VOLUME XX (2023)

Section de Recherches Néohelléniques
Institut de Recherches Historiques / FNRS

Section of Neohellenic Research
Institute of Historical Research / NHRF

Greek in Cyrillic Script

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GREEK IN CYRILLIC SCRIPT: A MANUSCRIPT FROM THE LIBRARY OF THE METOCHION OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE AT CONSTANTINOPLE

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ABSTRACT: The aim of this article is to address a manuscript containing the Divine Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great kept in the library of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople. The codex is bilingual, Greek-Romanian: the Romanian version, in Cyrillic script (as per norm), occupies the recto and mirrors the Greek text. However, the Greek text on the verso is written in Cyrillic script, too. Based on evidence provided by related archival materials, it seeks to explain the rationale behind this choice of diachronic digraphia (the formula is used here strictly to designate the writing of one language in the script of another).

Strolling Through a "Magnificent Pontic City"[1]

In the 1930s, several Romanian writers, scholars and diplomats visited Istanbul, not Constantinople. The cosmopolitan city was no longer a capital – the newly formed Turkish Republic preferred Ankara – but it still sparked lots of curiosity. The writers, ever in search of inspiration, gathered information for new books. The scholars focused on the medieval and early modern Moldavian and Wallachian documents and "precious objects" kept in various repositories.[2] The diplomats took a keen interest in Istanbul's "Romanian stones".[3] They favoured

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[1] Ştefana Velisar Teodoreanu, *Ursitul* [The fated one] (Bucharest: Minerva, 1973), 151. The chapter entitled "Notes of a Short Journey" recollects a visit to Constantinople, in 1929, in the company of two writers, Ionel Teodoreanu (the author's husband) and Mihail Sadoveanu (a family friend).

[2] Emil Vîrtosu, "Odoare româneşti la Stambul" [Romanian precious objects in Stambul], *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* [Bulletin of the Historical Monuments Commission] 28, no. 83 (1935): 1–19.

[3] Marcel Romanescu, "Monumente româneşti la Stambul" [Romanian monuments in Stambul], *Boabe de grâu* [Wheat Grains] 3, no. 6 (1932): 226 ("E bine ca Românii să ştie … că la Stambul avem şi noi pietrele noastre").

a travelogue-like approach to the city, giving brief but picturesque textual and visual depictions of significant monuments and artefacts.

One of these descriptions caught my eye. Upon visiting the library of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople (fig. 1), Marcu Beza (1882–1949), Romanian consul-general to Cairo and corresponding member of the Romanian Academy, recorded four manuscripts "that concern us", that is, his compatriots. The list consisted of a seventeenth-century "Greek-Romanian lexicon", bound together with the Akathistos Hymn dedicated to the Mother of God; a bilingual, Greek-Romanian Divine Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great (henceforth BAS); the second part of an early eighteenth-century Greek chronicle of Moldavia (catalogued as Μετόχιον τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου [henceforth ΜΠΤ] 38); and a copy of Nikolaos Mavrokordatos' treatise *Περὶ καθηκόντων* (ΜΠΤ 471).[4]
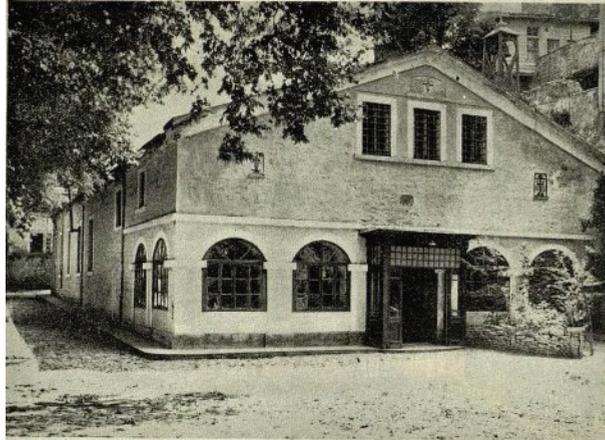
Figure 1. The Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople, from Beza, "Noui urme românești," 392.

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[4] Marcu Beza, "Noui urme românești la Stambul" [New Romanian traces in Stambul], *Boabe de grâu* [Wheat Grains] 5, no. 7 (1934): 393, 396; Beza, *Urme românești în Răsăritul ortodox* [Romanian traces in the Orthodox East] (Bucharest: Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeriile Statului – Imprimeria Națională, 1937), 93, 96. For the chronicle of Moldavia and the treatise *Περὶ καθηκόντων*, see Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, vol. 4 (Saint Petersburg: V. Kirschbaum, 1899; repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1963), 58–59 (ΜΠΤ 38); Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, vol. 5 (St Petersburg: V. Kirschbaum, 1915; repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1963), 37 (ΜΠΤ 471).

