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The Romanian Liturgical Theology in the First Half of the 20th Century in the Service of the Orthodox Church. Leading Representatives

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Abstract

The present study refers to the Romanian Liturgical Theology of the first half of the 20th century in the service of the Orthodox Church and to its prominent representatives. In the first part of the study I highlighted the first Romanian liturgical writings from the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. In the second part, the most extensive, I highlighted the Romanian liturgical literature from the 19th century to the middle of the century. 20th century. In the third part of the study, I referred to the first Romanian literary liturgical textbooks written in the beginning of the 20th century. The last part of the study refers to the Romanian liturgical literature from the middle of the 20th century, and at the end I highlighted a few general conclusions regarding the study.

Keywords

Theology, Liturgics, Romanian, 20th century, Church, Orthodox, representatives, important



I. First Romanian liturgical writings from the beginning until the early 19th century

Liturgical works were written lately in Romanian, meaning that towards the end of the 17th century, Ieremia Cacavela, a Greek teacher, who was first a teacher in the house of Cantemiresti, at the Spiritual Academy in Iasi and Dimitrie Cantemir's professor, printed in Iași in 1697, the work Învățătură sfântă, adecă sântei și Dumnezăieștii Liturghii – tâlcuire de pe limba grecească pe limba rumăniască¹. In its first part this brochure is a translation of the text, and in the second part a summary of the book of another Greek scholar, Nicolae Vulgaris (Bulgarul), printed in 1681 at Venice, and entitled Învățătură sfântă (Ιερα κατηχησυς ...), adică explicarea Dumnezeieștii și Sfintei Liturghii și examinarea celor ce vin la hirotonie, dimpreună cu multe altele. This work is considered one of the most important translations of the Orthodox Liturgy, which will then be reprinted in Greek and translated several times in several languages. Despite the rather clumsy translation in Romanian, Ieremia Cacavela's book circulated in manuscripts in all Romanian countries as a handbook for the training of priests until the 19th century, some copyists even allowing some language improvements. The importance of this work and the interest it enjoyed in the Romanian countries is also apparent from the fact that at the beginning of the 19th century it was again translated, this time entirely, by one of the monks from the Paisian trand from Neamt, in a manuscript that unfortunately did not see the light of the print².

In the second half of the 18th century, when he was the ecclesiarch of the Metropolitan of Bucharest, the future bishop Chesarie of Râmnic translated and printed in Bucharest in 1765 the work of Metropolitan Simeon of Thessalonica, edited in Greek for the first time in Iasi by Patriarch Dositei of Jerusalem in 1683. Archimandrite Chesarie translates this work from

¹ See Tit Simedrea, "Însemnări pe o veche carte românească", in: *Mitropolia Olteniei*, VIII (1956) 1-3, pp. 99-109.

² This is the translation of monk Platon Craioveanu (Munteanu sau Olteanu), and according to other opinions, of hieromonk Iosif, the manuscript remaining in the library of the Theological Seminary at the Neamţ Monastery; see Pr. N. Donos, "Un călugăr meşter caligraf şi o carte minunată", in: *Mitropolia Moldovei şi Sucevei*, XVI (1940), pp. 43-47 and Diacon I. Ivan, "Trei manuscrise scrise de un caligraf nemţean", in: *Mitropolia Moldovei şi Sucevei*, XXXI (1955) 12, p. 849.



Greek into Romanian, publishing it under the title *Voroavă de întrebări și răspunsuri întru Hristos....* According to Father Ene Braniște, this work in Romanian translation,

"goes far beyond the modest processing of scholar Cacavela, not only by its extent, but also by the value of the original translated, as well as by the beauty of the Romanian language...; through Chesarie's translation, the Romanian readers thus became acquainted and had at their disposal, even since the 18th century, the most complete and thorough liturgical interpretation of the Byzantine literature, which the other Orthodox Churches knew only through fragmentary translations, through summaries or extracts"³.

A hundred years after this translation of Chesarie, the work of Saint Simeon of Thessalonica was reprinted in Bucharest, in a new edition, with some attempts to modernize the language, though not always successful, by printer Toma Teodorescu, but this time under a new title: *Tractat asupra tuturor dogmelor credinței noastre ortodoxe, după adevăratele principii puse de Domnul nostru Iisus Hristos și urmașii Săi* This fact proves the great spread and attention the work of Saint Simeon of Thessalonica enjoyed, which both at us and at other Orthodox peoples, is the main source of inspiration for all who have dealt with ... the interpretation and the symbolism of the Orthodox worship 4.

II. Romanian liturgical literature from the 19th century until the mid 20th century

The creation of the first Romanian seminary from Socola by Metropolitan of Moldova, Veniamin Costachi, for the development of priesthood culture, generated a new stream of Romanian translation of the Greek and Slavic texts related to the explanation of divine worship, which will remain the prevailing part of the Romanian liturgical literature.

³ Pr. Prof. Ene Braniște, "Literatura liturgică în teologia românească", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, LXXXIX (1971) 1-2, pp. 124-125.

⁴ Pr. Prof. Ene Braniște, "Literatura liturgică în teologia românească", p. 125.



During this period in Transylvania it was printed the translation of a Serbian text by Dimitrie Tichindeal, entitled *Epitomul sau scurte arătări* pentru sfânta besearecă, pentru veșmintele ei și pentru Dumnezeiasca Liturghie care se săvțrșește într-însa, așișderea și pentru preotul și slujitorul lui Dumnezeu, prin scurte întrebări și răspunsuri, at Buda in 1808.

In Moldova, at the Neamţ Monastery, in 1837, and in two other editions from Iaşi, which appeared in 1844 and 1846, Dimitrie Sturza printed *Mânealnicul hristianesc* (Manualul creştinesc), *carele cuprinde o prea scurtată tălmăcire a lăcaşului dumnezeiesc, a celor dintr-însul sfințite vase și veşminte și a celor obișnuite slujbe, a dumnezeieștii și sfințitei Liturghii și a Sfintelor Taine ale Bisericii*. This work by Dimitrie Sturza is nothing more than a Romanian processing of *Enchiridion* (ενχειρηδιον) by Dimitrie Darvaris or Darvareus, edited long ago in Vienna in 1803 and re-edited in Athens in the years 1817 and 1852.

