History

"Antimoz Iverieli" (Anthim the Iberian). New Contributions on his Life and Printing Activity

Nicolae V. Dură

Full Member of the Academy of Romanian Scientists

(Presented by Academy Member Giorgi Kvesitadze)

ABSTRACT. "Antimoz Iverieli" - together with his fellow laborer, the Romanian Michael Stephen (Stepaneshvili), - contributed to the promotion and development of the Romanian and Georgian humanist christian culture by printing books in the language of the two peoples, Romanian and Georgian. Among others, in our paper, we drew the attention to the informed readers about the existence of some gaps and inaccuracies in the Romanian and Georgian literature of specialty on the life and printing activity of Anthim the Iberian (the Georgian), and we brought some new clarifications and contributions. Regarding the life and the printing activity of the great humanist and scholar, Anthim the Iberian, the Metropolite of Ungro-Wallachia (1708-1716), among many omissions and inaccuracies found in Romanian and Georgian literature of specialty we mentioned only a few of them, namely: a) We have no clear information on his birth date; b) It is not known yet where Andrei took the monastic vows; c) We do not know where he learned the art of printing; d) It is not known exactly the date of the arrival of Andrei (Anthim) on Romanian soil. © 2016 Bull. Georg. Natl. Acad. Sci.

Key words: the Romanian and Georgian literature of specialty, the printing activity, new clarifications and contributions

In Romania, the painted image of the hierarch Anthim the Iberian has been preserved in three Churches, namely in the Church of Govora Monastery (Vâlcea County), in the Church of Fedeleşoiu (Vâlcea County) and in the Church of Hotărani (Fărcaşele Commune, Olt County). And, in all these three painted portraits, "the folds of his holy habit are wide open", and his face has "a meddle-like profile. He has an aquiline nose, angular and abrupt features, and those honest eyes ...", disclosing "... a perfect calm and probably his honest convictions as

well ... He was strong, the good man type, he seemed carved out of a tree" [1].

This is indeed the true image that the Romanians had and have preserved of their great Archbishop and Metropolite of Walachia (Ungro-Walachia), who proved to be not just a good man, with a serene appearance, the mind of a genius and an unequalled printing activity, but also a worthy and brave defender of the prerogatives of his Church in front of the hegemonic claims of the Greek patriarchs (Constantinople and Jerusalem) of his epoch, and, at the same time, a tactful and daring fighter against the Ottoman rule for the respect and affirmation of a fundamental human right, the right to freedom of Religion [2-4], for which he actually paid the supreme price, his own life, in the year 1716, acquiring the crown of martyrdom in Christ our Lord.

Mr. Ilia Giorgadze, Ambassador of Georgia to Romania, affirmed a couple of years ago that "... by Saint Andrew the Apostle, the Romanian people and the Georgian people are spiritually related" [5].

The affirmation of the Georgian diplomat is based on real facts. Yet, it is just as true that the two peoples, Romanian and Georgian, are spiritually related not only due to the fact that Saint Andrew the Apostle christianized the two Countries, Georgia and Romania, but also by their common patrimony of the Christian culture, to which "Antimoz Iverieli" and his outstanding fellow laborer in the printing art, the Romanian Mihail Ștefan (Stepaneshvili), had a considerable contribution in its promotion and development.

Indeed, by the books they printed, corrected or edited, they did not only quench the Romanians' and the Georgians' thirst for spiritual beauty and intellectual elevation, but they also endowed them with a rich spiritual and cultural patrimony, which also assured a prominent place for these two peoples in the Christian culture of those times.

About the "date" and "place" of Birth of "Antimoz Iverieli"

The fact that Anthim the Iberian was very discrete about his biography, led to a lack of information about his date of birth; his biographers, taking it over from one another, tale-quale, without any documentary reference, set it around the year 1650. However, so far, nothing is known about his birth place, either. Actually, his biographers' opinions have not yet managed to go beyond the "stage of supposition", so that "the date of Anthim's birth remains a mystery", actually just as "the exact place where he saw the light of day ..." [6]. Finally, some researchers, trying to elucidate "the gaps" in Anthim's biography, nevertheless emitted "different opinions, sometimes even contradictory, which are no longer valid today" [7], hence the necessity to review the text of the documentary sources (Romanian, Georgian, Greek, Turkish etc.).