The aim of this article is to solve the riddle of the second entry in the list, namely, the bilingual Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great. I will first address Beza's laconic description. An analysis of the opening Prayer of the Prothesis will follow. Based on evidence provided by related archival materials, I will try to explain the rationale behind the codex.

One Colophon for Two Manuscripts

According to Beza, the Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great was copied by logothete Mihaiu, son of the deacon Oprea, who finished writing the manuscript in Wallachia, on 9 January 1683.[5] Yet Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus' catalogue does not mention such a colophon.[6] It does attribute, however, an identical one to a miscellany containing a "Slavonic-Romanian dictionary" and a bilingual, Slavonic-Romanian Akathistos Hymn.[7] Alexandru Mironescu – professor of theology at the University of Bucharest, future metropolitan primate and future honorary member of the Romanian Academy – also ascribed to logothete Mihaiu the "Slavonic-Romanian lexicon", which he had seen with his own eyes during a trip to Constantinople, in 1889. Mironescu also noted that the manuscript had belonged to hierodeacon Chrysanthos of Jerusalem (d. 1731).[8]

For reasons unknown – the history of the archive and library of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople has yet to be recounted[9] – the lexicon-

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[5] Beza, "Noui urme româneşti," 393; Beza, *Urme româneşti*, 93.

[6] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, vol. 4, 335 (ΜΠΤ 362).

[7] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, vol. 5, 55–56 (ΜΠΤ 498). The year 7191 from the Creation of the world is converted to 1693, instead of 1683. See also Konstantinos Moraitakis, "Συμπληρωματικὸς κατάλογος κωδίκων τοῦ ἐν Φαναρίῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Μετοχίου τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου," Ὀρθοδοξία 11, no. 6 (1936): 208.

[8] Alexandru Mironescu, "O călătorie în Orient" [A journey to the orient], *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* [Romanian Orthodox Church] 13, no. 9 (1889): 523–24. The study was reprinted as a book: Athanasie Mironescu Craioveanu, *O călătorie în Orient* (Bucharest: Tipografia Gutemberg – Joseph Göbl, 1896), 54–55. According to the traveller, the shelf mark was 600bis.

[9] For the archive: Maria Magdalena Székely and Ştefan S. Gorovei, "Documente regăsite dintr-o arhivă pierdută" [Newly-found documents from a lost archive], *Studii şi materiale de istorie medie* [Studies and Sources of Medieval History] 20 (2002): 45–51; *Το Αγιοταφικό Μετόχι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Καταγραφή μέρους του Αρχείου του Αγιοταφικού Μετοχίου*, ed. Dimitrios A. Stamatopoulos (Athens: NHRF, 2010). For the Library: Vassa Kontouma, "Vestiges de la bibliothèque de Dosithée II de Jérusalem au Métochion du Saint-Sépulcre à Constantinople," in *Bibliothèques grecques dans l'Empire ottoman*, ed. André Binggeli, Matthieu Cassin and Marina Détoraki (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 259–89; Anna Lampadaridi, "La bibliothèque du Métochion du Saint-Sépulcre à Constantinople à travers ses inventaires anciens," in Binggeli et al., *Bibliothèques grecques*, 291–309.

cum-Akathistos Hymn made its way into the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest in 1952.[10] It consists of a Slavonic-Romanian lexicon and a Slavonic-Romanian Akathistos Hymn. It was indeed copied by Mihaiu, a professional scribe from Târgoviște, in Wallachia, as attested by two marginal notes from 1677–1678 and 1683. It did belong to Chrysanthos Notaras, before he was elected patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1708, as shown by the ex-libris.[11]

As for the Divine Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great – catalogued as Μετόχιον τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου (ΜΠΤ) 362 – it resurfaced in Athens. Due to its very precarious state of conservation, the manuscript cannot be studied properly. Fortunately, the photograph taken and published by Beza reveals an intriguing characteristic, which has remained unnoticed until now. The codex is bilingual: the Romanian version, in Cyrillic script (as per norm), occupies the recto and mirrors the Greek text. However, the Greek text on the verso is written in Cyrillic script, too (fig. 2).

"Then He Says Aloud…"

There are many "Romanian" cases of diachronic digraphia (the formula is used here strictly to designate the writing of one language in the script of another).[12] For

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[10] The former ΜΠΤ 498 has thus become BAR *ms. rom.* 1348: Gabriel Ștrempel, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești B.A.R.* [Catalogue of the Romanian manuscripts (in the) Library of the Romanian Academy], vol. 1, *1–1600* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1978), 300. ΜΠΤ 418 (now BAR *ms. gr.* 1270) and ΜΠΤ 827 (now BAR *ms. gr.* 1287) had a similar fate: Mihail Carataşu, *Catalogul manuscriselor grecești BAR 1067–1350*, vol. 3, ed. Emanuela Popescu-Mihuţ and Tudor Teoteoi, foreword Gabriel Ștrempel (Bucharest: Societatea Română de Studii Neoelene, 2004), 274–82, 295–301.

