
THE HISTORY OF THE PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE ROMANIAN LITURGIKON

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Abstract

The history of the Liturgikon printed in Romanian starts with Deacon Coresi's intense labour and continues with the desire of enlightened hierarchs like Anthim the Iberian, Veniamin Costache and Dositheos of Moldavia to make the Orthodox liturgical formularies in-service available to contemporary laymen in the vernacular language of the people. Transitioning from manuscript to print meant for the Orthodox everywhere a first major step towards a spiritual and liturgical revival that would reach its peak with the translation of liturgical texts into the vernacular language. The text of the Romanian Liturgikon went through many versions from its inception to its actual form. This study proposes to present the manner in which the act of translation of the service books managed to capture both the religious and the cultural specificity of the Romanian people. This 'Liturgisches Heimatgut', as it is defined in the liturgical literature, can be traced back through the entire history of the Romanian Liturgikon, which has been shaped by borrowing elements from the Byzantine and the Slavonic liturgical traditions, all the while keeping intact the specificity of the Romanian liturgical tradition.

Keywords: liturgy, Transylvanian, Church, language, worship

1. Introduction

The service books of the Orthodox Church have played an important role in the history of our people [1]. The liturgical text translated and printed in the national language represented a massive step forward not only because of its spiritual impact on the people, but also because the language in the service books of the Orthodox Church had a large influence in the formation of the Romanian literary language and facilitated the consolidation and preservation of the unity of our people [2].

The Liturgikon was the most frequently used service book by the priests; the service of the Holy Liturgy, the most frequently attended, observed and known liturgical celebration by the faithful, has exerted the greatest influence on the Romanian soul and its spirituality, as well as on the language spoken by our people [3]. In the late 1500's, the first translated texts in Romanian circulated in manuscript throughout Transylvania before Deacon Coresi took on the task of

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printing them [4]. This translation of liturgical texts into Romanian was largely prompted by the need of the Church to reach the middle classes and the tradesmen and citizens, who were completely unskilled in cultivated oral Slavic or Latin, but who needed to learn the science of writing [5].

There are at least 90 editions of the Liturgikon, whose manuscripts were edited in printing centres from all the Romanian provinces (Bucharest, Braşov, Buzău, Iaşi, Neamţ, Craiova, Târgovişte, Râmnicu-Vâlcea, Blaj, Sibiu, Rădăuţi and Chişinău) [6, 7]; copies of these reached Orthodox Romanians from all the regions [8, 9]. This article aims to present the main printed editions of the Romanian Liturgikon, and attempts to group them and determine the way in which they evolved while they also preserved the liturgical specificity of our people.

2. The The Liturgikon in Romanian - printed editions

Just like all other service books, before they were released in printed form, the first Romanian translations of the Liturgikon had been circulated as *manuscripts*. The first one was written by monk *Mihail Moxa* from the Bishopric of Râmnic, around 1620-1630 [10], the second was an Euchologion written by Father *Ursu of Cotiglet* before 1695 [11], and the third was transcribed by the well-known copyist and chanter *Vasile Sturdza Moldovanul*, in 1699 [12, 13]. At present, there are numerous well preserved manuscripts of the Liturgikon that were printed after the ones mentioned, but they are of lesser importance, as they most likely represent more or less faithful copies of the printed editions.

2.1. The first printed Romanian translation of the Orthodox Liturgikon (Braşov, 1570, Deacon Coresi)

The 16th century political and religious Transylvanian authorities were not appeased by the colourful ethnic and denominational social landscape, so they eschewed almost any attempt to stomach and accept the Romanian Orthodox Church. Reduced to the state of merely being tolerated in their own land, the Transylvanian Romanians were also forced to cope with many religious injustices from princes or leaders of the recognized Churches. Therefore, between 1566 and 1577, the Romanian Orthodox Church in Transylvania had to accept a Calvinist superintendent leader, and whoever refused to obey him was stripped of all personal assets [14]. The strong Calvinistic siege that sought to convert Romanians to the official religion, which was sustained by decrees and persecutions, stimulated an unparalleled emulation in the practice of translating and printing the service books in the vernacular language of the people. Thus, in the extremely short time-frame between 1566 and 1570, six Romanian liturgical books were published: Sermons on the Gospels, the Euchologion, the Psalter, the Liturgikon, the Liturgical Chant Book and the Apostle Book [11, p. 10].