Although the year when Andrew (Anthim) was born in his native country, Georgia (Iberia), is not known precisely, however, both the Romanian and the Georgian historiography continue to affirm that Anthim the Iberian, an erudite humanist and one of the exceptionally learned hierarchs of Wallachia, "... was born in the year 1650 ..." [8]. And, according to the information given by the Georgian historians, "from 1555 to 1744", the Kartli region - in which "Andrew" (Antimoz) is belived to have been born was "in the Persian sphere", and "western Georgia and western Samtskhe under the Ottomans" [9], hence the conclusion of some historians - both Georgians and Romanians - that Antimoz was not born in that region, but in the area occupied by the Ottomans. For this reason, regarding the place of birth of Anthim, Metropolitan of Wallachia (1708-1716), various hypotheses and opinions are still being emitted and publicized, some of them absolutely bizarre, with no support in the historical reality. For example, it has been stated that Anthim was not born in the region of Kartli, because it must have been under the influence of the Persians, not of the Turks [9].

From the Black See Coast of Western Georgia to Constantinople

So far, those who have written about the life and the printer's and writer's activity of Anthim the Iberian have not been able to clarify either whether "Andrew", born in "Iberia" (Georgia), "... was a slave at the Turks or at the Persians", or whether or not "... he was living in Istanbul, somewhere around the Ecumenical Patriarchate ..." [6]. This is why their affirmations about Anthim the Iberian were and largely remained – also in this concern – the product of conjunctural speculations, with no documentary support. Actually, as some researchers of Anthim the Iberian's biography noticed, "... the scarcity of the information (or even its total absence) led only to a buildup of hypotheses (not very likely to be confirmed) on some research levels" [6].

The same researchers justly noted that "in the present stage of the research, the Georgian period of Anthim's life, his family, the environment where he was born and that of his apprenticeship remain unknown" [7]. Indeed, "no precise data are available on Anthim's life before 1691, when he came to be known in Wallachia (the date when he printed the first book signed by him) ..." [7].

According to the statement of the Georgian Fanny Djindjihasvili, the young Andrew "was kidnapped from the Black Sea Coast regions of Western Georgia; ...", or "also from other areas of Western and Eastern Georgia, as it is known that, in the 17th century, the Dagestan tribes (the inhabitants of the north Caucasus mountains) kidnapped people and sold them as slaves in Crimea, from where they were taken to Constantinople and to other parts of the Ottoman Empire" [7].

If we admit that Andrew of Iberia was born in the year 1650 – as it has been accredited both by the Georgian and the Romanian historiography–Anthim, the future Metropolitan of Wallachia, must have arrived in the Romanian area in the year 1691, when he printed and signed his first book. But, most likely, he arrived in Romanian land in the year 1682, when Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, set up a Printing Press at Cetăţuia (Iaşi), placing it under the guidance of Bishop Mitrofan of Huşi (1682-1686), who had learnt the art of printing in the monastery where he took his monastic vows, namely Bisericani, "following the exhortation of Dosoftei, Metropolitan of Moldova" [10].

Corroborating the statements on the printing activity of Bishop Mitrofan at Bisericani, with those on the endeavors of Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, to have a Princely Printing Press set up at Cetățuia and to have Greek books printed, we can however conclude that the presence of Andrew (Anthim) in Iasi (Moldova), along with Mitrofan, from whom he actually learnt the art of printing, was perceived as an absolute necessity. Yet, if Andrew was not brought here by Dositheus of Jerusalem in the year 1682, we can however suppose that this happened either before the year 1682, namely between the years 1680-1682, or during the interval 1682-1686. Anyway, most likely "Andrew" (Anthim) was not brought to Moldova before the coming of the printerbishop Mitrofan to Bucharest, namely in the year 1686, when the Georgian – the future Metropolite of Walachia – must have been around 35-36 (years old).

Where did Andrew (Anthim) Learn Greek, Turkish, Slav and Romanian?

According to the affirmation of the Georgian historiography, "by the time when he was ransomed from slavery, Anthim was mastering both "his native tongue" and "the Greek language" [7].

It is very likely that the young Andrew – who, from Crimea, had been sold as a slave by the merchants of some Muslim tribes of Georgia, – arrived in Constantinople around the year 1670, where he was ransomed by the men of Dositheus Nottaras, Patriarch of Jerusalem [11, 12]. Actually, the same georgian historiography lets us know that Anthim "... was ransomed during the period when the See of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem was in fact in Constantinople and needed a man able to translate from Georgian" [7].

