

THE TRAVELS OF PATRIARCH MAKĀRIYŪS OF ANTIOCH AND THE LITURGICAL TRADITIONS OF THE CHRISTIAN EAST

OVIDIU OLAR

(“N. Iorga” Institute of History, Bucharest)

Cette étude se propose de montrer l'importance du récit du voyage du patriarche Makāriyūs d'Antioche rédigé par son fils, l'archidiacre Paul d'Alep, en tant que témoignage oculaire des pratiques et des traditions liturgiques de l'Orient chrétien. Les passages où Paul décrit des célébrations liturgiques plurilingues sont utilisés pour souligner la (principale) raison d'être de deux manuscrits conservés dans la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine – BAR Bucarest ms. roum. 1790 et BAR Cluj ms. roum. 1216.

Key words: Paul d'Alep; Makāriyūs, patriarche d'Antioche; Étienne, métropolitain de Valachie; traditions liturgiques; manuscrits trilingues.

1.

The idea to dedicate a study to the liturgical traditions of the Christian East as seen by the patriarch Makāriyūs of Antioch and by his son Paul (Būlus) of Aleppo was induced to me by Sophie Antoniadis's book entitled *Place de la Liturgie dans la tradition des lettres grecques*¹. According to the author, the Greek liturgy had a huge sway on the Greek literature, and was of the utmost importance for researchers, due to its content, its language and its social impact. For a historian like myself, the latter aspect looked particularly appealing.

The reason was quite simple. Every time we deal with the 17th century Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, we find ourselves confronted with a dilemma. As historians, we work mainly with *written* sources, be they texts or images. Yet the 17th century was still mostly illiterate and, as a direct consequence, hard to grasp by historians. Despite such scarcity, how could one find a way to address groups and communities who did not leave consistent written traces behind?

Of course, the dilemma was not at all new and it had already triggered several solutions. Nonetheless, in my case, the reaction was that the cultural history of the liturgy and of the liturgical traditions of the Christian East could provide interesting material to work with. Why? Because, for the period we are interested in, the liturgy has an oral character, but it is transmitted in writing, it is specific to a certain community and it is a living organism.

¹ Sophie Antoniadis, *Place de la Liturgie dans la tradition des lettres grecques*, Leiden, 1939.

Samples of these living organisms were carefully studied by theologians, by philologists and even by art historians². But, surprisingly, a mid-17th century eye-witness to Oriental pontifical celebrations was largely and unjustly ignored. This eye-witness is Archdeacon Paul (Būlus) of Aleppo, the son of Patriarch Makāriyūs III of Antioch and a faithful companion of his father during his travels.

Between July 1652 and 1659, Makāriyūs travelled from Damascus to Muscovy and back, via Constantinople, Moldavia, Wallachia and Ukraine. His son Paul (Būlus) accompanied him and wrote a detailed account of the journey³.

Paul's account has attracted the attention of many a scholar, in spite of a poor English translation, of an incomplete Arabic edition, accompanied by an incomplete French translation, and of a rare Russian translation⁴. Unfortunately, his importance as a comparative liturgist went unnoticed, especially because of the suspicions raised by his methods.

“I do not know exactly how he compiled his observations”, wrote recently Vassa Larin, “nor have I found evidence of his liturgical erudition. So his testimony has been approached with caution, and employed only as a confirmation of mid-17th c. liturgical phenomena we know of from other contemporary sources...”⁵

Undoubtedly, all testimonies must be approached with caution. Yet, there is also no need to exaggerate. Therefore, the aim of the present study is to show that Paul of Aleppo is a very important observer of the liturgical traditions of the Christian East. In order to do so, I have chosen a case study. Based on the fresh Romanian translation of the chapters concerning the travels of Makāriyūs across Moldavia and Wallachia completed by Ioana Feodorov⁶, I shall try to show how Paul's memoirs shed light on two trilingual Wallachian liturgical manuscripts.

² For 17th century examples of pontifical rites, see Joseph Croquison, *Un pontifical grec à peintures du XVII^e siècle*, “Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft”, 3 (1954), p. 123–170; idem, *Un manuscrit liturgique à peintures de la Bibliothèque Gennadion*, “L'Hellénisme contemporain”, [2nd Series], 10 (1956), 6, p. 407–417; Ceslaus Sipovič (ed.), *The Pontifical Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom. A Manuscript of the 17th Century in Slavonic Text and Latin Translation*, London, 1978; Cătălina Velculescu, *Manuscris trilingv. Preliminarii la o editare*, Bucharest, 2010; Erich Reuhart, Cătălina Velculescu, Zamfira Mihail, Ileana Stănculescu, and Ovidiu Olar, *Arhieratikon trilingv. Ms. rom. 1216 de la Biblioteca Academiei Române – Chuj*, Bucharest [2013]. See also Vassa Larin, *The Byzantine Hierarchical Divine Liturgy in Arsenij Suxanov's Proskinitarij. Text, Translation, and Analysis of the Entrance Rites*, Rome, 2010, p. 32–38.

³ For details, see Basile Radu (ed.), *Voyage du Patriarche Macaire d'Antioche*, in “Patrologia Orientalis”, 22 (1930), p. 4–11.

⁴ For details, see Ioana Feodorov (ed.), *Relations entre les peuples de l'Europe Orientale et les chrétiens arabes au XVII^e siècle. Macaire III Ibn al-Za'im et Paul d'Alep. Actes du 1^{er} Colloque international, le 16 septembre 2011, Bucarest*, Bucharest, 2012. See also Hasan Çolak, *Worlds Apart and Interwoven: Orthodox, Syrian and Ottoman Cultures in Paul of Aleppo's Memoirs*, “Studies in Travel Writing”, 16 (2012), 4, p. 375–385.

