

Famous Scholars in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century During the Time of the Metropolitan of Moldavia, St. Iacob Putneanul

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Abstract:

An important personality of the spiritual and cultural life of Moldavia in the second half of the eighteenth century was, undoubtedly, the Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul, past, following the decisions of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church, among the saints of the Romanian nation. Even though Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul's pasture lasted no more than ten years at the Moldavian Metropolitan Church (1750 – 1760), this is a remarkable period for the history of Romanian culture, when several books of worship and teaching have seen the light of the printing. In the same period of time, at his request, some important texts from Greek and Slavonic were translated, some of them remaining in the form of a manuscript. In order to carry out the necessary translation and printing work, Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul appointed round him experienced scholars, perhaps more or less known in the present day, reminding in the present study of some of the most important ones: the Greek typographer Duca Sotiriovici, hieromonk Cozma Vlahul, teacher Evloghie, hieromonk Nathanail and, last but not least, the Archimandrite of Putna, Vartolomei Măzăreanu, to whom the last part of the present study is reserved.

Keywords: *Metropolitan of Moldavia, metropolitan, cultural activity, typography, scholar, translation, printing, manuscript*

Introduction

In the spiritual existence of the Romanian people, an important place is necessarily occupied by the writings of religious teaching and education written in the monasteries and eparchial centers of Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia, some of them remaining in the form of a manuscript, others known after their printing. Thus, in the context of national culture, studying old texts is a rich source for knowing the era in which they were written and the history of Romanian language.

It is known that, on one hand, the cultural activity of the Moldavian Metropolitan Church had a rich period during the pastoral years of the Metropolitan Dosoftei (1671-1686), since the great hierarch translated and printed books, while at the same time being preoccupied with restoring the old printing house and installing a new one:

a. *Translator and book editor.* During the over 25 pastoral years at Huși, Roman and Iași, Dosoftei was particularly concerned with scholarly problems, compiling or translating into Romanian books of theological teaching, of church service or with historical and literary character.

b. A special achievement of his time is *the reconstruction of the old printing press* of Vasile Lupu, the metropolitan Dosoftei printing, in 1679, *The Divine Liturgy*, and, in 1680, *Understanding the Psalter*. At his request, Patriarch Ioachim gave him a complete printing house, which he installed at the church St. Nicolae Domnesc of Iași. Several books came out in the new printing house: *Molităvnic de-năles*, in Romanian, in 1683, a new edition of the *Liturgy*, supplemented with many prayers which were missing in the first one, *Parimiile preste an*, and, between 1682-1686, he printed *Viața și petrecerea svinților*, in four volumes in large format (Vicovan 2008: 144-145).

On the other hand, once the tireless work of Metropolitan Dosoftei, which marked an important episode in the development of the Romanian language and the enrichment of the national cultural patrimony, was completed, as regards the cultural activity carried out inside the Metropolitan Church of Moldavia, there was a stage of relative stagnation until the middle of the 18th century, largely due to socio-political problems at that time, marked by the instability of the Phanariot reigns.

An attempt was made to improve this activity because Constantin Mavrocordat, in his second reign in Moldavia (Sept. 1741-June 1743), ordered the then Metropolitan Nichifor “the Peloponnesian” (the only Metropolitan of Greek origin that Moldavia had in the eighteenth century) and the diocesan bishops to set up printing houses and to publish worship books “of understanding” and therefore in Romanian. Even if he watched the typographical activity of the Diocese of Rădăuți, Metropolitan Nichifor failed to put up the metropolitan typography. As such, he fulfilled the prince’s command by conceding the printing of cult books to the Greek entrepreneur Duca Sotiriovici, to whom I granted a separate space in the economy of this work.

The Revival of the Translation and Printing Activity in Romanian Language in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century in Moldavia

