

**Translation and Circulation of Romanian and Slavonic
Biblical Books in the Romanian Lands**

*A Textual Analysis of the Sixteenth Century
Apostolos and Psalter Texts*



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Doctor of Philosophy in Medieval and Modern Languages

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This thesis is concerned with the early rise of old Romanian as a written language, as represented by the textual traditions of biblical books translated from Church Slavonic. My primary sources are limited to sixteenth-century manuscript and printed books of the *Apostolos* and *Psalter* texts in Romanian and the relevant primary sources of the Slavonic tradition. In answering the questions of *why* and *how* the earliest Romanian writings appear, I argue that the philological study of the source tradition of the texts, that is, the Slavonic tradition, as well as of the textual varieties identified in the Romanian primary sources, can help us understand better the way in which Romanian came to be used as a literary language.

After a brief *Introduction* to the sources and method of philological analysis, *Chapter one* investigates the history of book production and circulation in the Romanian lands between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and gives some essential historical context to the cultural dynamics defining the voivodeships of Moldavia, Wallachia, and the principality of Transylvania at the time.

Chapters two and *three* analyse in depth the textual traditions of the *Psalter* text first, and then that of the *Apostolos*: each chapter identifies the source tradition of the respective text and provides an affiliation diagram of the Romanian sources.

Chapter four explores the translation and revision techniques employed in rendering and subsequently altering the text of the *Apostolos* and the *Psalter*.

The *Conclusions* draw together the information from the previous chapters and survey the prospects for further avenues of investigation.

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Abbreviations

Primary Sources

- AC First edition of the Apostolos in old Romanian, [Braşov, Coresi, 1567/1568], 2°, [320] + ? ff.; collation: I⁸-VIII⁸, [IX⁸], X⁸-XXXVII⁸, XXXVII⁸, XXXIX-XXXX⁸ + ?
- AI Fragment of the Apostolos which preserves the passages of the Epistle to the Galatians chs. 3:23-4:9 and 5:22-6:5. The transcription of the fragments was published by Iorga (1906).
- CB The Bratu Codex, 1559-1560, copied by Bratul, [Braşov], bilingual Church Slavonic-old Romanian; manuscript nr. inv. 2005 of Casa Dosoftei, Iaşi; facsimile edition at <http://media.lit.uaic.ro/gafton/index.html>.
- CV The Voroneţ Codex, [1563-1583], copied in Moldavia; MS 448 of the Romanian Academy Library; digital copy available at <https://medievalia.com.ro/manuscrise/item/ms-rom-448>.
- PC First printed edition of the Psalms in old Romanian: Braşov, deacon Coresi, 1570, 4°, [204] ff.; collation: I-LI⁴.
- PC1 Second edition of the psalter text, bilingual Church Slavonic-old Romanian: [Braşov], deacon Coresi, 1577, 4°, 316 ff.; collation: I-LXXIX⁴.
- PC2 Second bilingual edition of the psalter: [Braşov, Şerban Coresi, 1588?], 4°, 337 + [?] ff.; collation: I-LXXXIV⁴, LXXXV¹ +?.
- PCb The Ciobanu Psalter, late 16th century, MS 3465 of the Romanian Academy Library; digital copy available at <https://medievalia.com.ro/manuscrise/item/ms-rom-3465>.
- PH The Hurmuzaki Psalter, early 16th century, MS 3077 of the Romanian Academy Library; facsimile edition published by Gheţie and Teodorescu (2005); digital copy available at <https://medievalia.com.ro/manuscrise/item/ms-rom-3077>.
- PV The Voroneţ Psalter, mid-16th century, MS 693 of the Romanian Academy Library; digital copy available at <https://medievalia.com.ro/manuscrise/item/ms-rom-693>.
- PS The Scheia Psalter, mid or later 16th century, MS 449 of the Romanian Academy Library; digital copy available at <https://medievalia.com.ro/manuscrise/item/ms-rom-449>.

Introduction

The study of the old Romanian language and literature is a field of many surprises and unexplored paths of investigation. Although the textual corpus we refer to is limited – by now all early written Romanian texts have been listed bibliographically and examined philologically – the approach to studying it can change completely our understanding of old Romanian, its linguistic development, the cultural environment within which it was first set down in a written form, its social and national significance in terms of identity. The key questions I attempt to address in this dissertation are *why* and *how* the first literary texts in Romanian came into being, where by literary I mean non pragmatic literature. It is well known that the first books written and printed in old Romanian were religious, mainly translations from Church Slavonic (although, depending on the kind of book, other languages also served as a source). However, what prompted such translations, which sources were used for the initial translations and later during the revision processes, and in which manner these texts were rendered into Romanian are all topics which received only partial scholarly attention, mainly during the second half of the twentieth century. Since then, however, our approach to textual criticism has evolved, as has our historical knowledge of the Romanian lands in the late medieval and early modern period. Additionally, significant work has been published on the textual tradition of the same religious books but in languages other than Romanian, in particular on the Slavonic tradition. With these tools at hand, I have wanted once more to bring into focus the earliest Romanian texts, that is, texts produced in the sixteenth century, and study in greater detail their production and circulation. In order to do so, I have centred my research on the tradition of the Psalter and Apostolos texts; first, because of the primary role they play in the Christian context; and second, because of the availability of these texts in old Romanian. In structuring my dissertation, I have dedicated one chapter to the historical background of book production in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, followed by two chapters devoted to the textual tradition of the Psalter first and then to that of the Apostolos. My fourth and final chapter examines the topic of translation and revision methods and techniques employed in rendering biblical books into old Romanian.

By way of introduction, I would like to contextualize the expression *old Romanian*. Old Romanian is usually periodized between the appearance of the first written texts in Romanian, that is, the beginning of the sixteenth century and 1780, when the first grammar of Romanian was printed, initiating a long period of normalization and standardization of the Romanian literary language. The expression *old Romanian*, therefore, is linked to that of *literary language*, that is, to the idea of a language being used in written literature. However, in the sixteenth century and even later, up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, literary expression varied in accordance with the provenance of the author, with the varieties of Maramureș, Transylvania (Ardeal area), Wallachia, Moldavia and Banat being the dominant ones (Ivănescu 2012: 80-125). Linguistic variation and fluctuation, therefore, are two aspects which define the nature of old Romanian as a literary language. Additionally, the period from circa 1532 to 1780 has been further divided into two by Gheție (1982a: 67): an initial phase between 1532 and 1640, when textual witnesses to main variants of old Romanian language start circulating, and which hints at the existence of a literary language preceding the sixteenth century; and a second phase between 1640 and 1780, during which we see the consolidation of the dialectal variants through the activity of the printing press and a mutual linguistic influence across these variants. This last period, therefore, is also characterized by an initial movement towards linguistic unification of the literary norm. Gheție's periodization of the development of old Romanian establishes the time framework of this dissertation, dedicated to the first of the two periods and to the very first appearance of old Romanian as a literary language.

Sources

The biblical texts on which I have decided to focus my philological work are the Psalter and the Apostolos. My decision has been influenced by the fact that these texts are represented both in manuscript and print, and so embrace in full the tradition of book production in the sixteenth century in the Romanian lands. I will therefore introduce the primary sources I have used throughout my dissertation as well as give an overview of the tradition of these two texts in the Romanian and Slavonic languages.

Romanian Sources of the Psalter and their Tradition

There are seven witnesses of the Psalter text in old Romanian from the sixteenth century. Three manuscripts which present the phenomenon of rhotacism of /n/ (intervocalic /n/ is changed to /r/ in words of Latin origin): *Hurmuzaki* [1500-1525], *Voroneţ* [1551-1558] and *Scheia* [1571-1578] *Psalters*. Additionally, there are three non-rhotacized printed editions of 1570, 1577, and [1588] related to Deacon Coresi's typographical activity based in Braşov between 1559 and c. 1583; to which another non-rhotacized manuscript is added – the *Ciobanu Psalter* [1573-1585]. A few more examples of psalms are to be found sporadically in other types of religious books: psalm 151 in the *Bratu Codex*, psalms 1, 2, 3, 16, 24, 50, 53, 106, 116, 129, 140, 141 in the *Euchologion* printed in [1568], psalm 50 in the Romanian *Liturgicon* printed in [1570]. Usually, to this group an additional eighth version is associated, which is the edition of a Romanian Psalter text, lost today, that supposedly was printed by Coresi in 1568. This is usually referred to as the *Săulescu Psalter*, since the only known information about this book comes from a glossary Săulescu composed in the nineteenth century, allegedly based on this very copy. Nonetheless, since there are no surviving copies of the book, the study of this version is inaccessible. Additionally, the glossary composed by Săulescu is not completely trustworthy, the scholar, in fact, used to counterfeit past documentary data in order to meet his ideological position on the history of Romania, true heir of the Latin civilisation. Lastly, there is another fragment of a Romanian Psalter, which is associated either with the Săulescu Psalter or to a yet unknown edition (Gheţie and Mareş 1994: 122-24; Mareş 1966; 1982b: 228-44). These last two potential sources will not be taken into account in this dissertation. The sigla for the other above-mentioned sources are: PH, PV, PS and PCb for the *Hurmuzaki*, *Voroneţ*, *Scheia* and *Ciobanu Psalms*; PC, PC1 and PC2 for the 1570, 1577 and [1588] printed editions. Of the seven sources, four are bilingual (PV, PCb, PC1 and PC2), and three are monolingual (PH, PS, PC).

Most of the Psalter books surviving to the present time are dated to the second half of the sixteenth century, except for the *Hurmuzaki Psalter*, which has been dated back to the first two decades of the century. Nonetheless, the study of their affiliation shows that time played a minor

role in the development of the tradition of the Psalter in old Romanian. For example, it has been noticed that the [1588] bilingual Psalter has similar readings to the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* from the very beginning of the century, to which in its turn even a late seventeenth century Psalter text, Dosoftei's editions from 1680, presents some similarities. On the other hand, the *Scheia Psalter* turns out to be close in time to the 1570 and 1577 issues of the Psalter text, but different from the *Voroneț Psalter* copied some twenty to fifteen years earlier. Time, therefore, does not guarantee textual affinity between the versions. Nor does the place where they were produced. For example, both the *Hurmuzaki* and the *Scheia Psalters* are supposed to have been copied in Moldavia, yet the two texts present some striking differences, so that it is not possible to think that there was just one translation circulating within the region.

Even though some sources are fragmentary, their content fits within the Greek and Slavonic tradition of the Psalter text. The psalms, therefore, are numbered up to 151, divided in 20 kathismata, and followed by the ten biblical canticles, with the exception of the *Hurmuzaki Psalter*, which stops at the first few words of psalm 151. Additionally, PS present the Athanasian Creed at the end of its text, a text to be probably related to the arrival of the Reformed churches in Transylvania (Gheție 1973). Both the *Ciobanu* and the *Voroneț Psalters* are fragmentary, with the first missing the first 47 Psalms and the second the first 76. Additionally, there are missing textual passages in PH, PS, and PC2.

Each textual example I refer to in chapters two and four indicates clearly the source text it belongs to. However, because of the textual proximity of PC, PC1 and PCb, these tend to be cited once only, usually following the orthography of PC.

Introduction to the Slavonic Tradition of the Psalter

Allegedly, one of the first texts translated by Ss. Cyril and Methodius during their mission to Great Moravia in the second half of the ninth century was the Psalter, between the years 863 and 869. In *Vita Methodii* chapter 15 it is reported: ПСАЛТЪИРЬ БО БЪ ТЪКМО И ЕВАНГЛІИЕ СЪ АПСЛЪМЪ И

ИЗВЪРАНЪИМИ СЛОУЖЬБАМИ ЦРКВЪНЪИМИ СЪ ФИЛОСОФЪМЪ ПРЪВЛОЖИЛЪ ПЪРЪВЪТЪ¹ (Vaillant 1968: 53); yet no manuscripts survived from that time. The first written witnesses to the Church Slavonic Psalter come from the eleventh century, that is two centuries after the Saints' mission, and are quite low in number. However, even based on these few manuscripts, it has been demonstrated that at the time there existed two distinct redactions of the Psalms, which were enriched by the commentary tradition on the Psalms – first, with the translation of the Pseudo-Athanasian (composed by Hesychius of Jerusalem) *Commentarius Brevis in Psalmos* at the end of the ninth beginning of the tenth century, followed by the translation of Theodoret of Cyrillus' *Interpretatio in Psalmos* in the tenth century. In both cases the Psalms have not been translated anew, but the text of the commentary was added to the existing translations (Thomson 1998: 797-801). To this initial development of the Psalter's tradition, at least other three versions were added around the fourteenth century – an important period in Slavonic literary history for the substantial editorial work its religious books were exposed to. Scholars such as Francis Thomson and Catherine Mary MacRobert write about redactions, that is, Redactions I and II going back as early as the eleventh-century sources and Redactions III, IV and the redaction of the Norov Psalter found in manuscripts from the later fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. Additionally, in parallel to these, there are the already-mentioned commentaries of Hesychius of Jerusalem and of Theodoret of Cyrillus (MacRobert 1998a). For a matter of continuity with the scholarly literature addressing the textual tradition of the Psalter in Church Slavonic in this thesis the text's redactions will also be indicated as RI, RII, RIII, RIV and the Norov Psalter. The sigla for the commentated redactions are Ps-A for Pseudo-Athanasian and Th for Theodoret of Cyrillus.

The textual tradition of the Psalms in Church Slavonic was, therefore, exposed to a continuous revision process, which eventually resulted in distinct textual redactions. They, however, should be seen as a continuum, for each redaction relates to the others and is the result of an action of improvements, alterations, and corrections of the already available renderings of the Psalms. The reasons behind these changes vary – sometimes it depends on the existing

¹ For together with the philosopher [Cyril] he [Methodius] translated initially the Psalter, the Evangelion together with the Apostolos and with a selection of liturgical texts.

discrepancies between the original sources, other times it is subject to the approach a certain scribe, or a scribal centre applied to translation. All in all, to talk about redactions means to identify a group of manuscripts that share certain textual peculiarities, such as interpretative textual variants, vocabulary and grammatical features, which are distinct from other manuscripts having at the basis the same text (MacRobert 1993a). What is more, the subdivision of Psalter MSS into redactions or manuscript families also increases our knowledge about the circulation and the use of these books. For instance, the early East Slavonic Psalter manuscripts point to the fact that up to the fourteenth century Redaction II was more widespread than Redaction I. On the other hand, Redaction III, called also the ‘Athonite’ redaction, is better attested in the South Slavonic manuscripts, which is thought to reflect its provenance (MacRobert 2008: 340).

During the second half of the sixteenth century eight editions of the Psalter were printed – the already-mentioned monolingual edition of 1570 (Romanian) and the bilingual editions of 1577 and [1588], to which five editions of the Psalter in Church Slavonic are to be added, printed in [1568-1570], [1572-1573], [1576], 1577, and [1580]. Their textual tradition belongs to Redaction III of the Slavonic Psalter. To this end, I checked the textual examples provided by MacRobert as distinctive of each redaction (1998a) and verified that the Braşov printed editions adhere to the readings of Redaction III. Another method of verification has been to collate the text of the bilingual sources, manuscripts included, to that of the Tomić Psalter – a good example of Redaction III. There are few differences between the texts,² which is further evidence for considering the Slavonic text of the Psalms circulating within the Romanian lands as belonging to Redaction III. Additionally, I was able to compare the texts of Psalm 77 as found in the editions of [1572-1573], [1576], and [1580] with that of the bilingual Psalter of [1588] – all sources feature

² For example, in ps. 140:9 the Tomić Psalter has *сзкрышѣ*, typical of the Athonite Redaction, while the Romanian texts have *сзставиша*, a reading to be found in earlier as well as later Slavonic redactions. Similarly, in ps. 118:39 in PC2 and PCb we find *сѣдбы*, which is typical of RIV and found also in the Norov Psalter and the tradition of the Theodoret’s commentary, while the Tomić Psalter as representative of RIII as well as the RI and RII have *повелѣнїа*. There are, therefore, some instances, few in number, when the Slavonic text of the Psalms as found in Romanian printed and manuscript books represent readings which are closer to RIV and the Norov Psalter, rather than the Tomić Psalter and RIII. This aspect would deserve further investigation.

the same text, although there are some orthographical variations, especially when it comes to the use of the nasal characters (such as in verbal constructions in third person plural aorist), the use of jat' or ѣ, as well as the alteration between omega and omicron. However, when compared to the sixteenth-century Serbian editions of Mileševa or Venice (1544, 1557 and 1546, 1561, [1569/1570]), it can be noted that the southeastern rather than the southwestern writing system is followed. It is not clear, in fact, whether Coresi used a printed or a manuscript source for his own printings, and what made him change the spelling of some words throughout the various editions of the Psalms.

For the textual analysis in chapter two, my main points of reference, in terms of Slavonic primary sources, have been the facsimile edition of the Tomić Psalter (Джурова 1990) as well as the Slavonic text found in the bilingual texts PV, PCb, PC1, and PC2. Additionally, I have consulted regularly Jagić's edition of the *Bologna Psalter* (Jagić 1907) and Češko's edition of the *Norov Psalter* (Чешко et al. 1989). Unless otherwise stated, all textual examples referring to Redaction III of the Psalter are taken from the Tomić Psalter, and no orthographic standardization has been applied. Textual examples referring to Redactions I, II, and IV are usually taken from secondary literature, which is consistently mentioned in the chapter. When reference is made to specific Slavonic manuscripts, these are usually indicated by the name they are known in secondary literature. The same is true for their sigla (such as found in MacRobert 1998a).

Romanian Sources of the Apostolos and their Tradition

The textual tradition of the Apostolos in Romanian in the sixteenth century is reduced to two manuscripts, *Bratu* (bilingual, Church Slavonic-old Romanian) and *Voroneț Codices*, a printed edition issued by Coresi in [1566-1567], and a manuscript fragment, the *Iorga Apostolos*. These will be referred to as CB, CV, AC and AI.

Of these texts, only AC presents an almost complete text of the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic Epistles, while CV preserves only ten chapters of the Acts (from chapter 18:14 till the end), the Epistle of James, the First Epistle of Peter, and part of the Second Letter of Peter (up to chapter 2 verse 9). CB is also fragmentary – chapters 1-20:32; 23:1-11; 25:12-19; 26:1-5; 26:12-

28:31 of the Acts; the Epistle of James, the First Epistle of Peter (chapters 2:1-10; 2:21-3:9; 4:1-11), the Second Epistle of Peter (chapters 1:1-2:9; 3:1-18), the First and Second Epistles of John, the Epistle of Jude, and part of the First Epistle to the Corinthians (chapters 5:6-7:35).

The fragmentary nature of the above-mentioned material allowed me to analyse in full only a few textual passages of the Apostolos, namely: a) Acts of the Apostles chapters 18:14 to 28 for CV, CB and AC; b) Epistle of James in its entirety for CV, CB and AC; c) 1 Corinthians 5:6-7:35 for CB and AC; d) Galatians 3:23-4:9 and 5:19-6:5 for AI and AC.

Introduction to the Slavonic Tradition of the Apostolos

Any scholar working on the textual tradition of the Apostolos in Church Slavonic would need to go back to Grigorij Aleksandrovič Voskresenskij (Воскресенский 1879, 1892-1908), who in the nineteenth century established four redactions of the text, a classification still valid today and to which two more commentated redactions alongside Ivan Fedorov's 1564 printed text can be added (Cleminson 2017). The first redaction, known as the 'Archaic' or 'Cyrillo-Methodian' redaction, represents the oldest textual tradition of the Apostolos. This edition is present both in continuous manuscripts as well as short lectionaries (Aprakos MSS), used for liturgical purposes. The Apostolos with commentary represents a sub-redaction of the first redaction (a famous textual example is *Apostolos Christinopolitanus*). These are followed by the Preslav redaction, which Voskresenskij identifies as strictly a Russian redaction and numbers as second. Later this redaction was traced back to the Preslav tradition of the Second Bulgarian Empire, and so was established as deriving from the south-east of Bulgaria. The second redaction is followed by a second commentated redaction, which presents a new independent translation (Besters-Dilger 2014). The third redaction, of limited circulation, is today present in two witnesses only (Čudov New Testament, surviving in facsimile only, and Pogodin 27). Redaction number four or the Athonite redaction is the result of a general revision process which took place on Mount Athos in the fourteenth century and affected all liturgical books (Psalter and Tetraevangelion included). The textual witnesses of this redaction fall within two groups, one of South Slavonic and one of East Slavonic provenance (Клеминсон 2013).

The study of the Slavonic tradition of Apostolos received some amount of scholarly attention (Бобрик 2013), but less than the study of the Psalter or the Gospels. It has been difficult, therefore, to have access to a clear *stemma codicum* dividing known textual witnesses into redactions, as provided, for examples, by MacRobert for the tradition of the Psalter (1998a). The Slavonic material used in the dissertation varied according to the sources currently available and in accordance with the passages analysed. For the chapters from the Acts of the Apostles (chapters 18 to 28) I have used the Slavonic version present in CB and in the version of the *14ishop14 princeps* – first printed Apostolos in Church Slavonic (Târgoviște, 1547). Both witnesses belong to the fourth redaction of the Slavonic Apostolos. All textual examples are cited in accordance with the orthography of the *editio princeps*. For the analysis of the Epistle of James, instead, besides the two above-mentioned sources, a collated edition of the Epistle has been used.³ On this occasion it has been possible to collate the Romanian material not only against the Slavonic text of the fourth redaction but also, when needed, against that of the first and the second redactions. The textual examples cited from the Epistle of James follow the standardized orthography employed by Cleminson in his personal collated edition of the Epistle. As far as the few excerpts from 1 Corinthians and Galatians are concerned, only one Slavonic source has been used – the already mentioned *editio princeps* issued in 1547. Additionally, Merk’s critical edition of the New Testament in Greek and Latin has been consulted, when necessary, alongside Luther’s 1545 edition of the New Testament in German for the passages from the Corinthians and Galatians.

Aims and Methodology

My first step was that of collecting the needed material in a digitized format (pdf files provided by the Romanian Academy Library as well as pictures taken during a fieldwork residency in Bucharest in 2019). Next, with the use of Transkribus, an AI-powered text recognition and transcription tool based, I extracted the linguistic content of these sources and compiled a collated textual corpus of my primary sources. Since the Voroneț Psalter lacks the first 77 Psalms, I compiled a collated edition of only the second half of the Psalter, that is, of Psalms 77 to 151. In a

³ Material provided by Ralph Cleminson via personal correspondence.

similar fashion, of the Apostolos, I studied only those passages where all three Romanian sources (CB, CV, and AC) are available.

A collated version of the primary sources helped me identify the variant readings they present and investigate their affiliation. Additionally, a direct access to the paralleled corpus made it easier then to compare it further with other traditions of the same biblical text, primarily the Slavonic tradition. The use of Transkribus has been crucial at this stage, for it allowed me to train transcription models fitting the old Romanian materials and fine-tune these in accordance to the challenges of each handwritten or printed source. The automatic transcriptions obtained via Transkribus have then been checked manually, modified in case of transcription mistakes and changed to the point of having as clean of linguistic data as possible (for example, accentuation is ignored in the main, while word division is inserted artificially). The employment of Transkribus in dealing with rare handwritten and printed material has a high potential, and could change our approach to working with old Romanian materials. As of now, the general transcription models for old Romanian handwritten and printed materials have a Character Error Rate (CER, a measure used in Transkribus to calculate the quality of a transcription model) of about 5% (Burlacu and Rabus 2021). With such CER one in twenty characters is mis-transcribed. In the long run, using Transkribus would allow us to access in an efficient manner the linguistic content of the earliest linguistic witnesses of old Romanian and render it accessible to the broader scholarly community.

The linguistic data, therefore, were collected via a diplomatic transcription of the primary sources instead of following the rules set by the *interpretative phonetic transcription*. I explain below the reasons for doing so, with an overview of the current approach to reproducing old Romanian texts produced originally with the Cyrillic script. The first consideration is terminological. The word **transcription**, in textual criticism, means the action of transcribing or copying a piece of text from one repository to another. This can be, for example, the action of transcribing few pages of a manuscript, being it done now or five hundred years ago. Within the action of transcribing there is the action of transcribing by **transliteration**, where a text A is once more copied into a text B, but this time with the use of another alphabet. In case of old Romanian

texts, transliterating would define the action of transposing a text originally written with Cyrillic characters into a text with Latin letters.

In articles about critical editions of old Romanian texts or the introductions to these, the expression ‘transcrierea interpretativă fonetică’, that is, *interpretative phonetic transcription* is often used.⁴ By this is meant the action of transliterating with Latin letters a piece of text written originally with Cyrillic letters and ‘interpreting’ the text in question in accordance with what we know about the phonetic development of Romanian language throughout the centuries and in accordance to the current orthographic rules of Romanian.

The solution of the *interpretative phonetic transcription* was first suggested by Russo (1912), and received further theoretical consideration in the 1960s (Mareş 2015: 112-17). In the years when many aspects of modern Romanian orthography were still being discussed and decided, in fact, the topic of reproducing old Romanian texts written with Cyrillic letters was at the centre of Romanian scholarship. The habit at the end of the nineteenth century was that of providing an old Romanian text either in transcription with Cyrillic letters (see for example Gaster’s *Chrestomathy* of 1891) or both with transcription and diplomatic transliteration with Latin letters (as for example Sbiera’s work on the Voroneţ Codex). Nonetheless, the idea of rendering the original text with Latin letters soon made its way into Romanian scholarship. After Russo’s *Critica Textelor și Tehnica Edițiilor*, in the 1960s, further editorial principles for critical editions of old Romanian books were defined. First, in 1962 the *Principles of transcription of Romanian texts from the 16th to the 18th centuries* (M. Avram and Dimitrescu) were published. Additionally, scholars such as Andrei Avram and Diomid Strungaru published various articles addressing the issue of interpreting certain Cyrillic letters whose phonetic value varies within and across the texts (A. Avram 1964a, 1964b, 1964c, 1964d, 1964e; Strungaru 1961b, 1961a, 1962). Based on this, scholars were required to: a) either provide a transliterated version of the text taken under analysis, if the publication of a facsimile was not possible; b) or publish the facsimile copy of the text alongside an *interpretative phonetic transcription* of the original.

⁴ Not to be confused, of course, with the International Phonetic Alphabet.

Amongst the various reasons given for an interpretative phonetic transcription was the accessibility of the text to a wider group of readers; to which was added the argument that the editor/scholar's work is that of conducting a study upon the text rather than doing a mere photographer's work on the primary source.

Realistically the principles of 1962, which many scholars disagreed with, were far too flexible and indeed impracticable, especially when it came to transliteration (it required both Latin and Cyrillic letters). Thereafter, each critical edition would define its own transcribing principles, based on the editorial possibilities available as well as on the peculiarities of the text in question. Once more, a comprehensive and all-encompassing scientific and editorial solution was lacking. However, it became clearer toward the end of the twentieth century that, while Romanian scholars would prefer an *interpretative phonetic transcription*, foreign scholars would rather advocate for the maintenance of the Cyrillic script or indeed for a faithful transliteration. Such was the nature of the dispute between Gheție and Kramer in the 1990s (Gheție 1994; Kramer 1995).

My approach has been to collect and present the textual examples in accordance with the diplomatic transcription principles. I have, therefore, rendered faithfully the original texts, maintaining their distribution of superscripts, while intervening in word-separation when faced with *scriptio continua*. I have decided not to use hyphens in word separation, as it is done in modern Romanian, however, I tended to separate the postponed reflexive particle from the verb, both in Church Slavonic and in Romanian. When it comes to accentuation and punctuation, I have decided not to consider these in my current study (which is mainly philological rather than orthographical). What led me to opt for the solution of transcriptio was: a) the availability of an automated transcription tool (Transkribus), which could be trained to work with old Romanian material; b) working with sources representing different linguistic traits from within Romanian lands. This last point has been particularly significant. While most of the critical editions of sixteenth century texts focus on the tradition of one text or a group of texts closely related (for example, Toma's work on Coresi's Psalters in Romanian 1976), my intention is to work across different sources of the same biblical text. Applying the *interpretative phonetic transcription* method in this instance could lead to misrepresentation and therefore misunderstanding the primary

further the early witnesses to Romanian script as a whole, its orthographic rules, and development throughout the centuries.

Chapter 1: The Romanian Lands and Book Production up to the Sixteenth Century

1. Introduction

Sixteenth-century Romanian literature has the peculiarity of combining in one time-frame various characteristics which in other European areas generally developed over a longer period. The oldest surviving textual witnesses in old Romanian⁵ come from the sixteenth century, giving the impression that over the span of a few decades original and translated Romanian texts all started to be written, copied, and printed at once. The vast majority of this material is religious and is not original, that is, it has been translated. In relation to these texts, one of the major questions in Romanian studies concerns the textual sources from which the first religious books were rendered into Romanian. To answer such a question, it is essential to investigate the different aspects involved in the translation process these books went through: the historical moment of their appearance, the geographical distances they have or might have travelled, their relationship to the sacred languages, their usage and distribution among the region's social classes, their textual tradition and literary legacy. While most of the above-listed issues will form the central issues of investigation in this chapter, the question on textual tradition will be addressed more extensively in the subsequent three chapters, using the study of the Psalter and Apostolos texts as representative cases of the early developments of Romanian language and literature.

This chapter aims at providing a historical background and an introduction to the cultural dynamics of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which led to the initial use of Romanian as a written language. I shall first touch upon the state and church establishments of medieval Romania, then give a brief overview of the development of cultural centres within its territory linked to the Orthodox Church, and finally offer a more extensive study of the printing activity in Romanian and Church Slavonic in the sixteenth century.

⁵ Modern scholarly literature writes about 'old Romanian' for materials before 1780 and 'modern Romanian' from the end of the eighteenth century on. I shall normally use the expression old Romanian when referring to some of its linguistic aspects. Otherwise, because my analysis focuses mainly on the sixteenth century, I shall use the general term Romanian, referring to the language as witnessed by its earliest literary sources.

1.1. Biblical Language: between Church Slavonic and Romanian

The first translation of biblical books into Romanian is linked organically to the medieval culture and literature of these lands, in a period which Cartoian defined as ‘the Romanian soul embedded in the Slavonic language’ (Panaitescu et al. 1971). This fragmentary process started with some self-standing books, such as the Psalter, the Four Gospels Book (Tetraevangelion), the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles (the Apostolos), which were circulating in the three Romanian principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania in the sixteenth century, and which all seem to have been translated from a Slavonic original (Panaitescu 1965: 112-63). The Psalter and New Testament manuscripts which survived the passing of time, usually written on paper in semiuncial, were not used for display but rather for educational purposes and private prayer as well as during liturgical functions (Moldovanu 2009: 115-20), and probably copied in monastic scriptoria, if not directly by the beneficiaries themselves. Parallel to the practice of handwriting, during the second half of the sixteenth century, the printed text sees a sharp rise in published editions, which amplifies the efforts of the written tradition and to a certain extent influences its future course (the availability of the printed material gains it a certain level of textual authority and standardization over the handwritten texts).

Another aspect to take into initial consideration is that the biblical material we work with most probably does not represent the first original translations of the fifteenth-sixteenth century, but had undergone one or more revision processes, different for each biblical book, against different collating sources over time. In this light, the attempt to reproduce an affiliation scheme linking the surviving books leads also to a natural opening into understanding what kind of material was circulating more generally in those regions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in Romanian as well as in Church Slavonic for those inhabitants adhering to the Christian Orthodox Church. Additionally, considering the religious and political dynamics of the sixteenth century, the arrival of Protestantism and Humanism in Transylvania, it is also essential to consider the circulation of religious materials in Greek, Latin, as well as Hungarian, German, Polish, Ruthenian, and Czech.

With the printing of the Bible in its entirety in Romanian (1688) and an increasing availability of biblical books both in Romanian and foreign languages, a change in liturgical practices took place in the Romanian Orthodox Church as well, where the Romanian language was slowly taking the place of Church Slavonic (Moldovanu 2009: 103-15). Indeed, the timescale of the translation of the Bible could be divided distinctly into two periods – before and after the second half of the seventeenth century. It is in the second of these periods that the Orthodox Church of Wallachia and Moldavia experiences an anti-Calvinist wave and starts actively promoting the use of Romanian as liturgical language. Metropolitan Varlaam of Moldavia in 1645 issues a pamphlet against the Calvinist Church, *Răspuns înpotriva catihismului calvinesc* (Response against the Calvinist Catechism), and is one of the foremost supporters of Romanian to be accepted as church language. Two other important clergymen then follow, Metropolitan Dosoftei and Antim Ivireanul. Alongside the cultural revival promoted by the Orthodox Church, a group of laymen became more and more interested in exploring and learning about recent Western Renaissance thought and ideas and making them available in their own homeland. They were led by Șerban Cantacuzino, who also initiated the printing of the Bucharest Bible (1688). Consequently, the publishing of the Bible comes at a point when the Orthodox Church is willing to accept and support such publication, and there exist the right intellectual input through which the project can be accomplished. Understanding the reason behind the appearance of biblical books in Romanian in the period before this, however, is not easy, and over the course of the last century scholars have been advancing various hypotheses. Overall, the first translations of biblical books are seen as the result of an internal factor, i.e., to supply the Orthodox Church with something it needed because of ever-growing illiteracy in Church Slavonic, or the outcome of the influence of an external religious element, be it Bogomil, Hussite, Catholic, Lutheran, or Calvinist (Drăgulescu 2006: 55-58). Once more, identifying the sources used for translating these religious books seems essential to understanding more about the cultural milieu in which they appeared, and vice-versa.

2. State and Church in the Period Leading to the Sixteenth Century

What is today referred to as Romania and the Republic of Moldova used to be three distinct states in the sixteenth century – the Voivodeships of Wallachia and Moldavia and Transylvania, which in 1570 acquires the status of principality, part of the Eastern Hungarian Kingdom. In order to have a better understanding of the book production and circulation across these territories, it is essential to present a brief historical introduction to the political and religious dynamics defining these lands between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries, that is, between their foundation up to the time of circulation of the first textual sources of the Psalter and Apostolos texts in old Romanian.

2.1. *The Voivodeships of Wallachia and Moldavia*

A good summary of the historical profile of these two regions is given by Daniel Ursprung in the recent *Handbuch zur Geschichte Südeuropas* (Jens Schmitt et al. 2021: 273):

Erste Phasen der Konsolidierung und aufblühender Hofkultur in beiden Fürstentümern, im Falle der Walachei unter Mircea dem Alten (1386–1418), in der Moldau unter Alexander ‘dem Guten’ (1400 –1432) und Stefan ‘dem Großen’ (1457–1504), fielen in die Zeit des definitiven Untergangs der meisten christlichen Reiche, Fürstentümer und Adelherrschaften Südosteuropas. Während die orthodox-altbalkanische Welt daher in ihrer bisherigen Form verschwand und unter osmanischer Herrschaft in Teilbereichen sehr rasch, zum Teil auch erst allmählich den neuen Begebenheiten weichen musste, entstanden in der Walachei und der Moldau zwei ‘neubalkanische’ Herrschaftsgebilde, die erst jetzt in größerem Umfang balkan-orthodoxe Herrschafts-, Verwaltungs- und Kirchen-Institutionen adaptierten und sie mit Elementen ungarischer Herrschaftsorganisation und politischen Organisationsformen reiternomadischer Herkunft des eurasischen Steppengürtels verschmolzen.⁶

The appearance of the two states, that of Wallachia and Moldavia, presents many shared traits, although the path leading to their establishment differs. Both states emerge in the fourteenth century (first Wallachia around 1330s under the guidance of Basarab, and then Moldavia in the

⁶ The first phases of consolidation and flourishing of court culture in both principalities – in the case of Wallachia under Mircea the Old (1386-1418), in Moldavia under Alexander 'the Good' (1400 -1432) and Stefan 'the Great' (1457-1504) – coincided with the definitive decline of most of the Christian empires, principalities, and noble dominions of southeastern Europe. While the Orthodox Balkan world disappeared in its previous form and under the Ottoman rule, new circumstances has arisen, very quickly in some areas and gradually in others. As a result, two 'new Balkan' dominions emerged: Wallachia and Moldavia. Only at this point did they adopt the Balkan Orthodox ruling, administrative, and ecclesiastical institutional system and merged it with elements of the Hungarian ruling and political organisation, which had its origin in the equestrian nomadic system of the peoples from the Eurasian steppe belt (my translation).

second half of the same century under the leadership of noblemen from Maramureş, Dragoş and then Bogdan), and assume features resembling medieval feudal states. Additionally, both states appear at a time when there is a power vacuum in the respective geographical areas (Mongols to the East, and Hungarians to the West), and eventually establish a local church institution and manage to have it recognised by the authorities of Constantinople. Nonetheless, while the Voivodeship of Basarab is the result of uniting under his sole rulership the various local, minor political identities (knezats) in the struggle against the Hungarians, the establishment of the Moldavian Voivodeship is linked to the various conflicts led by Louis I of Anjou against the Tatars in the East and his initiative to appoint a nobleman from Maramureş to build a first feudal reality in the area for a better control over it (Alzati 1982: 135-136; 183-184). This led to a separate development of the noble class, known in Romanian historiography as boyars. Before Basarab, the Wallachian lands were divided in village communities, which had their own local regulations and were the sole possessors of the lands. Based on their responsibility of collecting tribute for the peoples of the steppe, the boyars rose as a class based on their role of tax-collectors. In Moldavia, instead, the initial presence of a military class appointed to the ruling of its lands made it so that a system similar to that of *dominium eminens* in the West developed, that is, where the voivode is in possession of all the lands of his state and the boyars are allowed to take charge of parts of it in accordance with the ruler's will.

The other element highlighted by Ursprung is the rise of Wallachia and Moldavia as Christian Orthodox states in the fifteenth century, at a time when the kingdoms surrounding them were being absorbed by the Ottoman empire. Indeed, a brief excursus on the faiths of the Bulgarian and the Serbian states shows how these two lost their power of influence in the Balkan area. Between 1363 and 1393 one after another all Bulgarian cities fall under the Ottoman occupation, with Tărnovo, capital of the Second Bulgarian Empire, falling in June 1393 and Vidin, last stronghold of the Bulgarian state, being captured in 1396 (Державин 1947: 5). The dynamics leading to the Serbian territory becoming pashalik of the Ottoman Porte are more difficult to summarise, enough it to say that after a long period of conflict (from the battle of Marica in 1371 to the fall of Smederevo in 1459), by mid-fifteenth century the lands of Serbia have been almost

completely seized by the Ottomans. The only territories left free were those of Montenegro, which resisted till 1496. This last stronghold of freedom within the Balkan area is relevant for the history of book production and circulation within the Romanian principalities because between 1493 and 1496 five books (*Octoechos* part I and II, *Psalter*, *Euchologion* and *Tetraevangelion*) are printed by the hieromonk Makarije, whose type and printing experience is then inherited by Wallachia and its first printing house in Târgoviște (Немировский 2008). The historical circumstances of the Wallachian and Moldavian Voivodeships, instead, led them to become vassal states of the Porte (1462 Wallachia under the rule of Vlad Țepeș and 1504 Moldavia after the death of Stephen the Great) but never pashaliks.

This position of relative autonomy of Wallachia and Moldavia, at least in matters of internal affairs, influenced greatly the establishment and further development of the Orthodox Church. First, the Ottomans did not have the right to build mosques within the territories of Wallachia and Moldavia, and indeed the two states have never been considered part of the *dar al-Islam* (the House of Islam or Pax Islamica) (Maxim 2011: 45-46). Second, their Churches and the financial support that the rulers of these two states provided across the Christian world (mainly to the monastic complex of Mount Athos as well as the monastery of St Catherine on Sinai and the patriarchate of Constantinople) made the position of Wallachia and Moldavia stronger within the Christian world, becoming a new point of reference. To make a step back, since the fourteenth century Wallachia and the very beginning of the fifteenth century Moldavia, both states had been under the direct authority of the patriarch of Constantinople. In 1359 a Metropolitan see is founded in Wallachia (Curtea de Argeș), while in 1401 the Metropolitan see of Suceava is installed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople for Moldavia. In 1370, another metropolitan see is founded in Wallachia with its centre in Severin, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the bishopric sees in Râmnicu Vâlcea and Buzău. In the East of the Carpathians there came into being the bishoprics of Roman and Rădăuți in the fifteenth century, and in the sixteenth century the bishopric of Huși.

To finish this section dedicated to Wallachia and Moldavia, we should also mention the trade routes which crossed this space, for they also had a significant political, social, and cultural

impact. In Wallachia we have mainly the river route along the Danube linking the north-west of the state to the south-east and the Black Sea. In addition to this, there were two more roads which connected the west to the east: Severin to Baia de Arama, Râmnic, Argeş, Câmpulung, that is to the political centre of the state, and the route linking Severin, Craiova, Slatina, Piteşti and then Târgovişte, Buzău and Brăila. The distribution of trade routes undoubtedly shaped the landscape of the Voivodeship, if not only for the distribution and collection of taxes, in addition to the contribution it had to the urban development of these lands. The trade was mainly managed by foreign merchants, first the Saxon tradesmen from Braşov, and later, under the ever-growing influence of the Ottoman power, by Ragusan merchants (Alzati 1982: 140-41). Moldavia, instead, had a main road connecting the north of the Voivodeship to the south, its main commercial cities being Belgorod (Cetatea Albă), Kilia and Brăila in the south and leading up to L'viv in the north. This was the former Mongol Road, which in the fourteenth-fifteenth century became known as the Moldavian Road. Later another road developed, which led from the Black Sea west to Braşov and then up north to Kraków. The connection to Poland, especially via the trade exchange with L'viv, was of utmost importance for the political forming of the Moldavian state in the fifteenth century. A series of documents survive witnessing the partnership between these two lands, where Moldavia had the status of a pseudo-vassal state with regards to Poland (Papacostea 2004: 3-5). Indeed, the study of trade and its history is incredibly interesting, for it gives us further insight into the social engagement of the time and the cultural exchange taking place in the region. Of the many studies currently undertaken in this field, of most interest to us are those reflecting on the connection between trade, ethnicity, identity, and literacy (Szende 2018, see chapter 4 'Language and Literacy'). For example, it is possible to note that there was a hierarchy of languages employed in these states – Latin tended to be used as lingua franca in the trade world in Transylvania for longer than in other European regions in the west (until the second half of the sixteenth century), which was probably due to its multi-ethnic and multilingual features (Hungarian, Saxon, Romanian, Slavonic), both very prominent in a relatively limited space. Additionally, language brought prestige to its users and was often vital for social ascent, be it Latin in Transylvania, or Church Slavonic and later Greek in the Wallachian and Moldavian principalities.

2.2. *The Lands of Transylvania*

The area of Transylvania, that is the lands *ultra silvam* to the east of the Carpathian range, has been within the interest of the Hungarian rulers from the first settlements of the Magyars in Central Europe in the tenth century, and continued for much longer than the sixteenth century into the twentieth century during the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The aspect which is most interesting about these lands, and which had a lasting impact on their history, is their ethnic composition and social divisions. I shall attempt, therefore, to give a brief overview of the multi-ethnic feature of Transylvania up to the sixteenth century and draw a connection with its political organization and confessional differences.

In his account of Hungary, Nicolaus Olahus (Oláh Miklós, 1493-1568), archbishop and primate of Strigonium (Esztergom), writes the following about the peoples inhabiting Transylvania:

In hac sunt, quatuor diuerso genere nationes: *Hungari, Siculi, Saxones, Valachi*: inter quos, ineptiores bello putantur Saxones. Hungari & Siculi, eadem lingua vtuntur; nisi quod Siculi quaedam peculiaria gentis suae habeant vocabula: de quibus, in fine operis latius dicemus. Saxones, dicuntur Saxonum Germaniae esse colonae, per Carolum Magnum eo traductae: quod verum esse arguit, lingua vtriusque populi consonantia. Valachi, Romanorum coloniae esse traduntur. Eiusrei argumentum est, quod multa habeant communia cum idiomate Romano [...].⁷ (Oláh 1763: 61-62)

Olahus identifies four main *nations* inhabiting the Transylvanian lands and gives to each one of them a linguistic and a brief historical connotation – vlachs or Romanians, the majority of the population dwelling in the region, indigenous, and professing Orthodoxy; Saxons, known as Sași in Romanian, a German speaking group of people that came to the region around the twelfth century and was involved mainly with the economic life of the territory; Szeklers or Székelys, a group of people associated to the Hungarians, descendants of the nomadic groups migrating westwards from Central Asia, whom had the duty of protecting the Hungarian frontier from further nomadic incursions; and Hungarians, prevalently Catholics, usually holding the position of ruling

⁷ There are four different kinds of nations: the Hungarians, the Sicilians [the Szeklers], the Saxons, and the Wallachians. The Hungarians and the Sicilians speak the same language, except that the Sicilians have certain terms peculiar to their race (of which we shall speak at length at the end of the work). The Saxons are said to be colonists of the Saxon Germania, brought over by Charlemagne, which is argued to be true, for the language of both peoples is in harmony. The Vlachs [Wallachians] are said to be colonies of the Romans. Their argument is that they have much in common with the Roman idiom [...] (my translation).

class in Transylvania. These peoples had a precise geographical and social connotation in Transylvania, with the Hungarians overseeing the main political roles in the territory, living mainly in the west of Transylvania, the Szeklers' land in the south-east of Transylvania (*Terra Siculorum*), and the Saxons' land (*Terra Saxonum*) divided into seats (*sedes*) around the city of Sibiu-Hermannstadt, the Bistrița region in the north and Burzenland or Țara Bârsei. The Romanians, instead, did not have a specific area dedicated to them, and rather represented the labour force of Transylvania, and even more so around the sixteenth century when a regime of serfdom was imposed in those lands (Alzati 1982: 24-25).

