

IMPRECATION IN BOOKS OF CURSES¹

Abstract: Romanian eighteenth century reflects a cultural dialogue where the Greek tutelage appears as defining against the expansion of the ideas of the French 'Lumières.' In this context of cultural confluences characterizing the Romanian space, we propose to approach the first Romanian rhetoric from the perspective of the immutable versus the 'esprit du siècle.' We track in a diachronic perspective the evolution of a figure coming from the classical rhetoric to the one adapted to the Romanian space (Rhetoric of Piuaru Molnar, chapter 34 'To Curse') and its impact on customary and normative law of the analyzed century.

Key words: rhetoric, books of curses, re diplomatia.

Romanian Rhetoric: Between Implicit and Theory

Rhetoric manifested itself in our old culture as a rhetoric implicitly stated through the scholar aspect of the literary language, which had undergone a long process of honing due to the writings of Miron Costin, Dimitrie Cantemir, Dosoftei, Antim and so on. The acquisition of the art of rhetoric occurred in an early era of Romanian usage, following patterns derived from Slavonic, Latin or Greek, whose mastering required considerable effort, as highlighted by linguists and historians of literary Romanian. This accumulation and adaptation of formulas, rules and patterns was achieved in the peculiar circumstances of the birth of a literature in the vernacular language, although the mechanism of this process may be correlated, apart from the works of the aforementioned writers, with the teaching of grammar and rhetoric in the princely and monastery academies that existed in the 17th century and the following centuries.

In Romanian diplomacy, or more exactly in the ecclesiastical documents we shall refer to in the following, the borrowing of terms or formulas excluded to a large extent the notion of innovation or coinage. We do not refer here to the general adoption of the diplomatic terminology, signalled in Romanian studies ever since the beginning of the 19th century, but especially to a single subdivision, namely that of *sanctio*. From a rhetoric perspective, this subdivision may be identified with *imprecatio*, and from the perspective of its content and finality it may be assimilated to the *anathema*. The peculiarity of this subdivision in the Orthodox-rite Romanian diplomacy lies in the fact that certain documents in which it was introduced acquired a juridical specialization. We refer here to the so-called *books of curses*, which are documents attested in Romanian in Wallachia and Moldavia starting with the 16th century and lasting until the beginning of the 19th century. In these documents, which served as items of evidence in secular and ecclesiastical courts of law, *imprecatio*, commonly assimilated with the *curse*, is shaped within the predetermined patterns of an impressive *re diplomatia*, which was only partially identified in theoretical writings in the Romanian space, though at a later date, after the appearance of the first work of rhetoric.

As it is known, the name of Ioan Piuaru Molnar is relevant to this moment in time. Reputable researchers of the history of culture and literary language have disputed Molnar's paternity of the manual called *Rhetoric, Namely the Teaching and Drawing*

¹ Laura Bădescu, University of Pitești, laura.e.badescu@gmail.com

This paper has been written for the project entitled 'Capitalizing on Cultural Identities in Global Processes', co-financed by the European Union and the Romanian Government from the European Social Fund through the Development of Human Resources Operational Program 2007-2013, financing contract no POSDRU/89/1.5/S/59758.

Up of Beautiful Discourse (Buda, 1798), hypothesizing that he only edited it.¹ Thus, although this first rhetoric can no longer be numbered among the original writings of Romanian culture, its appearance may be correlated with the didactic finality² and the effort to adapt Romanian language to the elitist norms that the translation of such a treatise requires even nowadays is extremely laudable. The option to edit a manual of rhetoric illustrated prevalently by examples taken from patristic literature³ during a period marked by a surge of enlightenment will most likely have been taken in the spirit of exemplary models, since the range of religious problems had witnessed a comeback in the whole of Europe. It is not without significance that among the first such theoretical preoccupations for Romanian we can number those aimed to draw up a sacred rhetoric, following patterns with a long practice in the West. Here we shall only draw attention to the treatise entitled *Principii de retorică și elocuința amvonului* (=Principles of Rhetoric and Eloquence at the Pulpit), projected both as a rhetoric of argumentation and of the ornate discourse ('It is not enough that the author should only have a good plan and solid proof, but he should also embellish them with vivid and powerful expressions,' p. 108).

