

The Reform of the Romanian Liturgy at the Beginning of the 18th Century

Anthim the Iberian and His Legacy

DUMITRU A. VANCA, MIHAIL K. QARAMAH

WITHOUT GETTING into historiographical disputes regarding the chronological boundaries delimitating modernity according to generally valid concepts and events,¹ the present paper uses the term ‘modernity’ in its fundamental sense of *current*, *contemporary*, in opposition to *classical*, *traditional*. It would be difficult to find a generally accepted definition, as defining modernity involves perspectives, context and the angle from which one approaches the issue; even in the same epoch, the artist, the philosopher, the politician or the theologian may have different views on modernity. Therefore the term can be applied to different periods, to various milieus and perspectives, the only condition being to keep the antithetical tension “old-new.”²

Therefore, all the events or processes that conspicuously change the classic paradigms can be considered landmarks in establishing the boundaries of modernity (or premodernity). For instance, the landmark for the *leitourgia*³ of the Romanian Church can be ab initio the appearance of the first formularies printed on the territory of the Romanian Principalities (1508–1512), regarding this technical, as well as cultural event as the cause of this *revolution* which imposes change and initiates the process of unification and homogenization of these formularies. For a chronology of the modernity of the Romanian liturgy one should take into account the process of translating liturgical texts into Romanian. Undoubtedly, this dissociation of the local events from the universal trends and macro events might appear as a sort of Balkan autarchy. However, local realities have always been asynchronous to the universal main trend. Consequently, defining a kind of modernity in the Romanian Orthodox Church must attend to the specific context and to those landmarks which can be included in the antithetical binomial classic (old)–modern (current).

1. The Romanian Orthodox Church and Its Own Modernity

LATE FEUDALISM, the governing system and the lack of a powerful identity and national consciousness made Romanians experience modernity later than Western countries. Analyzing the political and cultural events of Romanian society diachronically, it could be argued that the Romanian Orthodox Church entered modernity only at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁴ Nevertheless, from a liturgical point of view, we will mark the start of the modern epoch in the year 1885, when the Church gained autocephaly, an event which created an absolute and definitive canonical and especially liturgical independence for the Romanian Orthodox Church.

After establishing this chronological landmark, in a natural and logical way, the previous period must be included in what would be called the ecclesial premodernity of the Romanian Church,⁵ that era of reforms without a Reform.⁶ The present paper will identify those structural and general elements which define and characterize this period from a liturgical point of view, highlighting the manner in which adopting some unique euchological models contributed to the emergence of a unitary ecclesial and confessional conscience, which was in some ways almost adverse to the historical and political realities that made Romanians live in separated principalities.

In this period, in the absence of some clear chronological milestones, we can still distinguish a few stages marked by cultural and liturgical realities which determined significant alterations compared to the previous epoch:

a) The period of translations as private initiatives (from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century)—characterized by the appearance of unsystematic manuscript texts with various, non-homogenous formularies. In this period, either under the influence of personal needs or under the influence of the Reformation (in Transylvania), local initiatives determined the emergence of a specific language of the Romanian *leitourgia*. The manuscripts circulated in parallel with officially printed editions that were still too expensive and were accessible only with difficulty. Identifying the sources is quite difficult for this period, because the lack of information makes it almost impossible to clarify whether a manuscript reproduces a printed text or the other way around. However, this is the moment when there appeared a technical liturgical language; the liturgical expressions and formulae acquire greater and more uniform consistence and stability. For example, even if for the same formulary one can identify different sources, the formulas of ektenes/litanies etc. are permanent and contribute decisively to the uniformization of the liturgical language. Under the pressure of the neighboring models, the three Romanian regions produced translations and/or printed editions from various sources: Slavic-Ruthenian, Middle-Bulgarian, Serbian or Greek. This epoch is also characterized by the awareness of the necessity of some unifying formularies, liturgical directives and rubrics.⁸

b) The liturgical reform of Anthim the Iberian, the unification of liturgical formularies and the generalization of the Anthimian editions (the eighteenth century). Starting with 1706, the year when Anthim published the Great Euchologion in Râmnic (with the three Liturgies), and up to the end of the eighteenth century, the Euchologion of

Anthim the Iberian imposes itself on the entire territory inhabited by Romanians. Under one form or another, due to historical circumstances, all the editions of the Euchologion and of the Hieratikons in this period are versions of Anthim's editions. Sometimes the similarities even include the repetition of errors in successive editions.⁹ The contemporary Romanian Euchologion is still tributary to the Anthimian one.

c) The period of the introduction of the Latin alphabet (1859–1885). This period is more relevant for the history of literature than for the history of the *leitourgia*, in the sense that it was the time when the supradialectal norms of the literary language were introduced. For the Church, the only notable fact is the introduction of the Latin alphabet for written texts. As a result, this period is at the very most in the epoch of the premodernity of the Romanian Orthodox Church. Autocephaly ended this period and placed the Romanian Orthodox Church in a new context of ecclesial history.

