Romanian *Hieratikons* printed by St. Antim Ivireanul: in 2013, 300 years from the printing of the Romanian *Hieratikon* at Târgovişte

Policarp CHIŢULESCU

Die Einführung der rumänischen Sprache in die liturgischen Texte, vor allem aber in die Göttliche Liturgie, wird dem heiligen Anthim zugeschrieben. Nachdem er mehrere liturghische Bücher ins Rumänische übersetzt und veröffentlicht hatte und Mitropolit der Walachei geworden war, ließ er im jahre 1713, in Tergowisch das Hieratikon, als eine gesondertes Buch drucken. Der Grundtext für die rumänische Übersetzung war aus dem griechischen Euchologion aus Venedig, 1691 (N. Glykis) übernommen. Der heilige Anthim hat auch Bezug auf frühere Ausgaben und auf slawo-rumänische Ausgaben genommen, hat allerdings den Verdienst, die Liturgie vollständig ins Rumänische übersetzt zu haben und das Hieratikon auf eine praktische Art und Weis strukturiert zu haben, welche man bis heute beibehalten hat. Mit einer sehr angenehmen rumänischen Sprache, welche die liturgische Sprache festigt. Das Hieratikon des Anthim von 1713 wird bis heute benutzt, um den Gläubigen die göttliche Botschaft von der Menschwerdung des Wortes Gottes zu vermitteln.

Schlüsselwörter: Liturgie, Anthim, liturgische Sprache.

Next year will be the anniversary of 300 years from the printing of the *Hieratikon* by Saint Antim, at Târgovişte. The issue of this important book that serves at the Incarnation of the Word of God in the Eucharist invites some new considerations, moreover so because the book is in use up to this day, in the form the martyr hierarch thought and exposed.

The translation of the holy texts in the Romanian language and its introduction in the religious service – a few milestones

Romanians have used the spoken Romanian language long before the introduction of the printing press on their territory, but the situation of the internal politics and the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchy over the Romanian Church delayed the introduction of the national language in the public religious service. The first attempts took place during the 16th century in Transylvania, in the printings of the deacon Coresi, but they did not bring about the expected results. The few items of the coresian volumes that were preserved (whose circulation was reduced to the Transylvania area) show a courageous inception, but

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they were far from inspiring the trust of the hierarchs and clerics of those times, mostly because of the contamination of these books with protestant ideas. Among the Romanian printings that appeared through the efforts of Coresi we can mention the Psalter (Braşov, 1570).

The preparation for the introduction of the Romanian language in the public religious service began with the printing of ethical, exegetical and judiciary texts, that could be used in churches and schools: *The Law Collection from Govora*- 1640, *The Gospel for Study,* Bălgrad- 1641, *Romanian Book for Study*, Iaşi- 1641 and 1643, *The Gospel with Teaching*, Govora -1642, *Teachings for All the Days*, Câmpulung- 1642, *The Gospel with Teaching*, Dealu-1644, *Seven Religious Mysteries*, Iaşi-1644 etc; the first book in Romanian that could be used in the religious service, largely disseminated, is the *New Testament from Bălgrad*-1648, followed by a second book necessary to the religious service, the *Psalter from Bălgrad*- 1651; its second foreword is a true orthodox catechism[1]. The one that continued and courageously supported the translation and printing of texts in Romanian was the Metropolitan Ştefan of Wallachia (1648-1653; 1655-1668). His effort, both financial and intellectual, generated much resistance, as he himself confesses about those that „*protested and found fault with their Shepherd"* because of his courage of „*changing a few of the norms and of proposing them in Romanian"*[2]. He is the first one who prints or approves the issuing of a few Slavic rites, but with the rules and important directions in Romanian, to be used by priests in the churches: *The Burial of Priests*, Târgovişte - 1650, *Mystirio or Sacrament*, Târgovişte -1651, *The Consecration of Churches*, Târgovişte -1652. To all these can be added the voluminous *Correction of the Law* that was also issued at Târgovişte in 1652. Years later, in Moldavia, after the industrious Varlaam, another courageous one, the Metropolitan Dosoftei takes an even more daring step: the publication of the liturgies in Romanian. In 1679 was issued at Iaşi *The Hieratikon* translated from the Greek, as Dosoftei himself confesses in the foreword[3]. In order to justify his courageous act, Dosoftei cites the answer of the Patriarch of Antiochia, Teodor Balsamon, at the question of Marcu, the Patriarch of Alexandria, regarding the canonicity of the introduction of national languages in the religious service, that took place as early as the 12th century in Syria and other places in Asia and Africa, where the Greek language had been abandoned in favor of the local one. The second edition of the *Liturgy*, also issued at Iaşi, in 1683, contains a note (f.25v) that invokes for the canonical issue of that Romanian book the blessing

[1] See our study *Considerations about the importance of the Psalms Book from Bălgrad in 1651*, in the vol. *Polychronion for the professor Nicolae - Şerban Tanaşoca at 70 years*, Bucharest, 2012, p. 135-142.

[2] Foreword at *Mystirio or Sacrament*, Târgovişte, 1651 (I. Bianu and N. Hodoş, *Bibliografia Românească Veche*, Vol. I p.182), he also is the first one to say the *Creed* in Romanian for the first time in the church. cf. Liana Tugearu, *Miniatura şi ornamentul manuscriselor din colecţia de artă medievală românească a Muzeului Naţional de Artă al României*, vol. II, Bucureşti, 2006, p. 292.

[3] *The Godly liturgy*, Iaşi 1679 ff.1-2.

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of Patriarch Partenie of Alexandria, who was stationed in Moldavia at the time[4]. *The Liturgy* of Dosoftei contained, apart from some prayers and preaching, rules that were serviced only by the bishop, like, for example, the service for the consecration of the antimysion, for lack of a proper *Archieraticon*.

After *the gift offered to the Romanian language*[5] by the Metropolitan Dosoftei, the efforts for the translation of the holy texts continued at Bucharest. In the printing press established by Varlaam the Metropolitan of Hungarowallachia, the *Hieratikon* appeared in 1680 under the supervision of Teodosie, the Metropolitan of Hungarowallachia, but only with the Romanian cultic rules, because, as the Metropolitan confesses: „*and I neither wanted nor dared to put the whole liturgy in our language and to move it thus... for a lot of other reasons that pushed me through"*[6]. However, the old Metropolitan was the first to print in 1682, entirely in Romanian, to be read in churches, *The Gospel*, with the pericopas ordered according to Greek practice, after the three great periods of the liturgical year: *Pentecostarion*, *Octoechos*, *Lenten Triodion,* and in 1683 there appeared, also in Bucharest, the *Apostolos*, also entirely translated into Romanian, with its contents ordered according to the liturgical year. Further on, at Bălgrad, *The Book of Hours* was printed in 1687 (and the *Euchologion* in 1689), and at Bucharest were printed: the monumental *Bible* (1688), *The Greek-Romanian Gospel* (Bucharest, 1693), *The Psalter* (1694) then, at Snagov, the Romanian *Gospel* (1697). Another great tireless printer of holy books in the language of the people was the Bishop Mitrofan of Buzău (a former apprentice of the Metropolitan Dosoftei). His most important work consists of the *Menaia* from 1698 with the proverbs, synaxaria and typikon in Romanian. The option for the Slavic-Romanian variant (a transition toward the full Romanization of the religious services) was adopted also for his next books that were printed at Buzău: *The Euchologion* (1699; 1701), *The Octoechos* and *The Lenten Triodion* (1700), *The Pentecostarion* (1701), *The Psalter* (1701) and *The Hieratikon* (1702). These were soon followed by the *New Testament* at Bucharest (1703), printed by St. Antim Ivireanul. Another great teacher of the introduction of the national language in the divine service, somehow foreshadowed in history, was the Bishop Damaschin that followed Mitrofan at Buzău (+1703). He made extensive translations of the holy texts into Romanian, but they were published much later, after his death. However, he only managed to print at Buzău the second edition of the *Apostolos* (1704).

The one that consecrated the introduction of the Romanian language in the cultic service of our Church was the St. Hierarch Antim Ivireanul. He is the real creator of the Romanian liturgical language that is still used in liturgical books today. After the *New Testament* of 1703, he printed more liturgical books, but they

[4] The Metropolitan Dosoftei published at Iaşi, right after the *Liturgy* of 1679, more books in Romanian: *Psalter for understanding* (1680), *Euchologion for understanding* (1681), *Lives of saints* (begun in 1682 and finished to print in 1686).

[5] *The Godly liturgy*, Iaşi, 1679, the first folio of the Foreword.

[6] *The holy and godly liturgy*, Bucharest, 1680, f.5v.

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were Slavic-Romanian (*The Antologion* and *The Little Octoechos* issued at Râmnic in 1705). In 1706, St. Antim printed in Romanian, for the first time in Wallachia, also at Râmnic, the most needed liturgical books: The Hieratikon and The Euchologion, bound together under the Greek name of Euchologion. This new initiative was the definitive step toward the consolidation of the presence of the Romanian language in the cultic service of our Church. The rapid dissemination of these two books in all the Romanian Countries was due to its reception amid the priests and it hastened a second edition, with the Hieratikon and the Euchologion printed as separate volumes at Târgovişte, in 1713.