This evident and urgent need to have a man translating from Georgian is indeed attested by one of the letters sent by the Dositheus Nottaras, Patriarch of Jerusalem, - who at that time had the headquarters of his patriarchal See in Constantinople - to the Catholicos-Patriarch of Georgia, a letter which states clearly that the Greek hierarch had asked the Primate of Georgia "thousands of times" to send him a translator, "... to help with our correspondence" [7].

For a such translator, it was therefore obligatory that this one to know already greek language, in order to be able to communicate with the greek patriarch, Dositheus Nottaras, and the members of his ecclesiastical Court from Constantinople, and to help them in their correspondence with the Georgian Patriarch and the King of Georgia, that is to translate from Greek to Georgian and vice-versa.

So, in my opinion, in Constantinople, the young Georgian, Andrew, did not have to learn Greek, but only Turkish. However, it is not excluded that he could have acquired also some elementary knowledge of the Turkish language even in his own homeland, where – at that time – there were both Greek enclaves and Turkish enclaves (of the Turks of Caucasus) in the areas of western and Eastern Georgia. Yet, we have no testimony from Anthim to attest that he could write in Turkish.

As regards the books he printed in the Arab language, he "carefully carved the Arab letters", creating at the same time "a new Arab calligraphy" [6], using the Turkish, Greek and even Romanian letters. But, in the works of the Georgian and Romanian historians we also find the widely accepted statement that Anthim knew Arab as well, as he printed – on the reigning prince Constantin Brâncoveanu's request, following the insistent pleas of the Greek Patriarchs of the East (Dositheus of Jerusalem, Athanasius Dabbas of Antioch etc.) – cult books for the Middle and Near East Christians.

As far as the Old Slav language is concerned, Anthim may have studied it either in his country or in Russia – whose ecclesial environment he seems to have known well – but also in the Romanian Countries, where he actually printed books in Old Slav as well.

The fact that Anthim learnt Romanian in the Romanian Countries (in Iaşi, Bucharest, Snagov and Râmnic) is confirmed by one of his manuscripts, entitled *Invăţătura creştinească* (Christian Teaching), – discovered by a great Romanian Church scholar, id est Melchisedec, Bishop of Roman, at Agapia Monastery (Moldova) – and which "by its linguistic errors and sometimes bizarre orthography (...) may be dated at a time when Anthim had not yet appropriated the [Romanian] language well enough" [7]. But this happened during the first years of his stay in Iaşi, namely, according to some researchers, not during the period 1680-1686, but between the years 1680-1688 [13, 14].

From Constantinople in the Romania Land, where "Andrew", the Georgian, Took the Monastic Vows

According to some Romanian researchers, "Andrew", the Iberian, became a monk and received not only his monastic name, "Anthim", but also his priest-ordination in Constantinople, and, consequently, he arrived to the Romanian land having the clergy-status of "hieromonk" [6]. But, if we identify the "Andrew" nominated among the disciples of Mitrofan even since the year 1682 - when he printed with the blessing of Dosoftei, Metropolitan of Moldova, also the second tome of The Life and Living of the Saints (Viata si petrecerea Sfintilor) - with the young Georgian brought to Moldova by Dositheus, the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, namely with "Antimoz Iverieli", then, we can state exactly the contrary, namely that he could took his monastic vows not in Constantinople, but in Moldova (at Bisericani Monastery or Cetățuia Monastery / Iași).

According to the purely speculative statement of some Romanian historians of our times, Andrew the Georgian would have been "in his early thirties when he was taken prisoner and brought to Constantinople" [15], where, after he was ransomed, he took his monastic vows – receiving the name of Anthim – and lived in the cells of the Patriarchate. There, he would have learnt wood carving, calligraphy, painting, embroidery, as well as Greek, Arab and Turkish.

Regarding his monastic status, another opinion expressed so far was that "when he arrived in Wallachia he was a layman, but he became a monk soon afterwards" [16]. But, if we consider the mentality "in illo tempore" (of those times), it is hard to believe that a lay man could have lived in the cells of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and could have been brought by a Patriarch of Jerusalem to work in a Greek Printing Press, albeit beyond the area of Constantinople, namely in Iaşi (Moldova), without having first put on the monastic habit, which he certainly did among the Greeks of Constantinople at least in the hypostasis of "brother", i.e. not that of "monk", becoming worthy of the latter only in Moldova, where he could be ordained priest, that is as a hieromonk.

When did Andrew (Iverieli) Arrive in Walachia (Romanian Country)?!