2. Anthim's Euchologion: An Instrument of the Unification and Homogenization of the Romanian Liturgy

IT MAY appear exaggerated to call Anthim the Iberian's editorial project a reform; Violeta Barbu has no doubts in this respect.¹⁰ However, she does not analyze the issue in detail, limiting her observations to a few criteria of the Anthimian reform to support her allegation: the use of several sources (the selection of printed texts and the use of Romanian texts in the autochthonous manuscripts) and the adoption of the biblical-canonic argumentation for the use of the vernacular language (1 Cor. 14.6—Coresi's argument and the commentary of Theodor Balsamon on the freedom to use the vernacular languages—the argument of Dosoftei). We do not know whether he was aware of the reforming role of his endeavor. However, it is certain that Anthim the Iberian had a unique influence on the worship of the Romanian Orthodox Church. His ascension to the episcopal see of Râmnic and then to the Metropolitan See of Wallachia marks the changing of the liturgical paradigm (at least for the Euchologion and for the Hieratikon), as the basic source of the text published by him in 1706 is no longer of Slavonic origin, like the majority of the editions he printed, but of Greek origin, as stated in the title—*Euchologhion, adică Molitvenic, acum întâi într-acesta chip tipărit și așezat după mînduiala celui grecesc* (Euchologion, now in this way printed and organized according to the order of the Greek one)—and it is reinforced by Anthim himself in an endnote, which indicates the edition of Nikolaos Glykis, printed in Venice in 1691, as its main source (fol. 233r). According to Chipulescu, the editor's preference for the liturgical Greek tradition, to the detriment of the Slavonic one can be explained by taking into account Anthim's cultural background in the Greek ecclesial milieu in Constantinople, as well as the lack of trust in the liturgical books of Slavonic origin, impregnated with Latin theological influences, visible in the books of Peter Mohyla, completely removed by the reform of Nikon.¹¹

Our arguments demonstrate that the changes brought about by Anthim through his Euchologion were fairly radical ones (especially in certain liturgical Offices), marking an

important shift in liturgical practice in all three Romanian provinces at the beginning of the eighteenth century. We will compare the formularies of the Holy Mysteries included in the Euchologion from Râmnic, 1706 (= RÂM) to the ones included in the four editions of the Euchologion printed in the Romanian territory in the seventeenth century: the Slavic Euchologion from Câmpulung—1635 (= CL), the Romanian Euchologion from Iași—1681, edited by Metropolitan Dosoftei (= DOS), the Romanian Euchologion from Bălgrad—1689 (BLG) and the bilingual Euchologion (Slavic-Romanian) from Buzău—1699 (= BUZ). CL, BLG and BUZ follow the Slavic liturgical tradition, while DOS represents a synthesis of the contemporary Slavic and Greek practice.

2.1. Baptismal Rites

IN ALL Euchologia the prebaptismal rites begin with the Ordo on the first day after a woman has given birth to a child. In RÂM and DOS the rite contains only the three prayers for the accouchée (and child), the same as in the Greek Euchologion and the received rite (“O Master, Lord Almighty, Who heals every sickness...,” “O Master, Lord our God, Who wast born of our Most-holy Sovereign Lady...,” “O Lord, our God, Who wast well-pleased to come down from heaven...”). In addition to these, CL, BLG and BUZ had prayers for the midwife and the other women who helped during the labor and afterwards. The Rite at the naming of a child on the eight day after birth does not suffer significant differences in the studied Euchologia. Regarding the Rite of churching on the fortieth day after childbirth, in RÂM the ordo is placed before the Office of Holy Baptism, as in the Greek Euchologion, while in the other Slavic-Romanian Euchologia (except DOS) it is placed after Baptism. RÂM settles the rite of bringing the male child into the sanctuary, a practice which is not mentioned by BUZ and other Slavic-Romanian manuscripts from the 16th–17th centuries (although it is indicated in CL, BLG and DOS).

Regarding the Office of Baptism, RÂM sets permanently the formulas for the prebaptismal anointing, indicated by the Greek Euchologion and previously in DOS, whilst CL and BLG contained only the formula “The servant of God *N* is anointed...” and BUZ had more elaborate formulas also found in the Trebnik of Peter Mohyla¹² (except the last one for the anointment of the feet).

After the threefold immersion, RÂM, just as DOS and BUZ, indicated the triple recitation of Ps. 31, followed by the vesting of the neophyte, while CL and BLG mentioned first the vesting and afterwards the recitation of the Psalm just once. All documents have the present vesting formula, but RÂM, just like DOS and BUZ, specify the chanting of the troparion “Give unto me a shining robe...,” while CL and BLG have instead the scriptural formula: Is. 61,10.

RÂM includes the Rite of abluion in the Office of Baptism, just as DOS and the Greek Euchologion, whereas CL, BLG and BUZ prescribe this rite for the eight day after Baptism and Chrismation. Moreover, in these three Euchologia the Rite of tonsure was attached to the Office of Baptism; however, in RÂM, after the scriptural readings a rubric prescribed the *ektene* and the dismissal; then, another rubric, absent from the Greek Euchologion,

allowed the celebrant to follow the ancient custom of performing the ablution and tonsure on the eighth day, or immediately after the Office of Baptism and Chrismation, according to the local practice.