Starting with 1750, former abbot of Putna and then bishop of Rădăuți, Iacob Putneanul reaches the metropolitan seat of Moldavia at a rather young age (only 31 years old). Even though Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul's pasture did not last more than ten years at the Metropolitan Church of Moldavia, this is a remarkable period for the Romanian culture's history. In the full offensive of the Greek language, in the middle of the eighteenth century, Iacob Putneanul sought to strengthen the Romanian culture by developing the education in the national language and reaffirming Slavonicism in the church. It was his difficult task, among other missionary missions, to release the financial debts of the Metropolitan Church from Iași, to organize and support the schools from Moldavia (a preoccupation he will keep when he will withdraw to Putna from the metropolitan seat in 1760), taking care of the printing in 1755 of a *Bucvar*, which is the first *Alphabet book* from Moldavia, which is known to have filled a huge gap in the didactic literature of Moldavia [In the preface of this *Bucvar*, but also on many other occasions, Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul urged parents to let their children attend school to be trained, for without instruction man is resembled, in one of his writings, to a dried tree: "The teaching is like fragrant flowers, and the unlearned is like the dried tree"]. A great merit had the Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul to remove the danger brought by Phanariot princes and clergy to introduce Greek into school and even into the church. Between 1753-1759 he reorganized the printing house of the Metropolitan Church of Moldavia and so many books of worship and teaching could see the light of printing, many of which appeared at his expense. Also, during the same short ten years period, at his instigation, some important Greek and Slavonic texts were translated, some of them remaining in the form of a manuscript. To a large extent, the prints produced by his direct concern and blessing were used in churches and monasteries in all regions inhabited by Romanians, thus contributing to protecting and strengthening the Orthodox faith including among the Romanians from Transylvania.

In order to carry out the necessary translation and printing work, Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul organizes around him experienced scholars, perhaps more or less known nowadays, recalling in the following lines

only some of the most important ones: the Greek printer Duca Sotiriovici, hieromonk Cozma Vlahul, teacher Evloghie, hieromonk Nathanaïl and, last but not least, the archimandrite of Putna, Vartolomei Măzăreanu, to whom the last part of the current study is reserved.

1. The Greek typographer Duca Sotiriovici

A school teacher with real commercial inclinations, “the Thasos typographer”, as he liked to sign on the last page of his books, Duca Sotiriovici organized his own printing house and printed in Iași, between 1743 -1752, several cult and religious teaching books. Since his first book, the *Psalter*, printed in Iași in 1743, the Greek teacher Duca Sotiriovici confesses that he has no other power “except the skill of printing useful and soul comforting books”, bringing thanks to the ruler and the homeland who received him, because he received “honor and benevolence [...] becoming a resident of this earth”, he feels obliged to work here because his new country “receives and nourishes, honors and keeps him” (BRV II: 76-79). The statute of Duca Sotiriovici’s printing house, as it appears from the context of the era, will be a particularly big one, because it is typography in the service of Romanian writings. The works printed by the Greek teacher at Iași are in Romanian – and so destined for the native people, a single book is an exception, being edited in Greek at the end of the printer’s activity. This newly created situation is typical for a historical moment of crossroads, that one of the incipient formation of capitalist relations in the economy of the country:

With Duca Sotiriovici having probably come to Moldavia in 1741 from Tassos, his printing house is not a consequence of the princely initiative or the ecclesiastical environment, as were the other printing houses from Iași at the time. It is a private one. The director-owner Duca Sotiriovici [...] associates the two hypostases with that of the printer, the translator and, we suppose, the manager skilled in the financial recovery by selling the books whose beneficiary he is. The character is representative of a certain type of Balkan intellectual, prefiguring a future modern configuration (after 1800). A school teacher, but of origin and formation – also a merchant by vocation – Duca Sotiriovici of Thasos is a trained man, the pretentious contemporaries appreciated his solid knowledge of Greek and Latin, as well as the ability to quickly acquire the language of his adoptive motherland (Macarie 2010: 148-149).

Duca Sotiriovici translates from Greek, and the books that appeared in his printing house are made at the order of the Metropolitan Church of

Moldavia and of the churches under its religious jurisdiction, as well as of the administration of the country. Among the most famous works, we can mention a few: in 1750, he prints *Canonul celui dintru sfinți părintelui nostru Spiridon, episcopul Trimitundiei făcătorul de minuni* and *Ceaslovul care cuprinde în sine toată slujba de zi și de noapte*, and then, in 1751, he prints: *Adunare de rugăciuni* and *Sinopsis, adecă adunarea celor șapte Taine și a celor șapte Laude*, in which canons from the holy rules are also introduced. With a moralizing character, the words from the preface of the paper support, from a religious perspective, the maintenance of the balance and of the official social structure, as quoted argument in the *Matthew Gospel*: “Give to Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s”. In 1752 he edits *Slujba celui întru sfinți părintelui nostru Timotei, arhiepiscopului Priconesului*, and *Târnosanie* etc.