The multiplicity of the ethnical components present in Transylvania had a deep impact on its institutional organization. The main constitutional norm on which such organization was built was the *Unio Trium Nationum* of 1437, an agreement of mutual aid between the three principal nations (Hungarian nobility, Saxons, and Szeklers) against the revolts of the peasants and the Ottoman attacks. The *Unio* led to the installing of a Council and Diet, the latter becoming the main governing body of Transylvania, which in the sixteenth century would have the task to appoint the country's ruler. Besides its political significance, with the founding of the *Unio Trium Nationum* each nation became more independent in its internal affairs, an aspect of fundamental importance in the sixteenth century with the arrival of Reformation in Transylvania and its religious and theological impulses varying in accordance to the distinct linguistic and ethnical character of the peoples of the territory (Hungarians, Germans, Székelys, Wallachians)(Wien 2022: 29-43). Additionally, each group of people acquired a distinct ethno-territorial connotation. As mentioned before, the Romanians were perceived as a distinct ethnical group, which had no rights and no perspective of altering or climbing up the social scale unless a process of 'magyarization' was undertaken (such was the case of the Hunyadi family, house of Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary and Croatia between 1458-1490).

With the diffusion of the Reformation ideas throughout Western Europe, Transylvania underwent a period of great cultural change as well, influenced by the ethnic composition of its lands as well as by its political organization. From the 1540s, Transylvanian society was no longer divided between the Orthodox majority (Romanians) and the Catholic minority (Hungarians,

Szeklers and Saxons), but became open to new Christian values promoted first by the Lutheran Church and later by the Calvinist Church, and eventually the Antitrinitarian (Unitarian) movement. In particular, Luther's ideas were accepted by the Saxons, and Calvin's by the Hungarians. Already in 1524 there was a Lutheran community in Sibiu, while the intellectual activity of Johannes Honterus (1498-1549) in Braşov led the Diet of Alba Iulia of 1543 to recognise the Lutheran presence in the city and accept its religious autonomy – on this occasion Honterus wrote an *Apology* for the *Reformatio Ecclesiae Coronensis* he composed the previous year. This would lay at the basis of the of the ecclesiastic organization of the other cities embracing Lutheranism (Wittstock 1970). The following year the entire Universitas Saxonum, founded towards the end of the fifteenth century after the *Unio*, decided to adhere as one to the Lutheran Church and have it recognised as their state confession, which happened in 1550. On the other hand, the Hungarian nobility too developed an interest in the Lutheran Church, especially as means of political opposition against the Habsburg rulership and search for independence. However, the prominence of the German character of the establishment of the Lutheran Church in Transylvania dissuaded the Hungarian nobility from choosing a similar path, so that the Calvinist doctrine had a better reception among the Hungarian aristocracy. Consequently, while Sibiu became the new centre of the Lutheran Church, Cluj was the stronghold of the Calvinist Church. After some years of resistance, the Synod of Aiud in 1564 declares Calvinism as the third religion of Transylvania, giving it freedom of confession. At the same time, the Antitrinitarian movement, promoted by Ferenc Dávid and the Italian Giorgio Biandrata, also gained ground among the Hungarian noblemen, so that in the Diet of Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely) of 1572 the Unitarian Church is recognised as official in Transylvania. If the nations of the Saxons and the Hungarian noblemen adhered to one or the other (and at times to all of them in a lifetime), the Szeklers remained faithful to the Catholic Church, as did the Romanians to the Orthodox one. The political dimension of the spread of the Protestant churches, especially the Calvinist one, made it so that both the Catholic and the Orthodox churches suffered repression and persecution from mid-sixteenth century till the rulership of Stephen Báthory (István Báthory— Voivode 1571-1576, Prince of Transylvania 1576–1586, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania 1576–1586). The principal way of

implementing such repression was the annihilation of the ecclesiastic organization of these two churches, so that in 1556 the bishoprics of Oradea and Alba-Iulia were secularized and expropriated of their possessions. The case of the Orthodox Church deserves some further analysis, for its internal organization was extremely precarious, and the Calvinist clergy tried to impose in its place their own institutions.

Little is known about the early ecclesiastical organization of the Orthodox Church in Transylvania. The common agreement amongst the historians is that the Orthodox clergy did not benefit from a hierarchy or any social status which would give them prominence amongst the Romanian population. The establishing of bishoprics for this region comes at a later date, while in the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries the Orthodox community would rely on the presence of few monastic centres and occasional bishops who crossed these lands and would stop for a short period of time (Zach 1977: 49-50). A more stable ecclesiastical presence was offered by the monastery of Peri, in the north of the region, which received in 1391 from the Ecumenical Patriarch Antonios the nomination to stavropegion, and so was under the patriarch's direct authority and independent from the local bishop (in this case from Halyč). Additionally, towards the end of the fifteenth century a bishopric is established in Feleac, not far from Cluj (three bishops are known: Daniil, Marcu, and Petru), but only briefly. In the sixteenth century the location of the bishopric see changes according to the residency of the bishop, so that in the second half of the century there is a bishop Ioan in the Prislop Monastery, followed by bishop Hristofor at the Geoagiu Monastery (in 1557). In the last three decades of the sixteenth century an Orthodox see is established in Alba Iulia, which was also the capital of the principality. From here we have the names of bishops Eftimie, Hristofor II, Ghenadie, and Ioan.

While the bishop of the Orthodox community was changing location from one monastery to another, the establishment of the Calvinist church in Transylvania led to the creation of a Calvinist bishop for the Romanian people. Having the support of the Voivode John Sigismund Zápolya, the Calvinist church appoints in 1566 Gregory of Sângeorz (Szentgyörgy) as the new bishop of the Romanians. The Diet of Sibiu of the same year grants the new bishop with all the needed support to convert the Romanian population, threatening the Orthodox bishops, priests and

monks of exile in case of opposition (Alzati 1982: 105-06). Gregory was followed by two more bishops, Paul and Michael of Turdaş (1569 and 1577 respectively). In 1569 Paul of Turdaş summons a Synod which decided on the six founding points of the new Church: 1) the Holy Scripture was to be used as criterion of judgment in spiritual matters, while the ruler had the final say in human matters; 2) no Office or prayers for the Dead and to the saints was to be allowed; 3) priests would be allowed to marry a second time; 4) the priests were to preach about the fundamental teachings of the Christian faith on a weekly basis; 5) the faithful were required to attend service and listen to the teaching of the new Creed; 6) the priests would be required to celebrate in Romanian (Alzati 1982: 108-09). These guiding points for the activity of the new Calvinist church for the Romanian population are very important, for they explain, to a certain extent, the reasons leading to the printing of religious books in Romanian. Nonetheless, the impact of these new ecclesiastical institution was not lasting, for already in 1571 Stephen Báthory, catholic by confession, takes the place of John Sigismund, and immediately established the hieromonk Eftimie to guide the Romanian people. A year later, in 1572, Eftimie becomes bishop of the Orthodox Church under the appointment of the Serbian archbishops of Peč and Serbian patriarchs, Macarije (1557-1571) and Antonije (1572-1574), so that also the Orthodox ecclesiastical body of Transylvania receives a status of independence, also from the authorities of Wallachia and Moldavia.

The history of the establishment of the Wallachian and Moldavian states, as well as that of Transylvania as part of the Hungarian Kingdom help us build the political and religious picture within which the first artefacts, written and printed in Romanian, come to light. Alongside the general historical perspective, however, it is now necessary to consider the relation between the rise of the Orthodox Church and its cultural output, especially as exemplified by the history of its books.

3. Centres of Book Production

In this section I would like briefly to introduce the topic of book production in fifteenth-century Wallachia, Moldavia, and to a lesser extent Transylvania. My focus is on the copying of Slavonic manuscripts and the first Orthodox scriptoria in the Romanian lands. I then consider the earliest literary witnesses of old Romanian.

3.1. Church Slavonic and Literacy

It has already been mentioned how the Wallachian and Moldavian churches acquired recognition from the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the mid fourteenth century and at the beginning of the fifteenth century respectively. The support these two churches receive from their respective rulers means that throughout the fifteenth century there is a true flourishing of monasticism in the lands north of the Danube. Voivodes such as Basarab I, Nicolae Alexandru Basarab in Wallachia, and Alexander the Good and especially Stephen the Great in Moldavia would lay the basis of many monasteries as well as city churches, which they would support financially throughout their lives, and which would become patronaged by their families after their death. There are many documents (*documente de ctitorie*, that is, the documents of foundation) referring the kind of relationship existing between the founder of a monastery/church and the institution itself, and listing the various donations granted to them – money endowment, lands, village communities, religious objects such as books, tapestry, and liturgical artefacts. It is interesting to note how at the same time the Wallachian and the Moldavian voivodes start an active policy of financial support of other Orthodox monasteries, outside their state borders, which makes them become the new defenders of Orthodoxy at a time when many other Orthodox rulers were weakened by the Ottoman power. Another element which associates the two states is the foundation of the very first monasteries at the turn of the fifteenth century – in both cases monks leaving their homeland, either because of the Ottoman invasions or in search of a life in solitude following the hesychastic teachings, settle in the Romanian Voivodeships and give rise to new monastic communities. In the case of Wallachia, Nicodim of Tismana founds a series of monasteries in the south-west of Wallachia, in what is known as Oltenia. This monk was of Serbian origin (from the Prilep area in Macedonia) and was

tonsured in the Serbian monastery of Hilandar. He reaches the Danubian area of Drobeta Turnu-Severin and there founds two monasteries in what is today Bulgaria. At the end of 1360s he crosses the Danube into the Wallachian land and builds first the monastery of Vodița and then that of Tismana, the establishment of which is supported by the rulers of the time, that is, by Vladislav (Vlaicu) Vodă, Radu I and Dan I, and which receive donations up to the sixteenth century – there are 45 documents covering the period of 1370 till the rulership of Radu the Great (1495-1508) reporting the bequests these monasteries received from the Wallachian rulers (Păcurariu and Edroiu 2014: 392). There are many more monasteries associated with Nicodim and his disciples, which follow the rim of the Carpathian range and tend to stay within the confines of Oltenia (Topolnița, Coșuște Crivelnic, Gura Mortului and Vișina). In the case of Moldavia, it is said that three monks, Sofronie, Pimen, and Siluan, coming from either Mount Athos or the Tismana Monastery, founded at the end of the fourteenth century the Monastery of Neamț, which is entrusted together with all the existing monasteries to the care of one single hegumen, Dometian (Iorga 1925: 9-12; Tomescu 1942). During the rulership of Alexander the Great (1400-1432), Neamț Monastery becomes the main hub of artistic and cultural promotion within the Orthodox reality of the Romanian lands – many of the fifteenth century manuscripts we have access to today have been produced at the Neamț monastery, and were then donated to other surrounding monasteries.

Another important cultural contribution was made by Gregory Camblak's visit to Moldavia as envoy of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch to settle the conflict with the Moldavian ruler, Alexander the Good, over the establishment of the new metropolitan see. Camblak, born in Bulgaria before its fall into the Ottoman hands and metropolitan of Kyiv in the second decade of the fifteenth century, was an important intellectual and political figure of the Balkan and Eastern Orthodox Church. He is mostly known for his sermons and panegyrics, written in the rhetorical style of the Trnovo school (Яцимирский 1904: 466-70). His presence in Moldavia is important for two reasons: it shows the geographical relocation of the Balkan Orthodox Church (further to the North-East, away from the Ottomans) as well as the relevance of the Moldavian situation at the eyes of Constantinople at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Besides the Neamț monastery, other important monastic centres were established at the beginning of the fifteenth century – Pobrata or Probota, Moldovița, Bistrița, Humor, Horodnic (for nuns) around the area of Suceava, but also Căpřiana in the east (not far from Chișinău), just to mention a few. At the time of Stephen the Great (1457-1504) these monasteries see their possessions confirmed and enlarged, and new important monasteries are founded – most famously Putna, Voroneț, Tazlău, Dobrovăț and Pătrăuți Monasteries.

With the founding of such a high number of monasteries and urban churches (around Suceava in Moldavia and Câmpulung then Argeș and Târgoviște in Wallachia), the cultural output related to the activity of the Orthodox Church found an extremely fertile ground, with the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries becoming the timeframe within which the Slavonic feature of medieval Romanian culture reached its peak. It is assumed that initially many of the Church Slavonic manuscripts used for copying in the fifteenth century travelled to Wallachia and especially to Moldavia from Serbia, Bulgaria, Mount Athos as well as the Studion monastery in Constantinople (Brătulescu 1963: 497). This assumption is also confirmed by the fact that some manuscripts follow the orthographic rules of Serbian Church Slavonic (Resavian), while others are representatives of the Middle-Bulgarian writing norms (Tărnovo orthography). Orthography reflects also the local adaptation of these scripts to the Romanian reality during the fifteenth century, for a so-called Romanian Church Slavonic or *slavonă românească*, that is, a way of writing in Church Slavonic typical of the Romanian lands,⁸ is thought to have developed. The truth, however, is that while the religious manuscripts copied during the fifteenth century present some oscillation and conflation of the Resavian and Tărnovo norms (could and should this be considered an example of *slavonă românească*?), especially in Moldavia, towards the sixteenth century the copyists use prevalently the Tărnovo orthographical norm only (Knoll 2019: 266-69). While, however, little is known about manuscript copying in the fourteenth century in Wallachia and Moldavia (Lința 1972, identifies twenty MSS currently preserved in Romanian, of which five

⁸ Different scholars assign to the expression *slavonă românească* a different connotation, some understanding by it the language used while writing any Slavonic text within the Romanian borders, while others referring only to original texts written in Church Slavonic, and others still referring to pragmatic literature, which present linguistic influences derived from Romanian (Knoll 2019:267).

might have been copied within the Romanian lands), in the fifteenth century some scriptoria assume the task of providing all other monastic communities with liturgical and religious books.

The continuous conflicts in which Wallachia was involved throughout the fifteenth century between the Ottoman and the Hungarian powers (Jens Schmitt et al. 2021: 294-304) probably did not allow the Wallachian monasteries to continuously produce the same high number of MSS as in Moldavia. Such, at least, appears to have been the case when looking at the bibliographical information available to us today. In his catalogue of Slavonic MSS preserved at the Romanian Academy Library, Panaitescu considers twenty-six books⁹ to have been copied in Wallachia in the fifteenth century, only two of which he suggests might have been copied in the Bistrița monastery, under the patronage of the Crăiovești family in Oltenia. Moldavia, instead, provides us with a fuller picture of the monastic centres engaged in book production and their further circulation.

From its founding, Neamț Monastery became a thriving cultural centre for the Orthodox Church. First, we have already mentioned how at the beginning of the fifteenth century the presence of the patriarchal envoy, Gregory Camblak, strengthened the connection between Moldavia and Constantinople and to a certain extent the Bulgarian lands (Camblak was Bulgarian by birth). During his time in Moldavia (probably 1401-1404?) many of his sermons were copied and passed on in the Slavonic religious tradition (Яцимирский 1904: 466-70). A second period of cultural flourishing was between 1424 and 1449, when Gavriil Uric worked as a scribe at the Neamț Monastery, whom Pascal identifies as the copyist of twenty-three manuscripts known to us today (Паскаль 1989), of which: four are in Saint Petersburg, six in Moscow, one in Kyiv, one in Chișinău, then in Bucharest, one in Oxford, and another one in Russia (today lost). The second half of the fifteenth century represented a period when the experience of the Neamț Monastery was employed to adorn the newly built monasteries with the necessary books, a dynamic especially prominent at the time of Stephen the Great's rulership. If we consider that any religious community would need about twenty different books in order to be able to follow the liturgical year (and more

⁹ These are MSS numbers 68, 73, 215, 238, 254, 256, 257, 270, 271, 301, 303, 304, 305, 315, 316, 320, 321, 330, 340, 341, 355, 414, 419, 421, 444, and 496. Most of them are Sborniks or Miscellaneous manuscripts, though we also have the Chronicle of Hamartolos (320, 321 and only one part in 330), a Nomocanon, and some liturgical books (Psalter, Apostolos, Liturgicon and Molitvenik).

for a monastic community) (Pelin 2007: 215), it comes as no surprise that for each new establishment of a monastic community a high number of books needed to be produced. Pelin's bibliographical study of the manuscripts copied at the time of Stephen the Great is extremely valuable in making us understand: a) the type of books being copied; b) their distribution in the fifteenth century; c) their current location. For example, of the eighty-three manuscripts identified by Pelin (parts of one manuscript are preserved in two different institutions), twenty-four are *Tetraevangelia* and twenty-nine are *Menaia*; the first group owing its high number to its material worth (seventeen are written on parchment) and therefore little use and better preservation, and the other being preserved in so many copies because each cycle of *Menaia* was composed of twelve books (one for each month, although it is possible that one monastery was not in possession of a full cycle) and could be of different types: hagiographical or liturgical; varying in content and also in structure. Besides these two types of books, the list is completed by Psalters, Apostolos books, Octoechos as well as books of the Old Testament, Miscellanea (homilies of John Chrysostom, Gregory the Theologian, John Climacus), and the Syntagma of Matthew Blastares. Today, thirty-seven of these manuscripts are stored in Romania, while the remaining can be found in Russia (Moscow and Saint Petersburg), Ukraine, Greece, Germany, Poland, USA, Austria, Hungary, Turkey (Pelin 2007). Another interesting aspect surveyed by Pelin is the final intended recipient of these books as attested by their colophons. Once more, the case of the *Tetraevangelia* serves as example. The following list indicates the place receiving the artefact and its year of copying:¹⁰ Humor – 1473; L'viv – 1477, by boyar Mihul with his brothers; Putna – 1488–1489; Voroneț – 1490, Bacău – 1491, by Alexander, son of Stephen the Great; Zographou – 1492; Hotin – 1493; Huși – 1493; Pătrăuți – 1493, by Maria-Voichița; Borzești – 1495; Moldovița – 1498; Zographou – 1502; Piatra – 1502; Metropolitan of Suceava – 1502–1503, Dragna; Hârlău – 1504; Putna – 1504–1507. In the colophons to these MSS, while there is an indication of the recipient of the manuscript, there is no information about the place where the book itself was produced. However, further study, especially if combined with the information available about the copyists and their place of activity, might help us locate better the initial provenance of these manuscripts (although

¹⁰ List taken from Pelin (2007:116).

scribes would also travel to different locations to execute their tasks, so that precise information about the place of copying might be hard to achieve).

Another important centre for book copying was the monastery of Moldovița. In his survey of the Slavonic manuscripts preserved at the Dragomirna monastery, Iufu identifies forty-four manuscripts from Moldovița. Of these, five are dated to the end of the fourteenth century, twenty-four to the fifteenth century, and eleven to the sixteenth century (Iufu 1963b). The study of the Dragomirna collection more in general would certainly cast further light upon book production and circulation in Moldavia – as of now the monastery has 167 MSS coming from the Moldovița, Voroneț, Putna, Solca, Sucevița monasteries and the bishopric of Rădăuți, and some of its manuscripts are truly unique in the history of Slavonic Studies – for example the collection of six Miscellaneous MSS, presenting hagiographical and homiletic texts, one of which refers to having been written at the Studion monastery in Constantinople – MS inv. 1813/724 (Iuffu 1966: 200-01; Mitric 2010). Of the manuscripts destined for the Moldovița monastery, three were copied in the bishopric of Rădăuți (Brătulescu 1963, numbers 33, 35 and 37; Iuffu 1966), which was another scriptorial centre.

With the founding of the Putna monastery by Stephen the Great (1466), in the second half of the fifteenth century another important scriptorium starts its activity. The monastery relied initially on the Neamț scriptorium and scribes, though it soon acquired its own local importance, especially in the field of musicology (Moisescu 1983). Like Pelin's survey of the manuscripts produced in Moldavia during the time of Stephen the Great, Székely gathers bibliographical data about the manuscripts copied at or donated to the Putna monastery between the end of the fifteenth century and in the sixteenth century. She identifies thirty-seven manuscripts (Székely 2007, 2011).

This brief overview of the production of Slavonic books during the fifteenth century in Moldavia hints at the level of circulation of religious materials across the monastic landscape of Romania. Transylvania too must have been involved in this cultural exchange, although because of the lack of political support of the Orthodox Church, it is harder to follow its activity across the centuries. Geographically, the main Orthodox communities in Transylvania follow the west side of the mountain range, with the already mentioned Peri monastery, down to the Năsăud and Feleac

areas, then the urban areas of Sibiu and Braşov, and eventually the Haţeg lands further to the south-west and the area of Banat with its centre in the Bodrog monastery. A clear study of book production, circulation, and collecting in Transylvania is yet to be made, however there are some catalogues and short articles covering the material preserved in some most important institutions in Transylvania (Iufu 1963a; Linţa 1980, 1985; Pistrui 1974, 1978). It appears that the Bodrog Monastery was one of the thriving centres for book copying, and that it had close connections with the Serbian lands. Additionally, Moldavia is once more playing a role, for many of the fifteenth and sixteenth century manuscripts found in Transylvania come from there. Most famously, Gavriil Uric copies around 1435/1436 a Tetraevangelion for Cînda Laţco, boyar of Haţeg (Iorga 1925: 13). Nonetheless, the study of Transylvania's Slavonic MSS, their provenance and circulation are topics which require further research and scholarly attention. What is perhaps important to point out is the continuous exchange of religious books and materials taking place between Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia. So how and to what extent were these scribes trained in the art of writing?

Popescu investigated to the old schooling system in the three Romanian voivodships, and identified four possible educational institutions in the later medieval and early modern periods: a) monastic schools for religious and secular pupils offering basic training in Slavonic language, calligraphy, painting and church music; b) episcopal schools attended mainly by students of noble descent; c) schools for the 'deacons' training mainly scribes; d) confessional schools, usually based around monastic communities or bishoprics, founded by the Saxon, Hungarian or Polish communities (Popescu 2017: 113-14). Of these four, probably the monastic and the schools training scribes are the ones that interest us most. It is plausible to think that to a certain extent they conflate, and that in the teaching activities of a monastery, a section was mainly focused on training scribes. These would have developed in monasteries such as Neamţ and Tismana in Moldavia and Wallachia respectively, and in the Peri monastery in Transylvania. The case of the Putna monastery is also quite interesting, for until the mid-seventeenth century it is thought that there operated a school of Greek and Church Slavonic and that it covered the same subjects as the programme of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* in the West (Bârsănescu 1968). In the sixteenth century

some attempts are made on behalf of the voivodes to establish schools closer to their own ruling centre, and so also train chancellery scribes. Some very useful studies have recently been published on the study of pragmatic documents and literacy in medieval to early modern Romania (Goina 2020; Jakó 2011). These show that: a) throughout the fifteenth century princely writing officers were laymen of high social ranking and because their position tended to be passed onto their heirs, chancellery writing was most likely a family business; b) up to the sixteenth century, monastic institutions relied on the princely chancellery in issuing legal documents ; c) the sixteenth century marks a change, for more scribes are available and religious figures are more and more involved in writing legal documents as well; d) besides internal documents being written in Church Slavonic in Moldavia and Wallachia, there are many documents in Latin, German, Hungarian, Polish, and Turkish, commissioned to foreign scribes hosted at the court. Suffice it to say that there is a growth in literacy in the religious and secular spheres, which came to draw closer in the sixteenth century. Another important centre for the Orthodox Church, especially in the sixteenth century, was the school of Șcheii Brașovului (in Transylvania), where Coresi printed most of his Slavonic and Romanian books. The close trade connections between Brașov and the Voivodeships of Wallachia and Moldavia made this school a true point of reference – some of its grammarians and teachers were invited to the Wallachian court to work permanently for the voivode or to lead diplomatic missions (Popescu 2017: 128-29), and the centre was financially supported by the two rulers.

Finally, what was the legacy of Church Slavonic manuscripts produced in Romania? First, it is essential to improve our knowledge of the books preserved in Transylvania as well as in what is usually seen as minor rural institutions across Romania and Moldova. Second, it is imperative, now that some of these manuscripts have been catalogued and are known to scholarship, to start studying them as material evidence of history, that is, now that we have a list of objects, it is time to start telling their story. Third, it would also be interesting to combine the study of manuscript production with that, for example, of pragmatic literature, and so investigate further the theme of literacy and multilingualism in southeastern Europe.

3.2. *Old Romanian and Textual Genres*

The first manuscripts written in old Romanian dated from the sixteenth century. It is plausible, however, that writing in Romanian, with Cyrillic or other letters (as witnessed by the Todorescu fragment, a Romanian source printed with Latin-Magyar letters), was practised already in the fifteenth century, although, no primary sources survive from the time. Some historical documents from the end of the fifteenth century inform us about the existence of ‘idiomate vlachico scriptus’ (Cartoian 1996: 85), which makes us assume that some form of writing in Romanian existed already at the time. Nonetheless, the first original text we have in old Romanian dates to 1521 – the letter of Neacșu from Câmpulung to Hans Benkner in Brașov warning him about the Ottomans’ crossing of the Danube and arrival in the Romanian lands. It is interesting to note how the opening and the closing of the letter, its most formulaic parts, are in Slavonic. Nonetheless, the main body of the letter is written in Romanian, and it is a clear witness to the established practice of writing in Romanian with Cyrillic letters. A greater number of pragmatic documents written in Romanian come from the end of the sixteenth century (Chivu et al. 1979), a time when the language started to be adopted in writing urban letters, especially in Moldavia (Goina 2020: 91-97).

Of the sixteenth century manuscripts in old Romanian, we have mainly preserved books with religious content. The already-mentioned Psalter and Apostolos texts introduced in the Introduction chapter, form the corpus belonging to Holy Scripture. These are the *Voroneț*, *Scheia*, and *Hurmuzaki Psalters* on the one hand, and the *Voroneț* and *Bratu Codices* on the other. Because these sources have been described in detail elsewhere, I shall not dwell on them here.

A second corpus of writings belongs to what can be described as Apocalyptic and Hagiographical literature. Its main representative is the *Sturdzan Codex*, written between 1580-1620 in Măhaciu (Transylvania). The content of the codex is divided into two parts. The first part was copied by priest Gregory in Măhaciu and presents a series of legends and other excerpts with religious content: *Legend of Sunday*, homily ‘who is a good Christian’, *Catechism*, sermon ‘Dear brothers’, *Legend of Saint Friday*, fragment from a conspiracy, *Legend of Avram*, fragment of

Liturgy, sermon 'The Lord said'. The second part was probably copied before 1580 and is a second series of legends (often called Apocalyptic): *Legend of Saint Sisinnius, The Descent of the Virgin Mary into Hell, Apocalypse of Saint Paul, Thoughts in the Hour of Death, Prayer for the extraction of the Devil*. The most exhaustive study of the textual tradition of this textual source is provided by Chivu in 'Localizarea și filiația textelor din Codicele Sturdzan' (1982). Alongside the *Sturdzan Codex*, other codices are often mentioned, which, although belonging to the seventeenth century (the dating is still uncertain for some of them), are considered to belong to the textual tradition of the sixteenth century, the time where the texts found in the manuscripts in question are believed to have been composed. These codices are the *Todorescu Codex*, the *Martian Codex*, the *Manuscript from Ieud* and the *Martian Catechism* (Gheție 1975: 211-14) (Gheție 1975: 309-27). In addition to these, from the same period come some manuscripts which belong to popular, moralizing literature, namely translations of the *Fiore di virtù* (Roman-Moraru 1982).

Another type of texts translated in the second half of the sixteenth century had legal content. In particular, from the north of Moldavia, we have the *Glosses* to the *Syntagma* of Matthew Blasteres and the *Pravila* (Nomocanon) composed by Lucaci at the Putna monastery (Gheție 1975: 242-47).

The translation of canonical, popular, or moralizing as well as legal books is, therefore, contemporaneous, or at least their copying is. This points to a certain interest in having access to both what constitutes the basis of the Christian teachings (New Testament and the Psalms) as well as to the wider interpretative literature and folk stories developed around the scriptural canon, also in terms of the Christian law. It is interesting to note that in printing only the first category of books is promoted, while popular literature is replaced by the teachings and homilies of the Church Fathers and by the commentaries to the Holy Scripture. In fact, if we were to present schematically the books printed in Romanian in the second half of the sixteenth century, we would find the following:

Title of the Book	Year of printing	Place
[Catechism]	[1544]	[Sibiu]
Bilingual Evangelion	[1551/1553]	[Sibiu]
Catechism	[1560]	[Braşov]
Tetraevangelion	[1561]	Braşov
Apostolos	[1567/1568]	[Braşov]
Gospel Homiliary	[1568]	[Braşov]
Liturgicon	[1570]	Braşov
Psalter	1570	Braşov
Bilingual Psalter	1577	[Braşov]
Bilingual Psalter	[1588]	[Braşov]
Nomocanon	1570-1580	
Gospel Homiliary	1581	Braşov
Palea – Old Testament	1582	Orăştie

The history of printing in the Romanian lands, both in Romanian and in Church Slavonic will be discussed more in detail in section four of this chapter. Nonetheless, it is clear that the printed books relied on an already existing tradition of translated books in Romanian, which brings us to investigate the initial reasons prompting such translations. In this respect, it is important to consider the cultural context, the period of elaboration and the geographical provenance of these texts. Much ink has been spilled in answering these questions and many hypotheses have been advanced. In terms of dating, since the earliest written witnesses to the Psalter text in old Romanian come from the beginning of the sixteenth century (Hurzumaki Psalter) and since the other sources have all been proved to be copies of earlier texts (Gheţie 1982c, each chapter is dedicated to a particular religious book or textual source, and investigates in detail their tradition), it is safe to say that some translating activity started in the fifteenth century already. It would be difficult to posit an earlier period, since, as will be proved later, the translation of both the Psalter and the Apostolos text in Romanian is based on a particular redaction in Church Slavonic, which started to circulate on a wider scale among the Slavic Orthodox world in the fourteenth century only; and it is only towards the end of this century that this Slavonic version of the Psalter and the Apostolos also reached the Romanian lands. Later this redaction enjoyed a wide circulation among the Romanians, since Deacon Coresi used it for printing the texts in Church Slavonic.

What may lead to further knowledge about the cultural context that promoted the translation of the Scripture into Romanian, is the Romanian language as characterized by its various dialectal features. Here again, different hypotheses have been advanced. From the beginning of the twentieth century, thanks to Nicolae Iorga and then Ion Candrea, Alexandru Rosetti, and Petre Panaitescu, Romanian scholars accepted the argument that the first translations appeared in the Maramureş area and from there spread to Moldova, Wallachia and Transylvania, where, in Coresi's printed editions, they lost the feature of rhotacism. In the eighties, however, Ion Gheţie together with Alexandru Mareş advanced the idea of the Banat-Hunedoara area as the cradle of the first Romanian translations (for most of the texts) (Gheţie 1975, 1982c). Following this, it means that originally the texts were not rhotacized, and only when they were copied in the Northern areas of Moldova and Transylvania was the element of rhotacism introduced. In the case of the Psalter text, some lexical features point to the fact that the translation circulated widely and then was modified in the Moldovan region. From here, arguably, it moved down to south-east Transylvania and after additional modifications was printed by Coresi in the second half of the sixteenth century (Gheţie 1982b: 179-81). If the question of the source which Coresi used in his printing is ignored for the time being, the hypothesis advanced by Gheţie and Mareş finds additional support if the geographical location of Orthodox monasteries at the time taken into account, as discussed in the previous section. Important monastic centres developed in Caraş-Severin, Gorj, Argeş (Câmplung), Dâmboviţa counties of Wallachia, in Hunedoara, Arad, Cluj and Maramureş counties nearby and of Transylvania, and in the North, in the Neamţ and Suceava regions of Moldova. These started appearing from the end of the fourteenth century, and developed mainly during the fifteenth century (Vodiţa, Tismana, Cozia, Prislop, Feleac, Bistriţa of Vâlcea, Neamţ, Putna Monasteries among others). In Transylvania as well there were some important Orthodox monasteries in Maramureş (Peri), yet because the Orthodox Church was not supported by the ruling class of the principality, its development in terms of property was very reduced in size, and so was its impact in terms of culture. For example, a Tetraevangelion survives from c.1404-05, allegedly written by St Nicodemus of Tismana at the Prislop Monastery, or a Liturgicon from 1481 and another Tetraevangelion from 1488 both copied at the Feleac Monastery in Cluj,

but otherwise written evidence in Church Slavonic from the fifteenth century is scanty. In general, the Orthodox reality in Transylvania is usually limited to the local sphere of villages and to the Romanian population inhabiting them. As Nicolae Iorga wrote, the history of the Romanian Transylvania is ‘o istorie de sate și de preoți’, i.e., *a history of villages and priests*. This is also visible from the fact that until the time of Stephen Báthory there was no established metropolitan see in the principality. If we accept, therefore, that the circulation of Slavonic books went from south-western Wallachia to northern Moldova and the other way round, that is, travelling between the main monastic centres, the Romanian books may have circulated in a similar way, which fits the hypothesis that religious texts were first translated in Banat-Hunedoara from where they were transmitted to the other regions. Once more, bearing in mind that the books in question are the Psalter, Apostolos, and Gospel texts, used extensively by the Orthodox Church in its services, and that in terms of content the Romanian versions follow closely the Slavonic tradition, it seems likely that they were first translated into old Romanian in an Orthodox context.

Nonetheless, even if Transylvania did not have important Orthodox centres, in the sixteenth century, through the intensive printing activity in development there, it definitely became a point of reference for the Orthodox Church of both Wallachia and Moldova. All the printed editions of the sixteenth century surviving to the present time were issued by Deacon Coresi, who was the only typographer printing continuously both old Romanian and Church Slavonic books. By following the story of his printing activity, it soon becomes clear, however, why it is difficult to place the appearance of the first religious books in old Romanian within one particular cultural movement.

4. The Sixteenth Century and the Printed Book

I present here an in-depth study of sixteenth century printing activity in Wallachia and Transylvania. This is a concrete example where old Romanian and Church Slavonic are brought together, as they are used in parallel by the same typographers and in the same printing houses. The study of printing further provides historical evidence of the cultural landscape of the Romanian lands in a period of radical political and religious changes.

The Cyrillic printing tradition, and especially its origin, particularly reveal how dynamic and vast the cultural exchange was within the area of the three Romanian voivodeships, the Balkan area, and more broadly between southeastern and western Europe. Needless to say, because the printing press made book production easier and greater in number, their distribution was wider, which facilitated cultural interchange between these areas in the sixteenth century. Additionally, a language advantage shared by the Polish, Serbian, Bulgarian, Wallachian, Moldavian, and Ukrainian territories was the use of Church Slavonic for religious purposes, especially within the Christian Orthodox tradition. In this context the Romanian territories present a unique case for study. First, the appearance of Cyrillic printing in Wallachia (Târgoviște), which was third after the printing centres of Kraków with Sweipolt Fiol, and Cetinje with hieromonk Makarije, raises questions about the interaction between these three printing centres on the one hand, and the conditions that permitted its foundation on the other. Second, with the passing of time, the printing of Cyrillic books moved to Transylvania, in particular to Braşov, Sibiu, and later Alba-Iulia and Sebeş. Because of the strong bond between this region and Hungary, the printing of Cyrillic books might have been expected to diminish in favour of books related to the Western tradition, yet this was not the case. The way it developed took a peculiar path, that of employing Cyrillic letters both for Romanian and Church Slavonic languages. The availability of printed books made it such that throughout the sixteenth century the use of Romanian for religious purposes increased, and that there was more access to Church Slavonic materials within the three Romanian principalities.

The approach used in this chapter is that of looking mainly at the books' colophons, when available, in order to gather as much precise information as possible about the books, and to follow the secondary literature involved in studying watermarks, paper production, and trade in the Romanian territories. This information is then organised in order to reinterpret the cultural context in which the printing houses of Wallachia and Transylvania worked. Particular attention is given to the religious, political, and cultural interactions witnessed by the publishing activity in these regions, which is, thus, used as a tool for understanding further the social milieu of the Romanian lands in the sixteenth century. It should be noted that the information found in the colophons is not always worthy of trust. Such is the instance of the colophon of the *Palia of Orăştie*, that is, of

foreword to the first Old Testament texts (Genesis and Exodus) printed in Romanian. Here it is stated that the text was translated from Church Slavonic which in its turn is to be linked directly to the Hebrew tradition via an intermediary translation into Greek. Linguistically, however, it appears that the source text was not Slavonic but rather Hungarian and Latin, to be traced back to Gáspár Heltai 1551 edition of the Pentateuch and a sixteenth century version of the Vulgate . The information provided by the colophons, therefore, will be contextualised in accordance to the secondary literature addressing the topic.

4.1. The First Wallachian Printing House: Hieromonk Macarie (1508-1512)

The activity of hieromonk Macarie lasted four years only, during which this printer managed to publish three different books: a *Služebnik* or *Liturgicon* in 1508, an *Osmoglasnik* or *Octoechos* in 1510, and a *Tetraevangelion* or the *Four Gospels* in 1512 (Nemirovskij 1996, numbers 9, 10, 11). By analysing their colophons, it is possible to discover that these books were printed under the patronage of the Wallachian voivodes. Thus, the *Liturgicon* was produced under Mihnea the Wicked (1508-1509), the *Octoechos* under Vlad V the Young (1510-1512), and the *Gospels* under Neagoe V Basarab (1512-1521). Nonetheless, another important figure for the printing activity in Târgoviște was Radu IV the Great (1495-1508), who instigated the setting up of the typographical centre and provided a location for it. His reign is remembered for his ability to keep Wallachia autonomous from the Sublime Porte and the various reforms which he introduced to render the whole governmental system more centralised (Iorga 1928: 120-24). Especially, in terms of spiritual power, he tried to reform the Orthodox Church in Wallachia under the guidance of Metropolitan Niphon, former Patriarch of Constantinople (1488-1490 and 1499-1500). Patriarch Niphon, in fact, held a council with all the clergy and boyars of Wallachia in order to give new vigour to the Wallachian metropolitan see and confirm its hierarchical supremacy over the local Church. Soon the metropolitan see was moved from Ardeș to Târgoviște, which in those days was the capital of Wallachia. In this context the printing house had the duty of providing the local Orthodox Church with some of the most essential religious books to its activity, and in this way supporting the reforms promoted by Radu the Great.

Consequently, the printing activity came to be very closely associated with the temporal power of the voivodes, from whom the printers used to receive the order for publications and financial means by which to complete them (Bianu et al. 1903-1944, colophons: BRV I, no 1, 3; BRV IV, p. 165-67). For this reason, it is commonly accepted that the Wallachian printing centre was in Târgoviște, even though some scholars specified that it might have been in the Dealu Monastery, a few miles away from the capital (Panaitescu 1940: 66-67; Pascu 1921: 14-15); yet this hypothesis is not confirmed by the colophons written by Macarie (Bianu et al. 1903-1944: BRV I, no 1, 3; BRV IV, p. 165-67, see note 4). Nonetheless, considering that thirty years later another printing team worked in the same city, with the similar purpose of supplying the local Orthodox Church with religious books, it is plausible to refer the first Romanian printing centre to the city of Târgoviște, even though it is not yet possible to identify exactly its location. The overall idea is that, independently of the monastic system present in Wallachia, and, thus, of the existing scribal tradition, the typographical centres used to operate near the individual who provided them with financial means for their work, that is, the ruler.

The capital may also have been easier to provide with the necessary printing material than other cities of Wallachia. Additionally, such a centre could be kept open only under the ruler's close protection; the Ottomans, in fact, forbade any attempts at printing in all other countries of the Balkans under their domain. This is the reason why, for instance, the printing centre in Cetinje, founded by Đurađ Crnojević, had to close after 1496.

Another interesting aspect of Macarie's printing activity is the cultural exchange involved in his coming to Wallachia. First, there is the issue of his identity, still debated by many scholars. Some suggest that Macarie should be identified with the printer of Cetinje (active 1492-1496), others take a step further in time by relating him to metropolitan Macarie, who guided the Romanian Orthodox Church under Neagoe Basarab, and others conflate his identity with that of the Hilandar hegumen Makarije (1525-1533), author of the short geographical treatise on Dacia (Mioc 1963). Nemirovskij (2008: 122-25) tried to resolve this issue by comparing the prefaces and the epilogues which we have from both Makarije of Cetinje and Macarie of Târgoviște. His conclusion is that there is a strong relation between these two printers, especially in terms of the

content of the prologue to the Octoechos of 1494 and the epilogue to that of 1510. Additionally, the same iconography, representing three singing figures, is used in both printings of the Octoechos, even though the woodcuts are different; so that both for the colophons and for the engravings, it is clear that in terms of content there is a connection between the Romanian and Serbian traditions, yet the content is then adapted to the local tradition in terms of representation. A perfect example of this is the fact that the Romanian books follow the Bulgarian writing tradition after the Euthymian reforms (Tărnovo orthography) and therefore, unlike in Serbian, the use of the letters representing nasals leaps to the eye, as does also the use of diacritics.

Historically, these relations are confirmed by the fact that during Radu the Great's reign the second canonical metropolitan of Wallachia was hieromonk Maxim (1508-1521), of Serbian origin, son of Stefan Branković, related to the Crnojević family of Montenegro. Additionally, Neagoe Basarab consolidated this relationship by marrying the sister of Maxim, Milica. As summarised by Mioc (1963: 429-40, note 7), the hypothesis that Makarije was probably a member of the group leaving Montenegro for Venice after the Ottoman invasion, and his subsequent arrival in Wallachia, could be explained by the political and familial links existing between Serbia, Crna Gora and Wallachia. In terms of printing activity, this aspect is extremely important, as it gives us a wider view over the cultural exchange among these regions. As we will discover later, Serbian and Venetian books served as models for later Transylvanian books; in its turn, Macarie's 1512 Tetraevangelion influenced both the Romanian practice, for example the Four Gospels printed in Sibiu in 1546, but also other lands around it, as can be detected in the 1552 Belgrade Tetraevangelion.

4.2. Filip Moldoveanul in Sibiu; Mojsije and Dimitrije Ljubavić in Târgoviște

The reason why Macarie's printing activity was interrupted after 1512 is unknown, and we have to wait until 1544 to have another printed book within the Romanian sphere (Bianu et al. 1903-1944, nr. 4). In 1544 in Sibiu, in Transylvania, Filip Pictor, known also as Filip Moldoveanul (that is, coming from Moldavia, here spelled in the Romanian way), printed the so-called *Întrebarea creștinească*, a Romanian translation of the 1529 Lutheran Catechism, probably based

on a Hungarian original (Gheție and Mareș 1994: 59-62). Unfortunately, there are no copies of this book, but we can be certain of its existence because of the written records mentioning it in both official documents of Sibiu and private letters (Bianu et al. 1903-1944: 21-23). With the appearance of the catechism, Transylvania entered a new cultural phase.

The terms in which Transylvania experienced a cultural transformation, in fact, are those of having, by the middle of the sixteenth century, a group of people genuinely interested in the cultural development of the country, which was still within the sphere of interest of the church but went beyond the traditional boundaries of the various confessions and ethnic groups, following the general European humanist spirit of Renaissance. The fact that the catechism was printed in Romanian could be interpreted simply as a tool for propaganda among the Orthodox Romanians, yet it shows firstly the ability to accomplish such a task, that is, the intellectual and economic means for it, and secondly that there was a fervent cultural engagement with the overall intellectual atmosphere present at the time in Europe (Zach 2002). In this context the figure of Filip Pictor is very interesting. From local documents it is known that he used to be translator for the city council of Sibiu, working with both Romanian and Church Slavonic. Additionally, considering that the second book he printed was a *Tetraevangelion* in Church Slavonic (Borsa 1971: 123-24), it is reasonable to think of him as someone collaborating with different groups of people and interests. For example, from the colophon and the decorations of this book we learn that the printer was ФИЛИПЪ МОЛДОВѢНИНЪ/Filipŭ Moldovĕninŭ and that it was printed in 1546, but there is no mention of the place or the patron. However, because there are engravings with the emblems of both Sibiu (two crossed swords surmounted by a crown) and Moldavia (auroch's head with the crescent moon on the left), we can imagine that the printing was executed in Sibiu, where we know Filip Pictor had already been operating at least since 1544, and where there had been a printing centre working with Latin letters since 1528 (Rother 2002: 28-33). Demény claimed that the reason for the presence of the Moldavian emblem in the *Tetraevangelion* was to underline once more the place of birth of the printer (Demény and Demény 1986: 60-61). However, it might also be that the printer decided to add it in order to sell the book in Moldavia as well, and so indicate with it a degree of patronage of the Moldavian voivode.

