



[DOI: 10.35549/HR.2025.2025.54.008](https://doi.org/10.35549/HR.2025.2025.54.008)

Original paper



Constantin A. Panchenko

# The Union of Florence and the Church of Antioch: A Retrospect

(prepared for publication  
by Elena Yu. Kovalskaya)

*Library Services of Church Research Center Orthodox Encyclopedia.*

*Moscow, Russian Federation.*

*E-mail: [ekovalskaya@mail.ru](mailto:ekovalskaya@mail.ru)*

## Abstract

This publication presents Professor Constantin A. Panchenko's keynote address, delivered at the international conference "The Orthodox Church of Antioch from the 15th to the 18th Century: Toward a Proper Understanding of History" at Balamand University (Lebanon) on October 16, 2023. It is devoted to the Union of Florence of 1439 and its perception in the Church of Antioch over the following centuries up to the present day. The article examines the main stages of the relations between the Orthodox East and Rome, as well as the degree of involvement of the Middle Eastern Orthodox Churches in the union project at each of these stages; it identifies the factors that led to fundamental chang-



es in church policy. Central place is given to the Council of the Three Patriarchs in 1443, when for the first time, at the most crucial moment for the Orthodox world, disoriented by the union, the Eastern patriarchal sees rejected it. Arguing against Joseph Gill, who insisted that the conciliar letter of 1443 was a forgery, Professor Panchenko cites the arguments of M.-H. Blanchet in favour of its authenticity and of the historicity of the Council of the Three Patriarchs; he also puts forward new arguments of his own. The article also examines in detail the vicissitudes of Melkite-Catholic relations in the 1450s–1470s. Historically speaking, the Levant is situated between two Christian poles: Russia, as the defender of Orthodoxy, and the Catholic West, which sought to absorb Orthodoxy by offering material enticements. Particular attention is given to how the Council of Ferrara-Florence is reflected in the works of Arab Orthodox historians and polemicists of the early modern and modern era (Anastasius ibn Mujallā, Patriarch Macarius III az-Za‘īm and Paul of Aleppo, Sophronius of Kilis, Mas‘ad Nashw, Michael Breik ad-Dimashqī, and Asad Rustum). Professor Panchenko notes that the topic of the Council of Florence, which had been all but forgotten in the 16th century, was revived at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, and in the 19th and 20th centuries occupied a foremost place in historical research and polemics. This topic continues to be extremely important for modern Arab Christians, as it is not merely historical but political and ideological in nature.

**Keywords:**

Christian Middle East, the Orthodox Church of Antioch, the Union of Florence, the Council of the Three Patriarchs of 1443,

Melkite-Catholic relations, anti-Latin polemic in Arabic, the schism of the Church of Antioch in 1724.

**For citation:**

*Panchenko C.A.* The Union of Florence and the Church of Antioch: A Retrospect // The Historical Reporter. 2025. Vol. LIV. P. 14–49.  
[DOI: 10.35549/HR.2025.2025.54.008](https://doi.org/10.35549/HR.2025.2025.54.008)



he problem of the Union of Florence seems to be one of the dominant themes in the long history of relations between the Eastern and the Western Christianity. Although this main unionist project of Rome which was labelled “the Eighth Ecumenical Council” wasn’t crowned by long-term effect, the acts of the Council of Florence were a model for future unions between the Vatican and the Eastern Churches. The Council had a strong impact on collective historical memory of various Christian peoples. For example, it was a trigger which started the emergence of the current Russian national identity (the rejection of the Union of Florence by the Russian Church, which caused isolation of Russia in the Christian world for decades, promoted the genesis of the Russian messianic ideology of “the Third Rome”). The same topic of the Union of Florence is still important for historical consciousness of Middle Eastern Orthodox Christianity. The Council of Florence and the Council of the Eastern Patriarchs of 1443 which rejected the Union are extremely crucial for understanding the subsequent history of the Church of Antioch and its schism of 1724.

## The Middle Eastern Orthodox and the Council of Florence

Speaking about the place of the Union of Florence in a history of the Christian Arabs one should start from the historical background of the Union, a political situation in the Christian Middle East in the early 15<sup>th</sup> cent. Since the late 14<sup>th</sup> cent. the Eastern patriarchates were more and more isolated from Constantinople. A system of close cooperation between the Byzantine empire and the Christian East, which existed for centuries, collapsed. Ecclesiastical contacts between Constantinople and Levant were reduced drastically. No one of the Middle Eastern Patriarchs visited the Byzantine capital in this period unlike the situation of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. It seems that the failing Byzantine lost possibilities to influence the Christian East and lost even interest in Middle Eastern affairs. In contrast with the fact that some previous Eastern Patriarchs were Byzantine Greeks or Chalcedonian Armenians from Cilicia, almost all the Patriarchs of the late Middle Ages were of local Arab origin.

One can suggest that the reason for this isolation of the Christian Levant was the policy of the Mamluk state after the Alexandrian Crusade of the king of Cyprus Peter Lusignan (1365). The Mamluks severely persecuted the Eastern Christians and forbade any unapproved contacts of the Patriarchs with the foreign Christian countries. However, such restrictions couldn't be effective. The pre-industrial society had little methods of total control of movement of people, goods and ideas. The causes of the isolation of the Christian East should be looked for inside the Greek Orthodox civilization which had been in serious crisis in that period<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> Панченко К.А. Восточные патриархии Константинополя от крестоносцев до османов // Ермилов П.В., Грацианский М.В., Панченко К.А. Понятие первенства: Истоки и контексты: Коллективная монография / Отв.

While in the 14<sup>th</sup> century the Eastern Patriarchs were actively involved in discussions about the union of Eastern and Western Churches, the Middle Eastern Patriarchates had little relation to the main unionist project of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Council of Florence. Negotiations between emperor John VIII Paleologos (1425–1448) and Rome continued for years but the Eastern Patriarchs were informed about the project of the Council only in spring 1436 when Byzantine envoy Paul Makhrokhir was sent to them with invitation to take part in the council<sup>2</sup>.

Already in autumn 1436 it became clear that the Patriarchs were unable to participate in the council personally and intended to delegate their prerogatives to members of the Byzantine clergy<sup>3</sup>. Since February 1437 names of these representatives (procurators, vicars) began to appear in the sources, however with some variants. Antonios of Herakleia and protosyncellus Gregorios were nominated patriarch vicars for the throne of Alexandria, Markos of Ephesos and Isidor of Russia for Antioch and Dionisios of Sardis for Jerusalem<sup>4</sup>. Paul Makhrokhir returned to the Byzantine capital 1 of March 1437 and already in April new envoy of the emperor named Theodosios Antiochos was sent to the East. About early September he brought letters of the Patriarchs confirming powers of the vicars<sup>5</sup>.

I don't think that during the preparation of the Council the Eastern Patriarchs communicated between themselves and discussed any common position. Nevertheless, it's worth to men-

---

ред. П.В. Ермилов, М.В. Грацианский. М.: Издательство ПСТГУ, 2022. С. 519–526.

<sup>2</sup> For more details: Ibid. С. 526–527.

<sup>3</sup> Les registes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople / Ed. J. Darrouzès. Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1991. Vol. 1. Les actes des patriarches. Fasc. VII. Les registes de 1410 à 1453. №. 3355 (= *Darrouzès. Les registes*).

<sup>4</sup> *Darrouzès. Les registes*. №. 3355, 3361, 3369, 3373.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. №. 3361.

tion that Sinai Arabic manuscript 420 (the Synaxarion written in 1287) contains marginalia mentioning visit of Patriarch Yuwakim of Jerusalem to the Sinai monastery in February 1437. The note was written by monk Philimon, who called himself “the pupil of the Patriarch kir Yuwakim”<sup>6</sup>. Perhaps it was just a pilgrimage, however this visit to Sinai could be a chance to meet somehow with the Patriarch of Alexandria and to discuss urgent ecclesiastical affairs.

