

## THE ORTHODOX BIBLE AND THE ANAGINOSKOMENA BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

### Abstract

In Western academic scholarship, the status of the anaginoskomena (the books and additions not found in the Hebrew Bible, but in the Septuagint editions) in the Orthodox Church is not completely understood, especially regarding the differences between the Orthodox churches. For example, an introduction to the Old Testament from 2009 assumes that the anaginoskomena have “incontestable authority”, quoting professor Petros Vassiliadis. Apart from the Hebrew canon, other ten books are reckoned by the Orthodox, eight of them reckoned by the Catholics as well (Judith, Tobith, 1-2 Maccabees, Wisdom of Salomon, Ben Sira, Baruch, and Epistle of Jeremiah) and two books not accepted by the Catholics (3 Maccabees and 1 Esdras / 3 Ezra). The canonicity of other books, such as the Prayer of king Manasseh (with Odes) and Psalm 151 remains debatable. The Greek Church completes the list with 4 Maccabees and the Russian Church with 4 Ezra (Römer, Macchi, Nihan 2009). In another Western introduction, the fine separation of the Orthodox churches is completely unknown. The authors simply assume that the biblical books canonized by the Tridentin council in 1546 were canonized by the Orthodox Church in the council of Jerusalem in 1672 (Dietrich et al 2014). A more articulated view is present in the recent volume of proceedings regarding the biblical canon at the Eastern churches (Farrugia, Vergani 2017). The present paper aims at defining the status of the anaginoskomena in the Orthodox Church.



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### Introduction. Recent Orthodox Bibles

Orthodox editions of the Bible are important in this respect, because they could offer a good glimpse at the nowadays position of the anaginoskomena. The Greek

Old Testament published by the publishing house of the Greek Church, Apostoliki Diakonia, appeared in 1997 under the title *I Palaia Diathiki* (The Old Testament). The books of Daniel and Esther from the Hebrew canon contain the supplements from the Septuagint. Psalm 151 has the specification “out of number” (ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ). Besides the ten anaginoskomena books, 4 Maccabees was included as an “addition” (παράρτημα). The first translation in Modern Greek (demothiki), *I Agia Graphi*, was published in 1997. Although the Old Testament was translated from Hebrew, the books of Daniel and Esther include the additions, but Psalm 151 is missing.

The Russian Synodal Bible, *Sinodal’nyi perevod*, follows the Hebrew canon. The books of Daniel and Esther have the supplements from the Septuagint. There is also Psalms 151, while the Prayer of Manasseh is found at the end of the books of the Chronicles. The Bible has an extra-book, 4 Ezra, not found in other Orthodox editions. On the other hand, all the anaginoskomena are marked with an asterisk and considered “non-canonical”.

The Romanian Synodal Bible was published in multiple editions, beginning with 1914. The first synodal edition (1914) followed the Septuagint text (a mixed Septuagint text derived from the Calvinist Frankfurt Bible of 1597 – see below). Beginning with the second edition (1936), the textual source for the translation was changed. Rather than relying solely on the Septuagint, the translators created an eclectic version which combines readings both from the Masoretic text and the Septuagint. The pattern was – as some similarities in translations show – the Russian Synodal Bible. The first two editions (1914 and 1936) have the anaginoskomena, without any mark, grouped at the end of the Old Testament, while the second editions of 1944 and 1968 delineated the anaginoskomena as “uncanonical”. Between 1975 and 2015 the term “uncanonical” disappeared, but it emerged again in the preface of the 2019 edition: “Other 14 books were added to these books, which both [Jewish and Orthodox] traditions consider only as ‘good for reading’, that is soul edifying, their content being not necessary for faith itself. The names of all canonical and uncanonical books of the Old Testament are listed in the table of contents of the present edition” (*Biblia sau Sfânta Scriptură* 2019, 16). Essentially, the Synodal Bible follows the Hebrew canon. Only the book of Esther has the Septuagint additions inserted in the book itself, while the book of Daniel has the additions as separate books (Susanna, the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of Three Young Men, Bel, and the Dragon). The Ps 151 is added as “uncanonical”. The 10 anaginoskomena plus The Prayer of King Manasseh. With all its peculiarity, the Romanian Synodal Bible has 14 anaginoskomena books.

### Orthodox biblical introduction and studies

Professor Kalantzakis argues that the councils of Jerusalem and Constantinople of 1672 accepted the large canon. Due to the Protestant influence in the 18th century, Russian theologians denied canonicity to the anaginoskomena, while the Greek theology remained faithful to the tradition (Kalantzakis 2006, 134). In an article, the position sustained in the Greek church of considering the anaginoskomena as canonical is presented as the official teaching of the Orthodox church in general (Tsekrekos 2013, 223-237).

In Russian biblical scholarship, in Kashkin's introduction, the anaginoskomena are recognized as good and enlightening for catechumens, but not as sources of dogma (Kashkin 2012, 48). In Dobykin's introduction, the anaginoskomena are not inspired by God and the Orthodox Church cannot base its dogmatic and moral teachings on them (Dobykin 2014, 23-24). On the other hand, some articles argue that the Church often bases its teachings on the non-canonical books, for example, the remembering of the dead (2 Mac 12.43; Tob 4.16; Sir 7.36; 38.23) (Smirnov 2015, 25).