[11] Gheorghe Mihăilă, "Contribuții la studiul lexicografiei slavo-române din secolul al XVII-lea" [Contributions to the study of seventeenth-century Slavonic-Romanian lexicography], in Mihăilă, *Contribuţii la istoria culturii şi literaturii române vechi* [Contributions to the History of Old Romanian Culture and Literature] (Bucharest: Minerva, 1972), 314; Mihail-George Hâncu, "*Acatistul Maicii Domnului* într-un manuscris bilingv din 1683: probleme ale traducerii din slavonă în română" [The Akathist of the Theotokos in a bilingual manuscript from 1683: Issues in translating from Slavonic to Romanian], *Romanoslavica* 58, no. 2 (2022): 20–40. For the lexicon, see Ana-Maria Gînsac and Mădălina Ungureanu, "La lexicographie slavonne-roumaine au XVIIe siècle: Adaptations roumaines d'après le *Leksikon slavenorosskij* de Pamvo Berynda," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 134, no. 3 (2018): 845–76.

[12] Alexandru Elian, "Elemente de paleografie greco-română" [Outlines of Greek-Romanian palaeography], in *Documente privind istoria României. Introducere* [Documents concerning the history of Romania. Introduction], vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RPR, 1956), 358–86; repr. in Elian, *Bizanţul, Biserica şi cultura românească* [Byzantium, the Church and the Romanian culture] (Iaşi: Trinitas, 2003), 227–53.
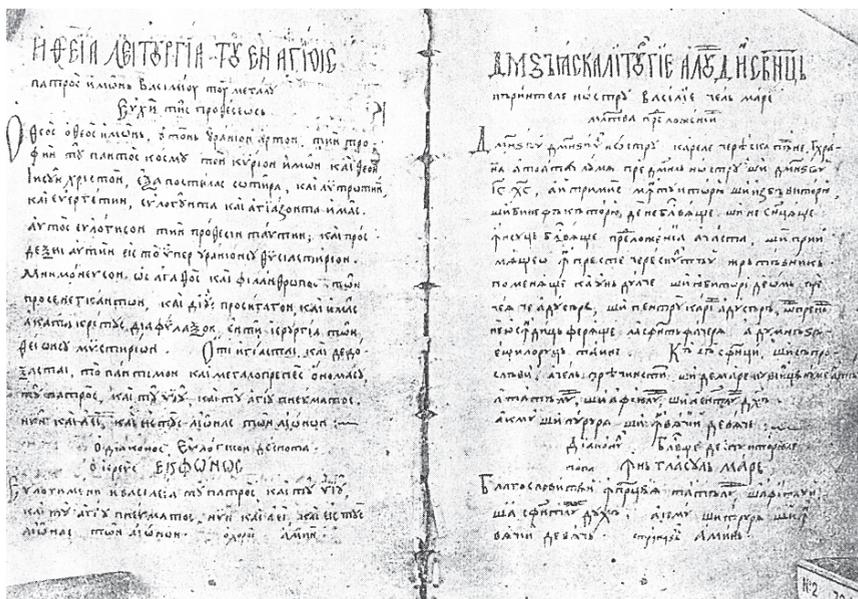
Figure 2. The Divine Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great, from Beza, "Noui urme românești," 396.

example, late-fifteenth- and sixteenth-century anthologies of liturgical chant from Putna Monastery in northern Moldavia comprised settings in Greek and Church Slavonic as well as bilingual chants.[13] Evstatie of Putna's songbook, dated 1511, included a Slavonic Cherubic hymn written in Glagolitic script, a bilingual Greek-Slavonic Axion hymn, Greek settings written in Greek characters and Slavonic settings written in Cyrillic characters. Sometimes, Slavonic words were transliterated into Greek characters, while Greek words were written in mixed alphabets (Greek and Cyrillic), always with unpredictable spelling and accentuation.[14] A

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[13] Anne E. Pennington, *Muzica în Moldova medieval: Secolul al XVI-lea/Music in Medieval Moldavia: 16th Century* [with an essay by Dimitri E. Conomos], ed. Titus Moisescu (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală, 1985); *Școala de la Putna* [The school of Putna], ed. Gabriela Ocneanu (Iași: Centrul de Studii Bizantine Iași, 2005) [*Acta Musicæ Byzantinæ* 8 (2005)]; *Cuviosul Eustatie Protopsaltul și Școala muzicală de la Putna. Studii și articole* [The Venerable Eustatie the Protopsaltis and the Putna Music School: Studies and articles], vol. 1 (Putna: Editura Mitropolit Iacov Putneanul, 2023).