2.2. Betrothal, Coronation and Digamia

ACCORDING TO CL, BLG and BUZ, the rite of Betrothal is described as follows: the initial blessing, the litany, the prayer “O God eternal, Who bringest them that are divided unto unity...,” the exchange of rings with the present formula (“The servant/handmaid of God N is betrothed...”), dextrarum iunctio (in BUZ), the kefaloklisia “O Lord our God, Who hast espoused the Church...,” the ektene and dismissal.¹³ RÂM, just like DOS, indicates the exchange of rings after the kefaloklisia and adds the prayer “O Lord our God, Who didst accompany the servant of the patriarch Abraham...,” as in the received rite.

Regarding the Ordo of Coronation, there is a large diversity of redaction in the documents.¹⁴ Although the office begins with Ps. 127 in all Euchologia, the responsorial interpretation (with the refrain “Glory to Thee...”) is mentioned only in DOS, BLG, and RÂM. Then, all documents prescribe the litany. After that, CL and BLG provide only two prayers: “O God most pure, and the Fashioner of all...” and “O Holy God, Who didst form man from the dust...,” while DOS, BUZ, and RÂM add another between the two: “Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God...” Next, according to CL and BLG the priest crowns the spouses, making with the crowns the sign of the cross over their heads and saying a formula taken from Ps. 8,5b–Ps. 20,3b¹⁵ and joining their right hands. DOS mentions the present formula, “The servant/handmaid of God N is crowned for the handmaid/servant of God N, in the name of the Father...,” said only once for each spouse; then, the sponsor exchanges their crowns three times, an act which is not mentioned in the Greek Euchologion. The dextrarum iunctio is not recalled. BUZ has a shorter and older formula than DOS, “The servant/handmaid of God N is crowned in the name of the Father...,”¹⁶ followed by the dextrarum iunctio. According to RÂM, the priest says the present formula three times for each spouse, makes the sign of the cross with the crowns over their heads and blesses them, chanting three times “O Lord our God, crown them with glory and honor,” as in the received practice. In all 17th century Euchologia the crowning is followed by the ancient prayer “O Lord our God, Who didst crown Thy holy Martyrs...,”¹⁷ which is absent in RÂM and fell into disuse. Regarding the scriptural readings, CL, BLG and BUZ prescribe the apostolic lesson according to 1 Cor. 7,7–17, proper to the Slavic tradition,¹⁸ while DOS and RÂM have the current reading according to Eph. 5,20–33. The gospel according to Jn. 2,1–11 is present in all the documents. It is succeeded by an ektene, followed in CL and BLG by the prayer “Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God...,” the litany with aiteiseis, the kiss of peace (after the model of the Eucharistic Liturgy), and the Lord’s Prayer; conversely, in DOS, BUZ, and RÂM, the ektene is followed by the kefaloklisia “O Lord our God, Who in Thy saving providence...,” the litany with aiteiseis and the Lord’s Prayer. After the “Our Father,” CL and BLG mention the call to Communion and the communion of the spouses; this act is re-

garded as optional in BLG. The rite of the common cup follows, which in DOS, BUZ, and RÂM is prescribed right after the Lord's Prayer. Only CL mentions the Pauline exhortation (Phil. 4,4–6).¹⁹ After the spouses have partaken from the common cup, according to CL, BLG, and BUZ, followed the chanting of the Prokeimenon Ps. 79,15–16, accompanied in CL and BLG by the verses: Ps. 111,1a; Ps. 111,2a; Ps. 111,2b–3a and in BUZ only by Ps. 111,2. The liturgical “dance” is not explicitly stated in these three Euchologia. After the Prokeimenon other troparia are provided: “O holy Martyrs, who fought the good fight...,” “Glory to Thee, O Christ God...” and “O Virgin, who only are pure and undefiled...” RÂM, much like DOS, indicates the liturgical “dance” and the three troparia currently in use: “Rejoice, O Isaiah...” and the first two from above. In CL the removal of the crowns is prescribed during the recitation of the prayer “O Lord, our God, Who didst come to Cana...,” which is instead preceded in BLG, DOS, BUZ and RÂM by the current exhortations for the groom and bride (“Be exalted, O bridegroom...” etc.). CL mentions then a procession to the home of the newlyweds, where the priest places the crowns and recites a prayer “for adorning the bride,” which is, in fact, an ancient Palestinian prayer for the blessing of the bedchamber.²⁰ The rite concludes with the dismissal. Although the prayer is also mentioned in BLG, its initial purpose has been lost; thus, a rubric prescribes that the celebrant recites it in church, not at the house of the newlyweds. After the crown-removal prayer, BUZ instructs the priest to make an exhortation to the spouses and dismiss them, while DOS and RÂM prescribe the prayer “May the Father, and the Son...,” after which the sponsor kisses the newlyweds and the priest dismisses them. The Rite for the taking off the Crowns on the eight day is absent from all the documents, although it is present in the Greek Euchologion.

