

THE IMPORTANCE AND CURRENTNESS OF THE PASTORATE OF METROPOLITAN VARLAAM FOR THE CHURCH AND THE ROMANIAN NATION

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Abstract: The current Research Report records the revitalization of the Byzantine way of life during the time of Ruler Vasile Lupu and Metropolitan Varlaam, in which the Moldavian society of the 17th century is already engaged in the spiritual, cultural, historical directions of a Europe that had assimilated almost a century the ideas of the Renaissance and humanism. Keeping the traditional vein of the time, the effort to search for new languages, typologies, or solutions, able to express as faithfully as possible the renewing desires of the era, is recorded now, having to do with an era of great spiritual transformations, the most significant event of the time, making it break away from the sphere of Byzantine-Slavic influence, where Romanian medieval art did not transpose from other areas of culture, but interpreted each time the elements it accepted to appropriate, interpreting the specific data related to the background Romanian spirituality.

Throughout this period of time of the first half of the 17th Moldovan century, dominated by the two historical personalities of this time, Vasile Lupu and Varlaam of Modova, a society that for several centuries lived under the umbrella of the Byzantine world, he now feels the need to leave the rigid frames of this life and to look more and more towards the people who will later form one culture, one faith and one people.

Keywords: Culture, History, Art, Unity, Endurance

Introduction

The Romanian teaching book of St. Hierarch Varlaam, Metropolitan of Moldavia, printed in Iasi in 1643 and better known as "Varlaam's Cassation" (but given by modern philologists and literary historians against the will of the author, who wanted to avoid the Ukrainian neologism), is undoubtedly the most important literary-religious creation in the Romanian language of all that have emerged over the 368 years that have passed since its appearance. The literary and religious text present in this writing, outlines the confessional image in the making of the literary Romanian language, being rightly compared to Luther's Bible in German culture, and for Mihail Eminescu, "Varlaam the Metropolitan made the Holy Spirit speak in the language of the Romanian nation".

Nicolae Iorga, referring to the Romanian Book of Learning in his History of the Religious Literature of Romanians up to 1688, wrote: "The thought of the books of ecclesiastical instruction had this time passed through the very soul of the Romanian people: in it had thus been created anew in the spelling, written as it is spoken, of Abbot Varlaam of Secu". To the Romanian people he had given "not precisely Cazania proper, but, in part, a new and brilliant translation of the Gospel", showing how to express faith, history, courage and culture.

For the martyred priest Florea Mureșanu, who ended his days in Aiud prison and who published in Cluj, under occupation, the most imposing graphic monument to this book, after the very printing of the beginning, "Cazaniile, as they are written, bear the

stamp of his enormous personality. The grammar in the sense of the Romanian people everywhere, not only of that time, but also today, after 327 years, remains the monument that Metropolitan Varlaam gave himself in the imperishable history of Romanian spirituality and literature". In the preface of the same monumental printing in Cluj, on the occasion of the three centuries since the publication of the book in Iași, Bishop Nicolae Colan, who remained with his shepherds after the Vienna Diktat, wrote: "I know of no book - apart from Holy Scripture - that has brought more light into the spiritual home of the Romanian than the *Cazania* of Metropolitan Varlaam, sent to preach in the year of our Lord 1643".

Exactly a quarter of a millennium has passed since the year 1643 when it saw the light of print, as written by the author's pen and put into the living circuit of Romanian culture, the gate, through which it stepped, this time in a new garment, of the letter of the ancestors, being not the Church, but the School. In 1894, under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Religious Affairs, which gave approval for each publication in the collection "Ancient and Contemporary Romanian Authors", published by the Socec Publishing House, the first edition of the Romanian Book of Learning was published in Latin letters, absolutely faithful to the original. It was, however, a selective edition: only 25 of the 75 titles appeared in it, i.e. a third of the "summary". Among them, four lives of saints: St. Dimitrie, Saints Peter and Paul, St. Paraschiva and St. John the New.

1. Title in the author's original handwriting - *Cazania*

From the 17th century onwards, Moldovan art entered a new stage of its evolution, based on several political, economic, social and cultural factors, which developed a new configuration that would show it under the sign of other artistic ideals.