Imprecatio in Treatises of Rhetoric and in Diplomacy

The tradition of analysis of this figure asserts itself on the line of biblical hermeneutics, liberal arts and patristic writings (see for example Cassiodor's *Expositio Psalmorum* or the *Sermon on Whitsuntide Sunday* of Saint Chiril from Turov). Equally, *imprecatio* was correlated with *sanctio* in pontifical offices (see *Le Liber diurnus*) and lasted up to the dictaminis treatises (such as Alberic du Monte Cassino's *Breviarum de dictamine*) and further on to documents serving as models included in pontifical diplomatic manuals that were widespread in Western Europe⁴ for a long time.

¹ The researchers pointed out not only the similarities with fragments from various writings (see Antim Ivireanul's *Didahiile*), but also the fact that the language and stylistic peculiarities from the manual of *Rhetoric* do not identify with those present in the Transylvanian scholar's other books (*Economia stupilor* or *Istoria universală*) (= Economy of Bee-Breeding or Universal History). The comparative philological study written by professor N. A. Ursu demonstrated that the first rhetoric manual in Romanian reproduces, all but entirely, Francis Scufos's manual, entitled *Téhni ritorikis* (Venice, 1681).

² At the time, the *Rhetoric* had been announced by Samuil Micu in *Historia Daco-Romanorum sive Valachorum* and by Radu Tempea in *Cuvântare înainte* (=Foreword) to *Gramatica românească* (=Romanian grammar) (1797) as being an integral part of the effort to eliminate 'all the chaff that had invaded our language'.

³ See the introductory study of the edition of the *Rhetoric*, where A. Sasu (p. 6 and the following) notices, alongside these, other examples from Plato, Demosthenes, Pindar, Euclid, Prometheus, Thucydides or Plutarch, but also from similar works by Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian.

⁴ See A. de Bouiard. *Manuel de diplomatie française et pontificale*, II, Paris, Editions A. et J. Picard & Cie, 1952, p. 15-16: 'Ea vero racione quod ipsi canonici qui ibi Deum serviunt ipsa vinea teneant sine iussione de nullo episcopo nec de abato; et si episcopus aut abas vel ullus omo aut ulla oposita persona(t) ea tenere voluerit, primus ira Dei omnipotentis et omnium sanctorum incurat et cum Juda traitore qui Deum trait participationem abet, et postea ad eredes meos reuerted. Sane si quis, ego aut eredes mei vell omo, qui contra donacione vel elemosione iste ulloque tempore ire, inquietare aut inrumpere voluerit, non vale[at vi]ndicare quod repetid sed comp[o]net in vinculo auri obtimi libra I, et in antea donacio ista omnique tempore firma stabilis permaneat omnique tempore, cum stipulacione interposita pro omni firmitate subnixa.' (Fragment from the Act of Donation drawn up by Marcia to the Saint Pierre church..., March 1010).

Close to the century when the books of curses became more and more widespread, the impressive volume *De Re Diplomatica* written by Johannes Mabillon had been printed in several editions. Dealing with all the subdivisions of the epistolary range of formulas, Mabillon drew up, just like his illustrious predecessor, Marculf, a list of *imprecatio* formulas, which he inserted in a detailed history of their use in royal and ecclesiastical offices, in private or public documents¹.

In the Romanian manuals and treatises of rhetoric², used either in secular or ecclesiastical schools³, whether they were printed or left in manuscript form, the illustration of *imprecatio* was carried out with enough diligence and skill. If in the *Rhetoric* edited by Molnar⁴ or in that of Archimandrite Dionisie¹ the trope had been

¹ See Chapter VIII: I. Diplomatum imprecationes an ferendae. II. Poenarum quatuor genera in chartis apponi solita. III. Multa seu mulcta corporalis & pecuniaria in regis & imperialibus. IV. Item in ecclesiasticis, in quibus sapius occurrunt imprecationes. V. Earum exempla aud Graecos. VI & VII. Apud Latinos formulae earumdem ex Conciliis & legibus. VIII. Item exempla in testamentis Aredii Abbatis. IX. Radegundis, & Bertchramni Episcopi. X. Theudelindae Reginae. XI & XII. & aliorum. XIII. Ad hoc imprecationes Synodi Romane. XIV. Chrothildis matrone. XV. Sanctorum Bonifacii & Arnulf Episcoporum in seipsos. XVI. Zacharie Pape. XVII. Johanns Ravennatis. XVIII & XIX Reges Francorum Merovingici & Carolingi rarius utuntur imprecationibus. XX. An etiam Imperatores Caroline stirpis. XXI & Capevingi Reges. XXII. Anglicani eis untuntur. XXIII. Item Hispanici. XXIV raro Germani. Cap XIX: I. Privilegii Aeduensis imprecationes expenduntur: II & III. Opposite de eis eruditorum sententiae. IV. Sententia media. V, VI & VII Admissa imprecatione depositionis quid afferi pobit? Pro Gregorio M. VIII. Unde hec imprecatio desumta. IX. Que mens hac in re Gregorio fuisset etc.