The reorganization of the printing house of the Moldavian Metropolitan Church, which has given Duca Sotirioviți many orders, leads to the diminution of the appearances of books of the institution of the Greek typographer and, consequently, to its disappearance in the end. Thus, we observe how important cultural institutions of the country such as the church, schools and typography were in a relationship of interconditioning, and the people who often ensured their proper functioning were, at the same time, church people, teachers and printers.

2. Hieromonk Cozma Vlahul

The activity of the Hieromonk Cozma Vlahul can also be associated to the cultural program of the Metropolitan Iacob Putneanu, the great hierarch being deeply implied into the protection and consolidation of the Moldavian society on the whole, especially of the church, against foreign influences. Hieromonk Cozma Vlahul knew the Greek language besides Slavonic, had a good theological culture and knew the subtleties of Romanian language. Besides other learned scholars, he was part of a work group trained in a program of insurance of the Orthodox Church books. Thus, the learned hieromonk was asked, in 1754, by the Metropolitan Iacob Putneanu, to make the translation of one of the great legal work of the time, named *Vactiria, adică Cârja arhierească acum întâi talmăcită despre limba elinească pre limba moldovenească*. The translation of the book was carried out at the expense of Metropolitan Iacob Putneanu, and

the correction was made, as priest Cozma from the Metropolitan Church of Iași himself states, together with the Greek teacher Duca Sotirioviici who was considered to be “the wise and learned one in these three languages: Greek, Latin and Moldavian”. They both worked day and night with much diligence and understanding:

Together with whom, day by day and night by night laboring, we reread, checking the words – from word to word, up to the end of the book. And rarely, when we met a Roman or Greek word, we surrounded it, for the holy Moldavian language, with more words [...] as he himself believed it seemed right [...] and we together used many words to make it right.

This voluminous canonic codex, a work of Iacob of Ioanina, was used in the second half of the eighteenth century and in the first decades of the next (Berechet 1933: 130-131). The same hierarch Cozma from the Metropolitan Church of Iași translates from Greek *Viața Marelui Petru, samoderjet a toată Rosia* by Antonio Katiforos, and from Slavonic *Alfavita sufletească*, printed in 1755, a book which was very well received in the Romanian society, being read and even copied up to the half of the nineteenth century. Also from Slavonic, he then translates another important work *Sinopsis, adică adunare de multe învățături*, printed in 1757. It is a text with obvious Enlightenment accents, in its pages appear urges given to parents to let “sons” learn (f. 60):

A man cannot be happier, when he puts all his thoughts and cares in what way and with what intercession can he see his children to the point of teaching, as we see not only in the Holy Scripture, but also in all the histories blessing those parents who put their endless strength for the teaching of their children. So, every learned man is called a man, and the unlearned man is like a beast (BRV II: 140, 300).

The correction of the last two above-mentioned works, with translation from Slavonic, was attended by another scholar of the time, the monk Evloghie. He wrote in the preface of the book *Alfavita sufletească*, seeking the forgiveness of those who would read, if they find mistakes:

Let me ask you, all the readers, that you may be easily forgiving my mistakes, not only where there will be a lack of words, but more so for positioning the syllables, because as the blind walk is not without stumbling, so also the unlearned without error in the interpretation.

According to the assumptions of the historian N. Iorga, mentioned by the linguist N. Ursu in one of his studies, it seems that hieromonk Cozma Vlahul succeeded, at a later stage of his life, to become Bishop of Buzău, then Metropolitan of Wallachia (see Ursu 1998: 10).

3. Monahul Evloghie

A teacher of the Princely School of Iași, the monk Evloghie has a remarkable scholarly activity in the service of Romanian language, both in didactic and translating from Slavonic and Greek liturgical texts or as a corrector in the printing house of the Metropolitan Church of Moldavia. The first request made by Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul was the translation from Slavonic to Romanian of a *Letopisea*, finalized on March 25, 1753: “this *Leatopisea* were formerly Slavonic, / Now it was interpreted with Moldavian Lexus / By me, humble Evloghie Evloghie, the teacher of the Slavonic school in Iași, the best I could” (Chiaburu 2010: 48).