In April 1438 in Ferrara the Greek delegation demonstrated the patriarchal letters about prerogatives of the vicars<sup>7</sup>. Soon Dionisios of Sardis died, delegating his power of the vicar of Jerusalem to Dositheos of Monemvasia<sup>8</sup>. 6 July of 1439 r. all the Greek delegates except Markos of Ephesos signed the act of Union<sup>9</sup>.

Soon after the conclusion of the Council Gregorios Mammias, at that time protosyncellus and confessor of the emperor and later Patriarch of Constantinople, wrote to Theophilus of Alexandria informing him about the union’s decree signed in Florence<sup>10</sup>. Moreover, Nathanael, bishop of Rhodes, was charged by

<sup>6</sup> MS Sin. Ar. 420. P. 1v.

<sup>7</sup> *Darrouzès*. Les registes. №. 3369.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* №. 3373.

<sup>9</sup> *Nasrallah J.* Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l’église melchite du Ve au XXe siècle. Louvain-P., 1981. Vol. III. T. 2. P. 72–73; *Успенский Ф.И.* История Византийской империи XI–XV вв. Восточный вопрос. М.: Мысль, 1997. Т. 3. С. 619–620. См. также о Флорентийской унии и участии восточных патриархов в этом проекте: *Blanchet M.-H.* Theology, Philosophy and Politics at Ferrara-Florence // *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium* / Eds. A. Kaldellis, N. Siniosoglou. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. P. 557–572; *Van Sickle J. N.* Re-evaluating the Role of Emperor John VIII in the Failed Union of Florence // *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. 2017. Vol. 68. № 1. P. 40–58; *Koukousas V.* The Representation of the Patriarchate of Alexandria at Ferrara-Florence and the Fight against Proselytization in the Provinces from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> Century: Investigation on the Basis of the Sources // *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*. 2012. Т. 94. P. 260–289.

<sup>10</sup> For the letter of Gregorios to Theophilus, see: *Orientalium documenta minora* / Ed. G. Hofmann. Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium studiorum,

John VIII Palaeologus to communicate the promulgated union in Florence to Theophilus<sup>11</sup>. The reply of the Alexandrian prelate to pope Eugenius V is known; The Patriarch expressed his joy for the fact that ecclesial communion between Rome and Alexandria was restored as well as his willingness to commemorate the name of the Roman pontiff in the liturgy<sup>12</sup>. The Orthodox historiography questions authenticity of this letter<sup>13</sup>.

After the return of the Greek delegation to Constantinople in early 1440, hesitations began among the Greek clergy<sup>14</sup>. The Union caused strong opposition in the Byzantine society. The authorities even didn't bring themselves to publish officially the Act of Union. No one of popular Metropolitans inclined to occupy the throne of the Patriarch of Constantinople which was vacant after the death of Patriarch Joseph in Florence. Finally in May 1440 Metrophanes of Cyzicus, the strong advocate of Union, was appointed the Patriarch. Many members of the political and ecclesiastical elite left Constantinople. Perhaps, one of them was Arsenios, metropolitan of Caesarea of Cappadocia and exarch of the whole Anatolia, who visited the three Eastern Patriarchs and inspired them to define their official attitude on the Union of Florence.

---

1953. Vol. III. Fasc. 3. P. 40–45. (Concilium Florentinum. Documenta et Scriptores. Ser. A.) (= *Hofmann. Orientalium*).

<sup>11</sup> The specific mission of Nathanael is referred in a letter of the Byzantine emperor to the Patriarch of Alexandria see: *Hoffman. Orientalium*. P. 39–40.

<sup>12</sup> For the letter of Theophilus to pope Eugene, dated on September 1, 1440 and preserved only in latin translation, see: *Hoffman. Orientalium*. P. 51–53.

<sup>13</sup> *Χρυσόστομος (Παπαδόπουλος), αρχιεπ. Αθηνών και πάσης Ελλάδος*. Ιστορία της Εκκλησίας Αλεξανδρείας (62–1934). Αλεξάνδρεια: Πατριαρχικόν Τυπογραφείο, 1935. Σ. 581. See also: *Koukousas V. The Representation of the Patriarchate of Alexandria...* P. 260–289.

<sup>14</sup> По выражению Ф.И. Успенского, «по мере удаления от Рима их латинство линияло» (*Успенский Ф.И. История...* С. 620) (предложение из русской версии доклада К.А. Панченко, опущено при переводе на англ. яз. — Е.К.).



Patriarch of Antioch and All the East John X (Yazigi) and Professor Panchenko at the conference “The Orthodox Church of Antioch from the 15th to the 18th Century: Towards a Proper Understanding of History”. Lebanon, University of Balamand, October 16, 2023  
<https://www.antiochpatriarchate.org/>

### The Council of the Middle Eastern Patriarchs 1443

At the Easter 1443 Patriarchs Yuwakim of Jerusalem, Theophilus of Alexandria and Dorotheos of Antioch joined in Jerusalem and signed a decree demonstrating their extremely negative attitude towards the Union and its supporters<sup>15</sup>.

The Synodal letter spoke about arrival for a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre metropolitan of Caesarea of Cappadocia who had a rank of Exarch of the whole Anatolia. He informed

<sup>15</sup> There are two modern editions of the decree by G. Hoffman (*Hofmann. Orientalium. P. 69*) and by I Sakellion (*Κατάλογος των χειρογράφων της Εθνικής Βιβλιοθήκης της Ελλάδος / Σακελλίων Ι., εκδ. Εν Αθήναις: Εθνικό Τυπογραφείο, 1892. Σ. 24*), which differ in the title of the document.

the three “Syrian” Patriarchs about “scandals” in Constantinople caused by the “rotten” Latin Council in Florence, which adopted the doctrine on emanation of the Holy Spirit from the Son also, usage of the azymes and recognized the priority of the Pope of Rome. As it was said in the Synodal letter, Metropolitan of Cyzicus Metrophanes “illegally” occupied the throne of the Church of Constantinople supported by the heretics, the Pope and “Latinophrone” emperor John Paleologos. The new Patriarch oppressed the true believers, honoured infidels and heretics and appointed his partisans at the sees of bishops. Several bishoprics of Anatolia such as Amasia, Neocaesarea, Tyana, Moccusus were occupied by “Latin-minded” clerics<sup>16</sup>. Unable to see the decline, corruption and betrayal of the Church of Christ, metropolitan Arsenios of Caesarea travelled to the three “Syrian” Patriarchs asking their advice. As a result, the Council of the Patriarchs ordered to excommunicate the unworthy metropolitans — the heretics and persecutors of Orthodoxy — until their case would be investigated by a canonical council. The ones who would be disobedient to this decision should be condemned and anathematized. The Patriarchs by the power of the Holy Spirit delegated to the metropolitan of Caesarea the right to preach the right doctrine even in front of the wrongly minded Emperor and Patriarch [of Constantinople] and delegated the power to condemn, to forbid and to correct. The letter was signed by the three Patriarchs and dated 6 April 6951 (1443).

This document written in Greek was published the first time in 1648 by Leo Allatius who also attached a Latin translation of the text. In 1682 Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheus Notaras re-printed it as a part of a corpus of anti-Latin polemical treatises.

---

<sup>16</sup> It is known from other sources that Metrophanes appointed unionist bishop of Amasia Pakhomios, while nothing is known about other sees.



Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence.  
In 1439, the Council of Florence Union was signed here.  
*From open sources*

The authenticity of the letter of the three Patriarchs has been questioned, as have many other texts of the Greek-Latin controversy of the 15<sup>th</sup> cent. Prominent place among these documents belongs to the so called “Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 1450” which was said to take place in the Byzantine capital with the participation of the Eastern Patriarchs and condemned the Union of Florence. Already in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century these “Acts” were convincingly proved to be a forgery, composed by Greek intellectual of the early 17<sup>th</sup> cent. George Coresios of Chios<sup>17</sup>. The Council of 1443 was also suspected to be a fake.

Joseph Gill, professor of the Pontifical Oriental Institute, studied the letter of the Patriarchs of 1443 and insisted that it is spu-

<sup>17</sup> Папаиоанну X. Акты так называемого Последнего Софийского собора (1450 г.) и их историческое достоинство // Византийский временник. 1895. Т. 2. С. 394–415; *Darrouzès*. Les registes. №. 3403.

rious. He paid attention that the Greek style of the document is poor and in places ungrammatical (in fact it isn't strange — none of the three Patriarchs was a native speaker). The scholar pointed that the Patriarchs in their letter said nothing about their vicars in Florence, there was no repudiation of their signatures of the Acts of Union, the Patriarchs didn't mention the Papal messages about the results of the Council (such message had been sent at least to the Patriarch of Alexandria) and pretended that it was metropolitan Arsenios of Caesarea who familiarised them with the fact of the Union at the first time. Moreover, the main argument of Gill was complete ignorance of the Byzantine anti-Unionist polemicists of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, like Gennadius Scholarius, about the existence of this document. Metropolitan Arsenios of Caesarea was also unknown from any sources besides the Patriarchal letter. J. Gill suggested that the author of the letter of the Eastern Patriarchs could be the abovementioned George Coresios, who composed the spurious "Acts of the council of Constantinople of 1450"<sup>18</sup>.

Later on, Marie-Helene Blanchet turned again to the problem of the Council of 1443 and revised the arguments of J. Gill. She easily proved that the text couldn't be a forgery of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, because the letter of the Patriarchs survived in 17 manuscript copies, the earliest of which belonged to the 15<sup>th</sup> or early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Nevertheless, one could suppose that the document might be a forgery not of the 17<sup>th</sup> but of the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. However, M.-H. Blanchet argued that the situation described in the letter was absolutely realistic. The application of metropolitan of Caesarea Arsenios to the three Patriarchs wasn't impossible<sup>19</sup>.

---

<sup>18</sup> Gill J. The Condemnation of the Council of Florence by the Three Oriental Patriarchs in 1443 // Gill J. Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964. P. 213–221.

<sup>19</sup> Blanchet M.-H. Le patriarcat de Constantinople et le rejet de l'union de Florence par les patriarches orientaux en 1443. Réexamen du dossier documentaire // Le patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople et Byzance hors fron-



Note by the monk Philemon about Patriarch Joachim of Jerusalem, February 1437 (MS Sin. Ar. 420)

I can only agree with it. Arsenios indeed is the key figure of the Council. The text of the Patriarchal letter was obviously composed under his influence and dealt first of all not with the very fact of the Union but with prerogatives of the exarch of Anatolia, whose authority was challenged by new-appointed unionist bishops of several Anatolian bishoprics. The very fact of these small details proves that the document was inspired by concrete events (now partly forgotten) of ecclesiastical life of Central Anatolia of the mid. 15<sup>th</sup> cent. and isn't a late forgery. The ignorance of Genadius Scholarius and other anti-Latin polemicists about this text can be explained by the above-mentioned isolation of the

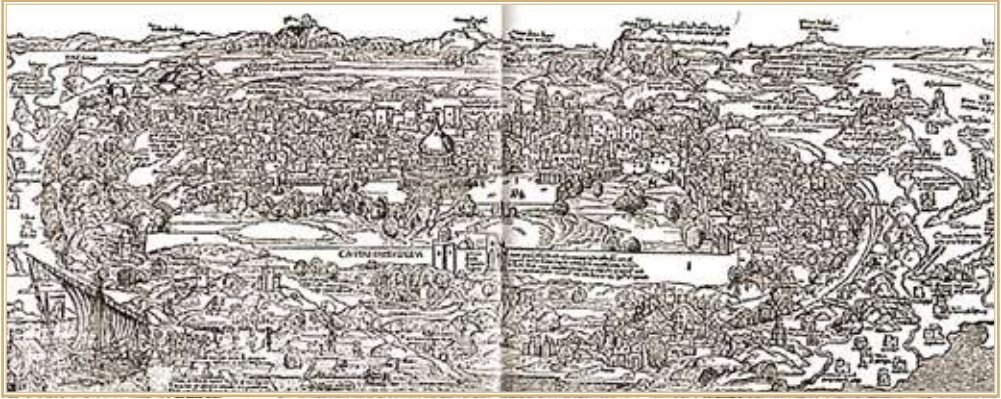
tières (1204–1586): Actes de la table ronde organisée dans le cadre du 22e Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Sofia, 22–27 août 2011. Paris, 2014. P. 309–326.

Middle East from the Byzantine and by the fact that the letter was addressed not to the Byzantine society but personally to the metropolitan of Caesarea. In fact, as it was said, the letter wasn't a direct condemnation of the Union, Emperor John Palaeologos and Patriarch Metrophanes but a confirmation of the prerogatives of the metropolitan of Caesarea. Nevertheless, negative attitude to the Union emanates from every line of the letter although not being its main theme.

I am to add a few more arguments to end the discussion about the authenticity of the Council of 1443. The fact of the synod of the three Patriarchs was confirmed by Franciscan missionary Fra Gryphon, who worked in Beirut in that time (1442–1450)<sup>20</sup>. Another proof of the authenticity of the letter is its translation into Slavonic made in the same year 1443 in Moldavia which at that time was one of hotbeds of the Slavonic culture. Although this Slavonic translation was published already in 1906, it had been unknown for a long time to scholars of Middle Eastern Christianity. The translation was done by monk Gavriil of Neamt monastery and survived in several early copies (the earliest one is dated 1512)<sup>21</sup>. It's a puzzle why this text was little known to the intellectuals of Constantinople but spread in monastic circles of Moldavia. Certainly, there had been Slavic presence in the Late Medieval Holy Land, for example the Serbian Archangel monastery in Jerusalem. Slavic or Moldavian monks or pilgrims could transfer a copy of the Patriarchal letter to the Neamt monastery. The text was immediately translated and copied being treated as an important argument in polemic against the Union. The letter

<sup>20</sup> *Nasrallah*. Histoire. P. 73–75.

<sup>21</sup> Яцимирский А.И. Из истории славянской проповеди в Молдавии: Неизвестные произведения Григория Цамблака, подражания ему и переводы монаха Гавриила. [СПб.]: Тип. И.Н. Скороходова, 1906. С. I–II, LXVI–LXVII, 77–83. (Памятники древней письменности и искусства; 163).



Jerusalem. Engraving by Erhard Reuwich. 1483.  
*From open sources*

of the Eastern Patriarchs seemed to be very important for the Orthodox world demoralized by the Union of Florence<sup>22</sup>.

### Political zigzags

In the following decades relations between the Orthodox East and Rome passed through several dramatic turning points. It seems that the fall of Constantinople in 1453 had a traumatic effect for the Orthodox hierarchs of the Middle East<sup>23</sup>. They tried to find a new protector instead of the fallen empire. Disoriented by the collapse of the traditional structure of the universe, Patriarchs Yuwakim II of Antioch, Marcos of Alexandria and Yuwakim of Jerusalem (one of the members of the Council of 1443) in 1458

<sup>22</sup> Подобный демарш трех патриархов, осудивших своего константинопольского собрата, был явлением исключительным: в 1443 г. они впервые выступили как консолидированная сознательная сила, противопоставляющая себя Константинополю (Панченко К.А. Восточные патриархи и Константинополь... С. 531). — Е.К.