Recently another book has been assigned to Filip's printing activity – the bilingual Slavonic-Romanian *Tetraevangelion* printed between [1551 and 1553] in Sibiu. Because the example which we have is incomplete, in *Bibliografia Românească Veche* it was erroneously dated to 1580 (nr. 25, p. 80) and attributed to either Coresi or Lorinț, two printers working in the second half of the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, it has been noted (Hervay 1965: 210-11) that the typeface used for the imprint is that employed by Filip for the Slavonic *Tetraevangelion* mentioned above. Additionally, further research on the paper used for the bilingual book reached the conclusion that it was exclusively of Brașov provenance, dating back to the first period in which the paper mill worked (1546-1558) (Blücher 1967; Demény and Demény 1986: 297, 299-303). Consequently, even though it is not possible to know directly from the book's colophon about the conditions in which it was printed, it is still possible to identify its antecedents by comparing it with examples of other books, and so to conclude that it was printed by Filip Pictor around [1551-1553].

These three books together give an interesting perspective on the cultural impact which the Reformation had in Transylvania. First, it allowed the local language to come into use in a written form, an aspect ignored at the time by the Orthodox Church, bound as it was to the Slavonic tradition. What is more, it introduced an element of creativity and openness, new for the Romanian context. The position was not that of cancelling what came before the Reformation but giving it a different interpretation. In this way, for example, the Romanian translation present in the four Gospels printed around [1551-53] was based on a Slavonic original, yet had been double-checked with a German version of the text (Demény and Demény 1986: 68), merging in this way the two traditions.

In parallel to the printing centre operating in Sibiu, another one in Târgoviște was working in the same period. Here, between the years 1545 and c. 1551, four books were supposedly printed:

- a *Euchologion* or *Molitvenik* by Deacon Moisije with Dimitrije Ljubavić's type;
- an *Apostolos* printed by Dimitrije Ljubavić, known in Romanian as Logofăt, thus 'the secretary', Oprea and Petre (Bianu et al. 1903-1944: 23-31, 514-516);

- a *Tetraevangelion* for the Moldavian ruler Ilie Rareș (Bianu et al. 1903-1944: 513) printed again by Dimitrije Ljubavić;
- and a *Menaion* printed in 1546 by the same typographer (Demény 1966).

Two elements are interesting in these books. First, that the first two of them appeared in two editions, one mentioning the patronage of the Wallachian voivode and the other the Moldavian one. In other words, the same book was printed twice, altering in the colophon only the name of the voivode. As a result, Mircea the Shepherd (Wallachia) and Ilie Rareș (Moldavia) supported the printing of the *Apostolos* and Petru Rareș, Ilie's predecessor, that of the *Euchologion*. This practice of changing names is particularly evident in the *Euchologion*, where it is said that Petru Rareș was son of Radu Voievod, who was, instead, the father of the Wallachian ruler Mircea the Shepherd, so that evidently in changing the names it was forgotten to modify also other information related to one or the other ruler. The same procedure was followed for the *Apostolos*, thus two versions of it were issued, one for the Wallachian ruler and the other for the Moldavian one; yet this time they are more accurate in terms of details. For instance, even though the colophon assigning the patronage of the book to Ilie Rareș is shorter than in its Wallachian parallel, there is the emblem of Moldavia, which shows also symbolically its association to that principality. The second interesting aspect is that with Deacon Moisije and Dimitrije Ljubavić once more it is possible to see the cultural exchange between the various Balkan Orthodox regions. From the fact that both the Moldavian and Wallachian churches needed the same books, we deduce that these two areas are a good market for books produced in Transylvania and in Brașov in particular (main trade hub among the three Romanian partners). What is more, Deacon Moisije and Dimitrije Logofăt were former apprentices of the famous Serbian printer Božidar Vuković, working in Venice, with whom Dimitrije was linked by family relations as well (Cazacu 1995). A further element suggesting this connection is found in the 1545 *Euchologion* where there is a monogram БѦ* (Bianu et al. 1903-1944: vol. IV, p.1, the monogram is repeated six times in the book) which recalls the printing activity of Božidar Vuković. The Venetian printer, in fact, himself used this abbreviation, and it is possible that here it was used by Dimitrije Ljubavić as a homage to his teacher.

It is interesting to see how these two centres represented the cultural dynamics of the Romanian lands around the mid-sixteenth century. Whereas in Wallachia cultural life was still very much under the control of the Church and financially supported by the ruling family only, in Transylvania the situation was more complicated and livelier. More private individuals were interested in the printing business, whether because they wished to support the cause of the Reformation or because of the economic gain behind it. Additionally, the Romanian language was seen as a central tool for teaching people to understand the Word of God, which led to the idea that translating Holy Scripture into Romanian was necessary, important, and useful, both for the traditional Orthodox society, but also for the new reformed community emerging in those years.

4.3. The Printing Activity of Coresi (1557-1583)

The next printer operating in Transylvania, Coresi, combines in almost thirty-five years of activity all the elements mentioned above, working both within the Orthodox tradition and for the new Reformed Churches. He started his printing activity by issuing a Church Slavonic *Octoechos* in 1557 under the guidance of Oprea Logofăt, who was the main printer for that edition. The appearance of such a book in Transylvania, under the patronage and financial support of the Lutheran Johannes Benkner (Bianu et al. 1903-1944: vol IV, pp. 3-4), mayor of Braşov, is very surprising. Several questions arise: what interest could Johannes Benkner have had in financing such a book? Why was a book belonging to the Orthodox tradition published in Braşov instead of Târgovişte, where such a printing set-up already existed? For whom was this book printed? Why would an Orthodox printer work for a Lutheran patron?

In order to contextualize better Coresi's printing activity and in particular the nature of his centre, it is important to try to answer these questions. First, it should be recalled that since 1546 there was a paper mill in Braşov producing local paper (Bacâru 1965) and that Benkner was its owner. There was, thus, a direct interest for him in having a printing activity in town that might use the paper which he produced. What is more, around 1557 the only printing centre in Braşov, run first by Johannes Honterus (1535-1549) and then by Valentin Wagner, stopped its activity because of the death of the latter, so that part of the paper had no other use locally beside the administrative

services linked with the city council. Second, in the neighbourhood of Braşov, in Şcheii Braşovului, there was one of the most important Orthodox communities of Transylvania, based around St Nicholas' Monastery, which was under the direct protection of Wallachia. Consequently, between Şcheii Braşovului and Wallachia there was a continuous exchange of state and church emissaries (Panaitescu 1965: 137-39). Moreover, to what could be seen mainly as religious and cultural contacts, a commercial connection should be added as well. As Radu Manolescu pointed out (1965: 73-81), there was an intense trade exchange between Braşov and both Wallachia and Moldavia, where Braşov offered for sale more sophisticated and finished products, while Wallachia and Moldavia provided the town with raw materials. Consequently, a Church Slavonic printed book in Braşov could have been first used by St Nicholas' monastery, and additionally could have easily circulated in Wallachia and Moldavia thanks to the various exchange routes existing among them. Nonetheless, in order to complete the picture, we should turn our attention to Deacon Coresi himself. Dan Simonescu argued that the reason why Coresi moved to Braşov was that an agreement existed between Pătraşcu the Good, voivode of Wallachia, and the Şcheii community, that is, because of the already mentioned ties existing between the Wallachian rulers and the clergy of Saint Nicholas' Monastery in Şcheii Braşovului (Binder and Huttmann 1971). Additionally, it should be reminded that generally the Ottomans viewed negatively such cultural enterprises as printing, so that continuing his activity in Târgovişte might have proved increasingly difficult (Hervay 1965: 205; 1972: 28). Another hypothesis is that of a personal interest which Coresi might have followed in settling in Braşov. After the publication, under Oprea's responsibility, of the *Octoechos*, Coresi went back in 1558 to Târgovişte to work on a *Festal Triodion* with ten other collaborators (Gheţie and Mareş 1994: 152), and then around 1559 he returned to Braşov, where he published Luther's *Catechism* in Romanian. In Braşov he had other collaborators (Tudor, Mănăila, Mihail for translations and others), however, from then onwards he was the main master of the press and the only one who worked without interruption on Romanian and Church Slavonic books for more than three decades. Consequently, it may be that after the publication of the *Octoechos*, Benkner offered him an opportunity to work on his own, providing

him with financial and material assistance – paper, for example –, on which then to base his printing activity in Braşov and from which both of them could profit.

In order to develop further the hypothesis advanced above and give more substance to the context in which Coresi worked, it is worth investigating the religious aspect involved in his activity. As has already been mentioned, Johannes Benkner was a Lutheran Saxon and, in fact, the second book which Coresi printed under his patronage was a translation of Luther's 1529 *Catechism*. The decision to release such a book was taken, in fact, by Benkner and some other Lutherans, who wanted to impart the reformed values that were spreading in Western Europe. Additionally, up to 1565, the year of Benkner's death, of the other four books Coresi printed three were in Romanian (*Tetraevangelion* in 1561, *Nomocanon* [1560-62], *Apostolos* [1566-1567]), which confirms once more the general spirit in which the Protestants used to act, that is, teaching about Christianity in the language used locally by the vast majority of population, distancing themselves from the traditional Latin, Greek, Hebrew and to a certain extent Church Slavonic. Nonetheless, all these three editions were part of the Eastern Orthodox tradition and, according to Mareş's survey, based on and translated from Church Slavonic originals (1994: 67-101). Consequently, these books could have been of use to both Romanians willing to convert to Lutheranism, and Orthodox Romanians who found Church Slavonic difficult to understand. What is more, another element suggesting that Coresi collaborated with the Orthodox community is that the fourth book, a Church Slavonic *Tetraevangelion* printed in 1562, which was published under the patronage of Benkner for Doamna Chiajna, widow of Mircea the Shepherd, voivode of Wallachia until 1559. It is not possible, therefore, to claim that when Coresi was working with Benkner he served the Protestant cause only, just as it is not possible to agree with Panaitescu (1965: 115-31), who argued that Coresi moved to Braşov for the Şchei community and, thus, that he worked for the Orthodox Church only. A possible solution would be to think of his activity as independent, working mainly to order, sometimes out of his own initiative and at other times for a particular patron. Based on this aspect of his activity, we can subdivide it into five distinct periods.

4.3.1. Braşov and Târgovişte (1556-1558)

As has already been pointed out, in Braşov Coresi worked with Oprea Logofăt and they printed an *Octoechos* under the patronage of Johannes Benkner (12 June 1556-14 January 1557). The typeface used for this edition is that of Dimitrije Ljubavić, which later was to be associated with the publications issued in Braşov but intended for Wallachia (Hervay 1965: 210-11). An interesting element can be found in the colophon (Bianu et al. 1903-1944: vol I, p.4), where Benkner is mentioned as the sponsor, followed by the list of the three rulers reigning in Transylvania (Isabella Jagiellon and her son John Sigismund Zápolya), in Wallachia (Pătraşcu the Good), and in Moldavia (Alexandru Lăpuşneanu). The fact that these rulers are mentioned in the colophon suggests that the book was potentially destined for all these three territories. The *Festal Triodion*, printed in Târgovişte the following year (1558), was published under the patronage of Pătraşcu the Good, but completed under his successor Mircea the Shepherd (Bianu et al. 1903-1944: vol IV, p.167). Here again the typeface employed is that of Dimitrie Ljubavić and the language is Church Slavonic.

4.3.2. Collaboration with Benkner (Braşov 1559-1565)

The originality of this period of Coresi's activity is that he started printing in Romanian with a new typeface (Hervay 1965: 210-11). The association with Benkner was of double nature. On the one hand it supported the Lutheran propaganda amongst the Romanians, especially after the 1556 Diet which the Reformed Church held in Transylvania (Gheţie and Mareş 1994: 38), and on the other hand it gave a Romanian version of some of the most fundamental Christian writings to all the faithful. This last aspect can be seen from the example of the *Nomocanon*, a book belonging to the Eastern Orthodox tradition, still printed under the patronage of a Lutheran. To this period should also be related the [1566-1567] *Apostolos* (Bianu et al. 1903-1944; Blücher 1967: 421-26; Гыцева 2003: nr. 40, p. 362), published not directly under Benkner's patronage, but that of someone from his family (Gheţie and Mareş 1994: 91-92).

4.3.3. Braşov (1566-70)

This period is peculiar because there is no constant patron for whom Coresi printed books, and it looks as if he worked on his own initiative, publishing for each kind of book two versions, one in Romanian and the other in Church Slavonic. This applies to the [1568-70] Psalters and the [1568/1569] and [1570] *Liturgicon*. It is interesting to note here that in both the Church Slavonic *Psalter* and the *Liturgicon* the БѠ* acronym mentioned above is inscribed in one of the books' frontispieces (Bianu et al. 1903-1944: vol I, nrs 33 and 34; Gheţie and Mareş 1994: 176-85). Its presence in the *Liturgicon* could be explained by the fact that the edition issued by Coresi is a faithful copy of Božidar Vuković's 1519 *Liturgicon* (Gheţie and Mareş 1994: 178). Additionally, because the *Psalter* was printed around the same period and under similar conditions, thus on Coresi's own initiative, their association in terms of ornaments is to be allowed.

Nonetheless, during this period Coresi worked also on specific projects. In 1569 he printed a *Festal Menaion* during the period of Alexandru II Mircea and the Wallachian bishop Evtimie (Cleminson 2000: nr 25, p. 21), laying the basis for a further collaboration with Wallachia during the 1570s. About a year earlier he published a *Kyriakodromion*¹¹ for the Calvinist Miklós Forró (Gheţie and Mareş 1994: 102), which contained 59 sermons written in the Calvinist spirit, and ended with a Romanian *Prayer Book* (МОЛИТВЕНИК РОУМЪНЕСК), which combined some traditional Orthodox prayers with those of 1559 Gáspár Heltai's *Agenda* (Gheţie and Mareş 1994: 118-19). Because the paper is of Cluj production, it was suggested that the publication was not issued in Braşov but either in Cluj, Alba Iulia, Aiud, or Abrud. Additionally, in 1570 Coresi printed another Romanian *Psalter* for Pavel Tordaşi, the second Romanian Calvinist bishop of Transylvania succeeding Gregory of Sângeorz. The *Psalter*, together with the [1570] *Liturgicon*, was one of the books the bishop wanted the Calvinist priests to buy during the Council of Cluj organized for January 1571, as he wrote to the mayor of Bâstriţa on 9th December (Pall 1960).

In general, the third period of Coresi's activity was partially linked with the Calvinist propaganda amongst the Romanians, also because at that point John Sigismund, ruler of the

¹¹ The *Kyriakodrómion* is a collection of homilies read in the Orthodox Church on Sundays and festivities, known in Romanian as *Cazanie*, *Tâlcul evangheliilor* or *Evanghelie cu învăţături*.

Transylvanian principality, was a Calvinist himself; partially it kept its link with Wallachia; but most of all it started to have an independent character. The fact that Coresi, for instance, decided to print a *Psalter* and a *Liturgicon* both in Church Slavonic and Romanian meant that he had good prospects of selling them, which might be the reason why for none of these editions the place of publication is mentioned. In this way, in fact, a book was not related to a specific place and thus government and could be sold everywhere.

4.3.4. Collaboration with Alexandru II Mircea (1571-1577)

After John Sigismund Zápolya's death in 1571, Stephen Báthory, promoted a partial confessional tolerance in Transylvania: 'episcopii și preoții să urmeze datina care a fost și sub domnitorul răposat'(Gheție and Mareș 1994: 39).¹² In this way, in 1574 the Orthodox hierarchy resettled in Transylvania and a new period of collaboration started between Coresi and Wallachia. For the following six years, in fact, Deacon Coresi printed only in Church Slavonic, with only one bilingual Church Slavonic-Romanian *Psalter* falling outside this category. In particular, he published three *Psalters* and a complete *Octoechos* divided in two volumes. Not only were they in Church Slavonic, but they were all printed on behalf of the Wallachian voivode Alexandru II Mircea and his son Mihnea. An interesting feature of these books' colophons is that once more there is no mention of their place of publication, which led some scholars to further speculate about Coresi having his printing activity moving from one place to another. At the beginning of the past century some scholars suggested that they were printed in Târgoviște. Nonetheless, given that the books were printed on Brașov paper only and that the printer had been working in that city for some years already, Gheție claimed more than once that the printer must have remained in Transylvania during the 1570s.

4.3.5. The last period of Coresi's printing activity (1578-1583)

In the last period of his life Coresi was not only engaged in different collaborations, but he also worked in different cities around Transylvania. In 1578 he printed a *Lenten Triodion* under the patronage of the Wallachian voivode Alexandru II Mircea and his son Mihnea (Bianu et al. 1903-

¹² 'the bishops and priests should follow the tradition they followed under the deceased ruler' (my translation).

1944: nr 21, pp. 58-59). A year later he published a *Tetraevangelion* in collaboration with the monk Mănăilă, which perhaps was an act of rivalry on Coresi's part against another printer working at that time, deacon Lorinț. In 1580 he worked for the Transylvanian Orthodox bishop, Ghenadie, for whom he printed a *Festal Menaion*, claiming that the compilation of the book, the so-called Sbornik in Church Slavonic, was made on Božidar's model (Bianu et al. 1903-1944: nr 28, pp. 81-85). The colophon of this book is very detailed and it says that the book was printed in Sas-Sebeș –a locality nearby Sibiu, where the paper was produced –, additionally it presents the arms of the Báthory family. However, a year later Coresi returned to work for the mayor of Brașov, Lukas Hirscher. He printed in Romanian a *Gospel Homiliary*, called *Evanghelie cu învățătură*, which was associated with the Protestant spirit (Gheție and Mareș 1994: 112), even though it follows the Orthodox tradition in its contents (and in particular Ivan Feodorovič's Gospel Homiliary printed in 1569). His last book was a Church Slavonic *Tetraevangelion*, printed in 1583 in collaboration with Mănăilă for the Wallachian ruler Petru Cercel.

Coresi's last period of activity was very diverse and dynamic. He was working in the two main cities of Transylvania, Sibiu and Brașov, he never interrupted his collaboration with the Wallachian voivodes, and he had the means to publish something on his own initiative, if needed. It is hard to summarize his activity and the immense contribution which he made to the Romanian literary tradition and culture, but some features should be highlighted.

The way in which Coresi used to create collaborations shows that there already existed a structure of cultural and economic exchanges into which he then inserted his activity. As a consequence, his printing enterprise consolidated this system, giving it more opportunities for interaction within itself and more reasons for growth. In particular, he gave the means to both the Lutheran and the Calvinist Churches to continue with their propaganda and he continued working for the Orthodox Church, so that it could maintain its tradition in Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia. Additionally, through him these traditions came to be linked to each other, opening the way to a closer cooperation. In this way, for example, it was possible to publish two *Gospel Homiliaries* (1569, 1581), which were addressed to the Orthodox Church, yet were issued in Romanian under the influence of the Reformed Churches. What is more, because Coresi's interest

in the Romanian language was very prominent, he provided the Orthodox people with useful tools for learning the content of the Scripture both in their native language and in Church Slavonic, besides acquiring literacy in both language. This is the case with the 1577 bilingual Psalter, called *Psalter with answers* (translation), because it alternates one line in Church Slavonic with one in Romanian. This distribution of the text was probably thought to facilitate the learning of Church Slavonic, with the aim of eventually understanding the Scriptural readings prescribed by the church (Munteanu 2013). With Coresi, therefore, there is both innovation and tradition. He experimented with the material which he had available and made it possible for the Romanian language to arise as such, without a particular affiliation to a specific religious tradition.

4.4. Minor Printing Activities in Transylvania: Călin, Lorinț, Lavrentie and Șerban

In 1565, when Coresi was still working with Benkner, Călin printed another Church Slavonic *Tetraevangelion* in Brașov. Probably he was one of Coresi's collaborators, who at a certain point had been asked by Benkner to publish another edition of Coresi's [1561-1562] *Tetraevangelion*. It may be that the copies of the previous edition were not enough, so that Benkner found himself in need of more. However, it is interesting to notice that around 1565 Coresi was not engaged with another project, it is, therefore, surprising that it was not he who printed the *Tetraevangelion*. In the absence of additional information, it is not possible to make further conclusions; it would be enough to note that there were other printers able to work with Cyrillic letters, and therefore that there was room for competition.

Deacon Lorinț was an example of this. Probably he learned printing from Coresi, and in 1567 he published his first book independently. It was a small *Octoechos*, printed on behalf of the mayor of Brașov. An interesting decoration of the book is the emblem of Wallachia (Гyceва 2003: nr 39, pp.327-329), which suggests that the edition was expected to be sold in the Wallachian voievodship or to the Șchei community. However, the period in which Lorinț was most active, overlapping with Coresi's activity, was under Christopher Báthory's reign in Transylvania (1576-1581). He printed, most likely, in Alba Iulia, publishing a *Psalter* between [1577-1580], another

Octoechos in 1578 and a *Tetraevangelion* the following year. Very little is known about Lorinț's personality and his relationship with Christopher Báthory.

For many years deacon Lorinț was confused with another printer, the hieromonk Lavrentie (Iorga 1930: 3), from whom we have a *Tetraevangelion* published in 1582 in Bucharest and probably another one printed in Brașov sometime after that year (Гyceва 2003: nrs 86 and 88, pp. 637, 357). However, as Hervay pointed out in his table (1965: 210-11) and can be seen by comparing the facsimile folia provided by Guseva, the typefaces used by Lorinț and those used by Lavrentie are different, in particular Lavrentie's typefaces are completely different from all the others met so far. It may be that, as Coresi used to do, Lorinț used different sets of types depending on the books he issued, nonetheless the coincidence of having different types and names (Lorinț and Lavrentie) is a strong argument for considering them as two distinct figures.

The last Transylvanian printer working by the end of the sixteenth century was Șerban, son of Coresi. His first book was printed in 1582 in Orăștie, near Sibiu. On behalf of the Calvinist Ferenc Geszti, successor of Miklós Forró, Șerban published in Romanian the first two books of the Pentateuch, Genesis and Exodus (Bianu et al. 1903-1944:nr 30, pp. 93-98). The books were requested by bishop Mihai Tordași and their publication was supported by the Báthory family as well (Гyceва 2003: nr 84, p. 594). Șerban, therefore, completely inherited his father's printing activity, both in terms of press, typefaces, and collaborations. After the publication of the so-called *Palea*, he released two more issued of the *Liturgicon* (Гyceва 2003: nrs 103 and 106) and probably a *Psalter*, ending his activity around [1588].

With the exception of Șerban's publication in Romanian of the first two books of the Pentateuch, all the other editions mentioned in this section are in Church Slavonic and belong to the Orthodox tradition, which gives another reason to consider Coresi's activity extraordinary. He is, in fact, the only printer who engaged equally with printing both in Romanian and Church Slavonic with Cyrillic letters. Nonetheless, the relevant aspect of these minor printings is that they appeared in parallel with Coresi's activity and that they bear witness to the further development of the typographical tradition within the Romanian lands.

4.5. Purpose of the Books Printed in Romanian

I have dedicated some space to the appearance of the first manuscripts in old Romanian (see section 3.2.), and I have mainly focused on their genre as well as the initial place where they could have originated. I have intentionally left untouched the question of the cultural reasons prompting such initial traditions. Why was the text of the Psalms, Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles the first translated? And if it is the result of Protestant propaganda, why has the Orthodox-Slavonic tradition been taken as a model? No clear answer has been given to these questions. In my attempt at providing an answer I will analyse two aspects: first, the printing tradition of the Psalter text as a case study of the simultaneous circulation of Romanian and Slavonic texts; second, the texts of the colophons to the books printed in Romanian. Although in both cases the material taken into account derives from the printed rather than the manuscript tradition, I believe that understanding the first can cast further light onto the second.

4.5.1. Psalters Printed in Church Slavonic and Romanian

The sequence in which the Psalter was published during Coresi's printing activity is the following: [1568-1570] a Church Slavonic edition, 1570 an old Romanian edition, followed by three Church Slavonic publications in [1572-1573], [1576] and 1577 (the first and last one of these followed by Appendices), two bilingual issues of 1577 and [1588], followed by a last Church Slavonic edition of [1580]. It is impressive that out of around twenty-five books published by Coresi, eight were editions of the Psalter, five of them in Church Slavonic. The striking element is that the typographer was working in Braşov, stronghold of the Lutheran Church after 1540, as well as in Sebeş close to Cluj, a centre of primary importance for the development of the Calvinist Church in Transylvania, and yet he was publishing in Church Slavonic evidently for the Orthodox Church. In relation to his activity in the city of Braşov, Coresi's activity has been often divided into different periods, depending on the patronage he was offered. The first period is considered Lutheran, since Johannes Benkner, involved with the city council of Braşov between 1518 and 1565, invited Deacon Coresi to settle in the city and supported his printing activity from 1559 till his death. Benkner adhered to and supported the Lutheran cause, so that under his patronage books

like the Catechism, the Four Gospels Book, and the Nomocanon were printed in Romanian, with the intention to lead to concrete actions that could fulfil the directions given by Johannes Honterus in his *Constitutio Scholae Coronensis* and the later *Reformatio Ecclesiae Coronensis* on religious education and church matters. With the appointment of the first Calvinist bishop to the Orthodox people in 1566 the kind of books printed in Romanian changed in line with the Calvinist position. In [1566-1567] an *Apostolos* was printed, then a *Kyriakodrómion*. The latter book was created under evident Calvinist influence, condemning the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the veneration of saints and the practice of prayers for the dead, among other things. The edition ends with a Prayer Book which has the following sections: Introduction, Prayers, Baptism, Marriage, Holy Communion, Liturgy, Evening Prayer, Morning Prayer, Songs from the Psalter and the Gospel Book, Funerary Service, which were partially translated from Gáspár Heltai's *Agenda*. After this period and the death of the main supporter of the Calvinist cause in Transylvania, Prince János Sigismund Szalopyai, a final Orthodox period started for the Wallachian typographer. The Romanian Psalter of 1570, therefore, was issued under the influence of the Calvinist Church, while the bilingual edition of 1577 was printed during the period of restoration of the Orthodox Church in Transylvania under the guidance of the Catholic Prince Stephen Báthory. However, even though in some respects it is possible to divide Coresi's printing activity in three main periods, Lutheran, Calvinist and Orthodox, it is also true that in the printing of books in Church Slavonic never ceased, which, beside an economic gain Johannes Benkner might have aimed for, were not of interest to the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches. In many ways, the subdivision of Coresi's printing activity into periods simplifies his work too much, and excludes an element of independence the typographer had, especially after 1570. For example, the issue of 1570 is linked to the figure of Pavel Tordași, the second Calvinist bishop to the Orthodox community of Transylvania. Together with the Psalter, he also supported the printing of a Romanian Liturgicon, aiming at substituting Romanian for Church Slavonic in liturgical services. Nonetheless, both these books were preceded by a Church Slavonic version of them, printed between 1568 and 1570, exactly as happened with the issuing of the Romanian Four Gospels Book in 1561, followed the year after by a Slavonic version. It appears then that, even though Coresi used to work for different sponsors, he never

favoured one religious cause above others, and always continued to work for the other Orthodox communities inside and outside the Transylvanian principality.

Succinctly, it could be said that:

- undoubtedly the Lutheran and the Calvinist Churches played a role in promoting the introduction of Romanian as official language of the church, and this is reflected in the book production they supported. However, while some of these books clearly had a Protestant content, others were in line with the Orthodox practice, for example the Psalter or the Liturgicon;
- working towards the establishment of Romanian as liturgical language did not mean also providing new translations of religious books, nor of those books that were already translated, for example the Apostolos and the Tetraevangelion;
- the later bilingual editions were no longer part of a Protestant programme, but potentially continued a practice common to the three principalities of having bilingual Psalter texts, as for example the Voroneţ and the Ciobanu Psalters, used most probably for teaching Church Slavonic.

To conclude this section, the Romanian tradition of the Psalter text started in the fifteenth century, when the Slavonic Psalter was circulating within these lands and a strong monastic reality started to develop. It is possible that it was at this time that the early translation of the text into old Romanian appeared, yet the only witnesses come from the sixteenth century mainly from the second half of the century. After the 1550s the Romanian Psalter text is reproduced in manuscript and printed format in Wallachia, Moldova, and Transylvania for the benefit of the Orthodox population. In the meantime, however, the reproduction of the Church Slavonic version never ceased, as Coresi's printing activity witnesses.

4.5.2. Books Issued in Romanian and their Colophons

The texts of the colophons to the editions of books printed in Romanian offer us a very interesting range of information about the *how* and the *why* of their production, besides, in some instances, the traditional information about *who* printed the text, *when* and *where* (three aspects I will not consider in depth here).

The colophon to the 1570 issue of the Psalter in old Romanian presents the ‘traditional’ reasons offered for having any biblical text in a vernacular language – the importance of understanding the Word of God. This reason is usually supported by the citing of two passages from the New Testament. The first being taken from the Gospel of Matthew 24:15, ‘whoever reads, let him understand’, the other is cited from the First Epistle of the Corinthians 14:19: ‘yet in the church I would rather speak five words with my understanding, that I may teach others also, than ten thousand words in a tongue’ (KJV).

Psalter, Coresi, 1570, Braşov, f. 204 ^v	Translation in English
<p>КЪ МИЛА ЛЪ ДОУМНЕЗЕЪ ЕЪ ДЪА КОНЬ КВРЕСИ · ДЪКА ВЪЗЪЮ КЪ МАИ ТОАТЕ ЛИМБИЛЕ ЛЪ КЪ ВЪНТЪЛЪ ЛЪ ДОУМНЕЗЕЪ П ЛИМБА ЛЪ · НЪМАИ НОИ РЪМЪННН НАВЪМЪ ШИ ХЪ ЗИСЕ · МАДЕН · ФЪ · ЧИНЕ ЧЕТЪЩЕ СЪ ПЦЕЛЪГЪ · ШИ ПАВЕЛЬ ДЪЛЪ ПЪКЪ СЪРНЕ ЛА КОРИОЪ · РЪЕ · КЪ ПТРЪ ВЕСЪРЕКЪ МАИ ВЪЗЪТЪСЪ ЧИНЪИ КЪВННТЕ КЪ ПЦЕЛЕСОУЛЪ МЪЕЪ СЪ ГРЪЕСЪ КА ШИ АЛАЦИ СЪ ПЪВЪЦЪ ДЕКЪТЪ ОУНТЪНЪРЕКЪ ДЕ КУВИН ТЕ НЕ ПЦЕЛЕСЕ ПНТРАЛЪТЕ ЛИМБИ :</p>	<p><i>With God's mercy, I deacon Coresi saw that all nations have the Word of God in their language, only us Romanians do not. And Christ said in Matthew 99: 'may the one who reads understand'; and the apostle Paul wrote to the Corinthians 145: 'in church it is better to say five words that I understand and teach the others, rather a thousand ill-understood words in other languages.</i></p>

The colophon to the bilingual edition of 1577, however, adds to the text of the above passage some more information, which already leads us to interesting considerations.

Psalter (bilingual), Coresi, 1577, [Braşov], f. 315 ^v	Translation in English
<p>:~ ДЕРЕПТЬ ДЪБА ФРА ЦИИ МЪЕН ПРЕОУЦИЛОРЪ · СЪРИСЪ ВАМЪ ДЪБ СТЕ ПЪЗЛТИРИ КЪ ЪВЪТЪ · ДЪМЪ СКОСЪ ДЕ П ПЪЗЛТИРЪ СЪЗЪВЪСКЪ ПРЕ ЛЪВЪ РЪМЪНЪ СЪКЪ · СЪ ВЪ ФЪЕ ДЕ ПЦЕЛЕРЪТЪРЪ · ШИ ГРЪ МЪТИЧИЛОРЪ · ШИ ВЪ РОГЪ КА ФРА ЦИИ МЪЕН СЪ ЧЕТИЦИ ШИ ВИНЕ СЪ СОКОТИЦИ КЪ ВЕЦИ ВЕ ДЕ ИН]ШИВЪ КЪ Е КЪ АДЪВЪРЪ · В ЛЪТО ЗЪЕ</p>	<p><i>For this reason, my brother priests, I wrote for you this Psalter with answer, which I rendered from a Serbian Psalter in the Romanian language; may it be of understanding to you, and to the scribes. And I ask you, as my brothers, to read [it] and to meditate well [upon it], for you will see that it is true. In the year 7085 (1577)</i></p>

In this colophon deacon Coresi addresses directly the group of readers the Psalter was printed for – priests and scribes. He explains that the *Psalter with answer*, that is, the bilingual texts of the Psalms where every single versicle in Church Slavonic is followed by its Romanian counterpart, is meant to help understanding (сЪ ВЪ ФЪЕ ДЕ ПЦЕЛЕРЪТЪРЪ) the text better. He also mentions the source and target languages, that is, Serbian and Romanian, where by Serbian is meant Church Slavonic, as explained later in chapter four. It is, therefore, to be assumed that this

particular type of bilingual Psalter was designed to be used for teaching, that is, for learning either Church Slavonic or Romanian as well as the biblical content of the Psalms in either language.

If we take a step back and look at the colophon to the *Tetraevangelion* printed in 1561, here again we find the desire to provide the reader with a better understanding of the Scripture as the guiding reason behind the printing of the book.

Tetraevangelion, Coresi, [1561], Braşov, f. 254 ^r	Translation in English
<p>КѢ ВРѢРѢ ТАТѢЛЪШИ ШИ КѢ АЖѢТОРЮОЛЬ ФІЮЛЪШИ ШИ КОУ СФРЪШИТЪЛЪ ДѢЛЪЛЪШИ СФНТЬ · Ѡ ЗИЛЕЛЕ МЗРІЕИ ЛЪ ІАНЪШЪ КРАИ · ЕЪ ЖЪПАНОУЪ ХАНЪШЪ БѢГНЕРЪ ДЕ Ѡ БРАШОВЪ АМЪ АВѢТЬ ЖЕЛАНІЕ ПЕФТРОУ СФНТЕЛЕ КЪРЦИ КРЕЦИНЕЦИ ТЕТРОЕУА ШИ АМЪ СКРИСЪ АУБЕТЕ СФЕНТЕ КЪРЦИ ДЕ ФВЪЦѢТЪРЪ · СЪ ФІЕ ПОПИЛЪ РЪМѢНЕЦИ СЪ АЦЕЛЪБГЪ · КЪМЪ ГРѢЩЕ ШИ СФТЪЛЪ ПАВЕЛЬ АПЪЛЪ КЪТЪРЪ КОРИНТЪНИ ДІІ КАПЕТЕ Ѡ СФЪНТА БЕБЪРЕКЪ МАИ ВИНЕ Е А ГРѢИ ЧИНЧИ КЪВНИТЕ КЪ АЦЕЛЪСЪ ДЕКЪТЪ ІІ МІЕ ДЕ КЪВНИТЕ НЕ АЦЕЛЪСЕ Ѡ ЛІВЪ СТИНЪ · ДЪПЪ АУБА ВЪ РЪГЪМЪ ТОЦИ СФЕНЦИ ПЪРИНЦИ ОАРЕ ВЛАДИЧИ ОАРЕ ЕПІКЪПИ ОАРЕ ПОПЫ · Ѡ КЪРОРА МЪМЪ ВА ВЕНИ АУБЕТЕ КЪРЦИ КРЕЦИНЕЦИ КЪМЪ МАНИТЕ СЪ ЧЕТЕБСКЪ НЕЧЕТИНЪ СЪ НЪ ЖЪДЕЧЕ НЕ СЪ СЪДЪКАСКЪ ·</p>	<p><i>With the will of the Father and with the help of the Son and with the eternity of the Holy Spirit, in the days of the ruler Ianaş (John Sigismund), I, Johann Benkner, of Braşov had wished for the holy Christian books, the Tetraevangelion, and wrote these holy books of teaching; that it might be [useful] to the Romanian priests to understand. As also says Saint Paul to the Corinthians, chapter 14: ‘in the holy church is better to say five words with understanding rather than ten thousand unknown words in foreign languages.’ We therefore ask you all, blessed fathers or church leaders or bishops or priests in whose hands this Christian book will come, to first read [it], and not to judge nor to denounce without having read it.</i></p>

Similar to the example of the 1577 Psalter, in the colophon to the 1561 *Tetraevangelion* the targeted reading/acquiring class is mentioned: the Romanian Orthodox clergy, from its lower to its higher ranks. Additionally, the reason why the printing of such a (Christian) book is useful is that it might help the Romanian priests to understand (сз ацелъбгъ) God’s Word.

When it comes to the printing of the *Gospel Homiliary* of [1568] and 1582 (Cazania I and II), a step further is taken, for in these two instances it is clear that the books are meant to be used as a learning tool for priests on how to interpret and therefore teach the Scripture.

<i>Gospel Homiliary and Euchologion</i> , Coresi, [1568], [Braşov], f. 247 ^{r,v}	Translation in English
<p>[...] ДЕРЕПЪТЪ АУБА АМЪ СКРІИ КОУ АМЪ ПЪТЪЛЪТЪ · ТРЕТЕЕВАНГЕЛОУЪ · ШИ ПРЪЮУЪ · РЪМЪНЪЩЕ · ДЪПЪ АУБА ДЪКА АМЪ ВЪЗЪТЬ ЖЕЛАНІЕА А МЪЛЪЦЪ ПРЪЩИ · ДЕ ТЪЛЪКОУЪ ЕУЛІИЛЪ КОУ СЪ ПОДЪТЪ ШИ ЕИ ПРОПОВЕДЪШИ · ШИ А СПЪНЕ ВАМЕНИЛЪ ФВЪЦѢТЪРЪ</p>	<p><i>[...] and so I printed as I could the Tetraevangelion and the Apostolos in Romanian. Then I noticed the desire of many priests to have the Interpretation of the Gospels, so that they may preach, and give</i></p>

<p>ДѢПѢ ЧЕТИТЛОУѢ ЕВЪЛІЕН , АША АМЪ АФЛАТЬ АУБѢСТЕ ТЪЛКЪДРЕ АЛЕ ЕВЪНІАЛЪ · ПРЕ ДЪМІННЕЧІ ПРЭСПРЕ АНЪ · СКОДСЕ ДЕ П СЕРИПТЪРА ПРОРОЧИАЛЪ ШИ АПЛИАЛЪ · ШИ ЧЕЛЪ СФНЦИ ПЪРИНЦИ ШИ ДЪКАМЪ ЧЕТИТЬ , БИНЕ АМЪ ИСПИТИТЬ ШИ СОКОТИТЬ ШИ АМЪ АФЛАТЬ КЪ ТОАТЕ ТЪЛКЪДЕСКЪ · А ДВЕЕРЪВЪЖ ШИ АНТЪРЕСКЪ КОУ СЕРИПЪРА СФНТЪ , ШИ МІЕ ТАРЕ ПЛЪКОУРЪЖ [ШИ АМЪ СЕРИСЪ КЪ ТИПАРІО ВОДА ФРАЦИАЛЪ] – in manuscript РОУМЪНИАЛЪ · СЪ ФІЕ ПРЕ АБЪЦЪТЪРЪЖ · ШИ ВЪ РОГЪ КА ФРАЦІИ МІЕН · СЪ ЧЕТИЦИ ШИ БИНЕ СЪ СОКОТИЦИ , КЪ ВЕЦИ ВЕДЪ ВОИ АНШИ ВЪЖ , КОУ КЪ Е МЪРЪЖРИТАРІО ШИ КОМОДЪРЪЖ А СКЪНЪСЪ [...]] ТОАТЕ ЧЕ ТРЕБЪАЩЕ А ЦИ КРЕЦИНИАЛЪ ЧЕ ФРАЦІИ МІЕН · ОУНДЕ ЧАРТЪ АЧАСТЪ КА РТЕ ПРЕ ВЪДЪНИЧІ ЕПИСКОПИ · ПОПИ КЪЛЪГЪЖРИ ШИ ПРЕ ДЪНИ · НЪ ЧАРТЪ ПРЕ ЧЕИ БЪНИ · ЧЕ ПРЕ РЪИ БЪНИ СЪ НЪ А ПРЕ СИНЕ · ШИ КАРІИ ВЪ ФИ КЪВИНЪЖ ЧЕРТАЦИ · ЕИ СЪ ПОКЪЖАСЪЖ ШИ СЪ ЛАСЕ РЪДЪТАТЪ ШИ СЪ АМ БЛЕ КЪ ДЕРЕПТАТЕ · АМИНЪ :</p>	<p><i>the faithful a sermon after the reading of the Gospel. Thus, I discovered these interpretations of the Gospels for the Sundays of the year, taken from the writings of the prophets and the apostles and the holy fathers. And I read [them] and considered and pondered well, and I realised that they all offer interpretations, say the truth, and are strengthened with the Scripture. And I found them good (and I wrote it with the type for you, my Romanian brothers), that it might be of teaching. And I ask you, my brothers, to read and to reflect [upon it] well, for you will see for yourselves that it is a pearl and a hidden treasure [...] all that needs to be known by the Christians of by brothers. And where this book blames the abbots, bishops, priests, monks, and rulers, it does not blame the good ones but the bad, and the good ones may not take it on themselves. May they ask for forgiveness and leave aside every evil and work in righteousness. Amen.</i></p>
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In the colophon to the *Gospel Homiliary* of [1568] Coresi first makes reference to the other two books he printed, in Romanian, relevant to this issue, that is, the *Tetraevangelion* and the *Apostolos*. Then he clearly explains that the *Gospel Homiliary* is meant to be an aid for those priests who want to preach the Gospel. He then adds that not only is it a ‘referencing’ tool, but also a book full of wisdom, which offers further insight into how to lead a Christian life. The colophon to the *Gospel Homiliary* of 1581 sounds similar, although on this occasion we are offered further information about its provenance, and, therefore, the authority of the book.