The scholar will form his own son, Gheorghe, teaching him Slavonic and with whom he will collaborate in the work of translation for the Putna Monastery of the volumes of the *Life of Saints*, for the months of September, October, November, March, April and May. The interpretation of the hagiographical anthology of Dimitrie of Rostov was made by Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul’s order, between 1757 and 1760, fact attested by a note appearing in the volume in November: “They have been interpreted by Evloghie, Master, and have been written by Gheorghie, his son, with all the endeavour and at the expense of the holy Metropolitan chir Iacov”. The six manuscripts of the saints’ lives were donated by the Metropolitan Cathedral of Putna where it is kept until today in the library of the holy place. Five of these manuscripts were copied by Gheorghe Evloghie, the son of the scholar, who is known to become a teacher at the Princely School in Iași.

It is worth mentioning the correction work that Evloghie did of the works printed in the printing house in Iași, which will continue during Metropolitan Gavriil Callimachi. About his first two major corrections I mentioned earlier, when I mentioned the translations made by hieromonk Cozma Vlahul: *Alfavita sufletească* and *Synopsis*, meaning a gathering of many teachings. He also appears to be a great Greek speaking citizen, the

monk Evloghie showing concern for the semantic clarity of the statements he corrects, for the intelligibility of the text in his attention. We understand this from his effort to correct the typographical errors in *Liturghia*, printed in 1759, when he “had to look for Slavonic correspondents for certain Greek terms that had to be translated into Romanian” (Lefter 2017: 19). Thus, in the preface of the same *Liturghie* he addresses the monks and deacons:

who will serve these holy liturgies, we let you know [...] that some words from them were changed and especially selected and exactly in Slavonic, there is no other reason for pride, that is because of the addition that we made ourselves in order to change; but we wanted to use the words exactly after the Greek model (and also the Slavonic one as follows), those words could not be translated into our language due to the scarcity of our language. Besides this, we did not want to diminish the holy words of the Divine Liturgy, according to the impossibility of our language, for the holy liturgy is not a sermon or a history, but the inspired words by the Holy Spirit. For that reason, we put them in Slavonic and so, without doubting, say them, that they may be forever and fully Divine Liturgy. Evloghie the monk, corrector (Chiaburu 2010: 49).

Other works corrected by the monk Evloghie are made after 1760, having received the blessing of the next metropolitan, Gavriil Callimachi: *The Gospel*, in 1762, *Euhologhion adecă Molitvelnicul*, in 1764, *Îndreptarea păcătosului*, in 1765, and especially *Psaltirea*, in 1766, through which he has been known to us not only as a corrector but also as “an interpreter of psalms”.

4. Ieromonahul Nathanail

Ecclesiarch and the confessor of the Putna Monastery, monk Nathanail had a remarkable activity as a scholar, translating from the Slavonic language, with some special calligraphic qualities, for his writing was balanced, uniform, with a visible talent to imitate the pattern. Thus, as a copyist, he will be required to write some diptychs. Having arrived at Iași, the hieromonk Nathanail is part of the entourage of Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul under the supervision of whom, in 1754, he wrote the Diptychs for the Metropolitan of Moldavia, called *Sinodic* or *Pomelnec pentru fericiții și pururea pomeniții ctitori a sfintei Mitropolii a Țării Moldovii*. From the title sheet we understand that “it was written in the Holy Metropolitan Church in the city of Iași in the years 7262 from

the building of the world, and from the salvation of the world, that is, from Christ, 1754 in the month of May”, in addition to which he signs as “the humble and unworthy of the monks, but the true son and faithful servant of the holy Church of the East, Nathanaïl hieromonk Grigorievici” (Ștrempel 1978: 371, nr. 1567).

At the expense of and under the rightful supervision of the Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul, he copies, in 1754, a *Pavecernic întru care sunt canoanele de rugăciune către preasfânta de Dumnezeu Născătoare și Pururea Fecioara Mariia*, that had been translated at Putna by another great scholar of the second half of the eighteenth century, Vartolomei Măzăreanu. In November 1756, hieromonk Nathanaïl writes *Prothesis, adecă Pomealnec al sfintei mănăstiri a Putnei*, with humbleness being mentioned “the Holy Metropolitan of all the Country of Moldavia, chir Iacov”. Two years later, on May 1758, he wrote a *Sinodic adecă Pomealnecul al sfântului schit al Doljeștilor care iaste în ținutul Romanului, preste Sireat, din sus de târg*, a diptych remade in 1759, on which there is the signature of “humble among the hierarchs Nathanaïl Dreteanovschii, ecclesiarch of the holy Monastery of Putna”. In 1760

the scholar monk appears for the first time as an interpreter when he writes *Canonul sufletului din toate zilele către Preasfânta Fecioară Maria, maica lui H(risto)s D(umne)zeu*. On the first page of the manuscript, the author mentions that “it was translated from Slavonic in the holy monastery of Putna, by me, humble hieromonk Nathanaïl, in 1760 from H(risto)s” (Atanasiu 2009: 311).