All these liturgical interpretations respond to catechetical needs, being destined for a wider circle of readers, clergy, monks, or simple faithful, that is why they take the form of simple expositions.

In the second half of the 19th century, there appeared the first schoolbooks of Liturgy and Church thypikon for students of singing schools and eparchial seminaries. Among the thypikon textbooks, we mention the one of Archimandrite Stefanescu in Moldova⁵, which will be re-edited at Roman in 1877, in Bucharest in 1900 and in Râmnicu Vâlcea in 1912. We also remember the thypikon textbook of Metropolitan Silvestru Morariu-Andreievici in Bucovina⁶, that of hierarch Gherasim Saffirin, in Muntenia⁷, and that of Professor Iosif Iuliu Olariu from the Theological Academy in Caransebes, Banat⁸, the latter also being reprinted for several times.

As regards the first Romanian books of liturgical works for theological seminaries, they represent more or less original works of their authors, or simple translations or processing made by various priests or professors from the seminaries of that time, according to some Greek or Russian texts. Among these liturgical textbooks we mention the following: Archbishop

⁵ Manual de Tipic al Bisericii Ortodoxe, compus pentru școlile clericale din Moldova, Iași, 1854.

⁶ Tipiconul Bisericii Ortodoxe Orientale, 1883.

⁷ *Tipic asupra serviciilor divine*, Râmnicu Vâlcea, 1878; the second edition of this typicon appeared in Bucharest in the year 1905.

⁸ Tipicul Bisericii Ortodoxe Orientale, Caransebeș, 1897.



Ghenadie, the former Vice Bishop of Argeş, *Liturgica sau explicația serviciului divin*, Bucharest, 1877; archimandrite Juvenalie Stefanelli, professor of practical Theology, *Liturgica Bisericii Ortodoxe-Catolice*, Bucharest, 1886; hieromonk Gabriel Rășcanu, *Liturgica sau serviciul divin al Bisericii Ortodoxe*, Bucharest, 1886; economus Nicolae Filip, professor at the Seminary from Iași, *Liturgica sau explicarea serviciului divin*, translation and processing by Russian lecturer P. Lebedev, Bucharest, 1899. As Rev. Prof. Ene Braniște believes, all these textbooks written for the seminaries "contain pages that are still good to be consulted today, being made up of many sources from the Patristic or Byzantine literature".

Besides these textbooks for theological seminaries, during the 19th century, there were also other works of liturgical translations, written by some clergy for the purpose of popularization, and using Greek and Russian sources. These include the following: Teoctist Scriban, *Explicarea dumnezeieștii Liturghii a Sfântului Ioan Chrisostom*, Iași, 1883; arhiereul Ioanikie Evantias, *Scurtă esplicație despre biserică*, *slujba bisericească și despre cele șapte sfinte mistere (taine)*, Bucharest, 1864 and a different edition in 1866; Fr. Cosma Moisescu from Brăila, *Manual de explicație a Sfintei Liturghii*, Brăila, 1870, re-printed in 1884.

We also remember important contributions to the development of the Romanian liturgical literature of the erudite bishop Melchisedec Ştefănescu of Roman. Among other things, he left posterity some particularly interesting studies of liturgical content in the form of reports or memoirs addressed to the Holy Synod of our Church on worship issues that were then the concern of our Church rulers, for example: *Biserica Ortodoxă și Calendarul*, Bucharest, 1881; *Proiect pentru revizuirea și editarea cărților bisericeșt*i, Bucharest, 1882; *Viața și minunile Cuvioasei noastre Paraskevei cei nouă și istoricul sfintelor ei moaște*, Bucharest, 1889; *Tratat despre cinstirea și închinarea icoanelor în Biserica Ortodoxă și despre icoanele făcătoare de minuni din România ortodoxă*, Bucharest, 1890, et. al.¹⁰.

⁹ For example, in Ghenadie's manual for the first time we find extracts read and used from *Tâlcuirea la Dumnezeiasca Liturghie* of St. Nicholas Cabasila; Pr. Prof. Ene Branişte, "Literatura liturgică în teologia românească", p. 127.

¹⁰ See Pr. Prof. Dr. Ene Branişte, *Literatura liturgică în Teologia românească*, p. 127. A brief look at liturgical Romanian literature in the 19th century also see PhD student Iulian Şснюрu, "Publicații mai importante din domeniul Liturgicii în literatura teologică românească din secolul al XIX-lea", in: *Glasul Bisericii*, XXVII (1968) 1-2.



At the beginning of the Faculty of Theology from the University of Bucharest, the Chair of Practical Theology which included the Liturgical discipline too, was held by several professors, successively and temporarily¹¹, from whom we have only modest articles, studies, or fragments of their courses. Of these, we only mention the most important ones. The future bishop of Huşi, Silvestru Bălănescu the following articles with liturgical content published in the official magazine of the Romanian Patriarchate, Biserica Ortodoxă Română: Serbarea Duminicii la crestinii antici¹², Întrebuințarea Sfintei Scripturi la serviciul divin în Biserica creştină antică¹³, Despre posturi¹⁴, Despre diferite sărbători¹⁵. Also hierarch Ghenadie Enăceanu, the future bishop of Râmnic, had some liturgical studies published in the same magazine: Istoria Tedeumurilor în Biserica creștină și specialminte în cea română¹⁶, Panoghia¹⁷. He also published two papers: Cărțile ritualului Bisericii Române ortodoxe - Evangheliile. Studii istorico-literare¹⁸, as well as the manuscript of a Romanian translation of the icon painters' Hermeneia, entitled Iconografia. Arta de a zugrăvi templele *și icoanele bisericești*¹⁹. Another professor of Liturgics from the Faculty of Theology in Bucharest who left some contributions in this field is Dragomir Demetrescu. Among the studies left we mention the following: Muzica de

Data on this is at Prof. onorar T. Bulat şi Pr. Prot. Al. Ciurea, "Contribuții la istoricul Facultății de Teologie şi Institutului Teologic Universitar din Bucureşti", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, LXXV (1957) 11-12, p. 1071 ş.u.

