

National Research University Higher School of Economics

as a manuscript

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**MANUSCRIPT TRADITION AND LITERARY CONTEXT OF THE
GREEK FORGERIES IN THE CONFSSIONAL CONTROVERSY IN
WESTERN EUROPE IN THE 16TH CENTURY: THE CASUS OF
CONSTANTINE PALEOCAPPA**

Dissertation Summary
for the purpose of obtaining academic degree
Doctor of Philosophy in Philology and Linguistics

Academic supervisor:
Andrey Vinogradov,
Doctor of Science

Moscow 2023

Publications

Three publications were selected for the defense:

1. Bernatsky M. The Presence of Christ in the Eucharist κατ' οὐσίαν. On the interpretation and the source of a fragment from the Homily of George Scholarios and its impact on the Eucharistic doctrine of the Greek Orthodox Church // *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*. 47 (1) (2023), p. 71–84

2. Bernatsky M. An Edition of the New-found Forgery of Constantine Paleocappa – the Treatise of Nicholas of Methone Πρὸς τοὺς διαστάζοντας καὶ λέγοντας, ὅτι ὁ ἱερουργούμενος ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος οὐκ ἔστι σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ // *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*. 88 (2022), fasc. I, p. 105–129

3. Bernatsky M. The Abridged and Revised Version of the Homily on the Eucharist by Gennadios Scholarios and Constantine Paleocappa as a Possible Rewriter // *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*. 89 (2023), fasc. I [in print].

The results of the present study have also been presented in the following papers:

1. Bernatsky, Mikhail M. “Ecclesia Hierosolymitana est Mater omnium Ecclesiarum et prima”: the History of Composition and Correction of the Orthodox Confession of Faith of Peter Mohyla in the Context of Relationship Between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Metropolitanate of Kyiv at the end of the 16th — the first half of the 17th century, in: *The concept of Primacy: Origins and contexts*. Collective monograph / Ed. P. Ermilov, M. Gratsiansky. Moscow, 2022. P. 563–598 [in Russian].

2. Bernatsky, Mikhail M. “Summa contra gentiles”, Book 4, Chapter 61 “On the Eucharist” of Thomas Aquinas, Translated in Greek by Demetrios Kydones, Edited from the Manuscripts Vaticanus gr.616 and Taurinensis 23 (C-2-16)”. *Bogoslovsky Vestnik*, no. 3(42), 2021, p. 109–125 [in Russian].

3. Bernatsky, Mikhail M. The Treatise of Nicholas of Methone «To those who doubt and say that the sacred bread and wine are not indeed the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ» (PG. 135. Col. 509–518) — A New-found Forgery of Constantin Paleocappa (XVI century) // *Bogoslovskie trudy*. 49 (2019), p. 170–190 [in Russian].

4. Bernatsky, Mikhail M. Symeon Mesopotamites' *Sermo, quod semper mente versare debemus diem exitus de vita* (the study and critical edition of the greek text and the slavonic translation) // *Macarius Aegyptius (Symeon Mesopotamita). Sermones ascetici et epistulae: collectio I (Vatic. graec. 694) / Ed. A. Dunaev, V. Desprez, M. Bernatsky, S. Kim. Moskva, 2015, p. 933–954 [in Russian].*

5. Bernatsky, Mikhail M. The Authorship and Literary Tradition Problems of Symeon Mesopotamites' *Sermo, quod semper mente versare debemus diem exitus de vita* (CPG. 4035) // *Bogoslovskie Trudy* 43–44 (2012), p. 293–304 [in Russian].

6. Bernatsky, Mikhail M. The Council of Constantinople of 1691 and its Reception in the Russian Orthodox Church (on the issue of the official status of the term “transubstantiation”) // *Bogoslovskie Trudy* 41 (2007), p. 133–145 [in Russian].

Conference presentations

The main results and conclusions of the present study have been presented in 2022–2023 in the international conferences and the workshops, including:

1. Σχετικά με το ζήτημα εάν θα μπορούσε ο Μελέτιος Συρίγος να είναι ο συγγραφέας της συντομευμένης και αναθεωρημένης Έκδοχής της Ομιλίας περί της Θείας Ευχαριστίας του Γεωργίου Σχολαρίου [Could Meletios Syrigos be author of an Abridged and Revised Version of the Homily on the Eucharist of George Scholarios?] // The Proceedings of the International Conference «Saint Gennadius Scholarius Between East and West», Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Istanbul, 12–13 September, 2022.