Between 1759 and 1763, he made excerpts from the big diptychs, being used at the current church services and, in 1768, he edited the diptychs from Sihăstria Putnei: *Sinodic sau Pomealnes al fericiților și pururea pomeniților ctitorilor, făcătorilor de bine și ajutătorilor și împodobitorilor sfintei Săhăstriei a Putnei*, well preserved until today in the library of Putna Monastery (ms. 444/inv.23), in which we find him with the signature: “the humble hieromonk Nathan, son of this holy hermitage”. As we could notice from some of the data presented about the scholar monk Nathanaïl, we mentioned about his special calligraphic skills, as a copyist and translator, but we should also mention his literary inclinations. Thus, on the reverse of the title sheets of the great diptychs written by him, there are:

a composition in verses, of popular type, influenced by some psalms, which he named *Stihuri politicești, ca făcute în versuri, pentru venirea omului în lume și viața și ieșirea lui din lume, și ce-i lui mai de folos în lume* (in the diptychs of the Metropolitan Church of Moldavia), *Stihuri în versuri politicești pentru venirea ticălosului om în lume și pentru deșertăciunea lui în lume și pentru eșirea lui din lume și pentru care om este mai fericit eșind din lume i proci* (in the diptychs of Putna Monastery and, with little alterations, in those of the hermitage Doljești) and *Cuvânt făcut și tocmit pe stihuri poeticești în versuri pentru viața ticălosului a fieștecare om întru această lume* (in the diptych of the hermitage of Putna Monastery). The initial 42 verses (21 distichs) of this composition from the diptych of the Metropolitan Church, were increased to 48 and, in little cases, slightly modified in the other lists that we mentioned (Ursu 1998: 10).

The verses composed by hieromonk Nathanail (later having become hieromonk Nathan, inhabitant and then abbot of Putna Hermitage), can, no doubt, complete the history of Romanian religious poetry.

5. Vartolomei Măzăreanu

Elected an abbot of Putna in the summer of the year 1755 at the recommendation of Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul (where he will remain until 1763, and between 1768 and 1774 he will be the abbot of the Solca Monastery), Vartolomei Măzăreanu takes good care of the good going of the holy place, “the order and rules of the holy church and the rule of the souls of all brethren who are inhabitants there”, but in addition to this untiring occupation, the archimandrite also has a rich scholarly activity, translating from Slavonic and Russian, compiling and transcribing a large number of church documents, with some additions of historical nature, a corpus of the Moldavian chronicles, of which only some fragments are preserved today.

From the act of appointment as an archimandrite of the Putna Monastery in 1755, we find out that Vartolomei Măzăreanu was called from Russia by the Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul himself “for the work of translating books from the Slovenian language into the Moldavian language” and that “after he came, he translated several books, with which he did not little service to his motherland, Moldavia” (Ursu 1993: 7). His many books, over eighthy in number, cover various areas. In this study I shall mention only a few works of the tireless scholar monk, which are less known, they are manuscripts written in the beginning of his translator activity.

Apoftegmata is the oldest manuscript of V. Măzăreanu, translated in 1755, from whose preface we find out what it contains:

Brave or philosophical words, briefly with teachings for the custom of the human mind. Three books, in which are placed many kinds of questions and answers, the life and order, the words and the settlement of many old philosophers. Translated from the Russian language into the Moldavian language, at the command of the holy chiriu chir Iacov Archbishop and Metropolitan of Mold[avia], by the humble Archimandrite Vartolomei Măzërenul, the year of the world's building (7263).

