Slavonic Letters in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania from the Tenth to the Seventeenth Centuries

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Two perennial questions arise in the study of early Slavonic influence in Rumanian culture: when was Slavonic culture adopted by the Romance-speaking Rumanians and in what circumstances? The use of the Cyrillic alphabet by the Rumanians and the introduction of Slavonic as the liturgical language of the Rumanian church continue to puzzle scholars, and hypotheses attempting to explain these facts abound. Arguments for the parallel existence of Latin and Slavonic liturgies amongst the Rumanians from the eighth century onwards are still advanced[1] although there is no evidence of a Latin liturgy in the service books of the Rumanian church until the eighteenth century.

Virtually nothing is known of the circumstances in which the Slavs established themselves in the areas of what are now Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia. What is reasonably clear is that by the middle of the sixth century two main groups of Slavs can be distinguished in the region; the first, known as the Sclavini, had settled in Wallachia along the north bank of the lower Danube, and extended as far as the river Dniester; the second, designated the

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[1] M. Şesan, 'Uber die Bemühungen um die Einführung der Volkssprache in die rumänische Kirche', in *Ost und West in der Geschichte des Denkens und der kulturellen Beziehungen: Festschrift für E. Winter*, Berlin, 1966, pp. 82–91.

Antes, are thought to have occupied a large part of the South Russian steppes.[2] The Sclavini were the ancestors of the South Slavs who, through their invasions of the sixth and seventh centuries, destroyed the Roman culture in much of the Balkans. In the area of present-day Rumania these South Slavs were, in the course of time, assimilated by the Rumanians. The earliest epigraphic testimony to the Slavonic presence in the area of Rumania appears to be a Slavonic inscription bearing the date A.D. 943 that was discovered in 1950 during the digging of the Danube–Black Sea canal. The inscription reads:

ȣИ ГЬ.РЬЦѢХЬ
[В]Ь ЛѢТО SȳҢ̂А
[П] РИ ДѢИМИТРѢ БЪ
ЖОУПАНѢ.[3]

'Against the Greeks in the year 6451 in the time of župan Dimitri.'[4] Less controversial, but of much later date, is an amulet discovered near Turnu-Severin containing a prayer of exorcism in Slavonic of Serbian redaction attributed to Saint Sisinie, and engraved on leaves of lead some 3 cm. in width. An examination of the palaeographical, morphological and phonetic features of the text, which contains 184 verses, shows that it was copied between the second half of the thirteenth century and the end of the fourteenth.[5] The oldest Slavonic manuscripts copied in the area of Rumania are mainly lectionaries[6] and date from the thirteenth century.[7] They include an Octoechos (Slavonic MS 450 in the library of the Rumanian

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[2] D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453*, London, 1974, p. 66.

[3] D. P. Bogdan, 'Dobružanskaja nadpis 943 goda' (*Romanoslavica*, I, Bucharest, 1958, p. 89).

[4] Doubts as to the authenticity of this inscription were expressed by G. Nandriş, who discusses the jery misspellings: 'A Spurious Slavonic Inscription from the Danube Canal' (*The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. xxxvIII, no. 91, London, 1960, pp. 530–34). The Czech scholar F. V. Mareš has, however, no doubts about its authenticity: 'Dva objevy starých slovanských nápisu' (*Slavia*, xx, Prague, 1951, pp. 497–514). R. Jakobson in 'Vestiges of the Earliest Russian Vernacular' (*Slavic Word*, no. 1, appendix to *Word*, vol. 8, no. 4, New York, 1952, p. 350, note 3) says that 'an inscription in Bulgarian Cyrillic dating from 943 and found in the Dobrudgea in 1950 still awaits verification'. Spurious in the extreme appear fragments of a Slavonic inscription, found at Bucov near Ploieşti in 1957, which are said to be from the beginning of the tenth century and purported to give the date 6410 (i.e. A.D. 902): see M. Chişvaşi-Comşa, 'Săpăturile de la Bucov' (*Materiale şi cercetări arheologice*, vol. vI, Bucharest, 1959, p. 569, figure 2).

[5] L. I. Ciomu, 'Un vechi monument epigrafic slav la Turnu-Severin. O rugăciune-descîntec slavo-sârbă din sec. XIII–XIV' (*Revista istorică română*, vol. vIII, Bucharest, 1938, pp. 210–34). Ciomu (p. 221) considers the text to date from the beginning of the afore-mentioned period.

[6] R. R. Constantinescu, 'The Oldest Liturgy of the Rumanian Church: Its Sources and Diffusion' (*Rumanian Studies*, vol. II, Leiden, 1973, p. 121).

[7] Rumanian scholars use the compound 'Slavo-Rumanian' to describe Slavonic texts produced or copied in the Rumanian lands. For the sake of brevity this adjective has been adopted in the pages that follow.

Academy in Bucharest) discovered at Caransebeş in the Banat which is thought to date from the second half of the thirteenth century,[8] and fragments from an Evangelion (Slavonic MS 613 in the library of the Rumanian Academy in Bucharest) discovered at Rîşnov in Transylvania and dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.[9]

The question of the adoption of the Cyrillic alphabet by the Rumanians has preoccupied scholars for centuries.[10] The Cyrillic alphabet is believed to have been first used to denote the sounds of Rumanian[11] either at the end of the thirteenth century or at the beginning of the fourteenth.[12] This was proposed by Ion Bogdan[13] and, with some qualification, is accepted by scholars today. Petre Cancel astutely rephrased Bogdan's theory: 'The Rumanians (Wallachians) received the Cyrillic script in the form of Middle Bulgarian from the Bulgarians in the fourteenth century or at the end of the thirteenth'.[14] By using such phraseology Cancel avoids committing himself to the period before the thirteenth century concerning which there must be made 'într-un sens sau altul, o demonstraţie aparte' (either way a separate case, i.e. whether the Rumanians used the Cyrillic alphabet or not).[15] More recently I. Gheţie has reformulated Bogdan's conclusion as follows: 'The Rumanian language was used in writing with a relative consistency in the period after the first half of the thirteenth century, thus giving birth to an orthographic tradition.'[16] Gheţie's reformulation of Bogdan's conclusions is a sound one, save the use of the phrase 'with a relative

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[8] P. A. Syrku, 'Karansebesskiy oktoikh vtoroy poloviny XIII veka. Teksty, opisaniye rukopisi i snimki', in *Sbornik Otdeleniya russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoy Akademii nauk*, vol. LXXXII, St Petersburg, 1906, no. 2, pp. I–XIII, 1–60+3 facs.

[9] P. P. Panaitescu, *Manuscrisele slave ale Bibliotecii Academiei*, Bucharest, 1967, p. 266. For a list of early Slavo-Rumanian MSS see D. P. Bogdan, *Paleografia româno-slavă*, Bucharest, 1978, pp. 95–129.

[10] For a brief survey of earlier reflections on this subject see G. Nandriş, 'The Beginnings of Slavonic Culture in the Rumanian Countries' (*The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. XXIV, no. 63, 1946, p. 162).

[11] In Rumanian proper nouns found in Slavonic documents redacted in Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania.

[12] The earliest known charter in Slavonic redacted in Wallachia dates from c. 1369–77; see P. P. Panaitescu, *Documentele Ţării Româneşti*, I, Bucharest, 1938, pp. 35–36 and A. Sacedoţeanu and D. P. Bogdan, *Culegere de facsimile pentru Şcoala de arhivistică*, Seria Slavă, Bucharest, 1943, plate I. Its counterpart in Moldavia would appear to be a charter issued at Roman in 1392: see M. Costăchescu, *Documentele moldoveneşti înainte de Ştefan cel Mare*, vol. I, 1374–1437, Iaşi, 1931, pp. 7–13. Before the Second World War a letter in Slavonic of the Moldavian Prince Petru Muşat dating from 1388 existed in the Central Archives in Warsaw: see D. P. Bogdan, *Paleografia româno-slavă*, p. 125 and M. Costăchescu, op. cit., vol. II, Iaşi, 1932, pp. 603–4.

[13] I. Bogdan, 'De la cine şi cînd au împrumutat românii alfabetul chirilic', in *Lui Titu Maiorescu, Omagiu*, Bucharest, 1900, pp. 585–94.