The most significant changes introduced into the Romanian practice by RÂM can be seen in the case of the Office of Digamia. This ordo does not appear in DOS, but in CL, BLG and BUZ it is described as follows: the initial blessing, the Trisagion prayers, the troparion and condakion of the day, the litany, the prayers “O Master, Lord our God, Who sparest all...” and “O Lord Jesus Christ, Word of God...,” the coronation of the spouse who has not been married previously (if it is the case), the readings (Apostle: Eph. 5,25–33; Gospel: Mt. 19,3–12), the prayer “O Lord, our God, Who didst called Abraham friend...,” the ektene and dismissal.²¹ In RÂM, for the first time in the Romanian Euchologion, are included the Scroll of Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople (who states that one married for a second time must not be crowned—as in the old Slavic-Romanian practice), and the Reply of the blessed Nicetas of Heraclea, who allows the coronation of those marrying a second time, according to the practice of the Great Church. These are the primary changes introduced by RÂM: a) the Betrothal is celebrated; b) the first two prayers of the Office of Digamia mentioned above are followed by the third prayer from the Rite of Coronation; c) the crowning of the spouses takes place even if they were married in the past; d) from the scriptural readings onwards the rest of the office is the same as that for a first marriage. The crowning, the rite of the common cup and the liturgical “dance” introduced in the Office of Digamia were, at the beginning of the 18th century, major innovations for Romanian liturgical practice. All these rites expressed a festive and sumptuous flavor, improper for the more penitential and sober character of the old office.

2.3. The Office of Confession

IN THE case of this Office RĂM also brings significant changes to the Romanian liturgical practice. In the 17th century CI., DOS, B.L.G. and BUZ described a complex ordo, which had the following form: initial blessing and prayers, Ps. 50, Ps. 4, the prayer “O Lord, God of our salvation, Merciful and Compassionate, Long-suffering and Greatly-merciful, Who didst bow the heavens...,” Ps. 6, the prayer “O Master Lord Almighty, Who call the righteous to holiness...,” Ps. 12, the prayer “O God, our Savior, Who by Thy prophet Nathan...,” the priestly exhortations to the penitent and the confession, the prayer “O Lord our God, Who didst forgive the sins of Peter and the Harlot...,” the scriptural readings (Apostle: 1 Tim. 1,15–17; Gospel: Mt. 9,9–13), the dismissal; if the penitent was worthy of receiving Communion, the priest recited the absolution prayer “May God Who pardoned David through Nathan...,” but if he was unworthy and assigned a penance at the end of the period of exclusion from Communion, the penitent returned to the priest who recited two prayers “O Deeply-compassionate and Merciful Lord, Who art Good and Lover of Mankind, Who for Thy compassion’s sake, didst send Thine Only-begotten Son into the world...” and “Our Master and Lord Jesus Christ, Who didst command to His disciples and apostles...”²²

Starting with RĂM, this complex office falls into disuse. RĂM has only two prayers for those who repent, just as the Greek Euchologion, namely “O God, our Saviour, Who by Thy prophet Nathan...” and “O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, the Shepherd and the Lamb...” Both prayers are found among the prayers for various needs. The Romanian editor of RĂM, although eager to align the Romanian practice to the contemporary Greek one, is aware of this major change and, at the end of the Euchologion, inserts a short teaching containing the conditions that which must be respected by the spiritual father and a short description of how the rite must be celebrated:

- a) the priest and the penitent stand before the icon of Christ;
- b) the priest says the opening blessing and the initial prayers, followed by Ps. 50;
- c) the priest sits “with honor, as he represents Christ,” while the penitent kneels and bows his head with fear of God and humility;
- d) the priest addresses the penitent: “Behold, child, Christ invisibly stands here...” and the confession follows;
- e) the priest recites the penitential troparia and the two prayers mentioned above;
- f) the rite concludes with an ektene and the usual dismissal.

For the first time in RĂM is included the warning “Behold, child, Christ invisibly stands here...,” which is not part of the Greek practice, but is found in the Trebnik of Mohyla (1646) and of Patriarch Nikon (1658). The Romanian editor did not, however, include the declarative formula of absolution (“May our Lord and God, Jesus Christ... forgive you... and I, an unworthy priest through His power given unto me forgive you and absolve you...”), known in the contemporary Slavic tradition. However, unfortunately, the editor did not maintain the ancient prayer for forgiveness “O Lord our God, Who didst forgive the sins of Peter and the Harlot...,” which from this point on, was no longer part of the Romanian Ordo of Confession.

2.4. The Office of Anointing the Sick

REGARDING THE Office of Anointing the Sick RÂM and DOS have some differences when compared to CL, BLG²³ and BUZ, such as:²⁴

a) within the anaxis the responsorial chanting of “Alleluia” is indicated rather than “God is our Lord...” (as in the Slavic-Romanian Euchologia);

b) the Katavasia “Raise up Thy servant...” prescribed in CL, BLG, and BUZ after each ode of the Canon, is suppressed;

c) the exapostilaria “In mercy, O Good One...” is added after the Canon;

d) RÂM adds in the Romanian practice the blessing “Blessed is the Kingdom...” before the litany of the sanctification of the oil;

e) RÂM replaces definitely in the Romanian practice the eight troparia on each tone dedicated to the Theotokos and chanted during the recitation of the Prayer of the Oil by each priest, proper to the Slavic tradition, with the current troparia dedicated to the Lord, the Theotokos, the Apostle James and other Unmercenaries Healers and Wonderworkers Saints;

f) RÂM, as well as DOS, prescribes the current selection of readings and definitely suppresses the alternative Gospel lessons for the case when the sick is a woman, proper to the Slavic tradition. The differences between RÂM and DOS and the other 17th century Slavic-Romanian Euchologia can be observed in the following table:

		CL, BLG, BUZ	DOS, RÂM
Group 1	Apostle	Jm. 5,10–16	Jm. 5,10–16
	Gospel	Jn. 5,1–15	Lk. 10,25–37
	Gospel (woman)	Mt. 10,5–8	X
Group 2	Apostle	Rm. 15,1–7	Rm. 15,1–7
	Gospel	Lk. 19,1–10	Lk. 19,1–10
	Gospel (woman)	Mk. 6,7–13	X
Group 3	Apostle	1 Cor. 12,27–31; 13,1–8	1 Cor. 12,27–31;13,1–8
	Gospel	Mt. 10,5–8	Mt. 10,5–8
	Gospel (woman)	Lk. 9,1–6	X
Group 4	Apostle	2 Cor. 6,16–18; 7,1	2 Cor. 6,16–18; 7,1
	Gospel	Mk. 6,7–13	Mt. 8,14–23
	Gospel (woman)	Mt. 9,18–26	X
Group 5	Apostle	Gal. 2,16–20	2 Cor. 1,8–11
	Gospel	Jn. 14,28–31; 15,1–7	Mt. 25,1–13
	Gospel (woman)	Mk. 5,24–34	X
Group 6	Apostle	Col. 3,12–16	Gal. 5,22–26; 6,1–2
	Gospel	Lk. 7,36–47	Mt. 15,21–28
	Gospel (woman)	Lk. 8,41–56	X
Group 7	Apostle	Eph. 6,10–17	1 Thess. 5,14–23
	Gospel	Mt. 6,14–21	Mt. 9,9–13
	Gospel (woman)	Mt. 8,14–23	X

g) of the seven prayers heptadic system, CL., B.L.G., and BUZ offer the abbreviated form of the first four, according to the Slavic tradition,²⁵ whilst RÂM maintains only the short version of the first prayer, the others being written in their full form, as in the current version (DOS is the only Euchologion which gives the elaborated version of all the prayers).

3. Why Did Anthim's New Paradigm Succeed?

THE EUCHOLOGION from Râmnic is not the first Romanian edition seeking to change the liturgical structures according to the Greek model. In certain aspects, Dosoftei's Euchologion is even more faithful to the Greek model than RÂM. The difference between the two is that Metropolitan Dosoftei did not abandon in a radical way the liturgical Slavic-Romanian local tradition, which can be clearly seen in the case of the formulary for the Confession of sins.²⁶ Nevertheless, Metropolitan Anthim assumes a radical change, which he suggests in an endnote where he justifies abandoning the formulary for the *Quick Administration of Communion to the Sick* through the fact that this is not to be found in the Greek practice (RÂM, fol. 442r).²⁷

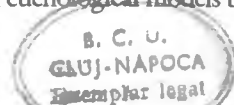
Another difference between DOS and RÂM consists in the impact these two Euchologia had on the Romanians' *leitourgia*. Although similar, the two endeavors had different results: whereas Dosoftei's initiative had a very small influence on Romanian liturgical practice, Anthim's definitively changed the euchological models. Some complained about the clumsy, immature language, full of too many regionalisms,²⁸ others about the tendency to preserve certain local traditions—the possible reason behind these reactive attitudes towards the practices put forward by Dosoftei.

However, perhaps the most important difference between the two Euchologies regards the social, political and ecclesial context in which they were printed. First, from a liturgical point of view, the process of weakening and even abandoning some liturgical practices belonging to the old Slavic-Romanian tradition acquired a powerful character. Influences of the contemporary Greek Euchologia had started to be perceived, either directly or through the revised Slavic Trebniks, favored by the liturgical reforms of Peter Mohyla, the Metropolitan of Kiev, and by Nikon, the Patriarch of Moscow.

Second, Metropolitan Anthim the Iberian worked in a period already acknowledged as “the pinnacle of old Romanian culture in Wallachia,”²⁹ in a Romanian province that acquired under the auspices of the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu

*the position of patron of Orthodoxy, an important characteristic of this epoch being the powerful cultural and ecclesial Greek influence (directed by the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Dositheos and Chrysanthus) on the leading group, but also on the autochthonous local clergy.*³¹

The Greek trend became more emphatic in Wallachia, after the reign of Brâncoveanu, as well as in Moldavia, through the Phanariot rule, which undoubtedly had consequences for the large scale acceptance of the Greek euchological models to the detriment of the Slavic ones.



Third, the Greek theological model (including the liturgical model) represented in the epoch a guarantee of the loyalty to Orthodoxy,³¹ since Uniation had appeared in Transylvania, but also in the context of the weakening of the Ruthenian ecclesial centers, troubled by theological disputes, by Latinizing influences and by the liturgical reform of Nikon, which ended up in a schism, unsolved to the present day.