It is a collection of anecdotes, maxims, proverbs, biographies and dialogues of the various philosophers of Antiquity, attributed to Plutarch. The Russian text of this collection of moral and philosophical thoughts appeared in Moscow in 1711 and had ten editions until 1781. This was also translated, into its turn, after a version in Polish, published in 1614, having as source a florilegium similar to that of Erasmus of Rotterdam. The content of the book was set up by a paradigm of moral, philosophical elements, teachings gathered "for the custom of human mind" of an ancient wisdom, all of which came in addition to the Christian teaching. Collections of this kind, although they did not benefit from a high-access discourse, did not exclude education and religious knowledge. They probably had a special impact on the clergy, the young people who were trained in a learning activity, following the model of the Spiritual Academy met by Vartolomei Măzăreanu in Kiev. A work on the pages of which the same thematic line of the collections is kept, with many moral teachings for the spiritual use we meet in another translation made nine year later, *Ithica ieropolitica*. Măzăreanu states that he translated and wrote this book in the year after Christ (1764), at the spiritual insistence and request of: "the devout chir Léon Protosenghel of the Metropolitan Church". From the title page we learn that the translation was made after the book whose complete title is: *Ithica ieropolitica or the philosophy teaching of nature, with select symbols and fiction*, printed in Slavonic "in the holy and great lavra Pecerska" with the blessing of the archimandrite of the place, Athanásii Mislávschii "with the diligence and effort of the brethren, at the expense of the same monastery where it was printed, in the years from Christ (1712)". The purpose of this printing was "the advising and use of the young people". As for the authors, they chose to be kept anonymous, being several monks living in that monastery.

Even before the *Apoftegmata*, two of Vartolomei Măzăreanu's translations can be signalled (possible to check today in manuscript 1390 from the Library of Romanian Academy from Bucharest: up to page 81 there is a *Pavecernic*, and from page 84 to page 165 *Învățăturile lui Efrem Sirul*). These translations were copied in year 1754 by hieromonk Nathanail, who was at that time at the Metropolitan Church of Moldavia – as I already mentioned in this study, when I spoke about the activity of this Putnean monk, in the pastoral period of metropolitan Iacob. In *Pavecernic*, the first translation, there are:

The canons of prayer to the most sacred Mother of God and the Holy Virgin Mary, which are sung at Pavecernița all the time, on eight voices, according to the order of Octoih, now written in this way and first selected and translated from Slavonic to Moldavian language, at the order, blessing and expense of the holy Metropolitan of all Moldavian Country, chiriu chir Iacov, in the days of his majestic lord and protector of all Country of Moldavia, Io Matei Ghica voivode.

The name of Vartolomei Măzăreanu as a translator does not appear anywhere in this *Pavecernic*, we still realize that he is the one who interpreted the text after the way the title page was written, also from some linguistic particularities that are found in many other works translated by him. We can suppose that:

The order given by the Metropolitan Iacob to the hieromonk Vartolomei to extract from the *Octoih* this *Pavecernic* with the canons of the Mother of God, was motivated by his desire to sing those prayers in Romanian at Putna monastery, whose patron is the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. In year 1767, Vartolomei Măzăreanu completed the translation of the *Pavecernic* in the autograph manuscript 1862/28 from the library of Putna monastery (204 pages in-folio), in whose title page he states: “for the collective use, I translated from Slavonic into Moldavian language this book *Pavecernic*, that is all the canons of eight voices, which are read in all days at the evening prayers, and I devoted it to the holy monastery of Putna...” (Ursu 1998: 10).

The second translation attributed to Vartolomei Măzăreanu, about which we already know it was copied in the year 1754 by the hieromonk Nathanail, has the complete title: *Cartea a preacuviosului părintelui nostru Efrem Sirianul, carea cuprinde întru sine cuvinte de multe feliuri de învățătură spre folosul și mântuirea a tot sufletul creștinesc*. The last pages of this work, which is in manuscript 1390 from BAR, were lost and, although his name is not mentioned anywhere in the text, the

linguistic distinct signs which customizes the writing manner of Vartolomei Măzăreanu can be recognized here. A clear proof of the fact that he is the one who made this translation we can find at the end of another writing of his, *Letopisețul Moldovei*, written at the order of feld-marshal Piotr Alexandrovici Rumeanțev, which represents a successful compilation in Russian from the chronicles of Grigore Ureche, Miron Costin, Ion Neculce, N. Costin, I. Canta. *Молдавской Летописецъ* is the first and also the most comprehensive history of Moldavia in Russian. At the end of the *Letopiseț* there is a table conceived and written by himself, on two columns which is incomplete. From the first column we learn: “How many books were translated and written by archimandrite Vartolomei Măzăreanu since he has come from the Russian country” and then we find in the second column “where are those books” or “to whom they are”. Among the thirty seven writings mentioned here, there also is the work *Ithica ieropolitica*, at number twenty one, next to *Carte Efrem Sirii*, with the mention, in the second column, that it is “at his holiness chiriu chir Leon, bishop of Roman”.