The introduction to the Old Testament written in the 1950s in Romania (Prelipcean et al. 2003, 49-51) considers that from the traditional vantage point only 39 books could be accepted as canonical. Out of zeal the participants of the Synod of Jerusalem (1672) sought to defend the value of the anaginoskomena and adopted an exaggerated opinion, but "almost all theologians of the Orthodox Church", "the handbooks of dogmatics and introductions", for example, the Synod of 1878 that adopted the catechism of Metropolitan Filaret (Drozdov) of Moscow, defend the "traditional" understanding. Only in the Greek church, where the Septuagint is regarded as canonical and authentic, "there is a propensity manifested by some theologians to reckon the anaginoskomena as inspired and canonical, calling them 'deutero-canonical'". The new introduction into the Old Testament printed by the Romanian Orthodox Church continued this direction: "Regarding the anaginoskomena, the positions of the Orthodox varied slightly over the time, since no final decision has been met with general effectiveness. Some regarded them close to the canonical books, others close to the Apocrypha. Nevertheless, their status remained well defined in the Eastern tradition. Although they do not have the character and the value of canonical writing, they have been adopted and used by the Church for their moral and catechetical help" (Chirilă et al. 2018, 75). So, the introduction coordinated by professor Chirilă used the title "non-canonical" (*necanonice*) and "anaginoskomena" for these books.

The first pan-Orthodox conference (Rhodos, 1961) for preparing the Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church proposed that the discussion about the status of the anaginoskomena to be included as a theme (Ioniță 2013, 163). The proposal, published in 1972, states as follows: “The Orthodox Church declares and decides that these books must be separated from the canonical and inspired books concerning the authority of their divine inspiration, but they should be considered as part of the Holy Scripture, useful and good for the believer” (*La Bible* 2010, 1647).

### The biblical canon in the first millennium

The newest monograph of Gallagher and Meade concerning the biblical canon in the early Church represents a valuable source for the literary sources (Gallagher, Meade 2017). There are twenty early sources, eleven in Greek and nine in Latin: in Greek – the Bryennios list, Melito of Sardis, Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, St Cyril of Jerusalem, St Athanasius of Alexandria, the synod of Laodicea, the apostolic canons, St Gregory of Nazianzus, St Amphilochius of Iconium and St Epiphanius of Salamis; in Latin: the canonical list in codex Claromontanus (4<sup>th</sup> century), the Mommmsen catalogue or the Cheltenham list (before 365), St Hilary of Poitiers, St Jerome, Rufinus, the synod of Carthage or *Breviarium Hipponense*, St Augustine and Pope Innocent I. Moreover, one can add the Greek codices comprising the entire Bible: Codex Sinaiticus, Codex Vaticanus, Codex Alexandrinus, Ra 68, Ra 106, Ra 122, Ra 130 (XII-XIII centuries, without the Psalter), Codex Venetus (VIII century, without the Psalter), Ra 46 (XIII-XIV centuries, without the Psalter).

I shall focus only on the main synodal decisions. First, canon 59 of the Synod of Laodicea summoned in 363 stipulates: (Τὰ) τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης· α' Γένεσις κόσμου· β' Ἐξοδος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου· γ' Λευιτικόν· δ' Ἀριθμοί· ε' Δευτερονόμιον· ς' Ἰησοῦς τοῦ Ναυῆ· ζ' Κριταί, Ρούθ· η' Ἑσθήρ· θ' βασιλειῶν α' β'· ι' Βασιλειῶν γ' δ'· ια' Παραλειπομένων α' β'· ιβ' Ἑσδρας α' β'· ιγ' βίβλος ψαλμῶν ρν'· ιδ' Παροιμίαι Σολομῶντος· ιε' Ἐκκλησιαστής· ις' Αἶσμα ἁσμάτων· ιζ' Ἰώβ· ιη' οἱ δώδεκα Προφῆται· ιθ' Ἑσαΐας· κ' Ἱερεμίας, Βαρούχ, Θρῆνοι καὶ ἐπιστολή· κα' Ἰεζεκιήλ· κβ' Δανιήλ. (Joannou 1962, 154-155) / “(The books) of the Old Covenant: one, the Genesis of the world; two, the Exodus out of Egypt; three, Leviticus; four, Numbers; five, Deuteronomy; six, Joshua of Naue; seven, Judges, Ruth; eight, Esther; nine, first and second of Kingdoms; ten, third and fourth of Kingdoms; eleven, first and second of Paraleipomena; twelve, first and second of Esdras; thirteen, the Book of One-Hundred-and-Fifty Psalms; fourteen, The Proverbs

of Solomon; fifteen, Ecclesiastes; sixteen, The Song of Songs; seventeen, Job; eighteen, The Twelve Prophets; nineteen, Isaiah; twenty, Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, and Epistle; twenty-one, Ezekiel; twenty-two, Daniel” (Gallagher, Meade 2017, 132-133).