[14] *Antologhionul lui Evstatie protopsaltul Putnei* [The Anthologion of Evstatie the Protopsaltes of Putna], ed. Gheorghe Ciobanu and Marin Ionescu, foreword and introductory study Gheorghe Ciobanu (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală, 1983).

Slavonic Polychronion in honour of Prince Alexandru Lăpușneanu (d. 1568) was transliterated into Greek, but it remains an isolated case.[15]

The Putna case is indicative of the use of Greek as a liturgical language in a monastic Slavonic cultural milieu that "reveals an impressive and remarkably conservative allegiance to traditional practices".[16] Conversely, a couple of trilingual manuscripts associated with Metropolitan Stefan of Wallachia (d. 1668) showcase the patron's ability to adapt to new and challenging liturgical realities. In both codices, the ἐκφωνήσεις, that is, the doxological formulas concluding a litany (συναπτή), petition (αἴτησις), or fervent prayer (ἐκτενή) that are to be intoned aloud by the priest, are not only in Church Slavonic, but also in Greek written in Cyrillic characters and in phonetic transcription. To give but one example, the end of the First Prayer of the Faithful from the BAS is rendered as follows (fig. 3):

Ότι πρέπι cн πάcα Δόξα τιмн κὲ проскίнисис, τὸ πατρὶ, κὲ το ὑὼ, κὲ το ἀγιω πнέβματι, нúн κὲ ἀн, κὲ ιc τὐc ἐόнac τὸн ἐόнωн…

Figure 3. Author's transcription of the end of the First Prayer of the Faithful from the BAS.

Which stands for: Ὅτι πρέπει σοι πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων… ("For to You belong all glory, honour, and worship, to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and forever and to ages of ages…") (fig. 4).[17]

According to Andronikos Falangas, the peculiar linguistic choice mirrors and announces the regrouping and flourishing in the Romanian lands of the Hellenism "oppressed by the Ottoman domination".[18] In practical terms, however, the two Wallachian manuscripts illustrate the owner's desire to concelebrate the Divine Liturgy in a multilingual context – a practice attested by several mid-seventeenth-century sources, such as Paul of Aleppo's fascinating travelogue.[19] Since he did not know Greek, the Wallachian metropolitan

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[15] Anne E. Pennington, "A Polychronion in Honour of John Alexander of Moldavia," *Slavonic and East European Review* 50, no. 118 (1972): 90–99.

[16] Dimitri E. Conomos, "The Monastery of Putna and the Musical Tradition of Moldavia in the Sixteenth Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982): 28.

[17] Library of the Romanian Academy (Bucharest) – BAR *ms. rom.* 1790, f. 56v; Library of the Romanian Academy (Cluj-Napoca) – BAR *ms. rom.* 1216, f. 44v.

[18] Andronikos Falangas, "Recherches sur la transcription du grec en cyrillique dans un pontifical slavo-gréco-roumain du XVIIe siècle," *Cahiers Balkaniques* 16 (1990): 234.

[19] Ovidiu Olar, "The Travels of Patriarch Makāriyūs of Antioch and the Liturgical Traditions of the Christian East," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 52 (2014): 275–87.

Figure 4. Library of the Romanian Academy (BAR) (Cluj) *ms. rom.* 1216, f. 44v.

requested the transliteration of the relevant passages, so that he could say them aloud while concelebrating with Greek-speaking bishops, archbishops, metropolitans and patriarchs.[20]

Consequently, it is plausible to assume that specific reasons led the scribe/recipient of МПТ 362 to produce a bilingual version of the BAS and render the Greek text with Cyrillic characters. I will try to outline them below.

The Romanian Model

The title – *Dumnedzăiasca liturghie a lui din svinț părintele nostru Vasilie cel Mare* – and the opening Prayer of the Prothesis provide the first set of clues. The scribe follows closely the Romanian translation by Dosoftei, metropolitan of Moldavia (d. 1693) (Table 1).

Dosoftei's Divine Liturgy was printed on the "extremely run down" press of the metropolitan church, in Iași, in 1679.[21] Reprinted (with some minor changes and several additional prayers) on a new press, donated by Patriarch Joachim of Moscow in 1683, it represented the first ever full rendition into Romanian of all three Divine Liturgies of the Byzantine rite.[22] The metropolitan stated that he translated it from Greek. He also stated that it illustrated the ordo of the Great Church (of Constantinople) and of the Holy Mountain. Yet neither claim was entirely accurate: Dosoftei also consulted Slavonic models and the result had distinctive features derived from his modus operandi.[23]

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[20] Ovidiu Olar, "Foreign Wisdoms: Tradition in the Služebnik of Metropolitan Stefan of Ungrovlachia († 1668)," *Museikon: A Journal of Religious Art and Culture/Revue d'art et de culture religieuse* 4 (2020): 163–88.