We must not forget that St. Antim had published first the liturgy in Greek even as early as 1697 in the Snagov *Antologion*, a text that was later reprinted in the beautiful and elegant Greek-Arab volume also at Snagov, in 1701, and in 1709 the Greek liturgy was included in the *Church service* printed at Târgovişte. We mention the fact that of the Greek liturgies here reffered to, only the Greek-Arab Hieratikon contains typikonal indications.

Because the Romanian *Hieratikon* appeared as a self standing book only in 1713, at Târgovişte, it was believed to be the first Romanian Liturgy printed by St. Antim[7].

Knowing that the *Hieratikon* from Râmnic (1706) opened the way to the *Hieratikon* from Târgovişte (1713), we will present in detail the context of the publication of this prototype in 1706 and the ones who toiled for it.

The Euchologion of 1706

After only one year as Bishop at Râmnic, St. Antim published the *Euchologion that is M(o)l(i)tv(e)n(i)c now first printed in this way, and laid down after the rules of the Greek one.* Even from the first reading, the title indicates the fact that this is the first time a volume of such structure is published, based on the Greek one. That means that for the first time the *Hieratikon* was being published together with the *Molitvenic* in a single volume, under the old name of *Euchologion.* The term of *Euchologion* meant an anthology of all the prayers needed for the consecration (the deification) of man, including the Mystery of the Eucharist (the liturgy). Later on, the term of *Euchologion* was used (especially by the Romanians) for what is today understood by *Molitfelnic*, that is all the Holy Mysteries and other prayers beside the liturgy.

At the end of the Râmnic ***Euchologion*** we find specified the Greek edition that the editors, supervised by the sire Antim, have used. At page 453 we can read the following: „*But you also must know this that if you will examine in detail the rules and the translation of this M[o]l[i]tv[e]n[i]c, and if you will match them with some lettered sources, see where they be printed, and there be no match, do not hasten to defame, because we have followed the Greek M(o)l(i)tv(e)n(i)c that was printed by Nicolae Glyki[s] in the year from Christ 1691. And as much as we could, both for*

[7] Pr. N. Şerbănescu, *Antim Ivireanul tipograf* in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, LXXIV (1956) nr. 8-9, p. 741.

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meaning and rules we have added here and there a translation for the shortening of the Romanian language and also for the teachings and rules for ordinary priests, and in order to help them. And those that were completely omitted were such because they are for bishops and others because they are not used in service here". By examining the Greek ***Euchologion*** we reach some conclusions that remove a lot of former doubts and assumptions. The Greek edition from 1691 printed in Venice, at the Editorial house of Nicolae Glykis, was at the moment among the newest and most accessible Greek editions of the *Euchologion*, probably also the most trustworthy, as long as St. Antim uses it, but we believe that he chose this one also for the fact that it had corrections from Ioan Avramie, who became a most devoted friend to him. (Greek editions previous to the one of 1691 existed, and even one issued one year after Glykis's edition, in 1692). Anyway, among the few books kept in St.Antim's personal library there are eight Greek Menaia (bound two by two), printed by the same N.Glykis, between 1678- 1685, to them can be added a ***Gospel***, printed in the same venetian printing press in the year 1686 that the hierarch signs in Greek: „*Anthimu, episkopu Râmniku"*[8].

The resort to Greek books instead of the Slavic ones is not a matter of surprise, they are written in the original language of the liturgical texts, and the relationship with the „*Great Church"* and to „*Sveta Gora"* (as it appears in the title of the ***Rules of the liturgy*** even as early as the editions prior to 1706 and 1713) becomes absolutely natural. Antim's studies, even in his youth, in the Greek environment at Constantinople, the influence of the circle of Greek scholars at the court of the voivode Brâncoveanu and his distrust for the Slavic books, generated by the numerous Western influences noticed in the books of the Metropolitan Petru Movilă, partly taken on by the liturgical reform of the Patriarch Nicon, made orthodox people's eyes to look constantly to the two great milestones of Orthodoxy: the Ecumenical Patriarchy and Mount Athos.

The Greek name of the printing from Râmnic in 1706, that is the ***Euchologion*** followed by its Slavic variant, ***Molitvenic***, confused researchers, inducing them to not see the ***Hieratikon*** from this volume or to believe that the ***Molitvenic*** is a more complete issue although, in this case, the two works formed together a single volume. In the old Church tradition, the Euchologion comprised the liturgies also. The oldest known Euchologions (IVth, VIIIth century)[9] confirm the presence in a single book, both of the rules for the Eucharist (the liturgy) and for the other Holy Sacraments, the liturgy itself being in fact the Sacrament of the Holy Communion.

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[8] Arhim. Policarp Chiţulescu, *Cărţi din bibliotecile medievale româneşti păstrate în Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod*, Bucureşti, 2011, p. 22-26. Why didn't St. Antim use the Greek edition of the *Euchologion* of 1692 printed at the publishing house of Andrea Iuliano? Maybe because Iuliano had published in 1687 a Greek-Latin liturgy destined for the Unitarians? Mistrust can appear easily, the moments 1699 and 1701 were not at all far in time. Also after the edition of 1691 of the *Euchologion,* St. Antim took on the Greek text introduced in the *Greek-Arab Hieratikon*, published at Snagov in 1701.

[9] Translated and printed in Romanian by the deacon Ioan I. Ică in the vol. *Canonul Ortodoxiei I, Canonul apostolic al primelor secole*, Sibiu, 2008.

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The ***Euchologion*** from Râmnic has the following structure: the title page + 6 folios not numbered (comprising the note about the use of national languages in the cultic service, the editor's foreword and the contents)+ 12 numbered pages (***Rules for deacons***) + 190 numbered pages (***The Hieratikon***) and after that 453 numbered pages (***The Molitvenic***)[10]. The direct research of several copies from this printing shows us the way it was in fact printes and disseminated. From the printing press, the ***Euchologion*** came out as a rather inconvenient book, voluminous, with a title that comprised the Hieratikon and the Molitvenic together, like the Greek edition of 1691 (but the two had their own page numbering, with a common title page). This direct take on is justified by the editors in the note at page 453, reproduced by us earlier. Because it is a book of extensive use, the possessors-users (the priests) preferred to separate the Hieratikon from the Molitvenic out of practical reasons for handling and in order to protect them from wearing out. What could have been the use of the Molitvenic also staying on the holy table while the priest oficiated the liturgy? What could have been the use for the priest to take with him at a sick man's bed the Hieratikon also, while he only needed the Molitvenic? In this way, every priest broke them apart and bound them in consequence. The least numerous copies of the 1706 ***Euchologion*** are the complete ones, that have bound together the ***Hieratikon*** and the ***Molitvenic***, but most of the copies circulated separately as *Hieratikon and as Molitvenic*, only a few of these having a title page. The Holy Synod Library in Bucharest owns a complete copy of the *Hieratikon* and the *Molitvenic* that circulated in Transylvania[11]. Besides this one, the synod Library owns three more ***Hieratikons*** and one ***Molitvenic*** that once were part of a Euchologion from Râmnic from 1706[12]. They were by no means printed

[10] The Bishop Damaschin (Dimitrie) Coravu also believed that the volumes were bound and distributed separately, as two distinct works. Although he described with many corrections the *Euchologion* from Râmnic in 1706, he erroneously adds to the *Molitvenic* in this volume a foreword (7 unumbered folios) although there are only 453 pages. The 7 unnumbered folios (in fact, the title page+ 6 folios) were placed only at the beginning of the *Euchologion* consisting of the Hieratikon and the Molitvenic. This error occurred because the author did not encounter a complete *Euchologion* (Râmnic, 1706), in which the Hieratikon and the Molitvenic are bound together, that is why he states that: *„the two were probably, projected to be a single volume*." Also see *Precizări şi contribuţii la Bibliografia Românească Veche*, in *Mitropolia Olteniei*, XVIII (1968) nr. 9-10, p. 729.

[11] Purchased by the Romanian Patriarchy in 1961 from the heirs of Pr. dr. Gh. Ciuhandu.

[12] According to marginal notes, all the copies of the synod Library circulated in Ardeal and Banat. The Academy Library in Bucharest owns under the shelfmark I 150A, 8 *Hieratikons* and *Molitvenics*, most of them from Ardeal. The Central University Library in Bucharest also owns a copy of the Molitvenic originated from Ardeal cf. *Cartea veche românească în colecţiile Bibliotecii Centrale Universitare din Bucureşti*, Bucureşti, 1972, p. 52; for Banat we also find mentioned a copy cf. I. B. Mureşianu, *Cartea veche bisericească din Banat*, Timişoara, 1985, p. 88; in Şcheii Braşovului is kept a complete copy of the *Euchologion* that circulated in Ardeal cf. V. Oltean, *Catalog de carte veche din Şcheii Braşovului*, vol. II, Iaşi, 2009, p. 19; the Central University Library in Cluj owns two copies of the 1706 *Molitvenic* that also circulated in Ardeal. The research of the circulation of the copies will continue.