⁵ Vassa Larin, *The Byzantine Hierarchical Divine Liturgy*, p. 37.

⁶ This translation, accompanied by the Arabic text, is currently being printed by the Romanian Academy Editorial House (Bucharest) together with Muzeul Brăilei – Editura Istros (Brăila).

2.

Among the manuscripts of the Library of the Romanian Academy, BAR Bucharest *Ms. rom.* 1790 and BAR Cluj *Ms. rom.* 1216 are multilingual treasures⁷. They are seventeenth-century Mass books containing the liturgies of St John Chrysostom and of St Basil the Great, as well as other services celebrated exclusively by a hierarch⁸. Put together with the blessing, by order and at the expense of metropolitan Stephen of Wallachia († 1668), at a date that cannot yet be established precisely, the *Archieratika* are adorned with numerous miniatures and contain texts in three languages. The liturgical texts are in Slavonic, the *ecfonises* (*i.e.*, the final parts of the prayers, to be intoned by the priest in a loud voice) are in Greek, in Cyrillic script, and most of the time transcribed phonetically, while most of the indications for the celebrant and almost the entire ceremony for ordaining a metropolitan or a bishop are in Romanian⁹.

These manuscripts (especially the one preserved in Bucharest) could not elude the researchers' attention; indeed, albeit not always the centrepiece of studies, they were often mentioned in a plethora of investigations. Art historians showed interest in the illustrations¹⁰. Historians used them to study the prayers for

⁷ For details, see Cătălina Velculescu, *Ms. rom. 1790 de la Biblioteca Academiei Române din București*, in *Manuscris trilingv*, p. 9–32; Cătălina Velculescu, Zamfira Mihail, Ileana Stănculescu, Ovidiu Olar, *Des missels grecs et slavons aux traductions en roumain (XVII^e siècle) (Manuscrit roum. 1790 BAR – Bucarest et le manuscrit roum. 1216 BAR – Cluj-Napoca)*, RESEE, 49 (2011), p. 33–52; Cătălina Velculescu, Ovidiu Olar, *Ms. rom. 1216 de la B.A.R. Cluj*, in *Archieraticon trilingv*, p. 7–22.

⁸ For this type of liturgical book, see Cyrill Korolevskij, *Le Pontifical dans le rite byzantin*, “*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*”, 10 (1944), p. 204–215; Paul Mihail, Zamfira Mihail, *Archieraticonul român de la 1705 copiat de Axinte Uricariul*, “*Biserica Ortodoxă Română*”, 92 (1974), 11–12, p. 1403–1413; Manlio Sodi, Achille Maria Triacca (eds.), *Pontificale Romanum. Editio princeps (1595–1596)*, Città del Vaticano, 1997.

⁹ For details, see N. Iorga, *Istoria bisericii românești și a vieții religioase a românilor*, I, Bucharest, 1928², p. 341; Nicolae Cartoian, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, II, Bucharest, 1942, p. 97; G. Popescu-Vâlcea, *Slujebnicul mitropolitului Ștefan al Ungrovlahiei (1648–1688)*, Bucharest, 1974; Violeta Barbu, *Preliminarii la studiul naționalizării serviciului divin: principalele versiuni românești ale Simbolului credinței (1650–1713)*. I, “*Limba Română*”, 40 (1991), p. 29; eadem, *Purgatoriul misionarilor. Contrareforma în țările române în secolul al XVII-lea*, Bucharest, 1998, p. 454; Radu G. Păun, *Les fondements liturgiques du “constitutionalisme” roumain entre la seconde et la troisième Rome (XVI^e – XVIII^e siècles). Premiers résultats*, “*Revue Roumaine d’Histoire*”, 37 (1998), 3–4, p. 179.

¹⁰ Vladimir Stassof, *L’ornement slave et oriental d’après les manuscrits anciens et modernes*, St. Petersburg, 1887, p. 14, pl. XXXIX, fig. 3–12; Gh. Popescu-Vâlcea, *Slujebnicul mitropolitului Ștefan al Ungrovlahiei (1648–1688)*, “*Analecta*”, 1 (1943); idem, *Miniatura românească*, Bucharest, 1981, p. 48–54, 136–147; Gheorghe Buluță, Sultana Craia (eds.), *Manuscrise miniaturate și ornate din epoca lui Matei Basarab*, Bucharest, 1984, p. 61–63; Gh. Popescu-Vâlcea, *Romanian Miniatures*, Bucharest, 1998, p. 52–58; Ileana Stănculescu, *Studiu asupra ilustrațiilor din ms. rom. 1790*, in *Manuscris trilingv*, p. 107–136; Cătălina Velculescu, Ileana Stănculescu, *Abaisse ton regard sur moi, pécheur et serviteur inutile, purifie mon âme et mon cœur de toute pensée mauvaise...*, “*Transylvanian Review*”, 21 (2012) [Supplement 1 – Ioan-Aurel Pop, Ana Dumitran, Jan Nicolae (eds.), *One Hundred Years Since the Birth of Emil Turdeanu*], p. 185–199.

the coronation of an emperor or a prince¹¹. Philologists inspected the texts written in Romanian, notably the Creed; from their point of view, metropolitan Stephen's Mass books – together with the other liturgical books with Romanian *typikon* ordered by the same hierarch – represent a “transition phase” in the process of “nationalisation of the religious service”¹².