¹² Silvestru Bălănescu, "Serbarea Duminicii la creştinii antici", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, I (1874) 1 and 12.

¹³ Silvestru Bălănescu, "Întrebuințarea Sfintei Scripturi la serviciul divin în Biserica creștină antică", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, III (1877) 9.

¹⁴ Silvestru Bălănescu, "Despre posturi", in: Biserica Ortodoxă Română, II (1876) 2, 6 and 11.

¹⁵ Silvestru Bălănescu, "Despre diferite sărbători", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, II (1876) 1 and III (1877) 2.

Arhiereul Ghenadie Enăceanu, Istoria Tedeumurilor în Biserica creştină şi specialminte în cea română, in magazine "Biserica Ortodoxă Română", VIII (1882) 11 and 12.

¹⁷ Arhiereul Ghenadie Enăceanu, "Panoghia", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, VIII (1882) 11.

¹⁸ Arhiereul Ghenadie Enăceanu, *Cărțile ritualului Bisericii Române ortodoxe – Evangheliile. Studii istorico-literare*, Bucuresti, 1895.

¹⁹ Arhiereul Ghenadie Enăceanu, *Iconografia. Arta de a zugrăvi templele și icoanele bisericești*, București, 1891. This work will be reprinted in Bucharest in 1903.



cult²⁰, Dipticele sau pomelnicele bisericești²¹, Cultul în genere și cultul creștin²², Cinstirea și venerațiunea Sfintei Fecioare²³, Sfintele Scripturi în uzul liturgic²⁴. Another professor of Liturgics from Bucharest with modest contributions in this field of Theology is C. Erbiceanu. Among his studies, we recall the most important: Liturghierul din 1702²⁵, Tipicul în Biserica Ortodoxă²⁶, Elemente de Paschalie²⁷, Despre termenii întrebuințați în serviciul bisericesc și în cărțile de ritual în Biserica noastră ortodoxă²⁸, Cântarea și imnografia în Biserica primitivă. Modul și dezvoltarea ei în Biserica Orientală Ortodoxă²⁹. Also at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Bucharest, we mention Professor Badea Cireșanu, from whom we have two studies: one about Vechile baptistere creștine³⁰ and the second about "Nartica" sau Pronaosul Bisericilor Ortodoxe³¹.

At the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Chernovtsy, we recall Professor Teodor Tarnavschi, who had a valuable contribution to the development of the Romanian liturgical literature through specialized studies, published especially in the pages of the journal "Candela". Among these, we recall the study on the Eastern Rite Liturgy *Despre cele mai însemnate Liturghii*

²⁰ Dragomir Demetrescu, "Muzica de cult", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, XXII (1896) 1 and 2; XXIV (1898) 8 and 9.

²¹ Dragomir Demetrescu, "Dipticele sau pomelnicele bisericești", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, XX (1894) 4.

²² Dragomir Demetrescu, "Cultul în genere şi cultul creştin", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Ro-mână*, XXXVI (1910) 8 and XXXVII (1911) 4.

²³ Dragomir Demetrescu, "Cinstirea și venerațiunea Sfintei Fecioare", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, XXXVIII C (1912) 6, 7 and 8.

²⁴ Dragomir Demetrescu, "Sfintele Scripturi în uzul liturgic", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, XXXII (1906) 7 and 8.

²⁵ C. Erbiceanu, "Liturghierul din 1702", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, XIV (1889), pp. 157-164.

²⁶ C. Erbiceanu, "Tipicul în Biserica Ortodoxă", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, XVI (1891) 6, 7 and 8.

²⁷ C. Erbiceanu, "Elemente de Paschalie", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, VIII (1882) 6.

²⁸ C. Erbiceanu, "Despre termenii întrebuințați în serviciul bisericesc și în cărțile de ritual în Biserica noastră ortodoxă", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, XVIII (1893) 3.

²⁹ C. Erbiceanu, "Cântarea și imnografia în Biserica primitivă. Modul și dezvoltarea ei în Biserica Orientală Ortodoxă", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, VII (1881) 1 și 3.

³⁰ Badea Cireșanu, "Vechile baptistere creștine", in: Vocea Bisericii, 1894 2, 3, 4, 5.

³¹ Badea Cireșanu, "«Nartica» sau Pronaosul Bisericilor Ortodoxe", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, XXX (1904) 1.



ale Bisericii Orientale³². The study includes not only precious historical references to the origin and particularities of Eastern Liturgy and the non-Calcedonian one in their manuscripts and printed editions, but also the form of their hymns and prayers, translated from the editions of the great Western collections of liturgical texts. Among his studies, we recall: Scurtă explicare a ritului Sfântului Botez și al Sfântului Mir³³, Zidirea, întocmirea și decorarea dinlăuntru a locașului dumnezeiesc, cum o cere Biserica și Tradițiunea³⁴, Caracterul poetic al servicului divin ortodox oriental³⁵. Although these articles by Professor Teodor Tarnavschi are "written in a tumultuous Romanian language, full of Latin and German lexical and syntactic elements ... they retain their scientific value, most of them being useful to research today"³⁶. The fact that some of these articles were translated into German, contributed to the knowledge of Romanian theology abroad, especially in the German-speaking countries.

Apart from the above-mentioned contributions, in the landscape of our liturgical literature until the First World War some modest textbooks of Seminary are also available. We remind the following contributions: Calistrat Coca, *Liturgica Bisericii drept-măritoare a Răsăritului*³⁷, Prof. Icon. St. St. Călinescu, *Liturgica penttru seminarii*³⁸, Icon. Ilklarie Teodorescu, *Liturgica, pentru cl. VIII de seminar*³⁹ and Rev. Prof. Traian Vățianu from the Theological Institute of Arad publishing a liturgical manual for secondary schools, titled *Liturgica Bisericei Ortodoxe Române. Manual pentru Școalele secundare aprobat de către Veneratul Consistor ortodox român din Arad*⁴⁰. We also remind St. Călinescu, professor at

³² Teodor Tarnavschi, "Despre cele mai însemnate Liturghii ale Bisericii Orientale", in: *Candela*, years 1892-1893.