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separately[13], with their own title page, but their separation happened after they began circulating. The 3 Hieratikons taken out of the ***Euchologion*** from Râmnic, owned by the synod Library, have no title page. The copy of the separate ***Molitvenic*** has both a title page and the folios with the Pinax (contents) in which the content of the ***Hieratikon*** is to be found, even if it was removed and bound separately. Moreover, at page 190, the last page of the ***Hieratikon***, (in all its variants, separate or not from the ***Molitvenic***) there is the word „*Rându[ială]"(Rules)* that announces the title of the following page, and indeed, the Molitvenic begins with the *Rules at the first day after the woman has given birth*. So there is no ground for the idea that the binding together of the works was given up in the workshop and that each one received a title page and a table of contents (that would not even have corresponded to reality). This shows once more that the ***Hieratikon*** from Râmnic in 1706 was only printed and bound with the ***Molitvenic***, after the Greek model we cited.

As we have indicated, the ***Euchologion*** printed at Râmnic in 1706 constituted the final step for imparting a Romanian character of the holy service in the church, by circulating the most important and utilized liturgical texts in Romanian: the Holy Liturgy and the other six Holy Sacraments, besides the services for consecrations, synaxarion etc. This undertaking came after the complete translation in Romanian and introduction in the cultic service by St. Antim of the ***Gospel*** printed in two editions in 1693 and 1697 (Greek-Romanian), of the ***New Testament*** in 1703, followed by other cultic books. Being aware of this crucial moment, the editor placed on the first folio after the title page like the Metropolitan Dosoftei in 1679 a canonical and scriptic argument that allowed and justified the translation of the sacred texts in the national language. At St. Antim, the argument is presented completely in Romanian and it clearly reproduces a verse from the *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* chapter XIV, 6, and a text cited from Balsamon that uses the *Epistle to the Romans* chapter XXX, 29. The argument was reproduced in the ***Euchologion*** (the ***Molitvenic***) in 1713 from Târgovişte, but not in the ***Hieratikon*** from the same year.

The foreword of the ***Euchologion*** from Râmnic (1706) is addressed to Antim, the Bishop of Râmnic, being signed by his apprentice Mihail Iştvanovici. He offers us in his foreword precious information about the hierarch's contribution at the rendering of the holy texts in Romanian, but also in other languages besides the Greek, like Arabic: „*everywhere (even in the whole world) are known your efforts*

[13] As was assumed by I. Bianu and N. Hodoş, *Bibliografia Românească Veche*, vol. I, Bucureşti, 1903 pp. 541- 543, vol. IV, Bucureşti, 1944, p. 220; Pr. N. Şerbănescu, *Antim Ivireanul tipograf*, in: Biserica Ortodoxă Română, LXXIV (1956), nr. 7-8, p.731-732 and in *Mitropolitul Antim Ivireanul 1716-1966,* in: Mitropolia Olteniei, XVIII (1966), nr. 9- 10, p. 782-784; Virgil Molin, *Antim Ivireanul – editor şi tipograf la Râmnic*, in: Mitropolia Olteniei, XVIII (1966), nr. 9- 10, p. 832; Daniela Poenaru in *Contribuţii la Bibliografia Românească Veche,* Târgovişte, 1973 p. 180 (takes on uncertain data from D. Coravu op. cit.). ş.a.

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and well crafted books and the spiritual gains that you gathered for us of the Holy Scripture both by your big spending of money and with your love for God".

Many of the books were printed with the financial support of the hierarch, and the ***Euchologion*** from 1706 was published also at Antim's initiative: *„by godly effort you made commitment that this useful for the soul book also that is called Molitvenic, to bring it to light in our Romanian language for the use of the many. Considering your love for God because all the other that were published in Romanian until now to be used by the priests and the people, were indeed very useful, and moreover this also more useful you considered to be […] which is the way I say it considering with the whole your spending of your love for God".* The same co-editor makes a point of highlighting the fact that Antim made the selection of the contents of the volume in question, and that he then supervised, translated and personally corrected the text from Greek to Romanian (the underlining is ours): „*and even with the correction of the words from Greek in our language you strived, and you made a great effort of establishing it, and even all those that were not to be found in Romanian before you translated, and the way it can be seen to be made and I said it before spending all that was necessary, you ordered your undeserving apprentice, to print".* As we can understand, older texts, already translated, were also used: *rendered in Romanian before.* It is clear that St. Antim began the work for the translation of the Hieratikon and the Molitvenic before he was the Bishop of Râmnic, given the big volume of texts. He and his helpers probably used existent Romanian manuscripts, but he certainly used Slavic-Romanian and Greek printings of the day.

By comparing the previous editions of the liturgy with the one from 1706, we can see that the variant of the ***Euchologion*** from Râmnic reproduces the Romanian typikon from the edition printed at Bucharest in 1680, then at Buzău in 1702, but in some places, in 1706 some directions develop and become clearer, apart from the fact that all the prayers are rendered entirely in Romanian[14]. It is certain that Antim and his helpers also had at hand the Slavic text that they compared with the Greek one, when they translated it in Romanian. On the other hand, the contents of the following editions of the ***Hieratikons*** of 1706 and 1713 was diversified, being amplified in the editions from the 19th century and preserved until today.

We must highlight again the fact that the ***Euchologion*** from 1706 enjoyed a very special reception from the Romanian priests. The copies that survive (see note 12) indicate a large scale presence and use in Transylvania and Banat, and the worn aspect of the folios confirms this yet again.

[14] The typikon and the rules of the service in itself actually constitutes *Diataxis tis ierodiakonias* and *Diataxis tis Theia Litourgeias* in the phrasing of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Filotei Kokkinos (1351-1376) they were extended in the whole Orthodoxy through Greek printings from Venice. The same rules were adopted in the Slavic Orthodoxy by Petru Movilă through his Liturgies, but with explicative amplifyings of the typikon that unfortunately show Western influences which make liturgical manuscripts inspired from his printings easy to identify.

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The Hieratikon from 1713

When he became, in 1708, the Metropolitan of Wallachia, St. Antim Ivireanul continued and amplified the effort of imposing the Romanian language in the cultic service of the Church. In order to do this, he transffered the printing press from Râmnic to Târgovişte with the printing plates and the rest of the equipment and he already printed in 1709 the first book, the monumental ***Church service***. Of the 21 works that were published in the interval 1709-1715 from the Târgovişte printing presses, 14 were printed entirely in Romanian[15].

It is certain that the quick sale of the 1706 edition of the ***Hieratikon*** made the Metropolitan want to reprint it in a more practical, self sufficient book. The text of this hieratikon was improved for a larger part and remained in this last form given by Antim until nowadays.

The context of the publication of the 1713 ***Hieratikon*** was not an easy one, because in 1712, when the work was being corrected, the Metropolitan faced a difficult crisis: the conflict with the voivode Constantin Brâncoveanu, because of which he almost lost the Metropolitan seat. After the difficult and dangerous clearing of the situation, the volume was printed in an elegant form, followed during the same year by the ***Molitvenic*** (also as a separate volume) and by 3 other works.

The Hieratikon of 1713 is in the 4º format (20 X 15 cm), printed in two colours, red and black, it has 2 unnumbered pages+ 210 pages[16]. The title page has the following content: *The Godly and most holy LITURGIES of our saintly Fathers John Chrysostom, of Basil the Great, and of Grigorie the Dialogist (the Prejdeshtenia), now printed for the first time..In the 25th year of the exalted Reign of the most Enlightened protector of all Wallachia, Ioánn Co[n]standín B[râncoveanu] Basaráb Voevod, With all the expense of the most holy Metropolitan of Hungarowallachia, kir Antim Ivireanul. In the holy Metropolitan seat of Târgóvişte. In the year from Christ 1713. [By Gheórghie Rádovici].* On the back of the title page the usual verses for the coat of arms are rendered: *About the seal, political verses, /Of Wallachia for happiness.* At right and left of the coat of

[15] Doru Bădără, *Tiparul românesc la sfârşitul secolului al XVII- lea şi începutul secolului al XVIII- lea*, Brăila, 1998, p. 82- 83.

[16] We are using the copies of the *LHieratikon* that are kept in the collections of the Holy Synod Library. The first copy that we studied has the following page numbering errors: page 13 has the number 2, exactly as in 1706 where the numbering is different, maybe in 1713 they used the plate from 1706 without having changed the number on the page!? However, the pages that follow are correctly numbered. Between page 45 and 46 an unnumbered page was inserted, that contains an engraving with *Deisis* signed *Ursul,* although all the other pages with engravings were taken into consideration at page numbering, for instance the engraving with St. Basil can be found between pages 118 and 120, so it has the number 119. (in the copies II and III consulted by us, we can find the errors from pages 13 and 45-46, but the engraving with St. Basil is not numbered, but it is inserted between pages 118 and 119). Further on, copy nr. I has at page 121 the number 120, 122 is written as 121, there follows correctly 123, then page 124 has the wrong number 123, page 125 is written as 124 and the numbering follows in the wrong way. Copies nr II and III do not have the mistakes from page 121. In fact, the hieratikon should have 213 pages. In 1706 there are no such numbering errors.

