

Archbishop Innocent Burghele – Abbot of the Monastery St. Nicholas Popăuți (I)

Gheorghe DIACONU*

Abstract:

This study presents, based on original historical resources or underused, the personality of Archbishop Inochentie Burghele Iliupoleos, which has emerged, first, as a typographer, spiritual father and Metropolitan ecclesiarch, and then, thanks to Metropolitan Veniamin Costachi, as abbot of the Monastery Popăuți, Botoșani, in obedience to the Patriarchate of Antioch, being also the only Romanian abbot of this monastery and the first Romanian who received the high priesthood in the nominal title of bishop of the diocese of Iliupoleos under the jurisdiction of this patriarchate. Having the Episcopal seat at the Princely Church from Popăuți, Inochentie has shaped his personality as bishop, both in the sacramental life of the Church, officiating all the services specific for a bishop, including ordinations and consecrations of churches, as well as in the social life of the country, as member of Moldavia Public Assembly and as ecclesiastical court authority for church and civil cases. Of all the abbots, only from him was inherited an important heritage of objects of ecclesiastical art and an interesting antique book collection.

Keywords:

Popăuți-Botoșani, Patriarchate of Antioch, Veniamin Costachi, Inochentie Burghele Iliupoleos: life, activity, art patrimony inherited.

Of all the abbots of the Monastery *Saint Nicholas* from Popăuți, since its establishment until the secularization of the monasteries, the most prominent was undoubtedly, the archimandrite and then the Bishop Inochentie Iliupoleos, the

* Gheorghe Diaconu, PhD Student of the *Andrei Șaguna* Orthodox Faculty of Theology, *Lucian Blaga* University of Sibiu, Romania.

only Romanian came to lead the Monastery during 1815-1840. This abbotship, secured tenaciously, “for life”, a monastery in strict obedience and in a critical period in the history of Moldavia, remains documented to be also the longest, during which the monastery reached its economic and patrimonial peak due to the personality of this abbot.

About this ecclesiastical figure of Moldavia, that is mentioned in numerous contemporary documents, some of our predecessors limited themselves only to simple references¹, others to some tangential approaches in their works of synthesis², and others, even though they stopped on this very subject, have insufficiently shaped the personality of Bishop Inochentie, if we consider the rich unique documentary base which they could have used. Among those in the latter category, there are the priests Mihai Mănuță³ and Dumitru Grigoraș.⁴

Mihai Mănuță sketched for the first time the figure of Bishop Inochentie, using documentary sources, in terms of genealogical profile and economical activity of the monastery during his abbotship, but without deepening his sacramental dignity side or addressing in any way that of ecclesiastical authority of law, and without revealing his obvious contribution as initiator and creator of a cultural and artistic heritage transmitted to posterity. On this latter aspect stopped Dumitru Grigoraș, as parish priest of the Church Popăuți, in a short article, in which he only described some books from Inochentie’s library and mentioned some religious objects during his abbotship, republishing their inscriptions.

Therefore, we intend to deepen the aspects not sufficiently covered so far and to open new chapters, already announced, through which we try to sit in a new docu-

¹ Among them, there are Alexandru Papadopol-Calimach, who, in his monographic work dedicated to the city of Botoșani – *Notiță istorică despre orașul Botoșani* in *AARMN*, s. II, volume IX, 2nd section, II, Bucharest, 1887 (*Historical Note on the City of Botoșani*) –, referring to hegumen Inochentie, erroneously shows that he was appointed abbot in 1819, that he died “around 1836” and that he was buried in the princely church (p. 128) and Artur Gorovei, who has published and interpreted some documents related to some conflicts between townsmen and Inochentie – *Monografia orașului Botoșani*, Fălticeni, 1926 (*Monograph of the City of Botoșani*) –, pp. 67-68, 250-251, 404-405).

² Among these falls the monographic work of Alexandru Simionescu, the parish priest of the Church Popăuți and protopop of Botoșani, who focuses on several economic documentary references – *Mănăstirea Popăuți, today the Parochial Church “St. Nicholas” “Popăuți” from the city of Botoșani*, Botoșani, 1912 (*Monastery Popăuți*), pp. 12-14) – and the writings and inscriptions on some objects of worship during Inochentie’s abbotship (*ibidem*, pp. 31-32), as well as mentioning some of the books in his library (*ibidem*, pp. 40-42).

³ M. Mănuță, *Arhiepiscopul Inochentie Iliupoleos Burghеле*, in *SCI*, 1, 1943, excerpt (*Hierarch Inochentie Iliupoleos Burghеле*), pp. 1-17.

⁴ D. Grigoraș, *Un ctitor de seamă: Inochentie Mitropolit de Iliupoleos și egumen al Mănăstirii Popăuți (Botoșani)*, in *MMS*, no. 7-8, 1954 (*A Prominent Founder: Inochentie Metropolitan of Iliupoleos and Abbot of the Monastery Popăuți*), pp. 108-112.

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mentary light, both the figure of hierarch Inochentie, as well as, tangentially, that of Metropolitan Veniamin Costachi, who maintained during their pastorates, which overlap in time, a significant correspondence partially remained unknown. We will not stop here on the quality of Inochentie, received through his instrument of appointment in abbotship, as administrator of agricultural and commercial properties of the monastery, chapter that is required to be addressed in another context.

About his childhood, education and his monastic training, until he becomes hieromonk, spiritual father and ecclesiarch at the Metropolitan of Iași, there are few details and they come from Inochentie, who unveiled a small part of his past life to some close people.

Inochentie's family name is revealed, in a *letter*⁵, to his niece Smaranda, daughter of Ioniță Burghеле and wife of Neculai Pritpicior from Roman. As part of the Moldavian boyars Burghеле from Iași⁶, who come of the branch of the Burghelea from Mărmureni and Bozieni, Vaslui County, Inochentie had yet four brothers and a sister: Alecu, Constantin, Toader, Alexandru and Maranda, almost all settled in Iași. He also had a half-brother who became a priest in Iași.⁷ From the documents relating to the death of Inochentie, we find out that he had as sister-in-law “old Nastasia”⁸ and as linear sons-in-law, for his three nieces, Neculai Azămioară⁹, the High Steward Constantin Caraeni¹⁰, the Magistrate Eanachi Stamati¹¹, who, in his turn had as son-in-law the sirdar Alecu Ciure¹² from Vaslui.

His first teachers and mentors “in books and Romanianism” were the brothers Petrachi and Panaite Cazimir¹³ from Iași, who would never be forgotten by

⁵ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/82: September 20, 1838, Botoșani, f. 2^r.

⁶ Melchisedec, *Chronica Hușilor și a Episcopiei cu asemenea numire*, Bucharest, 1869 (*Chronicle of Huși and of the Bishopric of the Same Name*), p. 170.

⁷ Octav-George Lecca, *Familiiile boierești române. Istorice și genealogie*, Bucharest, 1899 (*Romanian Boyar Families. History and Genealogy*), pp. 505-506; v. and Mănuță, *Arhiereul Inochentie (Hierarch Inochentie)*, p. 6.

⁸ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/99: February 11, 1840, f. 5^v.

⁹ ASI, *Ministerul de Justiție (Ministry of Justice)*, Tr. 1756, Op. II 1991, dos. 561/1842, f. 6-6^v.

¹⁰ ASI, *Isprăvnicia Ținutului Botoșani (Stewardship of Botoșani County)*, Tr. 1333, Op. II 1514, dos. 18/1840, f. 1^r-1^v; ASI, *Ministerul de Justiție (Ministry of Justice)*, Tr. 1756, Op. II 1991, dos. 561/1842, f. 1^r.

¹¹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, X/63: July 7, 1840, Iași.

¹² ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VIII/31, X/63.

¹³ “The Cazimirs, family from Moldavia, originally from Suceava County, where is found for several centuries. In our century (1800) there were the brothers: Panait, Petrachi and Ioan Cazimir.

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Inochentie. In one of his letters addressed to Ioan Bașotă¹⁴, from Kishinev, thanking him for his support in leasing Duruitoarea estate and other economic issues, he brings, among other things, special thanks and praises to the Cazimirs and especially to Colonel Panaite Cazimir: “[...] I am sending parental blessing to the beloved polkovnik Panaite Cazimir (...) that until the end of my life I will not forget the mercy and bread that I had in his honorable house along several years, and whose good counsels did so much good...”¹⁵, because he sensed in the figure of Inochentie, while he was in charge with the First aid room from the Monastery Dancu, qualities of a future priest. With this family he learned “the alphabet and all was needed in life”, that is why he adds: “[...] I will never forget them, both the living, as well as those who have passed away from this life, asking the Lord for all the useful and forgiveness of sins”.¹⁶

About the period immediately following the studies we have no information, but Inochentie might have been tonsured into monasticism at the Monastery Dancu from Iași and, from there, to have reached a minister at the Metropolitan.

I. Typographer, Spiritual Father and Metropolitan Ecclesiarch

The first mentions about the responsibilities received by Inochentie during the pastorship of Metropolitan Iacob Stamati, namely ecclesiarch, printer and father confessor within the Metropolitanate, are found out at the end of the books published between 1794-1797 at the Metropolitanate typography, led by himself.

In 1794, there were printed under his care and of other collaborators at least three books. On the last pages of these books there is a typographical formula specifying the rank of clerics, monks and administrative functions of pressmen. According to them, the first printed book was *The Psalter*, the text of which ends with the words: “Corrector and spender with the printing being kir Inochentie, ecclesiarch of the holy Metropolitan, and together diorthosis with hieromonk ecclesiarch kir Ghedeon”.¹⁷

Chair Panait had only a son, that is Iordachi, and Petrachi [...] who was also *chair*, had three sons [...]” (Lecca, *Familiile boierești (The Boyar Families)*, p. 507).

¹⁴ *Chair* Ioniță Bașotă, Romanian nobleman over the Prut, owner of several estates (cf. G. Bezviconi, *Boierimea Moldovei dintre Prut și Nistru*, Bucharest, 1943 (*Moldavian Boyars between Prut and Nistru*), II, p. 17); brigadier Ion Bașotă, in 1836, was living in Botoșani, where, at the age of 70 “had a house and a vineyard” (cf. Artur Gorovei, *Monografia orașului Botoșani (Monograph of Botoșani)*, p. 222).

¹⁵ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/19: January 16, 1820, Botoșani, f. 1^v-2^r.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁷ Ioan Bianu și Herna Hodoș, *Bibliografia românească veche 1508-1830*, II, 1716-1808, Bucharest, 1910 (*Old Romanian Bibliography 1508-1830*), p. 373.

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In the second book, entitled *Critil and Andronius*, the text relating to typographers and publishers highlights that hieromonk Inochentie remained solely responsible for typography and ecclesiarchy: “Corrector and spender with the printing being kir Inochentie, ecclesiarch of the holy Metropolitan”¹⁸, and in the third book – *Liturgy* – the same text appears with a small change: “Inochentie, ecclesiarch and father confessor”.¹⁹

From these testimonies it is understood that the Metropolitan Iacob Stamati stopped his attention on Inochentie, due to his merits as skilled corrector, printer and humble ieromonah at only 26 years old, but also because of his progeny from an ancient family of Moldavian boyars with whom he was by far related.

In the next period of twenty years, excepting a syncope of three years, at the beginning of Veniamin Costachi’s pastorship, Inochentie’s signature will appear on all documents pertaining to the ecclesiarchy, the books for ordination and the records of the ordained. Within this category of documents was preserved *The Ordination Book*, from March 10, 1795, of priest Constandie from village Costinești, Hârlău province, which records: “Especially through the testimony of his spiritual father kir Inochentie, ecclesiarch of our Metropolitanate, being worthy of this saint Grace”²⁰ was ordained on account the aforementioned village and *The Ordination Book*, from December 16, 1798 of priest Grigorie²¹, ordained in the village Hilișău, Dorohoi province. To these is added also *the testamentary provision* of hieromonk Dionisie, from the Church *St. Michael the Archangel* from the suburb Rufeni, Iași, from April 25, 1807, that left as “[...] caretaker and guardian His Holiness father Inochentie ecclesiarch of the Metropolitan Church”, to whom remained the sum of nine hundred lei “[...] for my burial expense and lawful com-

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, no. 574, p. 361.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, no. 578, p. 366. The same text formula without substantive changes, will appear at the end of the following printed books: Amfilohie Hotiniul, *Gramatica Theologicească (Theological Grammar)*, Iași, 1795, (*ibidem*, no. 593, p. 378); *idem*, *Deobște Gheografie (General Geography)*, Iași, 1795 (*ibidem*, no. 594, p. 378); *idem*, *Elemente Arithmetice (Arithmetic Elements)*, Iași, 1795 (*ibidem*, no. 596, p. 384) and *Ceaslov (Horologion)*, Iași, 1797, (*ibidem*, no. 609, p. 393).

²⁰ ASI, *Mitropolia Moldovei, hirotonii (Moldavia Metropolitan, Ordinations), dos. 5/1830*. On the ordination books, he signs: “Inochentie ecclesiarch of the Metropolitanate, 1795”, *apud* Mănuță, *Arhiepiscopul Inochentie*, p. 7, n. 3.