[14] P. Cancel, 'Cînd au împrumutat românii alfabetul chirilic?', in *Lui Nicolae Iorga omagiu 1871–5/18 iunie — 1921*, Craiova, 1921, p. 69: 'Românii (muntenii) au avut de la bulgari în secolul al XIV-lea sau sfîrşitul secolului XIII-lea, scrierea chirilică în ortografia medio-bulgară'.

[15] Ibid.

[16] I. Gheţie, *Începuturile scrisului în limba română*, Bucharest, 1974, p. 13.

consistency' which is vitiated by the fact that the earliest texts in Rumanian are generally believed to date from the first half of the sixteenth century and that a text in Rumanian from before this date has yet to be discovered.

Bogdan arrived at his date by comparing the phonetic value of certain characters of the Cyrillic alphabet used in Bulgaria with that of the Rumanian sounds which these same characters were used to represent. It is instructive to reproduce an outline of Bogdan's theory.

Among the neighbouring Slavonic peoples, it was with the Bulgarians that the Rumanians had the closest cultural and political links between the eighth and the fourteenth centuries.[17] Slavonic manuscripts and documents written in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania[18] between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries were almost all written in Middle Bulgarian.[19] It is around the character ѫ in particular that Bogdan's argument is centred. In Old Church Slavonic of the ninth and tenth centuries ѫ had the value of o^n [õ]. Gradually in Bulgarian o^n evolved to $ъ^n$ (in Bulgarian dialects it became a^n [ã]) and in the first half of the thirteenth century ѫ lost its nasal quality, becoming ъ (in Bulgarian dialects a), a sound almost identical with Rumanian ă (similar to e in English 'jerk'). Thus in Bulgarian manuscripts of the fourteenth century ѫ and ъ are often confused, both being used to denote the same sound. This explains why ѫ and ъ, denoting ă or î,[20] are found indiscriminately in Rumanian words in Slavonic documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and indeed why these same two characters are also confused in Rumanian manuscripts of the sixteenth century.

By taking examples of Rumanian words found in Slavonic texts that were composed or copied in Wallachia and Moldavia during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Bogdan demonstrated that the

[17] Rumanian–Bulgarian relations between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries are the subject of the volume *Relaţii româno-bulgare de-a lungul veacurilor (sec. XII–XIX)*, *Studii*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1971.

[18] In comparison with Moldavia and Wallachia fewer documents were written in Slavonic in Transylvania since there Latin was the language of the chancery. The Slavonic documents emanating from Transylvania have yet to be studied in detail, hence the paucity of examples from them in the following pages.

[19] I. Bogdan, op. cit., p. 585. In documents issued by the Moldavian chancery and in Slavonic documents from Northern Transylvania the influence of Ukrainian is sometimes superimposed upon the Middle Bulgarian redaction; in Wallachia an overlay of Serbian can sometimes be detected: see G. Nandriş, *Documente slavo-române din mănăstirile muntelui Athos*, Bucharest, 1936, pp. 8–15; P. P. Panaitescu, *Manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei R.P.R.*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1959 (hereafter *Manuscrisele*, 1959), *passim*.

[20] Whether [î] existed as a sound of the Rumanian vowel system at this time, and whether a distinction was made in the earliest Rumanian texts between [ă] and [î] is discussed by A. Avram, 'Contribuţii la interpretarea grafiei chirilice a primelor texte româneşti (III)' (*Studii şi cercetări lingvistice*, xv, no. 3, Bucharest, 1964, pp. 265–94); id., 'Grafia chirilică şi problema opoziţiei /ă/:/î/ în dacoromâna din secolele al XVII-lea şi al XVIII-lea' (*Studii şi cercetări lingvistice*, xxiv, no. 1, 1973, pp. 7–25).

characters ѫ and ъ were used in Wallachia where ă or î would be found in modern Rumanian: e.g.

лѣгѫн = leagăn (fifteenth century)
грозъвеци = Grozăveşti (1493).[21]

Whereas in Wallachian texts both ѫ and ъ, corresponding to ă or î in modern Rumanian, are used, in Moldavian texts ъ is often used where we would find ă in modern Rumanian, and ы where we would find î: e.g.

Жумътатѣ = Jumătatea (1435)
Бырлѧ = Bîrlea (1404).[22]

Bogdan claims that the influence of Russian orthography explains the use of ы to represent î in Moldavia, since in Bulgarian ы had the value of [i] by the fourteenth century.[23]

Thus the fact that in Wallachia and Moldavia ѫ and ъ are used to denote ă or î in Rumanian words shows that it was from the Bulgarians that the Rumanians adopted the Cyrillic alphabet and this adoption could not have taken place before the thirteenth century since it was only at this date that ѫ lost its nasal quality in Bulgarian.

The adoption of Church Slavonic as the liturgical language in the lands that were later called Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania cannot be dated with precision. Various dates covering the period from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries have been proposed. The most popular theory is that the Rumanians of Wallachia borrowed the Byzantine liturgy in its Slavonic garb some time during the tenth century and were dependent on the Bulgarian Church through the agency of the Sees at Preslav, Ochrida, Vidin and Silistra (Dristra, Durostorum).[24] The latest research suggests that it was in fact in the Dobrogea that the liturgy in Slavonic was first adopted in the late tenth or early eleventh century by the Rumanians and that the See of Silistra, just across the Danube from the Dobrogea, played an important role in this development.[25] However, it is not until after the foundation of the two principalities of Wallachia (1330) and Moldavia (1359) that Slavonic can be said to have taken firm root in the Rumanian lands. The establishment of some form of political organization necessitated the creation of a chancery in which the

[21] I. Bogdan, op. cit., p. 589.
[22] Ibid., p. 590.
[23] A. Avram, 'Contribuţii . . . ', p. 275, note 49, in conformity with his view that a distinction between [ă] and [î] was not made in the pronunciation of Rumanian words at this time, argues that Russian ы could be interpreted as representing [ă]; I. Bărbulescu in his *Fonetica alfabetului cirilic în textele române din vécul XVI şi XVII*, Bucharest, 1904, pp. 358–59, contended that in Moldavian texts ы had the value [i] and that this reflected the influence of Bulgarian orthography, a view that commands little support today.
[24] G. Nandriş, op. cit., pp. 164–66, M. Păcurariu, *Istoria bisericii ortodoxe române*, Sibiu, 1972, p. 43.
[25] R. Theodorescu, *Bizanţ, Balcani, Occident la începuturile culturii medievale româneşti (secolele X–XIV)*, Bucharest, 1974, pp. 67–69.

scribes used Slavonic. The appointment of metropolitans to Walla-
chia (1359) and Moldavia (1401) by the patriarch of Constantinople
confirmed the adoption by the Rumanians of the Byzantine rite in
its Slavonic form.[26]

The impact of Byzantine Christianity was also felt in Transylvania
and Hungary. The *Legenda Sancti Gerhardi*[27] states that Prince
Ahtum (Ajtony), whose domains extended from the Tisza to the
Banat and from the Körös to the Danube, was baptized in Vidin in
the early years of the eleventh century 'secundum ritum Graecorum'
and that he founded in his residence of Morisena (Rum: Cenad,
Hung: Marosvár, Csanád) a monastery dedicated to St John the
Baptist which he made over to Greek monks.[28]

A survey of the earliest Slavonic manuscripts written or copied in
the Rumanian lands shows that a Slavonic liturgy existed there
before the establishment of metropolitan Sees.[29] This liturgy appears
to have been monastic in character since no eucharistic formula
exists in any of the respective manuscripts.[30] In view of this one
scholar concludes that, apart from the small hermitages, the Ruma-
nians had no Slavonic liturgy until the beginning of the fifteenth
century because of the lack before 1400 of Slavonic missals and prayer-
books essential for the secular liturgy.[31] However, the small number
of extant Slavo-Rumanian manuscripts of the thirteenth and
fourteenth centuries, and their fragmentary nature, make such
conclusions hazardous.