The title given by the publisher to Varlaam's *Cassaniile* is unmistakable in the original writing of the man who introduced into our vocabulary the phrase Romanian Book of Learning (also borrowed for Vasile Lupu's Code of Laws of 1646) in order to avoid the Ukrainian word *cazanie*. The title *Cazanie* will be appropriated, however, for convenience and economy of typographic space, by modern descendants, even in the 1943 edition printed by the Royal Foundation for Literature and Art. The success of the 1894 edition was categorical and in 1903, a second printed edition was needed, which showed the research and development work of Romanian culture at that time. The fact that the first edition printed in the Latin alphabet, even limited to a third of the book, was addressed to the youngest readers, which also ensured its unique success, is the most telling proof that the winged slova of Metropolitan Varlaam was not received by "the whole Romanian people" only in a territorial sense, but also in the sense that it sowed the message of the Gospel in the souls of all, in all times.

In the year of salvation 1957, three centuries will have passed since its author's passage into the ranks of the saints, one of the well-known personalities of our ecclesiastical life and writing, the late priest and professor Mihai Bulacu, will evoke, in the article *The Romanian Book of Teaching of the great Hierarch Varlaam, Metropolitan of Moldavia*, the impact it had on him, in the decisive years of his childhood and

adolescence: "Each one of us fondly remembers, when from our childhood years we listened with pleasure to the voice of the teacher at the pew, reading the pages of this immortal work, called *Cazanie*".

Those were the first moments when we listened and heard resounding in the church of our village, in the beautiful Romanian language, clear and understandable to all, the uninterrupted translation of the Holy Gospel. The voice of the pew poured out light and teachings dear to our souls, coming as from a learned and wise great-grandmother, only four decades after the second edition of the school book in 1894 and three centuries after the first printing of his book by Metropolitan Varlaam.

Under the title *Varlaam, Opere*, Hyperion Publishing House in Chisinau published in 1991 a 620-page volume, including the Romanian Book of Teaching transcribed from the "Chisinau copy", the Response against Calvinistic Catechism (reproduced from the edition published in Bucharest in 1984 by Minerva Publishing House, under the care of the distinguished linguist Mirela Teodorescu), the importance of the teaching in the translation of the 1618 Scroll of St. John the Sinaite (for the first time reprinted from the text published by Gh. Ghibănescu in 1915), as well as a lot of documents written by Metropolitan Varlaam or concerning his person and work. The edition published in Chişinău mentions Mr. Manole Neagu as curator. He is the one who has assumed "the composition, the glossary and the bibliography", the preface being taken from Nicolae Cartoian's synthesis. The graphic presentation is signed by Isar Cârnu. This name, together with that of the publishing house itself, is a luminous landmark in the destiny of the most widespread, most valued and most influential Romanian book.

The only shortcoming, from our point of view, of the work of those from across the Prut, is that, although probably ten times more than the "princeps edition" of 1643 and that of 1943, this second modern complete edition of the Romanian Book of Learning and the first of the almost complete Works of Metropolitan Varlaam (under the same title, *Opere*, was only published in Bucharest in 1984 (The Response against Calvinist Catechism), has not found a more efficient bridge than that of flowers to come to us in a number of copies that would not make their acquisition the fruit of a happy chance.

In 1958, one of our leading philologists, the late Liviu Onu, was obliged to note in his study *Observations on Varlaam's contribution to the development of the literary Romanian language* that "research to date has not established Varlaam's personal contribution to the writing of the work and how many of the historical sources he used belonged to him", because "the main sources used by the Moldavian metropolitan have not yet been recognised".

Three years later, the same phrase was shown, and on page 96, in the summary of the *History of the Romanian Language*, signed only by Al. Rosetti and B. Cazacu, the third author, Liviu Onu, being unable to sign for political reasons. When in 1964 the same Liviu Onu was able to sign, this time, the pages on Metropolitan Varlaam and his writings in the academic treatise *Istoria literaturii române*, edited by G. Călinescu and whose first volume, devoted to folklore and "Romanian literature in the feudal period" had as editor in charge the academician Alexandru Rosetti, he again acknowledged that

Varlaam's "contribution to the composition of the Cazania is indisputable, even if it cannot be precisely determined"! All he could offer readers of this academic synthesis were the words used in the popular terms of the time, which gave lustre to this important work.

2. The form and editorial adjustment of the Cazania of Varlaam

The Cazania of Varlaam of 1643, a milestone in the history of Romanian culture, was printed on 505 folio sheets.