²¹ *Ibidem*. In the next book printed in the printing house of the Metropolitan, depicted in Bianu-Hodoș, *Bibliografia românească veche 1508-1830, II (Old Romanian Bibliography 1508-1830)*, no. 652, *Prăvilioară, adecă Molivtelnic în scurt (Short Euchologion)*, Iași, 1802, Inochentie no longer appears as responsible for the printing house, but “the hieromonk kir Macarie, the spiritual father of the Holy Metropolitan”, and in 1803, at the beginning of Metropolitan Veniamin’s pastorate, on the ordination book of priest Filip from the village Siminicea, Botoșani county, is written as ecclesiarch, archimandrite. Sofronie, who, later (1806) becomes abbot of the Monastery Mănăstirii Socola (Mănuță, *Arhiepiscopul Inochentie (Hierarch Inochentie)*, p. 7).

memoration until the fullness of three years”.²² Also Inochentie is mentioned in the records and texts concerning the candidates ordained, that the Metropolitan Veniamin checked occasionally.

As typographer and Metropolitanate ecclesiarch, Inochentie, in addition to spiritual obligations, held the accounting of these two compartments, that he presented to Metropolitan Veniamin, who maintained the cultural work of the typography from personal income. In these records are mentioned the number and the price of books sold, buyers names and, obviously, the revenues and expenses²³, so as evidenced, for instance, even from the title of one of the accounting statements: “income and expenses of the ecclesiarchy and typography that were written by the hand of His Holiness kir Inochentie, ecclesiarch from May 25, 1808, until October 31, 1811”.²⁴

Being by nature gentle and humble, hieromonk Inochentie, although he had been ecclesiarch under the Metropolitans Iacob Stamati and Veniamin Costachi, saw fit to remain in this obedience also under the Exarch Gavriil Bănulescu Bodoni, considering that the new bishop would need someone to give him some guidance in his new situation, being a foreigner to the ordinances of the Metropolitanate of Iași. During this period, Inochentie, remaining ecclesiarch, issued as before *father confessor books* for the priests: Dometie from the Church *St. Demetrios* from Botoșani²⁵, on July 16, 1810, for Filip Capițchi from Siminicea, Botoșani²⁶, on May 6, 1811, and Constandie from Costinești, Dorohoi province, on March 9, 1814²⁷.

In addition to the administrative and spiritual responsibilities, typographer, ecclesiarch and father confessor of the Metropolitanate, to archimandrite Inochentie was entrusted the restoration of the Princely Church *St. Nicholas* from Iași²⁸, after the degradation caused by the earthquake of March 12, 1814.²⁹ Having

²² Mănuță, *Arhiereul Inochentie (Hierarch Inochentie)*, p.8.

²³ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/7: *Extract of the remnant of money that kir ecclesiarch Inochentie had to give, according to the inventory signed by his holiness Metropolitan Veniamin, December 31, 1808.* The four books from the paper of Theophylact of Ochrid were bought with 30 lei by the followings: the Logothete Elena, the Chair Elena Neculce, the matarașy Ecaterina Calimaca and the priest Ioan from Herța (*ibidem*).

²⁴ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/8.

²⁵ Mănuță, *Arhiereul Inochentie (Hierarch Inochentie)*, p.8.

²⁶ *Ibidem.*

²⁷ *Ibidem.*

²⁸ *Mss. 2962, BAR, vol. III, f. 25.* In this document, Inochentie signs as “archimandrite of the Holy Metropolitan Churches”, assisted by Archimandrite Isaia, as witness (*apud* Mănuță, *Arhiereul Inochentie (Hierarch Inochentie)*, p. 9). We believe that the note is incorrect because we have not found the information as referred.

²⁹ On a Greek *Penticostarion*, 1769, from this church, Hierodeacon Alexandru noted: “Let it be known when the earth shook, during the rule of Prince Scarlat Alicsandru Calimah, in the years

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this *obedience*, on June 15, 1814, asks “Neculai, the sculptor, from Iași to make the iconostasis of the Church *St. Hierarch Nicholas* and two lecterns, that is the bishop’s and the prince’s and the pulpit” with the price of two thousand lei and with the commitment to be completed by the end of June, on the model of “the iconostasis from Ban’s Church”. We understand here that Inochentie, among other things, made the furniture for the Princely Church and also replaced its paving stone, because on June 17, 1814, received the following evidence: “[...] eight hundred slabs which we had paid at Gărcina from the previous years I sold them to kir archimandrite Inochentie and I’ve been paid all the money, four hundred lei and he will take them. June 17, 1814. And the measure of the slabs was of three small spans”.³⁰

If his entire work carried out under the Metropolitan See, as typographer, father confessor and ecclesiarch could have been less known, according to the monastic discretion, the one held in the Princely Church could not remain unknown, at least for the Prince of Moldavia, influencing to some extent, as we shall see, his future decisions regarding the person of Inochentie.

II. Abbot of the Monastery *St. Nicholas* from Botoșani

Returning to Iași, from Neamț Monastery in October 1812, where he had retired since December 1807, Metropolitan Veniamin appreciates Inochentie’s steadfastness, gentleness and humbleness, and shows him increasingly more confidence. The problems of the church in Moldavia were complex, especially if we consider the Phanariote domination, the monasteries and hermitages in obedience to the holy places and Eastern patriarchates and the Greek leaders of these religious establishments, who through their behavior as foreigners, which had nothing in common with the country in which they lived, worried – in most cases – Metropolitan Veniamin and the members of the Princely Divan. To undertake something to improve this situation, was needed the support of the Prince, of the Divan and of some people very well trained, moral, honest, disinterested and without earthly purposes. Among the cases occurred, the appointment of new abbots, was the one of the Monastery *Saint Nicholas* from Botoșani. There have not been preserved documentary evidence to find out details of the recommendations and interventions of the Metropolitan or other dignitaries from Iași, for the Prince and the Patriarch of Antioch, for the issue of appointing a new abbot of this monastery

from Christ 1814, March 12, in the fifth week of the Lent, Wednesday, at six o’clock” (I. Caproșu, E. Chiaburu, *Însemnări de pe manuscrise și cărți vechi din Țara Moldovei*, III, Iași, 2008 (*Notes from Manuscripts and Old Books in Moldavia*), p. 334).

³⁰ Mănuică, *Arhiereul Inochentie (Hierarch Inochentie)*, p. 9.

or they may have existed and have not been kept, instead there are sufficient documents to present the hegumeness of archimandrite Inochentie Burghel.

As the only Romanian abbot from the string of Greek hegumens in a period of 113 years, after his acceptance and appointment by the Patriarch of Antioch, Inochentie was confirmed and strengthened by the Prince of Moldavia, Scarlat Alexandru Calimachi through his *charter*, in which it is written:

“Thou shalt make news with this chart of mine that by the choice of the holy Patriarch of Antioch himself, I named abbot in the Monastery of *Saint Nicholas* Popăuți from Botoșani, which is in obedience to the Seat of Antioch, his piety archimandrite Inochentie, in the place of kir Serafim Edesis.

Therefore, to this appointed abbot was given this *charter* of mine, that from today on to take this monastery under his guidance, and be a perfect abbot, with all of the monastery’s fortunes, both inside and outside, movable and immovable, that the monastery should keep for ever cared for and all of it complete, as in other holy monasteries.

Also all revenue that will be of this monastery to be gathered by him at all times, making his duty after all righteousness. For which I command to you all living beings and servants of the monastery above shown, that you all have to give obedience and submission to the appointed abbot in everything he would ask from you, for, those who will not obey him, he is allowed by me to scold by their fault”.³¹

If the *patriarchal Grammata* of appointment of the new abbot, to which refers this *princely charter*, is not known, we have instead another preserved document, issued by the Metropolitan Veniamin, regarding the appointment of Inochentie. Addressing the archpriests of the province of Botoșani, to whom he presents the merits, the qualities and activity of the new abbot, the Metropolitan justifies this unusual nomination, showing: “[...] because he pleased us and assured us in the order and service of this Metropolitan, with all diligence and justice serving along the flow of ten years and more by now, by our intercession, for the rest of the remnant of his devout life, he was appointed abbot of this monastery [...]”.³²

From this passage we can see the drama of the Church of Moldavia, lived by the great Metropolitan Veniamin and his struggle with foreign nationals who were tearing it apart, as well as the first success in this struggle, which was none other than the appointment of Inochentie, who, as confesses: “[...] by our intercession, for the rest of the remnant of his devout life, he was appointed abbot of this monastery [...]”.³³

³¹ BAR, *Documente istorice (Historical Documents)*, XCIII/232: *Carte domnească (Princely Charta)*, February 1, 1815.

³² ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/11: *Cartea mitropolitului Veniamin (Charter of Metropolitan Veniamin)*, June 5, 1815.

³³ *Ibidem*.

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If he demanded a lot to his collaborators, as a true and humble monk lover of hesychia, behold that he knew how to reward them, as in the present case, in which he considered the “the rest of the remnant of his devout life”, and even more, assuring him that rest, he continues: “[...] we thought it fit that for his religious services to give him a gift: the priests and deacons that will be ministers of this monastery, be shielded from the usual taxes [...]”.³⁴

After pointing out Inochentie’s worthiness, his intercession for him and his desire to be peaceful, acquitting the servants holy altar of all taxes, at the end of his charter, Metropolitan Veniamin:

“Therefor we command you, archpriests from Botosani county that, as long as he will be abbot of this monastery, the priests and deacons that will be its ministers, in any tax or other ordinances shall not be upset and our charter will be at hand of the abbot to his defense, which we have reinforced with our signature and the Metropolitan seal”.³⁵

Appointing a Moldavian archimandrite as abbot of a monastery in obedience was certainly not to the liking of the Committee of the monasteries in obedience, therefore it immediately asked the replacement of Inochentie.

This context of circumstances caused the patriarch, being influenced by intrigues, to overthrow Inochentie from abbotship. But, by analyzing more carefully this judgment, he realized that frequent changes of abbots bring no benefit. Thus, analyzing the person of Inochentie, who came from a large family of Moldavian boyars, being supported by Metropolitan Veniamin and the Prince of the country Scarlat Calimachi, the patriarch returns on that decision, given also the beginning of his activity in Popăuți, where it was no longer made anything by the Greek abbots, bishops or archimandrites from the beginning of the monastery until his appointment. With the change of the judgment of the Patriarch of Antioch did not occur, however, the change in the tone in relations and correspondence with Inochentie, so that he should be determined to send more money to the patriarchal seat.

From the little information we have on this fact it may nevertheless be understood that the new abbot has made significant efforts, firstly, to become bishop as Serafim Edesis, his predecessor as abbot, and then to consolidate this position. As a result of these efforts, he managed to be approved as bishop by the Ecumenical Patriarchate since 1815, but this election was materialized later. This results from the *letter* sent by Inochentie, on January 16, 1820, to Ioan Bașotă, the brigadier from Kishinev, in which he refers to the event of his election and ordination

³⁴ *Ibidem.*

³⁵ *Ibidem.*

as bishop: “These in the wagon and on the horses, and we in God’s name, that on their count they stumbled, and us from the garbage we raised. God save the blessed and Christ loving lord and ruler, who sought upon the humbleness of his servant and took heed to the voice of my prayers, by transforming the darkness of sorrow through shining commandment towards accomplishing this *at five years passed since from the judgment of the Great Church, given by the decision of the Patriarch of the world*”³⁶ (*author’s emphasis*).

Secondly, it is noted that in the second decade of the year 1815, while Inochentie was removed from abbotship and before the appointment and installation of a new abbot, the Patriarch of Antioch confirms him again on the position. This results from Inochentie’s letter in response to the Patriarch, showing that he had received “[...] his too valuable letters as well as *the order of my appointment in the position of abbot since January 1816*” (*author’s emphasis*). He also emphasized the fact that he was slandered with envy by malevolent, just because he was Romanian; that “[...] he repaired and restored all the buildings torn down or only cracked and the church and houses and added all the necessary”.³⁷ Also, after presenting his work from the short period of one year of abbotship, he does not hesitate to reveal that: “[...] I would have had, however, and, through me, the monastery and the holy throne, a greater use if, as it is the custom, I had had the degree of bishop. But because of the jealousy of some malevolent I was forced *to resume the position that I had* (*author’s emphasis*). Therefore, the income being low, my consideration is by analogy with the income”.³⁸ But even more, he concluded the letter stating that “[...] Romanians do not buy social positions with money, but earn them through merits and cleanliness of mind”.³⁹

The information about the repairs made in the first year of abbotship, in order to prepare the church so that in it to take place normal usual monastic services is also confirmed by the Metropolitan’s *letter*, form November 13, 1816, through which met the demand of the abbot to consecrate again the Holy Table of the princely church: “After the discovery and demand that you did to me, to give you permission to do the renewing of the Holy Table of that church, behold, thereby we give you the blessing as, according to the custom and exactly as the old *Consecration* ritual, should it be consecrated and blessed you be”.⁴⁰

³⁶ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/19, f. 1^v.

³⁷ As no record was kept from the year 1816, we quoted Mănuică, *Arhiereul Inochentie (Hierarch Inochentie)*, p.10.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p.15.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 16.

⁴⁰ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/15.