Gospel Homiliary, Coresi, 1581, Braşov, ff. 2 ^r -3 ^v	Translation in English
<p>КАРТЪ ЧЕ СЕ КЪМЪ ЕВЪЛІЕ КЪ АБЪЦЪТЪРЪЖ ДЕ П ТЪСПАТЪРЪ ЕВЪЛИСТІЕ АЛЪСЪЖ · ШИ ДЕ П МЪЛАТЕ ДОУМЕЗЕЕШИ СЕРИПТЪРИ · ШИ ДА ТЪ ВЕСЪВЪРИЧЕН А СЕ ЧЕТИ · АШИЖЕРЕ ШИ ЛА ДЪ МНЕЗЕЕЦИЛЕ ПРАЗНИЧЕ · ШИ ЛА АЛЕ АЛТЪ СФНЦИ · СПРЕ АБЪЦЪТЪРЪЖ КРЕЦИНИАЛЪ ВА МЕНИ , КЪТЪРЪ ДЕРЕПТАРЪ · СОУФЛЕТЪЛЪДИ ШИ ТРОУПЪЛЪДИ · ШИ КЪ АЖОУТОРЮАЛЪ АЪ ДОУМНЕЗЕЪ ТИПЪЖ РИТЪ АЧАСТЪ СФНТЪЖ КАРТЕ ЕВЪЛІЕ КОУ АБЪЦЪТЪРЪЖ [...]] ДЕРЕПЪТЪ АУБЪА ЕЪ ЖОУПЪНЪЛЪ ХРЪЖИЛЬ ЛОУКАЧИ</p>	<p><i>The book which is called Gospel Homiliary, chosen for all of the four Gospels and from many godly writings, and given to the church to be read, for the feasts of both God and other saints; that it might be of teaching to the Christian people, [that it might bring] truth to the soul and the body. And with the help of God this holy Gospel with Homilies was printed [...]</i> <i>Therefore I, mayor Lukas Hirscher, judge</i></p>

жоуде|цоуль де ꙗ ѳетатѣ брашовоульди · | ши а тотъ
 цинѣтѣль брзсеи · фодрте кѣ инимѣ фіер|винте ши
 кѣ жалє апринсѣ де моульте желѣна ла аѳа|стѣ
 лоуминатѣ карте · дерептѣ аѳѣа ꙗ моульте пѣ|рци
 амь ꙗтребатѣ шамь кѣѣтатѣ пѣзнѣ w амь афлатѣ |
 ꙗ цара роумѣнѣскѣ · ла архімитрополитѣль
 серафи|мь ꙗ ѳетате ꙗ трѣгввице · ѳарѣ допѣ ѳа w
 амь w|бличитѣ, ѳарѣ еѣ фодрте мамь боукѣратѣ ·
 ши кѣ моу|лтѣ роугѣчюне ѳершѣтѣамь дела сѣнѣїа
 лоуи, ши | ми w аѣ тремисѣ · ѳарѣ еѣ дѣкаw вѣзѣю
 ѳа ꙗвѣцѣтѣѣрѣ доамнезеаскѣ ши коу фолвсѣ
 сѣфлетульди ши | троупѣлди ѳасте ꙗтрѣ а · ѳарѣ
 инима мѣ се ꙗдѣлѣи | ши фѣарте сѣ сѣзѣтѣни кѣ
 лоуминатѣль митрополи|тѣль мареле генадіє · де ꙗ
 тотъ цинѣтѣль ардѣлѣлди | ши амь ѳрѣзїєи · ши
 коу моульте клиросѣ де преѣци | ѳеле трѣвѣа аѳастѣ
 карте · ꙗскѣ ши кѣ тоци сѣѳѣт|ниѣїи мїєи · ши кѣ
 воа тоутѣрорѣ аѳестора · ши кѣ | воа
 митрополитѣлди марелди серафимь · нон w дѣ|демь
 лукореси діаконѣль, ѳе ера меѳерѣ ꙗвѣцатѣ
 ꙗ|траѳестѣ лоукрѣ · де w скоасе де ꙗ картѣ сѣрѣѣскѣ
 пре | лимба роумѣнѣскѣ · ꙗпреѣнѣ ши кѣ преѣїи де
 ла ве|сѣрека шкѣвилворѣ , де лѣжѣ ѳетатѣ
 брашовоулоуи · |
 аноуме попь ꙗне ши попа миѣан · дерепѣ кѣ вроумь |
 сѣ се ꙗмоульцѣскѣ ꙗ моульте пѣрци ши кипоурѣ |
 коувѣнтѣль лѣ доумнезеѣ · ши сѣ се аѣаѣгѣ спре
 ꙗвѣ|цѣтѣѣра леѣиєи крѣцинѣскѣ · деѣи дѣка вѣзѣи
 кѣ е лу|крѣ доумнезеєскѣ · ѳарѣ еѣ ноу ман кроуцан
 де ꙗ авѣ|ре ѳєми ера дѣрѣитѣ де думнезеѣ а да ла
 аѳестѣ лѣ|крѣ · ѳе деѣь лоуи ши оуѳениѣилорѣ лѣи ,
 де сѣ типѣ|рѣскѣ аѳастѣ карте еѣл

of the city of Braşov and of the entire land of Bârsa, with a burning heart and flaming pity since long had longed for this enlightening book. Thus, I asked many fathers and I searched till I found it in Wallachia by metropolitan Seraphim, in the city of Târgovişte. And so I found it and I was very pleased, and with much imploration I asked for his Holiness for it, and he sent it to me. And I saw it and the number of godly teachings, useful to the soul and the body, that is within it. And my heart soothed and searched for the advice of the wise and great metropolitan Ghenadie, of the entire land of Ardeal and Oradea, and of many priests of the clergy who needed this book, and of all my councillors, and with the will of all of these men and that of great metropolitan Seraphim, we gave this book to Coresi, who was an experienced master in this matters; so that he, together with the priests of the Şcheia church near Braşov, that is, the priests Ioan and Mihai, might render it from Serbian into Romanian. For we wanted that the Word of God might multiply in many places and ways, and that there might be an addition to the teachings of the Christian law. And I saw that it was a work wanted by God, and I did not hesitate to give to him [Coresi] what was given to me by God, and so I gave it to him and his pupils, that they might print this Gospel book with homilies. First for the glory and praise of the Holy Trinity, one God, and for the teaching of the law of the Christian people. For I thought that this [the book] might be more accessible and easier to read and to be understood by the simple folk; and I took great care in having this book printed, so that it might be easier to understand, and to read with usefulness and encouragement, especially by those who will discover it. Therefore, may you, beloved by God Christians, receive with love and good heart this book.

As opposed to the above-mentioned books, the colophon of 1581 *Gospel Homiliary* seems to be addressed to the ‘simple people’ rather than the clergy, with the intention of providing them with a book they might already know but not understand, that is, which they probably know in Church Slavonic but which they would understand better in Romanian. It should also be noted that the long prologue of the *Gospel Homiliary* has been translated from the Church Slavonic edition printed in 1569 (Гыцева 2003, nr 47), and only the second part reported here has been adapted to the information current to the Romanian edition (although part of it is paraphrasing the Slavonic source). The additional feature we find in this prologue, different from the Slavonic edition as well as from the colophons to the other issues in Romanian, is the reference to all those who acknowledged the printing of the book – representatives of the Orthodox Church in Wallachia (Seraphim) and Transylvania (Ghenadie), as well as other noblemen, equal to Lukas Hirscher. The effect sought was probably that of having the book recognised in full accordance with the Orthodox Christian teachings, even if rendered in Romanian.

Reading the colophons bearing in mind to which books they belonged and when they were composed help us understand the maturity reached by Coresi in printing in Romanian. Indeed, the colophon of the *Psalter* and the *Tetraevangelion* express the desire of supporting mainly the clergy in understanding the word of God, thus, by printing the Psalms, Gospels, and the writings of the Apostles in Romanian. The movement of support of the clergy reaches its peak with the printing of the *Gospel Homiliaries*, which aimed at providing further reading to the priests and so help them teach and preach to the faithful. The example of the *Gospel Homiliary* of 1581 seems to address a wider readership and not only the Romanian clergy. Additionally, from the colophon a degree of enthusiasm transpires from Hirscher for having eventually found this book, typical of the Orthodox tradition, by the Wallachian metropolitan. Could it be that not only was there an attempt at converting the Orthodox Romanian to the Protestant confessions, but also a true interest in learning more about the Orthodox tradition itself? The colophon of the *Gospel Homiliary* seems to suggest that this was the case.

4.6. Conclusion

The sixteenth century Cyrillic printing tradition in Wallachia and Transylvania was peculiar. Under the same writing system two languages were given space, Romanian and Church Slavonic, and with and through them two social and cultural elements developed, one linked to the Protestant tradition and the other to the Orthodox. Nonetheless, even though their aim seemed different and sometimes contrary in terms of Christian doctrine, throughout the century the result of their separate cultural activity was that of giving a great heritage of religious books to the Romanians that went beyond confessional disagreement. At a certain point, in fact, especially with deacon Coresi's printing enterprise, these two elements come to be combined, producing something new. So that it would be possible to have a Romanian version of religious books belonging to the Orthodox tradition emerge under the influence of the Protestant Church (as the *Gospel Homiliary* of 1581).

Another surprising aspect of the Wallachian and Transylvanian printing tradition is its impact on the development of the Romanian language. Coresi, in fact, used as originals for his printed editions manuscripts coming from different areas (Maramureş and Northern Transylvania, Banat-Hunedoara, Northern Moldavia), and adapted them to the Wallachian literary language in order then to publish them (Gheţie 1982c; Gheţie and Mareş 1994: 291-304). It is probably not possible to speak yet about standardisation of the Romanian language, but it cannot be doubted that with his activity and that of other printers, the linguistic elements of the various regions of Romania started to 'travel', thus, to become known and recognised.

In conclusion, while the topic leaves open many other tracks along which it is possible to continue further with this research, I would like to return to the introduction of this section. The brief historical and bibliographical survey undertaken here shows how the Cyrillic printing activity of the sixteenth century in Wallachia and Transylvania added to these regions a layer of cultural enrichment, which, overall, was in agreement with the Western development of literacy, and yet combined in itself the cultural inheritance received from the surrounding Balkan lands.

Chapter 2: The Textual Tradition of the Psalter in Romanian

1. Introduction

When studying the old biblical texts in Romanian, the question of the source text from which these were translated as well as that of the affiliation between the surviving textual witnesses comes to the fore. Alongside the necessity of studying how a certain text came into being and how it has been transmitted over time, there emerges an even more fundamental need for a suitable method of analysis of textual witnesses. Quite often, in fact, textual criticism and history of the textual tradition (as defined in Trovato et al. 2014: 65) have come to overlap in Romanian studies, leading to partial answers to the two questions. One of the main issues, in my opinion, lies in the fact that an explanation for most of the variant readings found at the collation stage is sought within the Romanian sources themselves (possible differences of interpretation, spelling, or copying), while the textual tradition of the translation's source text is only occasionally considered. This is the case with the study of the Psalter text in old Romanian. Up to this point, it could be argued that scholars such as Gheție and in particular Mareș engaged in the history of the Psalter's textual tradition, providing a *stemma codicum* of all historical witnesses, including those that disappeared, but left the problem of the source text mostly unsolved. The study of a translated text, however, cannot ignore the problem of its source text. The two questions, therefore, which will be studied in this chapter are the identification of the source text (tradition) of the Psalter in old Romanian, and the affiliation scheme which relates the sixteenth-century witnesses to the Psalter text. Additionally, this chapter seeks to explore possible approaches to textual criticism as applied to the case of the Psalter and its Romanian tradition.

It will be recalled that the method of investigation applied for studying the textual tradition of the Psalter text in Romanian has involved: a full collation of psalms 77-151 as found in the Romanian sources and in the Tomić Psalter (Джурова 1990), an accurate comparison between these and the critical editions of the Norov and Bologna Psalters (Jagić 1907; Чешко et al. 1989), and a full survey of distinguishing and idiosyncratic textual readings across eleventh to fiveteenth-century Slavonic MSS as present in many of MacRobert's articles (MacRobert 1989, 1993b, 1994,

1998a, 1998b, 2016). Where there is no indication of the source from which an example is mentioned, be it from primary or secondary literature, usually the orthography of PC is followed when citing an example in Romanian and that of the Tomić Psalter in Church Slavonic.

1.1. Hypotheses on the Source Text

Basing himself on Candrea's statement that: 'Concerning the Slavonic text which the translator of the psalms would have used [...] it must have been a close version of the Serbian Psalter of 1346 of Branko Mladenović [...]' (Candrea 1916: 112),¹³ Mareş investigates further the textual source used for the translation of the Psalter into Romanian (Mareş 1982a: 200-05). Mareş's first step is to prove that the Slavonic text present in the Slavonic-Romanian bilingual Psalters (PV, PCb, and the editions of 1577 and [1588]) was not used originally for the translation of the psalms into Romanian. He gives four examples which show a divergence between the Romanian and its parallel Slavonic readings. While these readings are not found in the Romanian bilingual texts, they can instead be found in other Slavonic sources:

- 1) ps. 47:4 ВЪ ТѦЖЕСТЕХЪ, *in burdens*, the reading found in PC1 and PC2 and in the Slavonic RIII more in general, is paralleled in Romanian by ꙗ ꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗ, *in deeds*, in PS, PC and PC1, that is, with a very different reading. This interpretation would point to a Slavonic source which either had a calque from Greek ἐν τοῖς βάρεσιν – ВЪ ВАРЬХЪ, that is, *in palaces*, which was read as ВЪ ТВАРЕХЪ, *in creations*, or the Slavonic original had directly ВЪ ТВАРЕХЪ. Both ВЪ ВАРЬХЪ and ВЪ ТВАРЕХЪ, in fact, were readings typical of the earlier Slavonic redactions of the Psalter. Only in PC2 the reading was modified to ꙗ ꙗꙗꙗꙗ, *in the burden*, according to its parallel Slavonic text, ВЪ ТѦЖЕСТЕХЪ. Although this example will be analysed later in section 3.2.1., it is interesting to note that both PC2 and PH, with ꙗ ꙗꙗꙗꙗ, *in the work/labour*, present a noun in the singular, while that is not the case in the Slavonic sources, which have a plural noun in the locative case;

¹³ 'Cât privește textul slav de care se va fi servit traducătorul psalmilor [...] trebuie să fi fost o versiune foarte apropiată de a Psaltirii sârbești dela 1346 a lui Branko Mladenović [...].'

- 2) in ps. 90:6 while the Slavonic texts present a conjunction between the two nouns ѿ срѣциѡ и бѣса полудѣнѣнааѡ, *from the encounter and the demon at midday*, in Romanian such a conjunction is missing in PV, PS, PC, PC1, PCb and PH: де тимпинаре дракѡль де амѣзѡзи, *of encounter demon at midday*. As such, the rendering in Romanian is defective and reads ungrammatical – one might expect дракѡль to be in the genitive/dative case, as it is in PV: де тѣпирарѣ дракоуѡди де амѣзѡзи си, *from the encounter of the demon at midday*. Once more, as above, the reading is modified in PC2: де тимпинѡтѡри ши де дракѡль де амѣзѡзи, *of encounters and of the demon at midday*. It is interesting to note that in PC2 ѿ срѣциѡ in the singular becomes plural *encounters*, so that a direct correction with its parallel Slavonic text is doubtful;
- 3) ps. 118:147 вариѡхѡ, *I went ahead/I anticipated*, is rendered by линеѣ апоуѡаю, *I took before/I preceded*, in PV, PS, PC, PC1, PC2, where линеѣ would stand for the Slavonic prefix прѣд, *in front*. The reading прѣвариѡхѡ is found in later manuscripts of RIII, in the Norov Psalter and becomes standard in RIV imitating morphologically the Greek verb προέφθασα. The same happens in the next verse, ps. 118:148, where it is initially rendered with вариѡтѣ and then changed to прѣвариѡтѣ in later MSS of RIII and in RIV. The Slavonic text in the bilingual Romanian sources is actually a witness to this change, for while they have вариѡхѡ in v. 147, in v. 148 the same verb presents the prefix прѣд- in прѣвариѡтѣ. Based on this, it can also be that the verb in v. 147 has линеѣ because of the influence of the verb in the following verse;
- 4) in ps. 134:12 достѡниѣ, *inheritance*, is translated with the additional preposition ‘in’: ѡ очине, *in heritage*, in PS, PC, PC1, and PC2, following the tradition of some earlier Slavonic manuscripts which have въ достѡниѣ.

To go back one step, it is important to recall that the Slavonic text present in the Romanian bilingual texts belongs mainly to RIII, known also as the Athonite Redaction. A brief comparison between the bilingual sources, the Tomić Psalter, the photographic examples provided by Guseva

(Гуцева 2003: ns. 44, 49, 55, 63, 65, 66, 71, 78) of sixteenth-century printed Psalters as well as with the Serbian Psalter printed in Cetinje in 1494 points to the fact that the sources can all be considered to be part of the Athonite Redaction. This indicates that RIII had a wide circulation in the lands north of the Danube in the sixteenth century and that it must have played a key role for the textual tradition of the Psalter in Romanian. Nonetheless, the translation of the psalms into Romanian must have happened at an earlier stage than the creation of the bilingual version (manuscript and printed). As a matter of fact, the parallel Slavonic text present in the bilingual versions has seldom been used for revising the Romanian text, and some translation errors or scribal mistakes have spread across part of the Romanian texts (pss. 17:43, 35:12, 48:18, 50:16, 104:32 in the table below in PV, PCb and at times PC2) without having received further revision/correction.

In his analysis of the Scheia Psalter, Candrea provides a few examples where the Slavonic text has been misinterpreted or misread in the Romanian text. When looking across the other Romanian sources, Candrea's examples provide us with an interesting distribution of (mis)readings, which groups together a certain family of texts: PS alongside PC, PC1 and PCb. For example, in ps. 17:43 ИСТЪНА ѿ, *I will destroy them*, is analysed as И СТЪНА ѿ and translated as ши пѣрѣтеле ѡрь, *and their wall*, in PS, PC, PC1, PCb. Similarly, in ps. 35:12 нога гъдѣина, *the foot of pride*, is misread as многа гъдѣина, that is, *much pride*, the interpretation present in PS and the printed editions of PC and PC1. The table below reports the examples of Candrea (excluding pss. 33:7 and 77:54) and adds the information about PC, PC1, PC2, PCb, PH, and PV, when available. The Slavonic examples follow the spelling of PC2, while the Romanian examples that of PC/PC1 unless these are taken from PC2 and PH. When an example in the columns dedicated to PH and PC2 is underlined, it means that it shares the same (mis)interpretation as present in PS, PV, PC, PC1 and PCb.

Psalm	Church Slavonic	PS PV PC PC1 PCb	PC2	PH	Lacunae
10:6	жоупелъ	вѣпаѣ	<u>вѣпаѣ</u>	пѣцосъ	PV PCb
17:43	истъна ѿ ѿко	ши пѣрѣтеле лоръ	ши здробескъ еи ка	ши соуспинрѣ лорѣ ка	PV PCb
34:2	вѣстани	ши стъ	ши скоалѣ	–	PV PCb
34:3	заври прѣгонащїими ма	апоукѣ фнанитѣ гониторїи мїен	афице фнанитѣ гониторилѣ мїен	воррѣще пре франитѣ чифре ма гонаще	PV PCb
35:12	нога грѣдѣна	моулѣтѣ троуфѣ	пичорѣль де трѣфѣ	пїчодреле троуфѣшїеен	PV PCb
48:18	иде оумираѣ	мѣрце де мваре	<u>мѣрце де моаре</u>	адекъ иде ва моури	PV
50:16	крѣвни	де стрѣмби	де кроуницїи	<u>дела чєи стрѣмби</u>	PV
57:10	рамна	оумере	<u>мере</u>	<u>а оумерелворѣ</u>	PV
67:19	вѣселити	а тине	ди весели	а сѣлшѣди	PV
71:14	лихва	де рѣдѣ	–	<u>ррєвтатѣ</u>	PV
72:17	сѣило	сатѣль	сѣта	лоуминра	PV
89:11	изъести	коурѣ	<u>коурѣцѣще</u>	ноумѣра	
104:32	градъ	чєтѣциле	гриндин	гриндирѣ	PV PCb
105:28	вєелфєгору	а елфє кодрѣ	елфєгорѣ	елфорулди дѣлѣ	

It is interesting to notice how all these errors are usually found in PS, (PV), PC, PC1 and PCb, while by the [1588] edition they are mainly corrected (pss. 17:43, 34:2, 35:12, 50:16, 67:19, 72:17, 104:32). The case of the Hurmuzaki Psalter is different: many of the errors present in the other Romanian texts are either not shared by this Psalter or can be explained by a vernacular understanding of the Slavonic text (pss. 50:16 and 71:14). It appears, therefore, that the version of the text present in PC2 has been revised against a parallel Slavonic text, though not all misinterpretations have been changed (pss. 48:18, 89:11).

Mareş, therefore, following Candrea's study of the Scheia Psalter, affirms that the Romanian translation of the psalms was based on a Slavonic text different from that present in the Slavonic-Romanian bilingual sources (Mareş 1982a: 204). His hypothesis on the Slavonic source text, although this time supported by textual examples, does not, however, differ in essence from that of Candrea. In his opinion either: a) the original translation was based on a manuscript which presented readings both from the 'Archaic' and the 'Athonite' redactions; or, b) the original

translation was based on a manuscript similar to Branko Mladenović's¹⁴ and then altered according to the Slavonic revised redaction (that is, RIII) during the creation of the bilingual sources. Nonetheless, from Mareş's article, it is not clear which exact role the Slavonic sources might have played during first the translation and then the revision processes and, most importantly, how were they used.

1.2. Hypotheses on the Affiliation Scheme of the Romanian Psalter

Candrea and Mareş have also carried extensive studies on the affiliation existing among the Romanian manuscripts and printed copies of the Psalter. In 1916 Candrea published a thorough analysis of all the existing sixteenth-century Psalter versions, both manuscripts and printed books, compared to the Scheia Psalter (Candrea 1916). In his opinion, of the surviving manuscript and printed Psalters, the Hurmuzaki Psalter was the original manuscript of a translation of the text into old Romanian (1916: 47). This implies that at least two different translations of the Psalter were circulating within the Romanian lands at that time: one translation as represented by the Hurmuzaki Psalter, and a second translation of which the original version is missing, but which is represented by the other surviving sources of the Psalter in Romanian. Candrea wrote with regard to the Hurmuzaki Psalter: 'This Psalter, as opposed to the previous two (Scheia and Voroneţ Psalters), is not a copy of an earlier manuscript, but indeed the autograph of the translator from Slavonic'(Candrea 1916: 50);¹⁵ he indicates, however, that the language of the translator of the Hurmuzaki Psalter was very close to that of the Scheia and Voroneţ Psalters, that is, to the language of the translator of the allegedly second translation from which the latter two manuscripts descend. His idea of the Hurmuzaki Psalter being the translator's 'autograph' has been disproved by Ion Gheţie (2005: 13-19). After Candrea's study, however, his analysis went unchallenged for more than sixty years, until 1982, when Alexandru Mareş expressed his final views upon the affiliation of the Psalters (Mareş 1982b). In his opinion, originally there was only one first translation, which was then altered twice, so that two descendants developed, what he calls

¹⁴ As a matter of fact, Branko Mladenović's Psalter or the so-called Bucharest Psalter is a late-fourteenth-century manuscript which presents RI and RIII readings, see MacRobert's stemma codicum (1998). The manuscript was studied in greater detail by Miklošič in 1872.

¹⁵ 'Această Psaltire, spre deosebire de cele două precedente (Scheiană și Voroneţeană) nu este copia unui manuscris, ci însuși autograful traducătorului din slavonește' (my translation above).

transitional versions A and B. From A and B, writes Mareş, two different paths might have been followed: either these two developed in two completely different traditions producing the Hurmuzaki and Voroneţ Psalters on one hand, and the others on the other, via a further process of revision applied to the printed copies; or from the revision at stage A, which was the direct source of PH and PV, there followed another revision process that brought to the transitional version B, which in its turn resulted in the Scheia Psalter and the printed editions of 1570, 1577 and [1588] (Mareş 1982b: 258-61).

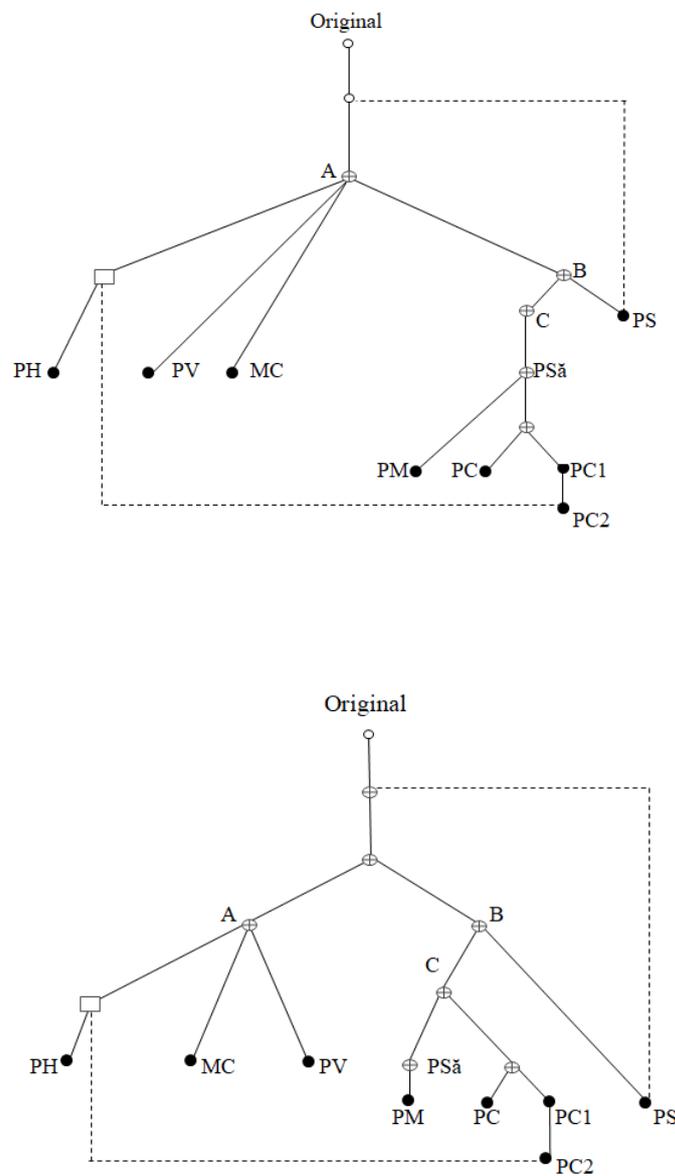


Fig.1. Mareş's *Stemmata Codicum* of the Romanian sixteenth-century Psalters (1982b)

Probably the most surprising element of the Psalter's textual tradition in old Romanian is that the edition of the [1588] bilingual Psalter shows textual affinity with the Hurmuzaki Psalter, especially at the lexical and syntactical levels, as does the Voroneţ Psalter to a certain extent.¹⁶ This aspect, although pointed out by Mareş in his 1982 article, does not receive an extensive study by him, so that the positions of PH, PV and PC2 in his *stemma codicum* seem quite speculative. Similarly, the composition of the vertex in Mareş's scheme lacks strong textual arguments – Mareş does not rely on errors shared by the witnesses to show their affiliation, but rather on polygenetic errors and linguistic features shared by two or more witnesses. Nonetheless, Mareş's philological work and reflections about the Psalter's textual tradition in old Romanian undoubtedly allow us to pursue further with the investigation and identify the key issues in need of additional study: the relationship between the Slavonic and the Romanian traditions of the Psalter text, and the affiliation among the Romanian textual witnesses available today.

It has already been pointed out how certain errors which circulate among PC, PC1, PCb, and PS have either been corrected in the later bilingual issue of [1588] or are not present in PH (section 1.1. of this chapter). The readings in PH are just different from the other sources. On the other hand, by comparing PH, PV, PS, PC, PC1, and PC2, Mareş points out how to a certain extent they are related to each other and that a common archetype of the Psalter in old Romanian should be supposed (1982b: 214-20). In particular, all the versions present the same common mistranslations of Church Slavonic expressions, which allow some correlations between the texts:¹⁷

- 5) 9:30 ἐνεδρεύει, лаеть in Church Slavonic, i.e., *to ambush*, is rendered with латрѣ in PC, PC1, PC2 and латрѣ in PH, PS, i.e., with *to bark*. The wider context of the verse, however, allows for such a mistake лаеть въ тѣлинь ѡко лѣвь въ оградѣ своєи, *he lies in ambush as a lion in his den*, and indeed лѣвти has the same form in Church Slavonic to

¹⁶ According to Mareş's scheme, the few psalms present in the Euchologion printed by Coresi in [1568] present some affinity with the Hurmuzaki Psalter. The tradition of this witness, however, has not been taken into account in this chapter, for the primary source is not accessible and I would need to rely on secondary sources only.

¹⁷ In addition to the information provided by Mareş, each example is given also in its Greek version, following the revised edition of the *Septuaginta*.

translation of ΚΟΛΕΝΟ in the Psalter (PC2 excluded), and that in old Romanian, besides signifying ‘knee’, it could have also meant ‘neam’, *generation*, as pointed out by Candrea (1916: 234);

- 10) 106:37 γενήματος, in Church Slavonic ЖИТЕНЬ, i.e., *of wheat*, is translated as ДѢ ВІАЦѢ, *of life*. This misinterpretation might either derive from the original Church Slavonic MS (having ЖИТѢЛНЪ or ЖИВОТЪНЪ) or from a wrong translation into Romanian. Once more, PC2 has a correct translation, ДѢ ГРЪДЪ.

Most of these mistakes come from a wrong understanding of the Church Slavonic original, which often is taken in its vernacular sense. Some Slavonic words, in fact, changed their semantic connotation over time and based on their geographic distribution. Such is the example of στογάζ, meaning *shame*, which in Bulgarian changes its meaning to *cold* (Miklosich 1862: 898). Consequently, although shared mistakes might seem like a good argument to put forward in support of the hypothesis that there is a common basis shared by the Psalters, in truth examples 5, and 7-10 show how the mis-renderings might have been committed independently at the composition stage of each Romanian text based on a wrong understanding of the Slavonic source. It is possible to suppose, in fact, that even though the translating and revision paths could have been different for each book, the resulting interpretations were the same, so that the hypothesis of two or more translations of the psalms into Romanian is not to be excluded. Only example 6 indicates that PH might share the same translation of the psalms into Romanian as PS, PC, PC1 and PCb.

Mareş also mentions some examples in which the Romanian texts are different and tries to use the latter both to identify the Slavonic source text used during the revision process of PH and to study further the affiliation between the Romanian sources. Admittedly, the most distinct case in terms of different textual readings is that of the Hurmuzaki Psalter, which stands apart when compared to other versions. In this respect Mareş’s opinion is that PH was copied from a bilingual Slavonic-Romanian Psalter – a text close to the original translation and thus also the basis for PS, PV and PC1 –, and revised against an earlier, or more archaic Church Slavonic Psalter (1982b:

genitive plural. It should be noticed, in fact, that *λββββ*, which can be found in MSS of Redaction I, II and III, is a possessive adjective agreeing with *δστβ* and rendering the original Greek genitive singular. In this way the translation present in PH is more accurate and could be attributed to RIII as well;

12) 21:25 οὐδὲ ἀπέστρεψεν

нече аз ѡторсь PH corresponds to *ни отвратишь же есть* (PC1, Bon), whereas *нече ѡторсе* in PS, PC1 goes with *не отврати* (Pr, Par). Mareş's argument is that the compound tense found in Church Slavonic has been rendered in Romanian as well. However, in terms of verbs, it happens quite often that the two versions of the Romanian Psalter diverge, and in particular that PH presents compound verb tenses. In the revised Psalter PC2 the verb was rendered again as a compound one: *нече ѡторсѣш-аз*;

13) 54:19 ἦσαν

φογγβ-3pr.pl. simple perfect –in PH as the translation of *бѣлхѣ* (Sin, PC1) and *ερα* – 3pr.sg./pl. imperfect–in PS, PC, PC1, PC2 of *бѣ* (Pr, Par). This example, like the former one, suggests that PC1 and PS had been influenced by a Croatian version of the Psalter, as witnessed by the Paris and Prague Psalters, while PH respected Redaction III. Nonetheless, it should be noticed that Mareş had as a starting point the idea that the translations of Church Slavonic past constructions into old Romanian was imitating the original source, which has been proved not to be always the case (M. Avram 2007: 93-103);

14) 61:4 ἐπιτίθεσθε

szvѣ вѣци in PH for *належитѣ* (PC1, Sin, Bon) and *кѣдѣци* in PC1, PS and PV for *нападдѣте* (Pr, Par,); where *нападдѣте* is typical of Croatian MSS. The translation offered in PC2 is *ѡпресѣраци*, i.e., *to surround, to conquer*;

15) 131:6 ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις

ѡ кѣмпѣи in PH, thus plural as for *вѣ полихѣ* (Sin, Bon, PC1), whereas PS, PV, PC, PC1, PC2 and PCb have *ѡ кѣмпѣль* as *вѣ поли* (Pr, Par);

16) 133:1 ἐν ἀλλοῖς

Ⲡ ⲕⲗⲣⲧⲧ in PH, thus singular as ⲅⲗ ⲁⲃⲟⲣⲧ (Sin, Bon), and Ⲡ ⲕⲗⲣⲓⲙⲓⲗⲉ in the other Romanian texts as we find in their parallel Slavonic text and in Par and Pr – ⲅⲗ ⲁⲃⲟⲣⲧⲭⲏ, i.e., plural.

The latter examples suggest that PC1 and PS follow a Croatian tradition (especially ex. 14) or the tradition of the Paris and Prague Psalters, whereas PH either follows Redaction III or an earlier tradition close to Psalterium Sinaiticum. However, reaching this conclusion suggests that in principle the method used for the textual analysis is incorrect. It is, in fact, improbable that there was any Croatian influence on the Romanian Psalter text. These sources are written in Glagolitic, the circulation of which in the lands north of the Danube seems quite limited (Olteanu 1971). Further, some of the readings here cited, in particular 12, 15, and 16, can be found in other Redaction I manuscripts written in Cyrillic. Example 13, instead, needs further evidence in support of the idea that there is correspondence in rendering Slavonic past constructions in Romanian. All in all, the examples which Mareş provides are counterproductive to his argument, as quite often the translations present in PH follow Redaction III, that is, the Church Slavonic version present in PC1, and those in PS and PC/PC1 are somehow related to an earlier Church Slavonic Psalter version.

On the other hand, Mareş gives three very interesting examples, which suggest that during the translation or the revision process of PH, the scribe might have consulted not only an earlier redaction of the Church Slavonic Psalter, but a commentated copy:

17) The title to psalm 110 has ⲗⲃⲟⲩⲁⲙⲃ ⲁⲓⲗⲗ ⲩⲉⲗⲗ ⲅⲓⲗ, that is *glory to the living Lord*, typical of commentated Psalters, whereas PC1 and PS have ⲁⲗⲗⲓⲗⲟⲩⲓⲁ;

18) 107:9 καὶ Εφραϊμ ἀντίλημψις τῆς κεφαλῆς μου

ⲭⲓ ⲉⲫⲣⲉⲙⲗ ⲕⲣⲉⲡⲟ ⲧⲗⲣⲓⲁ ⲕⲁⲡⲟⲩⲗⲟⲩⲓ ⲙⲓⲉⲗ in PH, following ⲉⲫⲣⲉⲙⲗ ⲕⲣⲉⲡⲟⲥⲧⲏ ⲒⲗⲂⲒⲓ ⲙⲟⲉⲉ, again something we find in commentated Psalters. Notice, also, the underlined word in PH, which the scribe copied from the Church Slavonic text and did not cancel, followed

by the Romanian translation *tăria*. In the other Romanian sources, we have ши еφреμъ ажѣторю капѣлѣи мїеѣ, translating еφреμъ застѣплеиѣ главы мѣеж;

19) In 73:15 σὺ ἐξήρανας ποταμοὺς Ἡθαμ

PH has a double translation of the same versicle 1) τοῦ исѣчиши апеле ρидреλε апѣтѣе 2) τοῦ сѣкаши ρидреλε еѣамѣлогуи, which are subsequent on the same line. The surprising element is having апѣтѣе, *watery*, which corresponds to the Church Slavonic НАВОДЪНЕНЪІА. This adjective comes from early Church Slavonic MSS (Redaction I and II) and could have been prompted by Theodoret's commentary of the Psalter text (MacRobert 2010: 426). His commentary, in fact, enjoyed a revival in the fifteenth century in Eastern Slavonic MSS, which might be the reason why in a region like Bucovina there were such books. The translation present in PC1 and PS corresponds to the common interpretation we find in Redaction III, which is also the second translation of the versicle we have in the Hurmuzaki Psalter, τοῦ сѣкаши ρидреλε еѣамѣлогуи.

The hypothesis of influence from a commentated Church Slavonic Psalter upon the Hurmuzaki Psalter is plausible, and further details will point to this. The commentaries on the Psalter text of Hesychius of Jerusalem (sometimes known as the pseudo-Athanasian commentary) and Theodoret of Cyrillus had been translated into Church Slavonic early on, around the tenth century and since then they had been widely used among the Orthodox Slavs, especially the pseudo-Athanasian commentary (MacRobert 2010: 424-25). These could have reached the Romanian lands, Bucovina in particular, either via the Bulgarian monks who settled in the region towards the end of the fourteenth century, or from the neighbouring East Slavonic regions. Serbian influences should not be excluded either, especially in the Wallachian principality. From this point of view, the lands north of the Danube should be thought as a key part of the dynamic involving book circulation within the so-called *Slavia Orthodoxa*.

In conclusion, although the study advanced by Mareş puts forward a possible affiliation scheme connecting the Romanian sources of the Psalter, it casts further doubts about the source text used for the translation of the psalms and indeed on the number of such translations. Even

though Mareş opposed Candrea's opinion that the original Church Slavonic text might have been of a redaction similar to Branko Mladenović's Psalter, his alternative hypothesis is actually very close to Candrea's (Candrea 1916: 200-04; Mareş 1982b: 200-04). Ultimately, what Mareş suggests is that the original translation in old Romanian was based on a Church Slavonic version, the one most widespread at the time among the Slavs (no mention of redactions, but it should be assumed that it was RIII), and that the Hurmuzaki Psalter is the result of a revision of this translation against an earlier Slavonic version, that is, a fusion between Redactions I and III, as Branko Mladenović's appears to be (Thomson 1998: 815). However, for both scholars the original text used for the translation is not material for research, or rather it is of secondary importance when compared to the question of textual affiliation among the Romanian manuscripts and printed books. This approach, in many ways, narrows down the possible options a researcher might want to explore in order to have a more complete picture of textual tradition of the Psalter in Romanian. For example, some differences in vocabulary between Hurmuzaki and Coresi's 1577 Psalters could be a matter of the translator's/ reviser's personal preference or could be based on the source text which they used. If the Romanian material is analysed without additional comparison with other textual traditions the second dimension described above is lost. It is necessary, therefore, to retrace the same path that led to the rendering of the Psalter in Romanian, that is, to identify its source text(s), and only then to reflect on the affiliation between its textual witnesses.

2. The Romanian Psalters and Redaction III

The most trustworthy method to identify the original Slavonic source is that of a comparative philological analysis between the Slavonic and the Romanian versions, especially once we have the Slavonic material broadly categorised and classified into different Redactions (MacRobert 1998a). In this respect, it is important to remind that all issues of the Slavonic Psalter in the Romanian lands during the sixteenth century, be these bilingual or monolingual ([1568-1570], [1572-1573], [1576], 1577 – monolingual; 1577, [1588] - bilingual), adhere to Redaction III. The section above has already discussed how the translation of the Psalter text must have happened before the composition of the bilingual sources and how the Slavonic text paralleled to

the Romanian text has seldom been used for revision in PC1, PCb, and PV. Consequently, the best chance of identifying the Slavonic redaction used for translating the Psalter into Romanian is to look at those instances in which we have different textual renderings in Church Slavonic and compare them with their Romanian counterpart.

2.1. Textual Variants in RI, RII, RIII and RIV and the Romanian Psalter

MacRobert (1998a) draws a *stemma codicum* of fifty Slavonic Psalter manuscripts dating from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, showing their affiliation and most importantly their position with regard to the various textual redactions of the Psalter in Church Slavonic. Each redaction is identified by variant textual readings which are referred to textual variation within the Greek tradition of the psalms. The examples provided below rely on MacRobert's work, to which the Slavonic as well as the Romanian variants are added for a better understanding of their connection and textual traditions. When the Romanian readings align, the examples are reported according to the orthography of PC, otherwise they are written as present in each source. The presence of a question mark indicates a hypothesised reading.

2.1.1. Variants Shared by Redactions I and II and the Pseudo-Athanasian Commentary (and the Norov Psalter)

Psalm	Greek	Church Slavonic	CS Redactions	Old Romanian
26:12	εἰς χείρας	вѣ рѣце	RI RII Ps-A Nor	
	εἰς ψυχάς	вѣ дѣлахъ	Th RIII RIV	ⲛ ϣϫϣⲗⲉⲧⲉⲗⲉ PH PS PC PC1 PC2
44:18	μνησθήσονται	пoмaнѣтѣ	RI RII Ps-A	
	μνησθήσομαι	пoмѣнѣ	Th RIII RIV Nor	пoмѣннѣ PH пoмeннѣ PS PC PC1 пoмeнecкѣ PC2
89:5	ἔτη	лѣтѣ	RI RII Ps-A	
	ἔτι	ѣцѣ	Th RIII RIV Nor	ⲛнѣкѣ PH PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb
90:3	ῥύσεται με	нзбавитѣ мѣ	RI RII Ps-A	
	ῥύσεται σε	нзбавитѣ тѣ	Th RIII RIV Nor	нзбвѣтѣ вѣ PH PV PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb
118:49	τὸν λόγον ... ϛ̅ϣ̅	cлoвo ... ѡ нeмжe	RI RII Ps-A Nor	кѡвзѣтoуль ... дѣ ѣѣ PH
	τῶν λόγων ... ϛ̅ϣ̅ων	cлoвeсѣ твoиxъ ... o ннx	Th RIII RIV	кoувнѣтѣлѣ ... дѣ алѣ PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb
118:120	τῶν ἐντολῶν?	пoвeлѣннн	RI RII Ps-A	
	τῶν κριμάτων	сѣдoбѣ	Th RIII RIV Nor	снсeлѣ PH жoуδeкѣрнлѣ

				PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb
131:15	τὴν χήραν	вѣдовицѣ	RI RII Ps-A	
	τὴν θήραν	ловитвѣ	Th RIII RIV Nor	вѣнѣтъ PH PV PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb
Hab 3:19	ἐν ταῖς ὥδαῖς	вѣ пѣснѣхъ егѡ	RI RII Ps-A	ѡ кѣнтѣриле лѡуи PS PC1 PC2 PCb
	ἐν τῇ ὥδῃ	вѣ пѣсни егѡ	Th RIII RIV Nor	

Only ps. 118:49 would point to an earlier Slavonic redaction for PH, although that is also the reading found in the fourteenth century Norov Psalter. Additionally, the reading in Hab 3:19 in PS PC1 PC2 PCb would follow an earlier Slavonic tradition as well. A question mark is posed by ps. 44:18, which has помянию first person singular, simple past in PH and поменирѣ third person plural, simple past in PS PC PC1. Neither поманѣтъ nor поманѣ (both in the present, third person singular and first person singular) in the Slavonic sources gives grounds for such verbal conjugation in Romanian and it probably goes back to the wider context of the verse.

The other examples, however, point to a possible adherence to RIII, RIV, Theodoret's commentary or potentially the Norov Psalter. The table below shows that most probably Theodoret's commentary had no influence on the Romanian tradition.

2.1.2. Variants in Theodoret's Commentary

Psalm	Greek	Church Slavonic	CS Redactions	Old Romanian
10.4	ἀποβλέποσιν τὴν οἰκουμένην	призираѣта вселеню	Th	
	ἀποβλέποσιν	призираѣта	RI + Ps-A RII RIII RIV Nor	превирѣ PH спре мишеи каѣтѣ PC PC1 PC2
34.24	μὴ ἐπιχαρεῖσάν μοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ μου	да не порадуѡт ми сѣ врази мои	Th, Dech	
	μὴ ἐπιχαρεῖσάν μοι	да не пораѡдет ми сѣ	RI + Ps-A RII RIII RIV Nor	се ноу боукоуре лауде ми сѣ PH сѣ нѣ боукоуре ми се PS PC PC1 PC2
44.12	προσκυνήσουσιν	поклонѣтъ сѣ	Th	
	προσκυνήσεις	поклониши сѣ	RI + Ps-A RII RIII RIV Nor	ѡкира те вери PH PC2 ѡкините PS PC PC1
51.7	ἐκτίλαι...μεταναστε ύσαι	вѣзѣтрѣгнѣти ... прѣселити	Th Nor	
	ἐκτιλεῖ?... μεταναστεύσει	вѣстрѣгна...прѣсели т	RI + Ps-A RII RIII RIV	траѣ те ва...моуѣ та ва PH

				ρογπετε...μουτπτε PS PC PC1 ρδμπετε βα...μδτατε βα PC2
70.20	πάλιν ἀνήγαγές με	ПАКЪИ ВЪЗВЕДЕ МА	Th	
	πάλαι ἀνήγαγές με	ДРЕВЛЕ ВЪЗВЕДЕ МА	RI – Ps-A	
	ἀνήγαγές με	ВЪЗВЕЛ МЕ ЕСИ	RII RIII RIV Nor	εκοεδ μαη PS PC PC1
77.64	οὐ κλαυσθήσονται	НЕ ВПЛАКАНЫ БѢДОУТЬ	Th	
	οὐκ κλαύσθησαν?	НЕ ВПЛАКАНЫ БЫШѢ	RI + Ps-A RII RIII RIV Nor	НЕ ПЛѢНСЕ ΦΟΥΡѢ PV PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb
89.12	παιδευμένους	НАΟΥЧЕНЫ	Th, Par Lob	
	πεπεδημένους	УКОВАНЫѢ	RI + Ps-A RII RIII RIV Nor	ФЕРЕКАЦІИ PH PV PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb
118.17	ζήσομαι	ЖИВЪ БУДУ	Th	
	ζήσόν με	ЖИВИ МА	RI + Ps-A RII RIII RIV Nor	ЛВІИ МА PH ЛВІЕ МѢ PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb
137.5	ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς	ВЪ ПУТИ[Χ] ТВОИХ ГОСПОДИ	Th	
	ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς	ВЪ ПѢСЕНѢХЪ	RI + Ps-A RII RIII RIV Nor	Л КЪНТЕЧЕЛЕ PH PV PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb
140.6	ἠδύνθησαν	ΟΥСЛАДИША СЯ	Th	
	ἠδυνήθησαν	ВЪЗМОГОШѢ	RI + Ps-A RII RIII RIV Nor	ВЪНИКОУРЪ PH КЪ ПОУГОУРЪ PV PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb

2.1.3. Distinctive Variants in Redaction IV (and Norov Psalter)¹⁹

Psalm	Greek	Church Slavonic	CS Redactions	Old Romanian
16.3	ἐπίρασας?	ИСКЪСИЛ МА ЕСИ	RIV	
	ἐπύρωσας	РАЖДЕГЛЪ МА ЕСИ	RI + Ps-A Th RII RIII Nor	ЛФІЕРВАТЪ МАИ PH ЛФІЕРБѢНТАТЪ МАИ PS PC PC1 PC2
39.18	φροντίς	ГЪ ПОПЕЧЕНІЕ МОЕ	RIV	
	φροντεῖ	ГЪ ПРИАТ МИ	RI + Ps-A Th RII RIII Nor	ДІНОУ ЛΟΥАТОУ МА PH ДНОУ ПРЕАЦЕ МИ PS PC PC1 PC2
47.8	συντρίψεις	СЪКРОУШИШИ	RIV Nor	

¹⁹ Here the Slavonic readings referring to RI + Ps-A Th RII RIII Nor have been taken from PC2, which presents some minor orthographic differences with the older Slavonic MSS as well as with the Norov Psalter.