Despite this entire denominational siege, the air of Reformation evidently helped Transylvanian Romanians who saw in their predicament an opportunity

to revive the liturgical life of the Church, and so they had the liturgical texts translated into Romanian and laid the groundwork for a thorough administrative reform [15].

In this reformative context, the only profit for the Romanians in Transylvania was the printing of the Orthodox Liturgikon in Romanian, as this was the means by which, for the first time in the history of the Romanian people, the Holy Liturgy could be celebrated entirely in Romanian.

However, the Liturgikon from 1570 [4, p. 15] is but a partial translation, for it comprises only the order of the Proskomedie service and the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom. The translated parts were done in part by Deacon Coresi himself, who used for the task a manuscript of an older translation, which he had previously proofread with the aid of scholar priests Mihai and Jane from Saint Nicholas church in Șcheii Brașovului. This is a heavy-handed translation, still brimming with Slavonisms, archaic forms and regional terms, which render the sentences devoid of fluency and clarity.

This translation was done after a Slavonic manuscript pertaining to the same family of manuscripts that hieromonk Macarius had used, by loosely following the Diataxis of Philotheus, Patriarch of Constantinople [16]. In this way, almost all of the liturgical particularities that were typical of the Slavonic Liturgikon issued in 1508 can also be found in this first Romanian translation. It is remarkable though, how the editors of this text, who fought for the nationalization of the cult, did not cut out of the order of Proskomedie the part where the two national Serbian saints, Sava and Simeon are remembered, which appears only in the Liturgikons printed for the use of Romanians and Serbs, in Venice and Wallachia. Just like all the other Romanian books printed by Coresi, his Liturgikon marked a new beginning in the life of the Church: it proved the use of Romanian during services was a complex phenomenon born out of a spiritual need of the Romanian people to comprehend the Liturgy, a need which would be quenched in the 16th-17th century Transylvanian inter-confessional and pluri-ethnic framework.

2.2. The classification of the main printed editions of the Romanian Liturgikon

The Romanian Liturgikon has been printed in over 90 editions [7] in printing centres from all Romanian provinces (Brașov, Iași, Chișinău, Neamț, Bucharest, Buzău, Târgoviște, Râmnicu-Vâlcea, Sibiu, Blaj, Rădăuți and Craiova). For analysis purposes, we will enlist the main editions of this printed service book in chronological order, from its inception to the present moment (Table 1). This list containing the most important editions of the Romanian Liturgikon, shows that it was printed only in essential Metropolitan or Episcopal centres of the three Romanian Principalities (in Iași, Neamț, Chișinău for Moldavia; in Blaj and Sibiu for Transylvania; in Râmnic, Târgoviște, Buzău and Bucharest for Wallachia), under the direct supervision of the hierarch of the place, who would delegate the printing task to scholar clerics, whose names

were usually mentioned under the title or at the end of the volume. All these editions were far from being ‘locally bound’ - they circulated throughout the entire territory that makes up Romania today, so much so, that the Romanian Liturgikon came to be relatively the same everywhere. Without a unitary styling and supervision of these prints however, small differences and variants of texts surfaced, most of them tributary to local liturgical and linguistic peculiarities.

Table 1. The main editions of the Romanian Liturgikon.