According to some Romanian historians' statement, Anthim must have arrived in the Romanian land around November 1688, "when Brâncoveanu is chosen to be reigning prince ..." [17]. But what we know for sure is only that in October 1691 Anthim signed his first book, printed in Bucharest, under the name "Anthim the hieromonk" [17]. This book was The Teachings of the Emperor Basil the Macedonian to His Son, Leo the Wise. The book was indeed printed "para Anthimou Hieromonachou" (by the hieromonk Anthimos), as confirmed by the copy from the Library of the Romanian Academy, no. 293225, which "has on the 6th page, on the front side, a handmade note", by Anthim, stating that this book was made by him, and signing. The mention is made "in Greek" [18]. And, since at that time the printing of a book could take even a year or two, we can conclude that Anthim must have been at Brâncoveanu's Court at least since the beginning of his reign that is from 1688, and not in the years 1689/1690, as stated unfortunately G. Strempel [19].

In the Romanian and Georgian specialized literature, the statement that Anthim the Iberian was brought to Wallachia by the Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714) is actually widely accepted. Yet, the latest research [20] in this domain highlights that "... Anthim was already in Wallachia when Brâncoveanu was chosen to be a King, in the automn of the year 1688" [21], as attested clearly, in fact, by the text invoked by some researchers, namely the Preface of the Euchologion (*Molitfelnic*) translated into the Romanian by Anthim the Iberian, in 1706, in which Mihail Ştefan (Iştvanovici), his fellow laborer in the art of printing books, was writing: "Here in our country ..., Constantin Brâncoveanu Voievode, knowing you and seeing your love for God and

putting to the test your sharp mind, found you worthy and skilled ... for a remarkable and helpful work ..."[22].

From the words of a such indubitable testimony, given by Mihail Stefan, whom the Georgians adopted by the name which he used to sign "almost all the books printed in Tbilisi", namely "Mihail Stepaneshvili", and, sometimes, "Stefanidze" [7], we can therefore conclude the following: a) It is not the Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu that had brought Anthim to Wallachia; b) The Prince only took note of the fact that Anthim was a pious and God-loving man; a sharp mind; diligent and skilled in all the work of his hands. Actually, it is precisely these qualities that have brought him into the attention of both the Greek and the Romanian hierarchs and clerics, as well as the country's boyars, during the reigning of the Prince Brâncoveanu.

According to the statement of some Romanian researchers, "about the circumstances of the arrival of the Georgian ... in Wallachia, and about the moment of this arrival ..." [6], we do have no sure information so far. Yet, the same researchers of Anthim the Iberian's biography - be they Romanian or Georgians - accredited the idea "that the Georgian Andrew arrived in Bucharest being still a layman, after November 1688. Yet, no later than the year 1690 - according to what they have written $- \dots$ " [6]. But the name of Dositheus Nottaras, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who remained in the conscience of some Romanian historians as "a rigorous (and very high-minded) hierarch ..." [6], already appears in the year 1682, that is in the first printed book issued by the Greek Printing Press installed by Gheorghe Duca, the Prince of Moldova, in his edifice, the Monastery of Cetățuia, by Mitrofan the typographer, who became Bishop of Huşi (1682-1686). Consequently, Anthim the Iberian - who, at that time, was learning the art of printing from his master, the Romanian Mitrofan, the typographer, - may have arrived in Moldova at least one or two years before that, namely in the years 1680/1681.

The Motivation of His Arrival in Romanian Land

On the motivation of Anthim's arrival in the Romanian land, various opinions have been emitted. For example, according to some literary historians, Anthim may have been brought by the Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu [19] to serve his major interests related to the agenda of printing some cult and theological books, absolutely necessary to the Christian world of Greek language from the Middle and Near East of those times. But, in reality, Anthim must have been brought to the Romanian Countries by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheus Nottaras, who - at that time - had the headquarters of his Patriarchal See in Istanbul. Consequently, it is neither "the great number of Romanian properties under Eastern administration", nor "the policy of Constantin Brâncoveanu, Prince of Wallachia (1688-1714), of help and support for the Orthodox East under Turkish dominion" [23], the main reasons that brought Anthim to Brâncoveanu's Court; he rather came to serve the policy of Dositheus of Jerusalem, namely his agenda of endowing the Greek world - not that of the former Byzantine area, but especially that of the East (Middle and near East), of Greek expression, - with printed books. Actually, this explains also the fact that in his works Anthim evokes quite "little" [23], explicitly, this "policy" of Brâncoveanu [24, 25].