[21] Dennis Deletant, "Rumanian Presses and Printing in the Seventeenth Century (I)," *Slavonic and East European Review* 60, no. 4 (1982): 493–96; repr. in Deletant, *Studies in Romanian History* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1991).

[22] Ioan Bianu and Nerva Hodoş, *Bibliografia română veche 1508–1830* [Old Romanian bibliography, 1508–1830], vol. 1: *1508–1716* (Bucharest: J.V. Socec, 1903), 222–25 (no. 69), 262–63 (no. 77). The Divine Liturgy printed by Coresi (most probably) in Braşov in 1570, contained only the Prothesis and the Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom: *Liturghierul lui Coresi* [Coresi's Divine Liturgy] ed. Alexandru Mareş (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1969).

[23] Mihail Qaramah, "Liturghierul Mitropolitului Dosoftei: Surse şi reformă" [The Leitourgikon of Metropolitan Dosoftei: Sources and reform] (unpublished paper consulted courtesy of the author).

Table 1.

The Prayer of the Prothesis according to MΠT 362 and Dosoftei's Divine Liturgy.

MΠT 362 (Romanian text)[24]	**Dosoftei's Divine Liturgy (1679)**[25]
Molitva predlojenii	*Molitva predlojeniei*
Dumnedzău, Dumnedzău*l* nostru, carele cereasca pâine, hrana[1] a toată lumea, pre Domnul nostru și Dumnedzău*l* Isus Hristos ai trimis mântuitoriu și izbăvitoriu și binefăcătoriu de ne blagosloveaște și ne sfințeaște,[2] Însuț blagosloveaște predlojenia aceasta și priimeaște-o în preste cerescu*l* Tău jârtăvnic. Pomeneaște ca un dulce și iubitori de om pre ceia ce adusără și pentru carii adusără și pre noi neosândiț fereaște la sfântă facerea a dumnădzăieștiloru-ț Taine. Că să sfinți și să proslăvi acel preacinsti*t* și de mare cuviință nume a*l* Tău, a Tatălui și a Fiiului și a Sfântului[3] Duh, acmu și pururea și în veac de veaci.	Dumnezău, Dumnezăul nostru, Carele cereasca pâine, hrana a toată lumea, pre Domnul nostru și Dumnezău Is. Hs. L-ai trimis mântuitori și izbăvitori, de ne blagoslovește și ne svinţeşte pre noi, Însuț blagosloveşte predlojenia aceasta și o priimeşte în suprăcerescul Tău jărtăvnic. Pomeneşte, ca un dulce, bun și iubitori de om, pre aducătorii și pentru carii adusără, și pre noi neosândiţ fereşte în svântă facerea Dumnezăieştiloru-Ţ Taine. Că să svinţi și să proslăvi preacinsti*t* și de mare cuviinţă numele Tău, a Tatălui și a Fiiului și a Svântului Duh, acmu și pururea și-n vecii de veci. Amin.
Diaconu*l* Blagosloveşte, despuitoriule.	*După otpust și obicinitele închinări, iese diacónul la mijloc și face 3 închinări, și zâce:* Blagosloveşte, despuitoriule. *Iară popa, blagoslovind cu svânta evanghelie, zâce:* Blagoslovită-i
Popa În glasul mare	
Blagoslovită-i împărățâia Tatălui ș-a Fiiului ș-a Sfântului Duh, acmu și pururea și în veacii de veaci.	împărățâia Tatălui ș-a Fiiului și a Svântului Duh, acmu și pururea și-n vecii de veci.

Notes: [1] Written: гꙁрхана.

    [2] Written: сфицаще. Another rendering: *svinţeaşte*.

    [3] Written: сфтлуⁱ. Another rendering: *svântului*.

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[24] The text, written with Cyrillic characters, is rendered here in Latin script, in interpretive transcription, in accordance with the current norms of the Romanian Academy: Alexandru Mareș, "L'édition des textes roumains anciens," in *Manuel de la philologie de l'édition*, ed. David Trotter (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 101–13; *The Syntax of Old Romanian*, ed. Gabriela Pană Dindelegan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 6–7.

[25] Dosoftei, *Dumnezăiasca liturghie* [Divine Liturgy], ed. N. A. Ursu (Iași: Mitropolia și Sucevei, 1980), 35–37.

The Prayer of the Prothesis, which opens both the Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom (henceforth CHR) and the BAS, undoubtedly follows a Greek model.[26] The comparison with the text in Jacques Goar's 1647 edition is suggestive: Dosoftei missed an attribute of Christ and added directions for the liturgist (Goar's *Euchologion* was a "scholarly" work, not a liturgical one), but everything else matches (Table 2).