The number of the Old Testament books follows the numbering of the Hebrew canon in the first century AD: twenty-two books (Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.8), according to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet.

The second source in importance is St Athanasius of Alexandria, *Festal Epistle* 39.17 [or 39.9 or 39.4], written in 367: “Ἔστι τοίνυν τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία τῷ ἀριθμῷ τὰ πάντα εἰκοσιδύο, τοσαῦτα γάρ, ὡς ἤκουσα, καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τὰ παρ’ Ἑβραίοις εἶναι παραδέδοται, τῇ δὲ τάξει καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι ἔστιν ἕκαστον οὕτως· πρῶτον Γένεσις· εἶτα Ἐξοδος· εἶτα Λευιτικόν· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Ἀριθμοί· καὶ λοιπόν, τὸ Δευτερονόμιον· ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἔστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ· καὶ Κριταί· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡ Ρούθ· καὶ πάλιν ἐξῆς, Βασιλειῶν βιβλία τέσσαρα· καὶ τούτων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον εἰς ἓν βιβλίον ἀριθμεῖται, τὸ δὲ τρίτον καὶ τέταρτον ὁμοίως εἰς ἓν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Παραλειπομένων πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον, ὁμοίως εἰς ἓν βιβλίον πάλιν ἀριθμοῦμενα· εἶτα Ἑσδρα πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον ὁμοίως εἰς ἓν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, βιβλος Ψαλμῶν· καὶ ἐξῆς Παροιμιαί· εἶτα Ἐκκλησιαστής· καὶ Ἄσμα ἁσμάτων· πρὸς τούτοις ἔστι καὶ Ἰώβ· καὶ λοιπόν, Προφῆται, οἱ μὲν δώδεκα εἰς ἓν βιβλίον ἀριθμοῦμενοι, εἶτα Ἡσαΐας, Ἰερემίας, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Βαρούχ, Θρῆνοι καὶ ἐπιστολή, καὶ μετ’ αὐτὸν Ἰεζεκιήλ καὶ Δανιήλ (Joannou 1963, 72-74) / “There are, then, belonging to the Old Testament in number a total of twenty-two, for, as I have heard, it has been handed down that this is the number of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet. In order and by name they are as follows: first, Genesis; then, Exodus; then, Leviticus; and after this, Numbers; and finally Deuteronomy. After these is Joshua, the son of Nun; and Judges; and after this, Ruth; and again, next four books of Kingdoms, the first and the second of these being reckoned as one book, and the third and fourth likewise being one. After these are First and Second Paraleipomenon, likewise reckoned as one book; then First and Second Esdras, likewise as one. After these is the book of Psalms; and then Proverbs; then Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs. After these is Job; and finally the Prophets, the Twelve being reckoned as one book; then Isaiah; Jeremiah, and with it, Baruch, Lamentations, and the Letter; and after it, Ezekiel and Daniel” (English translation – Brakke, 2010, 60; revision of the English translation – Gallagher, Meade, 2017, 122-123; Old English translation – Schaff, Wace, 1892, 552; Romanian translation – Sf. Atanasii de Alexandria 2013, 284).

It is obvious that St Athanasius depends upon the Hebrew canon, referring to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. The book of Esther is missing, but the book of

Jeremiah is reckoned as canonical with all the Greek additions: the book of Baruch and the Letter. Nothing similar is specified about the content of the book of Daniel.

The third source is Apostolic Canon 85 (found in *Apostolic Constitutions* 8.47.85). Its wording, in the critical edition, is as follows: πε'. Ἐστω δὲ ὑμῖν πᾶσι κληρικοῖς καὶ λαϊκοῖς βιβλία σεβάσματα καὶ ἅγια τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης Μωσέως πέντε· Ἰησοῦ δὲ τοῦ Ναυῆ ἓν, τῶν Κριτῶν ἓν, τῆς Ρούθ ἓν, τῶν Βασιλειῶν τέσσαρα, Παραλειπομένων τῆς βίβλου τῶν ἡμερῶν δύο, Ἐσδρα δύο, Ἐσθήρ ἓν, Ἰουδίθ ἓν, Μακκαβαίων τέσσαρα, Ἰώβ ἓν, βιβλὸς Ψαλμῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑνός, Σολομῶντος βιβλία πέντε· Προφῆται δέκα ἕξ· Ἐξωθεν ὑμῖν προσιστορεῖσθω μαθάνειν ὑμῶν τοὺς νέους τὰς Σοφίας τοῦ πολυμαθοῦς Σιράχ. (*Les constitutions apostoliques* 1987, 306, 308) / “85. Now let the venerated and holy books be for all of you, clerics and laypeople. Of the Old Covenant: Five of Moses; now one of Joshua of Naue, one of the Judges, one of Ruth, four of the Kingdoms, two of Paralipomenon of the book of days, two of Esdras, one of Esther, one of Judith, four of Maccabees, one of Job, Book of One-Hundred-and-Fifty-One Psalms, five books of Solomon; sixteen Prophets; beyond these, let it be added to you as further instruction that your youth learn the Wisdom of Sirach, the polymath.” (Gallagher, Meade 2017, 137)