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III. Ordination into Hierarchy

Convinced that the dignity of bishop would escape him from the intrigues and strained relations with the Patriarchate, caused by his enemies, Inochentie, supported by his relatives, makes several interventions for this purpose to the Prince of Moldavia, Scarlat Alexandru Calimachi, who is persuaded of the justice of his application and of the fact that Inochentie – as Romanian bishop – could more easily fulfill his obligations as abbot than his Greek predecessors, who did not know the language and who had a questionable moral character. As we have shown, Inochentie, supported by the Prince of Moldavia, is approved bishop by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the first year of abbotship, but not accepted by the Committee of the dedicated monasteries from Moldavia. Nevertheless, and towards this committee, was imposed in the years ahead the authority of the Prince Calimachi and the personality of Inochentie. The latter, in April 1818, wrote to Serafim, Patriarch of Antioch, that he has been pledged⁴¹ by the Moldavian authorities regarding the ordination as bishop for that year, but *the patriarchal letter* from Antioch was issued to this effect on July 27, 1819, and *Grammata of the synod* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, signed by Patriarch Grigorie, on August 18, the same year, both addressed to Metropolitan Veniamin have remained unknown. To this victory of Inochentie, apart from the supporting and the direct involvement of Prince Calimachi, has contributed, clearly, also the Metropolitan Veniamin, but him, as Diocesan of the Diocese in which Inochentie was to serve, from the beginning, in order not to create confusion between the two metropolitans, has set him limits in his eparchy, and before ordination he forced him to make a statement to show his affiliation to the Patriarchate of Antioch for life, fact that did not allow him to take part in any run for a episcopal seat ever in the country. In this *declaration* from October 6, Inochentie showed that: “[...] being given the above mentioned Monastery [Popăuți] by His Holiness the Patriarch of the God kept city of Antioch, where I was ordained, I decide to be here for life and to consider myself unbroken and undivided part of this holy patriarchate, without being able ever, under no word, to demand from Moldavia to be appointed with any other monastery or, more to say, when changing the bishops, I could even speak for myself to become bishop in the land of Moldavia; and the public to know of this decision of mine, I give in writing this voluntary decision, that I will respect to the last of my breath”.⁴²

⁴¹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IV/16, f. 1.

⁴² *Condica de hirotonii a Mitropoliei Moldovei* edited by N. Iorga in *BCIR*, 3, Bucharest, 1924 (*Book of Ordinations from the Moldavian Metropolitan*), pp. 28-29, no. XXIII.

After signing this *declaration*, Inochentie was ordained bishop on the day of December 24,⁴³ 1819, in the chapel of the Moldavian Metropolitan dedicated to *All Saints*, by Nectarie Sardeon, Gherasim of Roman and Meletie of Huși, receiving the title of bishop of the Diocese of Iliupoleos.⁴⁴

This moment in the history of the Moldavian Metropolitan, as fulfilled reality, was later described by Melchizedek, bishop of Roman, thus:

“There are in Moldavia a few Greek bishops, bearing only the title, but they are not vested with any ecclesiastical dominion for [...] their eparchies, currently are owned by the Turks. There are in Iași some of these bishops: that of Iropole, of Sarde etc., because they support themselves by the metropolitans of Moldavia, by the indigenous bishops and some of the landowners with money and with other that are necessary, not of obligation, but only goodwill.

The first Romanian cleric asking the nominal high priesthood [...] was Inochentie, the abbot from Popăuți, former ecclesiarch of the Metropolitan. When the first time, in 1819, he showed that desire to Metropolitan Veniamin, bringing as an example his Greek predecessor abbot, who was bishop, the Metropolitan has seen the request very extravagant, as if it had asked for denationalization, the permission to make himself Greek. The Metropolitan did not give in until the interested in holding the archiepiscopate did not give in written a statements that he excludes himself of clergy of the Church of Moldavia, that he would belong to the clergy of the Patriarchate of Antioch to whom his Monastery is in obedience, and that he would never claim any of the episcopal sees of the country”⁴⁵

After the ordination into bishop with the rank of Metropolitan Inochentie would become abbot at Popăuți and he would impose himself in the north of the country as the main ecclesiastical authority in the twenty years of pastorate, being accepted by Metropolitan Veniamin – holder bishop – as bishop in his diocese and appreciated as “beloved brother in Christ”.

⁴³ Wrong date: February 24 instead of December 24.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 29, no. XXIV.

⁴⁵ Melchisedec, *Chronica Hușilor (Chronica of Huși)*, pp. 170-171. The author mentions the following Romanian who received the nominal archiepiscopate after Inochentie: “In 1826 was ordained the second bishop from the Moldavian Romanians: arhimandrite Varlaam Cuza, the abbot [from Saint] Spiridon” and was named *Metropolitant Sardeon*, like his predecessor *Nectarie Sardeon*, without the blessing of Veniamin, becausev the Monastery Saint Spiridon was stauropogial; the third was ordained in the same year and was Meletie Burdujanu “provided that renounces the earthly cleric rights”. In 1832, “Metropolitan Veniamin gave in and interceded on August 20, *ecdosis* at the Patriarchy of Constantinople in the ordinationas titular bishop of arhimandrite Athanasie the ecclesiarch of the Metropolitan”. He was consecrated by the bishops: Filaret Apamias and Meletie Stavropoleos, on September 3, 1832, being called *Athanasie Sevastios (ibidem*, pp. 172-173).

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IV. Abbot “for Life” of the Monastery *Saint Nicholas Popăuți*

After the ordination into bishop, Inochentie was happy and tranquil at Popăuți. In here he served in his new position, being in communion and understanding with Metropolitan Veniamin, the holder bishop. At the same time, here he would activate his nominal high priesthood, which could have remained only as a title, having no diocese, but he worked through the celebration of all the sacraments and religious services specific to a eparchial bishop, entrusted to him by the Metropolitan due to spiritual, practical and economical reasons, in relation to what regarded the candidates to ordinations, in the northern area of his diocese, but also him, as well as his bishops collaborators who were at a considerable distance.

In 1820 he managed to do his vestments and all the liturgical objects specific to the archpastoral services⁴⁶ and also to prepare the Princely Church to their celebration, decorating it with appropriate furniture⁴⁷, but, in the following year, had to bear, as the whole of Moldavia, the dramatic consequences of the Hetaeria Movement, him personally, as a refugee in “quarantine”⁴⁸, but mostly the monastery with all its movable and immovable heritage.

If the nominal dignity of priesthood, for which he agreed to be excluded for his whole life of the Romanian eparchies members, secured some comfort from the Greeks, not the same thing happened with the civil authorities of Moldavia, which were changing so often, but mostly with the Turkish.

After the crushing of the Hetaeria Movement, among the decisions taken by the Turks were and that all Greek abbots of Moldavia, from the dedicated monasteries and churches, to be replaced by earthly clerics. Among these abbots was also Inochentie, that was part of the clergy of the Patriarchate of Antioch, but was not Greek. Inochentie’s sorrow, following the damage done by the Turks on the monastery, had no precedent in his life, but this was doubled by his removal from abbotship. About those dramatic moments of Inochentie’s life,

⁴⁶ AMSNP, *Inv. 108/1966*, f. 30^r, anex 15; no. 183, f. 26^r; f. 30^r, anex 20; no. 214, f. 27^r; no. 171, f. 26^r; anex 12, f. 29^r-30^r; no. 148, f. 25^r; anex 8, f. 29^r; N. Iorga, *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria Românilor*, XVI, Bucharest, 1909 (*Studies and Documents regarding the History of Romanians*), p. 277; *idem*, *Inscripții botoșănene*, Bucharest, 1905 (*Inscription from Botosani*), p. 18; *idem*, *Inscripții din bisericile României*, Bucharest, 1905 (*Inscription from the Churches of Romania*), p. 222; Simionescu, *Mănăstirea Popăuți (The Monastery Popăuți)*, pp. 32, 36.

⁴⁷ AMSNP, *Inv. 108/1966*, no. 171, f. 26^r; anex 12, f. 29^r-30^r; Iorga, *Inscripții botoșănene (Inscription from Botosani)*, p. 18; *idem*, *Inscripții din biserici (Inscription from churches)*, p. 222; Simionescu, *Mănăstirea Popăuți (The Monastery Popăuți)*, p. 32.

⁴⁸ On July 12, 1821, he was already back at Popăuți, cf. Constantin Erbiceanu, *Istoria Mitropoliei Moldovei și Sucevei și a catedralei mitropolitane din Iași*, Bucharest, 1888 (*History of the Metropolitan of Moldova and Suceava and the Metropolitan Cathedral in Iași*), p. 135, no. CXXXVIII.

referred on April 1, 1822, the extortioner Iordachi Boghian⁴⁹, as well as Dimitrie Archbishop of Kishinev⁵⁰, in his letter of reply from May 3, 1822. Nevertheless, the case of the abbot from Popăuți, being a special one, would be resolved by the Metropolitan Veniamin. Therefore, in the *anaphora* of the General Assembly Committee, in charge of solving the problem of Greek abbots, issued on March 17, 1823⁵¹ by its members headed by the Metropolitan Veniamin and approved by Ioan Sandu Sturza, the Prince of the Country, on March 20, 1823, were recorded the evidences Inochentie brought in his defense, through which he, according to the *contract* from October 26, 1814, concluded with the Patriarch of Antioch, showed that: “[...] took the monastery to be its abbot for as long as he should live [...] and master the estates and the outhouses and all the things of the monastery until his death.” Metropolitan Veniamin considering the case of Inochentie a particular one, because he was not Greek, decided that this “[...] righteous Moldavian and with honest character, [...] to remain abbot of this monastery in his life, as an once again ordained by this committee”⁵², in compliance with the conditions imposed to the new abbots. In the princely resolution placed on this *anaphora*, was shown: “[...] we decide and strengthen that His Holiness Kir Inochentie, as righteous Moldavian and with honest character, will be called again as proestos to the mentioned monastery, for life, with the same power given by this *anaphora* [...]”⁵³.

The appointment of new earthly abbots in the political and religious context after 1823, was not a problem easily solved, taking into account that “from some of these monasteries did not remain almost anything, not even buildings”, or walled enclosures, in others was needed large investment to strengthen some buildings to hold together.⁵⁴ Abia în Only in March 22, 1826, Metropolitan Veniamin, accompanied by the suffragan bishops, submitted for approval the *anaphora* required in the appointment of the new abbots, with the new conditions that had to met. Inochentie Iliupoleos, as abbot of Popăuți, mentioned in the sixth position on the list, was the only bishop of all the twenty new abbots, chosen from the “the most pious and religious earthly monks”⁵⁵.

We do not have information proving that these earthly abbots have reached, after their election to lead effectively the dedicated monasteries, but from the

⁴⁹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/27.

⁵⁰ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/28.

⁵¹ ASI, *Colecția “Litere - Gh. Asachi” (The Collection Letters – Gh. Asachi)*, K/330, f. 28^v-30^r.

⁵² *Ibidem*, f. 29^v.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, f. 28^v.

⁵⁴ ASI, *Documente (Documents)*, 29/49a, f. 4^r.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 3^v; Th. Codrescu, *Uricariul*, I, Iași, 1871, p. 215.

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*anaphora*⁵⁶ of the General Assembly of the Kneazes of Moldavia, from February 7, 1828, we find out that, following the Turkish *firman* from the end of 1827, This decision making forum met in the headquarters of the Moldavin Metropolitan, together with the exarchs of the dedicated monasteries and determined the conditions which had to be respected when taken over of these monasteries by the new already elected Greek abbots. In this document was insisted on strict economic rules and also on the morality and the monastic discipline of the Greek abbots. Concerning the latter requirement, according to the Holy Canons, these abbots were reminded that “[...] will always be subjected to obedience to that who was in a particular moment, under the will of God chosen as the blessed country’s Metropolitan”.⁵⁷ Until October 5, 1829, to the new abbots, already appointed in the dedicated monasteries, were transmitted⁵⁸ the decisions of the General Assembly approved by the Prince of the country, asking them at the same time to send the documents of dedication of the monasteries and a statement of revenue and expenditure of the estates owned.

In reply to this divan, Inochentie said he would submit the documents of ownership of the monastery. However, in respect to the “record” asked, for all the revenue and expenditure of the monastery, he was not allowed to give anything: “The Patriarchate of the great city of Antioch [...] is self controlling and subject to any reports to someone. On that basis, knowing myself fully appointed in this convent for life as abbot by the Patriarch [of] Antioch, its bishop, I obeyed rights and duties set between us and ordained there and I still follow them today [...] As one who I was not indebted by sending anything in writing, of what I have in there, give any amount for income and expenses and any taxes that would happen from contributions, during my abbotship, that is why, I didn’t even keep registers [...]”.⁵⁹ Also in this response is recollected the fact that “[...] after the preying and breaking of this convent by Janissaries, losing the whole church and monastery belongings, outside and inside, [of] over 70.000 lei, without my belongings that I gathered from my childhood [...] the monastery was led and darkened into debt; and after all these damages brought against us, I constrained and still do [...] towards bringing the monastery in its former state, knowing myself, after the appointment that I will be peaceful my whole life”.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ ASI, *Colecția “Litere – Gh. Asachi” (The Collection Letters – Gh. Asachi)*, M/566, f. 28^r-29^r.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 29^r.

⁵⁸ ASI, *Colecția “Litere – Gh. Asachi” (The Collection Letters – Gh. Asachi)*, M/566, f. 110^r-110^v. In this list are found the hierarchs: Macarie Filip, the Trustee of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, Varlaam Sardeon, abbot of the Monasteries Dobrovăț and Lipovăț, in obedience to the Monastery Zografu and Inochentie Iliupoleos (*ibidem*).

⁵⁹ ASI, *Colecția “Litere – Gh. Asachi” (The Collection Letters – Gh. Asachi)*, M/566, f. 158^r.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 158^v.