	συντρίψει	сѣкргѡшнѣ	RI + Ps-A Th RII RIII	здоровитѣѢ PH φρζηγε PS PC PC1 PC2
57.12	εἰ ἐστὶν ὁ θεός	ѡѡе ѣ бѣ	RIV	
	ἄρα ἔστιν ὁ θεός	есѣъ оубо бѣ оубо есѣъ бѣ	RI + Ps-A Th RII RIII (PC2 PCb) Nor	ѡсѣе ѡѣѣѣ дѣмнсеѢ PH ѡсѣе доумнезеѢ PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb
95.13	τὴν γῆν?	земли	RIV	
	τὴν οἰκοθμένην	вѣселенѣи	RI + Ps-A Th RII RIII Nor	ѡ тоѡтѣ ѡѢмѣѣ PV PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb
118.81	εἰς τὸν λόγον	вѣ слово	RIV	
	εἰς τοὺς λόγους	ѡѡ словеса	RI + Ps-A Th RII RIII Nor	пре коубентеле PH ѡ кѢвинтеле PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb

2.1.4. Distinctive Variants in Redaction III

Psalm	Greek	Church Slavonic	CS Redactions	Old Romanian
118.136	ἐφύλαξαν	сѣхранишѣ	RIII	[ѡи]нрѢрѣ PH φερрѣрѣ PS PV пѣзѡнрѣ PC2
		сѣхранихѣ	RI + Ps-A Th RII RIV Nor	ферѣи PC PC1 PCb
147.3	θεῖς	положивѣи	RIII	поусе PH PS PC2 ѣе поусе PV PC PC1 PCb
	τιθεῖς	ποлагаѣ ποлагаѣи	RI + Ps-A Th RII Nor	
	ὅτι τίθης ?	ѡѡко положи	RIV	
Ex 15.11	ἐνδόξως	прѣславнѡ	RIII	прѣславнѣте PV PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb
	ἐν δόξαις	вѣ славеѣ	RI + Ps-A Th RII Kip Nor	
Deut 32.36	παραλελυμένους?	оѡлабѣѣвѣша (и вѣ пѣѣнѣ)	RIII	сѣвѣиндѣ (ши ѡмпрѣѣдѣре) PV PS PC1 PC2 сѣвѣиндѣ PCb
	παραλελυμένους καὶ ἐκλελοιπότες	ѡсѣлабѣѣвѣшѣ и пѣѣѡлѣзнѣѣ (вѣ пѣленѣ)	RI + Ps-A Th RII Kip Nor	
Hab 3.13	τοῦ σῶσαι τοὺς χριστοὺς σου ἐλήλυθας	сѣѣти хрѣсти свое прѣшел' еси	RIII	сѣ спѣсеѣи оунѣи тѣи венѣтѣи PC1 PC2 PCb винѣтѣи се сѣѣи хрѣстоѣи тѣи PS се

				спъсеци христѣи тѣи веритан PV
	τοῦ σῶσαι τοὺς χριστούς σου	спѣти хрѣты своѣа (ПОМАЗАНЬНИКЫ)	RI + Ps-A Th RII Kip Nor	

While tables 2.1.2. and 2.1.3. suggest that Theodoret's commentary and RIV have probably had no influence on the textual tradition of the psalms in Romanian, table 2.1.4. confirms that it follows the tradition of RIII, in particular if PS, PC, PC1, PC2, and PCb are taken into account. PV presents many lacunae which do not allow a precise assessment, and the text of PH stops at psalm 150, so that the textual examples referring to the Canticles become irrelevant. As a matter of fact, a list of other examples, which indicates the variant readings shared by Redaction III and IV (and at times by the Norov Psalter) and which refer mainly to the text of the psalms, show that the Hurmuzaki Psalter does not have a complete adherence to Redaction III, and presents, instead, many interpretations which are in line with RI, RII and the textual tradition of the two commentaries to the psalms (pss. 42:2, 48:18, 69:3, 80:13). The table below shows the readings in Romanian and in Church Slavonic according to the list provided by MacRobert. All relevant examples will be discussed in detail in section 3.2.2.

2.1.5. Variants Shared by Redaction III and IV (and the Norov Psalter)

Psalm	Greek	Church Slavonic	CS Redactions	Old Romanian
34.18	ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι	Исповѣѣмъ сѧ тебѣ въ црѣви	RIII RIV Nor	исповедеасѣ мѣ цѣе ѱ бесѣреѣи PH PS PC PC1 PC2
	ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι κύριε	исповѣѣмъ сѧ тебѣ ѣи	RI+Ps-A Th RII	
42.2	κρταίωμα	дръжава	RIII RIV Nor	циноутѣль PS PC PC1 цирѣрѣ PC2
	ἰσχύς	крѣпостъ	RI+Ps-A Th RII	вѣрѣтѣтѣ PH
48.18	ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ	слава его	RIII Kipr? Gen	слава логѣи PS PC PC1 PCb слава сѧ PC2
	ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ	слава домѣ его	RI+Ps-A Th RII Nor	слава касеѣи логѣи PH
65.7	τῷ δεσπόζοντι	овладѣѣшѣомѣ	RIII RIV Nor	бирѣторѣлогѣи PH PC2 ѣе цине PS PC PC1 PCb
	τοῖς δεσπόζουσι	овладѣѣшѣтѣимъ	RI+Ps-A Th RII	
69.3	λογιζόμενοι	мыслаѣи	RIII RIV Nor	ѣе коумѣтѣ PS PC PC1 PCb карѣи кѣѣтѣ PC2
	βουλόμενοι	хотѣѣи	RI+Ps-A Th RII	карѣи ворѣ вѣрѣ PH
80.13	κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα	по наѣинанѣюу	RIII RIV Nor	дѣпѣ ѣнѣепѣтѣль PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb

	κατὰ ἐπιθυμίας	τὰς	по похтемы	RI+Ps-A Th RII	похтеи PH
118.112	ἔκλινα		приклони	RIII RIV Nor	плькы PH плекаю PS PCb плекаи PC PC1 PC2
	ἔκλινε? κλῖνον?		приклони	RI+Ps-A Th RII	
151.4	ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῳ		мастиѣ	RIII RIV	кѡ оунтѡра PV PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb
	ἐν τῷ ἐλέει		мильтиѣ	RI+Ps-A Th RII Nor	
Deut 32.11	σκεπάσαι		покрыти	RIII Kip	ѡе коапере PV кѡпери PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb
	σκεπάσει		покрыть	RI+Ps-A Th RII Nor?	
Isa 26.10	οὐ μὴ μάθη		не науѣтит'се	RIII Kip	ѡе нѡ се ѡвѡца PV ѡе нѡ ѡвѡцѡ са PS PC1 PC2 PCb
	πᾶς ὃς οὐ μὴ μάθη		всѣкъ иже не науѣтит'ъ са	RI+Ps-A Th RII Nor	

From the above five tables, it is possible to draw the conclusion that in the main the Scheia Psalter, the printed editions of 1570, 1577 and [1588] as well as the Ciobanu Psalter follow the Slavonic tradition of Redaction III. The Hurmuzaki Psalter presents many variant readings, some of which are to be traced back to a textual tradition different from Redaction III.

2.2. Changes at the Morphological and Lexical Level in Redaction III

Part of the revision process which led to the Church Slavonic Redaction III involved reaching a formal equivalence at a morphemic level to the Greek original (Thomson 1998: 797-831; Карачорова 1989: 146-47). Additionally, an important innovation which took place during the revision process of the Slavonic text was the advancement of new lexical variation, which aimed once more at being as faithful as possible to the Greek original. These changes can be traced in the Romanian versions as well.

- 20) 85:15 τρῦπῆλιβῶν καὶ πρῶμιλοστιβῶν, *patient and very merciful*, of Redaction I and II was replaced with дълготрῦпῆλιβῶν²⁰ καὶ μнoгoмилoстивῶν as calques of the Greek μακρόθυμος καὶ πολυέλεος, *long-patient and very merciful*. The Romanian translation overall has a loan

²⁰ In ps. 7:12 the rendering of μακρόθυμος undergoes a similar change in the Slavonic sources; the Romanian versions follow the revised solution of дълготрῦпῆλιβῶν—лoунгѡррѡб'дѡтoрiю (PS, PC, PC1 and PC2).

118:53, 141:3, 142:11 among others), while κρῦβ- is usually rendered with a borrowing or with βЪНАТЬ, *grief/sorrow*, in PH. It is interesting to note that in ps. 41:6 PH has γριψε rather than βЪНАΤΔ (which is the case in 41:12). This would suggest that a different source text was used while working at PH;

- 25) in redaction I and II κρῦστα is the default translation for the Greek ὠραιότης, τερπότης and εὐπρέπεια in pss. 44:4, 26:4 and 25:8. In redaction III, however, the last term is calqued as БЛАГОЛѢПІЕ, *good-beauty*, and so it is in Romanian – БДНРЗФРДМЄЦѢ in PH and ДЛАУЕФРЪМЄЦЕ in PS, PC, PC1 and PC2, where БЛАГЪ is rendered on a constant basis with *good* in PH or *sweet* in the other versions;
- 26) the distinction between κακία and πονηρία was restored in Redaction III, which is rendered as ЗЪЛОБА, *bad(ness)*, for the first term and ΛΔΚΑΒΣΤВО, *deceit*, for the second. Overall, the Romanian books follow this tradition, distinguishing between ρЪΔ, *bad*, and ΧΙΚΛΕΝΣΗΓ/ΧΗΤΛΕΝІЕ, *wickedness* (both terms have the same meaning in old Romanian, which in modern Romanian is *viclenie*).
- 27) 34:17 τῆς κακουργίας was initially rendered with ЗЪЛОБА, *wickedness*, and then changed to ЗЪЛОДѢИСТВО, *evil-doing*, for a closer resemblance to the Greek word. In Romanian, while most versions have ρρεΔ(ΛЪ), *bad/evil* (PH, PS, PC and PC1), in PC2 the word is calqued on its Slavonic model ρЪΔ ΛΔΚΡΔΛ', *evil-work*;

2.3. Greek and Slavonic Grammatical Equivalence and its Rendering in Romanian

A formal adherence to the Greek source text led to many changes at the syntactic level in the revised Athonite Redaction – while in RI and RII the Greek possessive genitive was rendered by an adjective, in RIII preference is given to nouns in the genitive or dative cases; to reach a formal syntactic equivalence with Greek, some case-based construction were changed to prepositional phrases; finite constructions to render a Greek infinitive was replaced by a corresponding infinitive construction in the ‘Athonite’ redaction and even more so in the Norov Psalter and RIV; second and third person aorist forms, which coincide in Church Slavonic, have

			PC1 ВРЪЖМАШИЛΩ PC2	
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Only ps. 17:44 stands out: ἐξ ἀντιλογίας λαοῦ was initially rendered idiomatically in Church Slavonic by an adjective отъ прѣрѣканиѣ людзска, *from human blame*, and then replaced in Redaction III by a noun in the possessive genitive отъ прѣрѣканиа люди, *from the blame of the people*. In Romanian we have two different versions: де воррѡва ваменилорѣ in PH, thus having the noun in possessive genitive, and де ꙗпоуѣрѣ ваменѣскѣ in PS, PC, PC1, PC2 and PCb, where we have an adjectival construction.

While the change from adjectival constructions to genitive-dative phrases in Church Slavonic does not lead us to a better understanding of the Psalter’s textual tradition in Romanian, other examples of formal adherence at the syntactic level to Greek in the ‘Athonite’ redaction cast more light onto the issue. In ps. 65:6-7 ἐκεῖ εὐφρανθησόμεθα ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, τῷ δεσπόζοντι, for example, the participle of вѣзвеселимъ сѧ ѡ немъ ѡбладѣицимъ, *we rejoice in him who rules*, was altered to the dative ѡбладѣицимѣ in Redaction III, leading to a syntactic failure of agreement within the sentence (Thomson 1998: 818). In PH the mistake is repeated, so that we have веселине времъ де ель бирѣторюлюи (genitive-dative). However, in PS and PC/PC1 the mistake has been avoided as ѡбладѣицинѣ is translated literally as *the one that holds* and not, for example, *the holder*, so that the translation is in line with the syntactic construction of the whole sentence: веселимѣне де ель ꙗе цине. Nonetheless, in PC2 reappears бирѣиторюлѣи as in PH.

Another point of difference between the ‘pre-Athonite’ and the ‘Athonite’ redactions was a consistent introduction of dual forms in the attempt of following the Greek example of having a plural form for elements of dual nature. In ps. 44:3 вѣ ѣстънахъ твоихъ the plural form was modified to the dual вѣ ѣстнѣ твоѣ. Overall, in Romanian PH renders the plural ꙗ ѡустинеѣ тѣлѣ, *in your lips*, and PS and PC1 have the singular ꙗ рѡуѣлѣ тѣѣ, i.e., *in your mouth*. Such is the case in ps. 50:17. In ps. 118:13 the Greek ἐν τοῖς χεῖλεσίν μου ἐξήγγειλα πάντα τὰ κρίματα τοῦ στόματός σου is rendered as ѡуѣтама моима исповедахъ вѣсѧ сѣдѣи ѡуѣтъ твоихъ *with my lips I declared all the judgements of your lips* in Redaction III. The translation we have in PH seems to

follow the Greek distinction: *κοῦ οὐστνελε μεβλε спорушѫ тоатѣ цоудекариле рростълоуи тѣѫ*; whereas PS, PC, PC1, PC2 and PCb have in both instances *ростѣль* in the singular. Even though in Romanian we do not have a variant to render the dual, it seems that there is an interpretative divergence between PH and the other Romanian sources: that is, while in the first case the dual is rendered with a plural form, in the second instance a singular noun is preferred.

During the revision process leading to the Athonite redaction and even more so to Redaction IV, many finite verbs rendering a Greek infinitive were replaced by an infinitival construction (MacRobert 2018: 179-89; Thomson 1998: 817). One aspect, in fact, that caused problems over the course of centuries in Church Slavonic translations of the Greek Psalter text was the treatment of the nominalized infinitive (MacRobert 2018: 176). In Greek this involved two types of structures: the infinitive verb is either introduced by a preposition and the definite article or the verb is combined with the definite article only. These two constructions are used in circumstantial subordinate clauses in the first instance and in verbal nouns or, if the definite article is in genitive, in final clauses in the second. The rendering of these Greek constructions in Church Slavonic changed over time. While in the first redactions preference was given to constructions with finite verbs introduced by *взнерѣдѣ* in subordinate clauses and by *дѣ* in final clauses, starting from Redaction III and more with Redactions IV and V these are replaced by infinitival constructions as a literal translation of the Greek. Additionally, in Redactions IV the Greek definite article is paralleled in Church Slavonic by an artificial *ѣже* article, which wants to resemble the Greek original. The study of this aspect across the Romanian sources may help in understanding which redaction of the Church Slavonic Psalter was used for translation of the psalms in Romanian.²²

2.3.1. Final Clauses Expressed by an Infinitive Construction in Church Slavonic

Overall, the final clause in Greek introduced by *τοῦ* plus infinitive is rendered by *дѣ* plus finite verb in Church Slavonic in its earliest translations. Nonetheless, there are some examples

²² For reasons of space the construction of the subordinate clause will not be taken into analysis here and only examples relating to final clause constructions will be mentioned here according to Burlacu's article (2021). The topic is discussed in detail in the same article.

where from the early texts the verbal constructions follow the Greek and thus are rendered with bare infinitives, which in Redaction IV add *еже* before the verb, imitating the Greek *τοῦ*. The translation into old Romanian of these examples follows a constant pattern, that is, the Hurmuzaki Psalter is rendered by infinitival constructions and PS, PC1, and PCb by subjunctive verbs. PC2 presents a subjunctive in the main, though sometimes it has a verb in the infinitive.

- 28) 30:3 *τοῦ σῶσαι*;
сѣпаци RI RII – imperative; *сѣпастѣ* RIII RV *еже сѣпастѣ* RIV;
а ма сѣолатѣ PH – infinitive; *сѣѣщеме* PS *сѣѣщеме ма* PC1 PC2 PCb – imperative;
- 29) 33:14 *τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι*;
не глаголатѣ RI RII RIII *еже не глаголатѣ* RIV RV;
а грѣи PH – infinitive; *се нѣ грѣаскѣ* PS *сѣ нѣ грѣаскѣ* PC1 PC2 – subjunctive;
- 30) 33:17 *τοῦ ἐξὸλεθρεῦσαι*;
потрѣбити RI RII RIII *еже потрѣбити* RIV RV;
а пѣрде PH – infinitive; *коумпли се* PS *кѣмпле се* PC1 *сѣ кѣмплѣ* PC2 – subjunctive;
- 31) 36:32 *τοῦ θανατῶσαι*;
оумрѣвити RI RII RIII *еже оумрѣвити* RV *еже оумрѣвити* RIV;
а ѱωморѣ PH – infinitive; *се ѱморѣскѣ* PS *сѣ ѱморѣ* PC1 PC2 – subjunctive;
- 32) 36:34 *τοῦ κατακληρονομῆσαι*;
наслѣдитѣ RI RII RIII *еже наслѣдитѣ* RV *еже наслѣдствовати* RIV;
а добнѣи PH – infinitive; *се цѣри* PS *сѣ цѣи* PC1 *сѣ моцетѣци* PC2 – subjunctive;
- 33) 39:9 *τοῦ ποιῆσαι*;
сѣтворитѣ RI RIII RV *еже сѣтворитѣ* RII RIV;
а флѣѣ PH – infinitive; *се флѣѣ* PS *сѣ флѣѣ* PC1 – subjunctive; *а флѣѣ* PC2 – infinitive;
- 34) 59:6 *τοῦ φρυεῖν*;
оубѣжати RI RII RIII *еже оубѣжати* RIV RV;

Δ εκζπα PH – infinitive; σε φδγз PS ез фдггж PC1 – subjunctive; PC2 Δ εκπα – infinitive;

35) 67:19 τοῦ κατασκηνῶσαι;

взсєлити RI RII RIII еже вЗсєлити RIV RV;

Δ сзлзшди PH – infinitive; the verb is not translated in PS, PC1 and PCb; Δ и вєєли PC2-
infinitive;

36) 70:3 τοῦ σῶσαι;

сзпаци RI RII – imperative; сзпаци RIII RV еже сзпаци RIV;

Δ ма сқадте PH – infinitive; ши сѣцеме PS спзсѣме мж PC1 PCb – imperative; Δ мж
спжси PC2 – infinitive;

37) 106:7 τοῦ πορευθῆναι;

вЗнити RI RII RIII RV еже вЗнити RIV;

Δ Ѡтра PH – infinitive; се Ѡнтре PS ез Ѡнтре PC1 PC2 PCb – subjunctive.

[All examples from above are missing in PV]

The regularity with which we have an infinitival construction in PH and a subjunctival one in PS, PC1 and PCb is quite striking. Consequently, since the Slavonic redactions here have infinitival verbal forms only, it is clear that a final clause with an infinitive verb in Church Slavonic was rendered either by another infinitive verb or by a subjunctive in old Romanian. These examples reflect also a linguistic tendency in old Romanian: the competition between infinitival and subjunctive constructions (Pană Dindelegan 2016: 242), with the latter tending to take the place of the former. Additionally, the use of infinitival or subjunctival construction has also a geographical connotation, with the former being found, still today, in the north-west areas of Romanian (Maramureş, Crişana) (Vulpe 1963).

2.3.2. Final Clauses in Redactions III, IV and V: Change to Infinitival Constructions

The examples above, however, are the few instances in which all the Church Slavonic redactions of the Psalter present an infinitival construction. Commonly there are differences between the earlier and then the revised versions of the Slavonic text. For example, those final

clauses rendered by *да* plus finite verb in Redactions I and II were changed to bare infinitives in Redaction III and V, and to *еже* plus infinitive verbal forms in Redaction IV. When it comes to old Romanian, the translation follows the same dichotomy as above between the Hurmuzaki Psalter on the one hand, and the Scheia, Ciobanu, and Coresi's 1577 Psalters on the other.

38) 25:7 *τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι ... διηγῆσασθαι;*

да оуслзѡшѡ ... исповѣмь RI RII оуслзѡшати ... повѣдати RIII RV еже слышати ми ... повѣдати RIV;

а аскоулта ... а споуѡре PH – infinitive; се аδσδ ... ши се спλνιῖο PS сз доузъ ... сз спλῖο PC1 PC2 – subjunctive;

39) 26:4 *τοῦ θεωρεῖν με ... καὶ ἐπισκέπτεσθαι;*

да зьрѡ ... посѣщати RI RII зрѣти ми ... посѣщати RIII RV еже зрѣти ми ... посѣщати RIV;

а преви мѣ ... а сокоти PH – infinitive; се вzsδ ... ши се γαρϣετδ PS сз вzъзъ ... сз γβρϣετъ PC1 PC2 – subjunctive;

40) 68:24 *τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν;*

да не видатъ RI RII не видѣти RIII RV еже не влюсти RIV;

а нδ вεδѣ PH – infinitive; се нογ вазъ PS сз нδ вазѡ PC1 PC2 PCb – subjunctive, 3rd pr sg/pl;

41) 75:10 *τοῦ σῶσαι;*

да сзпаетъ RI RII сзпастн RIII RV еже спѣти RIV;

Missing in PH; се спzεβекѡ PS сз спzεβекѡ PC1 PC2 PCb – subjunctive, 3rd pr sg/pl;

42) 79:3 *εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ἡμᾶς;*

да нzi сзпаетши RI RII сзпастн насъ RIII RV вz еже сзпастн нас RIV;

се скоци нои PH се спееци нои PS сз спzεци нои PC1 PC2 PCb – subjunctive;

43) 100:8 *τοῦ ἐξολεθρεῦσαι;*

да потрѣблѡ RI RII потрѣбитн RIII RV иже потрѣбитн RIV;

- се пїерсоу PH се кѣрѣ PS сѣ се кѣре PC1 PCb се пїарѣ PV - subjunctive; а кѣра PC2–
infinitive;
- 44) 104:22 *τοῦ παιδεῦσαι ... σοφίσαι*;
 да наоучитѣ ... оумѣдритѣ RI наказетѣ ... оумѣдритѣ RII наоучити ... оумѣдрити RIII
 наказати ... оумѣдрити RV еже наказати ... ѡпрѣмѣдрити RIV;
 а фвѣца ... а и фцелепци PH – infinitive; се фвѣце ...фмѣдрѣскѣ PS сѣ фвѣце ... сѣ
 фмѣдрѣскѣ PC1 PC2 PCb – subjunctive;
- 45) 104:39 *τοῦ φωτίσαι*;
 да просвѣтитѣ RI RII просвѣтити RIII RV еже посвѣтити RIV;
 лоуминѣ PH – simple past; се лѣминѣсе PS сѣ лоуминѣсе PC1 PCb сѣ лоуминѣсе PC2 –
 subjunctive;
- 46) 105:8 *τοῦ γνωρίσαι*;
 да скажетѣ RI RII сказати RIII познати RV еже сказати RIV;
 а дрѣта PH – infinitive, *to show*;²³ се спѣнїе PS сѣ спѣ PC1 PCb ка сѣ се споуе PC2–
 subjunctive;
- 47) 105:23 *τοῦ ἐξολεθρεῦσαι αὐτούς*;
 да ѡ потрѣблѣ RI RII потрѣбити RIII RV еже потрѣбити RIV;
 а и пїарѣ PH – infinitive; се кѣмплѣ PS сѣ кѣмпле PC1 PCb сѣ пїарѣ PC2 -
 subjunctive;
- 48) 105:47 *τοῦ ἐξομολογήσασθαι ... τοῦ ἐγκανχᾶσθαι*;
 да исповѣмѣ са ... хвалимѣ са RI RII исповѣдати са ... хвалити са
 RIII RV еже исповѣдати са ... хвалити са RIV;
 ка се ны исповѣдимѣ ... а се лѣоуда PH – subjunctive and infinitive;²⁴ се исповѣдимѣнѣ ...
 се лѣоудѣмѣнѣ PS сѣ не исповѣдим ... сѣ не лѣдѣмѣ PC1 PC2 PCb – subjunctive;

²³ показати is a particular reading present in MS 63 of the Russian State Library and in MS 117 of the Hilandar Monastery, which preserve Maksim Grek's catena on the psalms (MacRobert 2018:180). Here it is relevant for the translation present in PH, different from the other Romanian exemplars.

49) 112:8 τοῦ καθίσαι;

ДА ПОСАДИТЬ RI RII ПОСАДИТИ RIII RV ИЖЕ ПОСАДИТИ RIV;

сз поує PH PC2 PCb се поуїє PS PC1 сѣ поує PV – subjunctive;

50) 118:173 τοῦ σῶσαι;

ДА СЗПАСЕТЪ RI RII СЗПАСТИ RIII RV ЕЖЕ СПѢТИ RIV;

А МА СКОАТЕ PH – infinitive; се спкѣз ме PS сз мж спзѣскѣж PC1 PC2 PCb се спзѣскѣж PV

– subjunctive.

Consequently, since the first examples showed that the infinitival Church Slavonic constructions were rendered in old Romanian either by a parallel infinitival verb or by a subjunctive, the second group of examples adds another bit of information. Here again the pattern is the same, that is, infinitival construction in PH and subjunctive constructions in PS, PC1, in PCb. This suggests that the Slavonic source text should have had infinitival constructions, i.e., that it belonged either to redactions III, IV or V. The presence of subjunctive constructions in PH (examples 42, 43, 48, 49) could suggest the influence of a source belonging to the ‘pre-Athonite’ textual tradition of the Psalter in Church Slavonic or an alignment with the translation principles of the other Romanian sources, that is, that a Slavonic infinitive in final clauses is to be expressed with a subjunctive in Romanian.

2.3.3. Final Clauses in Redactions IV and V: Later Insertion of Infinitival Constructions

In order to verify more precisely which of the later Slavonic redactions influenced the Romanian translation, we should turn our attention to those instances where the verbal constructions of final clauses are different in Redactions III, IV and V. The replacement of finite verbs with infinitives continued during the fourteenth century, so that by the fifteenth century all the remaining instances of final clauses were rendered by infinitival construction in Redactions IV and V. The dichotomy present in the above examples disappears here and gives way to subjunctive constructions, both in the Hurmuzaki Psalter and the Scheia Psalter and Coresi’s bilingual Psalter.

²⁴ A parallel variation between finite verb and infinitive is attested in the Slavonic tradition as well – see MacRobert 2018:180-181, in particular footnotes 20 and 22.

- 51) 22:6 τὸ κατοικεῖν με;
 ДА ВЪСЕЛИѢ СѦ RI RII RIII ВСЕЛИТИ МИ СѦ RV ЕЖЕ ЖИТИ МИ RIV;
 се μοῦτοу МА PH се ѱτρῶ PS сз ѱнтрῶ PC1 – subjunctive, 1st pr. sing.; сз се веселѣскѢ PC2 – subjunctive, 3rd pr. sing./pl. In this instance the Slavonic word is borrowed into Romanian, meaning however *to be married*, rather than *to move into*, consequently it might be that the translator/revisor mistook or encountered in its original source the Slavonic word *веселити сѦ*.
- 52) 26:4 τοῦ κατοικεῖν με;
 ДА ЖИВѢѢ RI RII RIII ЕЖЕ ЖИТИ МИ RV RIV;
 се вїѢ PH PS PC1 сз вїецѢскѢ PC2 – subjunctive, 1st pr. sing.;
- 53) 35:2 τοῦ ἀμαρτάνειν;
 ДА СЪГРѢШАЕТЪ RI RII RIII СЪГРѢШАТИ RV ЕЖЕ СЪГРѢШАТИ RIV;
 се нѢ грѣшаскѢ PH се грешаскѢ PS сз грешаскѢ PC1 PC2 – subjunctive, 3rd pr.sing/pl.;
- 54) 35:4 τοῦ ἀγαθῶναι;
 ДА ОУБЛАЖИТЪ RI RII RIII RV ЕЖЕ ОУБЛАЖИТИ RIV;
 се ѱβδηρѢсе PH се ѱεριѢσε PS сз ѱεριѢсе PC1 PC2 – subjunctive, 3rd pr.sing/pl.;
- 55) 38:2 τοῦ μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν;
 ДА НЕ СЪГРѢШ(А)Ѣ RI RII RIII ЕЖЕ НЕ СЪГРѢШАТИ (МИ) RIV RV;
 Missing in PH, се нѢ грешескѢ PS PC1 сз не грешескѢ PC2 – subjunctive, 1st pr. sing.;
- 56) 66:3 τοῦ γινῶναι;
 ДА ПОЗНАЕМЪ RI RII RIII ПОЗНАТИ RV ЕЖЕ ПОЗНАТИ RIV;
 се коῦноаѢемѢ PH се кѢноаѢемѢ PS сз коῦноаѢемѢ PC1 PC2 PCb – subjunctive, 1st pr.pl.;
- 57) 72:28 τοῦ ἐξαγγεῖλαι;
 ДА ИСПОВѢМЪ RI RII ВЪЗВѢЩѢѢ RIII ВЪЗВѢСТИТИ МИ RV ЕЖЕ ИЗВѢСТИТИ МИ RIV;
 сз спѢю PH се спѢнїѢ PS сз споῦю PC1 PC2 PCb се спѢнїѢ – subjunctive, 1st pr.sing.;
- 58) 93:13 τοῦ праῶναι;
 ДА ПРАВИМЪ RI RII RIII ПРАВИТИ RV ЕЖЕ ПРАВИТИ RIV;
 сз спѢю PH се спѢнїѢ PS сз споῦю PC1 PC2 PCb се спѢнїѢ – subjunctive, 1st pr.sing.;

ДА ОУКРОТИШИ RI RII RIII ОУКРОТИТИ RV ЕЖЕ ОУКРОТИТИ RIV;

СЕ ПБЛЪНЗЕЦИ PS СЪЛЪ ПБЛЪНЗЕШЬ PH PC1 PC2 ПМБЛЪНЗЕЦИ ЕЛЪ PCb – subjunctive, 2nd sing;

59) 118:37 τοῦ μὴ ἰδεῖν;

ДА НЕ ВИДИТЕ RI RII RIII НЕ ВИДѢТИ RV ЕЖЕ НЕ ВИДѢТИ RIV

СЕ НОУ ВАСИ PH - subjunctive, 2nd pr.sing.? СЕ НОУ ВАСЪ PS СЪ НЪ ВАСЪ PC1 PCb PC2 – subjunctive, 3rd pr.sing/pl.

[The examples here analysed are missing in PV.]

From here additional hypotheses can be formulated. It appears from these examples that PH is not based on Redaction IV or V, otherwise, as previously, the Church Slavonic infinitive verbs would be expected to be rendered in old Romanian with parallel infinitival constructions, at least in part. It emerges, instead, that the subjunctive construction corresponds perfectly to the Church Slavonic ДА plus finite verb structure. In these examples, therefore, the textual witnesses of the Romanian Psalter coordinate, and they all present the same verbal forms. Additionally, it could be noted that the conjugation of verbs follows that of the Slavonic forms from redactions I, II and III, and redaction III in particular in 57.

All in all, if the three groups of examples are taken together, it can be suggested that the Romanian text aligns mainly with Redaction III. There might be some doubts about the Hurmuzaki Psalter as suggested in section 2.3.2., which, to a certain extent, makes the examples of section 2.3.3. less relevant for the overall argument.

Staying in the area of verbal change, another difference between the ‘pre-Athonite’ and the ‘Athonite’ redactions was the passage from second person singular aorist forms, which coincide morphologically with the forms in third person singular aorist, to perfect constructions. These are rendered with periphrastic past constructions in Romanian, while the verbs in the aorist, usually, are rendered in Romanian with a simple perfect:²⁵

Psalm	Slavonic pre-Athonite	→	Romanian	Lacunae
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²⁵ Examples taken from pss. 77-151 only.

84.3	покры → покрыль ꙗси	(α)κοπεριται PH PS PV PC PC1 PC2 PCb	
88.3	реке → рекль ꙗси	σισαι PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb	PH PV
88.11	разгна → разгналь ꙗси	ρζεπζηδитаи PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb	PH PV
88.43	възвесели → възвеселиль ꙗси	βέλι? PH βέλιται PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb	PV
89.3	реке → рекль ꙗси	αι υ σισου PH σισαι PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb	PV
103.24	сътвори → сътвориль ꙗси	φαπται PH PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb	PV
137.2	оуслыша → оуслышаль ꙗси	ακουατατου PH ακδλταται PS PV PC PC1 PCb αδзитаи PC2	
138.15	сътвори → сътвориль ꙗси	α φαпτου PH φαпται PS PC PC1 PCb αι φζκοутδ PV	

Another change in the transition from the ‘Archaic’ Slavonic redactions to RIII was the rendering of Greek prepositional constructions: what previously was translated with the instrumental case was then altered to an equivalent prepositional construction in RIII and later redactions:

- 60) 11:3 λβστιβζιηα ςρζдыцѣмъ, *with a deceitful heart*, in RI and RII was changed to въ срѣци, *in the heart*, in RIII and the Norov Psalter. All Romanian versions use the preposition φητρδ, *in*, although in PH, PS PC and PC1 we have the noun in the singular φτρζримъ and in PC2 in plural φητρδ иними (lacunae in PV and PCb);
- 61) 30:11 ἐξέλιπεν ἐν ὀδύνῃ was first translated as ωκκѣдѣ болѣзныѣ, *perished with sickness/pain* and then changed to въ болѣзні, *in pain*. In all Romanian versions we have a prepositional construction: къ екъсоу φ λφηγοаре in PH, φ доуѣре in PS, PC and PC1, and φ боалѣ in PC2 (lacunae in PV and PCb);
- 62) 32:3 ποιτε εμου въсклицѣнѣмъ, *sing to him with shouts (of joy)*, was changed to the prepositional phrase съ възклицаніемъ, *with shout* in RIII and to въ възклицаніѣ, *in shout* in the Norov Psalter to follow the Greek ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ. All Romanian variants follow RIII by having the prepositional construction кѣ стригаре (lacunae in PV and PCb);

- 63) 106:26 ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν ἐν κακοῖς ἐτίκετο was altered from ДѢА ИХЪ ЗЛОМЪ ТААШЕ, *their soul with evil was melted away* to ДѢА ИХЪ ВЪ ЗЛЫХЪ ТААШЕ, which was then rendered as соуфлетоу лоръ Ѡ рреле топиа са in PH and соуфлетѡль лѡ Ѡ рѡѡ топиа се in PC, PC1, PC2, PCb, PS and PV.

Although these are only a few examples of the many instances where the Slavonic text was altered to resemble more closely the Greek original, they show how a careful comparison between the Slavonic readings as categorised by redactions and the Romanian textual witnesses, even at a syntactical level, can bring further information about the translation of the Psalter text into Romanian. In particular, the case of final clause constructions as well as prepositional constructions show that in the main RIII was the principal point of reference for tradition of the Psalter text in Romanian.

3. The Complexity of the Textual Tradition of the Psalter in Romanian

I so far I tried to prove that overall the point of reference for the translator/revisor of the psalms in Romanian was the textual tradition of the Psalter in Church Slavonic belonging to Redaction III, in the section to follow I look at those instances where it appears that other Slavonic redactions of the text might have had an influence, especially in the case of the Hurmuzaki Psalter. Because of the complexity of the topic, multiple methods of analysis have been employed, based also on the sources (primary and secondary literature) available for the tradition of the Psalter both in Church Slavonic and Romanian: complete collation of psalm 77 as present in the Romanian sources and comparison with the psalm's Slavonic pre-Athonite and Athonite textual traditions; identification of different textual interpretations which can be traced back to a specific Slavonic Redaction/group of manuscripts; collation of the second half of the Psalter (pss. 77-151) as found in PH PV PS PC (PC1) PC2 and PCb. This section, therefore, draws more on the analysis of the primary sources rather than that of secondary literature. Alongside the attempt of explaining certain variant readings in the Romanian texts in light of the Slavonic tradition of the Psalter, I have also tried to see whether certain Slavonic MSS could explain better and more often the readings found in the Romanian sources, and so narrow down to a limited number of Slavonic MSS worth taking

into consideration while studying the translation of the psalms into Romanian. In this part of the chapter, therefore, I shall start mentioning specific Slavonic MSS as mentioned by MacRobert in her articles (in particular MacRobert 1995, 1998a, 2010).

3.1. *The Case Study of Psalm 77*

Psalm 77 offers an interesting case study, for its Slavonic tradition has been analysed in depth by MacRobert (1995), who identified about eighty textual differences between the manuscripts belonging to the Athonite and pre-Athonite traditions. Additionally, thanks to Češko's critical edition of the Norov Psalter (Češko et al. 1989), we can follow the later developments of the tradition of this psalm up to Redaction IV. When collating the Romanian textual witnesses, some differences between the texts can be explained in light of MacRobert's study and the critical corpus to the Norov Psalter, while others remain still unexplained and probably reflect a divergence in the translation/revision processes which the texts have undergone. All in all, the case study of psalm 77 allows us to both start exploring the idiosyncrasies of the Romanian sources in light of the variety of the Slavonic texts, and to pose fundamental questions on the nature of the translation and revision principles circulating in the Romanian lands in the sixteenth century.

3.1.1. *The Hurmuzaki Psalter and its pre-Athonite Readings*

65) 77:13 прѣстави is rendered with *пѡсе*, *placed*, in PS and PC. PC2 opts for a calque and separates прѣ and стави – *ѡнаинте зѡстѡви*, *placed before* or *stopped before*.²⁶ The case of PH is interesting, for *ωпри*, *stopped*, seems rather to render прѣстави, a reading present in some pre-Athonite Psalters (Plj Bel Peć). We find the same verb in Church Slavonic in 105:30: *καὶ ἐκόπασεν ἡ θραῦσις* → *и прѣста стѡѡ*, which is also rendered as *have stopped* in PH, *ши ωприѡѡ тѡерѡ*;

²⁶ In *Dicționarul de arhaisme și regionalisme* 'zăstăvi' is indicated as a regional term, a synonym of 'a opri', *to stop*. However, because the term is rather uncommon, it might be that we have a circular argument, where DAR itself refers to PC2 in identifying the meaning of zăstăvi. Zăstăvi could also be the result of double borrowing – with different meanings – into Romanian. Miklosich records *заставити* with the meaning of *to place* (<http://www.monumentaserbica.branatomic.com/mikl2/main.php?id=8780&st=1&term=>), whereas *zaustaviti* in modern Croatian/Serbian means *to stop*. Further investigation is needed.

- 66) 77:13 *ѣко мѣхъ*, *as a wineskin/waterskin*, is rendered with *κα φολλε* in PC and PC2 but in PH we have the additional preposition *in*, *η*, so *κα η φοη*, *like in waterskins*, and the indefinite article *κα ουη φολλε* in PC2. In some pre-Athonite manuscripts and in the Norov Psalter we find *вз мѣѣ* (Pog Bol Sin Rad Deč Plj Mih S8 S6 Bel) or *ѣко въ мѣхъ* in some Athonite manuscripts (Buch Peć). One conceivable explanation is that the preposition ‘in’ was inserted on purpose, following the original Slavonic text. During the revision process of PC2, instead, it might be that by having a Romanian text with the preposition *in* and a parallel Slavonic text without *вз*, the revisor interprets the preposition as ‘un’, that is, *a wineskin/waterskin*;
- 67) in ps. 77:15 while *вз безднѣ*, *in the abyss*, is the default Athonite reading for *ἐν ἀβύσσῳ*, while some Slavonic MSS have *вз безводнѣ* (Mun Kar Buch Peć for the Athonite Redaction) (Pog Bol Sin Deč S8 Plj Bel S6 as pre-Athonite). PH follows the tradition of the latter manuscripts with *φζρβδεапз*;
- 68) in 77:38 *не растлѣтъ*, *does not decay/corrupt/defile*, is rendered with *ουχι ва пїарде*, *will not lose*, in PH, *нѣ спаррѣ*, *does not break*, in PS and PC, and with *нѣ потрѣдѣще*, *does not corrupt*, in PV and PC2. While *спаррѣ* and *потрѣдѣще* go back to the Slavonic verb *растѣлити*, yet interpret it differently, PH is more problematic. In the pre-Athonite (Pog Bol Rad Deč Plj Bel S6 Sin S8 and MSS *Ox Mih Peć* of the Athonite redaction) redactions we have in the same place *погубитѣ/погуби* which besides having the meaning of *destroy* can also mean *lose*. In pss. 105:23, 118:95, 142:12, and 145:9 the verb *погубити* is used, and here all Romanian versions use the verb ‘a piarde’, which had a similar meaning in old Romanian as *погубити* in Church Slavonic, that is, *to lose* but also *to destroy*. The use of this verb in ps. 77:38 in PH indicates that the manuscript followed a different Slavonic tradition than the other Romanian sources;
- 69) 77:45 *растли ѣ* is once more rendered either with *пoutpeдни* or with *спарсе*. Opposed to 77:38, here PH also has *пoutpeдни*, *corrupted them*. The pre-Athonite reading, instead, is

погоубѣ ихъ/погоуби ꙗ (Pog Bol Sin Rad Deč S8 Plj Bel S6 *Mih* and *Peć*). Compared to the list of manuscripts which have the latter reading in 77:38, only *Ox* presents погоубить in 77:38 and растли ихъ in 77:45;

- 70) 77:47 сикамины is rendered with смѡкинѣле in PH and PV, which is closer to a specific Slavonic reading present in the pre-Athonite Pljevlja and Belgrade manuscripts, смѡквы;
- 71) In 77:49 the only text to translate the Slavonic noun посланиѣ, *mission*, with a noun is PC2,²⁷ тремитѣрѣ, *sending*, otherwise all Romanian versions have a verbal construction (трѣмиши in PS, PC, PC1 and PCб, and трѣмисе in PV, translating in the same manner посланиѣ and the verbal construction посла на на, found in the first part of the verse). In particular, PH could go back to the pre-Athonite interpretation, where we have посла на на, *sent against them* (Bol Rad Deč S8 Plj Bel *Peć*), rendered with трѣмѣсе принши. It could also be that the translator/revisor was influenced by the посла на на in the first part of the verse.

These examples show that some of the idiosyncrasies present in the Hurmuzaki Psalter can be explained in light of variant readings existing in the Slavonic tradition of the Psalter. In particular, the textual examples point to various pre-Athonite variants, present in the earliest as well as in late fourteenth-century Slavonic Psalters. The number of examples here provided does not allow us to draw any final conclusions, but they give space to a working hypothesis on the connection between PH and the pre-Athonite tradition of Psalter in Church Slavonic. This hypothesis acquires further strength when more psalms of the Hurmuzaki Psalter are analysed (see 3.2.2., *The Case of the Hurmuzaki Psalter*).

3.1.2. *The Voronež Psalter*

- 72) 77:60 скиниꙗ meaning *abode* besides *sanctuary* is rendered with a borrowing in PC2 скѣныа, with бесѣрека, *church*, in PS and PC (lacuna in PH), while PV has a different

²⁷ It should be noted that тремитѣрѣ in old Romanian is also a verbal construction, a long infinitive. However, in this case, the construction is most likely a noun, for it is followed by a defining possessive construction: тремитѣрѣ ѡцѣриловѣ юци, *the sending of the wicked angels*.