The scribe/recipient of ΜΠΤ 362 follows even more carefully the Greek model. He adds the word Dosoftei had skipped: "Dumnedzău, Dumnedzăul nostru, carele … pre Domnul nostru și Dumnedzăul Isus Hristos ai trimis mântuitoriu și izbăvitoriu *și binefăcătoriu*" (Ὁ Θεός ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν … τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ θεὸν, Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἐξαποστείλας σωτῆρα, καὶ λυτρωτὴν, *καὶ εὐεργέτην*), that is, "O God, our God, who didst send forth … our Lord and God Jesus Christ, Saviour, Redeemer, *and Benefactor*."[27] He chooses a different, more literal translation for τὸ *ὑπερουράνιόν* σου θυσιαστήριον: "*preste cerescul* Tău jârtăvnic", that is, "your *over-celestial* altar", replaces "*suprăcerescul* Tău jărtăvnic", that is, "your *super celestial* altar". He removes the directions for the liturgist from the Romanian text. And he gives the prayer in full at the beginning of the BAS (Dosoftei just asks the user to see the CHR).

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[26] Qaramah, "Rugăciunea punerii-înainte" din rânduiala Proscomidiei bizantine" [The Prayer of the Prothesis form the Liturgy of Preparation], *Studii teologice* [Theological Studies], 3rd ser., 11, no. 2 (2015): 229–70.

[27] "The Order of the Holy and Divine Liturgy," Ponomar Project, accessed 1 May 2024, https://www.ponomar.net/data/royster/Proskomede.htm.

Table 2.
The Prayer of the Prothesis according to ΜΠΤ 362 and Goar's *Εὐχολόγιον* (1647).

ΜΠΤ 362 (Romanian text)	**Goar's *Εὐχολόγιον* (1647)**[28]
Molitva predlojeniii	*Εὐχὴ τῆς προθέσεως*
Dumnedzău, Dumnedzău*l* nostru, carele cereasca pâine, hrana a toată lumea, pre Domnul nostru şi Dumnedzău*l* Isus Hristos ai trimis mântuitoriu şi izbăvitoriu şi binefăcătoriu de ne blagosloveaşte şi ne sfinţeaşte, Însuţ blagosloveaşte predlojenia aceasta şi priimeaşte-o în preste cerescu*l* Tău jârtăvnic. Pomeneaşte ca un dulce şi iubitori de om pre ceia ce adusără şi pentru carii adusără şi pre noi neosândiţ fereaşte la sfântă facerea a dumnădzăieştiloru-ţ Taine. Că să sfinţi şi să proslăvi acel preacinsti*t* şi de mare cuviinţă nume a*l* Tău, a Tatălui şi a Fiiului şi a Sfântului Duh, acmu şi pururea şi în veac de veaci.	Ὁ Θεός ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὸν οὐράνιον ἄρτον, τὴν τροφὴν τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ θεὸν, Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, ἐξαποστείλας σωτῆρα, καὶ λυτρωτὴν, καὶ εὐεργέτην, εὐλογοῦντα καὶ ἁγιάζοντα ἡμᾶς· αὐτὸς εὐλόγησον τὴν πρόθεσιν ταύτην, καὶ πρόσδεξαι αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ὑπερουράνιόν σου θυσιαστήριον, μνημόνευσον ὡς ἀγαθὸς, καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, τῶν προσενεγκάντων, καὶ δι᾽ οὓς προσήγαγον, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀκατακρίτους διαφύλαξον, ἐν τῇ ἱερουργίᾳ τῶν θείων σου μυστηρίων. Ὅτι ἡγίασται καὶ δεδόξασται τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ὄνομά σου τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος· νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.
Diaconu*l* Blagosloveşte, despuitoriule.	Ὁ διάκονος. Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα.
Popa În glasul mare	Ὁ ἱερεὺς. Ἐκφώνως
Blagoslovită-i împărăţâia Tatălui ş-a Fiiului ş-a Sfântului Duh, acmu şi pururea şi în veacii de veaci.	Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

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28 *Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Græcorum*, ed. Jacques Goar OP (Paris: Simon Piget, 1647), 158, 176, 180. The Dominican scholar used manuscripts in Paris, Rome (Vatican) and Grottaferrata. The oldest one – and the oldest surviving Byzantine Euchologion to date – was Barberini gr. 336: Anselm Strittmatter, "The 'Barberinum S. Marci' of Jacques Goar: Barberinianus græcus 336," *Ephemerides liturgicæ* 47 (1933): 329–67. For the BAS, this manuscript has the Constantinopolitan prayer still in use today: "O God, our God, Who didst send the Heavenly Bread…" – *L'Eucologio Barberini gr. 336*, ed. Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska (Rome: CLV – Edizioni Liturgiche, 2000).

These interventions, the presence of the Greek text and its transcription with Cyrillic script suggest that the manuscript's bilingual nature was meant to safeguard the theological integrity of the translation. Romanian was not one of the sacred liturgical languages of the Christian East: it was a vernacular. Consequently, one had to justify the translation of the liturgical texts into it.