Gheorghe Diaconu

After the formal appointment and his staying as abbot at Popăuți, secured by *the decree* of Ioan Sandu Sturza, Inochentie Iliupoleos will no longer be subject to changes from abbotship in 1826, when earthly abbots will be replaced with the Greeks ones again. Also, by the end of his life, will make use of the gained right as abbot for life, how happened, for example, in June 1837⁶¹ and during the trial between the estates Popăuți and Costești.⁶²

V. The Working Archiepiscopate of Inochentie Iliupoleos

As abbot of the monastery and as bishop without diocese, Inochentie could, to a certain degree, to make active and working the apostolic grace of his priesthood. But his permanent presence in Popăuți, was the main prerequisite for the achievement of this sacramental objective, achieved, as we will see, due to Metropolitan Veniamin. This, by delegating Inochentie to perform the mysteries and hierarchal religious services in northern Moldavia, was solving, on one hand, the case of his former disciple, and on the other, the majority of the missionary problems from here. Through this measure he came to support his poor faithful to no longer go to Iași, as the candidates were ordained and, at the same time he gain more time and energy in fulfilling his responsibilities as Metropolitan of Moldavia and president of the country Divan.

V.1. Ordinations (Cheirotonia)

The candidates entrusted to Inochentie for ordination were canonically examined by the Metropolitan's staff after graduation and recommendation for the priestly ministry, by the community from which they came. After completing this examination and receiving the Metropolitan letter of ordination, Inochentie scheduled the candidates, and after ordination, completed their files, received through the archpriests. The newly ordained performed a three-month liturgical practice at the church of the archpriest, to whom each of them belonged, and after it they were installed in the parishes for which they were ordained.

As in the case of the priests, Metropolitan Veniamin, three months after Inochentie's ordination as bishop, during which he himself performed the liturgical practice, by the *letter* of March 6, 1820, assigns his first four candidates to be ordained priests and, giving him the necessary parental guidance, he says: "The number of candidates come for ordination from the diocese of our enlarged metropolitan and having as bishop, who receives and performs ordinations, being only kir Neophyte Damascus, who cannot ordain all [...] and to keep

⁶¹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/69.

⁶² ASI, *Ministry of Justice*, Tr. 1785, Op. 2035, file 215/1839, f. 16^r -17^r.

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them from staying unordained [those] scheduled, to spend money here in Iași, I thought [that] keeping those from the other provinces, we send four to you, as they are from those lands: Panaghiote from the village Mănăstirea Doamnei, that recently was ordained to diaconate, Constantin from the village Eșii Șendricenilor, Gavriil from the village Bivolul and Constantin from Stăuceni, along with the signatures and the papers from the ecclesiarchy, signed also by us, [to] make them priests. I ask you to condescend that, under our laws to ordain them, after which, making the canonical announcement, under the written instructions, you will keep the papers for yourself, and [...] after recording the month and the day of ordination, you will send them to the archpriest of whom they belong, for teaching and learning [ordinances of the] priests, and after three months, you will send them – along with the papers received from their archpriest, according to the law, and with the papers you filled for them – here, to us, at the Metropolitan to give them usual documents they need. And you will keep a record regarding [...] the number of ordinations, sent by us and the payment you will receive [...] is of 20 lei for a priest and ten for a deacon. Also, you will do the same if there are others candidates, from those parts, who will come to you to be ordained”.⁶³

These ordinations were made by bishop Inochentie Iliupoleos, obviously, at his residence, in the princely church *Saint Nicholas* from the Monastery Popăuți. In here shall be sent all the candidates for ordination from the north of Moldavia. Thus, by putting his hands over the numerous candidates for ordination appointed by Metropolitan Veniamin, was proven an essential thing for Inochentie, namely that his nominal high priesthood was actually a working one.

The following *letter* of the Metropolitan sent to Inochentie, from March 15, 1820, So a few days after the first refers to the candidate Vasile, ordained deacon in 1815 fro the Church in Ionășăni, Ștefănești county, and now he asks Inochentie to ordain him priest because “[...] I gave him the parishioners book for the Church in Bătrânești, Botoșani county, where it is only one priest [...]” and where the candidate was founder of the church.⁶⁴

⁶³ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/20.

⁶⁴ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/6. The letter also states that the Metropolitan Veniamin, receiving Deacon Vasile with credentials from the archpriest Ilie and of the believers in the village Bătrânești, discovers the irregularities committed by the former archpriest of Ștefănești, the econom Metodie, who recommended for the village Ionășăni another candidate, without informing the bishop that was also ordained deacon Vasile. The latter was left to serve in his native village Bătrânești, Botoșani county, where he was founder, for which favor he asked for money. That is why he asks Inochentie: “And for the econom Metodie I ask you to go to him with the applicant to give him back the 5 ducats and 6 lei received, showing him the proper reproof for his act [...]” (*ibidem*).

From the *ordination book* of priest Vasile⁶⁵ from the village Teișoara, Doro-hoiului county, we understand the procedure followed by the candidates for ordination. After completing the theological training at the Seminar Veniamin Costache from Socola, the graduates would go within the community which recommended them to put into practice what they learned. If the priest or the priests of the church together with the faithful recommended him to ordination to the Archpriest, he submits a file with their recommendations to the Metropolitan. After analyzing the candidate's file, from where it never missed *the statement* given by the director of the Theological Seminary at Socola, the Metropolitan put an endorsement on the application of the candidate to receive him for the spiritual examination.

On the request of this candidate, for instance, after reviewing the file, the Metropolitan wrote: "Let's receive the candidate and let's examine him".⁶⁶ After the approval for the examination, the candidate was integrated into the Metropolitan liturgical-spiritual program: he was asked to sing, read, and in due time he was confessed by the spiritual father. Also on the applicant's request, in this case, Neoni, the spiritual father, wrote that: "[...] He went through the spiritual examination and as much as he showed us during the Sacrament of Confession we have not found any cause for which the *Rule of Conduct* would stop him from being ordained as priest [...]"⁶⁷

On October 1, 1827, the econom Constantin issued him the *certificate*, in which he showed: "[...] following the command of the Metropolitan regarding the candidate in the village Teișoara, Dorohoi county, who wants to be ordained priest, I examined him in the *Small Catechism*, which he knows by heart, so I issued him this *certificate*".⁶⁸

On the last page of the *ordination book*, the Metropolitan, on October 6, 1827, would put the second and last endorsement: "We ask you kir Inochentie Iliupoleos to condescend, after our rules, to ordain the candidate Vasile reader, hypodeacon, deacon and priest, canonically notifying us on the result".⁶⁹

This arrangement was followed by all candidates who were to be ordained by Bishop Inochentie at Popăuți, as we find testimonials in the *ordination book* of the priest Pantelimon, scheduled for ordination on March 13, 1828⁷⁰, in the

⁶⁵ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/7, f. 1^r.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*; the Metropolitan visa is from September 23, 1827 (f. 1^r).

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, investigated spiritually on "September 28, 1827"; another person recorded that: "was tempted. John" <m. p.> (f. 1^r-1^v).

⁶⁸ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/9.

⁶⁹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/7, f. 1^v.

⁷⁰ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/0: *Ordination Book, March 13, 1828*, of the priest Pantelimon from the Church dedicated to Saint Nicholas from the village

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Church Pristăștii from Dorohoi county, the deacon Ioan recommended by “Ilinca Rolvanisa for the Church dedicated to Saint Apostle Anania from village Culiceni, Herța county”⁷¹ on her estate, the priests Gheorghe and Pantelimon from the village Hilișcani⁷², Hârlău county, the deacon Constandin for the Monastery Popăuți⁷³, the deacon Vasile⁷⁴, the deacon Gheorghe from the village Fântânele⁷⁵, Botoșani county, the priest Vasile Teodorescu⁷⁶, for Botoșani, and the priests Vasile⁷⁷ and Dimitrie⁷⁸ from the village Săveni, Dorohoi county.

The documents on which were made these ordinations are often, official forms, which differ very little between them, but of these different information at least two deserve to be presented here. The first relates to the delay of the Metropolitan Veniamin to sign the *ordination book* of deacon Constandie from Monastery Popăuți. For this, the Metropolitan, with his outstanding nobility, added to the official text of the Secretary, addressed to Inochentie, a few words written in his own hand: “[...] dear brother forgive the delay of this return, for the days are short and the problems are many”.⁷⁹ The second is actually a special letter addressed to Inochentie by the Metropolitan, from which it can be seen what great attention

Pristăștii, Dorohoi, county. The certificate is signed by the confessor “Neonil spiritual father, March 10, 1828”, and the Metropolitan visa for receiving the candidate at the spiritual examination is March 8, 1828.

⁷¹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/8.

⁷² Mănuță, *Arhiepiscopul Inochentie (Hierarch Inochentie)*, p. 17.

⁷³ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/16: *Iași April 18, 183*.

⁷⁴ From his book was preserved only the *certificate*, as he has no canonical impediments, signed by “Mardarie, hieromonk – spiritual father, June 19, 1835” (ASBt, *Colecția documente*, XXIV/19).

⁷⁵ Mănuță, *Arhiepiscopul Inochentie (Hierarch Inochentie)*, p. 17.

⁷⁶ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/64: *June 23, 1836*, no. 542.

⁷⁷ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/38: *Certificate of graduation of “Veniamin Costachi” Theological Seminar*, no. 331, *Iași, January 26, 1839*, signed by the Director of the seminar the cupbearer Damaschin Bojinca. From the file of that candidate was preserved only this certificate, the contents of which we have considered to render here: “Deacon Vasile from the village Săvenii, Dorohoi county, who wants to be ordained priest [...] following the resolution from His Holiness the Metropolitan 1839, January 24, no. 111, put on his application, by this direction was ordained at the Seminar from Socola to examine the teachings learned even since 1836, the candidate learned, and then he received the deserved *Attestation* from November 12, no. 26. So, after the examination performed in January 26, 1839, he said: *Catechism, The ordinance of Proskomedie, Reading and Arithmetics*, knowing to write, he was issued this *Attestation*”. From this qualification, it is understood that the deacon Vasile received actually two certificates, one for one for diaconate and this one for priesthood.

⁷⁸ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/44: *Certificate no. 26, Iași, May 5, 1840*, signed by the same director.

⁷⁹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/16.

and concern was given to clergy training: “The candidate called Vasile Teodorescu from the Seminar has to learn three more chapters from the *Catechism* and I sent him to learn them [...] at a professor from Botoșani. That is why, if the candidate will show you the Certificate from the professor, that he managed to learn everything, then you should ordain him deacon [...]”.⁸⁰

Between the deacons ordained by bishop Inochentie is included also Vasile from Bucecea, Botoșani county. From this one, was kept the *charter-certificate* of Metropolitan Veniamin, issued after ordination, as a printed form, in which was completed by hand in the special places left empty/ lacunar spaces: the name, the church and the town from which he was ordained, the name of the Metropolitan confessor that has confessed and canonically examined the candidate, the place and the name of the high priest who ordained him and issuing date. Besides these filled data in the text of the form was also stated that: “[...] he was ordained with our knowledge by our brother kir Inochentie Iliupoleos in the Church Saint Nicholas from Popăuți, Botoșani county, subdeacon and deacon, whom was given by us the permission and blessing to serve all those due to diaconate but only at the church from the above mentioned village where he was ordained, and where he will be called to serve. And if he moves elsewhere, without our knowledge and blessing, or he will not behave properly, according to the grace received, he shall be stopped and removed from diaconate. So all of you shall love him and honor him as a chosen vessel of the Holy Church and minister of those holy”.⁸¹

Regarding the consecration of churches, the documentary testimonies are indirect. According to these, Inochentie, as abbot, on July 29, 1818 went together with bishop Grigorie Irinupoleos at the consecration of the church in the village Buda Mică from Dorohoi⁸², and as bishop, in the Fall of 1830, consecrated the church in the village Ciușmeaua⁸³, owned by the monastery, and in 1825, as already mentioned, reconsecrated the princely church in Popăuți.

V.2 Ordinations (Cheirothesia)

If in the case of the ranks of divine right, gracious, such as the diaconate and priesthood, the Metropolitan Veniamin followed a complex procedure due to their importance, in the case of administrative ranks, granted by the celebration of other

⁸⁰ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/64.

⁸¹ BAR, *Documente istorice (Historical Documents)*, CCXXXV/85: document signed by Metropolitan Veniamin, having the seal of the Metropolitan, and registred with no. 2425; belonged to *Nicolae Iorga* Museum, in Botoșani, inv. no. 89.

⁸² D. Furtună, *Însemnări de prin biserici in RI*, 4th year, 1919 (*Notes from the Churches*), pp. 89-90; Caproșu-Chiaburu, *Însemnări de pe manuscrise (Notes from Manuscripts)*, III, p. 435.

⁸³ BAR, *Documente istorice (Historical Documents)*, MCDLXXXI/219: *The Letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie, Iași, October 3, 1830.*

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kinds of ordinations, he is quite generous in granting such ecclesiastical ranks, to stimulate the zeal of the clergy for the holy, to organize the groups of existing ministers from the most churches in towns and villages, but also to satisfy the boyars who often interfered for such administrative ecclesiastical ranks.

As in the case of ordinations, Inochentie Iliupoleos, as abbot of Monastery Popăuți, was called to officiate the services for sakellários, economs, archpriests and confessors, candidates from the country's northern provinces.