But in the ecclesiastical traditional text of the Orthodox Church the texts are as follows: πε'. Ἐστω ὑμῖν πᾶσι κληρικοῖς καὶ λαϊκοῖς βιβλία σεβάσματα καὶ ἅγια, τῆς μὲν Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης, Μωυσέως, πέντε· Γένεσις, Ἔξοδος, Λευιτικόν, Ἀριθμοί, Δευτερονόμιον· Ἰησοῦ Ναυῆ, ἓν· Κριτῶν, ἓν· Ρούθ, ἓν· Βασιλειῶν, τέσσαρα· Παραλειπομένων, τῆς βίβλου τῶν ἡμερῶν, δύο· Ἐσδρα, δύο· Ἐσθήρ, ἓν· Μακκαβαίων, τρία· Ἰώβ, ἓν· Ψαλμῶν, ἓν· Σολομῶντος, τρία, Παροιμίαι, Ἐκκλησιαστής, Ἰσμία Ἀισμάτων· Προφητῶν, δώδεκα· Ἡσαΐου, ἓν· Ἰερεμίου, ἓν· Ἰεζεκιήλ, ἓν· Δανιήλ, ἓν· Ἐξωθεν δὲ ὑμῖν προσιστορεῖσθω μαθάνειν ὑμῶν τοὺς νέους τὴν Σοφίαν τοῦ πολυμαθοῦς Σειράχ. (*Canoanele Bisericii Ortodoxe I* 2018, 133; the Greek text is taken from Ῥάλλης, Ποτλῆς 1852, 109; the text already found in the first edition of the Pedalion of St Nicodemus the Hagiorite – Πηδάδλιον 1800, 69-70 / “85. Now let the venerated and holy books be for all of you, clerics and laypeople. Of the Old Covenant: Five of Moses; one of Joshua of Naue, one of the Judges, one of Ruth, four of the Kingdoms, two of Paralipomenon of the book of days, two of Esdras, one of Esther, three of Maccabees, one of Job, one of Psalter, three of Solomon: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs; twelve of the Prophets; one of Isaiah, one of Jeremiah, one of Ezekiel, one of Daniel; outside of these, let it be added to you as further instruction that your youth learn the Wisdom of Sirach, the polymath.” (modified translation based on Gallagher, Meade 2017, 137)



The Syriac version of the 85<sup>th</sup> apostolic canon, preserved in a manuscript dating from the VIII-IX centuries, has further particularities:

(de Lagarde 1856, 8-14)

The Wisdom of Sirach or Ben Sira, although outside (ἐξωθεν / ٥٠) the canonical books, might be use for the instruction (μανθάνειν / ٥١) of the young (τοὺς νέους / ٥٢).

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two books. Job. Psalter. Of Solomon, five books. Book of The Twelve Minor Prophets. Also, Isaiah. Jeremiah. Ezekiel. Daniel. Tobit. Judith. Esther. Of Ezra, two books. Of Maccabees, two books.” (Gallagher, Meade 2017, 223)

The traditional ecclesiastical text of the canon has some differences: Εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ κανονικαὶ Γραφαὶ αὗται. Γένεσις, Ἔξοδος, Λευϊτικόν, Ἀριθμοί, Δευτερονόμιον, Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ, Κριταί, Ῥούθ, τῶν Βασιλειῶν βίβλοι τέσσαρες, τῶν Παραλειπομένων βίβλοι δύο, Ἰώβ, Ψαλτήριον, Σολομῶντος βίβλοι πέντε, τῶν Προφητῶν βίβλοι δώδεκα, Ἡσαΐας, Ἱερεμίας, Ἰεζεκιήλ, Δανιήλ, Τωβίας, Ἰουδῆθ, Ἑσθήρ, Ἑσδρα βίβλοι δύο. (*Canoanele Bisericii Ortodoxe II* 2018, 149; text taken from Ῥάλλης, Ποτλής 1852, 368) / “The canonical Scriptures are these: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua of Naue, Judges, Ruth, of Reigns four books, of Paralipomenon two books, Job, Psalter, of Solomon five books, twelve books of the Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Tobit, Judith, Esther, of Ezra, two books.” (modified translation based on Gallagher, Meade 2017, 223)

Again, there is an interesting difference between the Latin and the Greek editions: the Greek edition omits the books of Maccabees altogether. Regarding the five books of Solomon, beside the book of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom of Solomon, it should be expected that the Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach is included.