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arms, there are the initials: *I[oan] C[onstantin] B[râncoveanu] V[oievod] D[omn] O[blăduitor] Ţ[ării] R[omâneşti](Lord Protector of Wallachia)*. Under the coat of arms, there are the verses: *This sign of the cross that the raven shows/ Christ prepares it for the Lord Constandín / To protect him in good faith,/ And to give him a long reign.*

The verses can be found for the first time in the ***Akathist*** printed at Snagov in 1698, and later in two printings from Târgovişte, the ***Octoechos*** (1712) and the ***Euchologion*** (1713).

Without having a foreword and the argument for the canonicity of the rendering of sacred texts in the national language, the volume begins directly with *Pínax, that is Note of what can be found in this liturgy,*

- *Teaching, about the way the deacon or priest should officiate at the Great Vespers, at Matins and at the liturgy.*
- *The Vespers prayers.*
- *The rules for the Matins.*
- *The rules of the Godly liturgy of Chrisostom.*
- *The Godly liturgy of our saintly Father John with the golden utterance.*
- *The Godly liturgy of the Great Basil.*
- *The teaching of the godly liturgy of Grigory the Dialogist with the service of Vespers during the great and holy Lent.*
- *The godly liturgy of Grigory the Dialogist.*
- *The blessing ending the Great Feasts.*
- *The blessing that ends the service on weekdays.*
- *The ending to the litanies of the Canon in the day of the holy Easter.*
- *The prayer of the Kollyvas.*
- *The prayer of the willow tree.*
- *The prayer for the blessing of the meat.*
- *The prayer for the tasting of the grapes.*
- *And the litanies for the deceased.*

The title mentions *now printed for the first time,* which we believe refers to the fact that at Târgovişte, under the care of the Metropolitan Antim, the liturgies were printed for the first time in a separate volume[17]. This fact is in favor of the idea that in 1706, at Râmnic, the hieratikon did not leave the printing press separated from the molitvenic.

The contents of the 1713 ***Hieratikon*** corresponds precisely to the 1706 one, except for the „*litanies to be chanted for the dead"* which in 1706 were included in the memorial service from the ***Molitvenic*** miscellany. The order of the religious services is taken on directly from the ***Euchologion*** edited by Nicolae Glykis in 1691 at Venice, but the services that only the Bishop can officiate are omitted, and also other prayers that *were not usually said in our places* (for instance: the prayer

[17] But on the title page of the *Euchologion* (the Molitvenic) from Târgovişte - 1713 it is written *„now printed for the second time after the rules of the Greek one",* its first printing being the one from Râmnic-1706, together with the Hieratikon.

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for the consecration when different ranks in the ecumenical Patriarchy were offered).

In order to show the evolution of the ***Hieratikon*** that was published in 1713, from the one from Râmnic in 1706, we will note some improvements/differences that appeared between the two editions[18]; thus, we have chosen for comparison a few texts. From the start, we highlight the fact that the typikon written in red, that is the movements after which the holy service takes place, corresponds for the most part to the one in the Greek ***Euchologion***, Venice - 1691. But we will show that its translation and also the translation of the prayers was improved/ developed from one edition to another, even small mistakes in the contents being corrected[19]. We mustn't forget that by the adoption of the lexical solutions, St. Antim had to take into consideration that part of the text was chanted (*exclamations* or *the end of a litany- with voice*) and because of that, a certain cadence was necessary.

St. Antim took on identically most of the texts from the edition of Glykis, a fact that is visible even in the preservation of the typikonal references that are specific for the service in cathedrals/monasteries: *„And if the time comes (the priest) should go to receive blessing from the greater one"* (the igumen or the bishop) (p.46); in the same cathedral service, more sumptuous, there is the antiphonal chanting, with two kliros, which is not mentioned in 1680 or 1702, but only in 1706 and 1713 (pp. 183-184), which was difficult to undertake at a parish church, but which was in use at monasteries (and the Episcopal or Metropolitan cathedrals were monasteries). At the *Little Entrance,* the deacon is urged to go to the bishop or the igumen to give to them the Gospel in order to be kissed, if they are present. Still, we have noticed that Glykis's edition mentions only the igumen, while the ***Hieratikon*** **of** 1646 mentions the archimandrite or the igumen, those of 1680 and 1702 also mention the bishop (as in Movilă 1639), and the one of 1713 takes on completely after 1680! These directions that are specific to monks are not useless, taking into consideration the fact that monasteries and sketes were numerous even in those times. At the threefold litany, in 1691, the reference is to the *brothers of this holy*

[18] *The orthodox Hieratikon* printed by Petru Movilă at Kiev in 1639 will be cited as „*Movilă 1639*. Ţwe want to thank especially the teachers Cătălina Velculescu and Zamfira Mihail who donated to the Holy Synod Library an excellent facsimile of the precious Hieratikon of 1639 from Kiev, without which we couldn't have made this analysis and we must add that also these two erudite researchers have the merit of having highlighted lately the influence of the *Hieratikon* of Petru Movilă on our hieratikons; *the Hieratikon* from Dealu - 1646 will be mentioned as *1646*, the one from Bucharest- 1680 will be cited as *1680*, *the Greek Euchologion* from Venice in 1691 will be written simply *1691*, the one from Buzău- 1702 will be rendered as *1702*, the one from Râmnic printed in 1706 together with the Molitvenic under the name of *Euchologion* will be mentioned as *1706*, and the *Hieratikon* from Târgovişte in 1713 will be written simply: *1713,* we mentioned simply *Antim* when the notes on the text are available for both the antimian editions: 1706 şi 1713.

[19] In many copies of the *Liturgy* from Râmnic 1706, at p. 81 at the *Epiclesis*, in the typikon written in red, the deacon is mentioned as *blessing the holies*, which is an error. Because this was noticed at the printing press only after the printing, a correction strand of paper was applied on the wrong words. This error was made right in 1713 (p.95-96).

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monastery and Antim rendered it by „ *the brothers of this holy abode* (as if it was a monks' community).

We shall cast here a short and direct comparative view on the liturgical texts from the editions of 1706 and 1713[20], although the reference to the two works is inevitable during the whole study.

Even the title that opens the series of directions on the service of the holy liturgy underwent some changes. If in 1706 it was: *Rules for the holy and **godlie** liturgy that **is** like this in the Great Church, and at S[ve]ta Gora"* (p. 33), it was paraphrased in 1713: *Rules for the holy and **godly** liturgy that **is done** like this in the Great Church, and at S[ve]ta Gora* (p. 46).

The line of the *Beginning prayers* opens in 1706 with *Heavenly Emperor* and it continues with *Holy God*: *Heavenly Emperor, the Helper, **true spirit** […] Holy **Lord,** Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal[...]*(p. 34). In 1713 the prayers are as follows*: Heavenly Emperor, the Helper, the Spirit **of truth** […] Holy **God,** Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal [...] (*p.47). The second variant is in use up to this day. The preparation of the priests for the godly service opened in 1706 with the advice*: „The priest that is about to service the godly liturgy…**should have no hate toward nobody**"* (.p.33), and in 1713, the incentive became clearer: *„The priest that is about to service the godly liturgy […] **should have nothing against nobody** [...]**"*** (p.46).

When putting on the poias (the girdle), the verse of the XVIIth psalm, 35 „*they put on my innocent way"* in 1706 was modified in 1713, with „ *without guilt my way"*.

The Great Blessing that marks the beginning of the Holy Liturgy uses in 1706 the possessive-genetival article for all the three Persons of the Most Holy Trinity, while in 1713 it was eliminated before „*Tatălui" (of the Father)*, the new form being „*Blessed is the Kingdom of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost" ("Blagoslovită e împărăţia Tatălui şi a Fiului şi a Sfântului Duh").*

At the Great Litany:

- At the third request, the Greek term *evsthatias* was rendered in 1706 with „***the good undertaking** of the holy churches of God"* and in 1713 with „***the good state",*** with the meaning of *constancy,* for this term was the option in the 2012 Hieratikon also.
- At the fourth request, the Greek term *evlavías* was translated differently: „[*...]for those that with faith and with **respect (**1706**)/ good faith (**1713**)** […]enter herein […]*". Today it is rendered with ***evlavie***.
- At the eleventh request, the Greek word *tlipseos* was translated in 1706 with „***scârba"*** [disgust] and in 1713 with „***necazul***" [trouble], and it remained like this up to this day.

Some expressions were left in the Slavic, as for instance „*Premudrost prostí!*, (Stand up straight, Wisdom!), or the priest is being told what to do when the *Ninea,*

[20] For the Greek terms, we take into account the *Euchologion* from Venice-1691, a copy of this being recently identified on the occasion of this study in the Holy Synod Library also.