³³ Teodor Tarnavschi, "Scurtă explicare a ritului Sfântului Botez and al Sfântului Mir", in: *Candela*, year 1895.

³⁴ Teodor Tarnavschi, "Zidirea, întocmirea și decorarea dinlăuntru a locașului dumnezeiesc, cum o cere Biserica and Tradițiunea", in: *Candela*, year 1894.

Teodor Tarnavschi, "Caracterul poetic al servicului divin ortodox oriental", in: Candela, year 1905.

³⁶ Pr. Prof. Dr. Ene Braniste, *Literatura liturgică în Teologia românească*, p. 130.

³⁷ Calistrat Coca, *Liturgica Bisericii drept-măritoare a Răsăritului*, 1905.

³⁸ Prof. Icon. St. Călinescu, *Liturgica penttru seminarii*, Craiova, 1903 and București, 1911.

³⁹ Icon. Iklarie Teodorescu, *Liturgica*, pentru cl. VIII de seminar, Bucuresti, 1923.

⁴⁰ Liturgica Bisericei Ortodoxe Române. Manual pentru Scoalele secundare aprobat de către Veneratul Consistor ortodox roman din Arad, Edițiunea a treia, Tipografia Diecezană Ort. Română, Arad, 1919.



the Seminaries in Bucharest, who published an interesting liturgical interpretation of popularization, with the title *Dialog între Moș Dragne și logofătul Stoica Călineanu explicând întregul organism liturgic*⁴¹. During the same period there were also printed some Typikon textbooks written by clergy, archbishops and priests, who were good liturgists. Of these, it is worth mentioning for their practical use, those written by Rev. I. Teleaga⁴², from Moldova, Rev. D. Lungulescu⁴³ from Craiova and Archim. Fotie Balamace⁴⁴, professor at the Seminaries from Bucharest, in Valachia.

In the difficult historical conditions which the former theological academies of the Romanian Orthodox Dioceses of Transylvania functioned until their desintegration in 1948, the professors of Liturgics from these educational institutions could not elaborate valuable studies except for a few interesting articles about the old Romanian books of service in Transylvania, having as author the tireless researcher of the past of the Transylvanian Church life, Rev. Dr. Gheorghe Ciuhandu from Arad⁴⁵. The works and studies of this researcher with liturgical content are as follows: his PhD thesis titled Ritul răsăritean pe teritoriul ungar⁴⁶, which also includes information of a liturgical nature. Another liturgical work is Sfânta și Dumnezeiasca Liturghie în lumina altor rugăciuni ale Sfintei Biserici Ortodoxe⁴⁷. We also recall the work Rânduiala sfintei Mărturisiri la Români. Însemnări rituale⁴⁸, a work dedicated to the Holy Confession in Romanian liturgical practice. Finally, we recall the work Cărti de afurisanie sau de blăstăm⁴⁹, a work that refers to a reprehensible liturgical reality in the past of our Church. An article by Father Ciuhandu, with

⁴¹ St. Călinescu, *Dialog între Moș Dragne și logofătul Stoica Călineanu explicând întregul organism liturgic*, București, 1904.

⁴² Preotul I. Teleaga, *Tipiconul cu note ritualistice* (manual litografiat), 1901.

⁴³ Pr. D. Lungulescu, *Manual de practică liturgică*, București, 1926.

⁴⁴ Arhim. Fotie Balamace, *Explicațiuni la practica liturgică*, multiplied several times by lithography.

⁴⁵ See: Pr. Dr. Gheorghe Ciuhandu, *Rânduiala Sfintei Mărturisiri la români*, Editura "Glasul Bucovinei", Cernăuți, 1933.

⁴⁶ Pr. Gheorghe Ciuhandu, Ritul răsăritean pe teritoriul ungar, Cernăuți, 1907.

⁴⁷ Pr. Gheorghe Ciuhandu *Sfânta și Dumnezeiasca Liturghie în lumina altor rugăciuni* ale *Sfintei Biserici Ortodoxe*, Arad, 1936.

⁴⁸ Pr. Gheorghe Ciuhandu, *Rânduiala sfintei Mărturisiri la Români. Însemnări rituale*, Cernăuți 1933.

⁴⁹ This book brings together several articles on this subject by Father Gheorghe Ciuhandu, published in: *Revista Teologică*, between 1927-1930.



exclusive liturgical content, published in the Central Church Magazine "Biserica Ortodoxă Română", holds particular attention to us. It is about the study Un vechi Molitvelnic manuscris în Bihor, în legătură cu alte Molitvelnice⁵⁰, a particularly dense and rigorous study. Also in Arad we mention some modest liturgical contributions by Father Ion Nicorescu, professor of Liturgics, Church Singing and Typikon at the Pedagogical-Theological Institute of this city during 1901-1902. His contributions in the field of Liturgics are concretized in two studies: Practică fără tipic⁵¹ and Anafora⁵². Other teachers from the Theological Institute of Arad who also had modest contributions to the development of the Romanian liturgical literature are: Augustin Aron Hamsea (1849-1916), who published the following liturgical-pastoral articles: Din greutățile vieții pastorale⁵³; Preoții din bătrâni și preoții de astăzi⁵⁴; Momente hotărâtoare în viața preotului⁵⁵; Cultura materială și cultura formală a preotului⁵⁶; Vasile Mangra (1850-1918), the future Metropolitan of Transylvania, published during his professorship at the Theological Institute in Arad the work Slujba sfințirii bisericii, după două manuscrise din anii 1674 și 1757⁵⁷; professor Trifon Lugojan (1874-1948), who edited in 1937 Carte de rugăciuni și cântări bisericești⁵⁸, which had instead of preface, "the brief interpretation of the services, books, singing, and the usual words in the church language"59; Rev. Caius Turicu (1895-1968), from whose writings

⁵⁰ Pr. Dr. Gheorghe Ciuhandu, "Un vechi Molitvelnic manuscris în Bihor, în legătură cu alte Molitvelnice", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, LIX (1941) 9-10, pp. 536-576.