From the selected sources the anaginoskomena are not widely accepted. Given the lingering doubts about them, they might be named more fittingly antilegomena (disputed). Nevertheless, although sporadically, their canonicity is attested by synods, patristic authors, and ancient codices. The book of **Baruch** and The **Epistle of Jeremiah** are found in Codex Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, are mentioned by St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Athanasius the Great, St. Epiphanius of Salamis and by the synod of Laodicea. **3 Ezra** is included in Sinaiticus and Vaticanus as 1 Esdras, followed by 2 Esdras (Ezra + Nehemiah). **Tobit** and **Judith** are found in Sinaiticus (only Judith), Vaticanus, Alexandrinus and Venetus, and are included in the list of Claromontanus, Mommsen catalogue, and are mentioned by the synod of Carthage and St. Augustine. **1-4 Maccabees** are present in: Sinaiticus (1 and 4 Maccabees), Alexandrinus and Venetus; the canonical list of Claromontanus (1-2 and 4 Maccabees), Apostolic Canons (1-4 Maccabees); only 1 and 2 Maccabees in Mommsen catalogue, St Augustine, synod of Carthage and pope Innocent I. The **Wisdom of Solomon** and the **Wisdom of Sirach** are found in Sinaiticus, Vaticanus and Alexandrinus; the list of Claromontanus, probably in the Mommsen catalogue, St. Augustine, probably the synod of Carthage (five books of Solomon).



### Middle Age

The real challenge to the unresolved and unclear status of the anaginoskomena came with the publication of the Luther's Bible in 1534 in Wittenberg. For the father of the Reformation, the only acceptable biblical canon was the Hebrew one, while the anaginoskomena are placed at the end of the Old Testament with an explanation: "Apocrypha. Das sind Bücher: so nicht der heiligen Schrift gleich gehalten: und doch nützlich und gut zu lesen sind" / "Apocrypha. These are books which are not equally received as the Holy Scriptures and yet are useful and good to read". The apocryphal books are set in a special order: Judith, Wisdom of Solomon, Tobit, Sirach, Baruch, 1-2 Maccabees and the additions to Esther and Daniel (Luth[er] II 1534, 371).

The reaction from the Catholic Church, the Counter-Reformation, culminated in the council of Trent (1545-1563). In the fourth session, held on April 8, 1546, the council took an unprecedented decision, declaring that all the anaginoskomena are canonical: "They [the books received by the synod] are as set down here below: of the Old Testament: the five books of Moses, to wit, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; Josue, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two of Paralipomenon, the first book of Esdras, and the second which is entitled Nehemias; Tobias, Judith, Esther, Job, the Davidical Psalter, consisting of a hundred and fifty psalms; the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticle of Canticles, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Isaias, Jeremias, with Baruch; Ezekiel, Daniel; the twelve minor prophets, to wit, Osee, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Micheas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Aggaeus, Zacharias, Malachias; two books of the Maccabees, the first and the second" (*The Canons* 1848, 18). The list contained the following titles, interspersed between the old canonical books, in the manner attested by the traditional Bible codices: Tobit, Judith, the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus (the Wisdom of Jesus Sirach), Baruch and 1-2 Maccabees.

The first printed Orthodox Bible, the Slavonic Bible of Ostrog (1581), has strong Catholic influences and, as Thompson put it, "its Old Testament contents conform to neither the Catholic, the Protestant nor even the Greek Orthodox understanding of the canon" (Thomson 1998, for the Ostrog Bible see pp. 671-686, for the canon especially pp. 684-685). As in the Vulgate, Ezra is separated from Nehemiah. 3 Ezra of the Vulgate (= 1 Esdras of the Septuagint) is numbered as 2 Ezra, while an extra Ezra book is added (4 Ezra, found only in Latin, numbered in the Ostrog Bible as 3 Ezra). Regarding the Maccabees, it comprises three books (as opposed to two in the Latin Bible or four in the Septuagint). The Prayer of Manasseh is added at the end of the Chronicles, Psalm 151 is

added at the end of the Psalter with a short note about the Odes, which are nevertheless not included (See a scanned copy of the Ostrog Bible at <https://txt.drevle.com/bible/ob1581>). The Ostrog Bible set the path for the content of the modern Russian Synodal Bible, the key difference being the status of the anaginoskomena, whose canonical status in the Ostrog Bible is explicitly rejected in the Synodal Bible.

The next important step is the Confession of faith drafted in 1625 by Metrophanes Kritopoulos (1589-1639), as part of his exchange with the Lutherans of Helmstädt (Ică 1973, 208-473; Davey 1987). Concerning the anaginoskomena, he notes as follows: Τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ βιβλία, ἅπερ τινὲς βούλονται συγκαταλέγειν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Γραφῇ, οἷον τὸ τοῦ Τωβίτ, τὸ τῆς Ἰουδῆθ, Σοφίαν τοῦ Σολομῶντος, Σοφίαν Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιράχ, Βαροῦχ καὶ τὰς τῶν Μακκαβαίων, ἀποβλήτους μὲν οὐχ ἡγοούμεθα· πολλὰ γὰρ ἠθικὰ, πλείστου ἐπαίνου ἄξια, ἐμπεριέχεται ταύταις· ὡς κανονικὰς δὲ καὶ αὐθεντικὰς οὐδέποτε ἠπεδέξατο ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησία, ὡς μαρτυροῦσι πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι, μάλιστα δὲ ὁ τε ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος καὶ ἅγιος Ἀμφιλόχιος καὶ τελευταῖος πάντων ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνός. Διὸ οὐδὲ τὰ δόγματα ἡμῶν πειρώμεθα ἐκ τούτων παραστήσαι, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν τριάκοντα τριῶν κανονικῶν καὶ αὐθεντικῶν βιβλίων· ἃ δὴ καὶ θεόπνευστον καὶ ἁγίαν Γραφὴν καλοῦμεν. (Karmires 1968, 529-530) / “The other books, which some want to add to the Holy Writ, namely Tobit, Judith, Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach, Baruch and Maccabees, we do not discount, because they contain many ethical things, worthy of great praise. But the Church of Christ didn’t receive them as canonical and authentic, as many and varied people testified, especially St Gregory the Theologian and St Amphilochius and the last of them St John Damascene. We do not prove our teachings from them, but from the thirty-three canonical and authentic books, which indeed we call God-inspired and holy”.