Placing the gradual prominence of Romanian as church language in the context of the ample liturgical transformations of the 17th century, Violeta Barbu convincingly showed that the bilingual or trilingual manuscripts copied during metropolitan Stephen's tenure or at his request indicate the beginning of a true “liturgical reform”¹³. In his study of the Greek fragments inserted in the manuscript held in Bucharest, Andronikos Falangas proved that the conception of this Liturgical guidebook bears witness to the confluence of three cultural currents: “[...] that of a waning Slavonism, moving away from its Balkan hearths, that of the autochthonous Romanian civilization striving to gain in status, and, finally, that of a Hellenism oppressed by the Ottoman domination, which will find the force to restore itself and which already announces its remarkable influence beyond the Danube, before flourishing under the Phanariot princes of Wallachia and Moldavia.”¹⁴

Sharing the Greek researcher's opinion that Stephen's Mass books are a testimony to the “cultural conflicts and rivalries” in 17th century Wallachia, I shall now delve into the question of the “cohabitation mechanism” among the three languages of the codices. Based on Paul of Aleppo's description of the travels of his father, Patriarch Makāriyūs of Antioch, I shall attempt an explanation for the unusual multilingual liturgical initiative of the Wallachian first-hierarch.

3.

A first set of clues regarding the liturgical model followed by the Mass Book ordered by metropolitan Stephen can be deduced from the tight relationship between the representatives of the cultural and religious élites in mid-17th century

¹¹ Violeta Barbu, Gheorghe Lazăr, *Coronatio. Tradiția liturgică în țările române*, in Gheorghe Lazăr, Ovidiu Cristea (eds.), *Național și universal în istoria românilor. Studii oferite Prof. dr. Șerban Papacostea cu ocazia împlinirii a 70 de ani*, Bucharest, 1998, p. 40–68; Radu G. Păun, *Les fondements liturgiques*, p. 173–196.

¹² Violeta Barbu, *Preliminarii*. I; eadem, *Preliminarii la studiul naționalizării serviciului divin: unificarea versiunilor Simbolului credinței (1660–1713)*. II, “Revista de Istorie și Teorie Literară”, 39 (1991), p. 351–363; eadem, *Purgatoriul misionarilor*, p. 459 sq.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 445, 452–456.

¹⁴ Andronikos Falangas, *Recherches sur la transcription du grec en cyrillique dans un pontifical slavo-gréco-roumain du XVII^e siècle*, “Cahiers Balkaniques”, 16 (1990) [*Les noms d'outils dans les langues balkaniques*], p. 213–237.

Wallachia and the representatives of the Ruthenian Orthodoxy, led by Peter Mogila until 1646¹⁵.

This model – the *Leitourgiarion* edited in 1629 at the Great Monastery of the Caves, and not the one thoroughly revised in 1639 – is Ruthenian, as are most of the liturgical books printed during the reign of Matthew Basarab, from the Slavonic *Molitvenic* dated 1635 to the Slavonic *Târmosanie* with Romanian *typikon*, printed in 1652 in Târgoviște¹⁶. Neither the Kiev edition nor the intermediate manuscript it followed had been the first option; the metropolitan had refused several types of liturgical books, whose indications for the celebrant were too sketchy to please him. However, ultimately it was the Kiev edition that was selected. It exemplified “the custom of what is done” at the Great Church in Constantinople and at the Holy Mountain, it had been carefully corrected based on Greek sources, and it had an ample list of indications¹⁷.

However, the 1629 Slavonic *Leitourgiarion* did not contain any prayers in Greek. Why does Stephen’s *Pontifical* therefore include them? Why does the Wallachian metropolitan order a codex where the Greek texts are often transliterated phonetically into a beautiful Cyrillic semi-uncial? Had one written the fragments which had to be read by the hierarch in characters that were easily understood because Stephen was not proficient in Greek, or at least not at ease with the Greek alphabet¹⁸?

¹⁵ For Mogila and his liturgical projects, see Paul Meyendorff, *The Liturgical Reforms of Peter Moghila: A New Look*, “St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly”, 29 (1985), 2, p. 101–114; Francis J. Thomson, *Peter Mogila’s Ecclesiastical Reforms and the Ukrainian Contribution to Russian Culture. A Critique of Georges Florovsky’s Theory of the Pseudomorphosis of Orthodoxy*, “Slavica Gandensia”, 20 (1993), p. 67–119. See also Ihor Ševčenko, *The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla*, “Harvard Ukrainian Studies”, 8 (1984), 1–2, p. 9–44; Alfons Brüning, *Peter Mohyla’s Orthodox and Byzantine Heritage. Religion and Politics in the Kievan Church Reconsidered*, in Hans-Joachim Torke (ed.), *Von Moskau nach St. Petersburg. Das russische Reich im 17. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 2000, p. 63–90.

¹⁶ For details, see P. P. Panaitescu, *L’influence de l’œuvre de Pierre Mogila, archevêque de Kiev, dans les principautés roumaines*, in “Mélanges de l’École Roumaine en France”, 1 (1926), p. 26–34 [= *Influența operei lui Petru Movilă, arhiepiscop al Kievului, în Principatele Române*, in idem, *Petru Movilă. Studii*, Ștefan S. Gorovei, Maria Magdalena Székely (eds.), Bucharest, 1996, p. 25–32]; Dan Simonescu, Damian P. Bogdan, *Începuturile culturale ale domniei lui Matei Basarab*, “Biserica Ortodoxă Română”, 56 (1938), 11–12, p. 866–880; Gabriel Ștrempel, *Sprrijinul acordat de Rusia țiparului românesc în secolul al XVII-lea*, “Studii și Cercetări de Bibliologie”, 1 (1955), p. 15–40; Violeta Barbu, *Purgatoriul misionarilor*, p. 447–452; Alin-Mihai Gherman (ed.), *Evangelie învățătoare (Govora, 1642)*, Bucharest, 2011, p. 5 sq. For Stephen’s *Arhieratikon*, see Zamfira Mihail, *Considerații privind textul slav al ms. rom. 1790*, în *Manuscris trilingv*, p. 67–106.