1. Iași, 1679	21. Râmnic, 1768	41. Sibiu, 1831	61. Bucharest, 1887
2. Iași, 1683	22. Buzău, 1769	42. Bucharest, 1833	62. Bucharest, 1892
3. Râmnic, 1706	23. Blaj, 1775, 1776	43. Iași, 1834	63. Bucharest, 1895
4. Târgoviște, 1713	24. Bucharest, 1780	44. Buzău, 1835	64. Bucharest, 1902
5. Bucharest, 1728	25. Bucharest, 1787	45. Sibiu, 1835	65. Sibiu, 1902
6. Bucharest, 1729	26. Râmnic, 1787	46. Chișinău, 1837	66. Blaj, 1905
7. Râmnic, 1733	27. Iași, 1794	47. Buzău, 1840	67. Bucharest, 1912
8. Bucharest, 1741	28. Bucharest, 1796	48. Iași, 1845	68. Bucharest, 1921
9. Bucharest, 1742	29. Bucharest, 1797	49. Sibiu, 1852	69. Bucharest, 1927
10. Rădăuți, 1745	30. Sibiu, 1798	50. Bucharest, 1855	70. Blaj, 1931
11. Bucharest, 1746	31. Iași, 1802	51. Sibiu, 1856	71. Bucharest, 1937
12. Bucharest, 1747	32. Blaj, 1807	52. Bucharest, 1858	72. Bucharest, 1950
13. Iași, 1747	33. Sibiu, 1807	53. Chișinău, 1856/60	73. Bucharest, 1955
14. Râmnic, 1747	34. Sibiu, 1809	54. Neamț, 1860	74. Bucharest, 1967
15. Bucharest, 1754	35. Râmnic, 1813	55. Bucharest, 1862	75. Bucharest, 1974
16. Blaj, 1756	36. Sibiu, 1814	56. Râmnic, 1862	76. Bucharest, 1980
17. Râmnic, 1759	37. Chișinău, 1815	57. Sibiu, 1862	77. Bucharest, 1987
18. Iași, 1759	38. Râmnic, 1817	58. Neamț, 1864	78. Bucharest, 1995
19. Bucharest, 1759	39. Iași, 1818	59. Iași, 1868	79. Bucharest, 2000
20. Râmnic, 1767	40. Sibiu, 1827	60. Blaj, 1870	80. Bucharest, 2008 and 2012.

The decisive role in the complete standardization of the Romanian Liturgikon was played by a resolution issued by the Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church of the Kingdom of Romania in 1872, regarding the Synod’s exclusive printing rights for all service books. As a consequence, the only place that the Liturgikon would be printed from that date on was Bucharest, by the Ecclesiastical Books Publishing House. For the Romanians in Transylvania, the Liturgikon would be published only in Sibiu (for the Orthodox) and in Blaj (for Eastern-rite Catholics).

All of the above mentioned Liturgikons can be divided according to their main editions that have marked essential stages in its history and evolution:

- A. The group of the *editio princeps* in Iași, 1679;
- B. The group of the Râmnic edition, 1706;
- C. The group of the Iași edition, 1759;
- D. The group of the Bucharest edition, 1887.

The following paragraphs focus on the analysis of the groups in chronological order, starting from the oldest edition, which is the originator of all the other editions. The aim is to illustrate the alterations, omissions,

additions, peculiarities and characteristics of each Liturgikon in particular. An interesting feature is the way the Byzantine text that had been translated and enhanced in the Slavonic liturgical tradition, was once more translated and enriched in the Romanian.

2.2.1. The printed editions belonging to the princeps group, Iași, 1679

2.2.1.1. The editio princeps from Iași - Metropolitan Dositheos's Liturgikon - Iași, 1679

Before earning the title of Coresi's Liturgikon [7], the 1679 editio princeps from Iași, belonging to Metropolitan Dositheos of Moldavia, was considered the oldest Romanian translation of this service book [17]. Since it represents a ground-breaking work, this volume did not benefit from a clean and accurate printing service, hence its 101 misnumbered sheets with unintended texts on them.

The volume starts with a dedication penned to voivode Ioan Duca Vodă by Metropolitan Dositheos, an exponent of the spiritual and cultural life in Moldavia, followed by a beautiful preface in which the scholar hierarch announces the pastoral and missionary motives that had urged him to translate the entire text of the Liturgy. Born, raised and educated in a profoundly Romanian family, trained at the best schools of his time, well versed in classical languages and in Slavonic, Ukrainian and Polish, Metropolitan Dositheos possessed all the instruments needed to bring about this change in the liturgical life of the Orthodox Church in Moldavia [18, 19].

In order to avoid having the label of heresy or Protestant influence attached to this change, Dositheos first asked the Patriarch of Constantinople to bless the endeavour of printing of the Liturgy in the vernacular language of the country. However, that was a blessing he would not receive, in spite of a very well construed argument, because his attempt was considered too innovative and rather bent on destroying the Orthodox Liturgical tradition by the introduction of the Romanian language in the liturgical services.