The height of the text of the pages is 23.5 cm and the width, i.e. the length of the lines is 13 cm.

The first three sheets on which the title of the book is the coat of arms of Moldavia, the predoslovia of Vasile Lupu and the predoslovia of Varlaam are unnumbered.

There follow 382 sheets numbered from 1 to 384 with Cyrillic letters used as numerals placed in the top right-hand corner on the first page of the sheets.

These 382 sheets include the Caesars on Sundays of the Church year from Lazarus Saturday to Good Friday and Great Saturday, a total of 54 Caesars. The verso of the sheet numbered 384 is white. With the next sheet a new numbering from 1 to 116 begins.

These 116 sheets include the Cazantias on the Feast of the Lunis preste anu, inparatesti and of the sventesti mari, 21 in number and not 22 as we find in some works dealing with the Cazania of Varlaam, the pages of the sheets bear the short title of the Cazantias on the respective sheets.

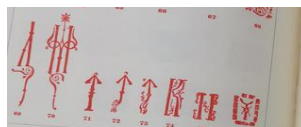
At the end of Varlaam's Cassius there are again four unnumbered leaves containing 'the heads that are in this book'.

So in total we have 505 sheets or 1010 pages, apart from the numbering of the sheets the book also has a numbering of the casseroles but it stops at number 16. This numbering is done in red inside small vignettes on the edge of the sheets outside the text and stops at the sixth Sunday after Easter of the blind man's cassation which is the 19th cassation in the series but after this 16th numbering. The cassia of the Shamari of the Great Saturday and of today's Illumination of the Resurrection are not numbered. after these the numbering continues again stopping at the Sunday of the Blind. The exposition of the teaching of the mysteries is done in a catechetical way, through questions and answers.

From page 301 to page 303, there is a catalogue of the feasts of the year (36), and from page 304 to page 317, there is an exposition of the postures and the "maps", and from page 318 to the end, the table of contents of the book.



INITIALE DIN CAZANIA LUI VRALAAM,
1643



3. The didactic chronology of the printing of the Cazania.

The inscription in Slavonic on the first numbered page tells us precisely that the printing of the book took place in the year 7151 after the Creation of the world, and in 1643 after the Birth of the Lord.

We have argued that the manuscript was ready for printing as early as 1637, but there was no place to print it because there was no printing press in the country. In May 1639, the church of the Trei Ierarhi Monastery in Iasi was consecrated, the College was finished, and then the printing press was set up in the chapels of the Trei Ierarhi. In this case before 1641 the printing press could be used for printing.

If we can make this date a criterion then it could just as well be argued that it began in 1642, since the woodcut of the title sheet bears the date 1642.

Dating the woodcuts could only tell us that they were engraved on that date, or the commissioning and purchase of the printing material must have been done before the book was put under the teasks.

If we agree with Father Niculae M. Popescu in his letter of thanks to the ruler Vasile Lupu, printed on 20 December 1642, that this is the first fruit of the printing press of the three hierarchs, where the Greek serigraphs had also been brought from the spring of Liov, then we must admit that Varlaam began printing around Christmas 1642.

In support of this assertion one could also invoke the fact that the relics of the Most Holy Paraschiva were brought to Iași on 13 June 1641, this being shown in the ornamentation of the title page where the face of the Most Holy Paraschiva is also painted, and this woodcut bears the date 1642. The printing of the book could therefore not begin until 1642, and it is worth noting that the technical part of the work could only have been directed by Sophrony Pacapski, who also served as editor and director of the printing house at Perceska.

The black ink, according to printing specialists, is made of soot and the red ink is made of red humus powder and natural dyes.

4. Metropolitan Varlaam, Hierarch, Scholar and Founder of Culture.

The 17th century in Romanian history is the time of the great Hierarchs, fighters for the defence of the Thesaurus of Moldavia, and of the right faith, for the unlocking of the nation, of national culture through the foundation of schools and printing houses,

from under whose roofs the holy books, spreading light and strengthening the unity of the soul, were sent to all the countries inhabited by Romanians. The series of these hierarchs, tireless in their efforts to open new paths of prosperity for the people entrusted to their spiritual shepherds, began in 1632 with Metropolitan Varlaam of Moldavia.

