership of the Venetian state system, tolerant of the Orthodox and one that did not even particularly persecute the active "anti-Latinizers" among the latter (Ševčenko, "The Four Worlds," p. 297).

25 Maksim Grek explains the meaning of the additional name that the Apostle Paul has as a Roman (римлянин) that assigned the noble name of the man that one always gained by respectfully proceeding from the ancestor (Rum. 264, 68r).

26 Cf. C. Diehl, *Byzantium, Greatness and decline*, New Jersey, 1957, p. 3.

27 E. Layton, "Notes on Some Printers and Publishers of 16th century Modern Greek Books in Venice," *Thesaurismata*, 18 (1981), p. 120.

Padua) introduced Michael Trivolis to an elite circle of scribes (copyists), translators, professional calligraphers, and also authors, who carefully followed the process of transmitting ancient manuscripts into new, printed form.²⁸

1.2 *The Christian Mission*

Nevertheless, Michael Trivolis decided to return to his native Greece, where in 1506 he joined the Holy Mount Athos Vatopaedion Monastery, dedicated to the Holy Annunciation of the Theotokos. He was ordained and given the monastic name Maxim (after St. Maximus the Confessor). In the monastery, Maxim developed his extensive writing, translation and transcribing activities to which he added knowledge of Slavic languages. In 1970 there were published for the first time²⁹ documents from a small Athonite archive of Kastamonitou Monastery, which contain information regarding a manuscript written in March 1047, and recopied in the 16th century. This manuscript is a record of Protos Theophylact, in which a monk named Arsenios is confirmed to be the owner, and the hegumen of the monastery of St. Anthony Neakitou. It has an inscription in lines 26–27 announcing that a document from the eleventh century was made to order, but copied by a certain monk named Maxim from the Vatopaedion Monastery at the request of the monks from the Kastamonitou Monastery. The comparison of the handwriting with that in the letters of Michael Trivolis from the years 1498–1504, made by B.L. Fonkich,³⁰ confirms that the copy was, indeed, made by the hand of the monk Maxim Trivolis, and it could be understood as the first known autograph of Maxim from the Holy Mount Athos. This old paper, already quite damaged at that time,³¹ was of significant value in the contradictions related to the properties of the two monasteries, Kastamonitou and Zographou, in the period of 1512–1513. The latter proves that Maxim had access to the oldest manuscripts of the Holy Mount Athos. It is clear that the transcript of the damaged old document was entrusted to a person who had knowledge and various written skills, as well as experience in diplomacy.

28 According to his letter to John Grigoropoulos from 29th March 1498 (as well as to a minor canon Nicolla Tarassci in Vercelli), M. Trivolis was also invited to work with professor Antonio Urceo Codro at Bologna University, but he declined the invitation.

29 N. Oikonomidès, *Actes de Kastamonitou* (Archives de l'Athos, 9), Paris, 1978, pp. 25–30, 56–59, pl. I, X.

30 Фонкич, *Греческие рукописи и документы в России*, pp. 57–58.

31 See the inscription of Maxim: "Where there were because of corruptions in the original manuscript left omissions and was the consequence broken, it is made a blank space."

In Athos, Maxim wrote the *Elegiacs on the Grand Rhetor Manuel of Corinth* (ca 1460–1550/1, who was connected with the ruler of Moldova and Walachia Neagoe Basarab), and *Verses on Patriarch Joachim I*, the Patriarch who received funerary honours from Walachian ruler Radu cel Mare (d. 1508) and managed to establish strong connections with the most important upholder of the Eastern Christian tradition at that time, Patriarch Niphon II,³² previously the Metropolitan of Walachia. For him Maxim wrote many poems, dating to the years 1506–1518. Therefore, the mention of the prophet Elijah in *The First Epitaph on Patriarch Niphon II*, dated after 11 August 1508, the date of the death of Patriarch Niphon, could not be interpreted just simply as a biblical reminiscence but a particular and formal announcement of allegiance.