<sup>23</sup> Восточные патриархи не могли не ощутить потерю того, кто был, пусть символически, главой их цивилизации и заступником перед мусульманскими властями (Ibid. С. 533). — Е.К.

accepted persuasions of Papal legate Mois Gibelet and signed a document on their union with Rome and a call to the European kings to organize a new Crusade. These documents survived only in Latin translation and their authenticity also had been questioned<sup>24</sup>. However, I suppose that according to the current level of our knowledge the contacts of the Eastern Patriarchs with the Papal legate look realistic enough.

Nevertheless, Patriarch of Jerusalem Yuwakim soon changed his political position drastically and decided to find another source of support. In 1463 he personally travelled to Russia asking alms to help his declined Patriarchate. As he wrote to Prince of Moscow Vasiliy II: “Being informed about your piety we decided to come to you... Beloved brothers, we are physically far from you, but spiritually we are together”<sup>25</sup>. The old-aged Patriarch died during his journey in Genoese Kaffa in Crimea, however his nephew Joseph managed to reach Moscow with Patriarchal letters and was met with great pomp.

The unprecedented journey of the Patriarch of Jerusalem to Moscow became one of the stages of political and ideological self-affirmation of Russia, the process which later was finalized by the concept of “Moscow the Third Rome”. It’s worth mentioning that at that moment the canonical status of the Russian Church was unclear. After the rejection of the Union of Florence in 1440 Russia broke its ecclesiastical subordination to Constantinople however this self-proclaimed autocephaly wasn’t recognized by other Orthodox Churches. The visit of the Patriarch of Jerusalem (even despite the fact of his death on the way) elevated the status of the Russian Church to the great extent and legitimized its break with Constantinople.

---

<sup>24</sup> *Nasrallah*. Histoire. P. 79.

<sup>25</sup> Кобеко Д.Ф. Разрешительные грамоты иерусалимских патриархов // Журнал Министерства народного просвещения. 1896, июнь. С. 273, 274.

Patriarch Yuwakim in his letter asked the Russian bishops to appoint his nephew Joseph the metropolitan of Caesarea Philippi, the bishopric in the area of lake Tiberias. In Moscow Joseph proclaimed the Orthodox confession of the faith and confirmed condemnation of the “God hated and unclean tradition” of the council of Florence. After it he was consecrated the metropolitan of Caesarea. In spring 1464 he was sent to the northern Russian cities Pskov and Novgorod where he collected large alms. On his way back to Palestine Joseph stayed in Constantinople for a long time and sent to the Grand Prince of Moscow important information on political and ecclesiastical affairs in South-Eastern Europe. So, these Jerusalem clerics — Patriarch Yuwakim and his nephew — openly associated themselves with the anti-unionist forces in the Orthodox world<sup>26</sup>.

I am speaking so much about the Patriarch of Jerusalem because he belonged to the same community of the Arabophone Middle Eastern Orthodox, such as the Christians of the Church of Antioch, and presumably shared with them political sympathies and antipathies.

The final statement about the attitude of the Orthodox East to the Union of Florence was made by the Council of 1484 in Constantinople. This was the first major synod after the fall of Byzantine. The Church of Constantinople consolidated its power under Ottoman protection and returned into its jurisdiction Greek lands won by the Ottomans from the Latins. The Council discussed the correct ritual for the reception into the Orthodox Church of the Uniates Greeks. It was declared also that the

---

<sup>26</sup> On the journey of Patriarch Yuwakim see: *Панченко К.А. Патриарх Иоаким между Каиром, Римом и Москвой: к истории русско-палестинских контактов XV в. // Русская Палестина. Россия в Святой Земле: [материалы Международной научной конференции, 21–22 октября 2009 г.]. СПб.: Изд. дом СПбГУ, 2010. С. 228–239.*

Council of Florence had not been canonically composed and his decrees were invalid<sup>27</sup>. The Eastern Patriarchs at least the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Alexandria were invited to participate in the Council to demonstrate its oecumenic status. Unable to be present personally they, as in 1438, delegated their power to member of the Greek clergy Daniel Metropolitan of Smyrna, who had previously been sent to invite the Patriarchs of the ancient eastern thrones<sup>28</sup>.

### Perception of the Council of Florence by the Orthodox Middle East: the first phase

After the mission of Mois Gibelet contacts between Rome and the Eastern Patriarchs were stopped for more than a century. It seems that the memory of the Union of Florence in the Christian Middle East was lost.

The only data which contradicts such an assumption belongs to a Melkite Catholic writer of the late 19<sup>th</sup> cent. Cyril Rizk. He wrote that in the library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem he had seen two manuscripts of Arabic translations of the Acts of the Council of Florence. The earlier translation which presumably could be dated by the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century was done by metropolitan of Beirut Mikhail while the manuscript itself was copied in Kara about 1500 by certain Dawud ibn Musa al-‘Azak. In 1901 the Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem was published. The abovementioned

---

<sup>27</sup> *Runciman S.* The Great Church in Captivity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968. P. 228.

<sup>28</sup> *Пападопуло-Керамевс А.И.* В котором году Смирнский митрополит Даниил посетил Св. Землю? // Сообщения Императорского Православного Палестинского Общества. 1893. Т. 4 (октябрь). С. 631–637.

tioned manuscript was absent there (it was only a late translation of the Acts of the Council, dated 1811, based on the printing edition of 1715 in Paris<sup>29</sup>). The scholars were puzzled by this fact<sup>30</sup>. The date of the first Arabic translation of the Acts of the Council is still unclear. Mikhail, Metropolitan of Beirut, is unknown from other sources, however it isn't surprising taking into consideration our very limited knowledge on the Melkites' history of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. There had been Franciscan mission in Beirut which presumably could familiarize the Orthodox prelates with the documents of the Council (in Greek version). Town Kara in the 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries had been one of prominent centers of the Orthodox culture and book production so it's possible that a copy of the Acts of the Council could be made there. Anyhow such manuscripts even in case they existed were very rare. In collective memory of the Rum Orthodox Arabs the Union of Florence was forgotten.

This fact was discovered by Jesuit missionaries who appeared in the Middle East in the late 1570-s. Pope's legate Giowanni Battista Eliano in 1581 and 1582 met with two rival Patriarchs of Antioch Yuwakim Daw and Mikhail Sabbag and persuaded them to accept the Gregorian calendar and to renew the Union with Rome. Cardinal Julio Antonio de Santa Severina who supervised relations with the Greek Orthodox Churches ordered to send to the missionaries the text of the Papal bulla on the Union of Florence and the documents on the Union of the Eastern Patriarchs with Rome of 1458. Eliano had to translate these docu-

<sup>29</sup> Κατάλογος ἀραβικῶν χειρογράφων τῆς ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς βιβλιοθήκης / Ὑπὸ Κλεοπᾶ Μ. Κοικυλίδου. Ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις: Ἐκ τοῦ Τυπογραφείου τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Κοινοῦ τοῦ Π. Τάφου, 1901 = [A Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of Jerusalem / Comp. Kleopa M. Koikylidoy. Ierosolymis, 1901]. № 94. Σ. 83.