Through their adoption of the Slavonic liturgy and of the Cyrillo-
Methodian literary tradition the Rumanians gained access to the
church and culture of Constantinople, thus making their entry into
what Professor Obolensky has called the 'Byzantine Common-
wealth'. Medieval Slavo-Rumanian literature satisfied the needs of
the newly established Orthodox Church with manuscripts of the

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[26] The Metropolitan of Wallachia also bore the title of 'exarch of Hungary and the
mountains' since there was no Orthodox metropolitan of Transylvania: E. Tappe, 'The
Rumanian Orthodox Church and the West' in *Studies in Church History*, vol. 13, *The
Orthodox Churches and the West*, ed. D. Baker, Oxford, 1976, p. 281.
[27] The Venetian bishop St Gerard of Morisena.
[28] 'Legenda Sancti Gerhardi Episcopi', ed. by E. Szentpétery, in *Scriptores rerum Hungari-
carum tempore ducum regumque stirpis arpadianae gestarum*, II, Budapest, 1938. For details of the
composition of this work see C. A. Macartney, *Studies on the Earliest Hungarian Historical
Sources*, Budapest, 1938, p. 3 ff. and J. Horváth, 'La Légende majeure de l'évêque Gérard
et les débuts de notre historiographie médiévale' (*Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapesti-
nensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae*, Sectio Philologica, III, Budapest, 1961, pp. 3–22). For the
monastery at Morisena see I. B. Mureşianu, *Mănăstiri din Banat*, Timişoara, 1976, pp.
59–61. A bibliography of studies treating the history of ecclesiastical foundations in
Morisena is to be found in N. Stoicescu, *Bibliografia localităţilor şi monumentelor medievale din
Banat*, Timişoara, 1973, pp. 42–45.
[29] In Wallachia in 1359, in Moldavia in 1401.
[30] R. R. Constantinescu, op. cit., p. 124.
[31] Ibid., pp. 124–25.

liturgy, euchologia[32] and expositions of Christian dogma.[33] Besides the official Church literature we also find a number of chronicles, including those of George the Monk,[34] John Zonaras[35] and Constantin Manasses[36] and, for everyday enjoyment, many stories and legends, the most popular being the romance of Alexander the Great, which was copied from a Serbian version in 1562 at the monastery of Neamțu in Moldavia.[37] Through this range of literature the Rumanians acquired the culture of Byzantium.

A number of original religious works were also composed in Slavonic in Moldavia and Wallachia. The earliest *vita* is *The Martyrdom of St John the New*, written probably in 1402 at Suceava by the Bulgarian prelate Gregory Tsamblak.[38] The remains of John the New were brought in that year to Suceava,[39] the seat of Prince Alexander the Good of Moldavia, an event that inspired Tsamblak to write this short *vita*.[40] A contemporary composition from Wallachia is a collection of hymns written by the monk Philotheos who was formerly a logothetos of Prince Mircea the Old (1386–1418).[41] Returning to Moldavia a century later we find an Akolouthia (a collection of chant for Vespers and Matins) from the year 1511 copied in Greek and Slavonic by the scribe Evstatie at the monastery

[32] Perhaps the earliest Slavonic euchologion (Molitvelnic) of Rumanian origin is that copied at the end of the fifteenth century at the monastery of Bistrița in Oltenia: see R. R. Constantinescu, op. cit., p. 126 and P. P. Panaitescu, *Manuscrisele*, 1959, no. 238, pp. 338–40.

[33] For example, a MS of the *Dioptra* of Philip Monotropos dating from the fourteenth or fifteenth century: see D. P. Bogdan, op. cit., p. 99, no. 11.

[34] Library of the Rumanian Academy, Bucharest (hereafter LRA), Slavonic MS 320 dating from the sixteenth century; Slav. MS 321 from the end of the fifteenth century; Slav. MS 330 from the fifteenth century: see G. Mihăilă, 'Istoriografia romană veche (sec. al XV-lea — începutul sec. al XVII-lea) în raport cu istoriografia bizantină și slavă' (*Romanoslavica*, xv, 1967, pp. 161–62) (hereafter 'Istoriografia romană veche').

[35] Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library, Leningrad, MS F IV, no. 307 dating from 1637; see G. Mihăilă, op. cit., pp. 162–63.

[36] LRAB, Slav. MS 649 from the sixteenth century (ibid., pp. 163–64). This MS, first mentioned in 1895 by Ion Bogdan, was consulted by the latter when preparing his edition *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses*, Bucharest, 1922.

[37] N. Cartojan, *Cărțile populare în literatura românească*, vol. 1: *Epoca influenței sud-slave*, Bucharest, 1929, p. 216.

[38] The oldest MS of this work is LRAB, Slav. MS 164 ff. 324–30, copied in 1439 at the Neamțu monastery by the scribe Gavril Uric. For details of Tsamblak see E. Turdeanu, 'Grégoire Camblak: faux arguments d'une biographie' (*Revue des études slaves*, tome XXII, fasc. 1–4, Paris, 1946, pp. 46–81); id., *La Littérature bulgare du XIVe siècle et sa diffusion dans les pays roumains*, Paris, 1947, pp. 149–54; K. Mečev, *Grigorij Camblak*, Sofia, 1969.

[39] M. Păcurariu, op. cit., pp. 63–64.

[40] An extract from this work with introductory notes is to be found in G. Mihăilă and D. Zamfirescu, *Literatura română veche (1402–1647)*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1969, pp. 22–25.

[41] E. Turdeanu, 'Les Premiers Écrivains religieux en Valachie: L'hégoumène Nicodème de Tismana et le moine Philothée' (*Revue des études roumaines*, II, Paris, 1954, pp. 114–44) (hereafter 'Les premiers Écrivains religieux'). Of the ten MSS containing these hymns, three were copied in Russia. The collection was also incorporated by the Serbian printer Božidar Vuković in his *Zbornik na putnike* printed in Venice in 1536 (ibid., pp. 200–2).

of Putna.[42] The texts are not original, however, only many of the compositions. The outstanding original work of Slavo-Rumanian literature are the *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie* (The Teachings of Neagoe Basarab for his son Theodosie),[43] a parenetic composition designed as a manual for princes (Neagoe has been described as the Rumanian Marcus Aurelius). It is at once a political, religious, military and pedagogical treatise, and although based on Byzantine sources, is original for its presentation of material which combines an exposition of ideas with an anthology of texts to illustrate them.

In the realm of historiography the most valuable contribution is a corpus of native Slavonic chronicles of Moldavian history. The earliest of these is believed to have been written at the court of Stephen the Great (1457–1504)[44] and to have served as the basis for the chronicles known as *Letopisețul anonim al Moldovei, Letopisețul de la Putna, Cronica moldo-polonă, Cronica moldo-rusă,* and for a German adaptation. The oldest extant Slavonic chronicle of Moldavia is known as *Letopisețul anonim al Moldovei* (The Anonymous Chronicle of Moldavia)[45] and forms part of a sixteenth-century Slavonic Miscellany.[46] The Anonymous Chronicle covers the history of Moldavia

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[42] A. E. Pennington, 'Evstatie's Song Book of 1511: Some Observations' (*Revue des études sud-est européennes*, tome IX, no. 3, Bucharest, 1971, pp. 565–83) and id., 'Music in Sixteenth-century Moldavia: New Evidence' (*Oxford Slavonic Papers*, new series, vol. XI, 1978, pp. 64–83).

[43] The *Învățături* were written in Middle Bulgarian between 1517 and 1521 by Neagoe Basarab, Prince of Wallachia 1512–21. The original Slavonic text is preserved in a single MS, copied in Wallachia during Neagoe's lifetime, but unfortunately two-thirds of the MS are missing. This MS is now in the Cyril and Methodius Library in Sofia and was published by P. P. Panaitescu, *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV–XVI publicate de Ion Bogdan*, Bucharest, 1959 (hereafter *Cronicile*), pp. 215–316. In 1966 G. Mihăilă discovered 13 unknown leaves in the MS in Sofia and published them in 'Două fragmente inedite din textul slavon al Învățăturilor lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie' (*Romanoslavica*, XIV, 1967, pp. 359–75). The Slavonic text was translated into Greek, probably in the first half of the seventeenth century. The only MS containing the Greek version is MS 221 in the library of the Dionysios Monastery on Mount Athos. Judging from the script, it appears to date from the seventeenth century. It was published by V. Grecu, *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab, domnul Țării Românești (1512–1521). Versiunea grecească*, Academia română, Studii și cercetări, LX, Bucharest, 1942. A Rumanian translation of the *Învățături* was made from the Slavonic text in the middle of the seventeenth century. It was perhaps the work of Udriște Năsturel and is the only complete version of the *Învățături* (even the Greek text has lacunae). The earliest complete MS of this translation is now in the Library of the Rumanian Academy in Cluj, Rumanian MS 109 and dates from the end of the seventeenth century or very early in the eighteenth. An edition of the *Învățături* based on this MS and later ones has been published by G. Mihăilă, F. Moisil and D. Zamfirescu, *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie*, Bucharest, 1970.