As an experienced scribe, with calligraphic and linguistic skills, the Athonite monk Maxim was chosen for the mission to Orthodox lands. He was sent, therefore, as a translator from Greek to Old Church Slavonic, from Athos to Moscow, on the invitation of Russian Great Prince Basil (Vasily) III. Maxim departed from Athos in June of 1516, staying in Constantinople in April 1517, and reaching Crimea early in 1518.

Not only the vicinity of the Serbian Chilandar Monastery in Athos, but also Athonite archives, which preserved the oldest Slavonic manuscripts,³³ were possible sources from which Maxim studied the Slavic elements of the liturgical language of the Eastern Christian liturgy. Despite the fact that while travelling to Russia Maxim was accompanied by one Bulgarian and one Russian monk, the scholar's information also included the fact that he had learned the Slavic language, not with the help of Greek but Latin³⁴ could be explained not by the above-mentioned contacts with Walachian and others Eastern Christian church centres, but also by the vicinity of northern Italian cities to Slavic

32 Later in Moscow in the text *About the Athonite Monasteries*, in which Maksim Grek emphasised the strictness of mutual help and common possession, and mentioned also Patriarch Niphon II, "In our days there were abundant gifts of the holy Patriarch Niphon who piously passed away in this monastery and hallowed by God was celebrated" (Максим Грек, *Сочинения*, vol. I, p. 124).

33 Cf. В.А. Мошин, "О периодизации русско-южнославянских литературных связей XV–XV вв." [V.A. Mošin, "On the Periodisation of the Literary Connexions between the Russians and the South Slavs"], in: *Русь и южные славяне*, Санкт Петербург, 1998, pp. 7–113 (p. 37 and 85).

34 Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, p. 327; А.И. Соболевский, *Переводная литература Московской Руси XIV–XVII веков: библиографические материалы* [A.I. Sobolevsky, *The Literature of Translation in the Muscovite Rus' of the 14th–17th Centuries: Bibliographical Materials*], St. Petersburg, 1903, Nrs 261 and 262.

lands, particularly Venice. There between 1500 and 1518 an increase in literary activities in the Old Church Slavic language was noticeable.

Soon after his arrival in Moscow, in 1519 he had already translated the annotated chapters from New Testament, the letters of the Apostles James, Peter, John and Jude, and the Apostle Paul's letter to Romans.³⁵ In 1521 he translated the complete text of the extensive annotated *Psalter* with profiled commentaries that enlarged the translation into 1042 pages. When Daniel became the Metropolitan of Moscow in 1522, he asked Maksim to translate the *Church History* of Theodoret of Cyrrihus for him. Maksim Grek, as he was called in Russia, refused because he was aware of the problematic content that might lead to misunderstandings. But he never suspected that with that denial he had condemned himself to death. Consequently, Daniel started to spread harmful rumours about the Orthodox faith of Maksim Grek.

The knowledge of the Latin language was also an indirect reason why Maksim was accused (in 1525, at the Moscow Church synod) of supposed heretical translation errors and was imprisoned. When he was convicted, the synod under Metropolitan Daniel decided to excommunicate him. In 1531 charges against him were renewed.³⁶ He was reproached with additional charges: he was suspected of being a spy for the Islamic court³⁷ because he was supposedly in possession of a translation of a letter by Suleiman the Magnificent addressed to the Doge of Venice, Antonio Grimani (the father of the Venetian cardinal Domenico Grimani,³⁸ the Aquileian-Venetian Patriarch, 1461–1523),

35 The only version from the 16th century is: ГИМ, Мuz. 3475 (А.В. Иванов, *Литературное наследие Максима Грека* [A.V. Ivanov, *The Literary Legacy of Maksim Grek*], Leningrad, 1969, p. 47).

36 See, for the details of the accusations put forward by these two synods, Н.Н. Покровский, *Судные списки Максима Грека и Исаака Собака* [N.N. Pokrovsky, *The Minutes of the Trial Courts on Maksim Grek and Isak Sobaka*], Moscow, 1971.