⁵¹ Pr. Ioan Nicorescu, paroh ort. rom. în Jabăr, jud. Severin, "Practică fără tipic", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, L (1932) 6, p. 433-434.

⁵² Preotul Ioan Nicorescu, "Anafora", in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, LI (1933) 9-10, pp. 415-418.

⁵³ Arhim. Augustin Hamsea, "Din greutățile vieții pastorale", in: *Revista Teologică*, I (1907) 1, pp. 12-15.

⁵⁴ Arhim. Augustin Hamsea, "Preoții din bătrâni și preoții de astăzi", in: *Revista Teologică*, I (1907) 3, pp. 85-89.

⁵⁵ Arhim. Augustin Hamsea, "Momente hotărâtoare în viața preotului", in: *Revista Teologică*, I (1907) 4, pp. 129-133.

⁵⁶ Arhim. Augustin Hamsea, "Cultura materuială și cultura formală a preotului", in: *Revista Teologică*, I (1907) 9-10, pp. 328-336.

⁵⁷ Ierom. Vasile Mangra, *Slujba sfințirii bisericii, după două manuscrise din anii 1674 și 1757*, Arad, 1905, XXII + 335 p.

⁵⁸ Trifon Lugojan, *Carte de rugăciuni și cântări bisericești*, ediția V, Tiparul Tipografiei ortodoxe române, Arad, 1937.

⁵⁹ Trifon Lugojan, Carte de rugăciuni și cântări bisericești, p. III.



we note those with liturgical content: first of all the work Primiți Sfânta Taină a Cuminecăturii⁶⁰, a liturgical and pastoral work, and the article Atitudinea liturgică a preotului⁶¹; Rev. prof. dr. Ilarion V. Felea (1903-1961), the illustrious theologian of Arad. We only mention his studies which deal with liturgical or pastoral problems. These are: *Pocăința*, studiu de documentare teologică și psihologică⁶², his PhD thesis, which addresses the issue of repentance or confession from a liturgical and pastoral perspective; Sfintele Taine⁶³, in which besides the theological-dogmatic presentation of the notions referring to each of the Holy Mysteries its liturgical order is also presented with short symbolic explanations, lacking in the approach the problems of pastoral nature; Biserica - Împărăția lui Dumnezeu⁶⁴; Teologie și preoție⁶⁵, a very dense theological study which has also many references to the priest's concrete pastoral work, to his inner life, and to the relation between theology and the priesthood from the perspective of spiritual life. We also find notions of Liturgies in his work entitled *Religia iubirii*⁶⁶. We cannot help but mention *Antologhion*⁶⁷, which, although it does not explicitly mention an author, we know that it was written by Father Ilarion Felea as an obedience received from bishop Andrei Mager. In this work, the introduction is very interesting, with some useful teachings, contained in the wording Întrebări și răspunsuri. Câteva cunoștințe de seamă pentru cântăreții Bisercii. În this part reference is made to the origins of the religious worship, to the holy places, objects, and sacrifices, to the books of the Church, to the seven services, to Church chants and the names of each one, a small dictionary of Church terms, the melodies used for the various ecclesiastical chants and a brief explanation of the content of Antologhion. As can be easily seen, this introductory part of the Antologhion includes many liturgical notions, constituting a

⁶⁰ Pr. Caius Turicu, Primiți Sfânta Taină a Cuminecăturii, Arad, 1926.

⁶¹ Pr. Caius Turicu, "Atitudinea liturgică a preotului", in: *Biserica și Școala*, LII 22, 27 may 1928, pp. 1-2.

⁶² Pr. Dr. Ilarion V. Felea, *Pocăința, studiu de documentare teologică și psihologică,* Sibiu. 1938.

⁶³ Pr. Dr. Ilarion V. Felea, Sfintele Taine, Sibiu, 1946.

⁶⁴ Pr. Dr. Ilarion V. Felea, *Biserica – Împărătia lui Dumnezeu*, Sibiu, 1947.

⁶⁵ Pr. Dr. Ilarion V. Felea, *Teolgie și preoție*, Arad, 1939.

⁶⁶ Pr. Dr. Ilarion V. Felea, *Religia iubirii*, Arad, 1946.

⁶⁷ Antologhion sau Carte de rugăciuni și cântări bisericești pentru duminicile și sărbătorile și slujbele de peste întocmită spre folosința preoților și a cântăreților Bisericii, Editura Episcopiei Aradului, f.a.



true catechism or liturgical guide. The last liturgical contributions of the professors from the Theological Institute in Arad are those of Rev. Professor Ioan Petreuță (1904-1983), entitled Rugăciunile pentru cei morți⁶⁸. This work, though it is dogmatic in character, also contains much liturgical information, referring to how the Church, through its divine worship, fulfils its duty to the sleeping ones, mentioning them in her prayers. We also remember the contributions in this area of Fr. Demian Tudor (1912-2001), Jertfa laudei. Predici liturgice pentru toate duminecile de peste an^{69} , which is in fact the reunion of all the liturgical sermons that His Holiness published in the journal "Biserica și Școala", during 1943-1944. The work is modelled on a liturgical manual or guide, including notions of divine worship, its development, and significance; Church, its form, its settlement and its parts; notions concerning the chapel, the bell tower, the wayside cross and the cemetery; the church hierarchy; on Sundays, feasts, fasts, the days of the dead; liturgical symbols; liturgical vestments; church books; the holy icons and relics of the saints; concepts of liturgical prayer; church chanting; reading the Holy Scripture and preaching; exhortations concerning the signing of the holy cross; notions regarding the blessing, the position of the body at the holy services, and finally the explanation of the seven church prayers and of the Holy Mass, the work ending with a sermon on the benefits of the Divine Liturgy.

Also in Transylvania, a very good synthesis appeared - *Sfinţii români*, written by Rev. Prof. Liviu Stan from Sibiu⁷⁰ and the Church Typikon Manual, by Rev. Prof. P. Procopoviciu, called *Ritualistica*⁷¹, compiled according to the old textbooks of the Bucovinian specialists in the Church Typikon.