[44] P. P. Panaitescu, *Cronicile*, p. xl. Various opinions have been advanced as to the date when this 'prototype' chronicle was compiled: see D. Ionescu, 'Images du Prince Dragoș dans les manuscrits de Moldavie au XVIIIe siècle' (*Revue des études sud-est européennes*, tome XIV, no. 4, 1976, p. 620, note 3).

[45] P. P. Panaitescu, *Cronicile*, pp. 1–23.

[46] This Miscellany was discovered at Tulcea by Ion Bogdan and first described in 1895 when the latter published the text of *Letopisețul anonim* under the title of *Letopisețul de la Bistrița* (The Bistrița Chronicle) since he believed that the chronicle was compiled at the monastery of Bistrița, the resting place of Prince Alexander the Good of Moldavia. LRAB, Slavonic MS 649, which also contains the chronicle of Manasses.

between the years 1359 and 1507. *Letopiseţul de la Putna* (The Putna Chronicle) exists in two versions,[47] the first covering the period 1359–1526, the second the years 1359–1518. Three adaptations in Polish, Russian and German of the court chronicle of Stephen have been discovered this century. The first of these, *Cronica moldo-polonă*, is believed to have been composed in 1564 and is based on the Putna chronicle,[48] as is *Cronica moldo-rusă* which also dates from the sixteenth century.[49] The German adaptation, *Cronica breviter scripta Stephani Dei gracia Voyvodae Terrarum Moldannensium necnon Valachyensium*, appears in Latin codex 952 (ff. 287–98) from the Bavarian State Library in Munich and was copied on 28 April 1502.[50]

The history of Moldavia following the death of Stephen in 1504 continued to be recorded in the chronicles of Macarie, Eftimie and Azarie. That of Macarie, Bishop of Roman (1531–58), covers the period from 1504 to 1551 and was commissioned by Petru Rareş, Prince of Moldavia (1527–38, 1541–46).[51] The work of Eftimie, who has been identified as Eftimie, Abbot of Căpriana (1541–54),[52] is an official contemporary account of the years 1541 to 1554 and was probably commissioned by Prince Alexandru Lăpuşneanu (1552–61). It is a continuation of the version of Macarie's chronicle that terminates in 1542 and indeed follows it in Kiev manuscript 47/116.[53] The chronicle of Macarie's pupil, the monk Azarie, is similarly an extension of that of Macarie in its complete form (1504–51)[54] and takes the history of Moldavia up to 1574, the year in which Azarie was requested to write the chronicle by Prince Petru Şchiopul (1574–77). All three chronicles lean heavily, from a stylistic point of view, on

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[47] One is to be found in MS 47/116, compiled between 1552 and 1561, in the Pochayevskaya Lavra collection of the Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev (see D. P. Bogdan, *Paleografia româno-slavă*, p. 113), the other in a Miscellany from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, no. O.XVII.13 in the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library in Leningrad (ibid., p. 114). The text of both chronicles is published in P. P. Panaitescu, *Cronicile*, pp. 43–66.

[48] P. P. Panaitescu, *Cronicile*, pp. 164–77.

[49] Ibid., pp. 152–61.

[50] This German text was edited by I. C. Chiţimia, *Cronica lui Ştefan cel Mare (versiunea germană a lui Schedel)*, Bucharest, 1942.

[51] The chronicle exists in two forms. The first, contained in MS 47/116 in Kiev (see note 47), ends in the year 1542, the date at which Eftimie began his chronicle. The second form carries the history of Moldavia to 1551, the year in which Azarie took up his pen, and is preserved in the Miscellany no. O.XVII.13 in Leningrad (see note 47 and P. P. Panaitescu, *Cronicile*, pp. 74–105).

[52] It is interesting to note that it was about 1541 that the monastery of Căpriana in Eastern Moldavia (Bessarabia) was rebuilt and that four years later a fine decorated Gospels in Middle Bulgarian was commissioned by the Prince of Moldavia, Petru Rareş and dedicated to the monastery: see Şt Berechet, 'Mănăstirea Căpriana', *Comisiunea monumentelor istorice. Secţia din Basarabia. Anuar*, II, Chişinău, 1928, pp. 89–90, 93–94.

[53] This is the only MS in which Eftimie's chronicle is preserved (P. P. Panaitescu, *Cronicile*, pp. 106–25).

[54] It also follows Macarie's chronicle in Leningrad Miscellany O.XVII.13, the only MS containing Azarie's opus (ibid., pp. 126–51).

the fourteenth-century Middle Bulgarian translation of Manasses,[55] borrowing from the latter many rhetorical devices and expressions. Azarie took many extracts from the Byzantine chronicle and adapted them to suit his own narrative by transposing the characters concerned. His description of the Moldavian army in the sixteenth century is in fact a description of the Byzantine army. Furthermore, the official nature of all three works renders their accuracy and objectivity suspect and reduces their value as historical accounts. Nevertheless, they proved to be an invaluable source of reference to later chroniclers such as Grigore Ureche and Miron Costin who continued the Moldavian historiographical tradition by compiling the earliest extant chronicles in the Rumanian language.

The lack of such a tradition in Wallachia can be largely explained by the dearth of chronicles in Slavonic from this land. A Slavonic chronicle of late medieval Wallachian history originating from this principality has yet to be discovered, although the existence of several such works has often been postulated.[56] The earliest historical work in Slavonic relating to the history of Wallachia is the *Skazanije o Draculea voievodea* (The Story of Prince Dracula) based on events during the reign of Vlad Ţepeş (Prince of Wallachia 1456–62, 1476). This account is believed by some scholars to have been composed in Transylvania in Middle Bulgarian in 1486 although the surviving manuscripts of this text are Russian copies, the earliest dating from 1490 and now in the Lenin library.[57]

Of the scribes or authors of the literature in Slavonic described above, only the barest of details are known. Yet the activity of one figure, of the greatest significance in the early religious and cultural life of Wallachia, is now well known to us as a result of the research of Émile Turdeanu.[58] The monk Nicodemus provided the most important Hesychast link with Wallachia. Born in Serbia of a Serbian mother and Greek father, he went to Mount Athos for his training and came to Wallachia during the reign of Vladislav, with whose support he founded the monastery of Vodiţa (*c*.1369–74). In 1385

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[55] For the influence of Manasses on Macarie see I. Bogdan, *Vechile cronice moldovenesci pana la Urechia*, Bucharest, 1891, pp. 69–89, and on Azarie, see id., 'Letopiseţul lui Azarie' (*Analele Academiei Române*, Seria II, tom. XXXI, Memoriile secţiunii istorice, Bucharest, 1909, pp. 84–98).

[56] For a summary of the arguments advanced see P. Chihaia, *De la 'Negru vodă' la Neagoe Basarab: Interferenţe literar-artistice în cultura românească a evului de mijloc*, Bucharest, 1976, pp. 51–55, 93–105, and G. Mihăilă, 'Istoriografia română veche', pp. 172–74.

[57] P. P. Panaitescu, *Cronicile*, pp. 198–99. The philological points adduced by Panaitescu to support this theory are unconvincing; however, the textual arguments made by Ştefan Andreescu in his 'Premières formes de la littérature historique roumaine en Transylvanie. Autour de la version slave des récits sur le voïévode Dracula' (*Revue des études sud-est européennes*, tome XIII, no. 4, 1975, pp. 522–23) in favour of the above theory are very attractive.