¹⁷ For details, see Cătălina Velculescu, Ovidiu Olar, *Ms. rom. 1790. Raporturi cu Movilă 1629 și cu ms. 1264 de la Cluj*, în *Manuscris trilingv*, p. 33–66; Zamfira Mihail, *Considerații*.

¹⁸ See also Alexandru Elian, *Elemente de paleografie greco-română*, in *Documente privind istoria României. Introducere*, I, Bucharest, 1956, p. 379 [= idem, *Bizanțul, Biserica și cultura românească*, Iași, 2003, p. 247]. Andronikos Falangas, *Recherches*, p. 232–233, does not exclude the possibility that the metropolitan was thinking of future users who would be unfamiliar with the Greek language.

That is quite a plausible explanation. Although we only have a limited and fragmentary knowledge of the arch-metropolitan's education – and he most certainly did not preside over the theological discussions described by Arsenij Sukhanov!¹⁹ –, there is ample evidence that Greek was not really accessible to the educated Romanians in Wallachia at the time.

The priest-monk Melchizedek of Peloponnesus states it unequivocally in the foreword to the *Teachings for every day* (*Învățături preste toate zilele*) published in 1642:

„Iar nvățăturile aceastea, eale să află scrise pre limbă grecească, carele nu le pot nțeleage toți oamenii țărâi noastre ai vremii de acum. Iar noi, ieromonah Melhisedec, igumen sfintei mănăstiri unde iaste hramulŭ Uspeniei preacistii Bogorodiți, pohtit-amŭ și am nevoit de le-am scos pre limbă rumânească, ca să fie de treabă și de folos nu numai celŭrŭ ce știu, ce și celora, proștiu, ce nu știu...” [“And these teachings, they are written in Greek, which cannot be understood by all the people in our country in the present day. And we, priest-monk Melchizedek, hegumen of the holy monastery consecrated to the Dormition of the Holy Mother of God, willed and worked to have them published in Romanian, so they may be handy and useful not only to those who can speak Greek, but also to those poor people who do not...”]²⁰

The correspondence of Pantaleo Ligaridi, the erudite of Chios, confirms it. Educated at the Greek College of Rome and sent as a missionary to Constantinople, Ligaridi leaves the capital of the Ottoman Empire on 16 October 1646 and sets up residence in Târgoviște. The *postelnic* Constantine Cantacuzenus had offered him 50 reals per month, food and clothing for himself and one of his nephews, in exchange for teaching two of his sons²¹. “Fo schola greca, e latina, insegnando a i primi del paese”, writes Pantaleo to the Roman Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* on 3 October 1649, trying to persuade them that he should remain listed on the usual pay slips²². “Per spatio di quattro anni m'affaticai insegnando a duodeci

¹⁹ Cléobule Tsourkas, *Les débuts de l'enseignement philosophique et de la libre pensée dans les Balkans. La vie et l'œuvre de Théophile Corydalée (1570–1646)*, Salonica, 1967², p. 142. For Stephen, see Nicolae Șerbănescu, *Mitropoliții Ungrovlahiei*, “Biserica Ortodoxă Română”, 77 (1959), 7–10, p. 775–776, 778–779; Radu Crețeanu, *Un egumen al Tismanei: Mitropolitul Ștefan I al Ungrovlahiei*, “Mitropolia Olteniei”, 29 (1977), 1–3, p. 119–139.

²⁰ W. van Eeden (ed.), *Învățături preste toate zilele (1642). Édition et étude linguistique II. Texte, index des mots, glossaire et fac-similés*, Amsterdam, 1985, p. 509. For Melchizedek, see Violeta Popescu, *O personalitate a Câmpulungului din veacul al XVII-lea: Melchisedec din Peloponez*, “Muzeul Câmpulung Muscel. Studii și comunicări”, 3 (1984), p. 57–61.

²¹ Francisc Pall, *Les Relations de Basile Lupu avec l'Orient orthodoxe et particulièrement avec le patriarcat de Constantinople, envisagées surtout d'après les lettres de Ligaridis*, “Balcania”, 8 (1945), p. 134 (n° XXII – Fra Jacinto Ingoli to Francesco Ingoli, Pera, 30 October 1646), 136 (n° XXIII – Fra Gregorio de Magistris to the Cardinals of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, Pera, 24 November 1646) and note 5, p. 136–137. See also Victor Papacostea, *Les origines de l'enseignement supérieur en Valachie*, RESEE, 1 (1963), 1–2, p. 20.