Against all hindrances though, Metropolitan Dositheos still nurtured the desire to give the Romanian people and language the translated text of the Liturgy as a gift, as he stated in his foreword: "God, in His boundless grace has given us the great gift of His mercy, and now we are bound to be generous in return and endue the Romanian language with the Holy Liturgy, transcribed into Romanian from the Hellenic tongue, and let that be to the glory of God, so that all who are unschooled in the Greek or Serbian tongue might comprehend. And thus receiving our boon, lift your praises to the Lord, keep us in your holy prayers and be well." [17, p. 224]

The contents of Metropolitan Dositheos's Liturgikon enlist the text of the Liturgies of Saints John Chrysostom and Basil the Great and the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, the Proskomedia service and miscellaneous prayers for

special purposes: one prayer for consecrating koliva, two for the blessing of Paschal offerings and one for the departed and their forgiveness [17].

It is indeed clear that this volume is a Liturgikon in the strictest sense of the word, for it comprises solely the texts of the Liturgies and nothing else, no Vespers, no Orthros, unlike its subsequent editions. The translation was made by Metropolitan Dositheos himself, after an edition of the Greek Euchologion (Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα) that had been printed in Venice before the one issued by N. Glykis in 1691 [7, p. 739]. Dositheos's Liturgikon has a series of characteristics that cannot be found in any other subsequent Romanian or Greek editions, the most important of which are:

- the addition of a fourth facultative prayer after the Great Entrance (“As You were crucified on the cross, o Christ...”);
- the formula remembering the patriarch after the Epiklesis is original: “To His All-Holiness, our ecumenical Patriarch and father, many years!”;
- the consecration of the wine at Epiklesis has the following addition: “that was shed for the life of the world”;
- Metropolitan Dositheos is thus ingeniously trying to harmonize the two versions of the expression σοφία, ὀρθοί such as it appears in the Venice editions, and σοφία ὀρθή, such as it appears in Ducas' editions. Therefore, before the Gospel reading, the first version is used: “In wisdom let us attend!”, and after the Little Entrance, the second form is used: “Rightful wisdom” [20];
- Dositheos's edition introduces a historical error in the text of the Creed recited at the Liturgy, remembering: ‘Pilate of Pontus’ (i.e. ex Ponto and not Pontius Pilate), an error that would be corrected only in the latest issues of the Romanian Liturgikon;
- the text abounds in archaisms and Slavonisms, and the Greek terms are often clumsily translated, as seen in the example: φιλανθρωπία = man charity; περιεστῶτος = round about speaker.

Despite all the amateurish errors and imperfections, this first Liturgikon in Romanian seems to have had a positive initial impact in the life of the Church, as it was printed again in Iași, in 1683, in an improved and cleaner version, and with the added blessing of Patriarch Parthenius of Alexandria, who happened to be in Iași at the time, whose momentous endorsement attested for the Orthodoxy of this service book [17, p. 262].

2.2.2. The group of the Râmnic edition, 1706

2.2.2.1. Anthim the Iberian's Liturgikon, Râmnic 1706

Since Metropolitan Dositheos could not give the Romanians everywhere a normative and final version of the translated Liturgikon by his ground-breaking work in 1679, in 1706, Metropolitan Anthim the Iberian would deposit into the vault of the Romanian Liturgical tradition a second translation of the text of the Liturgy, in a volume entitled Euchologion (Εὐχολόγιον) [21]. After the opening

that contains a foreword by Subdeacon and typographer Mihai Iştvanovici who states that the translation of that service book from Greek is tributary to Anthim the Iberian himself, the Euchologion goes on to list the table of contents, which reads exactly like the outline of a customary Euchologion, while in reality, the volume encloses only the pieces that make up a common Liturgikon, namely:

- The All-Night Vigil service;
- The Vespers prayers read by the priest (reproduces verbatim the Buzău Slavic-Romanian edition from 1702);
- The service of the Proskomediea;
- The Orthros service (the prayers taken from the Buzău edition, 1702 plus the original Greek Typikon);
- The Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom;
- The Divine Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great;
- The Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts;
- Patriarch Philotheus of Constantinople's service of ordination into deacon;
- Festal Dismissals from Vespers, Orthros and the Liturgy.