In 1629 the ecumenical patriarch Cyril Loukaris (1572-1638) published in Latin in Geneva a Confession of faith translated into Greek in 1631. Although there are doubts concerning the authenticity of the confession, Cyril Loukaris himself signed the Greek text preserved in the public library in Geneva (Kkokhar 2015, 5; see also: Germanos 1951; Χατζηαντωνίου 1954). In the answer to question no. 3, we read: Ἐρώτησις 3. Ἐρὰν γραφὴν ποῖα βιβλία καλεῖς; Ἀπόκρισις. Ἐρὰν γραφὴν πάντα τὰ κανονικὰ βιβλία λέγομεν, ἅπερ ὡς κανόνα τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας παρελάβομεν καὶ κρατοῦμεν· μάλισθ' ὅτι θεόπνευστον ἡμῖν προβάλλουσι τὴν διδασκαλίαν, καὶ αὐτάρκη κατηχήσαι, φωτίσαι καὶ τελειῶσαι τὸν τῇ πίστει προσερχόμενον. Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ κανονικὰ βιβλία τοσαῦτα τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι πιστεύομεν, ὅσα ἡ ἐν Λαοδικεῖᾳ σύνοδος ἀπεφῆνατο,

καὶ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καθολικὴ καὶ ὀρθόδοξος ἐκκλησία ὑπὸ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος φωτισθεῖσα μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ὑπαγορεύει. Ἄπερ δὲ ἀπόκρυφα λέγομεν, διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἐπώνυμον οὕτως ἔχουσιν, ὅτι τὸ κῆρος παρὰ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὡς τὰ κυρίως καὶ ἀναμφιβόλως κανονικὰ βιβλία, ἐν οἷς ἡ τοῦ Μωϋσέως πεντάτευχος, καὶ τὰ ἀγιογράφα, καὶ οἱ προφῆται, ἅτινα ὥρισεν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ἡ ἐν Λαοδικεῖᾳ σύνοδος, ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία εἴκοσι δύο [...]. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἶναι τὰ κανονικὰ βιβλία κρατοῦμεν· καὶ ταῦτα ἱερὰν γραφὴν λέγεσθαι ὁμολογοῦμεν (Michalcescu 1904, 275-276). / Question 3: What books do you call Sacred Scripture? Answer: We call Sacred Scripture all the canonical books, which we received and held as canons of our faith and salvation, especially because they provide us with an inspired doctrine, sufficient for teaching, enlightening and making perfect that which is received through faith. We believe that the canonical books are in the number decided by the synod of Laodicea and proclaimed until today by Christ's Catholic and Orthodox Church, being enlightened by the holy Spirit. Those called apocrypha have this name, because they do not have the seal of the Holy Spirit as the canonical books, Moses' Pentateuch, and the Hagiographa, and the Prophets, which the synod of Laodicea appointed to be read, twenty-two books of the Old Testament [...] We hold that these are the canonical books and we testify that these are called the Sacred Scripture”.

A Synod summoned in Constantinople in 1672 took a similar position. In the decisions, the participants referred to the anaginoskomena and their disputed status in the following terms: καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητούμενων τῆς παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης βιβλίων, Τωβίου, Ἰουδῆθ, Σοφίας, Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ, Βαρούχ καὶ Μακκαβαίων, εἴ γε μέρος Γραφῆς λογιζόμεθα ταῦτα, ἢ ὡς ἐθνικά τινα ἀποβάλλομεν (Karmires 1968, 689). / “about the disputed books of the Old Testament – Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch and Maccabees – whether we consider them as part of the Bible, or we reject them as profane”. The council decreed the following: Περὶ δὲ τῶν γραφικῶν βιβλίων διαφόρους ἀπαριθμήσεις εὐρίσκομεν παρά τε τοῖς ἀποστολικοῖς κανόσι, καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἱερῶν συνόδων τῆς ἐν Λαοδικεῖᾳ Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ, ἐξαιρουμένων τῶν διὰ τοῦ Κλήμεντος διαταγῶν, ἃς ὁ δεῦτερος τῆς ἑκτης συνόδου κανὼν ἀπαγορεύει, διὰ τὸ νενοθευθῆναι ταύτας ὑπὸ τῶν αἰρετικῶν, οἷον ἔξεστιν ὑποκῦσαι τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ καταμαθεῖν τὰ ἐγκρινόμενα τῶν βιβλίων. Ὅσα μέντοι τῶν τῆς παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης βιβλίων τῇ ἀπαριθμήσει τῶν ἀγιογράφων οὐ συμπεριλαμβάνονται, οὐκ ἀποτροπιάζοντες ταῦτα ἔνεκεν τούτου ὡς ἐθνικά τινα καὶ βέβηλα, ἀλλὰ καλὰ καὶ ἐνάρετα προσαγορεύεται, καὶ οὐκ ἀπόβλητα τυγχάνουσι διόλου (Karmires 1968, 693). / “Regarding the biblical books