Where did "Antimoz Iverieli" Learn the Skill of Printing?!

So far, we have no sure answer to this question either, but only different opinions and hypotheses. Actually - as we mentioned above - we do not have sure testimonies not only about his acquisition of the Greek and Turkish language, albeit it is not impossible that he may have acquired some introductory knowledge even in his native country. Certainly, he may have improved his knowledge of these languages among the Greeks and the Turks of Phanar, or even in the Romanian Countries, where were not only Greeks clergymen, but also some turks.

In the year 1708, speaking about Anthim, the Romanian Mihail Stefan (Stefanovici) - his fellow-laborer in the art of printing - was writing that "he has filled the holy and divine Churches of our country (sic!) with the food of spiritual life ..." [6]. Yet, where and from whom did "Antimoz Iverieli" learn the art of printing?! According to a statement accredited by the Romanian historiography, Andrew (Anthim) seems to have worked in Istanbul "as engraver", and in the Romanian Countries he learnt the art of printing under the guidance of Mitrofan, "a master typographer, who then became bishop of Huşi" [18]. The School of Mitrofan actually included as well other cardinal names of the domain of the art of printing, such as Gheorghe Radovici, who was also a translator", "Damaschin Gherbest, Mihai Iştvanovici, subdeacon, (that is Michael Stephen (Stepaneshvili) n.n.), and Ursul (painter and typographer)" [18].

In the epoch of the reigning prince Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714) - corresponding to that of the activity of Anthim the Iberian - other remarkable translators and correctors of editions were: the brothers Şerban and Radu Greceanu; Gheorghe Radovici, Constantin Cantacuzino Stolnicul (the Senechal), Mitrofan, bishop of Huşi, Mihail Macri etc. At the same time, book illustration was honorably represented by Ioanichie (Ivan) Bakov, Damaschin Gherbert, Ursul zugravul [18] (the painter). Yet, Anthim the Iberian was by far the most prominent typographer of the epoch of the Wallachian Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu. Indeed, between the years 1688-the enthronement of Brâncoveanu in Wallachia - and 1716 - the year of the martyric death of Anthim the Iberian - were printed "about 90 titles, of which 32 by the printing press of Anthim, and 14 by the printing press of bishop Mitrofan, The National Library of Romania has in its Collections 35 titles edited during this period" [18].

On the initiation of Anthim the Iberian in the art of printing, other opinions have been emitted as well; one of them is that Andrew (Anthim) may have learnt the art of printing in Georgia, in Moscow, in Kiev, in Venice [26] or in Constantinople. Yet, in Georgia the young Andrew could not have learnt the art of printing, as no Printing Press had been installed there by that time.

In the Preface of the first book printed in Georgian, in Tbilisi, the "*Evanghelion*" of the year 1709, issued by the Romanian typographer Mihail Ştefan (Istvanovici), – a fellow-laborer of Anthim the Iberian, the Metropolite of Ungro-Wallachia Lands – it is stated "expressis verbis" that, "until then, no Printing Press had existed in Georgia" [7].

It was also stated that the young Andrew may have learnt the advanced technique of the art of printing in Venice [17], where he may have been sent by Dositheus the Patriarch of Jerusalem himself, who was living - at that time - in Constantinople, in order to have Greek books printed for the whole Christian East. Yet, the opinion that Anthim learnt the art of printing in Venice "... cannot be admitted, because, if Anthim had learnt the art of printing in Venice, doubtlessly Maria del Chiaro (private Secretary of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu, n.n.) would not have forgotten to mention this fact; on the contrary, he would have emphasized it" [7]. Indeed, the History of Anton Maria Del Chiaro [27] we do not find any mention about the fact that Anthim learn the art of printing in Venice. In fact, it has to be also noticed the fact that we do not find any mention about "Andrew" or "Antimoz Iverieli" neither in the Preface of the Bible printed in Venetia [28], in the year 1687, with the financial support of the Prince of Walachia, Serban Cantacuzino (1678-1688).

The young Andrew the Georgian could not have acquired the "handling of the letters of the printing press" in Istanbul either, because, in his time, in the capital of the Ottoman Empire "the printing press was not working" [6]. Indeed, in the year 1633, the Ottomans destroyed the Printing Press that the Greek monk Metaxa had brought from England, and "... for 90 years there was no Greek printing press (the only printing press acknowledged was that of the Jewish clerics)" [7]. Actually, in the same year, 1633, the Greeks from Ottoman Empire turned to the Moldavian Prince Vasile Lupu for help, asking him to set up a Printing Press with Greek letters in Iaşi.