On the last page of the Euchologion itself, the printer made a reference note to the source text of the translation: "But this you must needs know, that should you so choose to investigate utterly the Service Orders and the translation of this Euchologion and should you paragon it with some Slavonic sources, then do not make haste to slander, for we have abided by the Greek Euchologion that Nicolae Glyki printed in 1691. And inasmuch as we could, we also abided by its purport and its holy order. Every here and there we have affixed the translation to shorten the Romanian tongue, the same we did with the teachings and the holy order, to smooth the work for unsophisticated priests." [17, p. 551]

Anthim's translation is a loyal rendition of the Greek original mentioned above, and thus his edition aligns the Romanian Liturgikon with the Greek Patriarchal one, more than its previous versions ever did. It is important to note that the Typikon text was fully reproduced in the edition from Buzău, 1702, with Metropolitan Anthim having replaced merely a few Slavic terms in it. Also, the teaching on the Communion in the edition from Buzău (1702), which differs from the one in the Greek Liturgikon, was taken from Anthim's translation and kept unchanged in all the subsequent Romanian Liturgikons [7. p. 748]. The great Metropolitan gathered in his edition the best resources he could find at the moment. With the 1706 Râmnic edition, the Romanian Liturgikon would come very close to the form of Liturgikon that is in use by the Romanian Orthodox Church today. All the subsequent editions brought only slight linguistic improvements to Anthim's translation, the prototype of the actual Romanian Liturgikon, whose beauty they would never surpass.

2.2.2.2. The reprinting of Anthim the Iberian's Liturgikon, Târgovişte, 1713

This Liturgikon used to be considered the first edition of Metropolitan Anthim's, although it is but a reprint of the 1706 Râmnic edition, with an enhanced content and a minor fine-tuning applied to the language. Anthim the

Iberian, now the Metropolitan of Hungro-Vlachia, amended the contents from the previous edition with prayers such as: the blessing of koliva, the blessing of willow branches at Palm Sunday, the blessing of meat at Pascha, the blessing of grapes, as well as litanies for the departed [17, p. 487]. However, this Liturgikon has a great flaw inexplicable even to this day - it lacks the blessing of the wine at the consecration of the Gifts [7, p. 748]. However, this likely printing oversight would be resolved in its reissued editions.

The following list catalogues the most important reprinted editions of Anthim the Iberian's Liturgikon.

2.2.2.3. The edition from Bucharest, 1728

This is a carbon copy of the edition from Târgoviște, 1713, with the addition of the troparion from the Holy Thursday: "When the glorious disciples..." and the 'Slujba sfintei Priceștaniei' [the Order of the Holy Communion] reproduced after the edition from Buzău in 1702, with minor language adjustments [17, vol. II, p. 35, 48, 55, 61].

2.2.2.4. The edition from Râmnic, 1733

Bishop Inocențiu of Râmnic initiated a new reissue of Anthim's Liturgikon, which was proofread by priest Ioan Făgărășanul [17, vol. II, p. 48]. This edition brings slight improvements language-wise and drops the Troparion of the Holy Thursday.

2.2.2.5. The editions from Bucharest, 1741 and 1742

Both versions are exact replicas of the 1728 edition of the Bucharest Liturgikon and were published by priest Iacovici at the Monastery of Saint Sava, at the expense of Ananias, Metropolitan of Caesarea in Palestine [17, vol. II, p. 55, 61].

2.2.2.6. The editions from Blaj, 1756, 1775, 1807 and 1870

A most interesting fact is that Anthim's Liturgikon would reach the Eastern-rite Catholic Romanians from Transylvania, a population who, while under Bishop Petru Pavel Aaron of Făgăraș, had reprinted Anthim's 1706 edition, to which they added only the prayers for the blessing of meat and eggs at Pascha. The editors of this service book have relied on Teodosie's Slavic-Romanian version from 1680, in order to supply the missing words of institution from the 1706 text and to complete the prayers before Communion from the 1702 version from Buzău. It is remarkable how the Liturgical books spread in those times and how people could bring together older editions and then select, synthesize and arrange the best of their contents into a new edition [17, vol. II, p. 134, 212, 502; 7, p. 759-761].