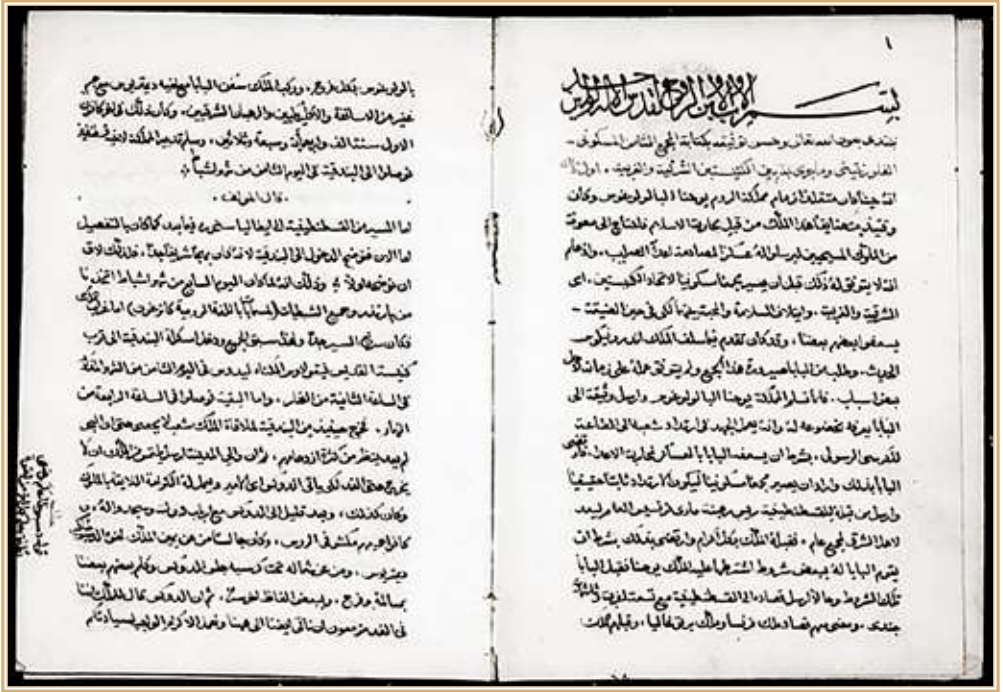
<sup>30</sup> *Karalevskij C. Antioche // Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1924. T. III. Col. 632; Nasrallah. Histoire. P. 73.*

ments from Latin into Arabic and use them in his negotiations with the Orthodox Patriarchs. It means that in Rome nothing was known about the existence of Arabic translation of the Acts. Eliano hardly had a chance to familiarize the Patriarchs with the Acts of the Council of Florence because the documents were sent from Rome 24 June 1582 while already in September the legate received an order to travel to Egypt to establish contacts with the Coptic Church<sup>31</sup>.

The next Jesuit mission in the Middle East led by Leonardo Abel also met with Yuwakim Daw about March of 1584. The project of renewal of the Union was discussed again. Yuwakim was a skillful diplomat able to charm his partner and to avoid any concrete promises and obligations. He said that he had never heard about the Union of Florence. The Pope's legate delivered to him a copy of the Arabic translation of the Acts of the Council and agreed about the next meeting for conclusion of final agreement about the Union. This meeting certainly never happened because in September of the same year the Patriarch travelled to Istanbul looking for financial support of Phanariots to pay debts of his Church. From Istanbul Yuwakim departed on a long journey to Eastern Europe. He never met Leonardo Abel any more<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Monumenta Proximi-Orientis. Vol. I. Palestine — Liban — Syrie — Mesopotamie (1523–1583) / par S. Kuri. Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1989. P. 317–319. (Monumenta Missionum Societatis Iesu, Vol. LI: Missiones Orientales); Панченко К.А. Антиохийская Православная Церковь и Рим в эпоху Контрреформации. Полемический ответ папе Римскому Анастасия ибн Муджаллы // Панченко К.А. Православные арабы: Путь через века: Сб. статей. М.: Изд-во ПСТГУ, 2013. С. 293–300.

<sup>32</sup> Panchenko C. The Antiochian Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate and Rome in the late 16<sup>th</sup> C. A Polemic Response by the Metropolitan Anastasius Ibn Mujallā to the Pope // Actes du symposium international Le Livre. La Roumanie. L'Europe. 4<sup>ème</sup> edition. 20–23 septembre 2011. Bucarest: Editura Bibliotecii Bucureștilor, 2012. T. III. Section III. Latinité Orientale. P. 306. For more details: Панченко К.А. «Триполийское гнездо»



Acts of the Council of Ferrara-Florence in Arabic. Manuscript c. 1500. (Κατάλογος ἀραβικῶν χειρογράφων τῆς ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς βιβλιοθήκης / Ὑπὸ Κλεοπᾶ Μ. Κοικυλίδου. Ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, 1901. Σ. 83)

However, it’s obvious that information about the Union of Florence began to spread among the Christians of the Church of Antioch by efforts of the missionaries. At Autumn of 1584 a group of Melkite Philo-Catholics from Tripoli sent to Rome a message welcoming a forthcoming agreement of the Churches: “let it be absolute love and obedience to the Pope’s see of [Apostle] Peter according to the statement of 318 holy fathers in city Nicea and the statement of the holy fathers in city Faransia (Florence)”<sup>33</sup>.

(Православная община г. Триполи в культурно-политической жизни Антиохийского патриархата XVI – первой половины XVII в.) // Православные арабы. Путь через века: Сб. статей. М., 2013. С. 230–233; Панченко К.А. Антиохийская Православная Церковь и Рим в эпоху Контрреформации... С. 301–304. — Е.К.

<sup>33</sup> Risālat wuḡahā’ al-rūm al-ṭarāblusiyyīn ilā al-bābā Ġriḡūriyūs al-ṭalīt ‘aṣār / Ed. Anṭūn Rabbāt // al-Mašriq. 1906. Š. 357–361.



Lebanon, Kadisha Valley.

*Photo by Professor Panchenko, February 2015*

### **Anastasios ibn Muğalla and anti-Latin polemic in Arabic**

Yuwakim Daw returned back to Syria in the late 1580-s with rich Russian alms. He felt self-confident enough to define openly his attitude to the project of Union. On behalf of the Patriarch his close confidant Metropolitan of Tripoli and Beirut Anastasios ibn Muğalla wrote a “Response” to the Pope. It seems to be the first example of Arabic anti-Latin polemic. The central topic of the “Response” was the Gregorian calendar just accepted by the Western Church, however the Union of Florence also wasn’t forgotten. I am quoting: “...Our father the Pope wrote also in his message suggesting us to [join] agreement of the Eighth Council. However, we never heard about this council and it is not in our tradition. We didn’t receive information about it either from our books or from [the people of] our country or from our fathers

Patriarchs who had ruled before us. You told that 140 bishops had assembled there, famous for their piety, and among them the Patriarch of Antioch and the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Patriarch of Egypt and vicar of the Patriarch of Istanbul together with the Pope who had been in that time. And they condemned everybody who denies that the Holy Spirit emanates from the Father and the Son and everybody who doesn't confirm the holiness of the unleavened bread and doesn't reject the leavened bread. Let it be known to our holy father the Pope and to his learned men that this heresy is the worst heresy among the all ones which had appeared before because it's the strongest apostasy and the unbelief which is worse than the heresies of Arius, Eutychius, Nestorius, Dioscorus, Jakob Baraday and other infidels who separated the Son from the nature of His Father..."<sup>34</sup>.

After it the author analyzed in details the doctrine of *Philioque* and unleavened bread finalizing his study by the following words: "As for the participants of the abovementioned council [that is, the Council of Florence], which deviated from the [doctrine of] the Seven Ecumenical Councils and preferred unleavened bread to leavened bread, and established such an order and introduced such a heresy and ugly tradition and disastrous rules – woe is them, because they were wrong and clouded all Frankish peoples and misled them. While the community of Rum-Melkites was not mistaken..."<sup>35</sup>.