Based on the various proposals, Metropolitan Veniamin appointed high priest Inochentie to ordain in the rank of econom the following priests: Theodor, priest at the church on the estate of the Monastery Mogoșești⁸⁴, on the recommendation of the trustees, sakellários Ioan from the church of the estate Curtești, on the recommendation of sardar Iordachi Boian⁸⁵, sakellários Gheorghe⁸⁶ from the village Șerbănești, Dorohoi county, on the recommendation of governor Gheorghe Racliș and of the archpriest, priest Adrian⁸⁷ from the village Broscăuți, the same county, priest Ioan from Nicșăni⁸⁸ together with other 11 priests on the recommendation of the archpriests to be ordained as economs and sakellários⁸⁹, priest Gheorghe from the village Draçani⁹⁰, priest Teodor from the Church Saint Elijah⁹¹ from Botoșani, at the intervention of the Governor Scarlat Miclescu and other ministers from whom were not preserved documented information. In the rank of sakellários, Inochentie ordained among others the priests: Ioan from the village Sinihău and Gavriil from the village Novosilița⁹², on the recommendation and at the intervention of governor Holban.⁹³

⁸⁴ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/22: *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie*, no. 685, Iași, August 29, 1836.

⁸⁵ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/20: *The letter of the sardar Iordachi Boian from Curtești to Inochentie*, Iași November 20, 1835.

⁸⁶ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/31: *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie*, no. 559, Iași, April 16, 1838.

⁸⁷ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/33: *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie*, no. 879, Iași, June 9, 1838.

⁸⁸ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/34: *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie*, no. 1795, Iași, October 20, 1838. On priest Ioan, is shown in this letter that he was ordained, by mistake, econom, instead of sakellarios: "[...] If so as I heard, write down the rank of econom, and if it is not so, because he is well behaved, then ordain him econom, since this word came out" (*ibidem*).

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁰ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/39: *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie*, no. 129, Iași, January 26, 1839.

⁹¹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/42: *Scrisoarea vornicului Scarlat Miclescu către Inochentie*, Iași, June 20, 1839.

⁹² ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/30: *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie*, no. 131, Iași, January 31, 1838.

⁹³ The Collector of duties Holban, from the 1st of September 1838, because the President of Botoșani Judicial Court (Artur Gorovei, *Monografia orașului Botoșani (Monograph of Botosani)*, p. 385).

Also, based on the letters of the Metropolitan, Inochentie ordained spiritual fathers, all those presented by the protoiereus Ioan⁹⁴ from Botoșani, namely: priest Ioan⁹⁵ from the village Cervicești, the property of the boyard Alecu Miclescu⁹⁶, priest Vasile from the estate Livenii⁹⁷, Dorohoi county, at the intervention of the Chair Maria Rosăt and other 20 priests recommended, on June 30, 1837, by the protoiereus Ioan from Botoșani.⁹⁸

In the case of changes of archpriests, to eliminate from the start possible conflict situations, the spiritual advice addressed by the Metropolitan to Inochentie was precise and discrete. But in the case of the person appointed as the future archpriest, given the fact that Inochentie knew the priests of the northern cities better than him, the Metropolitan complied with his recommendations, knowing his abilities and gentleness. An eloquent example in this respect is the replacement of the archpriest of Botoșani, Ilie. Thus, in the *letter* from February 10, 1833, the Metropolitan advises Inochentie: “With your choice and discernment for the econom Grigorie I agree myself and, here it is attached our *charter* for ordination into archpriest in the place of econom Ilie”. And because the econom Ilie was replaced because of old age “[...] as one that is much older than the econom Ioan and older servant, he will have primacy both in church services and among others [...]”. Once he establishes the authority of the ministry and counsel and announces the respected solution for the changed one, he advises Inochentie how to proceed in administrative terms, to this change: “[...] calling the econom Grigorie to your Holiness, and making him known this ordination into archpriest, give him also our *charter* and, at the same time, advise him the necessary and guide him to the works of the ministry entrusted to him. And this advice and exhortation, I ask you, as a brother and member of this house to give them both. Then you shall call also the econom Ilie and giving him the adjoining letter through which he is made known about his removal and the ordination of the econom Grigorie, ask him that

⁹⁴ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/62: *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie*, no. 118, Iași, February 18, 1836.

⁹⁵ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/24: *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie*, no. 611, Iași, May 14, 1837.

⁹⁶ Alecu Miclescu was born in Cervicești, on May 12, 1803, he learnt in Iași: Greek, French, and Moldavian, he is married, he has a child and an estate in Cervicești (Artur Gorovei, *Monografia orașului Botoșani (Monograph of Botosani)*, p. 132); at 31 years old he was dvorenin (*ibidem*, p. 223), and in 1847 appears in documents as the fourth Magistrate of Botoșani, besides Scarlat Miclescu, Costachi Roseti and Iordachi Cristescu (*ibidem*, p. 229).

⁹⁷ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/26: *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie*, no. 727, Iași, June 9, 1837.

⁹⁸ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/27: *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie*, no. 905, Iași, July 9, 1837.

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in front of your Holiness to give [...]all the paperwork related to this job. Also, please recommend the new archpriest to the courts to be known”.⁹⁹

V.3 Ecclesiastical Authority of Law

Based on the threefold mandate of the ministry received through ordination, to sanctify, to teach and to lead souls, Inochentie, as abbot and archiereus, he had a rich activity in the area of the canonical discipline, as the ecclesiastical authority of law.

Among the first known cases in which Inochentie was called before being archiereus, is the one of the daughter of priest Pavel from Botoșani, Zoița, that after her father’s death came into disagreement with the parish clerk of the Church *Saint John* from Botoșani, Enacachi Hagienciu, who claimed to pay rent for a place from the property of the church. To solve this case Inochentie received *the princely charter* from March 28, 1818, followed also by a letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin. After analyzing the documents of ownership of the parties, the applicant being of good faith, understood that she had to agree with the parish clerk to pay the fee to use the land. In this regard the archimandrite Inochentie, accompanied by priest Atanasie, archpriest of Botoșani, and by the parish clerk Scarlat, drafted the case in a *decision* that was handed to the parties.¹⁰⁰

A similar case, but also the most difficult, in which was involved Inochentie Iliupoleos, very early in his mission as bishop, was the one of the trustees of the Church *Parascheva of the Balkans* from the suburb of the same name from Botoșani, who, as the sons of the priest Athanasie, a minister and trustee of the same church, being appointed trustees without the consent of the faithful, wanted to take the goods consecrated to God after their father’s death. Since such a case can be topical, because there are at present businessmen who build churches, but especially hermitages and monasteries, aiming only for material purposes, we will present this complex case on short.

In the *letter* of Metropolitan Veniamin, from May 12, 1820, addressed to Inochentie, is shown only the beginning of this case:

“The new church from Botoșani, which is dedicated to Saint Parascheva of the Balkans, is known to you that, that by the help of our Christian believers, our bishops, according to the registry shown by the econom Athanasie, the old, and through his endeavor and toil, everything was done in here and the church was adorned with all the needed.

⁹⁹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/12: February 10, 1833.

¹⁰⁰ ASI, *Colecția “Documente Spiridonie”, XIII/18: April 29, 1818, 1-1’*; Edited by M. Mănuță, *Documentele începutului bisericii Sfântului Ioan Botezătorul din Botoșani – 1764-1818 (Documents of the Beginnings of St. John the Baptist Church in Botoșani)*, Iași, 1942, pp. 22-23.

As much praise and remembrance deserves a minister who works himself to fulfill such a holy work, the same dishonesty and slander deserves he who conspired to make his own the House of God and all of it, for him and his successors, stealthily, without a charter from Prince Calimah.

Knowing that this was done against the Holy Canons and the most common decency, it is pernicious not only for himself, but for many it is folly, I ask you, beloved brother, together with the econom Ilie, to present the econom Athanasie, to whom, first, ask to write down everything that he gathered and spent for the church. Then, ask him to show you the charter from the Prince Calimah, which, together with your official report, send here to us. And if he doesn't want to give you the charter, tell him that he will remain cursed. Even more, under the power of the Holy Canons, he will be devoid of his priesthood, right now at an old age".¹⁰¹

This case just opened to stand trial has been interrupted because of the events between 1821-1822, but, from the following year, would be resumed by the faithful and parishioners of the Church *Saint Parascheva of the Balkans* from Botoșani, who, through a memorandum¹⁰² with seventeen signatories, ask the Metropolitan Veniamin "[...] to send [...] father Inochentie and governor Iordachi Canta to do research for the things of the church [...] according to the letters the church has from its founder called monk Calinic [...]"¹⁰³ and decide in the issue of the new

¹⁰¹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VII/34: May 12, 1820; The letter preserved includes the address: "His Holiness Metropolitan Iliupoleos Inochentie, to our beloved brother in Christ, with brotherly love. Popăuți".

¹⁰² ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VIII/98. The memorandum is not dated, but from the contents of the documents to come is shown that it is previous to them.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, f. 1^v. In this memorandum, the signatories boyars and church parishioners, former trustees, show that their church is of timber and very little "and very old", a certain monk priest Calinic monk, being in that time in Botoșani, having zeal for the holy, started with his expense [...] and the toil [...] of some already dead people [...] of this suburb, they rebuilt (the church) of wood, but bigger and better, decorating it with all the needful. But the above mentioned priest being too old, he went to the Holy Sepulchre to live his last years of life. And at the church he left as trustee Teodor Pisoschi, great merchant [...]. After his death, they chose his son, the purveyor Vasile Pisoschi and the priest econom Athanasie. During these trustees, the faithful boyars decided to build a stone church, therefore the priest econom Athanasie received *The book of charity* from the Metropolitan, with which he gathered funds for his purpose. But because there were insufficient, they sold the old church of wood and so they raised the new church. The old wooden church, with the approval of the Metropolitan Veniamin, was moved to Dorohoi county for the faithful from the villages Ichimeni and Adășeni (ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VII/30: Iași, December 16, 1816). The iconostasis from the old church was moved to the new one. At the time of submission of the memorandum, the priests serving here were: the econom Darie and sakellarios Vasile. A month before the consecration of the new church, the trustee Vasile Pisoschi died, that is why, his place was taken by his son, the High Steward Constantin Pisoschi, "and the priest, the econom Athanasie, didn't want to be appointed High Steward trustee, but named instead his sons, without asking

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trustees, the sons of the econom Athanasie “who ordained themselves without [...] our knowledge [...]”¹⁰⁴ in that capacity.

In response to this memorandum, Metropolitan Veniamin sends on the spot Inochentie, together with Archimandrite Irinarh, the abbot of Monastery Coșula and the archpriests Ilie and Ioan, to take over with inventory all the wealth of the church and entrust it to the new trustee, stolnic Constantin Pisoschi: “[...] trustee decided and strengthened as were his parents, with one of the priests, namely Vasile sakellários”.¹⁰⁵ In his turn, Inochentie answers Metropolitan Veniamin: “[...] on your holiness order we set in work, to do and arrange eerything for the best needs of the holy church, but as he, governor Gheorghe, son of the deceased father Agathon wants everything [...] that the church has to preserve as his for ever, not only refused to give those few outbuildings, that are in the cemetery of the church, but he did not [...] give the records with the income [...] that went into his own pockets, nor the letters with the donations which were made in honor and benefit of the church or the key to the charity box [...]for the expense of the church, he refused to give”.¹⁰⁶

Following this abuse from the governor Gheorghe Racliș, the faithful boyars decided to “[...] by way of judgment and by your Holiness yourself – continues Inochentie – will accomplish its rightful corrections [...]. For this then, we could do nothing after this refusal of those ordered us to do by your holiness and we sent the new ordained trustee to Iași”.¹⁰⁷

the people. And, receiving the monastic rank he went to the hermitage Gorovei” (ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VIII/98, f. 1-1^v).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 1^v. From two letters addressed by the Collector of duties Gheorghe Racliș, son of the priest Athanasie, become a monk to the hermitage Gorovei, with the name of Agathon, we understand that: a) Inochentie, knowing the case of the boyars Racliș, called to Popăuți the High Steward C. Pisoschi, former trustee, with the papers of the old church and with other boyars, “teaching them [...] to write a memorandum in the name of the people [...], which was done, and sent to Iași through the econom Darie” (ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VII/38: *Botoșani, September 20, 1823*); b) Gheorghe Racliș asked Inochentie to not interfere in the case of the Church *Saint Parascheva of the Balkans (ibidem, f. 1^v)*; c) The High Steward Petrachi Vârnab was chosen trustee together with the brothers Răcliș: the Collector of duties Gheorghe and the matarağy Grigorie through the *Charter* from April 8, 1823. (ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VII/45, f. 2); d) Inochentie did not answer the first letter received from the econom Racliș, that this had another two brothers: Ștefanachi and Iancu, that the econom Nicolai, after the return from Iași of econom Darie, was lowered in rank, and the the signatory of the letters accuses again Inochentie “that in vain you accused our house [...], because now, Iordachi Dimachi took the blame for everything on himself” (ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VII/39: *Botoșani, October 8, 1823*).

¹⁰⁵ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VII/40: *May 8, 1824*, f. 1, the document is signed by all committee members.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 1-1^v.