Other contributions from the Romanian liturgical literature during this period are the publications related to the calendar issue in the context of the adoption of the calendar in the Romanian Orthodox Church in 1924 and of the discussions concerning this event. Thus, some liturgical articles justify this adjustment of the calendar, and others combat stylism or opposition regarding the adoption of the new calendar. Thus, in the context of the preparatory work for the introduction of the revised calendar in our Church from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, a thorough study on calendars and Paschal cycle by Professor C. Popovici

⁶⁸ I. Petreuță, *Rugăciunile pentru cei morți*, Oradea, 1937, 22 pp.

⁶⁹ Preot Demian Tudor, *Jertfa Laudei. Predici liturgice pentru toate duminecile de peste an*, Editura Diecezana Arad, 1945.

⁷⁰ Pr. Prof. Liviu Stan, Sfinții români, Sibiu, 1945.

⁷¹ Pr. Prof. P. Procopoviciu, *Ritualistica*, Oradea, 1936.



appeared in Chernivtsi, with the title *Capitolul al VII-lea al literii P din Sintagma alfabetică a lui Matei Vlastare "Despre Sfintele Paști"*⁷². From this period we also remind the book by engineer C. Donici, *Calendarul Bisericii de Răsărit în stil vechi și nou, reguli de computaplicabile și la calendarul Bisericii de Apus*⁷³, and in the first part of the 20th century the brochure by Remer-Anselm, *Despre calendarele creștine și unificarea lor*⁷⁴, the articles of archimandrite Iuliu Scriban regarding this issue in the journal "Biserica Ortodoxă Română", published between 1923 and 1924, as well as the work of Prof. V. Gheorghiu, *Noțiuni de cronologie, calendaristică și calcul pascal*⁷⁵ and of Prof. Dr. C. Chiricescu de la Bucharest, *Calendar bisericesc ortodox pe toți anii*⁷⁶.

On the other hand, the discussions that took place towards the end of the 19th century and up to the middle of the 20th century, connected with the Armenian Church in our country, brought some studies and works dedicated to the doctrine and cult of this church in the liturgical publications. In this regard, we recall the work of Prof. L. Sarmacaş, *Taina Botezului şi Liturghia Bisericei Armene de Răsărit*⁷⁷, and the work of V. Mestugean, *Sfânta Liturghie a Bisericii Armene, în românește cu textul original în față*⁷⁸.

III. The first university textbooks of Liturgics written in the early 20th century

III.1. The contribution of the Faculty of Theology from Chernivtsi

The first serious scientific contribution in the Romanian theology, as regards the assertion of the Liturgies as a disciple of education, is that

⁷² C. Popovici, under the title "Capitolul al VII-lea al literii P din Sintagma alfabetică a lui Matei Vlastare «Despre Sfintele Paști»", in: *Candela*, year 1898.

⁷³ C. Donici, Calendarul Bisericii de Răsărit în stil vechi și nou, reguli de computaplicabile și la calendarul Bisericii de Apus, Craiova, 1898.

⁷⁴ Remer-Anselm, Despre calendarele creștine și unificarea lor, București, 1919.

⁷⁵ V. Gheorghiu, *Noțiuni de cronologie, calendaristică și calcul pascal*, București, 1936.

⁷⁶ Dr. C. Chiricescu de la București, *Calendar bisericesc ortodox pe toți anii*, București, 1923.

⁷⁷ Prof. L. SARMACAȘ, *Taina Botezului și Liturghia Bisericei Armene de Răsărit*, Iași, 1895.

⁷⁸ V. Mestugean, *Sfânta Liturghie a Bisericii Armene, în românește cu textul original în față*, București, 1937.



of the Rev. Prof. Vasile Mitrofanovici from the Faculty of Theology in Chernivtsi, who published the first Liturgics Handbook, entitled *Prelegeri* academice din Liturgică, spread in a lithographed form⁷⁹. Father Professor Vasile Mitrofanovici was a good acquaintance of Slavic and German languages, using more Russian and German sources of information, while neglecting the sources of patristic literature, the Byzantine and the Neo-Greek literature⁸⁰. These initial shortcomings in the handbook of Father Vasile Mitrofanovici will be largely revised in the first printed edition of the handbook by Father Teodor Tarnavschi, from the same Faculty of Theology, with the handbook appearing in Chernivtsi in 1909, this time under the title of Prelegeri academice despre Litrugica Bisericii dreptcredincioase răsăritene. Father Professor Teodor Tarnavschi was a man of a wide culture who, besides being aware of everything published in the liturgical field in the German and Russian theological literature of the time, was also a good acquaintance of classical languages, Greek and Latin. His contribution to this liturgical book is very important, especially in the study of the history of Christian worship, from the sources of patristic and Byzantine literature⁸¹. These two editions of the first Liturgics handbook, edited in our country, were followed by a third edition directed by Metropolitan Nectarie Cotlarciuc, which appeared in Chernivtsi in 1929. The edition is superior to that of 1909, especially because the form of exposure was revised. This liturgical manual, the first of its kind in the Romanian liturgical literature, is a rather deficient one, especially in the field of historical information, the information regarding the evolution of the cult of the Church being rather limited and poor, much left behind "to the progress made by the history of the Christian cult until the very last edition"82. However, in the absence of another handbook, "the course of Mitrofanovici-Tarnavschi was the most complete and best academic

⁷⁹ Pr. Prof. Dr. Ene Braniște, "Literatura liturgică în Teologia românească", p. 128.

⁸⁰ Pr. Prof. Dr. Ene Braniște, "Literatura liturgică în Teologia românească", p. 129.

⁸¹ Pr. Prof. Dr. Ene Branişte, "Literatura liturgică în Teologia românească", p. 129. Referring to the work of his father Professor Teodor Tarnavschi, Father Professor Ene Branişte shows that "by his activity at the chair and in journalism ... he raised the Romanian liturgical science at European level, his works being nothing inferior to those published by the great contemporary foreign liturgists with him" (Pr. Prof. Dr. Ene Branişte, "Literatura liturgică în Teologia românească", p. 130).