² Ioan Piuariu Molnar, cited work, 1798 ed., pp. 271-274; Romanian manuscript 43: I. Maiorescu's *Curs pentru retorică (=Course of Rhetoric)* (A. Nestorescu edition, 2002, p. 220); D. Gusti, *Ritorica română pentru tinerime (=Romanian Rhetoric for Youth)*, M. Frînculescu edition, 1980, p. 155.

³ Archimandrite Dionisie, cited work, 1859 edition, p 137-138; Romanian manuscript 520: *Curs începătoriu de retorică, seau regule pentru frumoasa vorbire (eloquentia)* (=A course of Rhetoric for Beginners, or Rules for Beautiful Speech (eloquentia) – 19th century, f. 149 and others.

⁴ See the 1798 edition, pp 271-274 : “Să face blestemul, când cineva neputând cu făpta a păgubi pre vrăjmaș, îl blestemă cu limba, și îi fiincă iaste cu neputință, cu mână și cu fier să-l piarză din lume, îi poștește din inimă și din suflet boli, sărăcii, înecare, moarte, și după cum zice pilda, o Iliadă de răutăți și un mușuroiu de sărăcie. De această shimă trebuie să să ferească ritorul cel creștin pre cât să poate, fiindcă Învățătoriuul nostru Hc nu numai cu cuvinte și cu fapte ne-au sfătuit, ci și cu groaznică poruncă ne-au poruncit ca să iubim pre brăjmași, și să nu le poftim niciodată vreun rău, însă pentru ca să dăm și aici pildă, chipul blestemului va fi vânzătoriuul Iuda, căruia să cuvin toate blestemele lumii, fiindcă au vândut pre acela, care, cum zice Pavel, s-au făcut blestem, pentru ca să ne slobozească pre noi oamenii din blestemul păcatului. Unde ești Iudo, noule Luțifere al Ierarhii Apostolești? Încă trăiești? Încă răsufli, o vicleanule? Încă vezi lumina Soarelui tu, care ai vândut pre Lumina cea adevărată, și o ai stins cu întunecarecul morții? (..)” (= ‘The curse is come true, when someone who cannot harm his enemy with his deeds, curses him with his tongue, and since it is beyond his power to waste him from this world with his hands or sword, whole-heartedly casts on him diseases, poverty, drowning, death, and, as the saying goes, an Iliad of wicked things and a mountain of scarcity. The Christian believer should keep away from this habit as much as possible, because our Teacher J. Christ counselled us not only by means of words and deeds, but also ordered us with a most terrible order, to love our enemies, and to never wish them harm, but if we are to serve an example too, we say that the face of the curse is Judas the traitor, who merits all the curses in the world, because he betrayed the one who, as Paul says, turned to curse, so that we people may be freed from the curse of sin. Where are you, Judas, the new Lucifer of the Hierarchy of the Apostles? You still alive? You still

illustrated by examples from the Bible, but also from light and peasurable books, in the former through the assimilation and interpretation of examples, in the latter by reproducing the examples, in the manuals of rhetoric and epistolary manuals that would later appear, the examples taken from sacred literature would become more and more scarce, until they eventually disappeared altogether.²

In this manner, the trope reflects the major changes that occurred in society together with the modification towards reading becoming a leisure activity and opting for a certain manner of presenting the examples. After studying the theoretical texts that illustrated the trope until the first half of the 19th century, we notice that the formulas of the curse proclaimed by a bishop were not used in order to illustrate the former (we refer here mainly to the curse stipulated in the books of curses or in *sanctio* in certain acts, written especially on matters pertaining to monastery matters: property, will, etc.), not even when examples from patristic writings were extracted. This fact confirms the major difference that was applied, because if the curse pronounced by a bishop does not illustrate the *imprecatio* category, this shows that on the one hand it had a totally different function or well-determined finality at the time, and on the other, that its impact was especially powerful, so much so that it was also used for matters other than the normed ones.