- 77) 77:38 *цѣдрь* is rendered with *мѣнѣиѡсъ*, *gentle/tender*, in PH, *милоствѣ* in PS, PV, PC and PCb, and *ѡфтинь*, *cheap*, meaning *merciful* in PC2, which could be considered synonyms. The only aspect to point out is that some pre-Athonite manuscripts (Pog Bol Sin Rad Deč Plj Bel S6 Oх) have *мѣтивъ* as synonym of *цѣдрь*. It might be that the latter influenced PS, PV, PC, PC1, PCb, because *цѣдрь* usually is translated as *ѡфтинь* (85:15, 102:8, 111:4, 144:8) or *милоствѣ* (110:4);
- 78) 77:40 *прогнѣвашѡ*, (*they*) *made angry*, is rather changed to *огорѣише*, (*they*) *filled with bitterness*, in the Oxford Psalter, which could explain the choice of *амзрѡрѡ*, (*they*) *embittered*, in PS, PC, PC1 and PCb. Usually, *прогнѣвати* is translated with *мѣниа*, *make angry*, as for example it is the case in 77:41 in all Romanian sources, and in the previous verse in PH and PV;
- 79) 77:44 *истѡники*, *springs* (*тѡѡа*, *rains*, in the Tomić Psalter as well as in earlier redactions) is rendered either with *изворѣе*, *springs*, in PH and PC2 or with *ѡзнтѡниа*, *wells*, in the other versions – a similar translation solution exists in the Apostolos text (James 3:11, where the printed text has ‘fântână’ and the manuscripts have ‘izvor’). In other instances, *истѡникъ* has been translated with *изворъ* in all Romanian versions (103:10 and 113:8), which suggest that the original must have had *истѡники* rather than *тѡѡа*, as it is in the Slavonic text of PV, PC2 and PCb;
- 80) 77:46 *трудоу/трѣдѣ* is rendered with *агониста*, *labour*, in PH, with a borrowing, *трѣда*, in PV and with *моуниа* in PS, PC, PCb and PC2. It is interesting to note that PH and PV have the noun in the singular, which is typical in the pre-Athonite redaction (Pog Bol Sin Rad Deč S8 Bel S6 *Mun UB34*), though it seems that the Slavonic text in PC2 has *трѣдѣ* in the singular as well;
- 81) 77:51 *прѣвѣнецъ* is rendered with *пѣтѣнѡлѡз* in PH/*пѣтѣнии* in PV (plural), and with *тодѣ пѣтѣле нѣскѣте* in PS, PC, PC1, PC2, and PCb. This example might suggest the influence of the Slavonic reading found in the Oxford Psalter: *вса прѣворѣна*. However, it should be

pointed out that in pss. 104:36 and 134:8 *прѣвѣнецъ*, the default reading in the Slavonic sources, Oxford Psalter included, is also translated as *лтѣи нѣскѣци* in PS, PC and PC2.

Examples 73 to 81 indicate an interesting aspect of textual analysis. While it is important to identify and study in depth all textual differences between the Romanian sources, it might not always be clear if these are backed by similar differences in the Slavonic sources, especially if it is a matter of plural constructions opposed to singular ones or in cases of lexical proximity/synonymity (both in the Slavonic and Romanian sources). Perhaps the best bet would be to focus mainly on those textual examples which suggest a different interpretation of the biblical text and so point towards different textual traditions.

3.1.4. Readings deserving further explanation

- 82) 77:4 τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν is translated as *ѡады ихъ* in Church Slavonic. While most of the Romanian varieties have *фїи лѡ*, *their children*, PH has *фѣмене лорѣ*, *their women/wives*, an interpretation which can only be explained if we look at the etymology of the word ‘femeie’ in Romanian. According to Semicinsky (1972), during the period of bilingualism in the lands north of Danube, the meaning of the Latin-derived word *familia* was semantically associated to Slavonic word *ѡелиады*, *house* or *household* (it also had the additional meaning of *servants*). In the vernacular understanding of *ѡелиады* as found in the Balkans, it can also mean *children (in/of a family)*. The translation of *ѡады ихъ* as *фѣмене лорѣ*, therefore, would point to a moment in time of old Romanian where ‘femeie’ was still associated with the meaning of *child* rather than simply *woman/wife*, as it is in modern Romanian;
- 83) 77:5 τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῶν was translated as *снѡмѣ сѡнимѣ*, *their sons*, in Church Slavonic and as *фїилѡ сѣи* in Romanian. PH instead has *фѣѡурѣилорѣ ѡѡри*, *our sons*. It is possible that the scribe was influenced by the previous part of the verse, which has *ѡѡѣмѣ нашимѣ* in Church Slavonic and in PH *ѡѡшилорѣ ѡѡри*, *our forefathers*;

- 84) In ps. 77:17 in PC we have the addition of *earth* in МЗНІАРѢ СΟΥΣΔΛЬ ПЗМЗНТЬ ꙗ ФЗРѢ ДѢ АПѢ, while all other versions have МЗНІАРЪ ДѢ СΔСЪ ꙗ ФЗРЪ ДѢ ΔΠЪ. The word ПЗМЗНТЬ has been added at a later stage by hand above ꙗ ФЗРѢ ДѢ АПѢ, however, the reason for such a change is yet to be found;
- 85) 77:48 εἰς χάλαζαν is translated as ΓΛΑΔΟΥ, *hailstorm*, in Church Slavonic and ГРИНДИНІЇЕИ in Romanian. In PH this word is translated as ФΩΜΕΕИ, *hunger*, which might mean that the revisor read the Slavonic word as ΓΛΑΔЪ, *hunger*, rather than ΓΛΑΔЪ.

All in all, the case study of psalm 77 is useful to bring forth various considerations upon the appropriate method of analysis in studying the early textual tradition of biblical texts in old Romanian. By knowing that these were mainly translated from Church Slavonic, already during the collation process, it becomes crucial to add a Slavonic source to the Romanian textual witnesses (ideally a source which might have been circulating in the lands north of the Danube at the time). This allows us to reflect upon the translation and revision processes in which the Romanian texts might have been involved, and, most importantly, makes us investigate further those issues that find no immediate explanation in the chosen Slavonic source or the internal dynamics of the Romanian language. The case study here presented, for example, shows how certain reading differences across the Romanian sources might be based not only on a different interpretation of the original source (the different application of a translation technique), but rather on variants existing among the manuscripts of the Slavonic tradition of the Psalter. A complete comparison between the Romanian sources and a critical edition of the Psalter text in Church Slavonic would probably bring us close enough to identifying the nature of the manuscript(s) which was the basis of the first translation(s) of the Psalter into Romanian. At present this is not possible, for all critical editions of the Psalter text in Church Slavonic consider a limited number of witnesses and do not cover the traditions of all five redactions of the text. The case study of psalm 77 allows us, for example, to focus mainly on Redactions I-III, although by consulting the critical edition of the Norov Psalter, it is possible to follow the development of the psalm's tradition up to Redaction IV. Based on the examples reported above, our attention is guided towards a South

Slavonic source which either belonged to a pre-Athonite redaction or was a mixed pre-Athonite and Athonite redaction for the Hurmuzaki Psalter (see especially examples 65 and 70, and 70 and 72 for the Voroneţ Psalter), and to a source belonging in the main to RIII with some influences from earlier Slavonic redactions for the Scheia, Ciobanu and the printed Psalters of 1570, 1577 and [1588] (examples 78 and potentially 85).

3.2. Influence of other Redactions

If knowing the points of textual variety across the Slavonic redactions and comparing these with the Romanian sources offers us a shortcut in identifying roughly the redaction which influenced most the textual tradition of the Psalter in Romanian (see section 2.1.), this approach does not explain to the full some of the most striking discrepancies found within the Romanian texts. Consequently, if there are no further critical editions of the psalms and if the textual varieties found in the Romanian traditions go beyond the list of different readings offered to schematically divide Slavonic Psalter manuscripts in distinct redactions, the other approach to textual analysis is for each significant variation within the Romanian texts to check for the corresponding reading in as many Slavonic sources as possible and see whether these can cast further light on the Romanian tradition.

3.2.1. Idiosyncrasies in the Romanian Text Explained by Earlier Slavonic Redactions

Although they are few, there are some examples that suggest a possible influence of other redactions on the Romanian texts. Such as:

86) βαρίς was normally translated as дѡмъ in ps. 47:14 and left untranslated in pss. 44:9 and 47:4 or rendered as тѣжеть, due to a confusion of the Greek word βᾶρις with βάρος, especially in redactions II and III (MacRobert 2010: 428). Additionally, in some manuscripts of Redaction I we have тварехъ, which might be the result of the corruption of the Church Slavonic calque варехъ (Погорелов 1910: 127, n. 15). The rendering into old Romanian of the latter two examples is inconsistent and quite interesting.

Ps.	PH	PS	PC1	PC2
44:9	дѣ пѣсоулюль рѣснимацилорѣ	дѣ пѣсарѣ слѡновнилор	дѣ пѣсарѣ слѡновнилорѣ	дѣ пѣсарѣ слѡновнилу

47:4	Ⲡ ⲗⲃⲕⲣⲃⲗⲗⲗ ⲁ ⲗⲟⲩⲩⲏ	Ⲡ ⲫⲁⲡⲧⲉⲗⲉ ⲗⲃⲏ	Ⲡ ⲫⲁⲡⲧⲉⲗⲉ ⲗⲃⲏ	Ⲡ Ⲓⲣⲉⲏⲓⲙⲧⲃ ⲥⲁ
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Both these instances have ТАЖЕСТЬ in Church Slavonic in PC1 and PC2, yet the rendering in Romanian is different at the verse level, that is, for ps. 44:9 and 47:4, as well as across the Romanian sources, which suggests that the Slavonic source text did not necessarily have ТАЖЕСТЬ as it is typical for Redaction III. In PH we have ⲗⲃⲕⲣⲃⲗⲗⲗ (the work) for ps.47:4 and ⲫⲁⲡⲧⲉⲗⲉ (the deeds) in PS and PC1, as possible translations of ТВАРЕХЪ – in ps. 91:5, for example, ВЪ ТВАРИ ТВОЕИ is rendered as Ⲡ ⲫⲁⲡⲧⲉⲗⲉ ⲧⲗⲗⲉ, *in your deeds*, across all Romanian versions, which would support the above hypothesis. PC2, instead, presents a literal translation from Church Slavonic, where Ⲓⲣⲉⲏⲓⲙⲧⲃ stands for *weights*, i.e., ТАЖЕСТЬ. The example in ps. 44:9 has been translated as ⲡⲃⲥⲁⲣⲧⲃ/ ⲡⲗⲥⲞⲢⲣⲧⲃ, thus *worry/burden* in PS, PC1 and PC2, perhaps attempting to translate again ТАЖЕСТЬ: but as ⲡⲃⲥⲟⲒⲠⲟⲗⲃ in PH, which could stand for *house/tent*. The latter example suggests that either PH used more of an interpretative approach to translation and that it might have referred to a MS having ⲱⲧⲃ ⲱⲣⲓⲏ in Church Slavonic.²⁸ It is also interesting to note that PH is the only variety having a translation ⲥⲗⲞⲒⲠⲟⲱⲃⲏⲗⲗ for *made of ivory*, which is rather based on the meaning of the verb ⲥⲗⲞⲒⲠⲏⲧⲏ ⲥⲗ, *to lean on/against something* – ⲣⲗⲑⲏⲙⲗⲥⲏⲗⲟⲣⲗⲗ, *those which are shored up*;

- 87) 108:23 ⲡⲣⲞⲗⲗⲏ, *locusts*, has been translated as ⲙⲗⲑⲁⲓⲥⲉ in PH and Ⲏⲃⲗⲗⲉ in PS, PC, PC1, PC2 and PCb, *shoots* or *twigs*. The translation of the Greek ἀκρίδες into Church Slavonic has been problematic from the beginning. One interpretative tradition renders the word as ⲡⲣⲞⲗⲧⲃⲏⲗⲏ ⲕⲞⲎⲑⲥⲏ *tips of shoots* or ⲡⲣⲃⲧⲏⲓⲕⲗⲑⲗ, *shoots* (MacRobert 2010: 427, MSS T28 Amf? Luc J B Ban Plj – T35). The peculiar understanding rendered in Romanian might, therefore, come from one of these interpretations in Church Slavonic, which is mainly found in later Easter European manuscripts (RII). Additionally, it should be noticed that in

²⁸ Such would be the case of the commented Tolstoj Psalter, a 12th century Psalter text that has in ps. 17:4 ВЪ ТВАРЕХЪ and in ps. 44:9 ⲱⲧⲃ ⲱⲣⲓⲏ.

PC1, PC2, and PCb the Church Slavonic counterpart is вѣшѣ, which stands rather for *fruits/tips of branches*, and translates the Greek word ἀκρόδρυα (Miklosich 1862);

- 88) 150:5 κύμβαλον is rendered with КУМБАЛЪ or ТЪМΠΑНЪ in Church Slavonic. However, the reading in old Romanian is different – клопотеле, клопотъ, *bells/in bell*, which might follow a different interpretation found in some Church Slavonic manuscripts of RII, which have звонѣхъ here (MacRobert 2010: 429, MSS J B Plj Bel Ath).

These three examples show a possible influence of an earlier redaction on the Psalter's textual tradition in Romanian, in particular example 88 from ps. 150:5. We then have some individual readings across the Romanian texts, excluding PH to be analysed separately, which suggest the influence of another Slavonic redaction different from RIII.

- 89) in 17:39 the Greek ἐκθλίψω was initially rendered as ѿκροгышѣ, *I will smite*, and later changed to ѿкрьблѣ, *I will embitter [them]*. PS and PC/PC1 seem to either follow the earlier tradition or that of the Norov Psalter with фрънѣши, *I break*, while PH follows Redaction III ѿкрьбни вою together with PC2 ѿкрьби вою прѣ еи – *I will embitter [them]*. This is also supported by the fact that in other parts of the Psalter where the Slavonic ѿкροгыш- root is used, this is usually rendered with words derived from the verb *a frânge*;

- 90) 73:17 τὰ ὄρια is translated as прѣдѣлы, *boundaries*, in all Slavonic redactions but RII, where a different Greek tradition is followed τὰ ὄρεα → горы, *mountains*. While PH and PC2 follow the former textual tradition with хотарре(ле), *boundaries*, PS, PC, PC1, and PCb фръмѣциле, *beauties*, an interpretation which has been found in only one Slavonic source so far (MacRobert 1994: 153): the Oxford Psalter with κρᾶσνα ζεμίλι, *beauties of earth*;

- 91) In ps. 147:6 κρύσταλλον is rendered as голотъ, *hailstone*, in Church Slavonic and as гриндинѣ, *the hailstone*, in the Romanian texts PV, PS, PC, PC1, PC2. In 148:8, however, гриндинѣ is the translation of градъ, *hailstone/hailstorm*, in all Romanian texts, while κρύσταλλος/голотъ is rendered as στέρριι, *icicles*, in PV and PS and as гециле, *ices*, in the

printed editions. One explanation for such distinction is that ΓΡΑΔΥ and ΓΟΛΟΥΤЬ are in the same verse, so that the translator found himself in need of lexical variety to render faithfully the original text – and indeed, while χάλαζα/ΓΡΑΔΥ is closer in meaning to hailstone, κρύσταλλος/ ΓΟΛΟΥΤЬ has the understanding of something becoming ice. Another explanation would be that етѣррїи/ гѣциле go back to ледь, *ice*, as found in the Oxford Psalter rather than to ΓΟΛΟΥΤЬ. Both in pss. 147:6 and 148:8 PH has βροῦμα, *frost*, which is more likely to translate ΓΟΛΟΥΤЬ;

- 92) In 118:136 the Greek verb ἐφύλαξαν was rendered as езхранихъ (first person singular aorist) in the first two Slavonic redactions and then in the Norov Psalter and RIV. In RIII the verb is altered to езхранишѣ (third person plural aorist), which is the tradition followed by PH [ци]нрѣръ, (*they*) *kept*, and PS, PV φερίρη, (*they*) *protected*, and PC2 пѣзирѣ, (*they*) *guarded/watched*. Coresi's 1570 and 1577 editions together with PCb prefer instead the first option φερίи, (*I*) *protected*;
- 93) In 107:10 RII and some late fourteenth century MSS belonging to RI (MacRobert 1998a, MSS Par and Lob) translate ἐκτενῶ as протѣриѣ, *lay/spread*, while earlier RI manuscripts as well as the tradition of RIII, RIV, the Norov Psalter and that of the commentated Psalters have паложѣ, *put*, following a different Greek tradition ἐπιβαλῶ. Most of Romanian versions follow the latter tradition – погнре вою, *I will put*, in PH, погю, *I put*, in PS, PC, PC1, PCb and PC2. However, PV has тиншѣ, *I spread*, which is how usually протѣрѣти is translated in Romanian (for example in pss. 79:12, 84:6, 104:39, 124:3, 137:7);
- 94) Deut 32:39 ἐγώ εἰμι found in the Canticles is translated as азъ ѿсьмь in RIII as well as some manuscripts adhering to RI and in the Norov Psalter (MacRobert 1998a), however RII together with another group of MSS from RI follow another Greek tradition ἐγώ εἰμι θεός (MacRobert 1998a, MSS Sin Par Lob Gri Deč and RII). Of our Romanian sources, PV seems to follow the latter tradition with the reading εογ εζμнпτογ δᾶμνογ, *I am the Lord*,

although in the Slavonic counterpart preceding the Romanian text the reading is typical of RIII with азъ ѿсьмь;

Although these examples are few when compared to the overall corpus of the text, they suggest that the textual tradition of the Psalter in Romanian is more complex than originally thought, not only in the case of the Hurmuzaki Psalter, but also in that of the other Romanian sources. The first three examples of this section (86-88) point to a link to Redaction II and to some peculiar interpretations found in the family of manuscripts belonging to this tradition (MSS from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century for example 88). Examples 90 and potentially 91 reveal the presence in the Romanian tradition of some peculiar textual interpretations that are to be found in the Oxford Psalter only (another example of this was number 78). Additionally, examples 93 and 94 support further the hypothesis that the Voroneţ Psalter, too, might have been influenced by a pre-Athonite source.

3.2.2. *The Case of the Hurmuzaki Psalter*

It has been pointed out that the Hurmuzaki Psalter presents many idiosyncrasies when compared to the other Romanian sources. In some instances, it is a matter of lexical differences amongst the Romanian texts, in others of translation techniques for rendering the same Slavonic text. Nonetheless, there are also clear examples suggesting that at some point in the translation/revision process leading to the composition of PH reference was made to a Slavonic source which can be traced back to the textual traditions of Redactions I and II.

95) 41:6 περίλυπος rendered as печалъна, *full of sadness*, in RI and RII, and прикръвна, *disheartened* in RIII. PS, PC1 and PC2 present a borrowing from Church Slavonic with скръзвить, while PH goes back to the archaic reading with ꙗ гриже, *in worry*. As a matter of fact, печалъ is usually translated as грижа, *worry* in Romanian (85:7, 106:39, 107:13, 117:15, 141:3, 142:11), while скръзвь is usually translated as вѣнать in PH and with the already mentioned borrowing in the other versions (77:49, 80:8, 90:15, 114:3, 118:143, 137:8);

- 96) 41:10 отъ печали врага моего, *from my enemy's oppression/trouble*, was altered to внегода стѣжаетъ ми врагъ, *when the enemy oppresses me*, perhaps in order to avoid any misunderstandings of the word печаль, which by the thirteenth century was understood as *sorrow* instead of *oppression* (Thomson 1998: 819). However, changed in this way, the Church Slavonic version is also more similar to the Greek original ἐν τῷ ἐκθλίβειν τὸν ἐχθρόν μου, which might be the primary reason for the alteration to be introduced. The Romanian translation presents two varieties: де грижа дракоулуй миѣл in PH, following the earlier Church Slavonic redactions, and кѣндѣ додеаше ми дракѣль in PC, PC1, and PS, and кѣндѣ додеаше ми вѣрѣмашѣль in PC2, similar to Redaction III;
- 97) 42:2 κραταίωμα is initially translated as крѣпостъ, *strength*, in the archaic versions, and as дрѣжава, *stronghold*, in the 14th century. While PS, PC, PC1 and PC2 follow RIII with цирѣтѣл миѣл (цирѣрѣ in PC2), PH seems to refer to RI and RII вѣртѣтѣ ма, *my virtue*. It should be noticed that in other instances throughout the Psalter text крѣпостъ is translated as вѣртѣтѣ in Hurmuzaki;
- 98) 46:9 ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη is rendered by default as надъ языки, however in RI and the associated pseudo-Athanasian commentary a different Greek tradition if followed, which presents the addition of 'all': ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. Once more, while in PC, PC1, PC2, and PS we have спре лимби, *towards peoples*, in PH the translation seems to follow RI with пре тоатѣ лимбиле, *on all peoples*;
- 99) ps. 48:18 divides the Slavonic MSS in two different traditions, one following the Greek ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ with слава его (RII and RIV) and another following a different Greek reading, ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ, which is followed by RI+Ps-A Th RII Nor, слава домѣ его. While PS PC PC1 and PC2 follow RIII слава лѣи, *his glory*, PH has слава кѣсееи лѣи, *glory of his house*, i.e. departs from RIII;
- 100) in 54:9 we have already seen how отъ прѣвнѣмаганѣвѣ дѣха, *from weakness of spirit*, was changed to отъ малодѣшиа, *from faintheartedness*, in order to reach a formal equivalence

Like the previous example, in ps. 77:45 διέφθειρεν was first translated as погуби and then changed to растл in RIII. In Romanian we have ши спаρε in PS, PC1 and еи спаρε in PV, and пренши пдтрєдни in PH and пдтрєди прє еи in PC2. Consequently, PH here follows RIII instead;

- 104) 78:5 ἐκκαυθήσεται is first rendered with раждежетъ сѧ, *catches fire*, and then changed to рлзгорит сѧ, *flares up*. In PC, PC1, PC2, PCb, PS and PV the verb is rendered as фѣйде се, *catches fire*, while PH has фѣербзнта се, *heats up*. In 77.38 we have раждежетъ as well, and here the verb used in PH is once more ‘a se înfierba’, *to get hot*. All other Romanian versions seem not to make a distinction between the two Slavonic verbs and render it with ‘a se încinde’ (modern Romanian încinge), although PC2 has ‘a se aprinde’, *to catch fire, kindle* in 77.38;
- 105) 80:7 τὸν νῶτον αὐτοῦ - χρῶβετῶ ἰχθ, *their backs*, in RI and RII, and ѧго, *his*, in RIII. In Romanian it has been rendered as лди in PS, PC, PC1, PC2 and PCb, and лωρз PH; the latter example points to the fact that the Hurmuzaki Psalter goes back to ἰχθ, that is, to *their*;
- 106) 80:13 κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα was rendered with похотемъ or по похтемъ, *because of the wish*, in RI and RII, and по наѳинаніюу, *because of the initiative*, in RIII. PH follows with a borrowing the archaic versions with похотєєи, while PS and Coresi’s books have дѧпз фнѳєпѧтѧль, *following the beginning*, where наѳинаніє had been misunderstood as *beginning* instead of *initiative*;
- 107) 82:7 οἱ Ἰσμαηλῖται the proper noun indicating the descendants of Ismael have first been rendered with измѧлнѳєннѳ and then changed to измѧлнѳє in RIII. In PH we have a borrowing измѧлзѳєннѳ, which appears closer to the archaic versions rather than the Athonite one. The other Romanian texts have исмѧлции and измѧлнѧлѳ in PV;
- 108) 82:17 The Greek ἀτιμίας has been initially rendered as досѧждєннѳ, *insult/offence*, and then changed to безѳстынѧ, *ashamed*. Following the Slavonic original, the Romanian versions

- present two different borrowings: $\phi\zeta\langle r\tilde{a}\rangle$ δε φινετε in PS and PC1, following RIII, and δε δοααδκ in PH, following the archaic redactions;
- 109) 84:5 τῶν σωτηρίων ἡμῶν is translated as сѣєніи наші, *of our salvations*, however RII and some 14th century manuscripts belonging to RI follow a different Greek tradition ὁ σωτήρ ἡμῶν, where the noun is changed to the singular and becomes saviour rather than salvation: *our saviour*, сѣитєлю нашь (MacRobert 1998b, MSS S6 Jar [Plj] Bel Pog2 Pog3 Sof60 Vat Par Lob). PH follows the latter tradition with сѣитωрюлз нострѣ, *our saviour*, while the other Romanian versions have сѣєніа нострѣ, *our salvation* (in the singular);
- 110) 90:4 ὄπλω has been translated as щитѣмь *with shield* initially, and then as оръжіємь, *with weapon* in RIII. Similarly, PS and PC1 present the revised reading, ἀρμε, *weapons*, and PH has κδτδλ, *shield*;
- 111) 93:16 πονηρευομένουσ is translated as злобугѣшталѧ in the archaic redactions, and as лѣкавнугѣшѣлѧ in RIII because of the distinction that is made in RIII between κακία and πονηρία. We have already seen how this distinction is maintained in Romanian as well (See section 2.2.), so that the default translation in Romanian is χιταβни (PC, PC1, PC2, PCb and PS, also in 118.115). PH, however, has ѱει φά⁸⁸ ρρεδ, which might go back to RI and RII;
- 112) 97:5 τῷ κυρίῳ is translated simply with гѣи, *to the Lord*, in Church Slavonic and with дѣлδи in Romanian. However, RI and the pseudo-Athanasian commentary to the Psalter follow a different Greek tradition τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν, which has the addition of the second person plural pronoun and the change from Lord to God. PH follows the latter tradition, although not fully: дѣлδуги ностроуг, *to our Lord*;
- 113) 98:4 εὐθύτητας is translated with правини, accusative plural of правина, *straightness/directness*, in RII, RIII and the Norov Psalter and правинѣ, in the accusative singular, in the sources of RI and of the two commentaries to the psalms. While the PS PC PC1 PC2 and PCb have a plural noun, дєрєптѣци, and seem to follow the tradition of RII

RIII and the Norov Psalter, PV and PH have a noun in the singular, $\delta\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon$ and $\delta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon$ accordingly, which might go back to RI and the tradition of the commentaries;

114) in ps. 118:49 redactions I (and pseudo-Athanasian commentary), II and the Norov Psalter follow the Greek tradition having the noun in singular: $\tau\acute{o}\nu \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\nu \dots \tilde{\omega}$ → $\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omicron \dots \omega \eta\epsilon\mu\eta\epsilon$ *word ... of which*; redactions III and IV and the Theodoret commentary, instead, follow a different Greek tradition $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\nu \dots \tilde{\omega}\nu$, which has the noun ‘word’ in the plural. Among the Romanian varieties we have the same difference, while PH follows the first example with $\kappa\delta\upsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\lambda\beta \dots \delta\epsilon \upsilon\epsilon$ the other versions have $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\beta\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon \dots \delta\epsilon \alpha\lambda\epsilon$, and $\kappa\delta\upsilon\beta\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon \dots \delta\epsilon \kappa\alpha\rho\eta\lambda\epsilon$ in PC2;

115) in ps. 140.9 RII and RIII have the verb $\epsilon\zeta\kappa\rho\upsilon\psi\alpha\tau\epsilon$, (*they*) *hid*, for $\epsilon\kappa\rho\upsilon\psi\alpha\nu$, while RI together with the Norov Psalter and the tradition of the commentated Psalters have $\epsilon\zeta\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\iota\sigma\alpha$, (*they*) *set up*, following a different Greek tradition $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$. The latter reading is also present in the Slavonic text of all Romanian bilingual books (PV PC1PC2 PCb), while their Romanian counterpart follows the default reading of RIII $\alpha\sigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$. As for PH, it has instead $\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$, (*they*) *placed*. Psalm 140 is also one of the few psalms present in Coresi’s Molitvenic (1568), which has the same reading as PH ‘pusăra’ *they placed*.

These examples show how the idiosyncrasies found in the Hurmuzaki Psalter can better be understood if other redactions of the Psalter text in Church Slavonic are taken into account. In particular, examples 95-97, 99-108, 110, 111 and 114 show that the possible text used for the translation or revision of the Hurmuzaki Psalter could have belonged to RI, RII or to one of the commentated Psalters, while examples 98, 112, 113, 114 suggest an influence of RI and example 109 of mainly RII. Besides supporting the hypothesis that the textual interpretations of the psalms found in PH draw close to the Slavonic pre-Athonite tradition, it has not been possible to identify a specific manuscript or group of manuscripts it can be associated with. The problem is that not enough work has been done on South Slavonic Psalters of the later fourteenth-sixteenth centuries, and on those Slavonic manuscripts of mixed redactions. We do not know, therefore, whether

Redaction III, which became established in the printed tradition, was predominant or whether other redactions also circulated in manuscript. The examples of the Hurmuzaki Psalter suggest that more than one revised version of the text made its way from the South to the East Slavs in the later fourteenth century, and these revised texts could have reached the Romanian lands either on their way north or perhaps at a later stage coming south again, leaving a trace in the textual tradition of the psalms in old Romanian.

4. Considerations on the Affiliation of the Romanian Psalters

4.1. The Identification of Two Redactions of the Psalter in Romanian

In light of these examples, there is no doubt that the Hurmuzaki Psalter belongs to a different textual tradition, which relied on a Slavonic source that was different from that used by the group of texts of PS, PC, PC1, PC2 and PCb. There are enough reasons to advance the argument that two different redactions of the Psalter in Romanian circulated in the sixteenth century. Schematically, the two Redactions (R1 and R2) could have appeared as shown below: a) R1 originated from the first translation of the Psalter into Romanian, which was made against a primarily Athonite Slavonic source. Shortly after the appearance of R1, it was revised against a different Slavonic source, which belonged, at least in part, to the pre-Athonite tradition, so that R2 appeared, of which PH is the main representative; b) from the beginning, two different redactions of the psalms in old Romanian were available. The Hurmuzaki Psalter adheres in the main to R2, although during its composition an additional Romanian source belonging to R1 was used for revision. The role played by the Voroneț Psalter and PC2 is yet to be explored, which is why they are marked with a question mark below. Additionally, RIII as the source tradition for the translation of the psalms into Romanian is marked by an asterisk to signal the fact that the actual Slavonic source must have already had some readings which were typical of earlier Slavonic manuscripts.

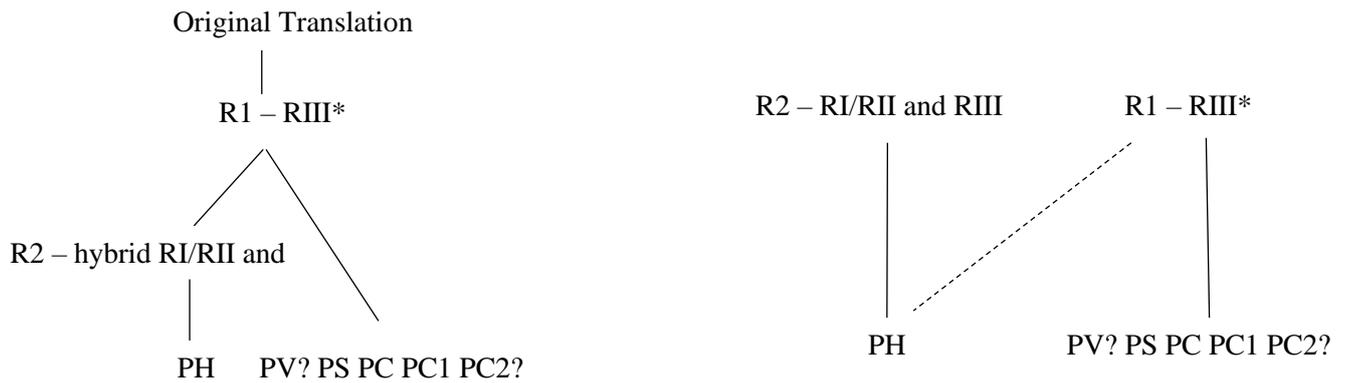


Fig. 2. First and Second Redaction of the Psalter in Romanian

A close observation of the Hurmuzaki Psalter at the palaeographic level favours the second scheme – it belongs to a different redaction in the main, but was influenced by R1 during its composition process. It has already been mentioned how across the source there are many instances where Slavonic words have been copied in their entirety or in part. These are often crossed out in either red or the manuscript's dark brown ink or are left untouched. As already suggested by Gheție (2005: 13-19), there are good reasons to think that the Hurmuzaki Psalter was copied from a bilingual source. Another feature of the manuscript is that it has undergone various revision processes at different levels. For example, there are cancellations made in dark brown ink which have probably been added at the time of the copying. There are also deletions in red which could have potentially been made subsequently. What is more, the text presents modifications at the textual level: either additions in the margins or above the lines or the presence of double translations within the text. This last category of changes might cast further light on the way PH was composed and if the existence of two different redactions of the psalms in old Romanian is a plausible hypothesis.

- 116) On f. 18^v, ps. 22:5 PH has a correction ΓЪТИРЪ МЪ ТАН, which is in line with the reading we have in PC, PC1 and PC2: ΓЪТИТАН;
- 117) on f. 29^v, ps. 34:24 we have an erasure ΛΑΟΥΔΕ ΜΗ ΣΑ, above which is written ΒΟΥΚΟΥΡΕ. As in the previous case, this is the reading shared by PS, PC, PC1 and PC2;

- 118) on f. 42^r, ps. 49:16, there is an interesting example of the revision process carried out by the scribe. For the Church Slavonic и приемлещи завѣтъ мой three different translations are provided in old Romanian, of which only one is not crossed out later - PH: ~~ши вѣри~~ ~~ла~~ ~~поръчѣта ма~~ ши вери прѣмде принде веръ їаи поръчѣта ма. The struggle was given by the verb *приимати*, for which at first a future construction was attempted with the verb ‘а прими’, *to receive*, which eventually was changed to present construction with the verb ‘а lua’, *to take*. The other Romanian texts have a construction in the present tense, but with the verb *to receive*: ши прѣмещи зиса мѣ. The same difference in the lexical choice is found in ps. 145:9, SI: приемлетъ → PH: λοῦάωβα, others: прѣимѣще; or in ps. 146:6 SI: приемла → PH: а, PC2: прѣимѣще, others: ѿе прѣими (PCb mssing);
- 119) on f. 62^r, ps. 72:1 there is an additional example of a later correction which brings PH in line with the other Romanian texts.

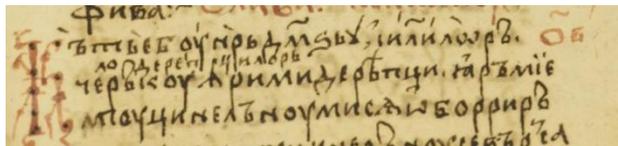


Fig. 1. Hurmuzaki Psalter, f. 62^r.

PH: ѿе^о ръ коу прими дерѣпци above the line дерепцилоръ

PS PC PC1 PC2 PCb: дерепцилоръ
кѣ прѣма
(PV missing);

- 120) on f. 64^v, ps. 73:13 the dynamic is the opposite than in the previous example – a reading which was in line with the other sources is altered to a different interpretation. Interestingly, PC2 follows PH in its new interpretation rather than the other texts. This change might be due to the fact that in verse 14 there is the repetition of the word змеѣ, *snake/dragon*, as can be seen in the facsimile.

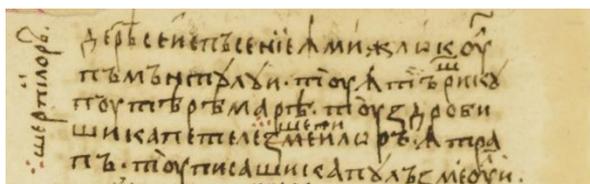


Fig. 2. Hurmuzaki Psalter, f. 64^v.

PH: змеѣ^нлоръ : шерпѣлоръ

PC2: шерпилаѣ

PS PC PC1 PCb: змеиллоръ

- 121) on the same folio, at verse 15, it has already been mentioned that two different translations are present one following the other 1) тоу исѣѣши апеле ридреле апѣтѣсе 2) тоу сѣкаши

ρηδρελε εθαμδλουη. These go back to two different Slavonic traditions in interpreting the Greek Ηθαμ: it is either left untranslated or it is interpreted as *наводьненыа* (MacRobert 2010). The interpretation of this passage in the other Romanian texts is in line with PH's second reading: *тѣ секашь ρзδρελε етамδλди*. This example shows how the scribe was probably drawing from two different translations of the psalms;

- 122) folio 64^v offers another very interesting example of revision. In ps. 73:18 the scribe leaves the Slavonic wording *по имени егѡ* in the main body of the text, which later is crossed out in red and corrected in the margins with the wrong reading *доупъ нѣмеле лѣи*. The other Romanian sources have *поменѣце а҃ста* here, which translated the Slavonic *помѣни сѣа*, as found in PC1. This mistake first points to a mistake in copying and understanding the Slavonic text : *помѣни се҃го*, as found written in the Tomić as well as in earlier Slavonic MSS, is altered to *по имени егѡ*, which in turn is translated as *доупъ нѣмеле лѣи* in Romanian. In this instance the scribe or revisor did not consult any other source than the one used for copying;
- 123) on f. 106^v there is another correction to the PH's text, added at a later stage in the margins and in line with the other Romanian texts: *ѡ мзѣра та е* → *мзрѣле*. The correction, however, was not brought to completion, for *та е* was not altered to a plural construction following *мзрѣле*, and it is difficult to say at what stage exactly the note in the margins was added;
- 124) on f. 117^r, ps. 137:4, the text initially reads as: *кз ^{с к о у л а р ѣ} ~~доупъ нѣи~~ тоате граюиле ррѡстоуаѣ мѣеѣ*, and then changed in the margins to: *кз асѡултаѣѣ тоате граѡ рѡстоуѣ тѣѣ*. In the other Romanian sources the text reads as: *кз асѡлтаѣѣ тоате коувинтеле рѡстѣлѣи тѣѣ*, where the only difference with the second reading provided in the margins in PH is the rendering of *глаголѣ*, *word, speech*, as *граи*, *speech* (in the singular), rather than *words*;
- 125) on the verso of the same folio, ps. 137:5, the original word *ѡцелесеши* is crossed out and changed to *коуноскѣ(ши)*, as it is in all the other Romanian texts;

Romanian lands (Candrea 1916: 60-63; Mareş 1982b: 255-58). Their considerations are based on the comparison between PC2 and PH, two texts which share many lexical as well as grammatical features (Ibid.). Consequently, although a direct influence of PH on PC2 should be excluded, it seems that R2 had a direct, although partial, influence on PC2. Amongst the Romanian Psalters available today, the Voroneţ Psalter appears to be the most problematic to fit within a possible affiliation scheme because of the many lacunae it has. Additionally, on the one hand, it shares some peculiar readings with the Hurmuzaki Psalter (example 70, ps. 77:47), while in the most it can be associated to the Slavonic tradition of RIII and to the group of texts of PS, PCb and the printed editions. It has been pointed out that in ps. 148:9 both PH and PV misinterpret the Romanian rendering of κεδρι, which is by default rendered with a borrowing κεδρῐи. In this instance, however, both PH and PV have κεδρῐи, mistaking, in Mareş’s opinion, ‘e’ for ‘o’ (1982b: 219). However, it might also be that this was a common mistake, for in ps. 103:16 we find again κεδρῐи for κεδρι in PV, while PH has κεδρι. It might also be, therefore, that the two texts inserted the change from κεδρῐи to κεδρῐи independently.

Mareş also notes how in two instances PH and PV have the same interpretation of the Slavonic text:

- 127) in ps. 97: 1 what is a verb in Church Slavonic has been interpreted as noun in PH and PV, although they lexically translate it differently: спсе его десница его, *his right hand saved him* → PH: скотере луги (missing translation for ‘his right hand’), *his salvation*; PV: спсеніа лѣи дерѣта лѣи, *his salvation his right hand*. In PS, PC, PC1, PC2 and PCb this passage was rendered as спзи ель дерѣпта лѣи, *his right hand saved him*.
- 128) in 98:5 подножию ногу юго, *at the footstool of his foot*, was rendered with a borrowing in PS, PC, PC1, PC2 and PCb: подьнжїа пнѣдрелѣ ѣи, while PH and PV have a calque: соупь талпеле пнѣдрелоръ луги, *under the soles of his feet*;

Another peculiar feature of PV is its individual lexical renderings, which are usually synonyms of the other words used in the Romanian texts and tend to find a different solution from direct borrowings from Church Slavonic.

Psalm	Church Slavonic	PV	Other Sources	Lacunae
78:2	звѣреть земнымь	гдѣ не лѣдъ пѣмъ зѣтъ дѣи	фѣерилѣ пѣмъ жнтоу дѣи	
84:3	ѡпоустилъ еси	ертатан	лзсатан	
89:7	скончашомъ са	сфѣшимъ не	коуѣпимомъ не	
95:3	чюдеса его	мирѣ рѣ лѣи	чюделе лѣи	PH
106:18	взгнѣша са	нѣдѣ шѣа	гоу нѣ слна се	
110:5	во щѣимъ са его	темѣ цилѣ дѣнсѣ	фрѣикошилѣ дѣнсѣ; карни се ворѣ тѣме дѣнсѣ PH	
110:6	достоаніе ꙗзыкъ	лѣ шѣинъ лѣи	лѣ достоини чѣе лимби парте лимбилорѣ PH	
126:3	достоаніе гнѣе	шѣина дѣнѣ лѣи	достоини чѣа домнѣ лѣи; партѣ лѣу дѣнесѣ PH	
113:14	ноздри иматъ	ндрѣ лѣу	насѣре дѣ	
115:4	чашѣ	скафѣ	пѣхарѣ	
121:4	възыдошѣ колѣна колѣна гнѣе	сѣирѣ ро дѣ рѣе · церѣникеле дѣинѣи	сѣирѣ ценѣкеле · ценѣкеле домнѣ лѣи; сѣирѣ роу дѣе · рѣ дѣе домнѣ лѣи PC2	
145:4	на княза	спре воари	лѣ жѣ дѣчи	
146:8	злакѣ	пажеце	злакѣ	

All in all, the Voroneț Psalter should probably be seen as a free re-elaboration of the first redaction (R1) of the Psalter in Romanian, which was in part influenced also by the second redaction (R2).

Following Candrea and Mareș's studies as well as the hypothesis of the circulation of two redactions of the Psalter text in old Romanian, a new the affiliation diagram has:

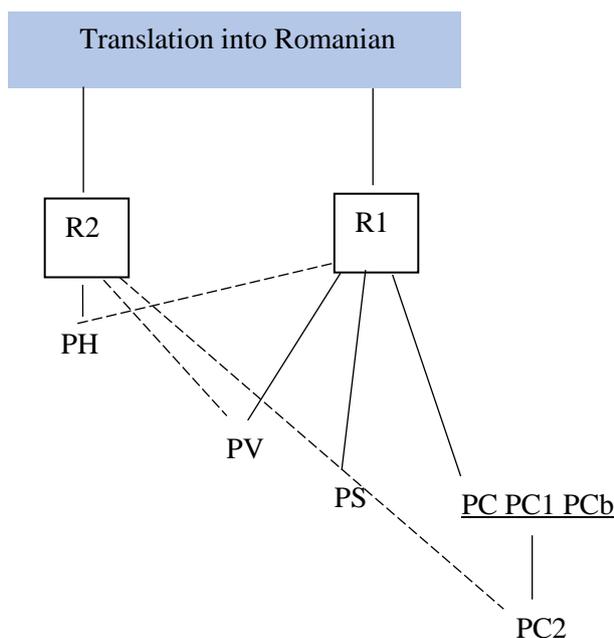


Fig.3. Revised affiliation scheme of the Romanian sixteenth-century Psalters

5. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to identify the source tradition which is the basis of the translation of Psalter text in old Romanian and to re-draw the affiliation scheme connecting the earliest textual witnesses of the psalms in Romanian. Overall, it has been established that PS, PC, PC1, PC2, PC2 and PV follow the tradition of the Athonite Redaction of the Church Slavonic Psalter (see section 2). The case of the Hurmuzaki Psalter has been analysed in greater depth, with the result of classifying it as belonging to a textual redaction different from that of the other six sources. This argument has been mainly based on the identification of several textual examples typical of the pre-Athonite redactions witnessed in PH (see sections 3.1.1. and 3.2.2.). My current hypothesis, therefore, is that PH reflects the existence of a second rendering of the psalms in old Romanian and that its text is the result of a revision of this (R2) against the textual rendering as found in PS, PCb and the printed editions, that is, R1.

In this chapter I have also attempted to define a better method for textual analysis as applied to the case of the Psalter text. Besides working at a collated version of the Romanian Psalters, I have tried to compare their text to as many Slavonic witnesses as possible. This allowed me combine aspects of quantitative and a qualitative textual analysis and explain some of the singular readings present across the Romanian texts.