2. The workshop “Kiev-Mohyla Academy and the Transformation of Byzantine-Orthodox Traditions in the Culture of Ukraine, Belarus and Russia in the 17th century” (National Research University Higher School of Economics, December 16, 2022: <https://medieval.hse.ru/news/812947373.html>).

3. Treatise “On the Most Pure Body, Whom We Participate” (CPG 8117) by pseudo-John of Damascus: dating and the problem of impact on subsequent Eucharistic disputes // International Scientific Conference “Byzantine Heritage in the History of Christianity: On the 30th Anniversary of the Departure of Protopresbyter John Meyendorff” (St Tikhon Orthodox Humanitarian University, Moscow, November 23, 2022).

1. Introduction

This study is devoted to an important but insufficiently studied and interdisciplinary topic — the creation of Greek forgeries in Western Europe in the 16th century in the context of confessional controversy between Catholics and Protestants. Writing fakes of historical, philosophical and theological content becomes a mass phenomenon at that time. Undoubtedly, the motives for creating fakes for the Greeks who moved to Western Europe were, in particular, of a mercantile nature, however, the skill of compiling and the relevance of the issues raised in them for all parties, involved in the disputes, ensured the popularity of published treatises, starting from the 17th century.

Along with Andreas Darmarios [Kreşten. 1976] and Metropolitan Makarios Melissenos [Medvedev. 1969], a vivid example here is the personality of the Cretan manuscript scribe Constantine Paleocappa [García Bueno. 2013], which in the 50s of the XVI century was under the patronage of the famous Charles de Guise, cardinal de Lorraine (1524–1574) and worked on the creation of a catalog of Greek manuscripts in the Royal library of Fontainebleau (the base of the future collection of manuscripts of the National Library of France – Bibliothèque nationale de France). Paleocappa wrote fakes on completely different topics: study of literature (for example, the retelling of the "Violarium" (Ἰωνιά) of Greek fables on behalf of the Byzantine empress Eudokia Makrembolitissa (1021–1096)), astronomy (a brochure on the astrolabe of a certain Aegyptius), philosophy (the scholia of pseudo-Basil of Caesarea to the Nicomachean Ethics), anti-Jewish controversy relevant to Europe in the 16th century, and so on.

However, the forgeries Paleocappa created for the famous Parisian polemical edition of 1560 [Brakmann. 2016] caused the greatest resonance in history. The volume, prepared for printing by the liturgist Jean de Saint-André, contains the texts of the Divine Liturgies, as well as the writings of the fathers and writers of the Eastern Church, dedicated to the sacrament of the Eucharist. Constantine scribed several liturgical-theological florilegia commissioned by Cardinal de Guise (autographs Paris. Suppl. gr. 146 and 303), which formed the basis of the 1560

edition. The publication was supposed to help Catholics in polemics with the Huguenots on issues of sacramentology. Within these florilegiums, three pseudepigrapha of Paleocappa appeared. In addition, he made a number of corrections to the text of the Liturgy of the Apostle James, contained in the 15th-century manuscript available to him — Paris. Suppl. gr. 2509, which goes back to the model Θ, a certain Thessalonian protograph of the 12th century, according to the stemma of Mercier [Mercier. La Liturgie de St. Jacques. 1946].

The great resonance of falsifications from this edition is due to the fact that the issues of sacramentology remained crucial in Christian inter- and intra-confessional disputes in the second millennium: thus, they became the main ones in the Greek-Latin controversy, along with questions of papal primacy and Filioque, in the 11th–18th centuries, the famous byzantine disputes and related synods of the 12th century are dedicated to them. In the 16th century the Reformation is characterized by an aggressive criticism of the Catholic tenets of sacramentology (in particular, the dogma of transubstantiation, the substantial and miraculous change of bread and wine at the Liturgy as a result of the solemn performance of the clergy). A feature of the criticism of the Reformers was the appeal to the Christian literature of the first millennium, with the help of which they tried to show the distortions of the later scholastic tradition.

An approach that interprets Protestant criticism of Catholic sacramentology in the context of the formation of the system of sovereignty of European states can be considered promising in modern research [Elwood. 1999]. In that context the influence of the Pope in European politics was finally undermined. Within the framework of the new Protestant sacramentology, which denies the miraculous and sacrificial nature of the main church sacrament, the Pope lost the role of the *pontifex* (high priest — the performer of the sacrifice) and the entire hierarchy of clergy dependent on him was subjected to desacralization. The textual evidence was the reformation of the text of the Mass.

From their part Catholic polemicists tried to appeal to the Greek Orthodox evidences and demonstrate the apostolic origin of the texts of the Mass and Liturgies.

