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Marius Tăriță

Institute of History, Moldova State University
marius@nichita.org
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1538-5292>

SLAVONIC CULTURE IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN PART OF THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY, FROM THE 15TH TO THE EARLY 16TH CENTURY

Abstract

In Transylvania, part of the Hungarian Kingdom in the 15th century, a Slavonic cultural evolution existed despite the political domination of the Hungarian aristocracy and the towns of the Saxons. Even if the Romanians (Olachs, Vallachs) and other Eastern Christian groups had no political representation, several cultural centres existed. The main areas were north of Transylvania in Maramureș (where there was even a concurrence between the Romanians and Ruthenians supported by the hierarchy in Mukachevo), especially the monastery Peri, in Banat, it was at the Bodrog monastery, the Romanian districts in Southern Transylvania (e.g., Haczak/Hațeg), in Feleac since the second part of the 15th century and also in several villages. The last one is also illustrated by heritage as the manuscript from 1511 copied in Bîrgău by priest Mikhail.

Several catalogues of Transylvanian Slavonic manuscripts were published during the second part of the 20th century. Among the editors were I. Iufu, Ch. Pistruț, T. Bojan. Valuable studies were written by M. Dan and O. Filipoiu (focusing on cultural relations between Moldavia and Transylvania) and R. Popa (dedicated to the history of Maramureș). An important hypothesis on Romanian culture in Transylvania belongs to A.A. Rusu (1999). The Slavonic cultural areas in Transylvania had

cultural contacts with Moldavia and a less studied topic with Wallachia. As a result, the Slavonic manuscripts in Transylvania even have specific differences besides their Moldavian models (especially from Neamț monastery). The topic is still open for researchers, and among the important issues is establishing the affiliation to a Slavonic handwriting school or style (besides the possible local eclectics).

Keywords: Transylvania, Church Slavonic, Romanians, manuscripts, Moldavia

Introduction

The official language in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary was Latin. The administrative region of Transylvania covered its Eastern parts,¹ and until the Reformation, two main confessional groups existed – Catholics and Orthodox. The first one included mainly Hungarian (Magyar) aristocracy and peasants, the Seklers – the Eastern border keepers (in the Carpathian Mountains), and the inhabitants of the seven towns, the Saxons (Lat. *Saxones*).² The second group was made up of the Romanians (Lat. *Olachi*, *Olaci*, *Valachi*,³ Hu. *Oláh*), a people who, in documents, were called *Sclavi*, *Sitani*, and *Bulgari* (the last had their *Bulgarorum bano* before the 15th century⁴), and in the north, in Maramureș (Lat. *Maramorosiensis*,

¹ In Romanian historiography, the history of Transylvania is treated as a separate issue and is quite not seen in the general context of the Kingdom of Hungary evolutions. This is due to the high degree of autonomy which was specific for this region up to the Mohács defeat of the Hungarian Royal army (1526) and separate evolution up to the early 18th century. Also, the poor centralization and the confessional and ethnic diversity of this region make it to be a specific case. Transylvania has a high symbolic value for scientific and also, unfortunately, political Hungarian-Romanian debates. The author of this paper treats this region separately in his approach because it fits well with the topic of the Slavonic culture in that age. Despite the fact that during the last decades, Romanian historiography is not especially interested in the study of the Slavonic heritage, in this case, the Orthodox Romanians and not only from Transylvania, belonged to the large Byzantine-Orthodox culture in its Slavonic branch.

² They also determined the German name of Transylvania, meaning “seven towns” – *Siebenbürgen*.

³ *Documenta Romaniae Historica. C. Transilvania*, vol. 13: 1366–1370, Cluj, 1994, p. 915. The Latin names from that age given in the brackets in the present article are all taken from this edition.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

Maramorusius) also Ruthenians (Lat. *Rutheni*). The territory was divided into counties (Lat. *comitatus*), each one headed by a count (Lat. *comes*) appointed by a voivode. Generally, there existed an institutional and territorial nobiliary autonomy.⁵ In the southern part of Transylvania existed some little Romanian ducal districts (e.g. *Hachzak*). The Romanians had no political elite and no chance to become a political estate after 1366. In this context, the Romanian dukes (Lat. *kenezius*) could serve the power and assimilate or remain in their own community of cultural traditions, implying a social decline and marginalisation.⁶