Chapter 3: The Textual Tradition of the Apostolos in Romanian

1. Introduction

When it comes to the textual tradition of the *Apostolos* in Romanian, it has been suggested that the texts today available are traceable to one initial translation from Church Slavonic, from which each manuscript and printed version then diverted through continuous successive revisions against other sources (Costinescu 1982: 108-11). The original source in the case of Voroneț Codex has been identified by Tenora as the Fourth Redaction of the Slavonic *Apostolos* text (1914). From here, based on the assumption that all surviving varieties derive from one initial translation, a hypothesis advanced by Iorga and supported with textual examples by Rosetti (Rosetti 1968d, 1968a, 1968c, 1968b), it is only natural to think that the Fourth Redaction is the basis of all versions of the Romanian *Apostolos*. However, it should be noted that up to this point no one actually has verified whether this is the case. In particular, while CV and AC received enough attention from scholars in the twentieth century, who would often compare these two texts in order to analyse the textual tradition of the *Apostolos* in Romanian in the sixteenth century, CB started receiving attention in 1970s/80s only (Costinescu 1982; Gafton 2001-2005, 2003). So Rosetti, for example, does not analyse CB alongside CV and AC, and the common nature of these three textual witnesses has been always taken for granted, while actually it is only hypothetical.

The study by Tenora in 1914 investigated exactly the issue about which textual source(s) the text of CV is closer to, and therefore could be assumed to have been used initially for the translation of the *Apostolos*, of which CV is a later, many-times revised copy, as claimed by Costinescu (1981: 16-20). Tenora chooses around 135 verses of CV (Acts of the Apostles 18:14-28, 19:6-20:38 and James 1-2:26) and compares them first with the Vulgate, then with the Greek New Testament and eventually with the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Redactions of the Slavonic *Apostolos*.²⁹ Consequently, in a very methodical manner, Tenora excludes all possible options but the Fourth Redaction, which he concludes to be the closest textual tradition to the readings present in CV. This, as he writes, is also in line with the historical context in which the

²⁹ Tenora states in the introduction to his article that for the Slavonic material he referred to the critical edition of Archimandrite Amfilohij (1886).

- 2) 18:18 in R1 reads as: дни многы [...] въсѣдъ въ прѣвозъ втѣвезе се въ Соурыю, *many days...having boarded a ferry (literally a crossing ship) he departed for Syria*. In R4 some parts of the verse are modified to: дни доволны [...] и ѿплочу въ сирїѣ, *enough days [...] and he sailed to Syria*.

Similar to the Slavonic text of R4, the Romanian sources read: силе пѣрѣ ла воє [...] ноутѣ ѿтрѣ сирїа in CV and CB, while in AC the verb in the 3rd pr.pl. нотарѣ – *enough days ... he sailed for Syria*;

- 3) 19:9 крѣплахочу се и протывахочу, *strengthen themselves and opposed*, R1;
ожестоуаахѣ са и прѣвахѣ, *toughened themselves up and were disputing*, R4;
хитленїѣ ши пѣрїѣ, *were evil doing and disputing/accusing*, in CB, with изекленїѣ се ши пѣрїѣ, *were evil doing and disputing/accusing*, in CV and юцирѣсе ши пѣрѣа, *got angry and were disputing/accusing*, in AC. Though the Romanian sources present differences in rendering ожестоуаахѣ, taken individually they all follow R4;
- 4) 19:11 роукою павлею, *through Paul's hand*, R1 as opposed to рѣкама павловама, *through Paul's hands*, in R4. The Romanian version follows the latter: коу мѣниниле лоу павель, *with Paul's hands* in CV and AC, but not in CB: кѣ мѣна лѣ павѣ, *with Paul's hand*, although its Slavonic counterpart follows R4;
- 5) 19:19 in R1 is rendered as мнози вт творещих корениѣ неприазниѣ от ѣдры неприазниѣе, *many of those making evil magic*, with корениѣ and ѣдры being quite close in meaning in Slavonic; the verse is then changed to доволни же ѿ сѣтворшїихъ ѣдры, *enough of those practising magic*, in R4;
дестѣи декѣци фѣптѣлѣ фѣрмѣе, *enough of those who made magic*, in CB and CV, with AC providing a reading which is supported by a further interpretation of the word standing for *magic*: пѣнѣ ла десточуль дѣ фѣптѣле зиче се фѣрмѣкъ, *up to enough deeds which are called magic*;

- 6) 19:26 is rendered as ТВОРЕНЫ РОУКАМИ ЧЛОВѢЧЬСКИМИ, *made by human hands*, in R1 and then changed to ИЖЕ РАКАМА БЫВАЕМІИ, *being made by hands*, in R4. The Romanian sources follow the tradition of R4: КЪ МЖНИЛЕ ФАГІТ ДЪ ФАПЦИ, *with hands they have made made*, in CB, which presents a double translation for БЫВАЕМІИ. In CV we have ЧЕ СЪ КОУ МЪРОУЛЕ ФАПЦИ, *which are made by hands*, and ЧЕ ДЕ МЖНИИ ВОРЬ ФИ ФАПЦЬ, *which will be made by hands*, in AC. Despite the difference in the verbal tense among the Romanian readings, they are all to be traced back to R4;
- 7) 19:36 is translated as НИЧЕСОЖЕ НЕДОСТОИНА СТВОРЫТЫ ОГ НИЧЕСОЖЕ ДРЪЗА СТВОРИТИ, *nothing unworthy to make or nothing daring to make*, in R1. While R4 has НИЧТОЖЕ НА СКАКАНІЕМ ТВОРИТИ, *nothing out of impetus (literally jumpingly) to make*. The Romanian sources appear to follow, once more, R4: НЕМИКЪ НОУ СЪРИРЕЦИ А ФАЧЕ, *nothing do not jump to make*, in AC and НЕМИКЪ СПРЕ СЪРИРЕ СЕ НОУ ФАЧЕЦИ, *nothing towards jumping you should make*, in CV. CB presents a different reading: НИМИКЪ СПРЕ СПЪНЕРЕ А ФАЧЕ, *nothing towards saying to make*, but this is because the interlinear Slavonic text in the manuscript has НА СКАЗАНІЕ, *to/towards saying*, rather than НА СКАКАНІЕМ, *out of impetus (jumpingly)*;
- 8) 20:4 С НИМЪ ЖЕ ИДЕ ДО АСІЕ, *with him they went to Asia*, of R1 is changed to ПОСЛѢДОВАША ЕМОУ ДАЖЕ ДО АСІА, *they were following after him to Asia*, in R4. In Romanian this passage is rendered as: ПРЕΟΥРМИ ЛЪИ [...] ПЖНЪ ЛА АСІА, *they/he followed him [...] up to Asia*, in CB, МЪРСЕРЪ ПРЕ ОУРМА ЛОУИ ПЪРЪ ЛА АСІА, *they went after his traces up to Asia*, in CV, and ОУРМЪИРЪ ЕЛЬ ТОКМА ПЖНЪ ДО АСІА, *they followed him even up to Asia*, in AC. Once more, though the lexical rendering of the verb is different, all three varieties are closer to R4 rather than R1;
- 9) 20:23 ПО ВСЕ ДНИ, *in all days*, of R1 is changed to ПО ВСА ГРАДЫ, *in all cities*, in R4. Similarly, we have ПРИНІ ТОАТЕ ЧЕТЖЦИЛЕ, *in all cities*, in Romanian, following R4;
- 10) 20:25 ПРОПОВѢДАЕ ЦАРСТВІЕ БОЖІЕ, *preaching the kingdom of God*, is the translation in R1, R2 and R3, while in R4 the passage is changed to ПРОПОВѢДОУЖ ЕУЛІЕ БЖІЕ, *preaching God's*

Gospel. Across the Romanian sources we find the interpretation of R4: CB σε επδφιο ιεϋλiα зεδλди, *I shall tell God's Gospel*, in CB, проповеdию ιεϋλiα зεουλοуи, *I preach God's Gospel*, in CV and проровеdииндѣ еϋλiа лд доуμνεζεδ, *preaching the Gospel of God*, in AC. Again, even though there are differences in the verbal rendering, the three Romanian versions follow R4;

- 11) 20:27 the Greek τὴν βουλήν is first rendered as всего съвета божина, *all council of God*, in R1 and then changed to вса вола бѣиѣ, *all the will of God*, in R4. In full agreement with R4, in Romanian we have тоатѣ воѣ дѣнлди, *all the will of God*;
- 12) 20:38 болеще паѣ ог печални паѣ, *suffering above all or grieving above all*, in R1 is changed to жалоще паѣ, *complaining above all*, in R4. With a word derived from the Slavonic жаловати, we find желдѣиѣ маи (plus врѣтос in CV and AC), *complaining above all*, in all Romanian sources.

Although Tenora provides more examples in his textual comparison, the few passages here analysed already suggest that the readings from the First Redactions, when compared to those of the Fourth, do not explain the Romanian renderings.

2.2. Second Redaction

Similar considerations to those made above can be advanced with regards to the Second Redaction and the texts of CV, CB, and AC.

- 13) 18:14 R2 has дѣло зло [...] трыпѣль быхъ васъ, *evil deed [...] I might put up with you*, changed to обида зла [...] послѣшалъ бы вѣ, *evil offence [...] I might listen to you*, in R4. In Romanian we have обидѣ рѣ (borrowing from Slavonic) [...] аскѣлта фирешѣ вои (фирѣш аскѣтѣнлдѣ in CV and доузит арѣ фи in AC), *evil offence [...] I would have listened to you*;
- 14) 18:19 in R2 the verse goes like приде же въ ефесе се же вѣлѣзъ въ своръ пра са съ жиды [...] и оны оставивъ тоу [...] обниѣаше юдѣѣѣ, *they arrived in Ephesus and having entered the synagogue he debated with the Jews [...] and left them behind [...] was teaching the*

Jews. In R4 the verse is changed to *приста же въз ефесѣ и тѣхъ остави тоу, сам же възше въз сѣнимице, сѣтасаѣ са съ юдеи, and they arrived in Ephesus and those he left there. He himself, entering the synagogue, was discussing with the Jews.*

Though with some minor changes, the Romanian versions read: *пристѣите фтрѣ ефесѣ ши аѣета лѣсѣ аѣие, е фншѣшь фтрѣ фтрѣ глаѣтѣ фтреба се кѣ ѡврѣни, and they approached Ephesus and those he left there, and himself entered the gathering was debating with the Jews;*

15) 19:18 *исповѣдающе са и исповѣдающе дѣяния своя, confessing themselves and confessing their actions*, in R2 was changed to *исповѣдающе и сказающе дѣла своа, confessing and telling their works*. In Romanian we have *исповедѣиѣдѣ (спѣиѣдѣ in CB) ши спѡиѣндоу лоуѣлоуреле (дѣлеле in AC, borrowing from Slavonic) сале, confessing and telling their works;*

16) 19:19 *и бысть сребра [...], and there was of silver [...]*, in R2 was modified to *ѡбрѣтоша сребра ѣ тѣмь, they found 50,000 [pieces] of silver*, in R4. Similarly, in Romanian it reads *ши афларѣ ѣѣиѣни фнѣоурѣреѣ де арѣиѣнѣоу, and they found 50,000 [pieces] of silver*. Though in CB rather than having *де арѣиѣнѣоу, of silver*, we have a repetition of a previous word *преѣѣ, price*, probably a scribal error;

17) 19:26 *не въз единомѣ тоѣью ефесѣ, но мало не вси асию, not only in the one Ephesus, but little less than the entire Asia*, in R2 was changed to *не тѣкѣмо ефесѣ, нѣ ѡнѣѣ възса асѣѣ, not only in Ephesus, but almost the whole Asia*, in R4. In Romanian it is rendered as *ноу нѣѣѣи ефесѣл ѣе деаѣѣѣ (дѣѣиѣѣѣ фнѣтрѣ, this way in, in AC) тоаѣѣ асѣѣа, not only Ephesus, but already the entire Asia;*

18) in 29:29 the Greek *ὁμοθυμαδόν* is rendered as *въз кѣпѣ, together*, in R2 and as *единодоушно, unanimously*, in R4. In an attempt to calque from Slavonic, in Romanian we have *фнѣтрѣнѣѣ сѣфлетѣ, with one soul (unanimously);*

19) in 19:38 the second half of the verse ἀγοραῖοι ἄγονται καὶ ἀνθύπατοί εἰσιν, ἐγκαλείωσαν ἀλλήλους is rendered quite differently in R2 and R4.

R2: на сѣдѣ да идѣтъ воеводы сѣтъ да поемлют насъ, *let them go to court, there are officials, let them sue us.*

R4: κουπци сѣ и ἀνηπατι сѣ да ποεμλᾶ δρογъ на δρογга, *there are merchants and there are proconsuls (here borrowing from Greek), let them bring charges against one another.*

The Romanian sources have: мерѣцѣтори сѣни ши ἀνηπαци сѣнитѣ, се φηγѣδѣιαςκѣ соць пре соць, *there are merchants and there are proconsuls, let them accuse one another*, with CV and AC having сѣ се а, *take themselves*, instead of се φηγѣδѣιαςκѣ, where the Slavonic ποιματι has been translated in its primary meaning of *to take, to catch*;

20) another example of typical differences between R2 and R4 is the rendering of the adverb μετρίως, *moderately* or *exceedingly*. In 20:12 we have οὐ μετρίως which is translated as безъ мѣры, *without measure*, in R2 and R3 and as неμалο, *not little*, in R4. The Romanian follows R4 with нѣ пѣцинѣ, *not little*. Such is the case in Acts 19:24 as well.

The twenty examples here mentioned point to the closeness of the Romanian sources to the textual tradition of the Fourth Redaction of the Slavonic Apostolos. Though there are many more examples in support of this claim, at this point it is worth making some considerations before proceeding with our analysis. First, similarly to the approach taken for the first two Redactions, it is possible to prove that the Third Redaction has not been employed either. However, if we take into account the limited popularity and circulation of this Redaction, it would be logical to exclude this from the list of possible sources *a priori*. Second, at this point it is possible to state that the three Romanian Apostolos texts, at least for the short passage from the Acts of the Apostles here analysed, follow mainly the Fourth Redaction. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility of having other sources used for other parts of the text, as it will be discussed later in section 3.3. on Luther. Additionally, it should be noted that because of the fragmentary nature of the Iorga Apostolos, which records just a few passages from the Galatians, it is not possible to assume that at its basis lies a source to be connected to the Fourth Redaction. Another important aspect to be

noted is that although the Romanian witnesses appear to follow R4 in the main, they also present major and minor variants among themselves. This may be due to the continuous revisions the translation of the *Apostolos* into Romanian underwent, as Costinescu and other scholars suggest (1982: 93-117), or due to the circulation of different translations based on a similar if not identical source.

2.3. Was there an Original Translation?

This last point deserves additional thought and further consideration. First, when it comes to medieval Slavonic and Romanian biblical texts, one trait associates them – in both instances the material has been translated according to a literal approach from a different source text. While for Slavonic texts this primarily means a Greek (Byzantine) source, for Romanian this would be Slavonic (though not exclusively, for there are translations of religious material from German as well as from Hungarian). The important feature which associates these two traditions, besides the fact that one is derived from the other, is their faithfulness to both the form and the content of the original text (Thomson 1988: 975). Consequently, a verse from either CV, CB or AC and the same verse from a Slavonic source belonging to R4 are often very similar in content and in their syntactical structure. When, however, Romanian sources present either lexical, grammatical, or morphological differences, and such is the case for nearly every collated verse of the three sources, different questions arise: do the Romanian texts belong to one initial translation of the *Apostolos* into Romanian or are we looking at different translations? what kind of varieties and how many varieties in number do we need in order to assign two textual sources to two different redactions? while we can associate these sources to the Slavonic tradition of the Fourth Redaction, is there any specific group of Slavonic MSS which served as sources text? and how are we to consider the Romanian versions themselves?

These questions have not been properly answered yet. Rosetti's opinion is that with around 70-80% of textual resemblance between CV and AC, and a clear use of a second source (either a different translation all together or a different Slavonic source) in preparation for the printed edition AC, the two texts can be traced back to one initial translation (Rosetti 1968a). Pașca,

having analysed the same two texts and considered Rosetti's arguments, believes rather that all the small divergences between the two texts, be it the 20-30% of discrepancy hypothesised by Rosetti, is a clear pointer to the different translations the two texts belong to (Paşca 1957). The same material is viewed, therefore, in a completely different manner.

If we take some of the few examples offered by Rosetti (Rosetti 1968b), and add to those the Slavonic rendering and give the verses in full, we can easily see how it was possible for these two scholars to have such different opinions about the textual tradition of the Romanian Apostolos text. On this occasion lexical variety across the sources will be marked in bold, while the underlined words point to differences in prepositions, noun number, verbal conjugation, and other morpho-syntactic variants. Rather than giving a table of textual examples and letting the readers spot for themselves the similarities and differences between the sources – the method employed by Rosetti in showing the textual similarity between CV and AC –, each passage will be accompanied by a brief comment.

- In Acts 18:18, while CB does not present the passage on Paul getting his hair cut, in CV there is no mention of Aquila, though it must have been in the source the manuscript was copied from. In fact, **острыгъ главу**, *cut [the hair of] his head*, refers not to Paul in CV but to his companions: **ѣи ѣш тѣхъ ерѣ капетеле**, *those [Priscilla and Aquila] who had the hair of their heads cut*. AC, overall, follows the Slavonic text, with just **мѣтвѣ** rendered with the plural **рѣгѣнѣни**, *prayers*.
- The three texts are quite close in their renderings in Acts 19:6-7. CV alone translates **на**, *upon them*, with **спре еи**, *against them*. Additionally, in AC **възложившюу** is translated as **ѡнъ залцѣ**, *he rose*, rather than *he placed*; this, however, is a lexical variant which we find also in Acts 21:27 and 28:8.
- Acts 19:11 is rendered almost identically in the three Romanian witnesses, with only one difference for CB, where **рѣкѣма**, *hands*, is rendered through a singular rather than a plural.

- Similar to the example above, the three Romanian varieties are very close to one another in Acts 19:23. Yet, in AC *връма*, *time*, is rendered as plural, and the phonetic value of the final jer in *пѣцинь* is unclear – *воравѣ* is feminine, consequently it might stand for /ə/. Though usually this phonetic value is rendered through the nasal *ѣ* or the other jer *ъ*.
- In Acts 20:29-30 the Slavonic finite verb *вънидѣтъ*, *will enter*, and the participle *нещѣдаще*, *not sparing*, are rendered with a finite verb and a gerundive in CB *ѡтрад* and *нѣ крѣцѣнѣдѣ*, but with two future constructions in CV and AC *ѡтрад* *ворѣ* and *ноу* *вор* *крѣца*.
- The five verses of James 2:17-23 present some lexical as well as some syntactical and morphological differences. Once more, what is plural in Slavonic and the other Romanian sources is singular in AC: *покажи ми вѣръ твою ѿ дѣлъ твоихъ*, *show me your faith from your deeds* → *дратьми крѣдинца та де лѡукрѣтъ*, *show me your faith from your work*. Additionally, we notice how *трепещѣтъ*, *shudder*, is rendered in Romanian either by *ѡгрѡзесѣ*, *are frightened*, or *спѣшѣнтѣсѣ*, *get scared*. If we look at the Slavonic counterpart in CB, however, we find that rather than *трепещѣтъ* there is *оужасѣѡтѣ*, *frighten themselves*, which seem to be the preferred reading of South Slavonic sources. Next to note is an oversight in CV, where the scribe writes *ѡзръ ѡд* *моартъ ѣсте*, rather than *ѡзръ ѡдкрѣ* *моартъ ѣсте*. Additionally, quite interestingly, in AC we have a double rendering for *вознесъ ... на ѡлтарь* with *ѡнацѣ* ... *спре жѡуѡгѡре* *ѡнтрѣ ѡлтарь*, following both the textual tradition of CV and CB and adding a reading, which ultimately is a borrowing from Slavonic. This of course is a clear pointer to the fact that the revised Romanian copy in preparation for AC was collated against a Slavonic source, for example. Again in AC *вѣра* *поспѣшествоваше*, *faith was helping*, rather than being rendered with a finite verb presents an impersonal construction *крѣдинца ѡжѡторѡ* *ѣсте*, *faith is of help/is a helper*.

	Slavonic	СВ	CV	АС	English
Acts 18:18	Павел же и еще прѣбывъ дни доволны братїи свои ѿрек са и ѿплоу въз сирїѣ и сз нї прискилла и акїлла. острыгъ главѣ въз кеѣхрей , имѣше бо млтвѣ;	є павѣ лжкѣи зиле пѣнѣ ла воє кѣ фрѣцїи <u>сзи дезлегѣ се</u> , нотѣ сирїѣ ши кѣ нѣсѣль прискилла ши акїлла, авѣ амѣ рѣгѣ;	є павѣ <u>лжкѣ лжкѣи</u> зиле пѣнѣ ла воє, ши де фрѣцїи <u>сзи дезнисе се</u> ши нотѣ лтрѣ сирїѣ ши коу росѣл прискилла, ѣи ѣш тѣнсерѣ <u>капетеле</u> лтрѣ кеѣхрей авѣ амоу роугѣ;	павель <u>лжкѣ лжкѣи</u> зиле пѣнѣ ла воешь є фрѣцїи <u>лепѣдарѣ се</u> нотарѣ л сирїѣ ши кѣ ноуѣсѣль прискилла ши акїлла. тоу ^н <u>сешь капѣль</u> лнтрѣ кеѣхрей авѣ амѣ рѣгѣ ^{юни} ;	<i>After staying there for a considerable time, Paul said farewell to the brothers and sailed for Syria, accompanied by Priscilla and Aquila. At Cenchreae he had his hair cut, for he was under a vow.</i>
Acts 19:6-7	¶И възложившоу павѣ на на рѣцѣ, прїде дхъ стѣи на на, глахѣ же въз азыкы и пророчѣствовахѣ. ¶Бѣше възѣхъ же мѣжїи ако бї;	¶ <u>поусе</u> сприншїи павѣ мѣниле ши винѣ дхѣл свѣтѣ сприншїи, грѣна лтрѣ лимби ши пророчїѣ. ¶ѣра тоци бѣрѣвци <u>ка</u> доиспрѣзѣе;	¶шиш <u>поусе</u> павѣлѣ мѣрѣле спре ен дѣчи веѣре дхѣу снѣоу прилши. грѣна лтрѣ лимби ши пророчїѣ. ¶ѣра де тоци бѣрѣвци <u>ка пѣлрѣ ла</u> бї;	ши <u>лнѣлѣ</u> павель мѣниле, винѣ дхѣуль сѣнтѣ сприншїи. грѣѣ лнтрѣ лимби ши пророчїѣ. ¶ѣра де тѣци бѣрѣвци <u>ка ла</u> двиспрѣзѣе;	<i>When Paul had laid his hands on them, the Holy Spirit came upon them, and they spoke in tongues and prophesied – altogether there were about twelve of them.</i>
Acts 19:11	силы же не просты творѣаше бѣ рѣкама павловама	силе ноу продѣте фѣѣаа зѣоу кѣ <u>мѣна</u> лѣ павѣ;	силе ноу продѣте фѣѣа днѣсѣл коу <u>мѣрѣле</u> лѣ павѣлѣ;	є силе ноу прѣасте фѣѣе доумнезѣл коу <u>мѣниле</u> лоу павель;	<i>God did extraordinary miracles by the hands of Paul</i>
Acts 19:23	бѣ же въз вѣѣма оно, мѣѣва немала ѡ пѣти;	фѣ лтрѣ вѣѣме аѣаа вѣоавѣ нѣ пѣцинѣ де калѣ;	фоу л вѣѣма аѣа вѣоавѣ ноу поуцинѣ де калѣ;	фоу л времиле аѣѣлѣ вѣоавѣ нѣ пѣцинѣ де калѣ;	<i>About that time there arose no little disturbance concerning the Way</i>
Acts 20:29-30	¶Азь бѣ вѣѣмь се, ѣако по ѡтшѣстви моемъ възнидѣ влѣци тѣжци въз вѣсь, неѣѣдаѣе стада. ¶И ѡ вѣсь самѣ възстанѣ мѣжїе глаѣе рѣзѣраѣенаа, еже ѡтрѣгати оуѣеникы въз слѣдѣ себе;	¶еѣ ѣїѣ <u>амѣ</u> аѣѣѣа кѣ дѣпѣ дѣса мѣ лтраа лѣпи грѣен лтрѣ вои , нѣ <u>крѣцѣндѣ</u> тѣрма. ¶ши де лтрѣ вои лншивѣ скоула вѣ бѣрѣвци <u>грѣиндѣ лтраѣсаа ка</u> сѣ трагѣ оуѣенїѣи лтрѣ оурма <u>са</u> ;	¶еѣ ѣїѣ аѣѣѣа кѣ доупѣ дѣсѣл мїеѣ лнтра вѣрѣ лѣпи грѣи лтрѣ вои, ѣи ѣе ноу <u>вор крѣца</u> тѣрма. ¶ши днлнтрѣ вои лшї <u>лѣѣлѣци</u> лншї скоулаѣе вѣрѣ бѣрѣвци <u>ѣи ѣе вѣрѣ грѣи рѣзѣретитѣ</u> коу се трагѣ оуѣенїѣи <u>пре оурма са</u> ;	¶е еѣ <u>амѣ</u> ѣнѣ аѣѣѣа кѣ доупѣ ешнѣлѣ мїеѣ лнтра вѣ лоупи грѣи лнтрѣ вои, ѣе нѣ <u>вѣ крѣца</u> тоурма. ¶ши де лтрѣ вои лшивѣ скоула се вѣ бѣрѣвци <u>грѣиндѣ рѣзѣрѣтит</u> коумѣ сѣшь трагѣ оуѣенїѣи <u>пре оурмѣшь</u> ;	<i>I know that after my departure fierce wolves will come in among you, not sparing the flock; and from among your own selves will arise men speaking twisted things, to draw away the disciples after them.</i>

<p>James 2:17- 23</p>	<p>¹⁷Тако и вѣра, аще дѣла не имать, мертва есть во себѣ. ¹⁸Но речетъ кто, ты вѣрѣ имаша азъ дѣла имамъ: покажи ми вѣрѣ твою ѿ дѣла твоихъ, и азъ тебѣ покажѣ ѿ дѣла моихъ вѣрѣ мою. ¹⁹Ты вѣрѣеши, какъ бгъ единъ есть: добръ твориши. и вси вѣрѣютъ, и трепещутъ. ²⁰Хощеши же ли раздѣлѣти, во челоуѣчѣ съетне, какъ вѣра безъ дѣла мертва есть. ²¹Авраамъ отецъ нашъ не ѿ дѣла ли оправдася, вознесъ исаака сына своего на алтарь. ²²Видиши ли какъ вѣра поспѣшеествоваше дѣламъ егво, и ѿ дѣла совершися вѣра. ²³И совершися писаніе глаголющее: вѣрова же авраамъ бгови, и вѣрѣнися емѣ въ правдѣ, и дрѣгъ вѣри наречеся.</p>	<p>¹⁷аша ши крѣдинца се лѣкрѣ нѣ двѣре моартѣ асте де синеш. ¹⁸зиѣ ва нещѣне, тоу крѣдинѣцѣ ан ши еѣ лѣкрѣ амѣ: аратѣми крѣдинца та де лѣкрѣреле тале ши еѣ цѣе арѣтавою де лѣкрѣреле мѣле крѣдинца мѣ . ¹⁹тѣ крѣзи кѣ дѣнѣ ѣнѣл асте винене фачи. ши драѣѣи крѣдѣ ши лѣгрозеке се. ²⁰вери се ацелеци во ѡме дешарте кѣ крѣдинца фѣрѣ лѣкрѣ моартѣ асте . ²¹авраамѣ, пѣринтеле нострѣ, нѣ де лѣкрѣ доу дирѣптѣсе, лѣнѣлѣцѣ исаакѣ фѣѣо сѣѣ спре жоуѣгѣеторю. ²²вези кѣ крѣдинца ажѣтѣ лѣкрѣрелор лѣи, ши де лѣкрѣ свѣрѣшисе крѣдинца. ²³ши сѣврѣши се скриптѣра ѣе грѣнѣ: крѣзѣ авраѣ лѣ дѣмнезеѣ ши менѣ се лѣи лѣтрѣ дерѣптате, ши соѣѣ зеѣлѣи кемѣсе.</p>	<p>¹⁷аша ши крѣдѣнѣца се ноу авоуре лѣкрѣ моартѣ асте деѣлѣре. ¹⁸ѣе цѣѣе нещѣѣре, тѣ крѣдѣѣнѣцѣ ан арѣ еоу лѣкрѣ амѣ: аратѣми крѣдѣнѣца та дѣлѣ лоуѣкрѣреле тале . ши еоу воу арѣта цѣе дѣлѣ лѣкрѣреле мѣле крѣдѣнѣца а ма . ¹⁹тоу крѣзи кѣ дѣнѣѣ оуроѣ асте, бѣлѣре фачи. ши драѣѣи лѣкѣ крѣдѣ ши се лѣгрозекеоу. ²⁰ѡме дешарте вери се ацелеци кѣ крѣдѣнѣца фѣрѣ лѣ моартѣ асте. ²¹авраѣ, пѣринтеле нострѣ, доу ноу де лѣкрѣ дерѣптѣсе, кѣ лѣнѣлѣцѣ исакоу фѣѣѣ сѣѣоу спре цѣѣлѣгѣеторю. ²²вези крѣдѣнѣца аѣнѣтѣ лѣкрѣрелорѣ лѣи, ши де лоуѣкрѣ се сѣфрѣшѣаѣе крѣдѣнѣца. ²³ши се сѣфрѣши скриптоура ѣе грѣнѣ: крѣзѣ авраамѣ лѣ дѣнѣѣ ши се мени лѣи лѣн дерѣптате, ши соѣѣ лоу дѣмнезеѣ менисе.</p>	<p>¹⁷аша ши крѣдинца, сѣ лоуѣкрѣ нѣ авоуре моартѣ асте де синеш. ¹⁸кѣ зиѣ нещѣне, тоу крѣдинѣцѣ ан, ши еѣ лѣкрѣ амѣ: аратѣми крѣдинца та де лоуѣкрѣ тѣѣ, ши еѣ цѣе арѣта воу крѣдинца мѣ де лоуѣкроуѣ мѣеѣ. ¹⁹тоу крѣзи кѣ доуѣнезеѣ оуноуѣ асте, бѣне фачи . ши драѣѣи крѣдѣ ши сѣпѣмѣнѣтѣ се. ²⁰вери сѣ ацелеци во ѡме дешарте кѣ крѣдинца фѣрѣ лоуѣкрѣ моартѣ асте. ²¹авраамѣ, пѣринтеле нострѣ, аѣ нѣ де лоуѣкрѣ се дерѣптѣ, кѣ лѣналѣцѣ всакѣ фѣѣѣл сѣѣ спре жоуѣлѣаре лѣнѣтрѣ алтарь. ²²вези крѣдинца ажоуѣторю асте лоуѣкрѣлѣи, ши де лоуѣкрѣ сѣфрѣшѣаѣе крѣдинца. ²³ши сѣфрѣшѣаѣе се скриптѣра ѣе грѣнѣ: крѣзѣ авраамѣ лѣ доуѣнезеѣ, ши се мени лоуѣи лѣ дерѣптате, ши соѣѣ лоу дѣмнезеѣ зиѣе.</p>	<p><i>So also faith by itself, if it does not have works, is dead. But someone will say, 'You have faith and I have works.' Show me your faith apart from your works, and I will show you my faith by my works. You believe that God is one; you do well. Even the demons believe--and shudder! Do you want to be shown, you foolish person, that faith apart from works is useless? Was not Abraham our father justified by works when he offered up his son Isaac on the altar? You see that faith was active along with his works, and faith was completed by his works; and the Scripture was fulfilled that says, 'Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him as righteousness'--and he was called a friend of God.</i></p>
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These are the examples that Rosetti provides, pointing to them as quasi-identical (Acts 18:18, 19:6-7, 19:11, 19:23) or very similar (Acts 20:29-30 and James 2:17-23), in order to support his claim. Nonetheless, if for each example we take the entire verse and the corresponding Slavonic reading, it is always possible to note variations between the Romanian versions. These might either be due to a different rendering of the Slavonic source, mainly lexical differences, or because of grammatical preferences the translator or scribe might have had whilst compiling the text. Linked to the second category of variations, Paşca provides a long list of examples which show the extent to which CV and AC differ (1957: 60-66). Though it is not possible to analyse them thoroughly here, it is important to re-state the question: when faced with different versions of a text which is fixed in content, such as a biblical text, and which are the fruit of translation from a similar source to what extent can we disregard their differences?

In order to be able to say that a certain number of textual witnesses descend from one original translation it is not enough to say that the witnesses in question are very similar, unless they are indeed identical. The case of the Romanian Apostolos is particularly problematic because, regrettably, its tradition can be followed in only three sources and a fragment and for a small part of its text. The sources present a high number of textual differences, some of which can be explained in light of the Slavonic textual tradition of the Apostolos (Fourth Redaction), and some of which are peculiar to each text. In her attempt to prove that CV, AC and CB descend from the same original translation, Costinescu uses the argument of similar renderings of some Slavonic words (1978: 54-55, 58-59). This, however, is not a good argument, for in the case of literal translations, such as biblical translations, it is difficult to say whether, for example, lexical similarity between texts is due to their affiliation or to the source text and the translation approach adopted in rendering religious texts in Romanian in the sixteenth century. There is, however, a translation mistake shared by CB, CV, and AC, which supports the idea of them having at the basis the same initial translation.

In Acts 19:40 the Greek *καὶ γὰρ κινδυνεύομεν ἐγκαλεῖσθαι στάσεως* is rendered as ИВО БЪДНО Ё ПОИМЪ ПРІИМАТИ КОВЪД, *for the danger is [that we] receive the accusation of conspiracy*, in

Church Slavonic (R4). In all three Romanian sources поимъ, *accusation*, has not been taken as a noun, but rather as a preposition + pronoun, that is, по имъ, *after them*:

CB: ши амѡ невоѡ ѡсте дѡпѡ а лѡ а лѡа нѡрѡвѡ;

CV: къ амоу грѣцъ ѡсте доупъ еи а прѣими нѡрѡвѡ;

AC: ши амѡ невоѡ ѡсте доупѡ а лѡръ съ прѣимимъ фѣрекарѣ.

Such shared mistake clearly points to that fact that the three sources share a common textual tradition and allows us to assume the working hypothesis that they reflect the same translation of the Apostolos in Romanian.

3. The Affiliation Scheme of the Apostolos Text

While it can be assumed with more confidence that all three versions of the Apostolos in Romanian have been translated and/or revised against a Slavonic source belonging to the Fourth Redaction, it is not yet clear what kind of relationship exists among them. It has been already seen how difficult it is to analyse any biblical material which ultimately has little variation in content in any textual tradition, and little variety in readings, especially if it is the work of a translator following the principle of a literal translation. Such is the case of the Apostolos in Romanian, and in its turn of the Apostolos in Church Slavonic. In order to facilitate the study of the textual tradition of the Apostolos in Romanian, I am going to assume that CB, CV, and AC stream from one original translation and will rather analyse the possible revision paths which led to their textual diversity. The initial study will be dedicated to the identification of variant readings which are due to external factors, that is, to the textual differences found in the source texts.

3.1. Costinescu's Affiliation Scheme

Mariana Costinescu, while studying the genealogy of the Apostolos text in Romanian, decided to collate the text of CB, CV, and AC with the Slavonic Apostolos texts held today at the Romanian Academy Library (1981: 93-145; 1982). Her objective was that of identifying the revision stages through which went the initial translation of the Apostolos into Romanian, and see whether different Slavonic sources can explain some of the variant readings of the Romanian texts. She reached the following conclusions:

- The Slavonic model which links all the four witnesses of the Apostolos in Romanian can be traced back to mss.sl. 435 and 624 of the Academy Library, which, even if not the actual MSS used for translating the Apostolos text into Romanian, must have been close to the original Slavonic source;
- Coresi's Apostle was revised against another Slavonic source of the Apostolos which resembles ms.sl. 21 of BAR;
- The Voroneț Apostolos instead was revised against a Slavonic text which resembles ms.sl. 351 of BAR;
- The Bratu Codex was revised against the Slavonic text present in the manuscript itself.

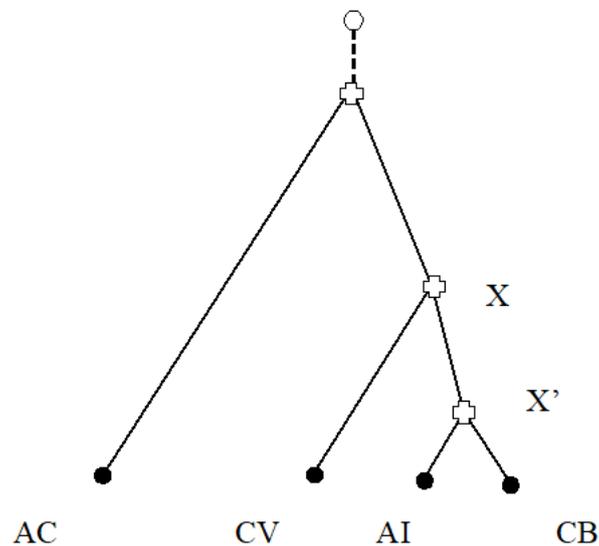


Fig.4. Costinescu's *Stemma Codicum* of the Romanian sixteenth-century Apostolos sources

The examples provided by Costinescu, however, are limited in quantity, relate to the material present in the Academy Library only, and the discussion lacks clear philological parameters. In particular, Costinescu's arguments go as following:

21) Acts 26:14

Жестоко ти есть против(ъ) ражнѣ прати – Slavonic version present in CB and *editio princeps* 1547;

Невоиці гасте апротивъ спре цапъ а клка in CB;

изъкльвоу ціе спре цъпъ а клка in CV;

ЮТЄЦИ НАСТЄ АПОТРИВА ЦѢПЕЕНІ А КЪЛКА in AC.

Costinescu reports that ms.sl. 351 has *на* and ms.sl. 21 and 435 have *противо*. In her opinion, while CV translated *на* as in ms.sl. 351 with *спре*, Bratu Codex combines the two possible translations in Romanian, rendering both *противо* and *на* with *АПРОТИВЖ спре*. Costinescu, therefore, identifies in ms.sl. 435 the closest Slavonic version which could have been used for the original translation. She states that in between the initial translation of the Apostolos and the version present in Bratu Codex there is another revised version which is related to the Voroneţ Codex and has been modified according to a Slavonic text close to ms.sl. 351;

- 22) additionally, Costinescu identifies another textual source which, together with ms.sl 435, might come close to the Slavonic original used for the first translation, that is, ms.sl. 624.

1 Peter 4:3

въ нечистотыхъ идолослуженихъ as present in ms.sl. 624

CB: *АТРЪ НЕКЪРЖЦІЄ, А ДРАКЪЛДИ СЛЪЖИРЕ* → in Slavonic *въ нечистѣхъ идослуженїи*;

CV: *АТРЪ НЕКОУРЪЦІЄ, АЛЕ ИДОЛИЛОР СЛЪЖБЕ*;

AC: *АТРЪ НЕКЪРЖЦІЄ, СЛОУЖВЕЛЕ ИДОЛИЛЪ*;

In Costinescu's opinion, the fact that *въ нечистотыхъ* has been rendered as a substantive *АТРЪ НЕКОУРЪЦІЄ* and not as an adjective *necurate* indicates that between the original translation (which used a Slavonic text close to ms.sl. 435) and the subsequent three versions of the Apostolos in Romanian (CB, CV and AI – AC is considered to belong to a different revision process), another revision took place, which used a Slavonic text close to ms.sl. 624;

- 23) according to the textual affiliation scheme proposed by Costinescu, Coresi's Apostolos was revised only once after the common revision (or translation) which connects all versions in Romanian. In particular, the text reflects both the Slavonic of ms.sl. 435, as do CV, CB and AI, and that of ms.sl. 21 – a text model used during the revision process.

In Acts 17:24 ms.sl. 435 has храмѣхъ, rendered as κας̄ in Coresi's Apostolos, while ms.sl. 21 has црквахъ, rendered in CB, for examples, as вєѣрєчи вїє. This, therefore, would link AC to ms.sl. 435.

However, in Acts 8:39 ms.sl. 21 presents дхъ гни възхыти which is also the reading in AC: дхѣѣ сѣнтъ рзпи [филипъ]. The Slavonic counterpart present in Bratu Codex, following a variant reading found in the Greek tradition of the text, has a different rendering: дхъ сѣѣи нападе каженика аглѣ же гнѣ възхыти, which has been rendered accordingly in Romanian: дхѣл сѣнтѣ кззѣ спре скопитѣл є фицѣрѣл домнѣлѣи рзпи пре филип. Consequently, AC can be related to ms.sl. 21 and Bratu to the Slavonic version present in the manuscript and to ms.sl. 435;

24) 1 John 3:1 has been rendered with фєѣори зєлѣди сз не зичємь in AC and with сє фєѣорїи зєуѣлѣ кемжмоу не in CB. The Slavonic MS 435 reads: да ѣада бжїа нарєѣем сѣ и єсми, with the last part of the verse, *and we are*, omitted in ms.sl. 21, ms.sl.351 and in CB's Slavonic text. It should be noted that also in this case the Slavonic MSS reproduce variant readings found also in the Greek tradition. However, to go back to Costinescu's argument, CB and AC must have been revised against a Slavonic source without и єсми;

25) Gal 5:19 in ms.sl. 21 has скрзєниє, while ms.sl. 435 has скрѣньства. The word in has been translated as спѣуркѣѣюнтѣ in AC and мзниєѣиє in AI. The latter translation corresponds to either скрзєниє and скрѣньства rather than сѣлѣ(д)ложєствиє, the Slavonic reading present in the bilingual fragment AI;

26) 1 Corinthians 7:8

While in ms.sl.21 we have непосагшїими, ms.sl. 435 presents юнотамь and CB юнѣтам. In Romanian AC follows ms.sl.21 with ѣєлѣра ѣєсє слѣвѣзи, while the Bratu Codex refers to the Slavonic present in the manuscript with жѣнаѣилѣур.

All in all, according to Costinescu, CB follows that Slavonic redaction present in the manuscript, which is often close to ms.sl. 435, while AC, when it presents discrepancies with CB or CV, is close to the Slavonic interpretations of ms.sl. 21.

Although Costinescu's approach might be valid, the number of examples provided as well as their lack of appositeness does not form strong evidence in support of her argument. When it comes to the first example, one instance alone is not enough to prove that between the original translation of the Apostolos in Romanian, based on a Slavonic source close to ms.sl. 435, there might have been a revised version of which CV is testimony, and which has been modified against a Slavonic source close to ms.sl. 351. Rather than assuming that the original Slavonic source presented *противо* as in ms.sl. 435, it might be that it had *на* as ms.sl.351, so that CV just continues with the textual tradition found in the text it is copied from, close to the first translation, and the copyist/revisor of CB renders both *против* as present in its Slavonic text and adds *снре*, either because of a different source on Romanian or, why not, in Slavonic. However, the change in preposition between *противо* and *на* in Slavonic and then between *апротивж* and *снре* in Romanian is too weak an argument to be used as a starting point for developing a genealogy scheme relating the Romanian sources.

Regarding example 22, the argument advanced by Costinescu seems incomplete. First, Costinescu says that CV alone presents the substantival reading of *а трѣ нечюурзцѣ* for the Slavonic *въ нечистотыхъ* as present in ms.sl. 624. In fact, all three Romanian sources have *а трѣ нечюурзцѣ*, therefore it must be a standard translation. It is therefore difficult to say whether what was translated was *въ нечистотыхъ* as in ms.sl. 624, which is a very peculiar rendering in Slavonic itself (probably a scribal error), for the plural of *нечистота* should be *нечистотыхъ* in Slavonic and not *нечистотыхъ*, or *въ нечисти(х)* as in CB itself and the vast majority of other Slavonic sources. All three sources certainly separate *въ нечистыхъ идолослаженнихъ* as two different unlawful actions: *in uncleanness, idolatry*.

The third example (23) suggests, in fact, that Coresi's Apostolos does not necessarily follow ms.sl.21, and poses more questions about the redaction to which the Slavonic manuscript

ms.sl.21 might belong. Similarly, example 24 poses more questions about the Slavonic manuscripts ms.sl. 435, rather than about the Romanian counterparts. The addition of *и есми* is peculiar to a very few Slavonic manuscripts only, although it does follow the Greek tradition.³¹ Once more, there is no real evidence that initially the Romanian texts must have translated *и есми*, which then has been eliminated in CV and AC because revised against a Slavonic source with *по и есми*.