2.2.3. *The group of the Iași edition, 1759*

2.2.3.1. The Liturgikon published by Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul at Iași in 1759

The prototype of this group is the Liturgikon published by Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul at Iași in 1759 and proofread by Monk Evloghie [17, vol. II, p. 146-147, 173].

This edition impresses by its exceptional graphics, yet it is not a new translation, but rather a proofreading of this service book, a revision of the already famous translation by Anthim the Iberian after a New Greek original, namely the Euchologion from Venice, 1752. This revision first brought a visible improvement in language, as well as an augmentation of the Typikon with new inclusions and details taken from the normative Greek original. The contents of this revised Liturgikon also featured new prayers and teachings, later to be borrowed by its succeeding editions.

This Liturgikon ends with a written note in which the proofreader justifies his preserving of certain Slavonic terms in this edition: “It is fit to know this: Reverend Priests and Deacons who will celebrate these Holy Liturgies, we hereby acknowledge to you that some words within that are especially replaced with their very own Slavonic counterparts, those same words are not there to cause us to take pride in that we have left our mark with our added changes to the text; instead, in our desire to conform perfectly to the exact Hellenic source (just like the Slavonic version does), we found there was no way we could translate them faithfully and truthfully accurate into our tongue, for ours is unfitted for that sort. And since the Holy Liturgy is neither ordinary homily, nor history retold, but a divine wording inspired by the Holy Spirit, we dared not temper with the words of the divine Liturgy by fitting them into the frailty of our own tongue. It was for that reason we too have rendered them in Slavonic... Evloghie, monk, proofreader.” [17, vol. II, p. 146-147]

An improved edition of this Liturgikon that was issued once more in Iași, in 1794 [17, vol. II, p. 365] is set apart by some newly added prayers, such as: The service of consecration of the Altar Table and the Order of Coronation [7, p. 753].

2.2.3.2. The edition from Râmnic, 1767

With the help of hieromonk Grigorie, Bishop Patrenie of Râmnic took up the task of reprinting the Liturgikon from Iași (1759) in Wallachia (!), and in doing so he removed the Slavonisms and decreased the number of euchological additions [17, vol. II, p. 173]. It is interesting to follow the trail of the Liturgikon as it circulated throughout the entire territory of Romania, in spite of the fact that, before 1918, the Romanians had lived in three different states. This edition from Râmnic was reissued in the same town in 1787 [17, vol. II, p. 316] and in Bucharest in 1797 [17, vol. II, p. 393-394].

2.2.3.3. The edition from Sibiu, 1798

For their first edition of the Liturgikon, the Orthodox Romanians from Transylvania also chose to use the text of the Râmnic version from 1787, thus generalizing in Transylvania a euchological text from Moldavia that was taken from a version reprinted in Wallachia! [17, vol. II, p. 403] This is the manner in which the standardization of the Romanian printed Liturgikon was done in time. In Sibiu, this Liturgikon would be reprinted later in 1809, [17, vol. III, p. 5], 1814 [17, vol. III, p. 105], 1821 [17, vol. III, p. 538-539], 1831 [17, vol. III, p. 540] and 1835 [7, p. 759].

2.2.3.4. The edition from Chişinău, 1815

The Liturgikon edition from Iaşi (1759) was also borrowed by the Orthodox Romanians in Bessarabia, which became integral part of Russia in 1812 [17, vol. II, p. 119-122]. The local Bishop, Gavriil Bănulescu wanted to preserve the Romanian language in the church services, contrary to the new unfavourable political context. It is obvious then, that the few modifications done to the Liturgikon from 1759 were dictated by the new political context in Bessarabia; more specifically, they introduced a new petition for “the Holy and Honourable Synod” in the Great Litany, and a series of special petitions for the Tsar, the Tsarina and their entire family in the great litanies, at the Great Entrance and at the prayer before the Ambo. The volume starts with a long preface by Bishop Gavriil Bănulescu [17, vol. II, p. 120-122], wherein he admits to having printed that service book while “following closely and most faithfully the Slavonic translation and the structure of the Liturgies that are being printed in Russia”, thus attempting to justify the alterations and additions made to the text from Iaşi, 1759.