we find different reckoning lists in the apostolic canons, holy synods of the Church of Laodicea and of Carthage, except for Clement's constitutions, which the second canon of the sixth synod refuted, because they have been corrupted by heretics. It is indeed allowed to the interested person to appreciate the accepted books and to observe them well. Whatever books of the Old Testament are not included in the reckoning list of the holy writings, they are not thereby eliminated as profane and harming, but are considered good and useful and are not rejected at all".

The decisions are not unambiguous. In a previous introduction to the Old Testament, just as professor Kalantzakis, I assumed that the synod recognized the anaginoskomena mentioned by the synods of Laodicea and Carthage as canonical (Mihăilă, 2017, 30). But it seems that the synod indeed denied canonicity to the anaginoskomena, merely describing them as "good and useful (καλὰ καὶ ἐνάρετα)."

We can argue that the first confessions of faith (Kritopoulos, Loukaris) and the synod of Constantinople were influenced by the Protestant view about the anaginoskomena. In fact, patriarch Cyril Loukaris has many contacts with Calvinists. The year 1672 is a turning point of the Orthodox identity in the modern times, through the Confession of faith authored by Patriarch Dositheos II and the synod of Jerusalem held in 1672, that ratified the anti-Loukaris confession (Melloni 2016, 267-279).

In question and answer no. 3 of Dositheos' confession of faith we read: Ἐρώτησις γ': Ἱερὰν Γραφὴν ποῖα βιβλία καλεῖς; Ἀπόκρισις: Στοιχοῦντες τῷ κανόνι τῆς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἱερὰν Γραφὴν καλοῦμεν ἐκεῖνα πάντα, ἅπερ ὁ Κύριλλος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ συνόδου ἐρανισάμενος, ἀριθμεῖ, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἅπερ ἀσυνέτως καὶ ἀμαθῶς, εἴτουν ἐθελοκακούργως, ἀπόκρυφα οὕτως ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀδιορίστως κατωνόμασεν, ἦτοι τὸν Τωβίαν, τὴν Ἰουδήθ, τῆς Ἑσθῆρ πρὸς τοῖς δέκα ἕτερα κεφάλαι ἕξ, τοῦ Ἑσδρα ἕτερον βιβλίον ἓν, τὸν Βαρούχ, τὴν ᾠδὴν τῶν τριῶν παιδῶν περιεχομένην εἰς τὸ τρίτον κεφάλαιον τοῦ Δανιὴλ, τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Σωσάννης, τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ δράκοντος, ἦτοι τοῦ Βήλ, τὴν Σοφίαν τοῦ Σολομῶντος, τὴν Σοφίαν τοῦ Σειράχ, καὶ τὰ τρία βιβλία τῶν Μακκαβαίων. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς θείας Γραφῆς γνησίων βιβίων καὶ ταῦτα γνήσια τῆς Γραφῆς μέρη κρίνομεν· ἡ γὰρ παραδόσασα Καθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία τὰ τε θεῖα καὶ ἱερὰ Εὐαγγέλια καὶ τᾶλλα τῆς Γραφῆς μέρη ἀληθῆ εἶναι, καὶ ταῦτα γνήσια τῆς Γραφῆς μέρη εἶναι ἀναμφιβόλως παρέδωκε, καὶ τούτων ἡ ἄρνησις ἐκείνῳ ἐστὶν ἀθέτησις. Εἰ δέ που δοκεῖ μὴ αἰεὶ πάντα ὑπὸ πάντων συγκαταριθμεῖσθαι, οὐδὲν ἦττον ὅμως καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τε συνόδων καὶ πολλῶν ὄσων τῆς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας παλαιοτάτων τε καὶ ἐγκρίτων θεολόγων ἀριθμεῖται καὶ συγκαταριθμεῖται τῇ πάσῃ Γραφῇ, ἃ πάντα

καὶ ἡμεῖς κανονικὰ βιβλία κρίνομεν, καὶ ταῦτα τὴν ἱεράν Γραφὴν εἶναι ὁμολογοῦμεν (Karmires 1968, 769-770; cf. Michalcescu, 1904, 175). / “What Books do you call Sacred Scripture? Following the rule of the Catholic Church, we call Sacred Scripture all those which Cyril [Loukaris] collected from the Synod of Laodicea, and enumerated, adding to Scripture those which he foolishly and ignorantly, or rather maliciously, called Apocrypha; specifically, “The Wisdom of Solomon,” “Judith,” “Tobit,” “The History of the Dragon” [Bel and the Dragon], “The History of Susanna,” “The Maccabees,” and “The Wisdom of Sirach.” For we judge these also to be with the other genuine Books of Divine Scripture genuine parts of Scripture. For ancient custom, or rather the Catholic Church, which has delivered to us as genuine the Sacred Gospels and the other Books of Scripture, has undoubtedly delivered these also as parts of Scripture, and the denial of these is the rejection of those. And if, perhaps, it seems that not always have all of these been considered on the same level as the others, yet nevertheless these also have been counted and reckoned with the rest of Scripture, both by Synods and by many of the most ancient and eminent Theologians of the Catholic Church. All of these we also judge to be Canonical Books, and confess them to be Sacred Scripture.” (Bratcher 1899)