²² G. Călinescu, *Altre notizie sui missionari cattolici nei Paesi Romeni*, “Diplomatarium Italicum”, 2 (1930), p. 379 (n° XXVI); Victor Papacostea, *Les origines*, p. 24. On 26 June, Ligaridi had already written that without financial assistance, he would have „di lasciar questa schola” and return to Rome in order to make a living – G. Călinescu, *Altre notizie*, p. 378 (n° XXV); Victor Papacostea, *Les origines*, p. 29.

giovani Rhetorica, è Logica in lingua greca, e Latina, che realmente sono i primi di questo paese”, he elaborates on 12 August 1650, hoping to obtain a favourable outcome to his – previously ignored – requests for subsidies.²³

In a fundamental study dedicated to the “origins of higher education in Wallachia”, Victor Papacostea analyses, with his usual finesse, the sources regarding the establishment and the functioning of this school, including the excerpt from the preface of the *Guide to the Law (Îndreptarea legii)* published in 1652, where the translator, monk Daniil, warmly thanks his teachers – perfect, famous, and most deft in the Godly Scriptures – Ignatios Petritzis and Panteleimon Ligaridi²⁴. An unpublished epistle of 14 October 1647 provides some additional details. Having taken refuge to Bucharest when Târgoviște was struck by the plague, among his requests for money and recommendations, Ligaridi underlines the progress made by his students under the prince’s gaze, and the fact that he himself was their only teacher. “Li scholari seguitano bene, e per esser li loro padri homini della corte, van sempre in compagnia de Prencipe, e li loro figlioli non perdono tempo, anzi crescono, non essendo altro maestro...”²⁵

I do not believe that the desire to exaggerate his own merits was the one that determined Pantaleo to flout his conational Petritzis. In November 1648, as he was visiting Târgoviște, Peter Bogdan Bakšić, the archbishop of Sofia, also mentions solely Ligaridi “for keeping the Greek and Latin school” and preaching on feast days in Greek²⁶. I rather think that the school in question, reserved to the children of the country’s élite and being moved together with their families, initially had only Pantaleo as teacher, while Ignatius may have joined at a later date.

Nonetheless, the versatile missionary had become by 1650 a close collaborator of Patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem²⁷. He serves him as interpreter in the talks with Fra Venanzo Berardi, commissioner-general of the Franciscan monks, and is flattered to accept his designation as archpresbyter of the Holy Sepulchre²⁸. On 29 September, he writes the epistle which would be sent by the Patriarch and

²³ G. Călinescu, *Altre notizie*, p. 396 (n° XLIII).

²⁴ Victor Papacostea, *Les origines*, p. 7–39. See also Violeta Barbu, *Purgatoriul misionarilor*, p. 697–699.

²⁵ Mentioned by Violeta Barbu (*ibidem*, p. 395, 698), the letter is edited herewith, at the end of the present study.

²⁶ G. Călinescu, *Altre notizie*, p. 368 (n° XXII); Maria Holban, Maria Matilda Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, Paul Cernovodeanu (eds.), *Călători străini despre țările române*, V, Bucharest, 1973, p. 260. Victor Papacostea believes that Ligaridis is solely mentioned because he was the school’s Principal (*Les origines*, p. 29).

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 35–36.

²⁸ G. Călinescu, *Altre notizie*, p. 395 (n° XLII – Ligaridis to the *Propaganda*, Wallachia, 5 August 1650), 396 (n° XLIII – Ligaridis to the *Propaganda*, Wallachia, 12 August 1650).

brought by Sukhanov to hetman Bogdan Khmel'nitsky²⁹. This fact proves Ligaridi's privileged position: the chart whereby on the same day Paisios confirms *vătaf* Neagu's possession of a piece of land in Băcălești is written by another "scribe of the patriarch of Jerusalem"³⁰.

On 4 November, Ligaridi already notified the *Propaganda Fide* that he is considering accompanying Paisios to the Holy Land, because he had proposed to him the archbishopric of Bethlehem³¹. In July 1651 he was heading towards Jerusalem. On 14 September 1652 he was anointed *Orthodox* metropolitan of Gaza. He soon began a series of twelve sermons dedicated to the twelve Christian major holidays. His teaching activities in Târgoviște were by then a closed chapter³².

If that was the fate of the "first high school" teaching in Latin and Greek in Wallachia, then one should not be surprised at finding some Greek fragments written in Cyrillic characters according to the typical Greek rules for pronunciation in metropolitan Stephen's Mass book. Andronikos Falangas's careful analysis of the transcription rules affords an additional explanation for this insertion. On one hand, the Greek historian noted both inconsistencies in the transcription and frequent grammatical errors, showing that in all likelihood the scribe was influenced by a prototype. On the other hand, he showed the copyists' constant hesitation between the application of the Greek orthographic and punctuation rules and facilitating a correct pronunciation by a reader who was insufficiently or not at all familiar with Greek³³.

²⁹ Boris L. Fonkič, *Две греческие грамоты к Богдану Хмельницкому*, in *Florilegium. К 60-летию Б. Н. Флори*, Moscow, 2000, 428 sq. [= Idem, *Греческие рукописи и документы в России в XIV – начале XVIII в.*, Moscow, 2001, p. 421 sq.].

³⁰ Violeta Barbu, Constanța Ghițulescu, Andreea Iancu, Gheorghe Lazăr, Oana Rizescu (ed.), DRH V. *Țara Românească XXXV* (1650), p. 313–317 (n° 294); Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, Mihail G. Regleanu, *Culegere de facsimile pentru Școala de Arhivistică – serie greacă*, Fasc. I (Nr. 1–25), Bucharest, 1942, n° 13, p. 6–7, pl. IX. For this scribe, very active in Târgoviște, including in the service of Makāriyūs, yet whose identity remains unknown for the moment, see Vera G. Tchentsova, *Греческие грамоты антиохийского патриарха Макария 50-х гг. XVII в. из собрания Российского государственного архива древних актов*, in *Исторические традиции русско-сирийских культурных и духовных связей: миссия антиохийского патриарха Макария и дневники архидиакона Павла Алеппского. К 350-летию посещения патриархом Макарием Антиохийским и архидиаконом Павлом Алеппским Москвы. Четвертые чтения памяти профессора Николая Федоровича Кантерева*, Moscow, 2006, p. 45–51, 56; eadem, *Филиграноведение в изучении греческих документов XVII в.*, in *Историография, источниковедение, история России X–XX вв. Сборник статей в честь Сергея Николаевича Кустерева*, St Petersburg, 2008, p. 210–211, 222–223.