Governor Constantin Pisoschi, acting as trustee, was a delegate of the faithful to go to the capital with another memorandum.¹⁰⁸ Metropolitan Veniamin authorizes, through the *letter* from June 12, 1824, the representatives of the faithful to address the Moldavian Prince, Ioan Sandu Sturza, in order “[...] to withdraw the trustees from the Racliș boyars [...], to establish the right fortune of the church [...], to appoint other trustees [...], to write wise *thorough charter* to the *magistrates* from Botoșani, to grab the ancient guardians Racliș and taking the Church property [...] with official charter [...], to be given to serdar Ioan Cocotă and to Manolachi Iorga”.¹⁰⁹ Approved precisely with the Metropolitan decision, the Prince sends *princely charter*¹¹⁰ to the magistrates from Botoșani, to execute the decisions that would be taken further by Metropolitan Veniamin, through the inquiries made and which would be made. On August 16, 1824, the magistrates from Botoșani answered to the Princely Chancellery that the Racliș boyars asked that the trial would be moved to the Princely Divan and, that is why, they could not “fulfil the order”.¹¹¹ Throughout the *decision* of the Princely Divan, Metropolitan Veniamin showed that: “At your command we investigated the cause of judgment between the faithful of the Church *Saint Parascheva of the Balkans* from Botoșani, with the bailiffs of the estates from their parts, one of the faithful [being] the collector of duties on spirits Constantin Pisoschi, and the Racliș brothers: collector of duties on spirits Gheorghe și medelnicer Iancu, sons of econom Athanasie, who was [...] one of the trustees [...]”.¹¹² After showing all the details of this case on the founders, trustees and especially the family of boyars Racliș, as well as the failure of the judgments to date, given by “[...] *the decision* of the Dicastery from the last year and investigation done on the spot by His Holiness Inochentie Iliupoleos [...] and *charter* of his highness [...], did not solve anything, because the defendants Racliș responded that at the Divan they would give their words”¹¹³, makes the judgment of this case point by point. In the followings, we will stop only at the the conclusions of these points:

1. – Regarding the house located in the possession of the collector of duties on spirits Gheorghe Racliș, an inheritance from his father, the econom Athanasie,

¹⁰⁸ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VII/41, June 2, 1824. This memorandum is signed by 19 boyars, parishioners of the Church Saint Parascheva of the Balkans.

¹⁰⁹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VII/42. On the statement of the church faithful, the Prince put the following resolution addressed to the Great Logothete: “see the judgment given in this case by His Holiness the Metropolitan and follow it. June 20, 1824.” (f. 1^v).

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*, *Princely Charter from July 2, 1824*.

¹¹¹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VII/43.

¹¹² ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VII/45, f. 1^v.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, f. 1^v.

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is shown that: taking into account that “[...] through the latter letter he entrusts it to the holy church and the things given to the divine holy places, according to the law their strength is sound, the collector of duties on spirits Gheorghe, no even with the word of his father’s old dominions [...], – or with another argument – [...] cannot have it in further possession”.¹¹⁴

2. – Regarding the house ruled by the priest’s other son, namely Iancu as well as the other goods of the church, the Metropolitan showed: “[...] we think [...] that this should be taken on the account of the church [...] as well [...] for the price of making the Church again, and as well as on the account of those taken by them since the Raclișes became trustees and for the things belonging to the Church [...], we think it is appropriate to appoint boyars from those places [...], when everything would come to an end, and after that, [...] and remove brothers Racliș from the outbuildings of the Church as well”.¹¹⁵

Based on this *decision* of the Divan, Prince Ion Sandu Sturza gave, through his *charter* from October 27, 1824, the following closure of the trial: “[...] we decide that the Church should have henceforth both these houses under full control according to the letters of its founder. But, the brothers Racliș being indebted, according to my *charter*, written to the magistrates from Botoșani on June 2, to give an account of all movable and immovable wealth of the church [...]”.¹¹⁶

In the *princely chartera* from February 6, 1825, After he recapitulates the entire trial of the case, regarding also the new trustees, Great Logothete Theodor Balș, High Steward Constantin Pisoschi and Gheorghe Horăzan, is shown next that: “[...] we appoint our boyar High Steward Ioniță Panaite, to whom we command, to go there and bind firmly Racliș to give everything of the church to the smallest thing [...], every [...] papers and the remains of the money and both houses to entrust them [...] of the above mentioned trustees and the bishop Iliupoleos, of econom Ilie, from whom will take the above mentioned Boyar a written list with everything [...] signed by the above mentioned trustees and the bishop Iliupoleos and the econom Ilie and he would bring it to the Logothete [...], and Racliș to be removed from this trusteeship and do as His Holiness Metropolitan found appropriate to arrange in written this trusteeship”.¹¹⁷

For the application of this judgment, the Chancellery, through Theodor Balș, Great Logothete, informed on compliance and enforcement to the Magistrature

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 2^r.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 3-3^v. As this anaphora represents another topic, we reproduced only the conclusions of this judgment.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 1^r.

¹¹⁷ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VII/49: *Princely Charter*, Ioan Sandu Sturza Voevod, February 6, 1825, f.1-1^v.

Gheorghe Diaconu

from Botoșani¹¹⁸, to the abbot of Monastery Popăuți, Inochentie Iliupoleos¹¹⁹, the trustees: High Steward Constantin Pisoschi and Captain Gheorghe Horezan¹²⁰, and again with much more details, to the Magistrature from Botoșani.¹²¹ In the *letter* addressed to Inochentie it is shown, among others: “[...] I ask you to take good care that all movable and immovable wealth of the church, as well as the papers, and everything that is in there, should be taken back for the church, and also, give the *thorough charter* for this case, making two papers, both of them signed by your Holiness [...]”.¹²²

Summarizing the above, we can easily retain that the econom Athanasie, a minister and trustee of the church *Saint Parascheva of the Balkans* from Botoșani, being the founder of the stone church, together with the faithful donors, thought he ought to be made heir of the two houses of the church. To this end, he managed to make himself owner by princely charter and, then, he compiled inheritance letters to his sons: Gheorghe and Iancu Racliș. Upon hearing about this boldness the Metropolitan Veniamin, canceled the charter and dismissed him from the position of trustee. This, becoming a monk at the Hermitage Gorova under the name Agathon, He left letters of use for the houses to his two sons, but after his death, they had to remain to the church. Collector of duties on spirits Gheorghe and matarağy Iancu Racliș, after their father’s death, made use of the first letters of heirs left by their father, which he did not cancel. Metropolitan Veniamin failed to crack the case on the ecclesiastical line, because of the claims of boyars Racliș to get judged at the Divan. The judgment of the case was made, by the Metropolitan himself, as president of the Divan and as a specialist in canon law, pointing out in the conclusions of the *decision* that *the goods consecrated to God, in no case can be claimed by anyone, not even by the founders and, even more, by their descendants.*

There were also other cases related to church discipline, which were resolved by the Metropolitan, through Inochentie as his lieutenant in the northern region of the country, residing at Popăuți. These include the case of the priest from the village

¹¹⁸ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VII/50: *Letter from February 8, 1825.*

¹¹⁹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VII/51: *Letter from February 8, 1825.*

¹²⁰ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VII/52: *Letter from February 8, 1825.*

¹²¹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VII/53: *Letter from February 11, 1825.* In this letter, is added: “The rent (for the two houses) to be paid by the Răclișes from the time we began our investigation for both houses; it must be paid a debt of 400 lei from May 15, 1801, taken by the econom for a certain Ioan Bou. To this [...] we found it fit to be paid from his fortune, that is a house he has in there [...] on which should be put a seizure [...]” (*ibidem*). To understand this case, until its closure, see ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VII/55, 58, 59, 60, 67, 70, 73, 74, 77, 79 and II/93.

¹²² ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VII/51.

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Vorona¹²³, the misunderstanding between the Protopresbyter of Dorohoi county, the econom Constantin and the sakellarios Iordachi from the village Vorniceni¹²⁴, the same county, the revisions and irregularities from the Hermitage Agafton¹²⁵ and the Monastery Vorona¹²⁶ and other cases concerning monastic discipline¹²⁷.

The bishop from Popăuți was delegated by the Metropolitan, together with the high priest Filaret Apamias, through the *letter* from September 12, 1831¹²⁸, to investigate in the presence of the Magistrate of Botoșani, Alecu Calimah, the complicated case of “enclosing” the land of the Hermitage of nuns Agafton by the estate of the Monastery Doamna, of the High Steward Iancu, for the purpose of reconciliation of the parties and avoidance of judgment of the case by the civil courts.

For all this activity, exemplified only by a few documents, Metropolitan Veniamin thanks bishop Inochentie, who was gifted by God with qualities of true spiritual father. After reconciles the archpriest Constantin with the priest from

¹²³ BAR, *Documente istorice (Historical Documents)*, MCDLXXXI/219, *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie, Iași, October 3, 1830*. In this manuscript we can also find the following details: at the Monastery Popăuți, Inochentie Iliupoleos is visited by the Greek Metropolitan Filaret Apamias, who signs the Antiminsthen used to perform the Divine Liturgy, printed by the Metropolitan Veniamin in 1821 (the monastery inventory, no. 478); being claimed by the priest from Vorona, that was stopped from the ministry by Inochentie, without notifying the Metropolitan, he is reprimanded by the Metropolitan Veniamin with the words: “[...] even though he was bad [...] you should have [...] told me and I as bishop of his to stop him and write him a decision”; after this reprimand, Inochentie gets upset and no longer writes to the Metropolitan, therefore he is reproached: “[...] You do not want to write to us, but ask others to do it. For the consecration of the church in the village Cișmeaua yiu asked the econom Vasile to write, asking for permission, as if from your part, to sanctify it [...]” (f. 1); in the same document is also Inochentie’s response in draft, who, referring to the priest from Vorona shows that: “Evil servants posing credence descend their masters to hell”. (f. 2’).

¹²⁴ BAR, *Documente istorice (Historical Documents)*, MCDXCVI/170, *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie, no. 37, Iași, January 20, 1833*.

¹²⁵ BAR, *Documente istorice (Historical Documents)*, MCDLXXXV/91, *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie, Iași, March 15, 1835*, has the following content in summary: “[...] I invite Your Holiness to make revisions there often, investigating often the hermitage and the nuns found in there, as seeing some uncleanness, through your advice, to be able to straighten, in order not to follow anything against good order [...]”; for the same case, see also: *The letters of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie, no. 164, Socola, April 25, 1835 and Iași, May 12, 1835* (ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/57).

¹²⁶ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/41, *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie, Iași, June 7, 1839*.

¹²⁷ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/40, *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie, no. 512, Iași, April 21, 1839*. It is about a “hermit”, Irinarh from the hermitage Tărăța, accustomed to wander, for who he decides: “I commanded the protopopes to throw him out from the townlet, driving him out [...] which we make known to you too [...]” (*ibidem*).

¹²⁸ ASI, *Monastery Agafton, VI/18*; ASI, *Documente (Documents)*, 1066/12, f. 1^r-3^r.

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Vorniceni and notifies the Metropolitan Veniamin, the latter – in his turn – responds: “[...] I fully agree about the union they were made (by Inochentie), and for the commission you received to raise between litigants the wall of enmity with their forgiveness and reconciliation [...] and especially because with cleanliness you have scattered the haze [...] that darkened the light of truth [...] I thank your desire of love and truth [...]”.¹²⁹

V.4. Authority of Law Where Civilians

Besides the obligations to deal with the whole church administration and clerical staff and monastic discipline in the area, Inochentie was asked for the investigation of the causes of conflict between different social classes: landowners, public officials and even between merchants from different ethnicities.

Although civil court institutions had appeared in the town of Moldova, and in Botoșani operated already the Judicial Tribunal, abbot Inochentie from Popăuți would remain, for his entire life, reference ecclesiastical authority in the issue of judgments. Through him, as member of the Public Assembly Of Moldavia¹³⁰, at the call of the Metropolitan Veniamin, of the Princely Divan and even of the Prince of the country, would be resolved the most sensitive cases of conflict, that the civil courts, lacking the sacred authority, often only solved by applying external laws, according to the principle *dura lex sed lex*, and the existential conflict remained the same.

Therefore, the Fulfiller Divan of the Princes of Moldavia, through the *letter* from October 28, 1829, asks that Inochentie, together with the Chair Iordachi Miclescu, to investigate the conflict between the Armenian merchants from Botoșani and the families of Hebrews “[...] from Sulițoaia who were sent by the magistrates from Botoșani to live at the border of the city”¹³¹, being supported by the cupbearer Iancu Kogălniceanu, magistrate of Botoșani. Linked to the same conflict, we find that the High Steward Mihalachi Mavrodin, trustee of the townlet and bailiff of the estate empowered by the Chair Roseti, enters enmity with the magistrate Iancu Kogălniceanu, so in response to the complaint of the High Stew-

¹²⁹ BAR, *Documente istorice (Historical Documents)*, MCDXCVI/ 170.

¹³⁰ He appears as such in September 1820 (cf. Erbiceanu, *Istoria Mitropoliei (History of the Metropolitan)*, pp. 91-94) and in April 9, 1827 (cf. Th. Codrescu, *Uricariul*, II, Iași, 1852, p. 206).

¹³¹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXII/13: *The address of the Fulfiller Divan of the Princes of Moldavia to Inochentie, no. 12998, from October 28, 1829*, where it is shown: “The Divan with honor invites your Holiness as together with the Chair Iordachi Miclescu, which were appointed with the charter of the Divan to investigate in detail all the matters and to discern the truth, which shall be reported to the Divan with explanations for everything [...]” (f. 1^r). This research is, in fact, according to the text above, the proceedings under which the Divan issued the decisions.

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ard Mavrodin¹³², the Divan, through the address of November 24, 1829¹³³, calls for Inochentie again “[...] so that together with the Chair Alecu Roseti, who was ordained through the charter of the Divan [...]” to investigate the case.

Another civil case is that of collector of duties on spirits Vasile Florea from Botoșani, who, remaining trustee of the whole property after his father’s death, the Lord Steward Ioan Florea, did not respect his brother’s inheritance law Iancu. In order to solve this case, Metropolitan Veniamin asks Inochentie¹³⁴: “[...] for this I invite Your Holiness, together with brigadier Ioan Bașotă, whom through special letter¹³⁵ I invited, to enter into investigation”.¹³⁶ Following this investigation, the collector of duties on spirits Vasile He was sent with all the documents drawn up at the Metropolitan See, because the trustees census was there.