Even if few are known and few studied, several areas of the Church Slavonic Culture existed. The main ones were at the monastery of Peri from Maramureş, monastery Bodrog from Banat (West to Transylvania), in the district of Haţeg (Lat. *Hachzak*) in the southern Transylvania,⁷ Feleac (Lat. *Felek*)⁸ near Cluj (Lat. *Clusuar*, *Cluswar*), so-called periphery of Sibiu⁹ (Ro. *Mărginimea Sibiului*), Şcheii Braşovului,¹⁰ Feldru near Năşăud (Hu. Naszod), etc. The first problem for a researcher appears from the historiographical perspective. The Hungarian historians were not especially interested in this subject. Romanian historians had studied the issue but without the final purpose of synthesis. It seems that the Orthodox Slavonic area in Eastern parts of the Hungarian Kingdom was rather a continuation than a periphery of the Romanian (Wallachian in that age) countries. Those two, Moldavia¹¹ and Wallachia (Ro. *Muntenia*, Lat. *Terra Transalpina*), had

⁵ *The History of Transylvania*, ed. by I.-A. Pop, Th. Năgler, Cluj-Napoca, 2005, p. 254.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁷ The oldest Romanian inscription (from 1313/1314) was discovered by Radu Popa (in the summer of 1975) on the eastern side of the altar of the church from Streisingiorgiu (nowadays in Hunedoara district).

⁸ For historians interested in the history of Feleac, the works of the archaeologist A.A. Rusu are relevant.

⁹ The town of Saxen – Hermannstadt, in Hungarian, has the name *Szeben* with possible origin in Slavic *Zibin*.

¹⁰ For the later cultural evolutions of Romanians near Braşov in the 17th century see I.-A. Pop, *Contribuţii la istoria culturii româneşti: cronicile braşovene din secolele XVII–XVIII*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003.

¹¹ In that age Moldovans were called in the Byzantine sources *Μολδοβλαχος* and in the Turkish – *Karabogdans*, meaning the *Black Bogdans*. It seems, according to the name of the ruler Bogdan, a proper name or a title in the own documents.

an autonomous Orthodox hierarchy and own strong cultural life.¹² Also, I have to mention that during the last decade, the interest in Romanian Slavic studies has continuously decreased. This is also due to the “Westernisation” of the Romanian public and mass culture. There is little consciousness (in comparison with the 1950s–1980s) of the importance of the Slavonic heritage and the role the Romanians played in the post-Byzantine cultural *oikumene*.

In this study, I will preliminarily pay attention to the historiography of the Transylvanian Slavonic, the main centres that existed, and finally, I will present some suggestions for future studies.

As a technical explanation, I will use the term “Romanian language” in this text. In fact, at that age, it was either Wallachian or Moldavian.

The studies on Transylvanian Slavonic culture

The most important studies have been made by Ioan Iufu,¹³ Chiril Pistruț,¹⁴ and Teodor Bojan.¹⁵ The issue was researched by Ștefan Ciobanu, Damian P. Bogdan, and Adrian A. Rusu. One of the last and most recent works is the catalogue by Anca Libidov.¹⁶

In his book dedicated to Romanian-Slavonic palaeography, Damian P. Bogdan used the term “Transylvanian heritage”. This one consisted of three manuscripts – one liturgy book from the end of the 15th century

¹² An important impact on the cultural life in Moldavia was also the presence for a couple of years (in the early 15th century) of Gregory Tsamblak, a universal Orthodox theologian of that age. He was the author of the “Life of the John the New Saint from Suceava” (originally from Trapezunt, martyred in Cetatea Alba/Belgorod in Southern Bessarabia). He was officially celebrated as protector of Moldavia up to the middle of the 17th century.

¹³ See I. Iufu, “Manuscrise slave în bibliotecile din Transilvania și Banat”, *Romanoslavica*, vol. 8, 1963, pp. 451–68.

¹⁴ See Ch. Pistruț, “Manuscrise slave în Transilvania”, *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, no. 3–4, 1974, pp. 425–35; Ch. Pistruț, “101 manuscrise slave în Transilvania (sec. XII–XVII)”, *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, no. 1–2, 1978, pp. 127–48.

¹⁵ T. Bojan, *Manuscrisele slavone din Biblioteca Filialei Cluj-Napoca a Academiei R. S. România*, Cluj-Napoca, 1978.

¹⁶ A. Libidov, *Manuscrisele slavone de la Biblioteca Filialei Cluj-Napoca a Academiei Române: studiu monografic și antologie de texte*, București, 2020.