³¹ G. Călinescu, *Altre notizie*, p. 395 (n° XLIX – Ligaridis to the *Propaganda*, Târgoviște, 4 November 1650); Serghei A. Belokurov, *Арсений Суханов I*, p. 275; Perikles G. Zerlendis, *Παΐσιου Λιγαρείδου ὁμολογία πίστεως*, "Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος", 6 (1901), p. 49–50. For the sermons, see the study of Konstantinos Dyonuniotis in *Νέα Σιών* 17 (1922), p. 374–388.

³² Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, *Academiile domnești din București și Iași*, Bucharest, 1971, p. 23 [= eadem, *Les Académies Princières de Bucarest et de Jassy et leurs professeurs*, Salonika, 1974, p. 22].

³³ Andronikos Falangas, *Recherches*, especially p. 233–234.

4.

Another indirect answer emerges from Arsenij Sukhanov's description of a voyage to the Holy Shrine: metropolitan Stephen often celebrated mass together with Greek-speaking hierarchs, such as Patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem³⁴.

„When the Patriarch celebrated with the Wallachian metropolitan, he decided that the metropolitan say «Take, eat», «Drink of it» and «Your own gifts in all». But on another holy day when he celebrated with the same metropolitan, the Patriarch said «Take, eat» and «Drink of it», deciding that the metropolitan say «Your own gifts in all»³⁵.

Yet there is Paul of Aleppo's testimony that really unveils the meaning and purpose of the trilingual manuscripts commissioned by the metropolitan Stephen. Paul mentions repeatedly in his travel journal the liturgical services celebrated in Târgoviște by his father, patriarch Makāriyūs of Antioch, together with other hierarchs from the South of Danube, and with the Wallachian metropolitan.

“Our lord the Patriarch celebrated mass together with Kyr Gabriel, the Serbian archbishop, and with the metropolitan of Wallachia...” (6 November 1653 – St Nicholas);

“When our lord the Patriarch stood beside his throne before reading the epistle, he mentioned the Prince's name, then the metropolitan's name, according to the customs, and the singers <deacons> repeated it outside the <sanctuary>; then I, the archdeacon <of the Patriarch> of Antioch, uttered the diptychs to our lord the Patriarch, the priests sang them within the altar, and the singers <deacons> sang outside the <altar>, while one of the choirs <sang> in Romanian and the other in Greek. The archdeacon of the Serbian archbishop did the same as the archdeacon of the Wallachian metropolitan; they each uttered the diptychs of their own metropolitan. Then, our lord the Patriarch celebrated the Liturgy with great pomp...”;

“We then entered the church, where our lord the Patriarch put on the holy dress, as did the metropolitan, then Kyr Gabriel, the archbishop of the Serbs, and the other chief higumens of the monasteries; and each of them held a precious crucifix in his hand...” (6 January 1654 – the Lord's Baptism);

“Our lord the Patriarch said the first closing sentence, then the metropolitan passed incense <just like him> and returned to his place whilst saying the second ending... We said three Gospels <in three languages>. Our lord the Patriarch <read it> in Greek within the sanctuary, the metropolitan in Romanian, and I in Arabic...” (25 March 1654 – Easter Sunday);

“A choir sang in Greek and the other <sang> in Romanian... Our lord the Patriarch said the first closing sentence. Then the Metropolitan, the bishops and the higumens passed incense, as is customary, every time the deacon said « Bless us, our Lord... »” (9 April 1654 – Matthew Basarab's funeral);

³⁴ For Sukhanov and his travels, see Serghei A. Belokurov, *Арсений Суханов I. биография Арсения Суханова*; II/1. *Сочинения Арсения Суханова*, Moscow, 1891–1894; Gheorghe G. Bezviconi, *Călători ruși în Moldova și Muntenia*, Bucharest, 1947, p. 45–63; *Călători străini*, V, p. 399–412; Vassa Larin, *The Byzantine Hierarchical Divine Liturgy*, p. 41–58.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 116.

“I witnessed the Liturgy in our monastery. After the Liturgy they performed the kneeling service and our lord the Patriarch said the prayers in Arabic and in Greek, as is customary” (May 14, 1654 – Whitsunday)³⁶.

The Wallachian metropolitan who celebrated together with Makāriyūs in 1653–1654 is none other than Ignatius the Serb, the “venerable old man” who spoke Turkish, Persian, Greek, and Romanian, and replaced Stephen when he was stripped of his functions and sent to a monastery, because he had participated in a plot to poison the prince³⁷. But in 1657, when after a long trip the patriarch of Antioch returns to Târgoviște, Stephen, who had returned to his throne two years before, celebrates with him on the first Sunday of Lent, in the Maundy Thursday, and on 8 November, at Constantin Șerban’s wedding³⁸. On 30 May 1658, for Whitsunday, the two hierarchs participate in Mihnea III Radu’s coronation service. That same year, they would serve together at the consecration of Constantin Șerban’s monastery in Bucharest, which was to be the next metropolitan See, and also for the Holy Apostles Mass, although Paul of Aleppo, understandably, only mentions his father’s presence at these two events³⁹.