37 Among his translations a letter of the Pope Eneo Silvio Piccolomini *On the Turkish Siege of Constantinople* was also found in the manuscript of ГИМ, Sin 791 (В.Ф. Ржига, "Кто перевел Краткую повесть о взятии Константинополя турками" [V.F. Rzhiga, "Who Translated *The Short Account on the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks*"], *Slavia*, 13.1 (1934), pp. 105–108; Б.М. Кюсс, "Максим Грек – Переводчик повести Енея Сильвия «Взятие Константинополя турками»" [B.M. Kloss, "Maksim Grek as the Translator of the Narration by Eneo Silvio *The Capture of Constantinople by the Turks*"], *Памятники культуры, Новые открытия. Письменность. Искусство. Археология. Ежегодник* (1974), pp. 55–61; Н.М. Olmsted, "Recognizing Maksim Grek: Features of Language," *Palaeoslavica*, 10 (2002), Nr 2, 21–22).

38 Maksim had in his possession a significant collection of the first Greek printed books and probably also some manuscripts. See С.А. Белокуров, *О библиотеке московских государей в XVI столетии* [S.A. Belokurov, *On the Library of the Muscovite Sovereigns in*

dating from 28 January 1522, in which Suleiman announced the news of the conquest of Rhodes, which formerly belonged to the Catholic order of St. John.³⁹ The truth was that Maksim Grek, as he was called in Russia, had a strong influence on the intellectual Muscovite court elite: in the beginning of his time in Russia, he publicly discussed theological problems and the difficulties of biblical language. And thus, he soon noticed that many Russian officials lacked not only the basic knowledge of Orthodox doctrine, but were also unfamiliar with European currents of the time about the rights of national languages. Maxim the Greek advised the Great Prince (Tsar since 1547) Ivan IV the Terrible, to follow the example of Patriarch Photius of Constantinople⁴⁰ (whose epistles and texts Maksim was also translating).⁴¹ However, Maxim's opposition to the self-proclaimed independence (autocephaly) of the Muscovite Russian Church from the church of Constantinople was crucial. Equally crucial, but even more painful for Maxim was the accusation from the second Moscow synod in May 1531, which charged him not only with witchcraft, but also with heretical errors in his translation of the *Life of the Theotokos* from the *Menologion* by Symeon Metaphrastes. He was excommunicated and not allowed to go to Church or to write as an even greater affliction. After the second

the 16th century], Moscow, 1899, pp. 296–305. However, his property was not properly identified as a part of so-called ancient library of the Moscow court. (See A.X. Горфункель, “Гуманистические источники легенды об античной библиотеке Московских государей” [A. Kh. Gorfunkel, “The Humanistic Sources of the Legend on the Antique Library of the Muscovite Sovereigns”], in: *ТОДРЛ*, vol. 48, Saint Petersburg, 1993, pp. 243–250).

- 39 Н.В. Синецына, *Максим Грек* [N.V. Sinitsyna, *Maksim Grek*], Moscow, 2008, pp. 176–177.
- 40 Maksim Grek also addressed Ivan IV on matters of political theory by recommending to him the reading of the epistle which the Patriarch of Constantinople Photius addressed to the newly Christianized barbarian ruler of the Bulgars Boris-Michael (I. Ševčenko, “Byzantine Cultural Influences,” in: *Byzantium and the Slavs in Letters and Culture*, Renovatio I, Cambridge – Napoli, 1991, pp. 109–110.
- 41 Maksim also knew quite well the content of two epistles of the Patriarch of Constantinople Photius. The first was addressed to the Eastern Metropolitans, the second, less known, was entitled “To the Aquileian-Venetian Metropolitan.” According to the manuscript of *The First Letter Against the Latins* (Institute of Russian Literature IRLI, Perets' collection, Nr 54, f. 1–14), of which the critical edition until today is missing, Maksim Grek was familiar with the exact order of words in the speech of Patriarch Photius not only from the known letter to the Eastern Metropolitans but also with the second one, that is *The Epistle to the Archbishop of Aquileia that is Venetian* (among Russian scholars there are different opinions. – See Д.М. Буланин, *Переводы и послания Максима Грека* [D.M. Bulanin, *Translations and Epistles by Maksim Grek*], Leningrad, 1984, pp. 83–94; Максим Грек, *Сочинения*, vol. I, pp. 171–198).