(1482–1492), written at Feleac, a gospel from 1511 copied by priest Mikhail from Bîrgău (near Ro. Bistrița, Hu. Besterceze, De. Bistritz),¹⁷ (one of the best creations of the orthodox expression in Transylvania), and a gospel from 1519 (now in Shchyukin Collection in Moscow).¹⁸

This image has several white spots and reflects only partially the reality of the Orthodox writing in Transylvania at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century. I will first refer to the published catalogues of the manuscripts – the historian Ioan Iufu is the author of several catalogues. He consulted 98 manuscripts in eight Transylvanian collections. One has to pay attention to the following ones: a Book of Prayer (15th or 16th cc., Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj-Napoca), a Gospel (15th c.), a Slavonic Acts of the Apostles (the so-called Apostle, 15th c.), an Apostle (16th c., written before the reform of the Patriarch of Tyrnova Eftimie[!]), a Prayer Book for September (15th c.), a Gospel (15th c.), a book of prayers (15th c.), a Prayer Book for May and a *Pravilă* (15th c. – all eight at the Central University Library Cluj), an *Octoechos* and a Prayer Book for the whole year (both from the 15th c., at the Museum of the Romanian Orthodox Archbishopric in Cluj-Napoca), a Prayer Book for December (Library of the Romanian Orthodox Bishopric from Arad), and the last group – a Liturgy Book, an *Octoechos* and a Book of Hours (15th c., Library of the Romanian Orthodox Metropolis in Sibiu). There are 15 manuscripts, of which 14 are written in Bulgarian Slavonic and one in Serb Slavonic, which can be related to Moldavia in the East and Wallachia in the South.

Ioan Iufu considers that the most significant part of the manuscripts in Cluj's libraries and those from the Library of the Academy of Science (Bucharest) confirm the activity of the so-called in later Romanian *spunători* (declaimers – persons who learned books and then recited them by heart) in

¹⁷ M. Dan and O. Filipoiu consider this manuscript very important. The manuscript shows one more time the existence of centres where manuscripts were copied in this part of the country and their contribution to these cultural phenomena. See the study by these two authors, "Contribuții la istoria legăturilor culturale dintre Moldova și Transilvania în orînduirea feudală. Un manuscris slav transilvănean din 1511", *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei*, no. 1–2, 1963, p. 55.

¹⁸ D.P. Bogdan, *Paleografia româno-slavă. Tratat și album*, București, 1978, p. 120. The first manuscript was studied by Virgil Vătășanu; for the second one, see *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei*, no. 1–2, 1963.

Transylvania. Their products were present in Transylvania mainly because “they had better life conditions”.¹⁹ At the monastic schools in Moldavia, they learned religious books by heart and then travelled to faraway regions where they could dictate these texts to be put on paper.

Another author, Chiril Pistrui, studied mainly the manuscripts from the same collection. According to his catalogue, the heritage of the age of Mathias Corvinus contains the following manuscripts:

1. A Psalter from the 15th–16th century (Bishopric of Arad), probably from Bodrog.
2. A *Nomocanon* from the 15th century (Bishopric of Arad), Bodrog, copied after an original with its origins in some Russian-Ukrainian lands.
3. A Personal Diary from around 1460–1469 (Bishopric of Arad), written at the monastery of Hodoș by hegumen (abbot) Vasile, in Old Slavonic.
4. A Liturgy Book from the second part of the 15th or the early 16th century (at Orthodox Bishopric of Arad), unknown provenience.
5. A Psalter from the early 16th century (at Orthodox Bishopric of Arad), translated from Greek and written by officiant monk Sava, probably at Bodrog.
6. A Gospel from the end of the 15th or early 16th century (Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj), possibly in the county of Cluj/Kolozs.
7. Apostle (the same place), written in the early 16th-century Transylvania.
8. *Octoechos* (the same place), unknown origin.
9. A Prayer Book (Ro. *Prăznicar*) from the 15th–16th century (Romanian Orthodox Archbishopric Library).

A vital document reflecting the monastic life is the *Diary* (it also shows how well a Romanian monk wrote in Slavonic). I believe that, in general, there were several *Diaries* written (at each monastery). It deals exclusively with the administrative aspects of the monastic life. It covers the period between 1460 and 1469 and has 95 pages. On page 30, the author wrote two

¹⁹ I. Iufu, “Mănăstirea Moldovița – centru cultural important din perioada culturii române în limba slavonă (sec. XV–XVIII)”, *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei*, no. 7–8, 1963, p. 455. For more information about relations between Moldavia and Transylvania see M. Păcurariu, “Din istoria legăturilor bisericești ale Transilvaniei cu Moldova”, *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei*, no. 11–12, 1968, pp. 642–63. For the relations of Neamț monastery and Transylvania, see N. Vornicescu, “Relații bisericești-culturale între Mănăstirea Neamțu și Transilvania, din cele mai vechi timpuri până în preajma anului 1918”, *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei*, no. 11–12, 1968, p. 664–701.

short lists – for those who were dead and those who were alive.²⁰ In this case, the handwriting was used not only for religious manuscripts but also for everyday needs, between which a special place belonged to commercial ones (Ch. Pistrui).