"The Garden Enclosed and the Fountain Sealed"

Dosoftei had already published a versified translation from Greek into Romanian of the Psalter, in Univ Monastery, in 1672–1673. Since it was not destined for liturgical use, he did not justify the choice of vernacular neither in the manuscript, nor in the printed versions.[29] The Psalter's second part, a "Prayer Book" printed in Univ in the same year, also lacks such an explanation.[30] Conversely, justification is provided in the bilingual, Slavonic-Romanian edition of the Psalter published in Iași, in 1680. The Romanian translation, says Dosoftei in his dedication to Prince Gheorghe Duca, runs alongside the Slavonic text in order to make it "intelligible", because "that little Slavonic which was studied … has been abandoned in Moldavia".[31] There is no use for an enclosed garden or a sealed fountain, argues the metropolitan, referencing the Song of Songs. He then proceeds to quote at length the First Epistle to the Corinthians, including the famous verse "Yet in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand

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[29] Manuscript: Library of the Romanian Academy (Bucharest) – BAR *ms. rom.* 446; Dosoftei, *Psaltirea în versuri întocmită* [Psalter in verses forged], ed. Ioan Bianu (Bucharest: Tipografia Academiei Române, 1887). First edition: Doru Bădără, "O ediție necunoscută a *Psaltirii în versuri* a lui Dosoftei" [An unknown edition of Dosoftei's *Psalter in Verses*], *Revista de istorie* [History Review] 41, no. 3 (1988): 275–97; repr. in Bădără, *Din istoria cărții și a tiparului românesc: Studii și materiale* [From the history of Romanian books and printing: Studies and materials], ed. Niculae Ravici-Tătăranu (Brăila: Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei "Carol I," 2019), 29–57. Second edition: Bianu and Hodoș, *Bibliografia română veche*, 209–14 (no. 65); Ioan Bianu and Dan Simonescu, *Bibliografia română veche 1508–1830* [Old Romanian bibliography, 1508–1830], vol. 4: *Adăogiri și îndreptări* [Additions and corrections] (Bucharest: Socec, 1944), 202 (no. 65-66); Dosoftei, *Psaltirea în versuri întocmită* [Psalter in verses forged], ed. Ioan Bianu (Bucharest: Tipografia Academiei Române, 1887); Dosoftei, *Psaltirea în versuri. 1673* [The psalter in verses. 1673], ed. N. A. Ursu (Iași: Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei, 1974); Dosoftei, *Opere* [Works], vol. 1: *Versuri* [Verses], ed. N. A. Ursu, introductory study Al. Andriescu (Bucharest: Minerva, 1978). Only the first edition mentions that the translation was from Greek.

[30] Dosoftei, *Carte de rugăciuni 1673* [Prayer book 1673], ed. Cristina-Ioana Dima (Bucharest: Bucharest University Press, 2024).

[31] Deletant, "Rumanian Presses and Printing," 495.

words in an unknown tongue" (1 Cor. 14:1–6, 13–17, 19, 23–25). In conclusion, the Romanian translation generates a Psalter "that can be understood" and facilitates the Christian's access to a "spiritual garden planted by God".[32]

The 1679 Divine Liturgy offers more sophisticated arguments in favour of the translation into Romanian. The foreword, ascribed to Prince Duca, addresses "all Romanian people" that speak "this Orthodox language". It proudly boasts about the edition being "a gift to the Romanian language", since those unfamiliar with "Serbian" (that is, Slavonic) or Greek could finally comprehend the Divine Liturgy".[33] Dosoftei's dedication to Duca compares the prince to David and Jacob, places him in the ranks of worthy "shepherds" such as the emperors Constantine the Great and Theodosius, and praises his efforts to render comprehensible the Divine Liturgy, which was essential for the salvation of the soul.[34]

Dosoftei also reproduces the answer given by Patriarch Theodore Balsamon of Antioch to Patriarch Mark III of Alexandria's question concerning the possibility of celebrating in the vernacular. Is it possible, asked Mark, for the Orthodox from Syria and Armenia, as well as for faithful from other regions, to celebrate the Liturgy in their language, or is Greek mandatory? Yes, they can, responded Theodore, a seasoned canonist, provided they use "precise copies" of the customary holy prayers translated from Greek liturgical books. For Saint Paul said it clearly: "Is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also" (Rom. 3:29).[35]

Furthermore, at the end of the volume, Dosoftei reminds all "those who would like to stop the understanding of God's holy mysteries" of a passage from the Book of Tobit, which advises against such behaviour: "It is good to keep close the secret of a king, but it is honourable to reveal the works of God" (Tob. 12:7). He also asks them to read Saint Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, namely, the chapter on prophesising and "tongues" (1 Cor. 14).[36]

The biblical quotation that closes Duca's foreword (Ps. 88:20) is in Greek. The one from the Book of Tobit, which closes the book (Tob. 12:7), is in Greek,

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[32] Bianu and Hodoş, *Bibliografia română veche*, 226–30 (no. 70); Dosoftei, *Psaltirea de-nţăles* [Psalter that can be understood], ed. Mihaela Cobzaru (Iaşi: Casa editorială Demiurg, 2007).