2.2.3.5. The edition from Iaşi, 1818

This particular edition of the Liturgikon is tributary to the great Metropolitan Veniamin Costache and, since it is a serious revision of the 1759 Iaşi edition, it marks a new stage in the evolution of this service book, managing thus to give the Romanian Liturgikon the shape and structure that is almost stereotypical to this day [17, vol. III, p. 188]. Apparently, this scholar hierarch used the most thorough editions of the Romanian Liturgikon available to him, including the issue from Chişinău (1815), to which he added the study of the Greek originals, such as *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα* from Venice, 1759, from whence he borrowed the amplified formulary: “the fulfilment (of the glass) of faith in the Holy Spirit” during the preparation of the Gifts for Communion, a formula that appears here for the first time in the Romanian Liturgikon.

The volume debuts with a lengthy and engaging ‘Pastoral Foreword’, wherein the erudite Metropolitan expounds on the principles he relied upon in his work of revising the text of the Liturgikon. Its contents replicate those of the

1794 edition from Iași; however, it omits the order of the consecration of the Altar Table and of the Coronation, and adds instead the ‘Exhortatory teaching’ and the ‘Prayer Canon’ from the Chișinău edition in 1815. Just like in the 1815 edition from Chișinău, Metropolitan Veniamin adopts the correct formula, “Wisdom. Let us be attentive” and enhances the Typikon related segments regarding the service of Communion for priests, by including the case when there are multiple celebrating priests at the same altar.

2.2.3.6. The edition from Iași, 1845 [7, p. 757]

Printed with the blessing of Metropolitan Meletie, this Liturgikon is based on the 1818 edition from Iași. This version also takes into account the one issued at Buzău in 1835, whence it borrows the Typikon, only to render it in a decidedly latinized Romanian. It contains a lengthy recommendation on the manner in which the priests celebrating together and the laity should take Communion. This recommendation will be adopted by all modern editions.

The sequent editions will be influenced by a series of new typically Romanian liturgical elements advanced by this particular edition: the two great prayers for the remembrance of the living and the departed at Proskomedie, the increase in the number of saints remembered at Proskomedie, the recitation of Psalm 8 instead of Psalm 50 (51) at the censuring during the Cherubic Hymn.

To a high extent, all these particular elements will be preserved in the following editions of the Romanian Liturgikon.

The issues from Neamț 1860 and 1864, Bucharest 1862 and Iași 1868 will perfect and fine-tune even further the text of the Romanian Liturgikon, all the while keeping the elements characteristic to the local Romanian Liturgical tradition.

2.2.4. *The group of the edition from Bucharest, 1887*

From 1812 on, after a synodical decision of the Church in the Kingdom of Romania, the Romanian Liturgikon would be printed only at the Ecclesiastical Books Publishing House in Bucharest. The first edition issued by this printing house appeared in 1887.

2.2.4.1. The edition from Bucharest, 1887

This is the first official Synodal Liturgikon, and it reproduces the editions from Neamț 1860 and 1864, which inevitably means that it indirectly replicates the version from Iași 1845. Its text features numerous lexical alterations: it replaces terms like *vozglas* with *ecfonis* [from Gr. ekphonesis = exclamation], *otputst* with *apolis* [from Gr. apolysis = dismissal], *slujbă* [liturgical service] with *ierurgie* [hierurgy], *vohod* with *intrare* [entrance]. It also highlights a tendency to purge the liturgical language of Slavonisms by any means. This is where the word *Vesperină* would be used for the first time instead of *Vecernie*

[Vespers], *Otrină* instead of *Utrenie* [Orthros], *comunicare* instead of *împărtășire* [Communion], *catolicească* instead of *sobornicească* [Catholic].

2.2.4.2. The editions from Bucharest, 1892 and 1895

The editions from Bucharest, 1892 and 1895 [7, p. 759] are mere reprints of the first synodical edition, and they stand out through their improved use of vernacular Romanian.