The main part of the treatise of Anastasios is devoted to condemnation of the Council of Florence and the Western Church tradition in general. Here I am not going to go into details of the text of the "Response"<sup>36</sup>. It's worth to mention only that the

<sup>34</sup> MS Saint Petersburg. ИВР РАН. В 1220. Fol. 92r–93v.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. Fol. 100v.

<sup>36</sup> For more details: Панченко К.А. Антиохийская Православная Церковь и Рим в эпоху Контрреформации... С. 305–322; Митрополит Анастасий



“Response” to the Pope of Rome by Metropolitan Anastasius ibn Mujalla.  
 Copy made by Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, 1642  
 (Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.  
 B 1220 об. — 87)

Orthodox Arabs of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in general had negative and confrontational attitude to the Latin world.

### The 17<sup>th</sup> century and transformation of inter-communal relations

However, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century this attitude changed. The Patriarchs and Metropolitans of the Church of Antioch maintained friendly relations with Western missionaries and dreamed about adoption of cultural and technological achievements of Europe, such

ибн Муджалла. Ответ папе Римскому / Пер. с араб., предисл. и коммент. К.А. Панченко // Антология литературы православных арабов. Т. 1: История / Сост. К. А. Панченко. М., 2020. С. 212–223. — Е.К.



Macarius III al-Za'im, Patriarch of Antioch.  
 Portrait from the Tsar's Titulary. 1672.  
 (*Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts*)

as book-printing. The key figures of the Melkite Renaissance — Patriarch Macarios III al-Za'im and Paul of Aleppo — were familiar with Arabic translations of Latin authors such as works of historian Caesar Baronius (1538–1607), which presumably were the source of their information about the Council of Florence.

Records on the Council in the historical texts of Paul and Macarios look almost similar, however they don't coincide literally. Either both authors used the same source or Macarios re-told by his own words the information of Paul. Here is the record of Macarios: "And after it Dorotheus I became the Patriarch of Antioch who originated from God saved Saidnaya and had been bishop there. And during his reign there was the Eighth Council

of the Franks in the city Fluranda. Among the participants there were John Palelogos the Emperor of Constantinople, because it had been before its conquest by the Muslims, and Joseph the Patriarch of Constantinople and all the bishops, and Antonios the Metropolitan of Heraklea *vakil* [representative] of Patriarch of Alexandria kir Philopheos, and Isidor the Metropolitan of Kiev and all the country al-Rus *vakil* of Patriarch Dorotheos of Antioch, and Dorotheos the Metropolitan of Monemvasia *vakil* of Yuwakim the Patriarch of Jerusalem. This Council was in 6948 AM which corresponds to 1448 from the Divine Incarnation (=1439/40 г. AD)<sup>37</sup> and to 843 АН<sup>38</sup>.

It is obvious that this information is absolutely neutral, perhaps even too neutral for an Orthodox author. By the way, Russian bishop Porphiriy Uspenskiy (1804–1885) in his translation of the Orthodox chronicle of Mikhail Brayk (which in the paragraph about the Council of Florence reproduced the text of Paul of Aleppo) instead the words “the Eighth Council of the Franks” wrote “the eighth pseudo-council of the western people”<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> Мелькиты использовали особую эру, так называемую «мелькитскую эру от Боговоплощения», которая «опережала» нашу эру от Р.Х. на 8 лет. Так образом, мелькитский год «1448 от Боговоплощения» соответствует 1440 г. Р.Х. (точнее, 1 сентября 1439 – 31 августа 1440 г. Р.Х.). О мелькитской эре от Боговоплощения см.: *Samir K.S. L'ère de l'Incarnation dans les manuscrits arabes melkites du 11<sup>e</sup> au 14<sup>e</sup> siècle // Orientalia Christiana Periodica. 1987. Vol. 53. P. 193–201. — свящ. А. Трейгер.*

<sup>38</sup> MS Saint Petersburg. ИВР РАН. В 1227. Fol. 182. For more details: *Панченко К.А. Вспомнить прошлое: Антиохийский патриарх Макарий III аз-За'им как историк // Miscellanea Orientalia Christiana (Восточно-христианское разнообразие). М.: ИВКА РГГУ; Пробел-2000, 2014. С. 359–384. — Е.К.*

<sup>39</sup> *Mīḥā'il Burayk. al-Ḥaqa'iq al-wafiyya fī ta'rīḥ baṭārikat al-kanīsa al-Anṭākiyya = [The Complete Truth about the History of the Patriarchs of the Church of Antioch]. Bairūt: Dār al-Ādāb, 2006. P. 134; Translation of Porphiriy Uspenskiy: Список Антиохийских патриархов // Труды Киевской Духовной Академии. 1874. № 6. С. 423. For more details: *Панченко К.А. Михаил Брейк // Православная энциклопедия. М., 2017. Т. 45. С. 703–704. — Е.К.**



Treatise by Macarius III al-Za'im on the Antiochian dioceses and bishops.  
 Autograph manuscript of the Patriarch, completed in Georgia in 1665.  
 Marginal notes by Macarius's grandson, Patriarch Cyril V al-Za'im.  
 (*Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg. B 1227*)

### Religious polemic of the 18<sup>th</sup> century

The polemic between the Orthodox and the Catholics in the Middle East became much more intense since the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The climax of the confrontation was the schism from the Church of Antioch in 1724<sup>40</sup>. During the next century the controversies between the theologians of the opposite communities continued. Each side tried to prove the truth of its

<sup>40</sup> Расколу Антиохийской Церкви 1724 г. предшествовало признание в 1716 г. Антиохийским патриархом Кириллом V аз-За'имом главенства папы; вместе с этим он принимал постановления Ферраро-Флорентийского собора и все католические догматы. См. подробнее: Панченко К.А. Ближневосточное православие под османским владычеством: первые три столетия, 1516–1831: [монография]. М.: Индрик, 2012. С. 440. — Е.К.



Translation by Sophronius al-Kilisi into Arabic of Greek anti-Latin polemical texts, including the acts of the Council of the Three Eastern Patriarchs of 1443.

Manuscript Kitāb jalā' al-abṣār min ghiṣā' al-akdār  
 (“The Book of the Clarification of Obscurity”). 1739.

(Ms Balamand 179. Bala-0171. Fol. 322r)

doctrine<sup>41</sup>. Strangely enough, the topic of the Union of Florence didn't occupy a noticeable place in this polemic. It seems that the

<sup>41</sup> For more details: Панченко К.А. Становление антилатинской полемики православных арабов в XVIII в. // Вестник церковной истории. 2021. № 1/2(61/62). С. 219–235; Ермилов П.В., свящ., Панченко К.А., Петрова Ю.А. Переписка Александрийского патриарха Герасима Паллады с Антиохийскими христианами: исторический и текстологический аспекты // Вестник Православного Свято-Тихоновского гуманитарного университета. Серия 3: Филология. 2021. № 69. С. 34–52; Ermilov P., Bernatsky M., Panchenko S. Gerasimos Palladas of Alexandria and the Eucharistic Disputes in the Church of Antioch (1701–1702) // La division de l'Église rûm d'Antioche en 1724 et la construction des identités confessionnelles orthodoxe et catholique / Sous la direction de B. Heyberger, Ž. Paša, R. el Gemayel. Beyrouth, 2024. P. 518–557. — E.K.