Imprecatio and the bishop's curse

Due to reasons that belong to the diplomatic subdivisions of the documents issued by Romanian offices, we consider that *sanctio* from the books of curses identifies

breathe, you, slyest of all? You still see the light of the Sun, you, who sold the real Light, and put It out with the darkness of death? (...)'.

¹ Dionisie the Arhimandrite, *cited work*, vol. II, p 137: 'Impricațiunea, blestemu, este o figură prin care Oratorul, pătrunsu fiindu de sentimente de mânie, de desprețu, de ură, chiamă asupra cuiva răsbunarea cerească, pedepse, nenorociri, nevoi etc. Psalmul 108 ne înfățișază unu modelu de imprecățiuine. Asemene și esemplele următoare: <<Blestemat pământul întru lucrurile tale; în necazuri vei mânca dintr-însul în zilele vieții tale, spini și pălămidă va răsări ție, până te vei întoarce în pământu că pământu ești și în pământ te vei întoarce>> (Facere cap 3, v. 17). <<Oriunde vei merge să calci, o stăpâne! Pe trup fără de viață și-n visu-ți să-l vezi! Să strângi tu în mână, mâni de sânge pline! Și orice ț-or spune tu toate să crezi! Să-ți ardă plămâni d-o sete adâncă./ Și apă, sărmame, să nu poți să bei! Să simți totdeauna pe capu-ți o stâncă/ Să pleci a ta frunte la cine nu vrei! Să nu se cunoască ce bine vei face! Să plângi, însă lacrimi să nu poți vărsa! Și orice dorință, și orice-ți va place./ Să sece îndată ce tu vei gusta.>> (= 'The imprecation, the curse, is a figure by which the Orator, filled by feelings of anger, contempt, hate, calls upon someone the holy revenge, punishment, misfortunes, needs, etc. Psalm 108 illustrates a model of imprecation. Just like the following examples: Cursed be the earth and your works; in misfortunes you shall eat from it for the rest of your days, thorns and horse thistles will sprout from the ground for you, until you return to the ground because that's what you are and to the ground you shall return' Genesis chap. 3, v. 17). 'Wherever your steps may take you, oh, Master! /May you step on a lifeless dream and see your dream too! /May you clasp in your hand hands full of blood! /And whatever they tell you you shall believe! /May your lungs be scorched by deep thirst, / And water, you wretched man, may you not find! May you always feel the burden of a rock on your head/ May you lower your forehead to those you refute! /May no one know your good deeds! May you cry, yet not be able to shed tears! / And any wish you may have, and whatever you may like, may it run dry as soon as as you taste it.' Bolintineanu" .)

² See Ioan Maiorescu, *Retorica* (= Rhetoric), edition and introductory study by Andrei Nestorescu, p.220; Romanian Manuscript 520 (19th century) *Curs începătoriu de ritorică, seau regule pentru frumoasa vorbire (eloquentia)* (=A Course of Rhetoric for Beginners, or Rules for Beautiful Speech (eloquentia), f. 149, Blestemu (= Curse) (*Imprecatio*).

with *imprecatio* in its religious extension that we called *the bishop's curse*. We do not refer to the official documents¹ issued by the church in order to anathematize, but only to the books of curses, Romanian acts in which the curse proclaimed by a bishop has a firm finality, on the basis of which the subsequent declarations of a recipient (often a multiple one) are considered as irrefutable evidence. As is known, the books of curses were issued by the top hierarchs of the Romanian Church or from Jerusalem in order to find out the truth in well-determined cases (most frequently in trials aimed to establish the boundaries of estates, of forests, etc.). The circulation of books of curses in Greek dwindles at the dawn of the 15th century and attests, insofar as the Romanian space is concerned, the subordination of our churches and monasteries to Jerusalem or Athos.

The recipients of books of curses were made to confess in writing, sometimes even on the back side of the document, everything they believed, had heard or knew to be right with regard to the cause that formed the object of the act. This confession was supposed to be entirely true, otherwise the curse proclaimed by a bishop would fall on them in a most frightening manner.

The wide use of these documents at the dawn of modernity has a statistical support. We should point out that the National Archives in Buchares and the corpus of documents preserved in the stock of books of the Metropolitan church, dioceses, monasteries and convents from Wallachia total approximately 351 such acts written by patriarchs of Jerusalem, metropolitan bishops or bishops in the interval between the 17th century and the beginning of the 19th century. For the latter century, the most representative are the two registries preserved at the Library of the Romanian Academy, namely *Romanian manuscript 3989* and *Romanian manuscript 3990* respectively.