Teodor Bojan consulted the old books from the Library of the Academy in Cluj. From his list, the following manuscripts are interesting for us: a *Liturgy Book* (1492²¹), two *Gospels* (15th–16th cc.), an *Apostle* (15th–16th cc.), a *Prayers Book* (15th–16th cc.), a *Liturgy Book* (15th c.), a *Gospel* written near Cluj (15th c.), and another *Apostle* (early 16th c.). He concluded that six were written in medieval Bulgarian, and two included Russian terms.

Even if they studied the same groups of texts, the lists of Iufu, Pistrui and Bojan have several differences. For example, Iufu had not paid attention to the *Diary* from Hodoș-Bodrog; Pistrui wrote less about the manuscripts from the Library of the Romanian Academy in Cluj, etc. After a considerable lack of new contributions, in 2020, Anca Libidov published her catalogue and study on Slavonic manuscripts at the Library of Romanian Academy in Cluj-Napoca.

As external influences, one can distinguish Russian-Ukrainian (or Russian), which probably came via Moldavia. It still cannot be proved that in Maramureș, one has the influence of the Western Russian world. One of the arguments could be that in the 15th century, Moldavia influenced parts of Ruthenia and Volynia, and not vice versa. Iufu, Pistrui and Bojan brought several arguments of technical nature, which confirm the Moldavian influence among Orthodox of Transylvania.

Slavonic (Romanian) cultural areas in Transylvania

An excellent manuscript is the *Gospel* from 1511. The priest Mikhail wrote this on high-quality paper in the village of Rusul Bîrgăului.²²

²⁰ Ch. Pistrui, *101 manuscrise slave în Transilvania...*, op. cit., p. 141.

²¹ The photos of two pages from this one was published in an edition coordinated by Mihai Berza, *Repertoriul monumentelor și obiectelor de artă din timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare*, București, 1958, pp. 432–33.

²² The signature of the author – priest Mikhail – appears on the p. 152 and is written with little letters and soft cursive (see Attachment 4).

M. Dan and O. Filipoiu consider that it was written in “archaic Cyrillic letters”²³ (see Attachment 1 and 2). The text calligraphy is in *scriptio continua*. The manuscript has “geometric ornaments without floral or animal motives. The beginnings of the verses are similar to those made by Teodor Marișescu in his manuscript from 1500”.²⁴ I dedicated a short study to this manuscript in 2017. I have included the photos of five pages from this manuscript in the attachment.²⁵

An interesting theory about the cultural processes that took place in the 15th was formulated by Ștefan Ciobanu. He theorised on the beginnings of writing in Romanian.²⁶ His conclusions were:

1. The first translations into Romanian do not result from external influences (Husitism, Lutheranism or Calvinism).²⁷
2. The translations resulted from the religious-educative necessities and the cultural and historical circumstances from that time Maramureș. The need to prepare clergy for the churches in Maramureș and Subcarpathian Rus’ existed.²⁸

²³ See M. Dan, O. Filipoiu, “Contribuții la istoria legăturilor culturale”..., op. cit., pp. 55, 57.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 55. They concluded that from a technical point of view, folios 41–56 were replaced later, while folio 37v was inserted in the 16th century. There appear several filigrees, for example, on folios 49, 50, 52, and 54, where they have the form of two towers. Another one is on folio 98, where the Gospel of Mark begins. They also remarked much inconsequences and proposed an explanation. It is possible that the writer was in a hurry or he had insufficient knowledge of the Slavonic language. The third possibility is that the original contained errors.

²⁵ See M. Tăriță, “Manuscrisele vechi slavo-române – univers bibliofil dat uitării”, *Magazin Bibliologic*, no. 1–2, 2017, pp. 55–59.

²⁶ Ș. Ciobanu, “Începuturile scrisului în limba românească”, *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Literare*, Series III, vol. 10, Mem. 3, 1941, pp. 77–78.

²⁷ On the other hand, later (and much later in time), linguists still considered that the beginning of writing in Romanian was the result of an external influence. The main cause was (as it was proved by O. Densusianu and A. Rosetti) the Reform of Luther, which began at Wittenberg in 1519 and continued in Transylvania thanks to Hungarians and Saxons. See A. Rosetti, B. Cazacu, and L. Onu, *Istoria limbii literare*, București, 1971, vol. 1, p. 51. In Moldova and Wallachia, the Reformation had less influence (it is known as the brutal end of the intentions of Despot Heraklide). The beginning of writing in Romanian was the result of internal necessities and conditions.