[58] E. Turdeanu, 'Les Premiers Écrivains religieux', pp. 116–36.

his second foundation, Tismana, was completed. Nicodemus main-
tained links with other Hesychasts in the Balkans, corresponding
with Euthymius, Patriarch of Trnovo, and others. It is to Nicodemus
that we owe the earliest dated Slavonic manuscript that appears to
originate from Transylvania,[59] the Gospels copied in 1405 in the
Serbian redaction (now in the Art Museum of the Socialist Republic
of Rumania, Bucharest). Nicodemus tells us in the manuscript that
he completed the Gospels 'during the sixth year of his persecution',
the only reference we have to this final dark period of his life.[60]

If Serbian was the redaction favoured by Nicodemus, it was
Bulgarian (more precisely, Middle Bulgarian) that was the form of
Slavonic used by the school of calligraphy founded by the monk
Gavril (Gavril Uric) at the monastery of Neamțu in Moldavia in the
first half of the fifteenth century. Whereas the Gospels of Nicodemus
remain, for the period, an isolated work, the *Homilies of Gregory of
Nazianzus* (Gregory the Theologian), copied by the monk Gavril in
1424,[61] opens a period of rich scribal activity in Moldavia.[62] Between
1424 and 1447 the activity of Gavril and his school established the
first corpus of manuscripts in Moldavia, fixed a standard of calli-
graphy and illustration that remain unsurpassed in the Slavonic
world and provided later scribes with a model for their own work.[63]
The most famous of Gavril's manuscripts is the illuminated Gospels
in Slavonic preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (a Greek text
was added later).[64] It was executed in 1429 at Neamțu for Marina,
wife of the Prince of Moldavia, Alexander the Good (1400–32). The
influence of the miniatures in this manuscript is impressive: it can be

[59] This MS is traditionally referred to as the 'oldest dated manuscript from Wallachia',
presumably because of Nicodemus's association with this principality. In fact the Gospels
were copied on Nicodemus's own admission на оугрьсцѣи земли 'in the Hungarian
land', i.e. most probably Transylvania (ibid., p. 134). For a description of the Gospels
see I. R. Mircea, 'Cel mai vechi manuscris miniat din Țara Românească [sic!]:
Tetraevanghelul popii Nicodim (1404-1405)' (*Romanoslavica*, XIII, 1966, pp. 203–21).
Mircea states that the Gospels was 'probably copied at Vodița [Wallachia]' (p. 204)
without giving a further explanation for this view.
[60] E. Turdeanu suggests that Nicodemus founded the monastery of Prislop in Transyl-
vania and that he copied the Gospels there: 'Les Premiers Écrivains religieux', pp. 129–30.
[61] This is the earliest dated codex, as opposed to document, from Moldavia.
[62] See also note 38.
[63] Gavril's work is analysed by E. Turdeanu, 'Les Lettres slaves en Moldavie: le moine
Gabriel du monastère de Neamțu (1424-1447)' (*Revue des études slaves*, vol. 27, 1951,
pp. 267–78) (hereafter 'Le Moine Gabriel') and by I. R. Mircea, 'Contribution à la vie
et à l'œuvre de Gavriil Uric' (*Revue des études sud-est européennes*, tome VI, no. 4, 1968,
pp. 573–94). A list of Gavril's MSS is to be found in the two aforementioned works and in
D. P. Bogdan, *Paleografia româno-slavă*, pp. 104–6.
[64] Registered as MS Canonici Graeci 122 because of the presence of the Greek text which,
nevertheless, is copied in a small cursive hand compared with the large semi-uncials of the
Slavonic text (which occupies two-thirds of the page). The Greek text was most probably
added by a later copyist: see E. Turdeanu, 'The Oldest Illuminated Moldavian MS'
(*The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. XXIX, no. 73, 1951, pp. 456–69).

clearly detected in the Slavonic Gospels copied by the monk Nico-
demus in 1473 for the monastery of Humor in Northern Moldavia. The
figures of the evangelists in Gavril's Gospels are reproduced in the
Gospels copied in 1491 by Teodor Mărişescul for a church in Bacău
and also (with the exception of John) in the Gospels executed by the
same Teodor at the monastery of Neamţu in 1493 for a church in
Hotin.[65] They are also to be found in the Gospels copied in 1502 by
the monk Philip for the monastery of Zographos.[66]

A review of the contents of the thirteen or so manuscripts copied by
Gavril shows that they were based on Bulgarian originals.[67] Further-
more, all of Gavril's manuscripts are written in the Middle Bulgarian
redaction, as has already been mentioned. Copies of original
Bulgarian manuscripts found their way north of the Danube
throughout the first half of the fifteenth century, in the same way as
works originating from Serbia and Mount Athos. The acquisition of
Bulgarian manuscripts by Neamţu and the activity of Gavril there
established this monastery as the principal centre of Slavonic letters in
Moldavia. It produced a number of scribes who ensured that the
succeeding reign of Stephen the Great (1457–1504) would be
remembered as a golden age of calligraphic and artistic achieve-
ment.[68] Among the manuscripts of this reign executed at Neamţu[69]
we should mention the Acts of the Apostles that Stephen com-
missioned in 1463 for the Zographos monastery,[70], and a series of
twelve Menaia completed in 1467.[71] An earthquake in 1472 and the
sacking of Neamţu by the Turks in 1476 explains why literary activity
virtually ceased at the monastery until its restoration about 1490.
Nevertheless, the Neamţu tradition was continued at Stephen's
foundation at Putna, completed in 1469, whose first head was Ioasaf,
a member of the Neamţu community.[72] The scribes of manuscripts
copied at Putna are often the same copyists of works executed at
Neamţu. One such figure is the monk Casian who produced a fine
Psalter at Putna in 1470 (now in the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library
in Leningrad, Pogodin collection, no. 4) and, in the following year, a

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[65] Ibid., p. 466.
[66] Now in the National Library in Vienna, Slav. MS 7.
[67] For example the Bodleian MS contains the preface to each Gospel of Theophylactos,
metropolitan of Bulgaria. The *Pearls* of John Chrysostom, copied in 1443, are a faithful
replica of a translation made at the Bulgarian monastery of Kilifarevo: see E. Turdeanu,
'Le Moine Gabriel', p. 277.
[68] The literary activity of this period is admirably surveyed by E. Turdeanu, 'L'Activité
littéraire en Moldavie à l'époque d'Étienne le Grand (1457–1504)' (*Revue des études
roumaines*, v–vi, 1960, pp. 21–66 and 2 plates).
[69] All of these MSS are in the Middle Bulgarian redaction: ibid., p. 49, note 2.
[70] Ibid., p. 49.
[71] These reproduce the *Menaia* copied at Neamţu by Gavril between 1445 and 1449;
ibid., p. 33.
[72] E. Turdeanu's research has highlighted the literary and artistic activity of Putna:
ibid., pp. 35–37.

collection of the sermons of Gregory Nazianzus (the Theologian). Another is Nicodemus who in 1473 copied a very fine Gospels for the monastery of Humor (now in the Museum of History in Bucharest). Unfortunately, the hand of fate also struck at Putna, for in 1484 the monastery burned to the ground and most of its treasures were destroyed.[73] It is therefore not surprising that the restoration of Neamţu should coincide with a renewal of calligraphic work there. The outstanding scribe of the later period of Stephen's reign was Teodor Mărişescul. In 1491 he copied an illuminated Gospels for Stephen's son Alexander (now no. 3442 in the Historical Museum in Moscow), and in the following year was commissioned by Stephen himself to execute a Gospels for the monastery of Zographos (now no. 3641 in the Moscow Historical Museum). Perhaps his finest work is the illuminated Gospels of 1493, copied at Neamţu at the request of Stephen and destined for the church in Hotin (now in the Bavarian State Library, Munich, Slav. manuscript. no. 1).