Thus, *Romanian manuscript 3989 – Registry comprising the decisions of the Metropolitan Church of Wallachia to issue books of curses in various cases, especially those concerning properties and trespassing of estates, for the years 1847-1850* – comprises the written reference to the issuing of 75 books of curses in 1850, while the *Romanian manuscript 3990 – Registry comprising the decisions of the Metropolitan Church of Wallachia to issue books of curses in various cases, especially those concerning freedoms and trespassing of estates (1859-1862)* mentioned the issuing of 48 books of curses during the year of 1860; 49 books of curses in 1861; two books of curses in 1862.

Beyond these attestations, which confirm the existence of a category of juridical and administrative acts, we notice that the curse proclaimed by a bishop appears to have been almost standard. It is very likely that this aspect too, that of the immutable formula, contributed to its not serving as an example for the illustration of the trope in treatises of rhetoric.

If we refer to the European bibliography for this field preceding the 18th century, we notice nevertheless that among the *imprecatio* formulas² from *De Re Diplomatica* used in kingly and ecclesiastical offices, phrases appear that form what we nowadays call a bishop's curse. The wide dissemination of these phrases in Western diplomacy until the 12th century is attested by documents not only in the afore-

¹ The curse pronounced by a bishop may be encountered in a variety of acts, from documents attesting someone's property to the books of consigning to damnation or of strengthening through curse (documents issued by the patriarch or metropolitan bishop with the aim of enforcing a decision taken by the ruler and related to administrative or juridical matters).

² See cited edition pp. 96-106.

mentioned volume, but also later on, in A. de Boüard's¹ treatises and shows us that in those times *imprecatio* had not become specialized and also that the separation of sacred and profane formulas had not yet occurred. It is likely that only the history of ecclesiastical law will provide references to exactly when this specialization did occur. This is especially true since the Orthodox space was normed almost exclusively by the Nomocanon until the great Schism. The procedure of anathematization included in the Nomocanon with all that it entails (from the one who had the right to issue it to the one who is its addressee, all the way up to spiritual and material formulas and punishments) started to be used by almost all Orthodox peoples,² reaching even the status of a practice that due to its high frequency eventually fell in disgrace and was condemned (as attested by the history of the Russian Church).

The fact that in our country there occurred a specialization amounting to a juridical value of the oath is doubtless due to the role that the Orthodox church had in Romanian society and its involvement in the courts of law of the Divan. Owing to *Correcting the Law*, this procedure became well-known in the Romanian Orthodox space too, entering the collective memory under various forms³.

As a matter of fact, the curse proclaimed by a bishop with formulas that are very close or even identical with the ones used in our country is encountered in Russian documents until the time of Patriarch Nifon⁴, in Serbian documents⁵, and, most certainly, in Greek acts. The fact that in some Serbian and Russian documents the curse proclaimed by a bishop is inserted at the *sanctio* level shows that it had the status of usual practice, and was as widespread as in our country. Even if the curse cast by a bishop from the *sanctio* in the Serbian and Russian diplomatarium studied so far appears more as a reminiscence of the epistolary formulas, because it does not have the same finality, nor the same impact (which is proved by the simplification of the formulas of *sanctio* to a single word: *anathema*), it nevertheless attests a procedural unity and a common imaginary realm. It would be significant to prove that it was used exclusively in ecclesiastical documents and to delimit it from the curses in folklore/literary usage, even if was absent in treatises of rhetoric and in epistolary manuals.

As far as the Romanian books of curses are concerned, we consider that on the level of *sanctio* the specialization of *imprecatio* occurred due to the old ecclesiastical normative juridical texts, not through treatises of rhetoric or manuals of epistolography. The entire complex of circumstances in which the books of curses appeared and functioned lead to the specialization of the curse pronounced by a bishop and to its

¹ See A. de Boüard, *Manual de diplomatique française et pontificale*, I-II, Paris, Editions de Auguste Picard, 1929, 1948 ; 1-281-290 passim; II 143, 251-253.

² See J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1986, pp. 304-310.

³ On the topic of the common places from normative texts and books of curses, see Laura Bădescu, 'Books of curses and normative codes in the 18th century,' in *Language and Literature – European landmarks of identity*, nr. 8/2011, Pitești, Editura Universității din Pitești, pp. 171-179; Laura Bădescu, „Les Lettres de malediction et la norme“, in vol. 'Contemporary Perspectives On the Medieval World,' nr. 2, 2010, Pitești, Editura Tiparg.