Stephen may have also celebrated together with Nektarios, patriarch of Jerusalem, a guest at Prince Gregory Ghika’s court in 1664, or with Parthenios IV of Constantinople, a guest at Prince Radu Leon’s court in 1665. It is certain that he had plenty of opportunities to recite the closing sentences of the Holy Liturgies in

³⁶ For details, see *Călători străini despre țările române*, VI/1, Bucharest, 1976, p. 107, 111–112, 116, 126–128, 129–130, 137–139, 144–145. See also Ioan Dură, *Les voievodes de Valachie et de Moldavie et les patriarches orthodoxes d’Orient dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle*, “Buletinul Bibliotecii Române (Freiburg i. Br.). Studii și documente românești”, 8 (12), New Series (1980/1981), p. 306–310. For Patriarch Gabriel Rajić of Peć / Ipek (1648–1655, †1659), see Vera G. Tchentsova, *Восточная церковь и Россия после Переяславской рады. 1654–1658. Документы*, Moscow, 2004, p. 49–50, 131–132; eadem, *Икона иверской Богоматери (очерки истории отношений греческой церкви с Россией в середине XVII в. по документам РГАДА)*, Moscow, 2010 (s. v.).

³⁷ For Ignatius, see Al. Iordan, *Ignatie, mitropolitul Țării Românești*, “Cercetări Istorice”, 13–16 (1940), 1–2, p. 385–404; Ion Ionașcu, *Data morții mitropolitului muntean Ignatie Sârbul*, “Revista Istorică Română”, 13 (1943), 2, p. 37–51; Lucian Gafton, *Episcopii de Râmnic: Ignatie Sârbul și Ignatie Grecul*, “Mitropolia Olteniei”, 9 (1957), p. 45–56; Nicolae Șerbănescu, *Mitropoliții Ungrovlahiei*, “Biserica Ortodoxă Română”, 77 (1959), 7–10, p. 776–778; Șerban Răzeșul [Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu], *Despre mitropolitul Ignatie Sârbul*, “Biserica Ortodoxă Română”, 78 (1960), 11–12, p. 1054–1077; idem, *Iarăși despre mitropolitul Ignatie Sârbul*, “Biserica Ortodoxă Română”, 82 (1964), 11–12, p. 1085–1099; Ștefan Andreescu, *Popa Ignatie din Nicopol, episcop de Râmnic și mitropolit al Țării Românești. O identificare*, “Revista Istorică”, New Series, 20 (2009), 5–6, p. 413 sq. [= idem, *Identifying the Priest Ignatie of Nicopolis as Bishop of Râmnic and Metropolitan of Wallachia*, “Études Balkaniques”, 46 (2010), 3, p. 158–164].

³⁸ *Călători străini*, VI/1, p. 174, 175–176, 237.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 262–266. For an excellent analysis, see Radu G. Păun, *Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos? Mihnea III: note de teologie politică*, in *Național și universal în istoria românilor*, p. 69–99; idem, *Pouvoir, Croisade et Jugement Dernier au XVII^e siècle: le vécu et l’invisible*, in Ivan Biliarsky (ed.), *Ius et ritus. Rechtshistorische Abhandlungen über Ritus, Macht und Recht*, Sofia, 2006, p. 213–283.

Greek and that a bilingual Mass book, both in Slavonic and Greek, would have been quite useful to him⁴⁰.

We deem such practice to be representative for the cultural circle gravitating around the metropolitan of Wallachia, who was not only situated at the crossroads between two worlds, one defined by Peter Mogila's personality and activity, and one dependant on the ecumenical patriarchate, but also affected by deep local specificities or, rather, needs and limitations⁴¹. In other words, the Greek texts in the trilingual Mass books commissioned by Stephen, such as *BAR Ms. rom. 1790* and *BAR Ms. rom. Cluj 1216*, reflect both a necessity, that of celebrating the liturgy in a multilingual context, and an aspiration, that of positioning oneself within the "authentic" tradition⁴².

As for Paul of Aleppo's importance as an eye-witness to the liturgical traditions of the Christian East, I think that the example I have chosen has definitely helped build a case – a case that future research will make stronger.

⁴⁰ *Hurmuzaki XIV/1*, p. 202–203 (n^o CCLXXIV); Marin M. Braniște, *Patriarhi de Constantinopol prin Țările române în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea*, "Mitropolia Olteniei", 10 (1958), 1, p. 52. For the presence of Eastern patriarchs in Wallachia, see I. Pulpea-Rămureanu, *Legăturile Patriarhiei de Alexandria cu Țările Române*, "Studii Teologice", 8 (1956), 1–2, p. 59–80; Ilie Georgescu, *Legăturile Țărilor Române cu Ierusalimul. Patriarhii Ierusalimului în Țările Române (veacurile al XVII-lea și al XVIII-lea)*, "Studii Teologice", 8 (1956), 1–2, p. 349–362; Alexandru Elian, *Legăturile Mitropoliei Ungrovlahiei cu Patriarhia de Constantinopol și cu celelalte Biserici ortodoxe (de la întemeiere până la 1800)*, "Biserica Ortodoxă Română", 77 (1959), 11–12, p. 904–935 [= *Idem*, *Bizanțul*, 2003, p. 141–180]; Ioan Dură, *Sfințirea Sfântului și Marelui Mir în Biserica Ortodoxă Română – secolele XVI–XIX*, "Biserica Ortodoxă Română", 103 (1985), 7–8, p. 549–569; *idem*, *Les voievodes*, p. 291–338.