It is believed that he was recommended by Petru Movilă who, having had the opportunity to know him personally, was able to appreciate his eminent spiritual qualities: a zeal for a pure life, an unquenchable desire to strengthen his faith in the work of faith and to flourish in the culture that was to endure throughout the ages. Since his childhood, no clear record of his family circumstances has been preserved. Neither his name nor the year of his birth is known.

All that is known is that in 1610 he was abbot of the monastery of Secul, and at the end of 1628 the ruler Miron Voda Barnovschi, Lord of Moldavia, considered Varlaam worthy of all trust, and sent him on a diplomatic mission to the court of the Russian Tsar Mikhail Feodorovich. From this context, it can be deduced that Varlaam must have been at least 35-40 years old at the time, so the year of his birth could be sought in the penultimate decade of the 16th century.

The name of Metropolitan Varlaam must have enjoyed fame among the leaders of public life in Moldavia, when in the autumn of 1632, after the death of Metropolitan Athanasius, the successor of Anastasius Crimca, he was suddenly called to ascend the Metropolitan's chair without having spent a few years before, according to the old custom, in a bishopric of the Moldavian Metropolitanate.

Metropolitan Varlaam continued to cultivate good relations with Metropolitan Peter Movila, whom he had visited on August 3, 1629 at the Kiev monastery, having been sent by Vojvod Miron Barnovschi, showing an enterprising and energetic spirit. From his conversations with Varlaam, Petru Movilă notes a miracle that happened in 1610 with the relics of St. John the New in Suceava, and elsewhere he reproduces from letters received from Metropolitan Varlaam, that in 1620 until the Thursday after the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit, when the Feast of the Patron Saint of Moldavia was celebrated in the Metropolitanate of Suceava, according to custom, people who come from many and far places bring many gifts and when they worship the relics of the saint, they give a few coins, then, the ecclesiastic stealing money fell to the ground and could not be cured by the unclean Spirit only after confessing his sin before the metropolitan who read him the disclination and reprimanding him, gave him forgiveness. From this event, the pious Peter Movila does not fail to draw a lesson of practical morality: "see, brothers, how evil is the love of silver and how hard is the sin of stealing holy things".

This prince with great zeal, understood to give special attention to the close relations of Varlaam with Peter Movila and for this purpose he gave his throne by means has a nimbus of brilliance, which could equal if not obscure that of his rival across the Milcow on the wise prince Matthew Basarab. How much favour he enjoyed at the court of the ruler Vasile Lupu, Metropolitan Varlaam proves when he was sent in 1644 to Matei Basarab in Târgoviște, to start negotiations between the two rulers to live in good neighbourliness and brotherhood, sealing this promise by building the two churches in

Târgoviște at the expense of Vasile Lupu and the one in Soveja built at the expense of Matei Basarab.

From what has been shown so far, Varlaam's personality appears in the favourable light of a monk guided since his youth by a burning force for religious, moral and intellectual progress, heading early on towards the metropolitan threshold of Petru Movilă. The encounter with the enlightened defender of Orthodoxy opened up to him beautiful prospects of fighting for the faith, and in this fight, he considered the step of the highest hierarchical dignity that Moldova could offer not as a place of rest and self-importance, but as a place of vigil and duty to put to work all the spiritual means to strengthen peace among brothers and to facilitate the cultural progress of his beloved Moldova.

He worked hard, giving all the necessary support to the foundation of the printing press, for which he interceded with Petru Movilă for the furnaces and master printers, as well as for the foundation of the University of Iasi, for which "good and renowned teachers" were brought from Kiev.

Besides being a good shepherd of the souls entrusted to him for spiritual shepherding, he proved to be a skilful diplomat in missions for the establishment of peace among brothers and a tireless supporter in the realization of cultural and artistic works during the reign of Vasile Lupu, undertaking bold actions and generating cultural feats, which allow us to profile today. Under the reign of Vasile Lupu, together with Metropolitan Varlaam, a high example of human achievement stands out in that era, proposing to us, in fact, through their own existence, a new model of humanity and culture: man sovereign over his thoughts, aims and deeds.