Fourth, the innovative pressure of the political and cultural trends coming from Europe, including the reforming ones of the newly appeared Reformed Church—whose single goal seemed to be to renounce the past and to establish new paradigms, but also the problems in its own structures determined the need for an internal reform of the Romanian Church. Besides the problems of discipline and of immorality of the clergy and of the faithful, of superstition or of absenteeism,³² there was also the old problem of the lack of understanding of the Slavonic liturgical language by the clergy and by the people, a problem which had reached unacceptable limits.³³ Whether Anthim had in mind or not the idea of worship reformation is less important, but the result of his action was obvious. His endeavor—the equivalent of a snowball rolling—initiated a complex and irreversible process. This new historical and liturgical reality allowed Violeta Barbu to assert that

*the duty of the liturgical reform was to readjust the liturgical system (in terms of culture and discourse) to a new social and cultural situation to the extent in which it should correspond completely to the experience of faith of a community. It is exactly what the Romanian society wished for at the end of the seventeenth century: an active, communal, orderly and unitary celebration.*³⁴

We find it obvious that Metropolitan Anthim the Iberian accomplished a complex work of reformation and renewal of the life of the Church, aiming both to discipline and educate the clergy³⁵ and to catechize the faithful,³⁶ but especially to translate service books. The direct intervention on the liturgical formularies by cautiously adopting Greek contemporary models had a decisive importance for the Romanian liturgy. Thus, in the case of the Euchologion (but also of the Leiturgikon) all the successive editions are reprints of Anthim's editions,³⁷ with a few additions or fragments from the previous old Slavic-Romanian euchologies.³⁸

4. Conclusions

THE LITURGICAL renewal accomplished by Anthim the Iberian should not be exaggerated by comparing it with that of Peter Mohyla, in whose gravitational range it nevertheless was. However, due to the prudence he showed, Anthim did not create the premises for a liturgical “revolt” such as that of Patriarch Nikon. By recognizing most common liturgical practices, such as Baptism, Confession, Crowning of the bride and groom, or Anointing of the Sick, priests and believers found in Anthim's editions known but simplified ordinances, with unified rites. While not

always the most appropriate liturgical models had been selected, they were better able to understand their intent and logic. Of course, to establish exactly the true facts and the real extent of the liturgical renewal of Anthim the Iberian, an exhaustive analysis of the entire content of his Euchologion, and of the old Slavic-Romanian Euchologion, would be necessary.

Without neglecting the old editions and manuscripts (Slavic-Romanian), but also without a critical and detailed analysis of texts, relying only on a Greek Venetian edition (we do not know how it was selected), Anthim managed to offer a remarkable liturgical model, which, despite its weaknesses, succeeded in bringing together all the fruits of a reforming program, offering a unitary and stable paradigm for all the future generations. Or, from this point of view, Anthim's *revision* caused or settled the definitive abandonment of some practices, liturgical formulae or archaic prayers, which is why his liturgical work can be included among the endeavors that anticipated the modernization of the Romanian Orthodox Church.



Notes

1. Depending on authors and purpose, the landmarks of modernity have been different. The revival and delimitation from absolute religiosity, the Reformation and the Counterreformation, the industrialization and the urbanization, the colonization and the new geographical discoveries, the French revolution, the appearance of national states and of democratic governing systems or the World Wars are only a few milestones put forward as chronological boundaries in delimitating modernity or premodernity. In this avalanche of *milestones*, new concepts have been created, concepts such as post-modernism or *beyondism*, in such a way that we acknowledge that defining the concept of modernity eludes some unanimously accepted criteria; for more details regarding the concept modern-modernity see Adrian Marino, *Modern, modernism, modernitate* (Bucharest: Editura pentru Literatură Universală, 1969); Matei Călinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism Avant-Garde Decadence Kitsch Postmodernism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987); for the concept of postmodernism see, for example, Gianni Vattimo, *The End of Modernity: Nihilism and Hermeneutics in Postmodern Culture*, translated by Jon R. Snyder (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988). For *beyondism* see Radu Cernătescu, "Atheism, postmodernism, beyondism," *Revista de filosofie* (Bucharest) 67, 1 (2020): 37–40, term previously suggested by Raymond Cattell.
2. Jean Baudrillard, "Modernité," in *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, vol. 12 (Paris: Encyclopaedia Universalis France, 1985), 424–426.
3. We will use the term *leitourgia* (liturgy) in its wide, universal sense, that is, the totality of liturgical formularies.
4. Some Romanian historians consider that the modern period starts in Moldavia with the ascension of Metropolitan Veniamin Costachi (1803–1842), in Wallachia during the time of Metropolitan Grigorie Dascălul (1823–1834) and in Transylvania with the reforms of Andrei Șaguna (1848–1873). See Alin Albu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române: Evenimente, personalități, instituții*, vol. 1 (Alba Iulia: Reintregirea, 2013); Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria*

- Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, 2nd edition, vol. 3 (Bucharest: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1993).
5. Thus, for Violeta Barbu the liturgical modernization in the Romanian Principalities started with the printing of the liturgical books at the time of the ruler Matei Basarab. See Violeta Barbu, *Purgatoriul misionarilor: Contrareforma în Țările Române în secolul al XVII-lea* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2008), 447.
 6. Ana Dumitran, *Religie ortodoxă—religie reformată: Ipostaze ale identității confessionale a românilor din Transilvania în secolele XVI–XVII*, 2nd edition (Oradea: Ratio et Revelatio, 2015).
 7. On the emergence of the Romanian ethnic conscience through the unification of liturgical norms and formularies, see: Dumitru A. Vanca, “Antecedentele unității românilor: Aportul edițiilor liturgice ardelenne la formarea normelor limbii literare: Molitfelnicul lui Ioan Zoba ca sursă a Molitfelnicului lui Antim Ivireanul,” in *Centenarul unirii românilor și Europa de azi: Religie și geopolitică*, edited by Alin Albu et al., vol. 1 (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană; Alba Iulia: Reintregirea, 2018), 353–370. See also Ciprian Streza, “The Translation of Liturgical Texts into the Oral Language Within the Seventeenth Century Transylvanian Liturgical Tradition: The Emergence of the Romanian Euchologion amid Culturally and Confessionally Challenged Times,” *Teologia* (Arad) 66, 1 (2016): 10–42.
 8. See the preface to Zoba’s Euchologion, *Molitârnîc (Euchologion), Bălgrad 1689–2009*, edition, introduction and glossary by Ana Dumitran, Alin-Mihai Gherman, and Dumitru A. Vanca (Alba Iulia: Reintregirea, 2010); Paul Bruslanowski, “Curentul bisericesc reformat din secolul XVII și începutul românizării cultului în BOR,” *Tabor* (Cluj-Napoca) 1, 7 (2007): 40–50.
 9. Dumitru A. Vanca, “Liturgierul lui Antim Ivireanul și funcția sa unificatoare a limbii române,” in *Slujind Adevărul, slujim pe Dumnezeu și pe oameni: Aspecte ale cercetărilor doctorale actuale*, edited by Viorel Sava, vol. 11 (Iași: Doxologia, 2019), 510–522.
 10. Barbu, 462–474.
 11. Policarp Chițulescu, “Liturgiile românești tipărite de Sfântul Antim Ivireanul: 300 de ani de la apariția Liturgierului românesc de la Târgoviște (1713),” *Revista română de istorie a cărții* (Bucharest) 10, 10 (2013): 16.
 12. Требник Митрополита Петра Могили, Київ, 1646, т. I (Київ: Інформаційно-видавничий центр Української Православної Церкви, 1996), 58–59.
 13. For a detailed analysis and comparison with other Slavic-Romanian Euchologia see Mihail K. Qaramah, “The Rites of Betrothal, Coronation and Digamia, According to the Slavo-Romanian Euchologia (16th–17th Century),” *International Journal of Orthodox Theology* 11, 3 (2020): 136–143.
 14. *Ibid.*, 143–164.
 15. For this formula see ms. Sin. Gr. 973 (1152–1153) in Gabriel Radle, “The Rite of Marriage in the Archimedes Euchology & Sinai Gr. 973 (a. 1152/1153),” *Scripta & e-Scripta* 12 (2013): 192–193.
 16. For this 12th century formula originated in Calabria, see Stefano Parenti, “The Christian Rite of Marriage in the East,” in *Sacraments and Sacramentals*, edited by Anscar J. Chupungco (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1997), 264.
 17. For this prayer see Gabriel Radle, “The Standardization of Liturgy in the Late Byzantine Period: The Case of the Rite of Marriage in South-Slavic Manuscripts and Early Printed Editions,” in *Studies in Oriental Liturgy: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, New York, 10–15 June 2014*, edited by Bert Groen et al. (Leuven–Paris–Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2019), 286.