Sermon by Mas‘ad Nashw on the schism of the Christian Churches. 1750. (MS HIERUS. AR. 119)

events in Italy of the 15<sup>th</sup> century didn't look actual for the Syrian Arabs of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

At the same time the information about history of relations and confrontations between the Eastern and the Western Churches indeed was accessible for the Christian Arab intellectuals. As it was said before, in 1682 Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos published in Yassi a collection of Greek texts of anti-Latin polemic including the Acts of the Council of the three Eastern Patriarchs of 1443. In 1739 Orthodox Arab theologian and future Patriarch Sophronios al-Kilizi composed an Arabic translation of this book. So, he returned the Acts of 1443 to its place of origin<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Речь идет о рукописи Софрония аль-Килиси, озаглавленной *Kitāb ḡalā' al-abṣār min ḡiṣā' al-akdār* («Книга прояснения сумрака»; MS Balamand 179. Bala-0171). В ее состав входит перевод трактата Иерусалимского патриарха Нектария под названием *Peri tēs arhēs toū Pála* («Возражения против главенства папы») по греческому изданию Иерусалимского патриарха Досифея II Нотары 1682 г., перевод биографии патриарха

However, as I have said, historical topics were not of much interest to the Middle Eastern polemicists of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. They preferred to argue about concrete theological matters such as *filioque*, unleavened bread, the Purgatory, the primacy of the Pope, the Transubstantiation, while various Church councils were mentioned only occasionally just an illustration of opinion of the Church (or certain groups inside the Church) concerning the problems under discussion. For example, one of leading Arab Orthodox theologians Mas‘ad Nashw (d. after 1785) in his preaching of 1750 about the Schism of the Christian Churches demonstrated his familiarity not only with the Council of Florence but even with the Acts of the Council in Basel in 1435, however Mas‘ad discussed controversial theological matters not the Church history.

Even historical chronicles of that epoch, as the History of the Church of Antioch by Mikhail Brayk al-Dimashqi (*al-Ḥaqā’iq al-waḥīyya fī ta’rīḥ batārikat al-kanīsa al-Anṭākiyya*) of 1767 mentioned the Council of Florence only briefly (Brayk literally repeated neutral and short record of Paul of Aleppo), while the history of competition between the Orthodox and the Catholics in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was described emotionally and in details<sup>43</sup>.

The same situation existed in the unionist camp. The bulk of historical texts which appeared in the 18<sup>th</sup> century dealt with the current ecclesiastical and political situation. Historical memory of

---

Нектария и предисловия к греческому изданию, составленных патриархом Досифеем, а также помещенных им в издании нескольких документов, имевших отношение к греко-латинскому противостоянию, включая Акты Собора трех Восточных Патриархов 1443 г. См. подробнее: Панченко К.А. Софроний II аль-Килиси, патриарх Константинопольский // Православная энциклопедия. М., 2022. Т. 65. С. 314. — Е.К.

<sup>43</sup> See for example: Михаил Брейк. Полная истина об истории патриархов Антиохийской Церкви (фрагмент) / Предисл. К. А. Панченко, пер. с араб. Р. И. Касумова, коммент. Р. И. Касумова и К. А. Панченко // Антология литературы православных арабов. Т. 1: История / Сост. К. А. Панченко. М., 2020. С. 333–348.



Professor Panchenko, H. Cholak, and E.Yu. Kovalskaya at the conference  
“The Orthodox Church of Antioch from the 15th to the 18th Century:  
Towards a Proper Understanding of History.”  
Lebanon, University of Balamand, October 18, 2023.  
*From the archive of Professor Panchenko*

the authors was not longer than one generation before their time. The only exception was Yuhanna al-‘Uğaymi (1724–1785) the monk of al-Mukhallisiyya order, who received perfect European education and was familiar with the Western historiography. He presented the history of the Church of Antioch from the point of view of its relations with the Latin West. Unfortunately, the analysis of his text is difficult because it has been published only partly.

### The epilogue

In the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries the confrontation of the Orthodox Church of Antioch and the Melkite Catholic became more moderate. At the same time the educational and academic level of the polemicists increased. They tried to prove legitimate continuity between “their” Church and the historical heritage of the ancient Church of Antioch. It determined increased interest in Church history. In particular, Catholic authors of the early 20<sup>th</sup> centu-

ry stated that the Patriarchate of Antioch almost permanently was in connection with Rome, and considered that the Orthodox branch of the Church of Antioch appeared only in 1724. In this situation the topic of Union of Florence and its acceptance or non-acceptance by the Church of Antioch occupied central position in historical research and accompanying polemic. From their standpoint, the Antiochian Orthodox underline the fact that their Church preserved the same faith, liturgy and spiritual life, both after 1724 as before it, and accordingly, they consider that they are the continuation of the historical Patriarchate of Antioch. I remember that once when I first time read the book of Rustum Asad *Kanīsat madīnat Allah Anṭākiya al-‘Uḍma*, that is, the Orthodox version of history of the Church of Antioch, I was surprised how much the author digressed from the Middle Eastern ecclesiastical affairs into side subjects like the Byzantine hesychasm or the Council of Florence. However now it's clear for me that the problem of the Council for today's Middle Eastern Christians is less a historical than a political and ideological question. Why it is worth further study.

### **Conflict of interests**

The author declares no relevant conflict of interests.



## **Список литературы / References**

1. *Anthology of Literature of Orthodox Arab. Vol. 1: History /* Comp. K.A. Panchenko. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo PSTGU, 2020. 424 p. (in Russ.).

2. Ermilov P.V., priest, Panchenko K.A., Petrova Yu.A. Correspondence of Patriarch Gerasimos Palladas of Alexandria with Antiochian Christians: historical and textual aspects. *Bulletin of the Orthodox St. Tikhon University for the Humanities. Series 3. Philology*. 2021;(69):34–52 (in Russ.).
3. Kobeko D.F. Permission Letters of the Jerusalem Patriarchs. *Journal of the Ministry of Public Education*. 1896;(June):270–279 (in Russ.).
4. Panchenko K.A. The Antiochian Orthodox Church and Rome in the Era of the Counter- Reformation. Polemical Response to Pope Anastasius ibn Mujalla. In: *Panchenko K.A. Orthodox Arabs: A Journey Through the Centuries: A Collection of Articles*. Moscow: PSTGU Publishing House, 2013. P. 292–322 (in Russ.).
5. Panchenko K.A. The Antiochian Church in an attempt at self-knowledge: impressions from the conference «The Orthodox Church of Antioch from the 15th to the 18th cent. Toward a Proper Understanding of History», Balamand, October 16–18, 2023. *Vestnik PSTGU. Seriya 3: Filologiya*. 2023;(77):159–164 (in Russ.).
6. Panchenko K.A. *Middle Eastern Orthodoxy under Ottoman Rule: The First Three Centuries, 1516–1831*. Moscow: Izdatel`stvo «Indrik», 2012. 656 p. (in Russ.).
7. Panchenko K.A. Eastern Patriarchs and Constantinople from the Crusaders to the Ottomans. In: *The Concept of Primacy: Origins and Contexts: A Collective Monograph / Ed. by P.V. Ermilov, M.V. Gratsiansky*. Moscow: Izdatel`stvo PSTGU, 2022. P. 491–538 (in Russ.).
8. Panchenko K.A. Remembering the Past: Antiochian Patriarch Macarius III az-Za‘im as a Historian. In: *Miscellanea Orientalia Christiana (Eastern Christian diversity)*. Moscow: Izdatel`stvo «Probel-2000», 2014. P. 359–384 (in Russ.).
9. Panchenko K.A. Mikhail Breik. *The Orthodox Encyclopedia. Vol. 45*. Moscow: Pravoslavnaya religioznaya organizaciya