Nevertheless, the influence of Protestant theology did not fade away. The first Greek Bible printed by the Orthodox is the Bible of Venice, printed in 1687 with the financial support of voivode Șerban Cantacuzino of Wallachia in the printing house of Nikolaos Glykys, a Greek of Ioannina, established in Venice. The 1687 edition is a reissue of the 1597 Greek Bible printed in Frankfurt by a Huguenot editor, Wechel, whose family emigrated from Strasbourg to Frankfurt. In this Bible, the anaginoskomena books are called apocryphal, as in the Luther Bible and all the subsequent Protestant editions that still preserved them: Ἀπόκρυφοι αἱ παρ’ ἑβραίοις ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ἀξιόπιστων ἀριθμοῦ συγκαθίστανται / “Apocrypha, which are counted outside the number of the trustworthy [books]” (Τῆς θείας Γραφῆς 1597, 760). A Romanian translation of the Frankfurt Greek Bible appeared the following year in Bucharest, 1688 – Bible of Bucharest. The anaginoskomena are also called “apocryphal”: “Ascunsele ceale ce-s la jidovi. Den numărul celor vreadnice de credință să află” / “For the Jews the hidden ones [apocrypha], [which] are counted outside the number of the trustworthy [books]” (*Biblia* 1988, 614 – a facsimile and transcription with the Latin alphabet of the Bucharest Bible, 1688).

In 1795 a revision of the Bucharest Bible was printed by the Greek-Catholic church, the so-called Bible of Blaj. Its perspective on the much-debated issue of the anaginoskomena was brought into line with the Catholic teachings: it excluded 4

Maccabees but introduced the prayer of Manasseh. This edition was adopted by the Orthodox Church too: its text was reprinted with minor changes in 1819 as the Bible of St. Petersburg (by the Russian Bible Society), in 1854-1856 as the Bible of Buzău (by bishop Filotei) and between 1856-1858 as the Bible of Sibiu (by St. Andrei Șaguna, the metropolitan of Sibiu). The first Romanian Synodal Bible (Bucharest, 1914) also represented a revision of the Blaj Bible.

Throughout the long centuries of Turkish domination, the Orthodox Church in Greece was not allowed to print ecclesiastic books. After the war for independence, the first Greek Bible printed by the Orthodox Church appeared in Moscow, in 1821, with the blessing of the Russian synod and the support of the Russian Bible Society, which had enlisted generous donations by the Zosimas brothers, two Greek merchants (Kalantzakis 2006, 134). The Moscow edition followed Codex Alexandrinus printed by Grabe (Oxford, 1707-1720), containing the anaginoskomena without any comment. For example, it has 4 Maccabees as in Codex Alexandrinus without further specification regarding the canonicity as for example in the modern Greek editions of the Old Testament (Septuagint).

### **Conclusion. The case for the canonicity of the anaginoskomena**

The status of the anaginoskomena in the Orthodox Churches is not easy to grasp, because their canonicity is disputed. In my opinion, there are strong arguments in favours of their canonicity. The anaginoskomena are considered as canonical by some synods, some Church Fathers and are even included in ancient Bible codices. Even if there is no consensus about their number, they are mentioned in the Old Testament canon lists.

There are public readings from the anaginoskomena in the Orthodox Churches, especially from the Wisdom of Solomon. Although fewer in comparison to the undisputed biblical books, patristic commentaries, and homilies on the anaginoskomena survived until the present day (St. Ambrosius of Milano, *On Tobias*; Pseudo-Augustin, *Sermons* 47 About Tobias; *Sermons* 48-49 On Judith; St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Fragments in catenae to Baruch*; Theodoret of Cyr, *Explanation to Baruch*; Severian of Gabala, *Homily on the Three Youths and the Furnace of Babylon*; St. Hippolytus of Rome, *Fragments on Susanna*; Asterius of Amasea, *Homily VI to Daniel and Susanna* – Datema 1970, 240-249).

Even if confessions of faith (Kritopoulos, Loukaris) and local synods (Constantinople 1672) stressed that they are excluded from the biblical canon, an



important step confirming their canonicity was made by the Confession of faith written by patriarch Dositheos II and adopted by the synod of Jerusalem (1672).

The final decision is still pending. It would be within the scope of a pan-Orthodox synod's responsibility to settle the status of the anaginoskomena and adopt a view common to all the Orthodox Churches, but the arguments in favour of their canonicity are certainly compelling.

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