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that is, the verse that began with Glory to the Father…; The Beatitudes are rendered with the name „*Blajenii"*, and some hymns have their Greek title, for example when the text of the typikon is about *Holy God,* it is called *Agios („and singing the Agios, the priest reads the prayer").*

Sometimes, the same words have several graphic renditions, which is natural, taking into account the uncertainty of the Romanian theological/church language, because this was the moment it began to be established. After the prayer of the *Three times holy hymn*, in 1713 the typikon shows that: „*and if this prayer endeth […]*"(*să* ***sfârşaşte)*** and several lines further, „*and after* ***Agios endes [...]"(****să* ***fărşaşte),*** **i**n 1706 they used ***„săvârşaşte",*** then ***„sfârşaşte".*** Even inside the same edition, the 1713 one, a typikonal indication that is common to the liturgies of St. John and St. Basil can be rendered with synonimes: „*[...]and they go behind (****din dosul*** *(*p.70*) /****pre dinapoia*** *(*p.123*) the holy table*". The same situation occurs at the prayer of the Threefold Hymn: „*Holy God that giveth rest* ***to the saints (pre sfinţi)" (the Liturgy of St. John****,* p.72*)/"that giveth rest* ***unto the saints (întru sfinţi)" (the Liturgy of St. Basil****,* p.125*).* At the Cherubic Hymn of the Liturgy of St. John, in 1706 we have *pohte (cravings)*, and in 1713 *pofte,* but even in 1713 the word ***pofte*** was replaced in the Liturgy of St. Basil with its old and beautiful Romanian form: ***pohte*** (p.134).

The word order was improved here and there: in 1706 we have at Vespers the exclamation that ends the *Litany of the requests*: „*That good and loving of humans Thou art God [...]*", in 1713 it was rephrased as "*That God good and loving Thou art [...]*", and it is interesting that in 2012 a variant closer to 1706 was used.

In the 1713 edition, some words have a double form, but the usage is not accidental; for instance, when referring to the *steluţă (little star)* as a liturgical object that is positioned over the saint diskos, 1713 says ***zveazdă***. When they render the verse from the ***Gospel according to Matthew***, II, 9 they say:" *[...] and the star (****steaua)*** *coming, they stood above where the Infant was*" (p.60). For the st. diskos, 1713 took on in Romanian, like in the Slavic, the Greek word ***discos.*** Somewhere else, 1713 uses together Greek and Slavic forms in order to name the same object: „*And the priest using the aer (****Văzduhul or aerul)*** *[...]*" (p. 61), but it also utilizes the word ***acoperământ (cover)*** in the prayer: „*Cover us with the cover of Your wings […]*" (p.61). Somewhere else, we have ***The Air*** or the ***Procovăţ*** (at the Holy Communion). Also alternatively they use the form ***glory (slavă)*** or ***praise (mărire).***[21] When the service begins, one says: „***Blessed (blagoslovit)*** *is our God*" but they also use the form ***to bless (a binecuvânta)*** when they cite the Psalm 133, 2:" *Raise your hands to the holy ones and bless the Lord*". The meaning of these verbs is clearer in the Pulpit Prayer: „*The One that bless* ***(bl[a]g[oslo]veşti)*** *the ones that bless Thou Lord (****bine te cuvintează)****[...]*".

The same object may have several names; we can consider this a consequence of the uncertainty of the liturgical language during its formation process or as a

[21] A controversial use in Romanian liturgical texts. See the study of pr. Paraschiv Angelescu *Slavă şi Mărire*, Bucharest, 1939.

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desire to diversify it. When the reference is to the imperial doors, in 1706 and 1713 we find: ***the holy doors (fintele uşi), the great dveras (dverile cele mari), the great dvera (dvera cea mare), the holy dvera (sfânta dveră), the holy door (sfânta uşă0, the imperial door (uşa cea împărătească), the holy dveras (sfintele dveri)***. When mentioning those that give answer in the church, Antim calls them: **the kliros, the singers, the reader, the choir, those outside**. Whatever the motivation for the use of these forms, the language becomes fresher and avoids the routine that sometimes a typikon inspires.

The exclamation that closes the Great Litany in the ***Liturgy of St. John***: „*That to Thee* ***is due (se cuvine)*** *all the praise [...]*" is rendered at the end of the first Prayer for the believers in the same liturgy through*: „That to Thee* ***is due (se cade)*** *all the praise [...]*" ***The Liturgy of St Basil*** closes the Great Litany by: *„That to Thee* ***is due (se cade)*** *all the praise [...]*".

The incentive that announces the reading of the Gospel in 1706 sounds thus: „*With righteous exalted* ***wisdom (preaînţelepciune)*** *[...]*" but it was rephrased in 1713 by: „*With righteous* wisdom *[...]*".

At the Cherubic Hymn Prayer, in 1706 the verbal form: „*[...]and* ***to work (să lucrez)*** *in holiness your saintly and most pure body[...]*" was replaced in 1713 with a clearer one in meaning:" *[...]and* ***to sacrifice (să jărtvesc)*** *your saintly and most pure body*".

We wish to highlight Antim's fidelity toward the Athonite typikon that is in service until nowadays at the Holy Mountain, while it was altered in our parts. For example, the incense burning before reading the Gospel is placed correctly after the *Apostolos*, not during its reading, when the tingling of the bells can cover the voice of the reader. Moreover, this incense burning took place only in the altar. And also, the dialogue between the priest and the deacon in which the deacon asks for the blessing for reading the ***Gospel*** took place secretely in the altar. Some sentences have been taken on elliptically, like in Greek, without a predicate. At the litany for the called ones we have: „*All of you that are called, come out, so that no one of the called ones* (should not remain). *All of you believers […]*".

After the consecration of the gifts (Epiclesis), in 1706 we have the prayer: „*And we pray, mention O Lord all the archierarchy of the orthodox* ***that with righteousness make straight*** *the word of truth*", and in 1713: „*[...] to those* ***that in righteousness teach*** *the word of truth [...]*" form that was preserved until nowadays.

We reproduce a fragment from the troparion of St. John Chrisostom, the way it was rendered in 1706, at the end of the liturgy of this saint, because this is the place it first appears in Romanian in the hieratikon: „*Your utterance as some gold shined a gift of light for the whole world, because you did not earn for the world a treasure of money, but with wisdom in humility you showed us those that are high and you taught us with your words[…]".* The edition of 1713 brings an obvious improvement to this beautiful troparion, a variant close to the current one: „*From your mouth like a flame of fire the gift shined, illuminating the world, not earning*

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the treasure of wordly love for money, the height of the humble thought you have shown to us, by teaching us with your words[…]".

The few examples (and the list can continue) highlight an improvement of the text of the ***Hieratikon***, with a tendency for diversifying and clarifying the language. Moreover, it is obvious that if 1713 takes on the typikon of 1680, already translated in Romanian, and it discreetly develops it with supplementary explanations, the merit of the 1713 liturgy is to have translated again all the prayers in Romanian, a difficult and risky undertaking, taking into account the situation of the Metropolitan Dosoftei, whose language has only poetic value and did not become functional in the Romanian liturgical language.

What does Antim's *Hieratikon* of 1713 bring new compared to previous editions[22]?

The structure of Antim's Hieratikon is different from the previous editions. While in the editions of 1646, 1679, 1680 and 1702 the text begins with the liturgies and ends with the Praises, Antim puts the services in their natural cultic order: first the Praises, then the liturgies. The variant of Antim (taken from the Greek/ athonite one) can also be found in Movilă 1639; this one is maintained until this day in the Hieratikon.

At the end of the Matins service, Antim positioned the beginning of the sticherons that must be sung at the kliros and he renders the complete form of two troparions for the Resurrection that are sung when it is the turn of voices 1, 2, 4 şi 8 or 3, 5, 6 şi 7. This fact cannot be found in the 1691 edition, nor can it be found in the variants printed before Antim. Also the indication that after the Matins there follows the reading of Hour I (p. 45), cannot be found in the Greek edition, nor is it in the Slavic-Romanian editions.

At the Proskomedia service, Antim positioned „The image of the holy diskos" but the placement of the mirida on the holy diskos is different from the graphical directions in the other Romanian editions. The mirida of the Theotokos, although correctly translated from Greek the placement on the diskos „at the right side of the agnet", in the drawing the mirida appears at the right side of the priest, not of the agnet, as it is correctly positioned in the 1646, 1680, 1702 editions. Because the right side of the agnet was mistaken for the right side of the priest, under the mirida of the Theotokos we find the mirida of the nine groups of saints. It is interesting that Movilă 1639 also places the miridas in reverse, so at the right side of the agnet appear the miridas of the Theotokos and of the nine groups of saints, but they should be placed to both sides of the agnet. This strange fact in the Movilă edition was corrected by the editions printed in our country (1646, 1680, 1702) so they did

[22] In the comparative analysis we have made, we referred mainly to the editions in Wallachia, that is why we won't include the editions of Dosoftei, Iaşi 1679 and 1683; it seems that apart from the argument for the religious service in the national language, St. Antim did not take into account at all this edition for the text or the liturgical language, as is also the case with the *Rules for Deacons* printed at Bălgrad in 1687.