- Cerkovno-nauchny`j centr «Pravoslavnyaya e`nciklopediya», 2017. P. 703–704 (in Russ.).
10. Panchenko K.A. Patriarch Joachim between Cairo, Rome and Moscow: on the history of Russian-Palestinian contacts of the 15th century. In: *Russian Palestine. Russia in the Holy Land: Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference, October 21–22, 2009*. St.- Peterburg: Izdatel`stvo SPbGU; 2010. P. 228–239 (in Russ.).
  11. Panchenko K.A. Sophronius II al-Kilisi, Patriarch of Constantinople. *The Orthodox Encyclopedia. Vol. 65*. Moscow: Pravoslavnyaya religioznaya organizaciya Cerkovno-nauchny`j centr «Pravoslavnyaya e`nciklopediya», 2022. P. 313–316 (in Russ.).
  12. Panchenko K.A. Formation of anti-Latin polemics of Orthodox Arabs in the 18th century. *Bulletin of Church History*. 2021;[1–2(61–62)]:219–235 (in Russ.).
  13. Panchenko K.A. «The Tripoli Nest» (The Orthodox Community of Tripoli in the Cultural and Political Life of the Antiochian Patriarchate in the 16th – First Half of the 17th Century). In: Panchenko K.A. *Orthodox Arabs: A Journey Through the Centuries: A Collection of Articles*. Moscow: PSTGU Publishing House, 2013. P. 212–265 (in Russ.).
  14. Papadopoulos-Kerameus A.I. In what year did Metropolitan Daniel of Smyrna visit the Holy Land? *Messages from the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society*. 1893;4 (October):631–637 (in Russ.).
  15. Papaioannou H. Acts of the so-called last Council of Sophia (1450) and their historical value. *The Byzantine Time Period*. 1895;(2):394–415 (in Russ.).
  16. List of Antiochian Patriarchs / trans.: Bishop Porfiry (Uspensky). *Proceedings of the Kiev Theological Academy*. 1874;(6):346–457 (in Russ.).
  17. Uspensky F.I. *History of the Byzantine Empire of the 11th–15th centuries. Eastern Question*. Moscow: Mysl, 1997. 3 (in Russ.).

18. Yatsimirsky A.I. *From the history of Slavic preaching in Moldova: unknown works of Gregory Tsamblak, imitations of him and translations of the monk Gabriel*. St.-Petersburg: Type. I.N. Skorokhodova, 1906. 125 p. (Monuments of ancient writing and art; 163) (in Russ.).
19. Bānšīnkū Q.A. Ittiḥād Flūrinsā wa-kanīsat Anṭākiya: Naẓra ilā at-tārīḥ. *Al-Kanīsa al-urtūduksiyya al-anṭākiyya min al-qarn al-ḥāmis ‘ašar ilā al-qarn at-tāmin ‘ašar: Naḥwa fahm daqīq li-t-tārīḥ / ḥarrara an-naṣṣ al-aršimandrīt Ya‘qūb Ḥalīl*. Balamand: Ğami‘at al-Balamand, 2025. Š. 25–41 (In Arabic.)
20. Blanchet M.-H. Le patriarcat de Constantinople et le rejet de l’union de Florence par les patriarches orientaux en 1443. Réexamen du dossier documentaire. *Le patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople et Byzance hors frontières (1204–1586): Actes de la table ronde organisée dans le cadre du 22e Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Sofia, 22–27 août 2011*. Paris, 2014. P. 309–326 (In Frans.).
21. Blanchet M.-H. Theology, Philosophy and Politics at Ferrara-Florence. *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium* / Eds. A. Kaldellis, N. Siniosoglou. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. P. 557–572.
22. Darrouzès. Les registes. — *Les registes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople* / Ed. by J. Darrouzès. Paris: Institut français d’études byzantines, 1991. I: Les actes des patriarches; VII: Les registes de 1410 à 1453 (In Spain).
23. Ermilov P., Bernatsky M., Panchenko C. Gerasimos Palladas of Alexandria and the Eucharistic Disputes in the Church of Antioch (1701–1702). *La division de l’Égliserūm d’Antioche en 1724 et la construction des identités confessionnelles orthodoxe et catholique* / Sous la direction de B. Heyberger, Ž. Paša, R. el Gemayel. Beyrouth; 2024. P. 518–557.

24. Gill J. The Condemnation of the Council of Florence by the Three Oriental Patriarchs in 1443. In: Gill J. *Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell; 1964. P. 213–221.
25. Hofmann. *Orientalium*. — *Orientalium documenta minora* / Ed. by G. Hofmann. Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium studiorum, 1953. III. 3. (Concilium Florentinum. Documenta et Scriptores. Ser. A). (In Ital.).
26. Karalevskij C. Antioche. *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*. Paris: Letouzey et Ané. 1924;III:563–703 (In Frans.).
27. Κατάλογος ἀραβικῶν χειρογράφων τῆς ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς βιβλιοθήκης / Ὑπὸ Κλεοπᾶ Μ. Κοικυλίδου. Ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις: Ἐκ τοῦ Τυπογραφείου τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Κοινοῦτοῦ Π. Τάφου, 1901 (In Greek.).
28. Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Εθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ελλάδος / Σακελλίων Ι., εκδ. Ἐν Αθήναις: Εθνικό Τυπογραφείο, 1892 (In Greek.).
29. Koukousas V. The Representation of the Patriarchate of Alexandria at Ferrara-Florence and the Fight against Proselytization in the Provinces from the 15th to 18th Century: Investigation on the Basis of the Sources. *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*. 2012; 94:260–289.
30. Miḥā'il Burayk. al-Ḥaqā'iq al-wafiyya fī ta'rīḥ baṭārikat al-kanīsa al-Anṭākiyya = Polnaya istina ob istorii patriarxov Antioxijskoj Cerkvi. Bairūt: Dār al-Ādāb, 2006 (In Arabic.).
31. *Monumenta Proximi-Orientis. I: Palestine — Liban — Syrie — Mesopotamie (1523–1583)* / par S. Kuri. Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1989. (Monumenta Missionum Societatis Iesu. LI: Missiones Orientales).
32. Nasrallah J. *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*. Louvain-P;1981:III.2. (In Frans.).

33. Panchenko C. The Antiochian Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate and Rome in the late 16th C. A Polemic Response by the Metropolitan Anastasius Ibn Mujallā to the Pope. *Actes du symposium international Le Livre. La Roumanie. L'Europe. 4ème édition. 20–23 septembre 2011*. Bucarest: Editura Bibliotecii București-Ilor, 2012:III: Latinité Orientale. P. 302–315.
34. Risālat wuḡahā' al-rūm al-ṭarāblusiyyīn ilā al-bābā Ġrīḡūriyūs al-ṭālīṭ' ašar / Ed. Anṭūn Rabbāṭ. al-Mašriq. 1906:357–361.
35. Runciman S. *The Great Church in Captivity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968. 454 p.
36. Samir K.S. L'ère de l'Incarnation dans les manuscrits arabes melkites du 11e au 14e siècle. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*. 1987;53:193–201.
37. Van Sickle J.N. Re-evaluating the Role of Emperor John VIII in the Failed Union of Florence. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. 2017; 68(1):40–58.
38. Χρυσόστομος (Παπαδόπουλος), αρχιεπ. Αθηνών και πάσης Ελλάδος. Ιστορία της Εκκλησίας Αλεξανδρείας (62–1934). Αλεξάνδρεια: Πατριαρχικόν Τυπογραφείο; 1935 (In Greek.).



Constantin A. Panchenko

D.Sc. (History), Professor of the Institute of Asian and African Studies of the Moscow State University, Department of Middle Eastern and Central Asian Studies  
SPIN-ΚΟΔ: 5210-5682  
AuthorID: 404268

Elena Y. Kovalskaya

C.Sc. (History), Head of the Library Services of Church Research Center Orthodox Encyclopedia.

Received  
10.09.2025

Revised  
17.10.2025

Accepted  
10.11.2025