Although the ecclesiastical words that form the contents of this voluminous Romanian book from Iași were translated from the Slavonic language, as Varlaam himself confesses, the foreign language, full of enchantment, in which the writings of the age are rendered, does not portray him as one of the most skilful and creative writers of Romanian prose in the 17th century, where the first manifestations of Romanian humanism with its many defining elements are also recorded, and the few verses with explanations of the coat of arms of Moldavia or with expressions of praise and thanks for God's help in this work can prove that Varlaam's soul was not lacking in the talent of a skilled versifier.

With peace of mind, the great Hierarch Varlaam could therefore descend at the end of 1657 to the eternal resting place of the tomb of Secu, as one who had fulfilled his mission to the protection of the faith, acquiring with merit the unveiled crown of the divine gift.

5. The flourishing and cultivation of art in the age of Vasile Lupu

In all its aspects and forms, art could be understood and clarified autonomously by the collectivity of cultural and spiritual life, but in the 17th century, an objective analysis of the artistic phenomenon could not be made without taking into account the context of the whole spiritual life. The measures taken for the effective development of culture are evidence of an enterprising and energetic spirit which will soon bear fruit,

for the country will experience a period of visible prosperity, a fact which will lead the chronicler to write: "When once there were happy times in these parts of the world, then they were, and now I can say that, that is why they have all developed".

Once the economic life of the country was balanced, Vasile Lupu began a campaign sustained with intelligence and honesty to consolidate his political position, especially in relations with his neighbours, reshaping his own political, ethical, cultural and moral coordinates, which would lead to the establishment of a new scale of fundamental values. This is not at all easy, as Moldova was located between two great and powerful political and military forces, rivals of each other, Poland and the Ottoman Empire. The fleeting nature of the reigns that preceded or followed Vasile Lupu's dynasty showed that the lack of political and diplomatic skill in such an era risked upsetting the fragile balance in which this Romanian province found itself at any moment. Prudent, wise, judicious in his political actions, always thinking and analyzing with great lucidity and sense of reality all the possible consequences of the actions and decisions he intended to take, informed in advance, down to the smallest details, of all the movements or diplomatic intentions of his neighbours and especially of the Turks (through a network of well-established informers), the ruler Vasile Lupu appears to us today, in the historical perspective, as a skilful diplomat and politician, being one of the most important political and historical personalities of the Romanian Middle Ages. This assertion, which may seem subjective, is supported by a whole series of facts recorded only a few mentioned above.

A first proof is, as already stated, the duration of his reign, focusing his existence on a few coordinates that summarize and define it. Then, it is the particularly important role he played in the South-East European politics of the time, which he followed very closely, but at the same time ensured a complete unity between social environments, between village and city.

Last but not least, he is convinced that by losing the throne of the country he did not lose his life as it often happened at that time and moreover he lived his last days in the capital of the Ottoman Empire as ambassador of his son Stefan Lupu, whom he succeeded by his political skills to ascend to the seat of Moldavia.

In reality, as he reported on political and cultural-religious life, even from the brief data presented, he shows himself in a completely different light, as a man, as a gentleman, leading the destinies of the country or as a lover of culture. In his dealings with his subjects, he is not shown, according to contemporary testimonies, as a just and objective man.

For the same reasons, knowing also the greed of the landlords who are put in charge of judging cases, "he wants to judge any difficult case by himself, because the other judges would be easily bribed by gifts and in this way the poor would suffer even for a just case", then a statement made by the gentleman in front of the country's divan is recalled, a statement that sounds like a principle of conduct in village life: "I do not consider the person and justice not the thing but the law".

The ruler, Vasile Lupu, grants the Metropolitan of Moldavia total authority and independence from all other patriarchates, thus more or less officially, Moldavia is considered to be the seat of an autocephalous church.

The authority that Vasile Lupu imposes on the Eastern Orthodox Church should not be understood as an act of gratuitous pride, as it hides obvious political intentions linked to the possibility of exercising permanent control over the territory occupied by the Turks and maintaining the spirit of the anti-Ottoman struggle along these circuitous routes, giving new directions to which culture and art are developing.

On the other hand, in 1649, Paisie, the former abbot of the Galata Monastery near Iasi, appointed by Vasile Lupu to the seat of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, was empowered by the lord to lay the foundations for the formation of a Christian League, whose aims are easy to understand for this period, an action that did not materialize, but remained at the project stage.

The history of Romanian art considers the period of Vasile Lupu's reign as a distinct period from an artistic point of view, determined by a certain "heterogeneity" that can be glimpsed in the art of the time, aspects that are also mentioned in the present work.