²⁸ The Romanian denomination of this historical region is Rusia Subcarpatică.

3. The first translations were made in the 15th century at the monastery of Peri.²⁹
4. Three main books – Psalter, Apostles and Gospel – were first translated and written in Slavonic and Romanian in parallel.
5. The books with alternate Slavonic and Romanian text determined the appearance of the first Gospel, *Apostle* and Psalter from the 16th century in Romanian. The first book translated is the Psalter, due to the need to educate future clergymen.
6. The translators were Ruthenian or Romanian monks from bilingual regions of Maramureș.

The cultural relations between Moldova and Transylvania³⁰ are also proved by commending manuscripts made by the Romanian *parkalabs* – the officials who ruled a castle or a district, a kind of counts, they had administrative, military, and legal authority). For example, Cindea Lațco³¹ (for his church from Sîn-Giorgiu on Strei), *parkalab* of Hațeg, in one year (1435/1436) paid the monk Gabriel (Gavril), the son of Uric, for copying a Gospel. The manuscript was written on parchment.³² There is no “Byzantine influence. [...] The faces of the saints are treated with special energy, but the lines still are not perfect”.³³

²⁹ According to Vasile Rus, in the 14th–16th, in Maramureș existed two cultural/religious centres – Peri (Hu. Körtvelzer, Sk. Hruševo) in the name of St Michael the Archangel, and at Csernek (St Nicholas). The second church belonged to Ruthenians. Dragoș and Drag from Bedeu founded the Peri monastery. See V. Rus, “Giovanni Corvino ed il monastero di Peri in Marmarusio”, [in:] *Between Worlds. Matthias Corvinus and his Time. Cluj-Napoca 23rd–26th of October 2008*, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, pp. 116–17.

³⁰ The conclusion of M. Dan and O. Filipoiu on relations between Moldavia and Transylvania was that the cultural relations between the Romanians of Transylvania and Moldavia were also supported by the political relations – especially during the reign of Stephen the Great (1457–1504), and his son Peter Rareș known in Poland as Boryla (1527–38, 1541–46). See M. Dan, O. Filipoiu, “Contribuții la istoria legăturilor culturale”..., op. cit., p. 64.

³¹ Later, this noble family was Magyarised and is known in Hungarian historiography as Kendeffy.

³² N. Iorga noticed that the words were written with beautiful letters. See N. Iorga, *Mănăstirea Neamțului. Viață călugărească și munca pentru cultură*, Bucurest, 1925, p. 13. I. Minea also refers, shortly, to this, see *Letopisețele moldovenești scrise slavonește*, Iași, 1925, p. 6.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 15. The frontispieces of the Gospel published in *Odoare de la Neamț și Secul* (pictures by Stelian Petrescu), published at București in 1911, only in black and white, still were not studied from all perspectives. Mentioning the cultural role of the noble family of Cinde, A.A. Rusu wrote: “The same Mikhail was the son of Lațcu-Ladislau Cinde, those who, being chapellain of Hațeg, gave to the Monastery of Neamț from Moldova a coverage

According to Nestor Vornicescu, the manuscript was locked up in Transylvania in silver. In its front, there is the scene of the Resurrection – the Descent into Hades, and below it, there are the following words: “Кънда Лацко, паркалаб Хацагу, овово книгя сѣя”. On the other side was the Ascension (also the name of the monastery of Neamț). Rusu considers that “it is one of the most beautiful [manuscripts] from the 15th century. It connects with the art of the age of Stephen the Great”.³⁴ Several manuscripts were used as models by the Orthodox rulers from Transylvania. The first one was the *Gospel* from Neamț monastery (1436), and similar works were produced between 1498 and 1500, also from Neamț.³⁵

This proves the idea that in Hațeg existed a Slavonic cultural centre in the 14th–15th centuries. The family of Cîdea played an important role. In 1409, “the slaves of God, the noble Lațco and his wife Chendereșu [...] supported the monastery, St George”.³⁶ Their descendent Lațco was also an important person in his times. In 1435–1436 King Sigismund sent him to the brothers who ruled in Moldavia to bring home the nobles from Rîușor, Stavciul, Costa, the priest Vîlcu, with their brothers, their sons and the others who had run into Moldavia.³⁷ This Cîdea was killed during the siege of Someș on 5 September 1448. Finally, Hațeg³⁸ completes the cultural image of an extended Transylvania, including Maramureș, the western parts and Cluj county with Feleac.