A special role here was played by a literary phenomenon of the late Byzantine period – the so-called *Byzantine Thomism* [Demetracopoulos. 2012], within which in the second half of the 14th century at least fifteen works belonging or attributed to Thomas Aquinas were translated from Latin into Greek and subsequently had an impact on original Orthodox literature. One of the main persons of “Byzantine Thomism” of the 15th century was Georgios (Gennadios) Scholarios, a member of the Ferrara-Florence Council and the first Patriarch of Constantinople after the fall of Byzantium. It was his “Sermon on the the Eucharist” that became the first original work in Orthodox literature, where the Greek analogue of the word *transsubstantiatio* was used μετουσίωσις as a Eucharistic term and the Thomistic teaching associated with it was acquired.

The phenomenon of Greek literary forgeries created in Western Europe in the 16th century by the Greeks for the needs of confessional controversy, has never been studied simultaneously textually, thematically and comparatively, which gives **novelty** and **theoretical significance** to this study.

The relevance of the topic under study is primarily due to the fact that the forgeries of Paleocappa misled later writers and polemicists of the 17th–19th centuries (Jacques Goar, Dositheos of Jerusalem, Nicodemus the Hagiorite) and an adequate study of their writings is impossible without a historical-critical approach to the sources they used. For instance, Paleocappa processed the Byzantine legend, found in the sources of the 10th–11th century, of the origin of the texts of the Liturgies as a successive abbreviation of the Liturgy of the Apostle James and attributed the fake to the disciple of John Chrysostom, Saint Proclus of Constantinople, who lived in the 5th century. This fake enjoyed unshakable authority in liturgical studies until the 20th century. In addition, a number of forgeries are classified by modern scholars as genuine works of the authors to whom they are attributed (Samon of Gaza, XI c.; Nicholas of Methone, XII c.; Patriarch Gennadios Scholarios, XV c.; Meletios Syrigos, XVI c.).

The **goal** of the dissertation is to reconstruct the falsification model on the theme of the Eucharist created by the Cretan manuscript scribe Constantine Paleocappa and its influence on subsequent polemical tradition.

Main results of the research are as follows:

1. In the 50s of the XVI century Cretan scribe Constantine Paleocappa, while working on the creation of a catalog of manuscripts in the Royal Library of Fontainebleau, created by order of Cardinal Charles de Guise liturgical-theological handwritten florilegia (autographs Paris. Suppl. gr. 146 and 303), which were the basis of the Parisian edition of 1560, directed against the criticism of the Eucharistic sacramentology by the Huguenots.

2. The florilegia contain two pseudo-epigraphs discovered by previous scholars: the treatises of pseudo-Samon of Gaza and pseudo-Proclus of Constantinople, as well as the treatise of pseudo-Nicholas of Methone, which we recently discovered. A study of the manuscript tradition of the treatises shows that it is not older than the 16th century.

3. An assumption is put forward and substantiated that another forgery created outside the framework of his paid work for the cardinal belongs to Paleocappa — an abridged version of the original Homily on the Eucharist by Gennadios Scholarios of the 15th century. The text of the original Homily was influenced by Thomas Aquinas' Greek translation of *Summa contra gentiles* and the treatise *De sacramento Eucharistiae ad modum praedicamentorum* of pseudo-Aquinas. That fact made it suitable for literary use for the benefit of Catholics in the 16th century.

4. In the 17th century the abridged version proved to be in demand in the context of the struggle against Protestant influence within the Greek Church, which was reflected in the texts of the decrees of anti-Calvinist Orthodox councils of the 17th century.

5. The sources used to create the forgeries come from the Greek manuscripts available to Paleocappa in the Library of Fontainebleau, which are now part of the

main and supplementary collections of Greek manuscripts of the National Library of France.

6. Textual analysis of the forgeries shows that they form a falsification model, within which the content of their original sources (for example, the treatise of Mark of Ephesus of the 15th century) is given great antiquity and authority for the polemical purposes of customers.

1. Reception of Thomist sacramentology in late Byzantine literature. The Homily of Gennadios Scholarios

Paper selected for the defense: [Bernatsky. The Presence of Christ in the Eucharist κατ' οὐσίαν. 2023]

The Homily On the mystical body of our Lord Jesus Christ by George Gennadios II — Scholarios (ca. 1400 — paulo post 1472) was the first original Orthodox theological text to use the word μετουσίωσις (transubstantiatio) as an ex professo Eucharistic term and to adopt the doctrine associated with it. In this paper I propose a new reading of the fragment, in which Scholarios writes that God communicates with the faithful in the Eucharist by substance (κατ' οὐσίαν). I argue that this fragment was a paraphrase of the third paragraph of chapter 61, book four of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra gentiles* and should not be interpreted in the context of Palamite theology as has been proposed hitherto [Dunaev. 2008]. I find support for my case in the manuscript Taurinensis XXIII (C-II-16), a compilation encouraged by Scholarios in 1432 and which contained the translation of the *Summa contra gentiles* by Demetrios Kydones [Бернацкий. 2021]. In addition, I outline the post Scholarium history of the expression κατ' οὐσίαν (*secundum substantiam*), which played a key role for the later development of the Eucharistic doctrine of the Greek Orthodox Church in the post-Byzantine period.