On other occasions, Metropolitan Veniamin asks Inochentie to temper the intrigues between boyars, who reached “the Prince”, occurred after “the choice of the land boyars”, this is why he called for him saying: “[...] asking you to investigate [...] and call those to you and spiritually everyone advise to quench their attitude [...], making them understand that these are not good and may be considered [...] as disorders of the crowd”.¹³⁷

Some cases were designed to Inochentie to solve even by the ruler of the country through the Great Logothete¹³⁸, as for instance the case of the Chair Iordachi Fotea, who “they sent complaint to His Highness the Prince”, because of

¹³² ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/44: *The complaint, of the High Steward Mihalachi Mavrodin to the Divan, from November 6, 1829*. In this complaint it is shown that: “the people of the townlet Botoșani sent *complaint* to the Divan with requests to not bring the Jews from Sulițoae [in] the townlet of Botoșani, untill all suspicions over them would not be discarded [...]” (f. 1^v); “the actions of the cupbearer Kogălniceanu and the persecution following upon me, are not for some disobedience or opposition of mine towards the rulers, but only from personal passion between us for the interests of the townlet, because now I am the trustee [...] bowed I ask the honest Divan to appoint on-site investigations [...] in the spoilage of the seal and for the offense, that he did to me by throwing me out of the Chancellery and the transgression of my house at night with armed men [...] as in a guilty person [...]” (f. 1^v).

¹³³ *Ibidem*, *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie, no. 15884, from November 24, 1829*, f. 2^v.

¹³⁴ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/13: *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie, Iași, April 7, 1833*.

¹³⁵ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/49: *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to brigadier Ioan Bașotă, Iași, April 7, 1833*.

¹³⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 2–2^v.

¹³⁷ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/55: *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie, June 17, 1834*.

¹³⁸ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/17: *The Letter of Alex. Ghica Logothete to Inochentie, no. 14589, September 17, 1834*, in which he is asked: “with honor we invite your Holiness to come to investigate and through spiritual advice to bring peace [...]” (f. 1^v).

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the conflict that his wife had with the wife of the Chair Gheorghe Varlaam, or the one of the High Stewardess Ecaterina, wife of the High Steward Petre Ioan from Botoșani, indebted to the magistrate Constantin Miculescu after her husband's death¹³⁹, and others solved them, at the request of the Metropolitan¹⁴⁰, or out of his duty¹⁴¹ bishop and servant of the Church of Christ. The case of the Varlaams, being more complex, shown in the introduction of another *letter* of the same Great Logothete that: “[...] We have seen that through the spiritual intercessions you have succeeded the reconciliation between [...] the wives of the Chairs Fote and [...] Varlaam [...] for which the Department brings to your Holiness thanks”. But because during this investigation it was created another conflict, right between the families Varlaam, he speaks to Inochentie as follows: “Costachi Varlaam, who, when he talked to your Holiness unmitigated spoke about the lack of honesty of his elder sister-in-law and the Chair Varlaam, the eldest brother, has endured that with great submission, please be kind to tell him to stop immediately and for ever with that”.¹⁴²

After less than two years, the Chair Gheorghe Varlaam entered into another conflict with the Ban Iordachi Iamandi, for which “from the commandment of His Grace, the Prince, was appointed a committee” for investigation, and for it to work effectively, “the Minister of Interior and knight, Great Logothete” addresses the abbot Inochentie Iliupoleos: “The Department with humble honor invites your Holiness [...] to firstly advised the necessary and then to mediate the reconciliation” of the parts, and if you would be needed “[...] to receive a request

¹³⁹ BAR, *Documente istorice (Historical Documents)*, CCVI/197: *Complaint sent to the Prince on May 29, 1825*, with the princely resolution from June 4, 1825, in which Inochentie is thus addressed: “Lover of God and for us intercessor Your Holiness Kir Inochentii Iliupoleos, with reverent godliness [...]” f. 2; BAR, *Documente istorice (Historical Documents)*, CCVI/198: *Princely Charter*, June 4, 1825; BAR, *Documente istorice (Historical Documents)*, CCVI/199: *Princely Charter*, June 10, 1825; BAR, *Documente istorice (Historical Documents)*, CCVI/200: *Princely Charter*, June 28, 1825.

¹⁴⁰ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/25: *The letter of the Metropolitan Veniamin to Inochentie, no. 641 from May 22, 1837*, in which he is asked “to intercess a reconciliation between Ioan Popov and his parents” (f. 1^r).

¹⁴¹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/15: *The Letter of the maturașy Gheorghe Popovici from Botoșani to Inochentie, July 3, 1833*, in which he is asked to give him the blessing to marry Casandra, the woman with whom he lives in concubinage. Being very determined, he indicates in his letter: “I know that he who committs fornication ruins his spiritual life [...] because I am sure that your Holiness heard everything I lived for that woman called Casandra and I suffered shame because of her and I can not separate myself from her and I will not leave her until my death [...]” (f. 1^r).

¹⁴² ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/18: *The Letter of Alex. Ghica Logothete to Inochentie, no. 20757 from December 28, 1834*;

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from the committee to ask someone to give an oath [...] such a request should be fulfilled”.¹⁴³ But because through the investigation done by “the appointed commissars boyars”, a resolution could not be reached for “the attack plea arisen” between parts, the same minister addresses again the abbot from Popăuți showing him that: “[...] for that reason, the department, having evidence that the number of complains, which there Botoșani, after the spiritual counseling of your Holiness, have taken good result through reconciliation, invites you now also to kindly receive commission to investigate together with the Chair Constandin Dimitriu Arbure and the Chair Dimitrie Gane, the Subprefect of the land, and intercede tenaciously, perhaps the litigants would reconcile [...]”.¹⁴⁴

As we have seen, bishop Inochentie solved – the local church authority – some of the cases alone or leading church committees, others, collaborating with the local civil authorities, such as the Magistrature and the General Court from Botoșani¹⁴⁵, and others, as part of joint commission, made up of local ecclesiastical and civil authorities, at the behest of the central authorities, having in all these cases as ongoing support his own staff from Popăuți.

VI. Popăuți Monastery Staff during Metropolitan Inochentie’s Abbotship

The dedicated monasteries, due to their important properties, which included estates and villages, had a special status in terms of human resources, imposed precisely by the small number of foreign monks present in them and the need that the inhabitants of the monastic villages to be shepherded by parish priests, and not by monastics, who do not have through their statute such a specific duty and who, most often, did not know the Romanian language. This special status is also found adopted in the case of the abbotship of the bishop and archimandrite Inochentie (1815-1840), even if he was Romanian.

In the seven monastic villages that it owned, together with the estates to which were bound the inhabitants, the Monastery Popăuți had a religious personnel specific to the parish churches, including in the Church *Saint Nicholas* within the monastery, where were always subordinated at least the villagers from Popăuți.

¹⁴³ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/21: *The Letter of the Interior Minister Logothete to Inochentie*, no. 11310, from June 18, 1836.

¹⁴⁴ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/23: *The Letter of the Interior Minister Logothete to Inochentie*, no. 12343, from October 3, 1836.

¹⁴⁵ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, XXIV/29: *The Adress of the Judicial Court Botoșani*, no. 59, January 10, 1838, showing that at the request of Inochentie will be issued a certified copy “of the final decision from the case of Ioan Popovici with the econom Ioan archpriest of this land [...]” signed by Gașpar Gailov, Ghe. Senjorj (assessor); Dabija Lord Steward (director) and by Mihail Vladimir (f. 1^o).

Here at the Princely Church, were serving in 1820¹⁴⁶, for the monastery and the village Popăuți, with a number of one hundred and eleven families, the priests Ioniță, Simion and Ioan, the deacon Gavril, who was also econom, the psalm reader Filip¹⁴⁷ and the ecclesiarch Constantin.¹⁴⁸ All these were paid by the monastery¹⁴⁹, but not all of them were living here. Of the ministers from the church above mentioned, only the priest Simion, the son of the psalm reader Mihalachi, is found in the next census from 1831, but accompanied by the deacon Vasile, son of Ioan the digger, the psalm readers Ștefan, son of Toader, and Calistrat, son of the priest Ioan, the beadle Ioan, son of Toader the psalm reader, as well as the Chief of the church Andrei, son of Stoica¹⁵⁰, and in the one from 1832 appears as the second minister the priest Constantin Păun.¹⁵¹

The number of ministers is maintained until the end of the life of Inochentie¹⁵², exeption making the paracliser Ioan, replaced by Gheorghe¹⁵³, and until the next census from 1845, under the abbotship of Chiril, the number would undergo some changes: appears a certain priest Andrei, as the second minister, replacing the econom Constantin Păun, left “without people”¹⁵⁴, as well as two new psalm readers, Gheorghii, son of the priest econom Simion, and Neculai, son of Popovici.¹⁵⁵ The number of residents from the village Popăuți witnessed a decrease during this period from one hundred eleven families – in 1820, to eighty-eight – in 1831¹⁵⁶ and seventy-seven – in 1845.¹⁵⁷

On administrative line, the monastery, in most of the cases, used a lay person. Monastery, with all the annexes, was administered by Vasile, “the courtyard foreman”, for whom the monastery had a special house called “bailiff’s

¹⁴⁶ ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 9/1820, f. 162^r-162^v; Here is shown only the numerical statistics, not the nominal one.

¹⁴⁷ ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 9/1820, f. 46^r.

¹⁴⁸ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, 475/27.

¹⁴⁹ The priests with 150 lei/year, deacon Gavril with 200 lei/year, being also econom, the ecclesiarch with 130 lei/year, the psalm reader with 400 lei/year, and the bailiff with 200 lei/year (*ibidem*).

¹⁵⁰ ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 272/1831, f. 58^v; v. and *ibidem*, dos. 90/1831, f. 63^v-64^v.

¹⁵¹ ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 563/1832, f. 84^v.

¹⁵² ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/99; X/61; VIII/29.

¹⁵³ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, X/61, f. 1^r.

¹⁵⁴ His case is set out in detail in ASI, *Metropolitan of Moldavia and Suceava*, dos. 152B/1842, f. 1-8 and dos. 36/1842, f. 1-6.

¹⁵⁵ ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 209/1845, f. 1^v, 5^v.

¹⁵⁶ ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 272/1831, f. 60^r; v. and *ibidem*, dos. 90/1831, f. 63^v-66^r.

¹⁵⁷ ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 209/1845, f. 1^v-5^v.

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house”¹⁵⁸, where ten people lived.¹⁵⁹ Who would be these people, other than those specified, we understand from the payment records of their work and from the arrangements which the abbot did with each. According to such a document, the monastery concluded written agreements, in 1829, bargaining with Gheorghe the coachman of the “carriage” of bishop Inochentie, with the cellarer Dumitru, with the shepherd Gheorghe and with Pelaghia, probably the washerwoman, in 1830, with the shepherd Toader, and in 1833 with the cellarer Ilie and with a cook whose name is not given.¹⁶⁰

At the beginning of the year 1840, before the death of Inochentie and in the immediate aftermath, when it was made a thorough investigation in connection with his wealth, in several papers were recorded the names of several persons performing work at the Monastery Popăuți. Among these people, we encounter mentioned Neculai Popovici, “courtyard foreman”, Gheorghe Popovici, as a servant in the house of the abbot, “old Nastasia”, the bishop’s sister-in-law, who made candles, Smaranda, the wife of Vasile Cojocar, washerwoman, the woman who made the wafer¹⁶¹ and the cellarer¹⁶², whose names are not given.

The Monastery Popăuți, besides the villagers from Popăuți subordinated to the Princely church, owned the estates and villages Ciușmeaua, Răchiți and Teasc, located around Botoșani, the estates and villages Boțoaia and Băloșești from Vaslui county, and also the estate and village Duruitoarea from Bassarabia. With the exception of the villages Teasc near Botoșani and Băloșești from Vaslui county, all the other churches had their Orthodox church with a number of ministers, who received certain areas of land for maintenance and who were under the spiritual authority of the abbot of the monastery and the archpriest of the region.

The statistics from the census from 1820, in *the village Ciușmeaua* lived sixty-six families and had as ministers of the church dedicated to *The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste*, two priests, a deacon and two psalm readers¹⁶³, and they were the priests Miftode and Luca, the deacon Vasile and the psalm readers Ștefan și Lupu.¹⁶⁴ In the statistical documents from 1831, the village had seventy-six fami-

¹⁵⁸ From an inventory from February 10, 1830, we can tell in detail what could be found in the pantry and kitchen from “the bailiff’s house” (ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/45, f. 1^r-2^v).

¹⁵⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶⁰ The coachman received 80 lei/year and footwear, the shepherd Gheorghe 40 lei/year, the cellarer Dumitru 100 lei/year, the washerwoman Pelaghia 60 lei/year, the shepherd Toader 60 lei/year and the cellarer Ilie 120 lei/year (*ibidem*).

¹⁶¹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/99, f. 1^r-6^v; X/61, f. 1^v.

¹⁶² ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VIII/29.

¹⁶³ ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 9/1820, f. 162^r-162^v.