However, some Georgian researchers believe that "...Antimoz" learnt the art of printing in Constantinople, "probably together with the typographer Mitrofan of Wallachia" [7]. Yet, in the Romanian specialized literature (namely philological, historical, theological etc.), we have no testimonies or documentary references regarding the presence in Constantinople of the Romanian typographer Mitrofan, who, later on, was to become bishop of Huşi and, then, of Buzău. Yet, it is not impossible that the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheus Nottaras, - who was present almost throughout the years at the Courts of the Romanian Princes of Walachia and Moldavia, trying to obtain material support, - may have taken with him as well, to Constantinople, the hieromonk Mitrofan of Bisericani, a disciple of the Metropolite Dosoftei of Moldova, one of the founders of the modern liturgical Romanian language. And, in this case, Mitrofan may have been the one who brought Andrew (Anthim) along with him to Moldova, certainly with the blessing of Dositheus the Patriarch, as well. Anyway, the statement that Andrew "... learnt to handle the matrixes" alongside with the hieromonk Mitrofan of Bisericani, a disciple of the great Church-scholar, Metropolite Dosoftei of Moldova, who then became Bishop of Buzău (Wallachia), seems much more plausible. As duration, his apprenticeship by the side of Mitrofan was set in time "after the year 1688 ... until 1691" [6]. Yet, this statement remains at the stage of hypothesis or personal opinion as well, because the Georgian Anthim may have become initiated in the art of printing even since the years 1680/1682, and not just after the year 1688, since it is well known that, in the year 1682, the Moldavian Prince, Gheorghe Duca, installed - following the persistent request of Dositheus Nottaras, the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, - a Printing Press with Greek letters in Iaşi (the Monastery of Cetățuia), whose appointed head was the same famous typographer Mitrofan, from the Monastery of Bisericani, a former disciple - in the art of printing - of Dosoftei, Metropolite of Moldova (1624 - 1693), founder of a Printing Press with Romanian letters, as well.

Although in the year 1682 Mitrofan was chosen Bishop of Huşi, however, he continued to hold the position of head of the Printing Press of Iaşi (Cetăţuia), helped by his former disciples, who also knew Greek well. One of them may have been just Andrew (Antimoz) Iverieli, Anthim the Iberian.

In the year 1682, in the Greek Printing Press of Cetățuia (Iași) appeared "the first printed book" [6], which, at that time, was the only one of its kind in the whole Orthodox East. This was the work of Nectarius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, entitled "Answer against the Pope's Primacy". As such, it seems very likely that Andrew (Anthim) may have learnt the art of printing from Mitrofan, first of all at the Printing Press from Bisericani and then at that of Cetățuia (Iași), where he was publishing the works of Dositheus the Patriarch. The fact that this may have been true could be confirmed by the signatures at the end of the second tome of The Life and the Living of the Saints - appeared in the year 1682, at the Printing Press of Cetățuia (Iași), - which also include the name of Andrew. "... And the printers: hieromonk Mitrofan, the maker of the printing press, with his disciples Pavel and Ursul, Andrei" [6]. So, it is not excluded that this Andrew to be in fact "Andrew the Iberian", who – as a monk – was called in Romanian Antim.

Instead of Conclusions, we could like to underline the fact that both by the signaling of omissions and inadvertences, and by the evaluation - albeit brief - of certain statements and opinions of some Romanian and Georgians, philologians, historians and theologians, on the life and printing activity of "Antimoz, of the pious people of the wise Iberians", who put the basis for the development of an humanist Christian culture both in Romania and in the Caucasian area, we have come "ipso facto" as well with some contributions to the uncovering and recovery of the historical truth. This is certainly going to encourage the knowledgeable researchers to continue - with even more diligence, attention and competence - their analysis of the documentary informations (Romanian, Georgian and Greek), and come up with necessary clarifications, because the printing activity of "Antimos Iverieli" is not only an essential part of the history of the religious and lay culture of their two peoples, but also of the cultural patrimony of Europe and of the peoples of the lands of Caucasia.