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not reproduce the Slavic variant without a minimal processing, not even 1646. We can assume that this was not necessarily a mistake at Movilă and Antim, the grouping of the saints' mirida, because the mirida of the Theotokos can be placed together with the nine groups of saints, because she is the most holy of the humans that were sanctified.

When he mentions what prosphora is taken and how many miridas are taken from it, Antim is more explicit, while the editions of 1680 and 1702 show gaps.

At the fourth mirida, the list of martyrs that are mentioned is longer than in 1691. Antim added near St. Teodor Tiron, St. Teodor Stratilat, taking on from 1680 and 1702. Movilă 1639 doesn't mention him, but it has long lists of local Slavic saints. Why was this second Teodor, a military saint, inserted only in the Romanian editions? Is it a local tradition/piety? This remains to be seen[23].

There are more mentionings at the Great Entrance in 1713 than in 1691, but much fewer than in Movilă 1639.

The sfita[24] (phelonion) of the priest used to be lifted at the front and it was fixed with two small buttons in order not to hinder his hands, especially at the Proskomedia and at the Great Entrance; the Greeks keep this custom up to this day.

The testimony of faith or the Creed is printed in a new translation through the Hieratikon of Antim, a variant that is used in the Church up to this day.

The answer to the incentive „*Let us give thanks to the Lord*" is in the ***Liturgy of St. John***: „*With striving and in righteousness*", a short form used by the Greeks up to nowadays, but only in the ***Liturgy of St. Basil*** we find an amplified form of the hymn, that exists nowadays in both liturgies.

The central moment of the holy liturgy is the Anaphora, which culminates with the consecration of the bread and wine as the Body and Blood of Christ by invoking the Holy Spirit (Epiclesis). There were different disputations between easterners and westerners regarding this holy moment. The westerners contended that the bread and the wine are consecrated at the words: „*Partake, eat […] drink from this you all […]*" while the easterners said that for the consecration, invoking the Holy Spirit is necessary. The catholic approach tot his moment made its way in some orthodox hieratikons, also. In Movilă 1639 we find the indication that the priest should make the sign of blessing with his right hand and show the bread and wine while saying: „*Partake, eat[…] Drink from this you all[…]*", then there was the summon of the Holy Spirit. It seems to us that the Metropolitan Petru Movilă's desire was to compromise the different sides…. This mistake was later taken on in the ***Orthodox hieratikon*** of the Metropolitan Ştefan of Hungarowallachia[25]. As

[23] We notice that at the end of the nine groups of saints, in the edition from Buzău in 1702 a printed dyptich appears for the first time in Romanian liturgies. It is the *Dyptich of the Great cup bearer Şerban, the founder that made […] the liturgies*. In the liturgy of St. Basil, the same dyptich is placed after the Epiclesis. The custom is to be found frequently in Slavic books, at the litanies for rulers where all the members of the ruling family are mentioned, whether living or dead.

[24] Some researchers read here *sfânta (holy)* instead of *sfita*, but sfita is a liturgical name for phelonion.

[25] *Ms. rom*. 1790, Biblioteca Academiei Române, f. 29v.

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already stated, the Romanians knew and took on the texts from Movilă 1639, but they corrected the mistakes[26]. The Hieratikons partially inspired by the Epiclesis of Movilă 1639 are: Dealu 1646 and Bucharest 1680 (the direction to hold the hand with the blessing sign only appears at *Partake, eat*…but not at *Drink of this you all*..). The Hieratikon from Buzău 1702 and then Râmnic 1706 and Târgovişte 1713 carefully avoided catholic influences. The movilian variant is present in the Greek-catholic liturgy, so the same indication from Movilă 1639 regarding the blessing of the gifts is to be gound later in the Greek edition from Venice 1687. The Greek Euchologions do not contain the indication mentioned by us, from Movilă 1639.

Regarding the ***Note for the crumbling of the Holy Agnet*** (p.104) we have to say that Antim follows the tradition of Romanian hieratikons, but he develops it with suplimentary explanations, that are very good for the service in the church. We first mention the fact that we haven't found the text of 1691 and neither the specific drawing „*for the way and with what parts of the Holy Agnet must the priest receive communion*". The text is to be found in Movilă 1639, then in 1646, 1680 and 1702. On the other hand, the drawing is present only in 1680 and 1702[27] and at Antim (not in Movilă 1639). In this way, after the consecration of the gifts at Epiclesis, the priest is no longer allowed to pour wine into the chalice, but only a little lukewarm water. The interdiction is expressed by 1680 (f. 39v) and 1702 (f. 41v) as follows:"***and after that do not pour*** (in the chalice) ***nothing at all [...]",*** but St. Antim feels the need of saying this clearer and definitely: „***That after the holy services are done, you are not allowed, don't even dare to pour more wine in the holy chalice*** *[...]*".

If Movilă 1639 instructs the priest to taste only once from the chalice when he receives communion, (in the same way taken on by the ***Orthodox hieratikon*** of the Metropolitan Ştefan, f. 40), the Slavic-Romanian liturgies also conform, like Antim, to the Greek typikon that establishes that the priest should taste three times from the chalice.

The piety, the caretaking and the efforts of St. Antim for the Holy Communion (the Blood and Body of our Saviour Jesus Christ) made him add some interesting practical advice regarding the way a priest must commune the Christians and the way he should be helped by the *deacons or the chanters of the church.* In this way, when he would come out „*before the imperial door"* only with the chalice, two helpers had to keep straight under the chalice „ *the Air or the big Procovet* [the towel] *unless by mistake something should chance to fall, and the servicing priest holds the holy Chalice with another Procovet above the Air that is spread… and he gives them the communion telling everyone: The servant of God* ***is receiving communion*** " (in 1706 the phrase is:" ***Joining*** *the servant of God [...]*") after this,

[26] The conception of the Metropolitan Petru Movilă regarding the Epiclesis (as reflected in the Orthodox hieratikons he printed and expressed also in the *Orthodox confession*) was corrected by the Iaşi Synod (1642), see pr.prof. Mircea Păcurariu, *Cultura teologică românească*, Bucharest, 2011, p.111.

[27] In 1702 this teaching is somewhere else, compared to the place given to it by Antim.

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„*the appointed*" priest gave immediately antidoron to those that had received communion. It is hard to believe that in the rural area, there were several priests in service at a church, but this was possible at cathedrals and monasteries.

In the Hieratikon of 1713 (and obviously in the 1706 one), St. Antim gave up (as in Bucharest, 1680) the three prayers placed in the liturgy before the priest's communion; they were placed there in order to be read by him, in case he couldn't fulfill his rules of communion. These three prayers are present in Movilă 1639 and from here they were taken on: 1646 and 1702. The Greek rules do not impose these prayers. Also interesting is a remnant of Episcopal rule, when after the communion, the priest blesses the people with the chalice and the people answer: *For many years hence Lord!* In 1691, there is no such greeting, it only appears in Slavic hieratikons: in Greek with Cyrillic characters in Movilă 1639 and in 1646, while in 1680 and 1702 the greeting is rendered in Slavic, wherefrom Antim probably took it and translated it in Romanian.

And then, before the great blessing at the end of the liturgy, we find at Antim also the rules that are applied nowadays at Athos (rendered in Movilă 1639, then in 1680 and in 1702): the priest would go in the middle of the church and handed out the antidoron, after which he blessed the people, did the end of the service and the kliros would sing the Polychronion.

We think that the above mentioned greeting *(„For many years hence Lord!")* as well as the chanting of the Polychronion used to be a tradition already established in our parts. The Polychronion was chanted after the ending of the liturgy (rendered by Antim with the Slavic „*Mnoga leata)* for the Lord and for the Bishop. This Polychronion can be found in Movilă 1639 and after it in all the editions of the hieratikons until Antim.

The Liturgy of Grigory the Dialogist has some particular traits at Antim. It opens with ***Teaching for the Godly Liturgy of Grigory the Dialogist*** that can be found both in the Slavic and the Greek tradition, taken on by Slavic and Slavic-Romanian hieratikons. The final part of this text, regarding the Great Entrance, was moved by Antim (as well as 1680 and 1702) in the liturgy text itself, at the moment of the *Great Entrance*, which did not happen in 1691 (the Greek translation avoided many of the explanations in the text, placing them at the beginning of the liturgy). Moreover, Antim puts, in the explanations at the beginning of the liturgy, a graphic sign so that the moment should be identified easily. In Movilă 1639, the typikon is much more detailed. Further on, Antim has an initiative that shows the typographer and the translator that he is, with a perfect knowledge of reality (the difficulty of the lack of books in churches, especially Romanian books): he took on from 1691 the sticherons and translated them in Romanian, so they were chanted in this liturgy after „*Lord I have cried*"; the sticherons are rendered here for the case in which „*there will be no Lenten Triodion*, and *so you be compelled to say these sticherons that I have put here, also reading the reading matter"*. The order of the seven sticherons is not the same as in 1691, where they are more, anyhow. Antim placed fewer of them because he points also at the Menaion, where from some

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more had to be chanted. These sticherons are not found in Movilă 1639 and in none of the hieratikons before Antim.