of silver for a Gospel worked by Gavriil Uricul” (A.A. Rusu, “Preoți români ortodocși din districtul Hațegului în secolul al XV-lea”, *Mitropolia Banatului*, no. 10–12, 1982, p. 649). In general, in the case of Hațeg, according to A.A. Rusu, “the nobility belonged to the majority of the Orthodox priests known in Transylvania [...]” it was specified in the title, which contained the name of the locality.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 667. Stephen IV, known in Romania as Stephen the Great, was the hospodar of Moldavia between 1457 and 1504.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 668. He considered that the main influence in Transylvania was those of the manuscripts which spread from Neamț monastery.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 665.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ In this case, the conclusion of A.A. Rusu is important: “The short visit of the St Nicodim at Prislop determined the emergence of the use of the Slavonic writing in Hațeg” (A.A. Rusu, *Preoți români ortodocși...*, op. cit., p. 653). Nicodim (later Saint) was an important cultural personality at the Tismana monastery in North-Western Wallachia in the late 14th century.

One of the recent centres was at Feleac.³⁹ This one became, at some time, the residence of the bishops. In Moldavian style, the little church was named in honour of St Paraskeva. The monks from this place had frequent contact with monasteries from Moldavia and a powerful autonomous cultural life. For example, a *Liturgy Book* was copied in 1481,⁴⁰ and a *Gospel* dated 1488.⁴¹

Another centre existed at Bîrgău or near this. According to some historians, "it is possible that writers from Bîrgău assured with manuscripts the church from Singiorz and those from Năsăud or from other localities of Năsăud county" (Hu. Naszod).⁴² The *Gospel* from 1511 also contains a list of Gospel texts to be read during the period which precedes Easter, which makes it possible to compare it with the *Gospel* of Marişescu. The problem which appears here is what was the school in "Moldavia where the model was first written, and which Moldavian Gospel served as the model for the manuscript from 1511"?⁴³

It is possible that in the region of Năsăud, there also existed another centre at Feldru. Its leading representative was the clergyman Toader. Also, at Singiorz, in the same county, three manuscripts from the 16th century were found. This subject remains open for research. In which ways the religious culture came from Moldavia into Transylvania? What were

³⁹ For details, see E. Turdeanu, "Manuscrise slave din timpul lui Ştefan cel Mare", *Cercetări Literare*, no. 5, 1943, p. 176.

⁴⁰ According to M. Porumb, the frontispieces from the 1st and 3rd chapter show the influence of the Moldavian *zographs* on scribes from Transylvania. See M. Porumb, "Cultural and Artistic Relations between Moldavia and Transylvania (15h–16th centuries)", [in:] *Mélanges d'Histoire Générale*, vol. 1: *Stephen the Great and Matthias Corvinus and Their Time. In memoriam Virgil Căndea et András Kubinyi*, Cluj-Napoca, 2007, p. 143. For details about the *zographs* from Serbia and Moldova, see А.И. Яцимирский, *Изъ палеографическихъ наблюдений надъ записями старыхъ сербскихъ рукописей*, С.-Петербургъ, 1903, pp. 15–16.

⁴¹ M. Porumb, "Cultural and Artistic Relations"..., op. cit., p. 142.

⁴² M. Dan, O. Filipoiu, "Contribuţii la istoria legăturilor culturale"..., op. cit., p. 64. They consider that next manuscripts are among the products of the Transylvanian Slavonic School: "a Gospel din sec. XVI at Singiorz from Năsăud; an Octoechos of 15th century written probably in the northern Transylvania (now at Singiorz); another Octoechos from the 17th; a Psalter from 16th–17th centuries; a Gospel from the 16th (written probably in Transylvania); an Antologion from the 16th century, a manuscript containing 'Lyastvitsa' of John of the Ladder, from the 16th centuries (written probably in Transylvania) and many others".

⁴³ Ibid., p. 62.

the relations between clerks? Several historians supposed that the scribes from Transylvania studied at the monastery of Neamț or another monastery in the northeastern part of Moldavia. Anyway, the southern part of Orthodox Transylvania was in close contact with Wallachia.