ისტორია

ანთიმოზ ივერიელი (ანთიმ იბერიელი). ახალი მოსაზრებანი მისი ცხოვრებისა და ბეჭდვითი საქმიანობის შესახებ

ნ. დურა

რუმინეთის მეცნიერებათა აკადემიის სრულუფლებიანი წევრი

(წარმოდგენილია აკადემიის წევრის გ. კვესიტაძის მიერ)

ანთიმოზ ივერიელმა თავის თანამოაზრე მეგობარ რუმინელ სტეფანთან (სტეფანეშვილი) ერთად, ხელი შეუწყო რუმინული და ქართული ჰუმანურ ქრისტიანული კულტურის განვითარებას რუმინულ და ქართულ ენებზე წიგნების ბეჭდვით. წინამდებარე ნაშრომში, განსაკუთრებით იმ მკითხველისთვის, ვისთვისაც ეს თემა კარგად ნაცნობია, ყურადღებას გამახვილებთ იმ ხარვეზებსა და უზუსტობებზე რომლებიც ანთიმოზ ივერიელის ცხოვრებისა და ბეჭდვითი საქმიანობის შესახებ რუმინულ და ქართულ სპეციალურ ლიტერატურაში არსებობს. დიდი ჰუმანისტისა და სწავლულის ანთიმოზ ივერიელის, უნგრო-ვლახეთის მიტროპოლიტის (1708-1716) ცხოვრებასა და ბეჭდვით საქმიანობასთან დაკავშირებით, სხვა ბევრ ხარვეზსა და უზუსტობას შორის, რომელიც რუმინულ და ქართულ სპეციალურ ლიტერატურაში არსებობს, ჩვენ გამოვყოფთ რამდენიმე მათგანს, სახელდობრ: ა) არ გვაქვს ზუსტი ინფორმაცია მისი დაბადების თარიღის შესახებ; ბ) ჯერჯერობით არ არის ცნობილი ანდრია სად აღიკვეცა ბერად; გ) ჩვენთვის უცნობია, სად შეისწავლა მან ბეჭდვითი ხელივნება; დ) ჩვენთვის უცნობია რუმინეთის მიწაზე ანდრიას (ანთიმის) პირველად ჩასვლის ზუსტი თარიღი.

REFERENCES:

- 1. Zaharia R. (1984) Antim Ivireanul și epoca sa (Anthim the Iberian and His Epoch): Mărturie Ortodoxă (Orthodox Testimony). 6: 45.
- 2. Dură N. V. (2013) General Principles of European Union Legislation Regarding the Juridical Protection of the Human Rights: Journal of Danubius Studies and Research. 2: 7-14.
- 3. *Dură N. V. and Mititelu C.* (2014) The Freedom of Religion and the Right to Religious Freedom: SGEM Conference on Political Sciences, Law, Finance, Economics & Tourism, I: 831-838.
- 4. Dură N. V. and Mititelu C. (2014) The right to Freedom of Religion in the Jurisprudence of the European Court. Journal of Danubius Studies and Research, 1: 141-152.
- Georgiadze I. (2013) Un ctitor georgian pe pământul românesc (A Georgian founder on the Romanian territory): Sfânta Mănăstire Antim. Istorie, spiritualitate și cultură (1713-2013) (The Holy Monastery of Anthim. History, Spirituality and Culture (1713-2013)), Bucharest.
- 6. *Mazilu D. H.* (1999) Introducere în opera lui Antim Ivireanul (Introduction to the Work of Anthim the Iberian), Bucharest.
- 7. Djindjihaşvili F. (1982) Antim Ivireanul, cărturar umanist (Anthim the Iberian, an Erudite Humanist), Iași.