¹⁶⁴ ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 9/1820, f. 55^r.

lies¹⁶⁵, and as ministers of their church the priest Ioan, son of priest Luca, the deacon Vasile, son of Irimiea Crețu, the psalm reader Ștefan, son of Toader, and the beadle Iordachi, son of the psalm reader Ștefan¹⁶⁶, who would appear in the same formula in the statistics from 1832¹⁶⁷, but not until 1845, when the village had as ministers of the church the priest Dumitru and the psalm readers Iordachi and Constantin, son of the priest Dumitru.¹⁶⁸

Satul Răchiți, with a total of sixty-nine families, had in 1820, at the Church dedicated to *Saint Apostles Peter and Paul*, a single minister¹⁶⁹, that is the priest Ioan¹⁷⁰, but, in 1831, at a number of ninety-one families, were ministering the priests Dimitrie sakellarios, son of Gavril and Theodor, son of the priest Maxim, the deacon Vasile, the deacon Mihai, son of the priest Maxim, the starosta Ioan, son of Toader Mamaniuc and the beadle Mihai the psalm reader, son of Simion¹⁷¹, and in 1832, at a number of ninety-two families, the situation of the ministers remains about the same¹⁷² and is maintained so until at least 1845, until the village reached the number of one hundred and fifteen families.¹⁷³

In Vaslui county, the ministers from the church dedicated to *Saint Nicholas* from *the village Bofoaia* are less numerous than those from the churches from the monastic villages above mentioned, due to the small number of inhabitants of this village, set on an estate with a lower economic value.

Therefore, in 1820, at the church of this village, with a number of thirty-eight families, was only the priest Pavel, helped by the psalm readers Vasilachi and Mihalachi.¹⁷⁴ In 1831, the number of inhabitants reached thirty-five families and had as spiritual guide the priest Vasile, son of Ioniță Avram, helped by the psalm readers Mihalachi, son of Ioniță Avram, and Vasile Bomcea, as well as the beadle Ion,

¹⁶⁵ The men of these families “were subjected to under the yoke”, starting with the year 1821, for guarding day and night the city Botoșani (ASI, *Colecția “Literă – Gh. Asachi”*, dos. 9/91, f. 5^r-7^r, 8^r, 9^r); ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 90/1831, f. 59^v-62^r and 522^r.

¹⁶⁶ ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 272/1831, f. 53^v-55^r and dos. 90/1831, f. 59^v-62^r.

¹⁶⁷ ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 563, f. 78^v-80^r.

¹⁶⁸ ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 209/1845, f. 15^v-19^r.

¹⁶⁹ ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 9/1820, f. 162^r-162^v.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 50^v-51^r.

¹⁷¹ ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 272/1831, f. 51^v-53^r and dos. 90/1831, f. 55^v-58^r and 523^r.

¹⁷² Excepting the beadle Mihail, the psalm reader, who was replaced with the psalm reader Costachi, son of the priest Maxim (ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 563/1832, f. 75^v-78^r).

¹⁷³ ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 209/1845, f. 7^v-13^r.

¹⁷⁴ ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 5/1820, f. 209^v-210^v.

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son of Coroiu¹⁷⁵. In 1838, the village Boțoaia, consisting of thirty-three families, the same number of ministers, but the psalm reader Vasile Bomcea was replaced by Ion Radu¹⁷⁶, and between the years 1845-1846, the village being in a continuous decreasing in the number of its inhabitants, remains only the two psalm readers and without a priest.¹⁷⁷

For the village *Duruitoarea* on the valley of Ciuhur, Hotinului county from Basarabia, We have fewer documentary information. According to them, during the abbotship of Inochentie, the church in this village had as minister the priest Teodor Onufrievici, who, on August 10, 1839, asked for the help of the bishop from Popăuți, because he was poor: “I hope for the mercy of Your Holiness, that, seeing me altogether devoid and poor of wealth, as I don’t even have oxen for the carriage and there’s no hope in making them, because the people is small and poor just like me and the land decided for the church is all together useless, because it is on the border of the estate with the mill Moscalul, at the end of the rocks, towards the estate Stăncăuți, rocky ground and barren, from which there is no chance to save and make my daily bread [...] that is why, kindly take pity on me [...] because the outgoings don’t avoid us, first of all the clothes to be suitable to clergy and I am powerless, taking into account my state”.¹⁷⁸

Besides this priest, with the psalm reader and the beadle of the church, without which he could not officiate the religious services, the village community elected Ioan Vasile in that very summer of that year as starosta of the church.¹⁷⁹ For this, the villagers insisted at the abbot Inochentie to recognize him in this capacity, in order to be legally recognized and, then, to represent them in their fight with the owners of the estate *Duruitoarea*, who – most of the times – were unjust and oppressed them.¹⁸⁰

VII. Death of Metropolitan Inochentie

The first signs of the approaching end of the earthly life of Metropolitan Inochentie were recorded in November 21, 1839, when he received a response from the doctor Eftodi¹⁸¹, probably from Botoșani, that he can come to him to assist him

¹⁷⁵ ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 172/1831, f. 77^r-78^v; the same ministers were found the following year (*ibidem*, dos. 542/1832, f. 147^v-148^r).

¹⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, dos. 251/1838, f. 45^v-48^v.

¹⁷⁷ ASI, *Vistieria Moldovei (The Treasury of Moldavia)*, dos. 254/1845, f. 15^v-16^r and 19^r și dos. 490/1846, f. 12^v-13^r.

¹⁷⁸ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/91, f. 1^r-1^v.

¹⁷⁹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/92, f. 1^r-2^v.

¹⁸⁰ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/83, f. 1^r-2^r.

¹⁸¹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/96.

medically only in two weeks time, when he would complete the treatment and care for another patient who was in serious condition.

According to this information, the doctor examined Inochentie at the monastery at the beginning of December, when it was decided to be treated Botoșani. Here, the patient had to stay twenty days, during which time he was indebted to the value of the drugs delivered by the Apothecary from Botoșani and with the performance of a cook, who secured the daily diet required by the doctor.¹⁸²

In early January, being investigated by Ioan Bașotă, the Chair Costantin Roseti, Enacachi Hagienciu and the economs Ioan and Grigore from Botoșani, among other issues discussed, he announced that he entrusted two thousand ducats to the High Steward Costantin Caraeni, of which he had to split after his death, as follows: 500 at the funeral, 500 at the Metropolitan, 500 among his five brothers, “[...] and 500 ducats, towards the fulfillment of the amount of two thousand ducats, to give the widows, poor girls and church ministers”.¹⁸³ Also, one of the following days, he sent 20 ducats to a widow, through Ștefan bacalu, 100 ducats for other poor, through Enacachi Hagienciu and 550 lei, through the spiritual father Dometie “to eleven churches from the townlet Botoșani”.¹⁸⁴

On the eve of the death of Inochentie, Tuesday, January 9, 1840, when he was moved from room to room due to crisis, the econom Costantin from the monastery gave him the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. Then, being present the ban Eanachi Stamati and Neculai Azămioară, his sons-in-law, he entrusted the latter to distribute: 1000 lei to the psalm reader Ștefan, 100 lei to the woman who makes the wafel, 20 lei to the servant, 50 lei to the courtyard foreman Neculai Popovici and 500 lei to “old Nastasia” for wax and her work.¹⁸⁵

On the same day, Inochentie made known publicly his impending death, surrounded by relatives, by the servants of the monastery and his friends. About the last moments in the life of the dying, priest Teodor from the Church *Saint Parascheva of the Balkans* from Botoșani, as eyewitness, recorded: “[...] I went [...] to the bishop with the archpriest, the econom Ioan, to receive my blessing, as from a bishop that we had for a while in town; and spending there more than an hour, we were all asked how we were [...]; and plotting all the burial, saying that the time had come for him to an end [...], when we’ve bent over to take our leave from His Holiness, he invited us the following day to come together to read the Holy Unc-

¹⁸² On May 6, 1840 this debt was paid materialized in: 212 lei and 30 parale, the equivalent of the medicines and 191 lei and 29 parale “the expense of the food” (ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, X/61, f. 1^r-1^v and VIII/26, f. 1^r-1^v).

¹⁸³ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/99, f. 1^r-1^v.

¹⁸⁴ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/99, f. 1^v.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 2^r-2^v and 6^r.

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tion [...]. Then I wanted to go home, but priest Ioan, the archpriest of the region, stopped me to stay longer, because the bishop was weakened, which delayed more than ten hours <and then> he died, and I held his candle until he fell asleep”.¹⁸⁶

So the death of Metropolitan Inochentie, abbot of the Monastery Popăuți, took place on Wednesday, January 10, 1840, being present, besides those mentioned, also the president of the Botoșani County Court, aga Petrachi Asachi, who assured the sealing of the premises of the abbot’s house.¹⁸⁷

The funeral service of bishop Inochentie took place on Saturday, January 13, 1840, not being buried in the church narthex, as some of his predecessors bishops in abbotship, as said¹⁸⁸, but outside, near the southern buttress of the church, into a specially designed vault. This crypt, partially disturbed and dislocated, was discovered at the latest archaeological investigations from 2001, when were identified, in addition to the remains moved from their original position, a fragment from the tombstone and the brick underneath the head of the deceased, both engraved and, simultaneously, the glass candle from the niche of the crypt. If the inscription of the fragments from the crypt and from the church, coming from the tombstone, is illegible, the one on the brick, which was *in situ*, and in acceptable condition, allowed the accurate identification of the buried person, through the text: “†1840 January 13, Inochentie Metropolitan of Iliupoleos, proestos of the holy monastery Popăuți Botoșani, died at the age of 72 years”.¹⁸⁹

The organization of Inochentie’s burial fell on the responsibility of his son-in-law Neculai Azămioară, who spent 203 ducats, that is 7108 lei, and not 500 ducats, as the bishop asked before his death.¹⁹⁰ There are no details about how the funeral was conducted and who officiated the service of the bishops then living in Moldavia, Romanians or Greeks, however, the information concerning the material goods inherited from the defunct are sufficient.

After the funeral, as usually happens in rich people, the attention of the relatives¹⁹¹ and especially of the representatives of Patriarchate of Antioch was direct-

¹⁸⁶ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, X/62: June 3, 1840, Botoșani, f. 1^r-1^v.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 1^v; *ibidem*, IX/99, f. 6^r-6^v. The policeman Scarlat from Botoșani, who affixed the seal, received 140 lei (ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, X/61, f. 3^r).

¹⁸⁸ Papadopol-Calimach, *Notiță istorică (Historical Note)*, p. 128; Simionescu, *Mănăstirea Popăuți (Popăuți Monastery)*, p. 52.

¹⁸⁹ Voica Maria Pușcașu, *Biserica “Sfântul Nicolae” a Mănăstirii Popăuți din Botoșani (The Church “Saint Nicholas” of the Monastery Popăuți in Botoșani)*, Botoșani, 2004, pp. 49-50, 60, image III.

¹⁹⁰ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VIII/26, f. 1^r.

¹⁹¹ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/99: *The testimony of the bailiff Neculai Popovici, from February 11, 1840*, f. 3^r-4^v.

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ed against the estate left by the highpriest Inochentie. Until the appointment of the new abbot, was empowered as ephor and Plenipotentiary of the Patriarchate the archimandrite Ioasaf, abbot of the Monastery Frumoasa from Iași. He inventoried all the personal property assets of Inochentie, sold them by auction¹⁹², and he sent the amounts raised to Constantinople¹⁹³, in the account of the Patriarchate by Antioch. Then, on the basis of some information¹⁹⁴, he prosecuted some of the relatives of Inochentie to recover certain amounts of money, they would have received as a loan from the defunct. Among them, there are: the High Steward Constantin Caraeni¹⁹⁵, the serdar Alecu Ciure¹⁹⁶, the merchant Neculai Azămioară¹⁹⁷ and Constantin Vizanti.¹⁹⁸ Some of these processes, for lack of evidence, were lost by the Plenipotentiary of the Patriarchate¹⁹⁹, and others were extinguished by the death of both parties to the proceedings.²⁰⁰

From the abbot bishop Inochentie, the monastery has inherited yet the most church property, which today form the heritage objects and are found in the collections of works of art from the monasteries Popăuți and Vorona.

Text translated by Ana-Monica Cojocărescu

¹⁹² ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, X/61. The equivalent value of those sold was 33.374 lei, that is 953, 54 Dutch ducats (f. 1^r-3^r).

¹⁹³ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VIII/26. To the amount obtained from the auction, 33.374 lei, was added the sum of 13.626 lei, found in the house of the high priest Inochentie, a total of 47.000 lei, that is 1342,857 Dutch ducats (f. 1^r).

¹⁹⁴ Such as that of the Chair Costachi Roseti (ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, IX/100).

¹⁹⁵ Judgment for the sum of 2000 ducats, lost by the Greek representatives (ASI, *Ministry of Justice*, Tr. 1756, Op. II 1991, dos. 561/1842).

¹⁹⁶ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VIII/31 and X/63.

¹⁹⁷ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VIII/33 and IX/99, 1^v-2^r; ASI, *Ministry of Justice*, Tr. 1756, Op. II 1991, dos. 561/1842, f. 3-5; ASI, *Botoșani District Court*, Tr. 1418, Op. 1613, dos. 89/1840-1852, 122 f.

¹⁹⁸ ASBt, *Colecția documente (The Documents Collection)*, VIII/23, 30.

¹⁹⁹ For 2000 ducats, with the sirdar Constantin Caraeni v. ASI, *Ministry of Justice*, Tr. 1756, Op. II 1991, dos. 561/1842, f. 1^r-47^v; ASI, *Anaphoras*, dos. 58/1843, f. 45^r-50^v.

²⁰⁰ For 250 ducats, with the merchant Neculai Azămioară v. ASI, *Botoșani District Court*, Tr. 1418, Op. 1613, dos. 89/1840, f. 5^r-112^r.