[33] Dosoftei, *Dumnezăiasca liturghie*, 5–6.

[34] Ibid., 6–9.

[35] Ibid., 9–11. For Balsamon's canonical answers, see Venance Grumel, "Les réponses canoniques à Marc d'Alexandrie, leur caractère officiel, leur double rédaction," *Échos d'Orient* 38 (1939): 321–33.

[36] Dosoftei, *Dumnezăiasca liturghie*, 204. This "dossier" cannot be found in the second edition.

Romanian and Latin. Mark of Alexandria's question is in Greek and Romanian. Balsamon's response is also in Greek and Romanian, but the verse from the Epistle to the Romans contained therein (Rom. 3:29) is given in Slavonic, Romanian and Latin. In all instances, the script is Cyrillic, as Dosoftei did not have Greek and Latin type. It is, therefore, safe to assume that the metropolitan wanted to underline the legitimate character of the Romanian translation of the Divine Liturgies (fig. 5).

Figure 5a–c. Mark's question and Balsamon's response, from Dosoftei, *Dumnezăiasca liturghie*, 9–11.

The issue was indeed thorny.[37] The *Divine Liturgy* printed by Metropolitan Theodosie of Wallachia in Bucharest, in 1680, gave in Romanian only the rubrics, the prayer of the Artoklasia and the texts for the Vespers of the Genuflection. The dedication to Prince Șerban Cantacuzino explained why all the rest remained in Slavonic. First, Romanian was "short", that is, unfitted for such an important task. Second, there was a shortage of teachers. Third, the believers could not understand the mysteries and could not grasp their meaning. Lastly, a Romanian translation went against Wallachian custom.[38] Clearly, the imposition of Romanian instead of Slavonic as the liturgical language was neither an easy nor a linear process.

(Preliminary) Conclusions

Scepticism and negative reactions did not deter Dosoftei. He reprinted his *Divine Liturgy* three years later, this time with the blessing of Patriarch Parthenios I of Alexandria (d. 1688). Still, many considered his approach to be daring and in need of amendment. The editors of the Divine Liturgy published in Bucharest in 1680, who indirectly polemicised with the erudite Moldavian metropolitan, favoured post-1655 revised Muscovite Slavonic editions.[39]

МПТ 362 illustrates the tension between translating into the vernacular and being loyal to the sacred text. By placing the Greek text in parallel and by transcribing it in the Cyrillic alphabet, the scribe/patron intended to facilitate the comparison between this normative text and the Romanian version. Consequently, Dosoftei's project gained legitimacy.

The Prayer of the Prothesis was obviously translated from Greek. In this case, the presence of the original version and the use of the Cyrillic script are not related to a liturgical function. They are related to the profound transformation of early modern Moldavian liturgical practice. On the one hand, Romanian imposed itself as the administrative language par excellence and emerged as a liturgical language. On the other hand, Greek replaced Slavonic as the liturgical model.

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[37] Ovidiu Olar, "*Un trésor enfoui*: Kyrillos Loukaris et le Nouveau Testament en grec publié à Genève en 1638 à travers les lettres d'Antoine Léger," in "Les terres de l'orthodoxie au XVIIe siècle," *Cahiers du monde russe* 58, no. 3 (2017): 341–70.

[38] Bianu and Hodoș, *Bibliografia română veche*, 230–37 (no. 71). For this edition, see Mihail Khalid Qaramah, "Pages from the History of Liturgical Reform in the Church of Wallachia: The Leitourgikon from Bucharest (1680)" (unpublished paper consulted courtesy of the author).

[39] Qaramah, "Pages."

Two pages do not make a manuscript. Since ΜΠΤ 362 could not be consulted in full and in person, any conclusion is inevitably preliminary. Nevertheless, a couple of general observations can be safely made.

The first concerns the collections of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople: given their long and intricate history, they should not be approached through nationalistic lenses. The library and archive of the Metochion was neither Greek nor Romanian: it was (at least) both.

The second pertains to the early modern instances of diachronic digraphia: they are more numerous, varied and interconnected than expected. The Moldavian and Wallachian examples provided here make a compelling case that they should be studied both in depth and in comparison. A bilingual manuscript such as ΜΠΤ 362 does not concern only the Romanians, as Beza thought. It is representative for the religious reforms of mid-seventeenth-century Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

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