The monasteries of Putna and Neamţu continued to dominate Moldavian cultural life during the sixteenth century. But whereas the former was known as a centre of fine arts, its embroidery workshop producing splendid vestments and cloths,[74] the latter remained the principal literary and religious centre of the country. It possessed the richest library in the land and trained all the Moldavian metropolitans who served from 1451 to 1528.[75] The monastery is associated during the sixteenth century with the series of chronicles of Moldavia written by Macarie, sometime abbot of Neamţu, and continued by Eftimie and Azarie, Macarie's pupil.[76] It is not surprising to find that Grigore Roşca, Metropolitan of Moldavia (1541–64), who founded the capital Suceava's first literary centre, completed his training at Neamţu. It was at Suceava that the deacon Mihail copied three Gospels, the first in 1546, probably on Grigore's instructions (now in the library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, no. 11), the second in the same year (believed to be in the library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev), and the third in 1550, commissioned by Grigore who donated it to the monastery of Voroneţ.[77] From this same year dates another donation made by the Metropolitan to Voroneţ: it is a collection of the sermons of St Ephraim the Syrian copied at Grigore's request by the monk John. However, the

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[73] Ibid., p. 37. It was rebuilt within four years.
[74] See E. Turdeanu, 'L'Activité littéraire en Moldavie de 1504 à 1552' (*Revue des études roumaines*, IX–X, 1965, p. 98) and id., 'La Broderie religieuse en Roumanie. Les epitaphioi moldaves aux XV–e et XVI–e siècles' (*Cercetări literare*, IV, Bucharest, 1940, pp. 181–214 and 10 plates).
[75] See E. Turdeanu, 'L'Activité littéraire en Moldavie de 1504 à 1552', p. 102 for details.
[76] See above pp. 9–10.
[77] All listed in E. Turdeanu, 'L'Activité littéraire en Moldavie de 1504 à 1552', pp. 115–16.

monastery of Neamțu was not forgotten. In 1562 the earliest extant copy of the Alexander romance in Moldavia was made at the expense of Grigore and presented by him to Neamțu.

If the literary, calligraphic and artistic activity in Moldavia dominated the cultural history of the Rumanian lands during the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, the innovation of the printing-press and its introduction into Wallachia at the beginning of the sixteenth century helped to redress this imbalance.[78] The first book printed in the Rumanian lands was a Missal in the Middle Bulgarian redaction of Slavonic dating from 1508. It was executed by the monk Macarie for the Prince of Wallachia, Radu cel Mare. There followed an Octoechos and a set of Gospels, both in the Middle Bulgarian redaction and printed by Macarie in 1510 and 1512 respectively. Unfortunately the colophons of all three books offer no indication as to the exact location of Macarie's press, but the evidence suggests that Macarie printed the books in Wallachia, near or in Tîrgoviște, the seat of Radu cel Mare.[79] After the Gospels of 1512 printing activity in Wallachia lapsed for more than thirty years. In 1545 the monk Moisi printed a Slavonic Euchologion (Molitvelnic) on the press of Dimitrije Ljubavić who had been summoned to Wallachia by the Prince, Radu Paisie, probably the year before. However, a significant event in the history of Rumanian printing had taken place in Transylvania one year earlier when the first book to be printed in Rumanian, a Lutheran Catechism, appeared at Sibiu.[80] In 1546 a Filip Moldoveanu (Philip the Moldavian) printed a Slavonic Gospels in the same town[81] (the only extant copy is in the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library in Leningrad) and from the period 1548–54 dates a parallel Gospels in Slavonic and Rumanian that is also attributed to this same printer.[82]

In Wallachia the press of Liubavić continued to function after 1545. Liubavić himself printed two editions of the Liturgical Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles in Slavonic, both in 1547 at Tîrgoviște; one was dedicated to the Prince of Wallachia, and the other to his Moldavian counterpart.

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[78] No evidence has yet come to light of printing in Moldavia during the sixteenth century: see A. Mareș. 'A existat o tipografie chirilică moldovenească în anii 1551–1552?' (*Studii și cercetări lingvistice*, xxii, no. 5, 1971, pp. 519–23).

[79] For a guide to the Rumanian presses of the sixteenth century see D. Deletant, 'A Survey of Rumanian Presses and Printing in the Sixteenth Century' (*The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. liii, no. 131, 1975, pp. 161–74).

[80] Ibid., p. 163. The earliest surviving text in Rumanian to be dated accurately is a letter of a certain Neacșu from Cîmpulung in Wallachia from the year 1521: see *Documenta Romaniae Historica. B. Țara Românească*, vol. ii, Bucharest, 1972, pp. 402–3, 596.

[81] See L. Demény and D. Simonescu, 'Un capitol important din vechea cultură românească. Tetraevanghelul, Sibiu, 1546' (Supplement to *Studii și cercetări de documentare și bibliologie*, vii, no. 1, Bucharest, 1965).

[82] See the facsimile edition *Evangheliarul slavo-român de la Sibiu 1551–1553*, Bucharest, 1971, with introductory studies by E. Petrovici and L. Demény.

It was as an apprentice in Ljubavić's atelier that the dominant figure in printing in the Rumanian lands during the sixteenth century received his training. Little is known of the early life of the deacon Coresi. His name suggests a Greek origin although his knowledge of Rumanian shows that he was a native speaker. Coresi is first mentioned as an assistant to the logothetos Oprea in the colophon to the Slavonic Octoechos printed at Braşov in Transylvania in 1557 and he went on to print twenty books, ten of which were in Slavonic,[83] nine in Rumanian,[84] and one was bilingual (a Slavonic–Rumanian Psalter of 1577). Of the ten Slavonic books eight were commissioned by princes of Wallachia, one by Ghenadie, Metropolitan of Transylvania, and one by the Lutheran mayor of Braşov, Johann Benkner. Three of the Rumanian books were commissioned by Johann Benkner, one by his successor, Lucas Hirscher, and four by Calvinists. Of Coresi's twenty books, nineteen were printed in Transylvania[85] (eighteen at Braşov and one at Sas-Sebeş), the impact of the Reformation there being reflected in the fact that most of the books printed in Rumanian by Coresi were financed by Lutherans or Calvinists. In contrast, most of Coresi's Slavonic books were commissioned by princes of Wallachia and their metropolitans who remained faithful to the Slavonic tradition. Whereas Transylvania and the Reformation may be identified with books printed in Rumanian during the sixteenth century, Wallachia and the Orthodox Church are associated with the printing of books in Slavonic. Not a single book is known to have been printed in Rumanian in Wallachia itself during this century; there the Slavonic tradition in printing remained unbroken until the middle of the seventeenth century.

In Moldavia it is not until the second quarter of the seventeenth century that the first printing-press was established.[86] Nevertheless, here too the Orthodox Church remained faithful to the Slavonic tradition which is represented by the calligraphic school founded by the bishop Anastasie Crimca at Suceava and at the monastery of Dragomirna.[87] Crimca was appointed bishop of Rădăuţi in 1600 and five years later bishop of Roman. In 1608 he became metropolitan of Moldavia, with his seat at Suceava. It was at this time that Crimca raised a monastery at Dragomirna alongside an older wooden hermitage that he had also built. Between 1608 and 1629 Crimca and

[83] Penticostarion at Tîrgovişte (1558), three Gospels (1562, 1579, 1583), a Miscellany (1569), two Octoechoi (1574, 1575), a Psalter (1577), a Triodion (1578), all printed at Braşov, and a Miscellany printed at Sas-Sebeş in 1580.
[84] For details see D. Deletant, op. cit., p. 168, note 46.
[85] The exception was the Penticostarion of 1558, printed at Tîrgovişte in Wallachia.
[86] The first book to appear in Moldavia was *The Synodal Decree of the Patriarch Partenios*, printed in Greek at Iaşi in 1642.
[87] See E. Turdeanu, 'Le Métropolite Anastase Crimca et son œuvre littéraire et artistique (1608–1629)' (*Revue des études slaves*, vol. 29, 1952, pp. 54–70).

his disciples copied twenty-eight manuscripts,[88] many of them for the library of Dragomirna. Once again, they are all in the Middle Bulgarian redaction. They include an illuminated Gospels from the year 1609, copied by Crimca in his own hand, also a Missal and a splendid Acts of the Apostles from the following year. Sirarpie Der Nersessian has shown that a Gospels copied by the monk Theophilos of Voroneţ in 1615 and illustrated by the miniaturist Stephen from Suceava between 1615 and 1617 at the instance of Crimca (now in the L'vov University Library, no. IAZ), belongs to the family of Gospels copied in Bulgaria during the reign of John Alexander which, in their turn, follow a Byzantine model.[89] Nevertheless, the illumination of Crimca's manuscripts also shows originality and parallels have been drawn with the external frescoes of the monastery of Suceviţa (decorated 1595–96).[90]