We add the fact that the Greek liturgy of 1691 has no litanies with the request for the Voivode, its presence in our liturgies being an adaptation of Romanian reality (under the influence of the Slavic one).

We have noticed so far that St. Antim took seriously into consideration the ***Hieratikon*** of 1680 published by the Metropolitan Teodosie, his spiritual father. This fact is also visible because he didn't take on in his editions the text of the teaching: ***About the proskomedia for deacons*** that is included in Movilă 1639, 1646 and 1702, but not in 1680.

The Hieratikon of Antim **and the following editions of the Hieratikon**

The moral authority and the intellectual profile of the martyred Metropolitan Antim, as well as the quality of the translations he made, printed under his direct guidance and initiative, made the next hierarchs at Râmnic and Bucureşti to resume the printing of the Hieratikon from Târgovişte in its entirety, so at the initiative of the Metropolitan Daniil of Hungarowallachia, ***the Hieratikon*** is printed at Bucharest in 1728 in two editions (the second one having also the *Service of the Holy Communion*), a third edition being printed the next year, in 1729. Only a few small typographical ornaments make the editions that do not contain the *Service of the Holy Communion* be different from the edition of 1713[28]. Even the page numbering is the same as that of the Antim's ***Hieratikon***. We believe that the antimian typographic material was used because we can notice a certain wear due to the heavy use of the xylographic plates. Here are, in the order of their printing, the other editions that took on the text and the graphics of the ***Hieratikon*** from Târgovişte (with differences almost impossible to spot): Bucharest -1741 and 1746, Râmnic -1747. Most of the following editions took on the text of the Hieratikon that St. Antim translated, but in some of them some other prayers were added, especially the *Rules for Communion*, the *Synaxarion* and the Special requests for the Holy Proskomedia, all of them at the end of the volume. We mention the editions: Iaşi-1759, 1794, Buzău-1769, Blaj-1775, Bucharest-1780, Râmnic-1787, Sibiu-1798. During the next centuries, (especially the XXth), the antimian text constituted the base for the processing and the improvements of the translation of the liturgies. A fact is certain, in the 2012 Hieratikon, Antim's text can be found in great proportion and it is used in church service until nowadays.

*

The numerous copies that are kept up to this day on the entire Romanian territory are the best proof of the favourable reception of the ***Hieratikon*** from

[28] We draw the attention to the fact that a *Hieratikon* from 1728 without a title page may be mistaken for one of 1713, if not properly studied. It is the case of doublet 4 from the Academy Library in Bucharest. So that library has 4 copies of 1713, not 5. We found this situation in several depositories where we searched.

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Târgovişte, as well as its prototype in the ***Euchologion*** from Râmnic (1706). Although these books are heavily used in church, the quality material that the whole print run of 1713 was made of and the care of the priests for this precious printing in their maternal language led to the present conservation of a few dozen copies[29].

Metropolitan Antim's courageous efforts were propagated in several areas of Romanian spirituality and culture, culminating with: the victory of the introduction of the Romanian language in religious service (making the evangely message accessible to all), the creation of the liturgical/literary Romanian language, by establishing the meaning of words, the introduction of new words, and the good character of his initiative consists of the fact that up to this day, the liturgy text published by Antim is in use in the churches, Sunday after Sunday and religious holiday after religious holiday. We highlight the fact that, apart from the indisputable merits of the Romanian edition of Dosoftei liturgy, the pioneer for the introduction of the Romanian language in the religious service and the poet that created a beautiful Romanian language, we see that the editions from Iaşi of 1679 and 1681 *have not been taken on by other translators, because Dosoftei's language has a strong Moldavian dialectal character*[30]. And so, the first act of courage having been already made, St. Antim's merit consists of having perfected the hopeful undertaking of the Moldavian hierarch.

The Ornamentics of the Hieratikon from Târgovişte – 1713

The Hieratikon of 1713 has a rich and elegant ornamentics that was executed in a refined manner probably by St. Antim himself and the master engravers Dimitrios and Ioanichie Bakov that were also active at the printing presses from Snagov. The letter is finely executed and is easily recognizable. In the volume, there are 4 engravings in *pleine page:* ***Deisis*** (inserted between pages 45-46, signed *Ursul*), ***St. John Chrysostom*** (p. 65, not signed), ***St. Basil the Great*** (p. 119 signed *Dimitrios*, 1698) and ***St. Gregory*** **(the Dialogist)** (signed Ioanikii, p. 178). It is probable that one of the signatories also realized the engraving with St. John Chrysostom, maybe St. Antim even. A bigger engraving is the image of the position of the chalice and the diskos at the proskomedia, and also the correct arrangement of the mirida on the diskos (p. 55). At page 105, we find the directions for the positioning of the Holy Agnet broken on the diskos, after the consecration, information that is enclosed by a double border formed by small stylized modules.

[29] Dr. Gabriela Nițulescu signaled in 2009 (*Cartea tipărită la Târgovişte şi Renaşterea românească*, Târgovişte, pp.60-62) the existence of 50 copies, of which the most (8 copies) at Arhiepiscopia Alba- Iuliei, and the rest in parish churches, county churches and so on. Most of them are located in Transylvania and Banat. In Wallachia we have 2 copies at the National Library of Romania (one has circulated in Ardeal), 2 copies at the County Museum for History and Archeology-Prahova, 4 copies at the Romanian Academy Library and another 4 copies at the Holy Synod Library, all of them from Ardeal. We must research the depositories from Oltenia, Argeş, Dobrogea but also those from Moldavia!

[30] Dosoftei, *Dumnezăiasca liturghie*, 1679 critical edition by N.A.Ursu, Iaşi, 1980, p. XLIX.

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In the ***Hieratikon*** of 1706, instead of the ***Deisis*** image, we find the scene of the ***Lord's Crucifixion*** (signed Ioanikii and dated 1706), enclosed by 16 cassettes that contain the symbols of the saints evangelists and motives related to the Crucifixion (the instruments of torture). The image of the Crucifixion is related to the engraving of the antimension of the Metropolitan Teodosie of Hungarowallachia that was also realized by Ioanikii, or at least it served as a model. The antimension was taken on by St. Antim also, then by a long line of Wallachian hierarchs.

The engravings in *pleine page* were published for the first time in the ***Greek-Arab Hieratikon*** printed in 1701 at Snagov. The faces of the liturgy „*author*" saints, together with the ***Deisis*** signed *Ursul,* also appear in the ***Hieratikon*** from Buzău, in 1702. Several typographical ornaments that end a text (they make any antimian printing recognizable), taken on in almost all the antimian printings, appear in line even in the ***Antologion*** of 1697 and they are gathered in the beautiful ***Akathist*** printed in 1698. In this printing there appear for the first time engravings of the ***Annunciation***, ***Deisis*** (not the one signed by *Ursul*), of which some were taken on in the ***Kyriakodromion*** from Bălgrad (1699) and then at Târgovişte, in the small ***Slavic-Romanian Horologion*** (1714). The fact that many of these typographical ornaments are neither to be found in ***Incentive chapters*** (1691), nor in the ***Gospel*** of 1693 or in other books from Bucharest, but they appear for the first time in the printings from the printing press at Snagov, indicates that they were produced there. One of the inspiration sources for the graphics of the antimian printing consists of the the Greek books printed at Venice by Nicolae Glykis, also used by St. Antim for the translation of some texts in Romanian.

The xylographic plates were moved from Snagov to Alba Iulia and Buzău, then to Râmnic and Târgovişte, and later to Bucharest.

With unavoidable differences, the ***Hieratikon*** of 1713 is ornamented like its variant from 1706 printed at Râmnic, together with the ***Molitvenic***. The title page of the ***Hieratikon*** of 1713 has the text enclosed in a double border formed by modules with stylized vegetal elements; over the title there is a vegetal frontispiece with a waterlily in its centre.

The coat of arms with the dedicatory verses is to be found at its place, on the verso of the title page. It is composed of an oval shield in which the heraldic cruciary bird was placed, in the pose of an eagle. It has the head turned in dextra and the flight downwards, being accompanied in dextra by the sun and in senestra by the new moon. At the base there is a tree. The shield, stamped with a royal crown, accompanied by the symbols of the voivodal power, the spade in dextra and the mace in senestra, are enclosed by a rich ornamental border, with vegetal elements, kept by two pages that are blowing trumpets up front.

In the fruit that emerges from the stem placed at the bottom, in the right hand part of the border, one can see two small letters: IK, probably *Ioanikie*[31]. This coat

[31] The fact that this engraver signs at first with the name *Ivan* Bakov (*The Key of understanding*, Bucharest, 1678) and later on with *Ioanikii* Bakov, makes us think that he joined the monastic order. The name Ioanichie appears even before 1680, if we consider that the coat of arms was signed.

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of arms appears for the first time with some slight differences in the ***Hieratikon*** from Bucharest (1680). It was taken on in many later printings: **The Orthodox confession,** Buzău - 1691, ***Psalter***, Bucureşti - 1694, ***Akathist,*** Snagov - 1698, ***Euchologion,*** Buzău - 1699, ***Euchologion,*** Râmnic - 1706, ***Euchologion,*** Târgovişte - 1713.