Conclusions

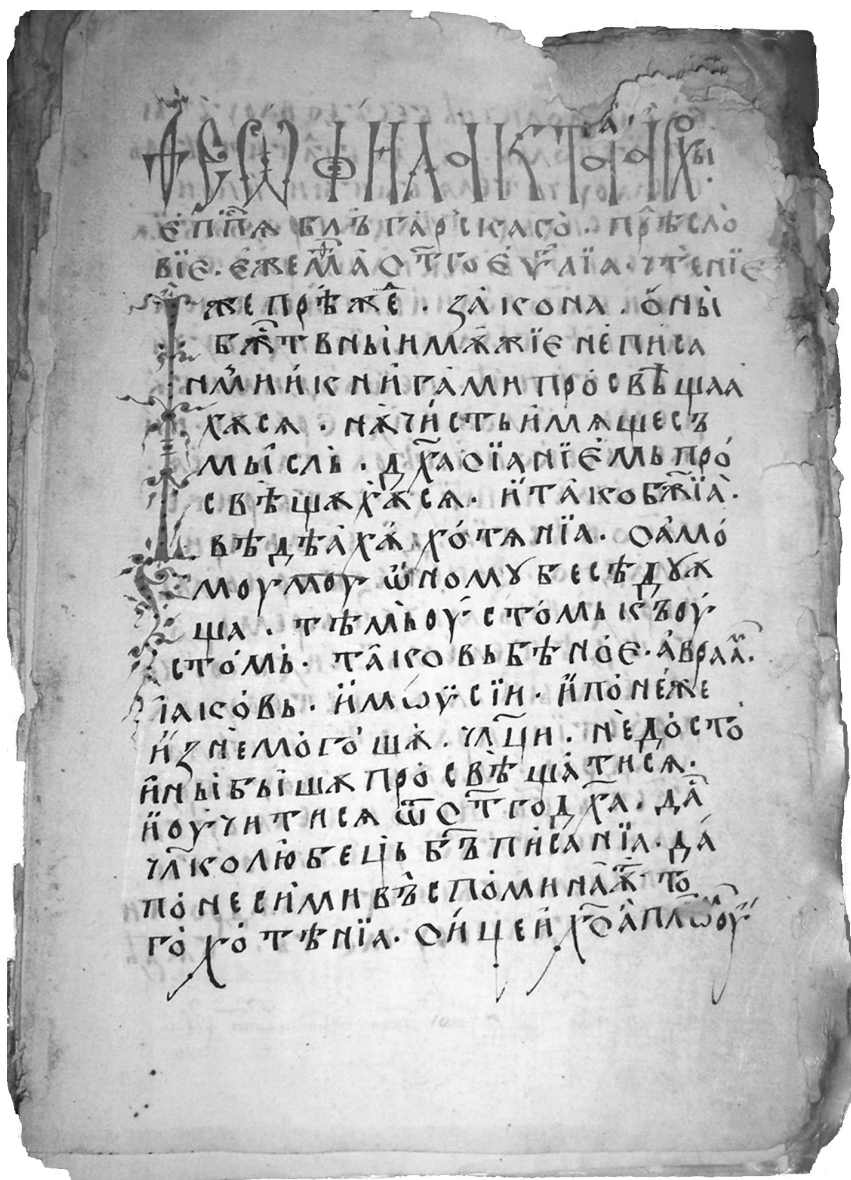
The short presentation of the issue above indicates that a visible cultural-religious activity of the Orthodox existed in Transylvania. The main centres were situated at the Peri monastery (north to Transylvania), at the Bodrog monastery (in Banat), at the Bishopric of Feleac (on the highest hill near Cluj), in the southern district of Hațeg. Also, in many other places, which are less important from the administrative point of view, as was the case of the village in the Bistrița county. The subject is still little studied by scholars and is open for future research.

At the end of this paper, I would like to thank for his support to my supervisor, the late Professor Dr Nicolae Edroiu (1939–2017), in my studies of the Romanian Slavonic culture. Also, I would express my gratitude to the Museum of the Cluj Orthodox Metropolis personnel for permitting me to take photos of some pages of the Birgau manuscript.