- Săsăujan M. (weli) Sfântul Ierarh Antim, Ivireanul cu suflet de roman (Saint Anthim the Hierarch, the Iberian with a Romanian Soul). Available from: http://ziarullumina.ro/sfantul-ierarh-antim-ivireanul-cu-suflet-de-roman-39124.html
- 9. Mikaberidze Al. (2007) Facing New Conquerors: Ottoman and Persian Empire: Historical Dictionary of Georgia. Available from: http://rustaveli.tripod.com/history6.html.
- 10. Crețulescu P. (weli) Episcopul Mitrofan al Buzăului (Bishop Mitrofan of Buzău). Available from: http:// ziarullumina.ro/episcopul-mitrofan-al-buzaului-9672.html.
- 11. Dură I. V. (1977) O Dositheos Ierosolimon kai i prosfora avtou eis tas Roumanikas Horas kai tin Ekklisian avton, Athena.
- 12. Dură I. V. (1985) Recherches sur l'histoire des Pays roumains et leur Eglise (XVIe-XIXe), Louvain la Neuve.
- 13. Dobrescu N. (1910) Viața și faptele lui Antim Ivireanul, mitropolitul Ungrovlahiei (The Life and the Deeds of Anthim the Iberian, Metropolitan of Hungaro-Wallachia Lands), Bucharest.
- 14. *Iorga N.* (1937) Despre Antim Ivireanul (On Anthim the Iberian): Biserica Ortodoxă Română (The Romanian Orthodox Church), LV: 614.
- 15. Ciobanu L., Antim Ivireanul, Sfântul cărturar (Anthim the Iberian, the Erudite Saint). Available from: <u>http://</u>jurnalul.ro/calendar/antim-ivireanul-sfantul-carturar-624500.html
- Sfântul Antim Ivireanul și comploturile politice (Saint Anthim the Iberian and the Political Plots). Available from: http://adevarul.ro/news/societate/sfantul-antim-ivireanul-comploturile-politice-1 50aecc797c42d5a663a0959b/index.html.
- 17. Serbănescu N. (1956) Antim Ivireanul tipograf (Anthim the Iberian, the Printer): Biserica OrtodoxăRomână (The Romanian Orthodox Church), 8-9: 693.
- *Tilică D.Ş.* (2008) Biblioteca Națională a României. Brâncoveanu şi epoca sa: Tipărituri aflate în Colecțiile speciale ale Bibliotecii Naționale a României. Catalog (The Romanian National Library. Brâncoveanu and His Epoch. Printings from the Special Collections of the National Library of Romania. Catallogue), Bucharest.
 Strempel G. (1997) Antim Ivireanul (Anthim the Iberian), Bucharest.
- 19. Strempet G. (1997) Antim Iviteatiui (Antinin the Identari), Buchalest.
- 20. Picioruș G (2009) Antim Ivireanul personalitate complexă a literaturii române (Anthim the Iberian, a Complex Personality of the Romanian Literature). Available from: http://www.teologiepentruazi.ro/tag/antim-ivireanul-personalitate-complexa-a-literaturii-romane/.
- 21. Constantin Brâncoveanu şi Antim Ivireanu un domn şi un ierarh providenţiali (Constantin Brâncoveanu and Anthim the Iberian a Providential King and a Providential Hierarch). Available from: http://ortodox.md/ articole/constantin-brancoveanu-si-antim-ivireanul-un-domn-si-un-ierarh-providentiali/
- Evhologhion adecă Molitvelnic (Euchologion) (1706), Biblioteca Academiei Române (The Library of the Romanian Academy), fondul de "Carte românească veche" (collection: Old Romanian Books), cota 150 A, f. 3., I-II Râmnic.
- Marinescu A. (2001) Aspecte ale legăturilor mitropolitului Antim Ivireanul cu Sinaiul (Aspects of the Connections of the Metropolite Anthim the Iberian with Mount Sinai): Anuarul Facultății de Teologie Ortodoxă (The Yearbook of the Theology Faculty): 289.
- 24. Dură N. V. (1984) Glasul de taină de la Mânăstirea Hurezi, ctitoria lui Brâncoveanu Vodă(1688-1714) (The mysterious voice of Hurezi Monastery, the edifice founded by Brâncoveanu Voivode (1688-1714)): Mărturie Ortodoxă (Orthodox Testimony), 7: 134-143.
- 25. Dură N. V. (1899) Țările Române și națiunile creştine din Balcani în perioada dominației otomane (sec. XIV-XIX) (The Romanian Countries and the Christian Nations of the Balkans during the Period of the Ottoman Dominion (14th-19th centuries)): Biserica Ortodoxă Română (The Romanian Orthodox Church), 5-6: 102-117.
- 26. *Şerbănescu N.* (1966) Mitropolitul Antim Ivireanul (The Metropolite Anthim the Iberian): Mitropolia Olteniei (The Metropolitan Bishopric of Oltenia), 3-4: 772, 774.
- 27. Del Chiaro (1718) Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia, Venice.
- 28. Dură I. V. (1984) Elogiile aduse de Nicolae Glykis în prefața Bibliei grecești de la Veneția, din 1687, lui Şerban Cantacuzino și Românilor (The Eulogies brought to Şerban Cantacuzino, Prince of Walachia, by Nicolas Glykis, in the Preface of the Greek Bible printed in Venice in 1787): Mărturie ortodoxă (Orthodox Testimony), 7: 172-189.

Received March, 2016