It has been claimed that Crimca's activity represented an attempt 'to regenerate the ecclesiastical Slavonic tradition in Moldavia'.[91] Yet the Slavonic tradition was still dominant in the churches and chanceries of both Wallachia and Moldavia at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Of the extant documents issued by the chancery of Michael the Brave (1593–1601), 166 are in Slavonic and only one in Rumanian. It was outside the chancery that Rumanian began to be preferred. Thus of 27 private documents from boyars from the period 1594 to 1600, 15 are in Slavonic and 12 in Rumanian.[92] This same tendency can be seen throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. From the years 1628 and 1629 in Wallachia we have 237 documents in Rumanian (of which only 77 originate from the chancery) and 148 in Slavonic (all of which emanate from the chancery).[93] In Moldavia the bulk of the documents issued by the chancery between 1626 and 1628 were also in Slavonic[94] (deeds of confirmation concerning property were in Slavonic while princes' edicts were in Rumanian). However, during the second half of the century Slavonic was rapidly renounced by the chancery in both

[88] D. P. Bogdan, *Paleografia româno-slavă*, pp. 116–18.
[89] S. Der Nersessian, 'Une Nouvelle Réplique slavone du Paris 74 et les manuscrits d'Anastase Crimcovici', in *Mélanges offerts à M. Nicolas Iorga*, Paris, 1933, pp. 695–725, and E. Turdeanu, op. cit., pp. 65–66.
[90] Ibid., pp. 66–67.
[91] Ibid., p. 55.
[92] G. Mihăilă, 'Istoriografia română veche', p. 174, note 2. At a rough estimate there are 44 documents in Rumanian from the second half of the sixteenth century and some 1,500 in Slavonic: see P. P. Panaitescu, *Începuturile şi biruinţa scrisului în limba română*, Bucharest, 1965, p. 183.
[93] *Documenta Romaniae Historica. B. Ţara Românească*, vol. xxii, ed. by D. Mioc, Bucharest, 1969, p. v.
[94] *Documenta Romaniae Historica. A. Moldova*, vol. xix, ed. by H. Chirca, Bucharest, 1969, p. v.

principalities, and by the end of the seventeenth century it is rare to find an official document in Slavonic.

The church remained the last sanctuary of the language. This was primarily because the prelates of the Orthodox church in Moldavia and Wallachia regarded the use of Slavonic as sacred, particularly in the liturgy. How ingrained the Slavonic tradition was in the minds of the clergy is illustrated by the preface signed by Meletie the Macedonian, abbot of Govora in Wallachia, to the Slavonic Psalter printed at his monastery in 1637. The book is dedicated to 'the devout people of our land and to other peoples who are related to us by faith and by the same well-known Slavonic tongue, in particular to the Bulgarians, the Serbs, the Wallachians, the Moldavians and the others'.[95] In fact this Slavonic Psalter appeared in Wallachia during the reign of Matei Basarab (1632–54) who saw himself as a patron of the Orthodox Church in the Balkans and, as such, a champion of the Slavonic tradition. He built the church of St Petka at Vidin and made gifts in favour of the monasteries of Sopoćani, Studenica, Papratije and Trebinje.[96] The press, brought by Matei in 1635 from Petru Movilă [Petr Mogila], Metropolitan of Kiev, and established at Cîmpulung, together with that which functioned at the monasteries of Govora and Dealu, produced numerous service-books in Slavonic, editions of which are to be found throughout south-eastern Europe. The first of these was the Euchologion printed at Cîmpulung in 1635 which is the earliest printed book to appear in Wallachia during the seventeenth century. Between 1637 and 1640 four more service books in Slavonic were printed at the monastery of Govora: a Psalter in 1637 (already mentioned), a Horologion (Ceasoslov) in 1638,[97] a Psalter from the same year,[98] and another Horologion, believed to have been printed in 1640.[99] Among the other Slavonic books of Matei's reign are an Antologion printed at Cîmpulung in 1643 and a Liturgy printed at the Dealu monastery in 1646.[100] It is interesting to note that while service books were printed in Slavonic, collections of homilies (e.g. the *Gospels with homilies* from Govora and the *Homilies*

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[95] I. Bianu and N. Hodoş, *Bibliografia românească veche*, I, Bucharest, 1903, pp. 104–6. This dedication is modelled closely on the preface to the Euchologion (Molitvelnic) printed at Cîmpulung in 1635 which is generally attributed to Udrişte Năsturel: see D. H. Mazilu, *Udrişte Năsturel*, Bucharest, 1974, pp. 99, 288.
[96] E. Turdeanu, 'Din vechile schimburi culturale dintre români şi jugoslavi' (*Cercetări literare publicate de N. Cartojan*, III, Bucharest, 1939, p. 173).
[97] I. Bianu and D. Simonescu, *Bibliografia românească veche*, IV, Bucharest, 1944, pp. 19–20.
[98] Ibid., p. 188.
[99] Ibid., pp. 21–23.
[100] The earliest example of printing in Rumanian in Wallachia is believed to have been the so-called Prayer to the Virgin Mary (*Paraclisul Precistei*), containing a miscellany of prayers in Slavonic and Rumanian, which is thought to have appeared at Govora in 1639 (see I. Bianu and D. Simonescu, op. cit., pp. 20–21). This was followed in 1640 by a code of canon law (*Pravila*) in Rumanian from the same press.

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from Cîmpulung, both printed in 1642) and codes of law (e.g. *Pravila* of 1640 and *Îndreptarea Legii* of 1652 from Tîrgovişte) appeared in Rumanian. Matei's patronage of the Slavonic tradition is illustrated by his establishment in his capital Tîrgovişte of a school where instruction appears to have been given in Church Slavonic language and literature.[101] Matei's brother-in-law, the logothete Udrişte Năsturel, also provides us with a significant appreciation of the role of Slavonic during this period. In 1647 his translation of *De imitatione Christi* by Thomas à Kempis from Latin into Slavonic was printed at the Dealu monastery (the Slavonic of this edition is of Russian redaction). In his preface Năsturel refers to Slavonic as a 'sacred' language[102] and states that he was 'motivated and encouraged by the influence of his love for Latin and Slavonic'.[103] Perhaps these sentiments show that Năsturel saw the role of Slavonic among the Rumanians as analogous to that of Latin in the West;[104] on the other hand, he certainly did not reject the use of his native tongue, for in 1648 he translated the popular tale of Barlaam and Josaphat from Slavonic into Rumanian. However, even towards the end of Matei Basarab's reign the use of Slavonic in the church offices was threatened. The *Mystirio sau Sacrament*,[105] printed at Tîrgovişte in 1651, gave parallel texts in Rumanian and Slavonic for the conduct of the sacraments of baptism and confirmation, and the *Tîrnosanie* (containing rules for the consecration of churches) printed in Tîrgovişte in the following year has Rumanian rubrics.

By contrast, in Moldavia only one book appears to have been printed in Slavonic in the first half of the seventeenth century: a Catechism directed against Lutherans and Calvinists that was printed at Iaşi in 1642.[106] The first of a series of books in Rumanian from this principality was, not surprisingly, a collection of homilies entitled *Cazanie* that was edited by Varlaam, Metropolitan of Moldavia, and which appeared at Iaşi in 1643.

The influence of the Reformation in Transylvania, as already indicated, had led to the printing of a series of service books in

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[101] Information about this school is sparse and is provided principally by travellers: see V. Papacostea, 'O Şcoală de limbă şi cultură slavonă la Tîrgovişte în timpul domniei lui Matei Basarab' (*Romano-slavica*, v, 1962, pp. 183–94).

[102] I. Bianu and D. Simonescu, op. cit., p. 197.

[103] Ibid., p. 198.

[104] As has been suggested by V. Cîndea in his stimulating article, 'L'Humanisme d'Udrişte Năsturel et l'agonie des lettres slavonnes en Valachie' (*Revue des études sud-est européennes*, tome VI, 1968, p. 262). For a detailed study of Năsturel's work see D. H. Mazilu, op. cit., passim.