⁸² Pr. Prof. Dr. Ene Braniște, "Literatura liturgică în Teologia românească", p. 129.



Liturgics manual of all Orthodox theology for a long time"⁸³, consulted and used even beyond the borders of our Church, its first edition also enjoying the honour of a translation into Serbian⁸⁴.

III. 2. The contribution of the Faculty of Theology in Bucharest

Another Liturgics course is the one published by Professor Badea Cireşanu from the Faculty of Theology of the University of Bucharest, entitled *Tezaurul liturgic al Sfintei Biserici Creştine Ortodoxe de Răsărit,* in three volumes (Bucharest, 1910, 1911, 1912). This handbook extends both as a stretch (with 1278 pages) and as a form of exposure, the university course printed by Fr. Proof. Mitrofanovici and Tarnavschi, which appeared approximately the same period. At the same time, the course of Professor Badea Cireşanu is inferior to that from Chişinău, due to the lack of an author's overall view on the content and limits of his discipline, including many chapters and information outside the liturgics field (such as those relating to the cults of pagan religions, in Volume II, pp. 7-49) and also by some negligence in the scientific method⁸⁵. The course of Professor Badea Cireşanu is

"not so much a systematic and scientific liturgical course as a «treasure», containing a rather rich and varied material, gathered with great toil but expose without too much order and critical spirit. However, today's researcher can still find in it and use precious information and helpful suggestions with caution and necessary verification"86.

IV. Romanian Liturgical Literature in the middle of the 20th Century

A new stage in the evolution of our liturgical literature between the two world wars was inaugurated by the arrival of Priest Professor Petre

⁸³ Pr. Prof. Dr. Ene Braniște, "Literatura liturgică în Teologia românească", p. 129.

⁸⁴ Translation made by Prof. L. MIRCOVICI from the Faculty of Theology in Belgrad, under the title *Pravoslavna Liturgika*, 3 vol., Belgrad and Carlovit, 1918, 1920 and 1926.

⁸⁵ Pr. Prof. Dr. Ene Braniște, "Literatura liturgică în Teologia românească", p. 124.

⁸⁶ Pr. Prof. Dr. Ene Braniște, "Literatura liturgică în Teologia românească", p. 125.



Vintilescu at the Liturgical and Pastoral Chair of the former Faculty of Theology in Bucharest. As Professor Ene Branişte characterized him, Professor Petre Vintilescu was "aware of everything that had so far been best in Western liturgical literature (especially French and German)" - he «raised» the Romanian liturgical theology at a high scientific level'" Romanian liturgical theology at a high scientific level' Father Petre Vintilescu "paid special attention to the study of the patristic sources of the history of Christian worship, developing (...) the most deficient side of our liturgical study: the historical one' Romanian liturgical study: the historical one' And the studies and courses developed by Father Professor Vintilescu generally address the historical aspect of worship development. We recall in this respect the doctoral thesis itself, titled *Cultul şi ereziile*, as it is "a convincing historical demonstration of the close dependence between dogma or the teaching of faith, and the external forms of divine worship" As Professor Ene Braniste notes, this work

"recommends its young author as a liturgist endowed with appreciable qualities of study: passion for research, wealth in information and documentation, objectivity and critical spirit, scrupulousness and meticulousness in research of springs and the formulation of truth, sobriety and academic level in the form of exposure" ⁹¹.

His many works and studies reach all the fields of research of Liturgical Theology:

"its bibliography and sources, the order of divine services (liturgical and typikon practice issues), the history and explanation of Christian worship, liturgical philology, Church art in the service of worship, worship and the different aspects of religious and social life, etc"⁹².

⁸⁷ Pr. Prof. Dr. Ene Braniște, "Literatura liturgică în Teologia românească", p. 126.

⁸⁸ Pr. Prof. Dr. Ene Braniște, "Literatura liturgică în Teologia românească", p. 126.

⁸⁹ Pr. Petre Vintilescu, Cultul and ereziile, Pitesti, 1926.

⁹⁰ Pr. Prof. Dr. Ene Braniște, "Literatura liturgică în Teologia românească", p. 126.

⁹¹ Pr. Prof. Dr. Ene Braniște, "Literatura liturgică în Teologia românească", p. 126.

⁹² Pr. Prof. Dr. Ene Braniște, "Literatura liturgică în Teologia românească", p. 127.



His Holiness also develops a General Liturgics course titled *Principiile* si fiinta cultului crestin ortodox, which, without claiming an exhaustive approach of this part of the Liturgics, develops mainly the historical side of the development of the worship. In addition, Father Vintilescu has also elaborated a special course Istoria cultului creștin⁹³. From the same series of studies dedicated to the history of the worship, we recall Father Petre Vintilescu's work Liturghiile bizantine privite istoric în structura și rânduiala lor⁹⁴. Thus, Father Petre Vintilescu creates a new direction in Romanian liturgical theology, bending mainly on the historical dimension of cult development. Within these preoccupations with the history of worship, Father Petre Vintilescu also addresses the historical side of the development of Orthodox Liturgy. Towards the end of his activity, he published Liturghierul explicat. As the author confesses in the note on the first edition, the work wants to be a "historical, exegetical and typikon presentation of the church services of the evening, morning and Holy Liturgy, services that make up the main and major content of the book called Euchologion"95. Other contributions of Father Petre Vintilescu on various worship issues are the works Contribuții la revizuirea Liturghierului român⁹⁶ and Despre poezia imnografică din cărțile de ritual și cântarea bisericească⁹⁷.

During this period in Moldova, Prof. Dr. I. Zugrav was distinguished as a great liturgist, the last holder of the Department of Liturgics and Pastoral Studies at the Faculty of Theology of Suceava, which merged with the Theological Institute from Bucharest in 1948. Among his studies of high

Partially printed in Încercări de Istoria Liturghiei. Liturghia creştină în primele trei veacuri, Bucharest, 1930. This course appears in a more complete edition, including a special chapter on liturgical rites, in 1940, under the supervision of Father Ene Braniste.