Cartea a preacuviosului părintelui nostru Efrem Sirianul fits in a rich series of translations made by Vartolomei Măzăreanu, known in the literature of speciality under the name of hagiographic legends. Thus, he also translated: *Cartea Sfântului Isihie*, *Cartea Sfântului Teodor*, *Viața Sfântului Xenofont*, *Vedenia Sfântului Grigorie*, *Slujba prea cuviosului părintelui nostru Onufrie*, *Viața Prea Cuviosului Macarie Egipteanul*, *Învățăături de multe feluri către ai săi ucenici a prea cuviosului părintelui nostru avei Dorothei* [Ștefan Ciobanu, in *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, p. 293, tells us that this is a translation from Russian, made in the year 1776. The book enjoyed a great circulation in Russia, among the monks and was printed at Kiev], *Cuvânt pentru răbdare* etc.

The lives of saints above mentioned are translated from Russian, being made by the church writer Dimitrie, Metropolitan of Rostov, between 1651-1709. They are brought to us and made known from the need to offer Christian life models to the faithful man, in such a manner that the Christian can be projected

into a discourse of exemplary destinies, on an itinerary articulated on the «praecepta moralia» and «acta miraculosa». The saints, before anything else, were preserved as moral landmarks in Christian ontology, in which the

miraculous deeds or miracles were set up as performances resulted from endeavours and holiness (Radosav 1997: 36).

This type of literature is meant to consolidate the religious feeling because it addresses to all the faithfuls, not only to the initiated ones and to the living ones in the monachal world.

In year 1756, at the incentive of Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul, archimandrite Vartolomei Măzăreanu interpreted from Slavonic a famous work of religious polemic named *Petra skandálou*, written several years before by Ilie Miniati. A first edition of the book *Piatra scandelei* appeared at Leipzig, in 1718, presenting the schism from inside the church, the causes which led to this rupture, and also the differences between Catholicism and Orthodoxy. The structure of the book reveals:

two parts well differentiated:

1. A historical resume of things referring to the Patriarchs Ignatie and Fotie, [...] a short story on the attempts to union at the synodes from Lion and Florence;
2. A dogmatic exposition of the five main divergencies: the papal primacy, the Holy Spirit's procession, the azyme, the fate of the souls before the last judgement, and the purgatory (Iliescu Palanca 1936: 96).

We realize that archimandrite Vartolomei Măzăreanu translated this work from a title page of the late copy which can be read in the manuscript from the quota MSSE ROMÂNÈ 935 from the Library of the Romanian Academy from Bucharest:

The appearance of the beginning and the cause of the schism or separation of the Eastern Church from the Church of the West. *The stone of scorn* (or scandal), with five kinds of separations which do not bargain, made by the lover of God Bishop of Kernek and Kalavistru (which is in the Peloponnese), by Ilie Miniati himself, at the order of chiriu chir Iacov, Archbishop and Metropolitan of Suceava and of all Moldavia, by the humble Abbot Mihail (sic!) ["Abbot Mihail Măzăreanu" is for sure a copyist mistake, as it is well known that in 1765, when this text was translated, the Abbot of Putna was Vartolomei Măzăreanu] Măzăreanu, in the year from Christ 1756, January 6.

This fragmentary copy of the manuscript is late because it has the date of 13th of February 1792, being made by deacon Constantin Veisa from Vistieria from Iași: "And I, the undersigned, wanting to trouble myself with the writing of histories, and finding the real books to

translate, I started to interpret them; Feb[ruary] 13, 1792 [...] Constantin Veisa ot vist[iery]" (f.1).

In conclusion, I can say that Vartolomei Măzăreanu remains known as the one of the most productive church writers of the clergy in Moldavia. His richest activity is registered in the range of translations from Slavonic and Russian, although in the pages of this study I limited myself in presenting only those from his early period, which were under the direct guidance and blessing of Metropolitan Iacob Putneanul. The list of translations made by him between 1754-1780 is impressive, many being after hagiographic legends, speeches of the Holy Fathers, lives of saints, another category being represented by the works with historical content (he wrote himself historical writings). Some of the translations, as I could see, are secular such as *Apoftegmata* and *Ithica ieropolitica* – about others, nothing is known at present.

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