However, in the XVII century that impact was indirect through an abridged and revised version of the Homily, which became the source for the texts of the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem in 1672 and the Council of Constantinople in

1691, which gave official status to the term μετουσίωσις. This is confirmed by manuscript sources of the 16th–18th centuries and colophons in them, directly connected with the key figure in the fight against the influence of Protestantism in Orthodox communities — Patriarch Dositheos II of Jerusalem (1641–1707).

2. The Abridged and Revised Version of the Homily on the Eucharist by Gennadios Scholarios and Constantine Paleocappa as a Possible Rewriter

Paper selected for the defense: [Bernatsky. The Abridged and Revised Version. 2023]

As noted, the Homily of Scholarios played a decisive role in the development of the Eucharistic teaching of the Greek Orthodox Church in the 17th century through an abridged and revised version created by a certain author and attributed to Patriarch Gennadios of Constantinople. In 1690 this abridged version was published by Dositheos of Jerusalem and was used as a source for the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem (1672) and the Council of Constantinople (1691). At the beginning of the 18th century E. Renaudot considered this treatise authentic, having access only to the 1690 edition of Dositheos, but not to the manuscripts. In the 21st century the German researcher F. Tinnefeld attributed the abridged version to the theologian of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, Meletios Syrigos (1585/1586–1663/1664) [Tinnefeld. 2002].

However, the study of the manuscript tradition, the analysis of the forgery text in the historical and literary context allowed us to put forward a different hypothesis about its authorship. We came to the conclusion that Meletios Syrigos could not be the author, and the abridged version of the Homily appeared in the 16th century as evidence in favor of the Catholic theology of the Eucharist in a certain protograph (on which the codices Πατριαρχική Βιβλιοθήκη. Παναγίου Τάφου. 111 and Vaticanus gr. 1724 depend) — the Greek anti-Protestant florilegia. We have made a new edition of the Greek text based on the stemma of the manuscripts, indicating the sources (including two original works by Scholarios) used in compiling the pseudepigraph.

We assume that the forger Constantine Paleocappa could have been the author, since the method of compilation here is very similar to what we observe in his other forgeries for the 1560 edition. An additional argument is that we have established the fact that Paleocappa used the original Homily of Scholarios in compiling the treatise of the pseudo-Samon of Gaza.

3. The Forgeries of Constantine Paleocappa in the Parisian edition of 1560. The New-found Forgery of Constantine Paleocappa – the Treatise of Nicholas of Methone

Paper selected for the defense: [Bernatsky. 2022]

The treatise «To those who doubt and say that the sacred bread and wine are not indeed the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ» (PG. 135. Col. 509–518) by Nicholas of Methone (XII c.) first appeared in print in the well-known edition in 1560 along with the editio princeps of the Greek text of the Liturgy of James. Following J. Dräseke all previous scholars recognized this work as authentic and suggested that this short treatise was written in the 40s of the XII c. in connection with the Bogomil heresy.

However, we proved that the treatise does not belong to Nicholas and that it is another compilation and forgery of Constantine Paleocappa. Our research was based on the textual analysis of the treatise, appealing to other forgeries of Paleocappa and the original work of Nicholas — Λόγος περὶ τῶν πρὸς λατίνους ἀζύμων. It is safe to say that Paleocappa got the opportunity to work closely with the original work of Nicholas with the help of his collaborator at the Royal Library Jacobos Diassorinos (d. 1563), who copied part of the Paris codex. gr. 2830 with a treatise by Nicholas (fol. 252r–267v) in 1535.

Our new edition of the Greek text of the treatise based on Paleocappa's autograph Paris. Suppl. gr. 143 with indication of the quotes and reminiscences perfectly illustrates the results of our research and the method of compilation of original texts by Cretan forger. This method consists in using several original

writings of one author and compiling several borrowings from them to create short fakes. At the same time some borrowings can be torn out of the original context. Moreover, Paleocappa often used the technique of repeating certain theses or expressions to emphasise the main ideological goal of the forgery.