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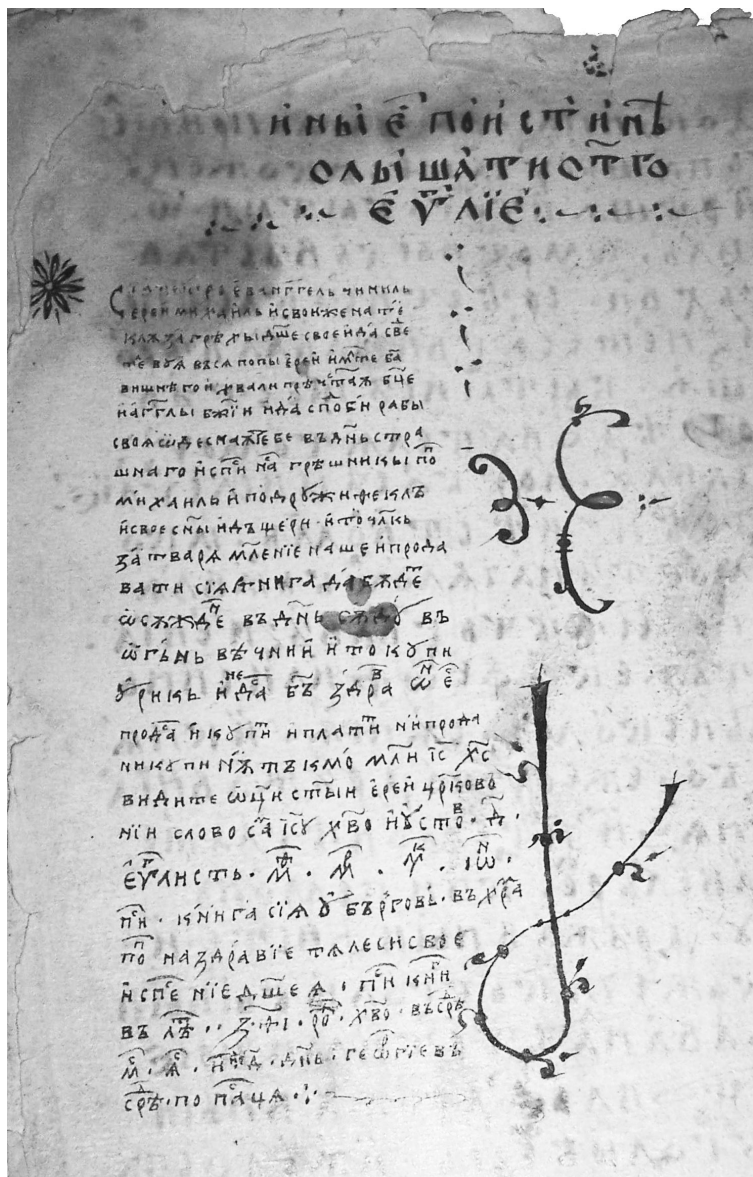
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Attachment 1.

Т ПО ТАЬКОВА І Е СЪ ЕУЛІ А ЧЛІСЬ І
 ІУФОН ХОЖА ІШЕІ ІЕРЛМА ВЛЕРН ХО Н
 РАЗКОИНИЗЫ ВЪПАДЕ ВЪ. ЧЛІСЬ Е АІАА
 АІЕРЛМЯРАН. АІЕРН ХОМНРЬ. АІЗХНГРХ
 АІРАЗКОИНИЦН ПІАВОЛІЕ. АІЕРЕНМОНСИ
 АЛЕВІТЪ ІШАНЬ. АСАМАРХНН ХС. АМА
 ІВННО СТОЕ. ТЪЛО КРЬВЫ ІГНЪ АГОІІН
 ПАВЕЛА. АГОСТІНИЦА ЧРІВН. ЧТО ПЪА
 ПЪН СЪА. ВЪ. ЗАКОНА. ВЕТХЫ ІННОВЫН
 АІЕЖЕЕГЛА ВЪЗВРАЩАСА ПІАТН. ПІО Е
 ВТОРОЕ ПРІШЕСТВІЕ. ЕІА ВЪЗНІА ІЗМО
 ЖНО ПО ПЪХЛЪ ЕГО. ВІРЪ. РЕГЪНЪ ІКТО Н
 ЗЫ ПЕХА ОУПРА. НАА ПН ПЪХЛА ПЕЛЕ ВЪ
 ВІННОГРЯ СВОИ. СЪ ВЪ. ЧЛІСЬ Е ВЪ АІВНО
 ГРА МНРЬ АІПЪХЛІ ТЕЛІСЪ АІПЪ. АІЕРНШЕШ
 ВЪ. АІ. АІ. МАН ПРН ЧЕСА ІКХ. АІ. АІПЛА.
 ВІРЪ ЧЛІСЪ НІІКОМО КОГІА ТЪ ОУГОВЬ
 СІН САНІВА НРЪ РАЗОРАЖНІ ПНЦА
 МОЖ. СЪ ВЪ. ЧЛІСЬ Е ІД ПАСКАРНІОТЪ.
 ІО НЕМЖЕ РЕ ПІВІА. РЕ ВЕХД МЪ ВЪ СРЦІН
 НЪ БІА. ВІРЪ. ПОСЛА ГЪ. В. ОУЧЕНІА
 СВОА ГЛА. ІН ПЪ ПЕ ВЪ ПРЪ НІА ВЕ. ІО ВРА
 ШЕ ТЕ ІО СЛА ПРН ВЪЗНО НІЖРЪ КАСХНН.
 СЪ ВЪ. ВЕ Е МНРЬ. АІО СЛАЖНІО ВЕ.



Attachment 4.