18. Михаил Сергеевич Желтов, “Чины обручения и венчания в древнейших славянских рукописях,” *Palaeobulgarica* 34, 1 (2010): 38–39.
19. The exhortation is first mentioned in Sin. NF/M10, fol. 33^v (11th c.), but in the Ordo of Betrothal (Radle, “The Standardization,” 281, n. 15). It is found in the Office of Coronation in ms. E.B.E. 662, fol. 158^v (13th c.). Cf. Miguel Arranz, *L’Eucologio Costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI: Hagiasmatarion & Archieratikon (Rituale & Pontificale), con l’aggiunta del Leiturgikon (Messale)* (Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1996), 330.
20. Gabriel Radle, “The Development of Byzantine Marriage Rites As Evidenced by Sinai Gr. 957,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 78, 1 (2012): 139–144.
21. Qaramah, “The Rites of Betrothal,” 164–166.
22. A detailed analysis in Mihail K. Qaramah, “Rânduiala Mărturisirii păcatelor și alte rugăciuni de iertare în Molitfelnicul slavone din spațiul românesc (sec. XVI–XVII),” *Mitropolia Olteniei* (Craiova) 1–4 (2020): 218–237.
23. For this Office in BLC, see Dumitru A. Vanca, “Rânduiala Tainei Sfântului Maslu în secolul XVII în Transilvania: Considerații pe marginea Molitfelnicului de la Bălgrad, 1689,” *Annales Universitatis Apulensis: Series Theologica* (Alba Iulia) 4 (2004): 82–124.
24. For a detailed analysis of the Office of Anointing the Sick according to the Slavic-Romanian Euchologia see Mihail K. Qaramah, “Molitfelnicul românesc: Evoluția structurilor și formularelor liturgice: Sfintele Taine,” chapter V, Ph.D. thesis (in progress), 1 Decembrie 1918 University (Alba Iulia, 2021).
25. About the abbreviated form of these prayers see Иоанн Реморов, “Чинопоследование таинства Елеосвящения в византийской традиции,” in *Православное учение о церковных Таинствах*. Москва, 13–16 ноября 2007 г., vol. 3 (Москва: Синодальная библейско-богословская комиссия, 2009), 311.
26. Certainly, only an exhaustive analysis of the content of RÂM can reveal all the interventions and personal transformations of the Romanian editor; this, however, was not the aim of our paper, as we sought to present arguments to support the hypothesis regarding the reforming character of Anthim the Iberian’s Euchologion.
27. Nevertheless, even RÂM presents a few variations from the Greek model, the most conspicuous one being the presence of the warning of the spiritual father to the penitent: “Behold, child, Christ invisibly stands here....,” which represents, unquestionably, a Slavic practice with Latin nuances.
28. According to Ch. Auner, “Les versions roumaines de la liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome,” in *Χρυσόστομικά: Studi e ricerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo a cura del comitato per il XV centenario della sua morte, 407–1907* (Rome: Libreria Pustet, 1908), 743 and more recently Dumitru A. Vanca, *Paradigme liturgice în sec. 17: Ioan Zoba din Vinț și evoluția liturghiei românești* (Alba Iulia: Reintregirea, 2016), 88.
29. N. Cartoian, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, vol. 3 (Bucharest: Fundația Regele Mihai I, 1945), 205.
30. Antim Ivireanul, *Opere*, critical edition and introduction by Gabriel Ștrempel (Bucharest: Minerva, 1972), IX; see also Antim Ivireanul: *Dumnezeieștile și Sfintele Liturghii: Târgoviște 1713*, edited, introduction, philological linguistic study, note about the edition and word index by Alina Camil, afterword by Eugen Munteanu (Bucharest: Basilica, 2015), 24 sqq.
31. Founded in 1690, the Greek printing house in Bucharest first published a series of works having a dogmatic character, against the Calvinist and Catholic trends. Also, between 1697 and 1705, Anthim himself printed several Greek books of service (Antim Ivireanul, *Dumnezeieștile și Sfintele Liturghii*, 23).

32. According to Dumitran, 161.
33. The problem of the liturgical language was pointed out even by Anthim the Iberian in the preface to the Slavonic grammar of Meletius Smotrytsky, which he printed in 1697 in Snagov: "In the divine Churches we grew accustomed to read in Slavonic. But not knowing this language, which is foreign to us, we can often make mistakes." Cf. Gabriel Ștrempel, *Antim Ivircanul* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1997), 99.
34. Barbu, 474.
35. Among the printings dedicated to the training of priests we mention *Învățătura pre scurt pentru taina pocăinții* (1705), *Învățătura bisericască la ceale mai trebuincioase și mai de folos pentru învățătura preoților* (1710) and *Capete de poruncă la toată ceata bisericască* (1714).
36. We mention his famous "Didahii," 28 in number. These sermons are preserved in mss. BAR rom. 3460, BAR rom. 524 and BAR rom. 549.
37. Vanca, "Liturghierul lui Antim Ivircanul," 517.
38. Ioan Floca, "Molitfelnicul ortodox: Studiu istorico-liturgic cu privire specială asupra molitfelnicului românesc până la sfârșitul secolului XVIII," *Mitropolia Ardealului* (Sibiu) 7, 1–2 (1962): 105–113; Teofil Ștefan Grosu, "Molitfelnicele românești în raport cu originalele lor grecești: Studiu istoric, filologic și teologic," Ph.D. thesis, Al. I. Cuza University Iași, 2013, 128.

Abstract

The Reform of the Romanian Liturgy at the Beginning of the 18th Century: Anthim the Iberian and His Legacy

From a diachronic perspective, the Romanian Orthodox Church entered the modern era in the 19th century, when it gained autocephaly. Establishing this chronological landmark, naturally and logically, the preceding period represents the premodern ecclesial era of the Romanian Church. This paper aims to demonstrate that an important stage of this period was represented by the church reform of the Metropolitan of Wallachia, Anthim the Iberian, at the beginning of the 18th century, a reform that also had important liturgical implications. The primary piece of his liturgical reform is the Euchologion published at Râmnic in 1706 entirely in Romanian. The authors highlight the most significant changes that the Euchologion of Anthim brought into Romanian liturgical practice regarding the celebration of the Sacraments in order to demonstrate that Anthim's liturgical reform contributed decisively to the abandonment of Slavic liturgical practices. This new euchological paradigm, adopted during the 18th century, anticipated the modernization of the Romanian Church.

Keywords

Romanian Orthodox Church, Euchologion, liturgical revision, Slavic-Romanian liturgy, pre-modern ecclesiastical era