sentence, the punishment was even more severe, for Maksim was barred from the Sacrament of Communion and was put in irons.⁴²

With the fall of Daniel (1539), Maxim's position improved slightly. Under Metropolitan Joasaph (1539–1542), Maxim's punishment became effectively milder. He was moved from Volokolamsk Monastery to the Otroch Monastery in Tver, where he was allowed to write. Consequently he wrote numerous texts, being the only author, re-editing them several times in his last years, correcting and collating them three times, thus leaving behind his three best-known collections. After regaining the permission to write, he became one of the leading writers of Muscovite Russia, but never succeeded in returning to the Holy Mount Athos. Later, under Metropolitan Macarius (after 1542), Maxim was allowed to take communion.

In his letter of 1542 to Prince P.I. Shuisky,⁴³ Maxim mentioned that he was aware that his request for a return to Holy Mount Athos was "unpleasant to them" (a copy of the same letter in Greek expresses also a request to have his Greek books returned to him, which were taken away soon after he went to Moscow).⁴⁴ Therefore, for Maxim it was more important to ask the Metropolitan Macarius only for the right to receive the Holy Eucharist, which he had not received during the seventeen years of his imprisonment in Russia. Metropolitan Macarius instructed him, in turn, to approach the former Metropolitan Daniel directly (who was still alive at the time). A great help to the monk as an intermediary of the postage was offered by two persons, Alexei, the Metropolitan Macarius' treasurer, and Andrei Simeonov, the servant.⁴⁵ Maksim then wrote a letter to Daniel in which he repeated his address in the letter to the Highest Grace and his authentically humble and submissive reaction to the unjust accusations against him for producing heretical writings against the Orthodox faith.⁴⁶

Maxim was never allowed to return to the Holy Mountain. He was retained – in vain! – as a hostage during the negotiations between Ivan the Terrible and the Patriarchs of Constantinople Dionysius and Joasaph about the recognition

42 D. Čiževskij, *The History of Russian Literature*, 's-Gravenhage, 1960, p. 293.

43 Slave 123, fol. 78v.

44 Фонкич, *Греческие рукописи и документы в России*, pp. 72–81. (H.M. Olmsted, "Maksim Grek's Letter to Prince Petr Shuiskii: the Greek and Russian Texts," in: *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, 5 (1989), pp. 267–319).

45 Н.В. Синицына, "Творчество преподобного Максима Грека 30–50 гг. XVI в. и собрание избранных сочинений 47 глав" [N.V. Sinitsyna, "The Works of St. Maksim Grek in the 1530s–50s and the Collection of the Selected Works in 47 Chapters"], in: *Преподобный Максим Грек, Сочинения*, vol. II, Moscow, 2015, p. 15.

46 Cf. Acts 15:8.

of the Muscovite Tsar as a new incarnation of the Byzantine Emperor (never accomplished) and the end of the anticanonical Muscovite autocephaly (accomplished in 1560/1561 with the return of the metropolia of Moscow under the omophorion of the Patriarch of Constantinople).⁴⁷

Maxim died in the Monastery of the Holy Trinity and St. Sergius Lavra, probably in the period between September 1555 and August 1556. The fixed date, 21 January,⁴⁸ was finally officially consecrated as the memorial day of St Maximus the Confessor, and consequently the feast day of Saint Maxim the Greek.

47 See, for the details, D.I. Muresan, "De la Nouvelle Rome à la Troisième: la part des principautés roumaines dans la transmission de l'idée impériale," in: *L'eredità di Traiano. La tradizione istituzionale romano-imperiale nella storia dello spazio romeno. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Bucarest, 2007*, ed. A. Castaldini, Bucarest, 2008, pp. 123–166. For a general up-to-date review of Church politics under Ivan the Terrible, see the commentaries in the edition of the *History on the Deeds of the Great Prince of Muscovy* by Andrei Kurbsky (Андрей Курбский, *История о делах великого князя московского*, ed. by Constantine Erusalimsky, Moscow, 2015).

48 Белокуров, *О библиотеке московских государей...*, pp. XLIII, LXXXI.