Thus, for the 1560 edition, Paleocappa made the handwritten florilegia, which were presented to Cardinal Charles de Guise as supposedly the copies from ancient, rare and hard-earned manuscripts, largely corrupted and barely readable, as in the case of the mythical Cretan protograph florilegium Paris. suppl. gr. 143, about which Constantine tells in the dedication to the cardinal: fol. 1r. In fact, the content of the florilegia depended entirely on the material of the Greek manuscripts available to him at Fontainebleau.

Within these florilegia, the Cretan created three pseudoepigrapha: treatises of the pseudo-Samon of Gaza [Jugie. 1946], pseudo-Proclus of Constantinople [Leroy. 1962] and pseudo-Nicholas of Methone, and also made a number of corrections to the version of the text of the Liturgy of the Apostle James available to him. These pseudoepigraphs form a falsified model, in which the content of their original sources is given greater antiquity and authority for the polemical purposes of the customers, namely: proof of the authenticity of the authorship of ancient liturgical texts and a common belief of Western and Eastern traditions in the miraculous change of liturgical Gifts into the Body and Blood of Christ — *transubstantiatio*.

The main source for the treatises of pseudo-Proclus and pseudo-Nicholas is the work of Mark of Ephesus, written as part of the epiclesis debate (the moment of the consecration of the bread and wine at the liturgy) at the Council of Florence (1439), to which Paleocappa had access through the manuscript Paris. gr. 1261 in the Royal Library. Mark's anti-Latin argumentation, based on the Byzantine legend of the origin of the rites as a successive abbreviation of the Liturgy of the Apostle James, was used in a new polemical anti-Protestant context. The creation of fakes with attribution to St Proclus (5th century) and Nicholas of Methon (12th century) made Mark's treatise chronologically secondary to them within the framework of the falsified model of Paleocappa.

In the case of the treatise of pseudo-Samon of Gaza (quasi XI century), which is a compilation from the writings of authors who lived before the 15th century (Anastasius Sinaita, John of Damascus, Theodore Abu Qurrah, Theophylact of Ohrid, Nicholas Cabasilas), the key is its relation to the original Homily of Gennadios Scholarios. This can be seen in the anachronism in the case of the term "accident" (συμβεβηκός), which betrays a forgery, and also in the fact that Paleocappa borrows from the original Homily the example of a mirror (κάτοπτρον) as an analogy to the fact that in the Eucharist, during the fraction of the consecrated bread, the incorruptible and resurrected body of Christ remains whole and unharmed. The "mirror" example was, in turn, borrowed by Gennadios from the 7th chapter of the treatise of pseudo-Aquinas *De sacramento Eucharistiae ad modum praedicamentorum*. All these observations, as we have noted, convince us that the author of the abridged version of Scholarios' Homily could be Constantine Paleocappa, who created a whole universe of Eucharistic forgeries.

Conclusion

In the 50s of the XVI c. the Cretan copyist and forger Constantine Paleocappa was under the protection of the cardinal de Lorraine Charles de Guise and together with another Greek copyists Angelos Vergecios and Jacobos Diassorinos worked on creating a catalog of Greek manuscripts in the Royal Library at Fontainebleau. At that time by commission from the cardinal Paleocappa created several liturgical and theological florilegia that became a basis of the Parisian edition in 1560. The publication was intended to help in the controversy between Catholic side and Huguenots over the theology of the Eucharist. As part of this commission, Paleocappa created three pseudepigraphs: the treatises of pseudo-Samon, pseudo-Proclus of Constantinople, and pseudo-Nicholas of Methone, as well as he made a number of corrections to the available to him version of the Liturgy of James.

In the sixteenth century the writing of forgeries of historical, hagiographic and theological content became a mass phenomenon. Constantine Paleocappa, Andrew Darmarios, Makarios Melissenos — the most prominent examples. Of course, the

motives for creating such fakes for the Greeks, who moved to Western Europe, were mercantile. But the relevance of the issues brought up in the fakes, related to the history of worship and theology of the Eucharist, have been provided popularity to them from the seventeenth century and misled Church writers and scholars up to the present day. That is why they were so in demand in the seventeenth century by the Patriarch Dositheos, who fought against Protestant influence in the Greek Churches and who has cited almost all Paleocappa's forgeries as authoritative evidences.

It seems promising to conduct a textual study of other works included in the Parisian edition of 1560 (for example, the explanation of the liturgy of Germanus of Constantinople, which had a significant impact on late Byzantine and post-Byzantine literature) for the possible corrections made by Paleocappa. The results of the study can be used to discover new Greek forgeries in the process of studying the manuscript collections of European libraries.

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