2.2.4.3. The edition from Sibiu, 1902

The last edition of the Liturgikon for the Transylvanians was printed under the pastoral care of Metropolitan Ioan Mețianu, as after the union with the Kingdom of Romania in 1918, all the service books were published at the Ecclesiastical Books Publishing House in Bucharest [7, p. 759]. This version is an exact replica of the 1895 Bucharest edition, but it also includes some typiconal particularities, as well as an appendix comprising the Typikon for the invocation of the Holy Spirit at gatherings and at the beginning of the school year.

2.2.4.4. The edition from Bucharest, 1902

This is the third synodical edition, and it appeared under Bishops Atanasie of Râmnic and Gherasim of Argeș, who used the text from the preceding versions from Bucharest, but considered necessary to return to some of the pre-1887 Slavonic terms that were deeply embedded in our liturgical language. Hence, the editors maintained the term ‘Vesperină’, but added the term ‘Vecernie’ [Vespers] in brackets, they rolled back to ‘blagoslovenie’ instead of ‘binecuvântare’ [blessing], or to ‘slavă’ instead of ‘mărire’ [glory]. It is interesting how this was the first Romanian Liturgikon to introduce a division in the last supplication of the Great and Little Litany, right before the exclamation, by making it into two separate petitions, without including the answer of the people: ‘O most holy Theotokos...’.

The subsequent synodical editions from 1912, 1921, 1937, 1950, 1955, 1967, 1974, 1980, 1987, 1995, 2000, 2008 and 2012 will bring only slight modifications of content, yet they will become known for their fine-tuning of the language and refinement of the graphics of the service books. All the newly canonized saints in the Romanian Orthodox Church had their names included in the Liturgikon for permanent remembrance, an element typical of the Romanian Liturgical tradition.

3. Conclusions

The Liturgikon in-service in the Romanian Orthodox Church today is the consequence of an outstanding effort brought to fruition by the Romanian

people, through which the adopted Byzantine Liturgical tradition was crystallized and naturalized through the Slavonic Liturgical tradition. The means by which the Byzantine manuscripts were unearthed and obtained was through Slavonic sources; therefore, the original Liturgikons in Slavonic perfectly express a Byzantine tradition, which the Slavonic borrowed and enriched.

The Liturgikon in service today in the Romanian Orthodox Church is based on the text from Râmnic, 1706, an edition printed by Metropolitan Anthim the Iberian, which represents a fusion between the text translated by the Metropolitan after the Great Euchologion from Venice, 1691, and the Typikon from the Slavic-Romanian editions from Bucharest, 1680 and Buzău, 1702, which had previously been translated from older Greek and Slavonic Liturgical sources by Hieromonk Inocențiu, under Metropolitan Teodosie.

Anthim the Iberian's Liturgikon (1706 and 1713) spread throughout all the Romanian Principalities. In 1759, it was revised and improved by Monk Evloghie, under Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul in Iași who confronted it against a new Greek original (the Great Euchologion of Venice, 1752). This new revised version was edited and expanded in 1818 by Metropolitan Veniamin Costache, who resorted to another New Greek original (the Great Euchologion of Venice, 1759) and other editions of the Russian Liturgikon.

The text of Veniamin Costache's Liturgikon from 1818, visibly improved by the edition from Iași, 1845 and passed through the weave of the Neamț editions from 1860 and 1864, would be incorporated by the first official edition of the Romanian Orthodox Church Synod from 1887, and then replicated with small improvements in all subsequent editions until the present day.

The entire Romanian Liturgical tradition is reflected in the Liturgikon in-service in the Romanian Orthodox Church today. Printed for the first time in Transylvania, then established in an edition revised in Wallachia and refined in Moldavia, its text is set apart from the Greek and Slavonic Liturgikons by a series of specific elements. This Romanian *Liturgisches Heimatgut* comes either from the adoption and preservation of a manuscripted old tradition that was left behind by other Orthodox Churches in time, or from the insertion of some elements characteristic to the local liturgical tradition [22, 23]. Therefore, the two great prayers at the end of Proskomedie, the commemoration of national saints and country leaders, the placement and meaning of the particles, the separation of Great Litany's last petition, the presence of the Third hour Troparion at Epiklesis, are but some of the features that give the Romanian Liturgikon its specificity and preserve the integrity of the Byzantine tradition in the Orthodox East.

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