[105] V. Cîndea, op. cit., pp. 269–70.

[106] Although no copy of this work survives, details of it exist in two Russian texts (see I. Bianu and D. Simonescu, op. cit., pp. 23–24).

Rumanian and an erosion of the Slavonic tradition there during the sixteenth century. This influence continued to manifest itself in the first half of the seventeenth century when a Calvinist Catechism was printed in Rumanian in the village of Prisac near Alba Iulia in 1640[107] and then, eight years later in Alba Iulia itself, the New Testament in Rumanian appeared. In his preface to the book Simion Ştefan, Metropolitan of Wallachia, reveals that the translation was made at the instance and expense of the Calvinist Prince of Transylvania, Gheorghe Rákoczy I, who was also instrumental in founding the press on which it was printed.

The persistence of the Slavonic tradition is most evident in Wallachia. Although during the last quarter of the seventeenth century several service books existed in Rumanian,[108] the liturgy continued to appear in Slavonic, even though it was clear that neither the priest nor his flock understood the language.[109] Practical considerations involving translation into Rumanian also played their part. In his preface to the Slavonic liturgy printed at Bucharest in 1680 Teodosie, Metropolitan of Wallachia, writes: 'We see then that it [the liturgy] is lacking in our language [i.e. Rumanian], where the people might understand it, and that there are many, including several priests and clergy, who do not know how to officiate it, being unable to sing and intone its ceremonies at their appointed time . . .'[110] For this reason Teodosie rendered the rubrics in Rumanian but declared that: 'I did not wish to translate the entire liturgy into Rumanian nor did I dare to; I freely confess that among the reasons that influenced me was the inadequacy of our language; I have proceeded thus [i.e. translated the rubrics] because of the lack of learning, as I have mentioned, of our wretched people, because of their ignorance of the sacraments and of their meaning, and because it has not hitherto been the custom to do so in our church.'[111] Nevertheless, the previous year in Moldavia a translation of the liturgy in Rumanian by the Metropolitan Dosoftei was printed at

[107] The Metropolitan Varlaam mentioned above countered this with his book *Răspunsul împotriva Catehismului calvinesc*, Iaşi, 1645 (see I. Bianu and D. Simonescu, op. cit., pp. 190–94).

[108] For example the liturgical Gospels printed by Coresi at Braşov in 1561, that printed in 1682 at Bucharest, the liturgical Acts of the Apostles and Epistles printed by Coresi at Braşov in 1566–67, that printed at Bucharest in 1683, a Gospels with homilies printed by Coresi at Braşov in 1581 (reprinted at Alba Iulia in 1641) and another printed at Govora in 1642.

[109] See for example A. M. Del Chiaro, *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia*, ed. by N. Iorga, Bucharest, 1914, p. 88.

[110] This passage is mistranslated in an otherwise excellent study by K. Zach, *Orthodoxe Kirche und rumänisches Volksbewusstsein im 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 1977, p. 186.

[111] I. Bianu and N. Hodoş, op. cit., p. 234.

Iaşi.[112] At the beginning of the eighteenth century an English visitor to Wallachia, Edmund Chishull, reported the following: 'Their [i.e. the Wallachians'] religion is entirely that of the Greek church, and the government of it subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Their liturgic rites are performed either in the Greek or Sclavonian tongue; tho I was assured, that in some churches the Valachian was admitted, at least they have frequently the Gospels and other offices in that language, but the liturgy itself more rarely.'[113] This information is corroborated by Anton Maria del Chiaro, the Italian secretary of Constantin Brîncoveanu (Prince of Wallachia, 1688–1714). Writing of the religion of the Wallachians he says: 'All their religious terminology is taken not from their native tongue, nor from Greek, but rather from Slavonic. They also use this language in almost all their churches when they celebrate the holy services and liturgy. However, if in some churches they use Rumanian, a fact at which I expressed my surprise in the presence of some boyars, I was told that this was a religious abuse that had been introduced recently, partly because many priests, when ordained, understood no other language but Rumanian, and partly so that the holy services might be followed by the congregation who understand neither Slavonic nor Greek.'[114] It was Teodosie's successor as Metropolitan of Wallachia, Antim Ivireanul, who produced at Tîrgovişte in 1713 the first liturgy in Rumanian in Wallachia, thus crowning a printing career of many years.[115]

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[112] In fact the first Rumanian version of the liturgy had been printed by Coresi at Braşov ;n 1570 at the instigation of the Calvinist superintendent of the Rumanians in Transylvania, Pavel Tordaş. Coresi's edition appears to have had little impact in the Rumanian Orthodox Church and over a hundred years passed before Dosoftei's translation was printed. This was completely independent of Coresi's edition and represents the first attempt by a Rumanian Orthodox to 'nationalize' the liturgy. Even in 1698 the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos requested Atanasie, the newly appointed Metropolitan of Transylvania, to ensure that 'the daily service was read in either Slavonic or Greek, but not in Rumanian nor in any other language': *Liturghierul lui Coresi*, ed. by A. Mareş, Bucharest, 1969, p. 42. A popular translation of the liturgy in Rumanian seems to have been that made from Greek by Jeremiah Kakavelas which appeared under the title *Tîlcuirea Liturghiei* and was printed at Iaşi in 1697. This was the basis of several subsequent editions of the liturgy printed in the Rumanian lands.

[113] E. Chishull, *Travels in Turkey and back to England*, London, 1747, pp. 85–86.

[114] Anton Maria del Chiaro, *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia*, Venezia, 1718, pp. 82–83: 'E quel che più importà e, che tutti i termini concernenti la Religione, ed i Riti Sagri sono da essi loro pronunziati non nella loro Lingua materna, o nella Greca, ma bensì nella Illirica; e di questo Idioma servonsi quasi in tutte le loro Chiese allorchè celebrano i Divini Uffizi, e la Messa. Anzi, se in alcune Chiese adoperano la Valaca Lingua (del che io mostrai di maravigliarmi alla presenza di alcuni Nobili) mi fu risposto, essersi questo religioso abuso introdotto a'nostri giorni, parte, perchè molti Preti, allorchè furono ordinati Sacerdoti, non sapevano altra Lingua se non Valaca, e parte, acciocchè le Sagre Cirimonie fossero interse da quegli astanti, che non intendevano la Lingua Illirica, nemmen la Greca.'

[115] Antim printed several books in Rumanian: a Gospels at Rîmnic in 1705, a Euchologion at Rîmnic in 1706, an Octoechos at Tîrgovişte in 1712, and a Horologion at Tîrgoviste in 1715.

By the second quarter of the eighteenth century a service book printed in Slavonic in the Rumanian lands became a rarity and the Slavonic tradition can be said to have expired. From the establishment of a form of political and religious organization in Wallachia and Moldavia during the fourteenth century a type of Church Slavonic, influenced mainly by Middle Bulgarian, and occasionally by Serbian and Russian, had been used as the language of church and chancery.[116] In Transylvania too the language of the Orthodox Church was, for the greater part of the period, Church Slavonic. Even popular genres of literature were represented in this language, especially apocrypha,[117] although in their Slavonic form they were probably for the light reading of the clergy (most of these tales were copied by priests). At the village level, amongst the uneducated, Rumanian remained as the vehicle of a rich oral tradition and it is significant that many of the earliest translations from Slavonic into Rumanian are of apocrypha[118] which no doubt satisfied the simple piety of the peasant. Not surprisingly, the religious terminology of the Rumanian Orthodox Church is permeated by Slavonic forms, many of which, of course, originate from Greek. It was only in the middle of the last century that the Cyrillic alphabet was officially renounced in the Rumanian principalities.

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[116] The vast majority of Slavonic MSS originating in the Rumanian lands are in the Middle Bulgarian redaction. Among the few exceptions we might mention the Gospels copied in 1534 in a Serbian redaction: see E. Turdeanu, 'Centres of Literary Activity in Moldavia, 1504–1552' (*The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. xxxiv, no. 82, 1955 p. 120).

[117] Some of the Slavo-Rumanian MSS containing apocrypha are mentioned by P. P. Panaitescu, *Începuturile și biruința scrisului în limba română*, pp. 106–7.

[118] Ibid., pp. 108–9.