The History of Romanian Art, which covers the reign of Vasile Lupu, records the beginnings of Romanian aesthetics, uncritically transmitted for several decades through the ways of writing and images, thus transforming the beauty of literary language into the adornment of Moldavia. It is only from such a position that we can realize the interdependence between the mutations that take place in the ideological plane and those that we see in the artistic cultural life of the time and we can allow ourselves to say without fear of being wrong that there is an era of Vasile Lupu in Romanian culture.

6. The contribution of Metropolitan Varlaam and of the ruler Vasile Lupu to the defence of Orthodoxy in the Romanian Countries.

The long history gives us a worthy picture of great rulers who, through their sustained effort, through the wisdom they received from God, made considerable efforts to support the ancestral Church in times of great trial. One such example is the reign of Vasile Lupu, whose reign in Moldavia is one of the longest in the Romanian countries, the sixth longest after Stephen the Great - 47 years, Mircea the Elder and Alexander the Good - 32 years each, Constantin Brancoveanu - 26 years and Matthew Basarab - 22 years.

His long reign on the throne of Moldavia, at a time when the average length of a reign did not exceed two or three years (sometimes only three or four reigns succeeded each other on the throne in a single year), had important political, economic and religious consequences for Moldavia, it ensured, on the one hand, continuity in the implementation of political goals and, on the other, relative economic stability, which would bring the country a visible state of prosperity and prosperity, which was good for the Church because it could be supported both morally and financially.

The 17th century witnessed a great religious manifestation, but in addition to these important manifestations, an action of defence of the right faith began in

Romanian countries, first against Calvinism but also against Catholic and Protestant teaching. Protestant propaganda, but especially Calvinism, in its march towards proselytism, has run up against the pure and just faith of the people. In all European countries, Calvinism penetrated very easily into the social strata, but in our country it had no chance of success because the real supporter of the struggle to stop this wrong teaching was the Lord of Moldavia, Vasile Lupu, who was helped by Petru Movila, Metropolitan of Kiev and Metropolitan Varlaam of Moldavia, made it known to the whole world, through his authority over the Eastern Patriarchates, especially Constantinople, and through the decisions taken by the local synod of Iași, that no other faith can be grafted onto our centuries-old faith and that the Romanian Orthodoxy has a decisive role to play in its march towards a new direction for the whole Orthodoxy.

It is well known that Vasile Lupu wished to unite all the Romanians of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, as Michael the Brave had done for a short time, which would have been possible if, in addition to the sense of diplomacy with which he was endowed, he had a strong army and a less brave rival, in the person of Matthew Basarab.

Although his plan to unite all Romanians did not succeed, he did not cease to support the action of the Orthodox Church in the Romanian Lands, in this period of struggle and fierce strife between Catholicism, Calvinism and Protestantism, for the conquest of Orthodoxy.

In Ardeal, in 1640, the hierarch Ilie Iorest, stepped energetically against the tendencies of Calvinization of the Romanian Church, promising to be a worthy Orthodox. Through false slander against him, he was thrown into prison with many priests and Christians, from where he was released after nine months in exchange for the sum of a thousand thalers.

Released from prison by Vasile Lupu, with bitterness in his heart that he had been prevented from doing good to his brothers, owing for the sum deposited as ransom, Ilie Iorest comes to Moldova, where he addresses the Archbishops of Moldova, who of course knew him because he had learned the book in the monastery Putna, where they will also have learned and where he was ordained after a while in the priesthood.

The archbishops of Moldavia, Varlaam, Anastasius of Roman, Stephen of Rădăuților and Ghedeon of Hușilor, together with Vasile Lupu, recommended him to the Tsar by giving him a passport dated 2 June 1645, so that he could be given freedom to ransom the 24 cheeses of Transylvania.

Of course, in 1645, Vasile Lupu's treasury was low because of the great expenses made to the Patriarchate, with the synod of 1642, the marriage of the girls and perhaps also with the army. However, he was not disinterested in the fate of the man he had recommended to Rákóczi and now, in times of trouble, he helped him with what he could. He was aware that one of the conditions he set for Iorest when he was elected Metropolitan was that he should spread the Calvinist catechism, a convention which the worthy Metropolitan had not fulfilled.

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