⁹⁴ The work is published in Bucharest in 1943. About this work, Father Ene Branişte appreciates that it can be considered "the author's most valuable work of maturity", being "a remarkable study through the solidity of the documentation, the accuracy of the scientific method of work and the sobriety of the style..." (Pr. Prof. Dr. Ene Branişte, "Literatura liturgică în Teologia românească", p. 82).

⁹⁵ Pr. Prof. Dr. Petre Vintilescu, *Liturghierul explicat*, Editura Institutului Biblic and de Misiune al Bisercii Ortodoxe Române, Bucharest, 1998, p. 7.

⁹⁶ Pr. Prof. Dr. Petre Vintilescu, Contribuții la revizuirea Liturghierului român, Bucharest, 1937.

⁹⁷ Pr. Prof. Dr. Petre Vintilescu, *Despre poezia imnografică din cărțile de ritual and cântarea bisericească*, Bucharest, 1937.



scientific excellence, we mention the following: *Sfânta Cruce ca obiect liturgic*⁹⁸, *Cultul morților. Studiu liturgic și pastoral*⁹⁹, *Un manuscris din anul 1419 al Liturghiei Sfântului Vasile cel Mare*¹⁰⁰, *Cultul nostru văzut de cunoscători străini*¹⁰¹. After his retirement in 1948, Father I. Zugrav continued his initial preoccupations, those of editing and publishing old manuscripts and liturgical prints, less or less known until then, by publishing articles in the magazine "Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei".

Regarding the former Faculty of Theology from the University of Iasi, in its short period of existence (1927-1940), the liturgical publications of its professors are reduced to a study by Professor of Canon Law N. Popescu-Prahova, *Canonizarea (Sfinților) în Biserica Ortodoxă*¹⁰², the volume of small studies by Economus C. Popovici, *Studii religios-morale și liturgice*, as well as some isolated articles appearing in various magazines by prof. P. N. Timuş, like: *Dezvoltarea istorică și esența postului creștin, Nașterea Domnului în cultul Bisericii Ortodoxe, Utrenia pascală*¹⁰³.

V. Conclusions

- 1. Liturgical works were written lately in Romanian at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, constituting translations of Greek-language works by Romanian culture people such as Ieremia Cacavela or the future bishop of Râmnic, Chesarie Georgescu.
- 2. In the nineteenth century, Metropolitan of Moldova, Veniamin Costachi, generated a new stream of Romanian translation of Greek and Slavic texts related to the explanation of divine worship. In the same century, in Transylvania the translation of a liturgical text from Serbian was made by the priest Dimitrie Ţichindeal from Arad. All these liturgical interpretations were meant to

⁹⁸ Pr. Prof. Dr. I. Zugrav, Sfânta Cruce ca obiect liturgic, Suceava, 1937.

⁹⁹ Pr. Prof. Dr. I. Zugrav, *Cultul morților. Studiu liturgic și pastoral*, Suceava, 1937.

¹⁰⁰ Pr. Prof. Dr. I. Zugrav, Un manuscris din anul 1419 al Liturghiei Sfântului Vasile cel Mare, Suceva, 1938.

¹⁰¹ Pr. Prof. Dr. I. Zugrav, Cultul nostru văzut de cunoscători străini, Suceava, 1939.

¹⁰² N. Popescu-Prahova, "Canonizarea (Sfinţilor) în Biserica Ortodoxă", in: Candela, year 1942.

¹⁰³ See Pr. Prof. Dr. Ene Braniște, "Literatura liturgică în Teologia românească", p. 128.

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- respond to catechetical needs, being meant for a wider circle of readers, clergy, monks, or simple laity, and thus having the form of simple expositions.
- 3. In the second half of the nineteenth century there appeared the first school books of Liturgies and Church Typikon for the students of the schools of singers and of the diocesan seminars, printed in all the Romanian provinces. As regards the first Romanian books of Liturgics for theological seminaries, they represent more or less original works of their authors, or simple translations or processing made by various priests or professors from the seminaries of that time, according to some Greek or Russian texts. Besides these textbooks for theological seminaries, during the nineteenth century there were also other works of liturgical translations, written by some clergy for the purpose of popularization, after Greek and Russian sources. At the same time, at the Faculty of Theology of the University of Bucharest, the Department of Practical Theology which it was included in and the Liturgies discipline was held, successively and temporarily, by several teachers, whom we have only modest articles, studies or fragments of the courses their from. At the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Chernytsi we recall Professor Teodor Tarnavschi, who made a valuable contribution to the development of the Romanian liturgical literature thorough specialized studies, published especially in the pages of the journal "Candela". In spite of the difficult historical conditions in which the former theological academies of the Romanian Orthodox Dioceses of Transylvania functioned until their dissolution in 1948, interesting studies and articles were prepared here by the Liturgics teachers from the higher theological institutions of Arad and Sibiu. Other contributions from the Romanian liturgical literature during this period are the publications related to the calendar issue in the context of the adoption of the calendar in the Romanian Orthodox Church in 1924 and of the discussions concerning this event.
- 4. The first serious scientific contribution from the Romanian theology, as regards the assertion of Liturgics as a disciple of education, is the work of professors Vasile Mitrofanovici, Teodor Tarnavschi and Nectarie Cotlarciuc from the Faculty of Theology



- of Chernivtsi, who published the first liturgical textbook entitled *Liturgica Bisericii Ortodoxe Răsăritene*, in 1929. Another liturgical course is the one published by Professor Badea Cireşanu from the Faculty of Theology of the University of Bucharest, entitled *Tezaurul liturgic al Sfintei Biserici Creştine Ortodoxe de Răsărit*, in three volumes edited in 1910, 1911 and 1912.
- 5. A new stage is inaugurated in the evolution of our liturgical literature between the two world wars by the arrival of Priest Professor Petre Vintilescu at the Liturgical and Pastoral Chair of the former Faculty of Theology in Bucharest. His many works and studies reach all fields of research of the discipline of Theology, His Holiness also elaborating a course of General Liturgics. Father Petre Vintilescu creates a new direction in the Romanian liturgical theology, bending mainly on the historical dimension of the cult development.