The most important titles of the ***Hieratikon*** are preceded by frontispieces. At page 12 we find a beautiful border with Jesus Christ our Saviour with the Gospel in His left hand and blessing with the right hand, a bust in a central medallion; two stems come out from under it, having at the end a sunflower each. At page 46, the frontispiece has in its upper part a frieze with a waterlily in its center, and in the border there are three medallions with the Theotokos, Christ the Saviour giving blessing with both hands and St. John the Baptist. At pages 66, 120, 179 at the beginning of each liturgy, there is a border with three medallions that contain the faces of the three liturgy „*authors*", saints Basil, John and Gregory. Sometimes, the beginning of the page is marked with a simple stylized line (p. 205). The text ends with several types of ornaments: stylized black cross enclosed by six smaller red crosses (p. 11), ornaments formed of stylized stems (p. 45, 104), geometrical ornaments (p. 54, 117, 210), head of an angel with stems (the verso of the contents page). The texts of some prayers are separated by lines composed of small stylized vegetal modules (p. 170, 174, 199, 203, 206, 207, 208). The initials are mostly red but also black, and at the beginning of important chapters there are lettrines enclosed by stems, and the phrases in the text begin with larger letters, but without ornaments.

Conclusions

We have shown in this study that the ***Hieratikon*** from Târgovişte of 1713 is an improved variant of the one from 1706 of Râmnic. We have continuously compared the antimian text with the Greek one, of the Glykis edition (Venice, 1691), but also with the Slavic texts from the ***Orthodox liturgy*** of Petru Movilă (Kiev, 1639), Dealu-1646, and with the text of the Slavic-Romanian editions (Bucharest-1680 and Buzău-1702). We have tried to understand how faithfully did St. Antim follow the Greek text, that constitutes the byzantine tradition, how influenced he was by the Slavic and the Slavic-Romanian editions (that also spring from the byzantine tradition, but with certain Slavic nuances) and how much of the structure and the text of the ***Hieratikon*** represent his initiative. Obviously, when we use the term "initiative", we do not mean the text of the prayers that are everywhere the same, but the way of organizing the religious service (the typikon), amplified and stated wherever St. Antim considered it necessary, according to the needs he noticed in the Romanian realities.

We have analyzed both the typikon and the prayers, and also the language of the text, without resorting to strict philology and linguistic formulas and analysis (we leave this to specialists in those areas). In order to prove St. Antim's success at the establishment of the rules and the language of the holy liturgy in Romanian, and

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the actuality of his undertaking, we have adjoined passages from his hieratikons: Dosoftei, Antim and the edition of 2012 (much improved compared to the 2008 one, being closer to the Athonite byzantine tradition, as it used to be in the past). Moreover, the goal of this study was also the one of analyzing an essential printing for the Romanian liturgical life, that hasn't enjoyed until now a historical-liturgical analysis and description that other less significant books have received.

Annex

In order to reflect the evolution of the language (of the translation of texts into Romanian) from Dosoftei and Antim until today, we will render in parallel some texts from the Romanian editions of the Hieratikon: Dosoftei- 1679, the editions Antim 1706 and 1713 and the last Romanian edition, published this year 2012.

Prayer at the putting on of the sticharion

My soul shall rejoice in the Lord, because He clothed me with a garment of humility, and with a garb of joy He vested me, as unto the groom He put a crown on me and like unto a bride He put jewels on me.

1679: Bucura-să-va sufletul mieu de D[o]mnul că mă-mbrăcă cu veşmânt de spăsenie, şi cu îmbrăcământ de veselie mă-nvăscu, ca mirelui mi-au pusu-mi mitră şi ca miresei mă-mpodobi podoabă (Isaia, LXI, 10).

1706: Bucura-să-va sufletul mieu întru D[o]mnul că m-au îmbrăcat în veşmântul mântuirii, şi cu haina veseliei m-au îmbrăcat. Ca unui mire mi-au pus mie cunună: şi ca pre o mireasă m-au înfrumseţat cu frumseţe.

1713: Bucura-să-va sufletul mieu întru D[o]mnul că m-au îmbrăcat în veşmântul mântuirii, şi cu haina veseliei m-au îmbrăcat. Ca unui mire mi-au pus mie cunună: şi ca pre o mireasă m-au împodobit cu podoabă.

2012: Bucura-se-va sufletul meu întru Domnul că m-a îmbrăcat în veşmântul mântuirii, şi cu haina veseliei m-a împodobit. Ca unui mire mi-a pus cunună: şi ca pe o mireasă m-a împodobit cu podoabă.

The prayer of incense

Christ our Lord, to Thee we are bringing incense, with a good spiritual smell, that Thou receive in Thy most high heavenly altar, send us Thy godly grace and the gift of Thy most holy Spirit.

1679: Tămâie Ţ-aducem Hristoase Dumnezău, în miros de bună mireazmă sufletească, carea priimindu-o suprăcerescul Tău jărtăvnic, împotrivă trimite-ne dumnezăiescul har şi darul Preasvântului Tău Duh.

1706: Tămâe Îţ aducem Hristoase Dumnezeule, întru miros de bună mireasmă sufletească pre carea primindu-o întru preacerescul Tău jărtăvnic, ne trimite noao darul Preasfântului Tău Duh.

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1713: Tămâe Îţ aducem Hristoase Dumnezeule, întru miros de bună mireasmă duhovnicească pre carea primindu-o întru cel mai presus de ceriuri al Tău jărtăvnic, trimite-ne noao darul Preasfântului Tău Duh.

2012: Tămâie Îţi aducem Ţie Hristoase Dumnezeule, întru miros de bună mireasmă duhovnicească pe care primind-o întru jertfelnicul Tău cel mai presus de ceruri, trimite-ne nouă harul Preasfântului Tău Duh.

The Great Blessing

Blessed is the kingdom of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and forever and in eternity.

1679: Blagoslovită-i împărăţâia Tatălui ş-a Fiiului şi a Svântului Duh, acmu şi pururi şi-n vecii de veci.

1706: Blagoslovită e împărăţia a Tatălui, şi a Fiiului, şi a Sfântului Duh acum şi pururea şi în vecii vecilor.

1713: Blagoslovită e împărăţia Tatălui, şi a Fiiului, şi a Sfântului Duh acum şi pururea şi în vecii vecilor.

2012: Binecuvântată este împărăţia Tatălui, şi a Fiului, şi a Sfântului Duh acum şi pururea şi în vecii vecilor.

Our Father

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven, give us day by day our daily bread and forgive us our sins, for we also forgive who is indebted to us. And do not lead us into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one. For Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory, of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and forever and in eternity.

1679: Tatăl nostru, carele eşti în ceriuri, svinţască-se numele Tău, să vie împărăţâia Ta, să fie voia Ta, cumu-i în ceri aşe şi pre pământ. Pâinea noastră cea de saţâu dă-ne astăz şi ne iartă datoriile noastre, cum şi noi iertăm datorilor noştri. Şi nu ne băga la iscuşenie, ce ne izbăveşte de vicleanul. Că a Ta este împărăţâia şi puterea şi slava, a Tatălui ş-a Fiiului ş-a Svântului Duh, acmu şi pururea şi- vecii de veci.

1706: Tatăl nostru, carele eşti în ceriuri, sfinţească-se numele Tău. Vie împărăţia Ta, Fie voia Ta, precum în ceriu şi pre pământ. Pâinea noastră cea de pururea dă-ne- o noao astăz şi ne iartă noao greşalele noastre, precum şi noi ertăm greşiţilor noştri. Şi nu ne duce pre noi întru ispită, ci ne izbăveşte de cel rău. Că a Ta este împărăţia şi puterea şi mărirea, a Tatălui şi a Fiiului şi a Sfântului Duh, acum şi pururea şi în vecii vecilor.

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1713: Tatăl nostru, carele eşti în ceriuri, sfinţească-se numele Tău. Vie împărăţia Ta, Fie voia Ta, precum în ceriu şi pre pământ. Pâinea noastră cea de pururea dă-ne- o noao astăz şi ne iartă greşalele noastre, precum şi noi ertăm greşiţilor noştri. Şi nu ne duce pre noi întru ispită, ci ne izbăveşte de cel rău. Că a Ta este împărăţia şi puterea şi mărirea, a Tatălui şi a Fiiului şi a Sfântului Duh, acum şi pururea şi în vecii vecilor.

2012: Tatăl nostru, Care eşti în ceruri, sfinţească-se numele Tău, vie împărăţia Ta, facă-se voia Ta, precum în cer, aşa şi pe pământ. Pâinea noastră cea spre fiinţă dă-ne-o nouă astăzi. Şi ne iartă nouă greşelile noastre, precum şi noi iertăm greşiţilor noştri, şi nu ne duce pe noi în ispită, ci ne izbăveşte de cel viclean. Că a Ta este împărăţia şi puterea şi slava, a Tatălui şi a Fiului şi a Sfântului Duh, acum şi pururea şi în vecii vecilor.

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