⁴ See for example William Palmer, *The patriarch and the tsar*, vol III – *Condemnation of the Patriarch Nikon by a plenary Council of the orthodox catholic eastern church*, London, Trubner and Co., 1873, pp. 76, 431.

⁵ See *Шематизм, православне епархје*, 1899, pp. 44-45.

identification with the official oath at the beginning of the 19th century, which is confirmed in Caragea's *Legislation* (1818).

References

- Boüard, A. de, (1929, 1948), *Manual de diplomatique française et pontificale*, I-II, Paris, Editions de Auguste Picard.
- Braileoiu Cluceru C. N., coord., (1854), *Legiuirile civile ale Țării Românești coprinzând Legiuirea Domnului I. G. Caragea coordonată cu dispozițiile civile ale Regulamentului Organic, cu legiuirile mai noi, cu ofisurile domnești, și cu circularele departamentului dreptății prin care s-a complectat, s-a îndreptat și s-a deslușit* (=Civil Legislations of Wallachia comprising the Legislation of Ruler I. G. Caragea co-ordinated with the civil decisions of the Fundamental Regulation, the more recent legislations, the princely offices, and the memorandums of the Department of Justice through which it was completed, corrected and clarified, Bucharest, Adolf Ulrich Bookstore.
- Dionisie Arhimandritul (=Dionisie the Archimandrite), (1859), *Principii de retorica și elokuinta amvonului în zilele înaltimei sale Alessandru Ioan I, Domnu Principatelor Unite Moldo-Romania ku bine kuvintarea Inaltu Prea Sfantitului Mitropoletu alu Moldovei & DD Sofronie Miklesku* (= Principles of Rhetoric and Eloquence At the Pulpit in the Days of His Highness Alessandru Ioan I, Ruler of the United Moldo-Romanian Pricipalities with the Benediction of The Most Holy of Bishops of Moldavia & DD Sofronie Mikleshu), Iassi, Tipografia Buciumului Romanu (=Buciumului Romanu Printing Works).
- Georgescu, V. Al.; Strihan, P., (1979) *Judecata domnească în Țara Românească și Moldova 1611-1831. Partea I. Organizarea judecătorească* (=Princely Judgment in Wallachia and Moldavia 1611-1831. Part I. Organization of the Judiciary), vol. I (1611-1740), Editura Academiei RSR, București.
- Hussey, J.M., (1986), *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- ***, (1962), *Îndreptarea legii, 1652* (=Correcting the Law), edition co-ordinated by Andrei Rădulescu, București, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române.
- Mabillon, J., (1709), *De re diplomatia libri vi. Accedunt Commentarius de antiquis regum Francorum palatiis, Veterum scripturarum varia specimena, Nova ducentorum, & amplius monumentorum collectio*, ediția a II-a (=2nd ed.), Paris, Lutec.
- Mazilu, D. H., (2001), *O istorie a blestemului* (=A History of the Curse), Editura Polirom, Iași.
- Molnar, I., (1798) *Retorică, adică învățătura și întocmirea frumoasei cuvântări* (=Rhetoric, Namely the Learning and Drawing Up of Beautiful Discourse), Buda, Creasca tipografia Orientalicească în Universitatea Pezti.
- Palmer, W., (1873), *The patriarch and the tsar, Condemnation of the Patriarch Nikon by a plenary Council of the orthodox catholic eastern church*, III, London, Trubner and Co.
- ***, (2002), *Texte uitate – texte regăsite*, I, (Viața sfântului Hristofor. Pentru fulgere și tunete cum să fac. „Omul ca iarba, zilele lui...”. Manualele școlare ca pregătire a orizontului de așteptare pentru cititorii români din secolul al XVIII-lea. Ioan Maiorescu, „Retorica”) (= Forgotten Texts – Recovered Texts, I, Life of Saint Hristofor. The Causing of Bolts of Lightning and Claps of Thunder. ‘Man Like a Leaf of Grass, His Days...’ School Textbooks As a Preparation for the Horizon of Expectations of Romanian Readers During the 18th Century. IOan Maiorescu, ‘Rhetoric’ Editions and Introductory Studies by Silvia Marin-Barutcieff, Cătălina Velculescu, Adriana Mitu, Manuela Anton și Andrei Nestorescu, Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, București.
- ***, (1899), *Шематизам, православне епархіе, Дубровнику*.