⁴¹ For these "cercles de culture", see Evelyne Patlagean, *Discours écrit, discours parlé. Niveaux de culture à Byzance aux VIII^e–XI^e siècles (note critique)*, "Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations", 34 (1979), 2, p. 274.

⁴² It is important to notice that in the Greek *Leitourgiarion* copied by Sister Melania in Lvov in 1620, a *Leitourgiarion* that bears the signature of Peter Mogila (Romanian National Museum of Art, *Ms. 15*), the Slavonic text was copied in the margins, here and there. See Liana Tugearu, *Muzeul Național de Artă al României. Miniatura și ornamentul manuscriselor din colecția de artă medievală românească I. Manuscrise bizantine și grecești medievale târzii*, Bucharest, 1996, p. 129–134, fig. XVI–XIX (p. 148–151).

Pantaleo Ligaridi to Francesco Ingoli. Bucharest, 14 October 1647. DANIC Bucharest – *Microfilme Vatican*, reel 18, frame 130 (APF – SOCG 177, f. 274').

Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Signor,

Ringratio sommamente Vostra Signoria Illustrissima per il decreto et per le facultà rinovatomi⁴³. Aspetto solamente che mi si rimetti anco la mia missione già finita. Con le passate, ho significato a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima che se farà la rimessa in Venetia a Signor Giulio Bulgarici, qui mi pagara il Signor Dottor Giovanni Mascellini, medico di questa eccellenza⁴⁴; ma se ciò non li piacesse, mi rimetto alla solita sua prudenza⁴⁵. Qui lo passiamo un poco male per la peste che travaglia Trigovisto, che pero siamo necessitati girar hor quindi, hor quinci, non senza aggravio e spese. Li scholari seguitano bene, e per esser li loro padri homini della corte, van sempre in compagnia de Prencipe, e li loro figlioli non perdono tempo, anzi crescono, non essendo altro maestro. Con la prima occasione mandaro al Collegio il mio nepote, già ricevuto, ma per le cative strade, non ho potuto mandarlo, che pero l'Eminentissimo Cardinale protettore, già che ha fatto la grazia, spero che mi perdonera per la tardanza, non essendo mia colpa. Raccomando di nuovo quel maestro Arabo, perche sarà molto utile alla stampa e potrebbe far un bello dizionario Arabo e turchesco⁴⁶. Di quelli libri che ho scritto, principalmente delle controversie del Cardinal Bellarmino e della Somma di S. Thomaso, supplico di nuovo la Sacra Congregazione che mi la mandi, perche mi sono piu che necessarij⁴⁷. Massime hora che non ho li miei libri, ma mi li ha presso con fraude quel Matteo Rendi, che meritarebbe scomunicarlo per il torto che mi ha fatto privandomi di tanti libri che con tanto sudore havevo radunato⁴⁸. Finisco pregando

⁴³ Ligaridi had received the permission to stay in Wallachia. See Francisc Pall, *Les relations de Basile Lupu*, p. 138 (n° XXIV – Ligaridi to Francesco Ingoli, Târgoviște, 23 March 1648 and note 2; G. Călinescu, *Altre notizie*, p. 430–431 (n° XCI – Ligaridi to Bakšić, archbishop of Sofia, 1652).

⁴⁴ For Mascellini, see Nicolae Vătămanu, *Contribution à l'étude de la vie et de l'œuvre de Giovanni Mascellini, médecin et secrétaire princier*, RESEE, 16 (1978), 2, p. 269–287; Cristian Luca, *Dacoromano-Italica. Studi e ricerche sui rapporti italo-romeni nei secoli XVI–XVIII*, Cluj-Napoca, 2008 (s. v).

⁴⁵ Ligaridi requested insistently the payment of the 60 *scudi* per year he was entitled to as an apostolic missionary. The *Propaganda* had ceased this payment the moment it had found out that Pantaleo was on the pay roll of *postelnic* Cantacuzenus. Only on 4 November 1650 had Pantaleo reasons to thank Rome for the reimbursement of the 240 *scudi*; see G. Călinescu, *Altre notizie*, p. 400–401 (n° XLIX).

⁴⁶ For the moment, we do not know who this “Arab master” was.

⁴⁷ Violeta Barbu believes that the two volumes served as didactic material (*Purgatoriul misionarilor*, p. 698). Be it as it may, the books were sent long after the beginning of the classes; see DANIC Bucharest – *Microfilme Vatican*, reel 71, frames 28, 30.

⁴⁸ On 18 February 1643, from Galata, Ligaridi asked Ingoli to write to a certain gentleman Moroni in Messina and to request the sending of the books Matteo Rendi had left in his care. On 28 March, he reiterated his request, “perche tutti li miei libri stanno in mano sua, come mi disse et

Vostra Signoria Illustrissima che sempre habbia l'occhio sopra Carlo, mio nepote, accio che faci profitto e serva la chiesa catholica a sui tempi e suplisca li mei mancamenti, quali Vostra Signoria Illustrissima, come benigno Padre soporta e perdona.

Da Boccoresti di Vallachia.
1647 alli 14 di Ottobre,

Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima et Reverendissima humillissimo e devotissimo
servitore Dottor Pantaleo Ligaridi Missionario Apostolico.

scrisse Signor Matteo Rendi, che hora si ritrova in Smirne, non havendo havuto commodita di passar da Messina per ripigliarli et portarmili". See Francisc Pall, *Les relations de Basile Lupu...*, p. 101, 105 (n° V, VIII). It seems though that Mr Rendi made himself the owner of Pantaleo's library.