As before, example 25 needs further analysis of how the Greek *ἀσέλγεια* is rendered first into Church Slavonic and then into Romanian, for it seems there is some lexical variety in both traditions (Христова-Шомова 2004: 281). Similarly, example 26 needs further analysis, for both the Greek and Latin originals refer in 1 Corinthians 7:8 as to someone who is not married: *τοῖς ἄγαμοις* and *non nuptis*. If we look at the Slavonic rendering of this very passage as reported by Hristova-Šomova (2004: 219; 694-95), for example, we see that although *ἄγαμος* was by default translated as *юноѡа* in both the early and later redactions of the *Apostolos*, other texts have *члѡкъ – безвѡруѡнъ – вѡруѡница*, that is, a range of synonymous expressions which aimed at expressing the meaning of *unmarried*. The adjective *непосѡлѡши* from ms.sl. 21 is yet another example of variety in rendering the Greek word *ἄγαμος*. It is interesting to notice that in AC this word has been translated as *those who are free*, an interpretative way to say *ἄγαμος/non nuptus*, which, however, does not necessarily lead us to ms.sl. 21 (only).

All in all, it should be said that although Costinescu's idea of collating the three Romanian sources with the Slavonic versions of the *Apostolos* text present at the Academy Library is good, the low number of examples she provides and the somewhat arbitrary use of the Slavonic material she found in Bucharest do not provide a clear answer to whether and what kind of relationship exists between the Romanian sources of the *Apostolos* text. Additionally, by not having direct access to the Slavonic MSS used by Costinescu or any assessment on their textual tradition, it is difficult both to capture the implications of her work and to relate it to the broader picture of the *Apostolos*' textual tradition in Church Slavonic.

³¹ According to Cleminson's work on the Fourth Redaction of I John, the following MSS only present *и есми* - Γ C94corr L K T26corr N1 Bd. See Cleminson (2013: 53-59) for the *Elenchus Siglorum*.

3.2. The Case Study of the Epistles of James, I and II Peter

In order to form any plausible hypothesis on the textual genealogy of the Apostolos text in Romanian, it is essential to analyse a passage of the text which is preserved in all the sources available. Because of the fragmentary nature of CV, however, this is not always possible. Consequently, I have decided to study, for the time being, the Catholic Epistle of James, and First and Second Epistles of Peter only (of the latter only those passages available in all three of the Romanian texts), though some few examples from the Acts of the Apostles will be mentioned as well. The advantage of analysing the Epistles is their feasible length and most importantly that Cleminson provides a collated version of 23 Slavonic MSS containing the texts the Epistles according to the textual tradition of R4.³² With this material at hand, in fact, it is possible to collate the Romanian versions with a set Slavonic text, and, in case of diversity in readings in Romanian, look for any variation in the Slavonic sources as well. Additionally, by having access to the textual readings of 23 Slavonic MSS, which have been competently classified within the broader narrative of the Apostolos' textual development among the Slavs (Клеминсон 2013: 42-45), it is possible to contextualise better the relationship between the Slavonic and Romanian literary dynamics.

What comes out of such collation is the following:

- All Romanian sources of the Apostolos text adhere to specific readings of the text belonging to a South Slavonic tradition;
- A few peculiar readings in either of the Romanian versions point towards one or more Slavonic manuscripts within the South Slavonic sub-group of texts;
- The Romanian text of CB has been clearly revised against its parallel Slavonic texts;
- The textual proximity of CV and CB leads towards grouping them together as part of the same textual family. The diversity of AC makes it harder to assess its position in an affiliation scheme.

³² Version shared via private communication.

3.2.1. The Romanian Apostolos and its Connection to the South Slavonic Tradition

According to Cleminson (Клеминсон 2013: 44), within the Fourth Redaction of the Church Slavonic textual tradition of the Apostolos two different groups of manuscripts can be identified – one pointing to MSS of Russian provenance and the other to MSS of South Slavonic provenance. When the textual differences between these two groups of texts are checked against the sources of the Apostolos in Romanian, it soon becomes clear that the Romanian witnesses adhere to the South Slavonic tradition. The examples provided in Church Slavonic are taken from Cleminson’s collated material of the Catholic Epistles, unless otherwise indicated. Additionally, a list of the manuscripts’ sigla used in the examples can be found in the footnotes.

27) An example aligning all three text is found in James 2:19.

*The devils also believe, and tremble.*³³

Slav: и вѣси вѣрѣютъ и трепещѣтъ [и вѣси вѣрѣеть и оужасаѣтъ – in CB as in C93 C94 H48 H49 H73 H107 La Sn Ri Sz and GI];³⁴

CB: ши драѣѣи кредѣ ши фгрозесекѣсе

CV: ши драѣѣи фкѣз кредѣ ши се фгლოსеккоу

AC: ши драѣѣи кредѣ ши спзмѣнтѣсе

Rather than translating и вѣси вѣрѣютъ и трепещѣтъ as *the demons believe and shudder* in Romanian the verb ‘to be afraid’ is used: a îngrozi – *to be afraid, to be scared*; a se spăima – *to be frightened, to get scared*. Later in the New Testament of Alba Iulia (1648)

³³ The English readings offered in these examples are cited according to King James Version (KJV) available online at < <https://www.biblegateway.com/versions/King-James-Version-KJV-Bible/#booklist> > [accessed 21 June 2022].

³⁴C93 – Sofia, ss. Cyril and Methodius National Library, 93. Bulgarian, 14th century.

C94 – Sofia, ss. Cyril and Methodius National Library, 94. Bulgarian, 14th century.

H48 – Mt Athos, Hilandar, 48. Serbian, 1360-1370.

H49 – Mt Athos, Hilandar, 49. Serbian, mid-15th century.

H73 – Mt Athos, Hilandar, 73. Serbian, 1390.

H107 – Mt. Athos, Hilandar, 107. Serbian, 1660.

La – Mt. Athos, Zographou, MS 54. Bulgarian 1359.

Sn – Sinai, MS Slav. 4. Serbian, 14th century.

GI – Mt Athos, Great Lavra, MS 48. Serbian, 1453.

NI – Saratov, University Library, MS 15. Russian, 1555.

Ri – Rila, Rila Monastery, MS 1/15. Bulgarian, 1505.

Sz – Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Fol. Eccl. Slav. 19.

and the Bucharest Bible (1688) another verbal expression is used *кѣтремѣръ*, (*they*) *shudder, tremble*, which would be a better translation for *трепещѣтъ*;

28) similarly, in James 5:5 it appears that CV, CB and AC follow a different tradition.

Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter.

Slav: *возвеселисте сѧ на земли и насладисте сѧ оупитѧсте [насладисте се на земли и оупитѣсте се, накръмисте - in CB as in C92 C93 C94 H48 H73 H107 La Sn Gl Ni Ri Sz p1547] сердца ваша ѡакѡ въ день заколенїѧ;*

CB: *Ѡдоулуѣтоу вѣ спре пѣмѣнтѣ ши ѡспѣтѣтѣ вѣ некѣръмитѣ инима воастрѣ кантроу зѡа цюнгерїен;*

CV: *Ѡндѣлуѣтоу вѣ спре пѣмѣнтоу оупѣтѣто ва ши Ѡгрѣшѣтоу вѣ Ѡрема воастрѣ ка Ѡтрѣ сѣа цюѠгерїен;*

AC: *Ѡдоулуѣци вѣ спре пѣмѣнтѣ ши хрѣнци вѣ сѣтѣрациѣвѣ кѣрмици инимиле воастрѣ ка Ѡ зи ѣе жѣнѣтѣ.*

All the Romanian versions follow the Slavonic of *насладисте се на земли и оупитѣсте се, накръмисте* by first translating *Ѡдоулуѣтоу вѣ спре пѣмѣнтѣ* (AC all verbs 3rd pr.pl. present indicative), *you have sweetened yourselves upon earth*, followed by *и оупитѣсте се, накръмисте* rendered by borrowings in CB *ѡспѣтѣтѣ вѣ некѣръмитѣ* and in part in CV by *оупѣтѣто ва ши Ѡгрѣшѣтоу вѣ*, where *накрѣмисте*, *nourished*, is read more like *you fattened up* (your hearts). AC does present a borrowing as well, though only for *накрѣмисте* rendered with *кѣрмици*; while *оупитѣстесѧ* → *ѡспѣтѣтѣ вѣ* is paraphrased into its meaning in Romanian, *ospătat* – who eats well and enough;

29) sometimes not only different Slavonic readings or word order are rendered in Romanian, but also the words' morphological structures.

James 5:7 Be patient therefore, brethren [...], and hath long patience for it;

Slav: долготерпите потръпите - in CB as in C92 C93 C94 H48 H49 H73 La Sn Gl Ri Sz

Bd³⁵ p1547] оубо, братіє [...] долготерпа ѡ немъ [...];

CB: рѣбдаци амоу фрази [...] ѡ лѡнгѡ рѣбдѡ де елѡ [...];

CV: рѣбдаци амѡ фрази [...] лѡнгѡ рѣбдѡ де елѡ [...];

AC: рѣбдаци амѡ фрази [...] ѡнде лѡнгѡ рѣбдѡндѡ дѣѣа [...];

Here we can see how CV, CV and AC are closer to the Slavonic versions which open the verse with потръпите rather than долготерпите. Later on, in fact, all Slavonic versions have долготерпа, which is punctually rendered as ѡ лѡнгѡ рѣбдѡ in Romanian (though AC has a participle rather than a finite verb);

- 30) I Peter 1:12 [...] *unto us they did minister the things* [...];

The Slavonic MSS of R4 are divided between намъ же слѡжахѡ сѡа and вамъ же слѡжахѡ сѡа, with the latter reading being present in: Lk H48 H49 H73 La Sn Hl Ri Sz C93 and CB. All Romanian texts have волаѡ слоужѡа (слѡжирѡ in AC) дѣѣа, *unto you he/they served*;

- 31) in I Peter 3:12 some Slavonic MSS have the addition at the end of the verse of еже потръбити их ѡ зѣмла, *to wipe (them) out from earth*, which is missing in the South Slavonic MSS as well as in CV and AC (CB has a lacuna);

- 32) I Peter 4:3 is extremely interesting to analyse, as it often the case with lists of nouns, adjectives or verbs.

[...] *we walked in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries.*

Slav: хождшымъ въ скръбнѣствихъ, въ похотѣхъ, въ пианствѣ, въ козлогласованиихъ, въ лихонимани [въ пити in CB and C94 H48 H73 H107 La Sn Gl Ri Sz and лихопитиихъ in C92 C93 H49], въ нечистыхъ идолослаженіихъ;

³⁵ Bd – Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 942. Russian, 1557.

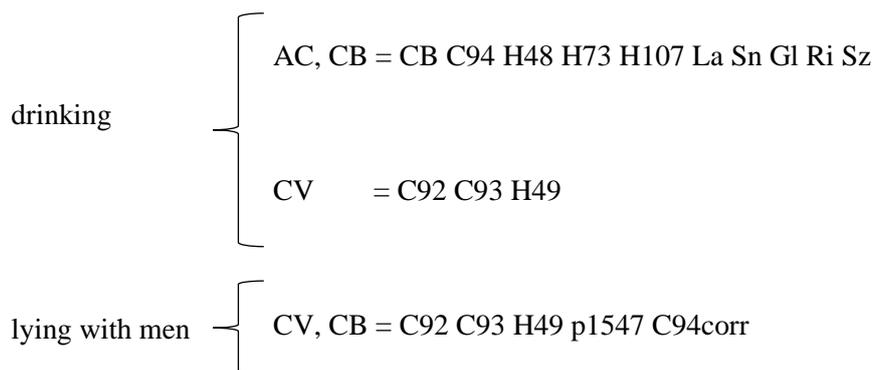
CB: а чене фблатаоу фтрѣ сирьнжвїи, фтрѣ але чимпоилор гласоуре, вѣрбаци стрѣтїре, фтрѣ вѣри, фтрѣ некѣрѣцїе, а дракѣлѣи слѣжире;

CV: фблзндѣ фтрѣ мзніи҃їиле лорѣ, фтрѣ пѣтири, фтрѣ вецїи, фтрѣ гласѣреле чїфпоилор, фтрѣ вѣрвѣтециле статѣре, фтрѣ моуѣтѣ веоуѣоурѣ, фтрѣ некоурѣцїе, але идоилор слѣжбе;

AC: ф гразде, фтрѣ похтири, фтрѣ вецїе, фтрѣ чимподелѣн гласѣре, фтрѣ вѣѣтѣри, фтрѣ некѣрѣцїе, слоужбеле идоиллѣ.

Although in CB there is no translation for вѣ похотѣхѣ, вѣ пианствѣ, overall the text is in line with CV and AC. The three Romanian versions follow the Slavonic tradition which has вѣ пити, *in drinking*, rather than вѣ лихонмании, *in excessive possessions*, in particular CV presents the peculiar reading of лихопитиихѣ with моуѣтѣ веоуѣоурѣ, *much (excessive) drinking*. Additionally, both CV and CB before that present an addition фтрѣ вѣрвѣтециле статѣре - вѣрбаци стрѣтїре, *lying with men*, again a peculiar reading present in a few Slavonic manuscripts only: вѣ мѣжеложствѣ in C92 H49 p1547 and мѣжеложствѣ in C93 and the corrected version of C94.

Schematically:



Here it is interesting to notice that CB does not follow its parallel Slavonic text and that within the group of South Slavonic MSS, C92, C93, and H49 are of particular interest for the study of CV.

3.2.2. *The Case of the Voronež Codex*

Following from the last example in the previous section, in fact, we find more examples pointing to the textual proximity of CV and H49 and C93 in particular.

- 33) James 1:1 *James, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad, greeting.*

Slav: ІАКВЪЗ, БГѢ И ГДСѢ ІИСѢ ХРСТѢ РАБЪ, ОБЪМАНАДЕСАТЕ КОЛѢНОМА [и краиленомѡ in CB],
ИЖЕ ВЪ РАЗСѢАНИИ, РАДОВАТИ СѦ;

CB: ІАКВЪ ЗЕУГЛДИ ШИ ДѢНДЛДИ ЛД ІСОУ ХС ШЕРБЪ, АМЖНДѢРОРД СПРЕ ЗЪЧЕ ДЕ НЪМОУРЕЛЕ ЛД
КРАИЛД, ДЕ ЧЕИ ДИИТРД РЖСФІРАЦИ. А ВЖ БОУКДРА;

CV: ІАКОВД А ЛОУ ДНСЕД ШИ А ДНОУИ ІС ХС ШЕРБД, А ДОАДАСПРЪЗЪЧЕ НЪМОУРЕЛЕ ЛОУ ІСЛБ СЕ
БОУКДРЕ СЕ;

AC: ІАКВЪЗ, ЗЕДЛДИ ШИ ДОМНДЛДИ ЛД ІС ХС ШЕРБЪ, А ДОАСПРЪЗЪЧЕ СЕМЕНЦЕ ЧЕСЪ ФНТРД
СЪМЖНЖТДРЖ, СЪ СЕ БОУКДРЕ;

Besides some variations in vocabulary between the three versions (КОЛѢНОМА rendered as НЪМОУРЕЛЕ or СЕМЕНЦЕ; ВЪ РАЗСѢАНИИ rendered as ДИИТРД РЖСФІРАЦИ or ФНТРД СЪМЖНЖТДРЖ, and missing in CV) or the verbal rendering of РАДОВАТИ СѦ, the texts present one major difference: CB and CV only have the additional reading of (the twelve tribes) of Israel, which otherwise is not present in AC and is a peculiarity in the Slavonic tradition. From the list of manuscripts consulted by Cleminson, two manuscripts only (C93 and H49, one Bulgarian and another Serbian) present this reading. Additionally, the mistake in spelling in CB is visibly traceable to its Slavonic counterpart, where the *і* and *с* of Israel have been wrongly combined into *к* by the scribe. Consequently, this example alone identifies a very limited number of manuscripts, the readings of which have been inherited in CB and CV. We have a hypothesis to follow;

- 34) In James 2:3 we find another peculiar reading of CV which associates it with the two above mentioned Slavonic manuscripts (C93 and H49);

The Slavonic *сѧди зѧѣ на подножїи моеѣ*, *sit down at my footstool*, is rendered as in CB *шези ҃и҃҃а спре дѣдесоуптоу҃а мїеѣ* and as in AC *шези ҃и҃҃ѣ ла подьножїа мѣ*. CV, however, has *шези ҃и҃҃а спре подножїа нодстрѣ*, *sit down at our footstool*. Of the sources analysed by Cleminson, only in H49 and C93 we have *на подножїи наѣмѣ*, *at our footstool*, which is the reading present in CV as well;

- 35) Similarly, in I Peter 3:18 the default reading in R4 is *единою ѡ грѣсѣхѣ пострада*, *once suffered for sins*, with H49 and C93 having the addition of *за ны* after *грѣсѣхѣ*. The passage is missing in CB, but while AC renders it as *диниварѣ дерептѣ пѣкате кинѣи*, *once suffered for sins*, CV follows the tradition of H49 and C93: *дїѣрѣварѣ дѣ пѣкате дерептѣ нои кинѣи*, *once suffered for sins for our sake*.

The examples provided above show how out of the Slavonic sources belonging to the Fourth Redaction of the Apostolos, those having a South Slavonic provenance explain better the readings and interpretations found in the Romanian sources, especially in CV and CB (see examples 27-32, especially the last example). Additionally, examples 33-35 show a close connection between CV and the Slavonic manuscript H49 and C93.

3.2.4. *The Case of the Bratu Codex*

It has been noted already that the Romanian version of CB follows or might follow in some instances the Slavonic text set alternately in the manuscript (example 33, James 1:1). It should not be assumed, however, that the Romanian version of CB relies completely on its Slavonic text, and not even that the Slavonic has been used regularly for revision. In example 32, for instance, there is, on the one hand, a piece of verse missing (no translation for *въ похотехѣ, въ пианствѣ* although it is present in Slavonic), and the addition of *бѣрбази стрѣтїре*, on the other, which is not present in its Slavonic counterpart. It is probably fair to assume that the Romanian text was checked and modified against its parallel Slavonic text, even if the two texts sometimes depart.

- 36) Another example of a Slavonic misspelling in CB inherited in Romanian is in James 2:25. Slav: *Такожде же и раавѣ [вараавѣ in CB] влѣдница*, *similarly also Rahab the prostitute*;

CB: аша ши вараавѣ кѣрва;

CV: аша ши раавѣ кѣрва;

AC: аша ши раавѣ кѣрва;

Here Rahab, раавѣ, is written as вараавѣ in CB, both in Slavonic and Romanian.

And in Acts 20:4, *Sopater of Berea; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timotheus; and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus*

Slav: послѣдѣваша емоу до асіа, сосипатръ верѣнинь [послѣдова же емѣ сопатръ верѣниѣ даже до асіа in CB] сѣлоунѣнии же аристархъ и секоундъ . и гаіе девренинь, и тимѣеи . асіане же, тихикъ и трофій [профій in CB];

CB: преоурми лѣи сосипатръ вѣрѣнуѣ пѣнѣ ла асіа є солѣнѣнуѣ аристархѣ ши секѣндѣ ши гане дерѣвѣнуѣ ши тимѣеѣ . асіаніи тихикѣ ши профимѣ;

CV: мѣрсеръ пре оурма лоуи пѣрѣ ла асіа . є сопатръ верѣниѣ ши солоунѣниѣ аристархоу ши се коундѣ . ши гаіе дерѣвѣниноуѣ . ши тимѣеи ши асіаніи тихикъ ши трофимѣ;

AC: оурмѣирѣ ель токма пѣнѣ до асіа , сосипатра верѣнинь . солѣнѣнинь , аристархъ ши секѣндъ ши гаіе дерѣвѣнинь ши тимѣеи . асіане тихикъ ши трофимь.

Like the previous example, in CB another name, Trophimus, is misspelled in Slavonic, which is then copied in Romanian: профим → профимѣ. Additionally, the first half of the verse is different in CB: *and he was followed by Sopater the Berean even up to Asia*, rather than *and he was followed up to Asia by Sopater the Berean*. The Romanian text in CB follows its Slavonic counterpart, as opposed to CV and AC;

- 37) In Acts 20:7, instead, CB seems to translate an introductory wording, typical of liturgical texts and which is to be found in rubrics, that has been incorporated in the main Slavonic and Romanian text.

And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread [...]

Slav: [въ дни они in CB] въ єдинѣ же ѿ сѣбѣ сѣбранѣи оученикѣмь прѣломити [ломити] хлѣбь;

this which is present life and to truth, in CB, while AC adheres to the default tradition:

ѠНТРЪ СТЪТЪТОУ ДЪДЕВЪРЬ, *in the being present truth*;

- 40) A striking example is to be found in II Peter 2:5. Here it is told of how God, before their unrighteousness, did not spare neither his angels nor the world, with the exception of Noah and his ark. The Slavonic verse reads: и прѡваго мира не пощадаѡ, но осма нѡва правдаѡ проповѣдника сохрани [...], *and the ancient world he did not spare, but he preserved Noah the eight, preacher of righteousness*. Interestingly, in CB we find a long insertion in between the verse, which is also translated in Romanian: и прѡваго мира не пощадаѡ · вѡлаци ѡ вѣтрѣ прѣносими · их же мракъ тѣми въ вѣкы блюдетъ са · нѡ всаго прѡвѣ проповѣдника сохрани → ши ѡеа дѣнтрѡ ѠНТЪЮ ЛЪМЕ НЪ КРЪЦЪ · нѡври де вѡнтѡ прѣпѡртаци · кѡ еи нерѡга Ѡнтоунрѣ коулади ѡ вѣчи сокотѣще се · ѡе алѡ ѡптѡ ное алѡ деретацѣи спѡпеторю фѡри. The addition reads: *clouds having been brought by wind, [in] the obscurity of their darkness into the age will be kept*, and could refer to Jude 1:12-13. Although the reason for such insertion is not clear;

- 41) However, there are also instances in which the two texts depart, as for example in James 2:11.

[...] *if thou commit no adultery, yet if thou kill, thou art become a transgressor of the law*;

Slav: Аще не прѣлюбви сотвориши, оубиешѣ же, бысть прѣстѣпникъ законоу, *if you do not commit adultery, but you murder, you are a transgressor of the law*. Here CB presents an omission in Slavonic: аще прѣлюбви твориши же бысть прѣстѣпникъ законоу, *if you commit adultery you are a transgressor of the law*;

CB: е се прѣлюбире фѣчереши оуѡизи, фѡсе кѡлкѡторю леѡиен, *if you were to commit adultery, to murder, you would become a transgressor of the law*;

CV: ѡръ се прѣлюбире фѣчери оуѡизи, атоунѣе ши фи вери треѡкторю леѡиен;

AC: сѡ прѣлюбире нѡ фѡѣе е ѡсѡ оуѡисери, фѡсеши кѡлкѡторю леѡиен;

The omission in CB is not transposed in Romanian, which suggests that the text from which it was copied did not have such omission.

Here it is also interesting to notice that AC is the only version translating the Slavonic *не* in *аще не прѣлюбы сотвориши* *if you do not commit adultery*, otherwise CV and CB seem not to take that into account the negation;

- 42) Similarly, in James 3:6 the Slavonic text in CB presents an omission, which however is not repeated into the Romanian.

[...] *so is the tongue among our members, that it defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the course of nature; and it is set on fire of hell;*

Slav: и азѣкъ водвораетъ сѧ во оудѣхъ нашихъ, сквернаци все тѣло, и впаалѣщи коло рождѣства, и впаалѣемъ ѿ геенны. Here again in CB the verse is not complete: и азѣ оутварѣетъ ѧ въ оудѣ нашихъ, сквернещѣи въсе тѣло, и впаалѣемъ ѿ геенѣ;

CB: аша ши лимба токмѣще се фнтрѣ мѣдѣлареле ноастре де споруикѣ тотъ трѣпул ши апринде апрежур нѣскѣтѣл ши апринѣ де геенѣ;

CV: аша ши лѣба рѣдекъ се фнтрѣ мѣдоулареле ноастре ши спурикъ тотоу трѣпѣл, ши пѣлѣще апрециурѣл нѣскоутоуладѣи нострѣ, пѣлитоу де геену;

AC: аша лимба деспиндѣ се фнтрѣ мѣдѣлареле ноастре спурикѣ тотъ трѣупѣл ши апринде апрежѣрѣл нѣскѣтѣлѣи ши апринзѣндѣсе дела геенѣ.

There are more examples suggesting that the Romanian text of CB has been revised against the Slavonic text set in the manuscript, and this must have happened at the moment of its copying, especially because of the spelling mistakes in examples 33 and 36.

3.2.3 The Case of Coresi's Apostolos

Coresi's Apostolos together with CB and CV appears to follow the tradition of the South Slavonic Apostolos MSS of the Fourth Redaction. In a few instances only AC presents further adherence to the 1547 *editio princeps*, so that it can be argued that at the time of its preparation for the printing the text of AC has been further revised against a Slavonic source. In particular:

- 43) In James 3:6 p1547 presents an omission: while most sources present the reading и азыкѣ огнь, лѣпота неправдѣ, *and the tongue [is] a fire, the beauty of iniquity*, the printed edition does not have the word огнь. Similarly, CB and CV translate the passage as: ши лимба ши фокѣл фрдмсецѣ недерептѣциен, *and the tongue and the fire [is] the beauty of iniquity* (CV has the verb ‘to be’ rather than the conjunction ‘and’ between tongue and fire – ши лимба е фокѣу фроѣсацѣ недерептѣциен, *and the tongue is fire, the beauty of iniquity*), while in AC we have ши лимба фрдмсециен дерептѣциен, *and the tongue [is] of the beauty of the truth*. It should also be noted that what is неправда in Church Slavonic, has been rendered as правда - дерептѣте in AC, an explanation for which is yet to be found;
- 44) Another example is provided in James 5:4 - дѣлатѣлѣ дѣлавшихѣ нивы ваша, *the workmen who have worked your fields*. Here AC has the addition of вашых–your workmen who have worked your fields. Similarly, in AC, when compared with CB and CB there is the addition of the pronoun ‘yours’: лѣукрѣторилѣвр воцри чѣ вѣ лѣукра пѣмѣнтѣриѣе воцтре, *your workmen who will work your lands*.

Although AC does not show any peculiar readings which might associate it to a particular group of Slavonic manuscripts, its puzzling feature is its text more in general. Often, what is plural in Slavonic and in CV and CB is singular and vice versa in AC, a transitive verb in Slavonic becomes intransitive in AC, a participle form in Slavonic will be rendered with a gerund in CV and CB, but with a finite verb in AC. Other scholars have already noticed that in terms of vocabulary in AC there are many more borrowings from Slavonic, which sometimes also prompts further reflections on the translation/revision processes that involved AC, CV, and CB; however, it cannot be said that AC follows faithfully the Slavonic original. In this respect, CB and to a certain degree CV are more literal in their renderings. Yet, the text of AC is not a free rendering either. Just to give some examples:

45) James 1:3

[...] *Knowing this, that the trying of your faith worketh patience;*

Slav: вѣдаѹще ꙗкоу искушение вашеѡ вѣры съдѣваеть терпѣніе;

CB: цїиѣндѹ кѡ нѡпастѣ а водстрееи крѣдинцѡ фаче рѣбдаре;

CV: цїиѣндѹ кѡ испита коу а водстрѣ крѣдїѣнцѡ фаче рѣбдаре;

AC: съ цици кѡ испителе сънтѣ але водстрѣ крѣдинце съ фачеци рѣбдаре;

In CB and CV вѣдаѹще is rendered with a gerund, цїиѣндѹ, *knowing*, while in AC with a present subjunctive. Additionally, искушение вашеѡ вѣры съдѣваеть терпѣніе, *the testing of your faith makes patience*, is rendered in a completely different manner in AC: кѡ испителе сънтѣ але водстрѣ крѣдинце, съ фачеци рѣбдаре, *because the testings of your faith are there for you to make patience*. There is also a shift between singular and plural: искушение is rendered as нѡпастѣ in CB and испита in CV (which is the case in other verses as well, James 1:2, 1:12, 1:13, 1:14), while AC transforms the testing into many testings, испителе.

46) James 1:5

If any of you lack wisdom [...];

Slav: Аще ли кто ѿ васѡ лишєнѡ єсть мѹдрости;

CB: сєнєцине дє вѡи липситѹ ꙗстє дє мѡндрїє;

CV: ꙗрѣ сєнєциѣре дє вѡи липситѡу ꙗстє дє мѡндрїє;

AC: є съ дрѣ фї нецине дє вѡи лѣсатѣ дє ꙗцєлєпѣюни;

The Slavonic hypothetical construction аще ли кто ѿ васѡ лишєнѡ єсть, *if someone of you is lacking*, is rendered in a similar fashion in Romanian – participle plus finite verb, сє нецине дє вѡи липситѹ ꙗстє, *if someone of you is lacking*. In AC, instead, the choice is a past conditional construction: є съ дрѣ фї нецине дє вѡи лѣсатѣ, *and if someone of you were to be left* (лишати is usually translated with ‘a lăsa’ in AC). Additionally, once more, what is sg. in Slavonic, мѹдрости (genitive), is rendered via a pl. form in AC,

ⲡⲥⲉⲗⲉⲡⲩⲟⲛⲏ, *understandings*. The choice of rendering ⲙⲗⲁⲣⲟⲥⲧⲏ with ⲡⲥⲉⲗⲉⲡⲩⲟⲛⲉ, that is, *understanding*, is found in other instances in AC as well, therefore it is one of the text's features, but is not in any way distinctive;

47) James 1:6

But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering. For he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea driven with the wind and tossed;

Slav: Да проситъ же вѣрою, ничѣсоже сѣмна са: сѣмнаи бо са оуподоби са волнению морскомѣ, ѿ вѣтрѣ възметаемѣ и развѣваѣщѣ са;

CB: се ѡрѣ коу крединцѣ, немикѣ гѣндиндѣсе: е ѡине гѣндѣще ее токмѣще се оундарѣ марѣи де вѣнтѣ мѣтѣрате ши вѣнтѣрѣндѣ се;

CV: се ѡрѣ коу кредѣнцѣ немикѣ гѣндиндѣсе кѣ ѡела ѡе се гѣндѣще дѣвмѣрѣ се оундееи марѣи, де вѣнтоу лепѣдатѣ ши вѣнтоуѣрѣндѣсе;

AC: ѡе ⲡⲥⲉ ⲥѣ ѡрѣ кѣ крединцѣ ⲡⲧⲣѣ немикѣ ⲥѣ ⲛѣ се гѣндѣскѣ. е гѣндиндѣсе амѣ, подоби се ва оунделѣ мѣрѣи ѡе де вѣнтѣсѣ сминтѣе ши вѣнтѣрате;

The Slavonic participle сѣмна са is rendered with the gerund гѣндиндѣсе in AC and CB, and with a subjunctive in AC ⲥѣ ⲛѣ се гѣндѣскѣ. Additionally, in the last part of the verse, there is confusion about who does the action. In Slavonic the wind scatters the wave and because of the wind it flutters; in Romanian, though there are lexical differences among all three versions, CV and CB follow the logic of the Slavonic text and insert a reflexive construction with the second verb: де вѣнтѣ мѣтѣрате ши вѣнтѣрѣндѣсе, *swept by the wind and stirring themselves* in CB, and де вѣнтоу лепѣдатѣ ши вѣнтоуѣрѣндѣсе, *scattered by the wind and stirring itself* in CV; while in AC it is the wind doing both actions: де вѣнтѣсѣ сминтѣе ши вѣнтѣрате, *moved and stirred by the wind*.

Additionally, (оуподоби са) волнению морскомѣ, *is like the unrest of the sea*, is translated as токмѣще се оундарѣ марѣи, *is like the wave of the sea* in CB and CV, almost following the Greek ἔοικεν κλύδωνι θαλάσσης. However, what is singular in CB and CV, and seems

like a misreading of the Slavonic, becomes plural in AC: *подоби се ва оунделѡ мзрїен, is like the waves of the sea.* It is not quite clear why the revisor decided for such a change.

48) James 1:11

For the sun rises with its scorching heat and withers the grass; its flower falls [...];

Slav: *возсия бо солнце со зноемъ, и иѣше трава, и цвѣтъ ея ѡпаде;*

CB: *стрѣлѣчи амѣ соареле кѣ зѣдѣхѣл ши сѣкѣ ѣрба, ши флорѣ еи каде;*

CV: *де ка стрѣлоуѣ соареле коу зѣдѣхѣ сѣкѣ ѣрба, ши флорѣ еи каде;*

AC: *рѣсарѣ амѣ соареле кѣ зѣдѣхѣ ши оуѣкъ се ѣрба, ши флориле и каде;*

As previously, in *и иѣше трава, and withers the grass*, the action is done by the sun, although in AC the verb assumes a reflexive form, so that the intransitive verb has the grass as its subject: *ши оуѣкъ се ѣрба, and the grass withers*. Additionally, here again what is singular in Slavonic becomes plural in AC: *и цвѣтъ ея ѡпаде, and its flower falls*
→ *ши флорилеи каде, and its flowers fall*.

These are but a few examples pointing to the diversity of AC when collated to CB and CV.

This might suggest that in the sixteenth century either two redactions of the Apostolos text in Romanian were circulating, one from which derived CB and CV, and another from which descended AC, or that the source used to compose AC underwent a consistent revision process where the revisor perhaps attempted to offer lexical solutions closer to the Slavonic text (mainly borrowings), but departed considerably from its syntax. Because there is no textual witness which might provide an intermediary solution say between the renderings in CV/CB and AC, it should be assumed that such modifications were applied to AC directly.

To conclude this section dedicated to study of the Epistles of James, I and II Peter and the relationship between the Romanian and the Slavonic textual witnesses to the Apostolos text, it has been noticed that amongst the group of MSS the Romanian text draws closer to is of South Slavonic provenance. In particular, CV presents some peculiar readings which are to be found in the Slavonic MSS H49 and C93 (see examples 32-35), while the text of CB has been revised, although not regularly, against its parallel Slavonic text (examples 33, 36-39). When it comes to

AC, it follows in the main the South Slavonic textual tradition, although the text underwent a considerable revision process, the principles of which need further exploration (see chapter 4).

3.3. The Influence of Luther's New Testament on Coresi's Apostolos

Another source used by Coresi for the [1566-1567] edition might have been Luther's Bible (Costinescu 1980: 127-37). According to Costinescu, the German text was used for revision only for the second half of the edition, in particular after the Epistle to the Romans, therefore Acts, James, 1 Peter, 2 Peter, 1 John, 2 John, 3 John and Jude are outside this revision process.

Although some of the examples Costinescu provides offer good support for her argument, it has been extremely difficult to follow her through her analysis. First, she never gives a biblical reference for her examples, but rather mentions the page/folio where the verse can be found – without having the same access to the material she has, it is extremely laborious to transfer her ideas to other material. Second, the choice of her primary material is questionable – although Coresi's *Apostolos* was printed in [1566-1567] circa, Costinescu chooses an edition of Luther's NT printed some twenty years later; the focus is on AC only, even though other Romanian sources are available, *in primis* CB, at least for some passages Costinescu analyses, as well as Iorga's fragment for part of the Galatians. Third, Costinescu's conclusion that there existed a second translation of the Acts and the Catholic Epistles based on Luther's New Testament does not explain how exactly it was used in the particular instance of AC. Most of the examples Costinescu gives seem to suggest just a lexical coincidence, which at times is closer to the German text rather than to a Slavonic.

Nonetheless, Costinescu's hypothesis is worth analysing. Consequently, two short excerpts, for which at least two Romanian sources are available, have been studied in depth and, when they differ, collated against the Slavonic text of the *Apostolos* printed in Târgoviște in 1547 and against the German Bible printed in 1545 in Wittenberg (the examples are spelled according to the writing rules of modern German).³⁶ In particular, 1 Corinthians 5:6 to 7:35 has been analysed as present in AC and CB, and Galatians 3:23-4:9 and 5:19-6:5 for AI and AC.

³⁶ Luther's 1545 Bible text, available online at <<https://www.biblegateway.com/versions/Luther-Bibel-1545-LUTH1545/#copy>> [Accessed 25 June 2022]

As it has been noted previously, any textual tradition that relates to the Bible is difficult to analyse because ultimately it is not original. In the case of Luther's New Testament, it is important, for example, to always take into account the Vulgate as well. Therefore, only those instances where there is difference between the Romanian versions as well as between the German and the Latin texts will be considered.

49) 1 Cor 5:11 *But now I have written unto you not to keep company [...];*

Slav: ѿнѣ же писахъ вамъ не примѣшати се;

Greek: νῦν δὲ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι;

Luther: Nun aber habe ich euch geschrieben, ihr sollt nichts mit ihnen zu schaffen haben;

Latin: nunc autem scripsi vobis non commisceri;

CB: ε ακμδ κριшоу волау сз нδ местекацивж;

AC: ε ακμδ κριδ волау сз ноу вж местекаци κδ ει;

The addition of κδ ει in AC might be explained either via the German text, or because of the revisor trying to be more explicit in its rendering.

A similar example is to be found in 1 Cor 6:17 *But he that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit.*

Slav: прилѣплѣжи же са гѣи едины дхъ естъ;

Greek: ὁ δὲ κολλώμενος τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν πνευμᾷ ἐστίν;

Luther: Wer aber dem Herrn anhangt, der ist ein Geist mit ihm;

Latin: qui autem adheret Domino unus spiritus est;

CB: ε чине лепѣще се доминѣлди днѣлδ дѣх ѣсте;

AC: ѣрж чине се ва апроприа доминѣлди лнтрѣ оуѣ дхъ ѣсте κδ ель;

50) 1 Cor 6:7-8 *Now therefore there is utterly a fault among you, because ye go to law one with another. Why do ye not rather take wrong? why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded? Nay, ye do wrong, and defraud, and that your brethren.*

Slav: се оубо ѿнѣдѣ срамъ вамъ естъ, ꙗко тежбы имате съ собою. пошто оубо не паѣ обидими есте пошто оубо не паѣ лишени бываєте; нж вы обидите паѣ лишаєте и се братѣе;

Greek: Ἦδη μὲν [οὖν] ὅλως ἥττημα ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ὅτι κρίματα ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν. διὰ τί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἀδικεῖσθε; διὰ τί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἀποστερεῖσθε; ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ἀδικεῖτε καὶ ἀποστερεῖτε, καὶ τοῦτο ἀδελφούς.

Luther: Es ist schon ein Fehl unter euch, daß ihr miteinander rechtet. Warum laßt ihr euch nicht lieber Unrecht tun? warum laßt ihr euch nicht lieber übervorteilen? Sondern ihr tut Unrecht und übervorteilt, und solches an den Brüdern!

Latin: Iam quidem omnino delictum est in vobis, quod iudicia habetis inter vos. Quare non magis iniuriam accipitis? Quare non magis fraudem patimini? Sed vos iniuriam facitis et fraudatis, et hoc fratribus.

CB: ἀδεῶς ἀμὲν δεακμοῦ ρῶσινε βοαω ἡστε κᾶ κραιολε ἀβεци ἀδῖνς βοиши. Принтрῶ γε ἀμὲν ἡδμαι ωβидици сеци, принтрῶ γε ἡδμαι липсици φῶсетῶ. γε βοи ωβидици ши лешинаци, ши аҫаста фрази;

AC: ἀδεκᾶ ἀμὲν δε ακμὲ ρουшинε βοαω ἡστε, κᾶ ω грешалᾶ ἀβεци φнтрῶ βοи. Кᾶ γε βοи ἡδ вᾶ лᾶсаци маи боуκῶρῶ недерептате сᾶ вᾶ факᾶ. γε βοи ωβидици маи вᾶртῶ γε φαҫеци недерептᾶ, ши ѡтᾶ фрази;

Costinescu suggests that in AC κᾶ ω грешалᾶ, *for a mistake*, does not correspond to the Slavonic ѡко тежбы but rather to the German ‘ein Fehl.’ However, because the Slavonic тежба, *lawsuit, fight, weight*, is usually translated as грѣцᾶ, *weight*, it might also be, for instance, that the revisor of AC mistook ц for ш and what was грѣцалᾶ became грешалᾶ. Additionally, it should be noticed that the German ‘ein Fehl’ corresponds to *delictum* in Latin, that is, срамь in Slavonic rather than тежбы.

The second half of verse seven, however, is not at all clear in AC. First, part of it is omitted, second the presence of маи боуκῶρῶ, *more happy*, is puzzling. Could it be that the German ‘lieber’, *rather* has been taken for a comparative ‘more happy’? In 1 Cor 7:7, for example, the same rendering occurs. Slav: хоцᾶ бо да вси ᾠлци бᾶдᾶтᾶ ѡкоже азь, *I wish that all men (everyone) were like me*; CB: вою ἀμὲν се тоци ωαμινῖи φῖне ка εῶ; AC εῶ

was not rendered in AC (example 38), therefore it is not possible to double-check the reading of *μπαροζήνιци*/Knabenschänder in another part of the text.

52) 1 Cor 6: *All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any;*

Slav: *всѣми лѣтъ сѣтъ нѣ не всѣ напoлѣзѣт вѣсѣми лѣтъ сѣтъ нѣ не азъ овлaдaнъ бѣдѣ ѿ него;*

Greek: *Πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα συμφέρει· πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγὼ ἐξουσιασθήσομαι ὑπό τινος;*

Luther: *Ich habe alles Macht; es frommt aber nicht alles. Ich habe alles Macht; es soll mich aber nichts gefangen nehmen;*

Latin: *omnia mihi licent sed non omnia expediunt omnia mihi licent sed ego sub nullius redigar potestate;*

CB: *тоци wпоу сѣнтѣ ѣ не поу тоци спре φoлoсѣ. Тоци wпоу сѣнтѣ ѣ не ѣ ѣ деспѣсѣт ѣн вою де нецине;*

AC: *кз ѣ ѣ амь тоатѣ пѣтѣрѣ ѣ не сѣнтѣ тоатѣ де φoлѣ. ѣ ѣ ѣрѣ амь поутѣре ѣ ѣрѣ де нимѣ сѣ фѣтѣ бирѣитѣ динѣдѣлѣ;*

In this instance ‘Ich habe alles Macht’ and *кз ѣ ѣ амь тоатѣ пѣтѣрѣ*, *for I have all power*, seem to correspond.

In a similar fashion, in 1 Cor 7:4 we have:

The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband: and likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife;

Slav: *жена своимъ тѣломъ не владеетъ нѣ мужъ такожде и мужъ своимъ тѣломъ не владеетъ, нѣ жена;*

Greek: *ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει ἀλλ' ὁ ἀνὴρ, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει ἀλλ' ἡ γυνή;*

Luther: Das Weib ist ihres Leibes nicht mächtig, sondern der Mann. Desgleichen der Mann ist seines Leibes nicht mächtig, sondern das Weib.

Latin: mulier sui corporis potestatem non habet sed vir similiter autem et vir sui corporis potestatem non habet sed mulier;

CB: Μῆταρς κοῦ αὐτῆς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῆς δεσποῦνε ὡς καὶ ἄλλοτε οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ἀνεξαρτησία αὐτῆς ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῆς δεσποῦνε ὡς ἡ μήτηρ;

AC: ὡς ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνεξαρτησία αὐτῆς ἐν ὅτι ὡς ἀνεξαρτησία αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνεξαρτησία αὐτῆς

53) 1 Cor 6:15 [...] *Never!*

Slav: да не вѣдетъ;

Greek: μὴ γένοιτο;

Luther: Das sei ferne!

Latin: absit;

CB: съ нѣ фїе;

AC: съ фїе департе.

Once more, it seems that AC follows the German reading rather than the Slavonic. Additionally, if we look at all instances where such working appears, we notice the following division. In Romans 3:4, 3:6, 3:31, 6:2, 6:15, 7:7, 7:13, 9:14 AC has съ нѣ фїе, similar to CB in this example. However, after Romans 11:1 and then to follow with Romans 11:11, Galatians 2:17, 3:21 and 6:14 AC presents the wording съ фїе департе. This, therefore, would support Costinescu's suggestion that the revisor of AC turned his attention to Luther's NT after Romans.

54) 1 Cor 6:20 *for you were bought with a price [...]*;

Slav: кѣплени бо есте цѣноу;

Greek: ἠγοράσθητε γὰρ τιμῆς;

Luther: Denn ihr seid teuer erkaufte;

Latin: empti enim estis pretio;

CB: кѣлпараци амѣ ѳеци коу прецѣ;

AC: кѣ сеци скоумпи коумпѣраци;

Here again it seems like CB is following faithfully the Slavonic *кѡплени бо есте цѣноѡ,* *for you were bought with a price,* which AC differs with *кѡ сеци скоумпи коумпѣраци,* *for you are dearly bought* following the German ‘Denn ihr seid teuer erkauf.’

- 55) 1 Cor 7:1 *now concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me: It is good for a man not to touch a woman;*

Slav: а о ныхъ же писаете ми добро ѿликѡ женѣ не прикасатисе;

Greek: Περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγράψατε, καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικὸς μὴ ἅπτεσθαι;

Luther: Wovon ihr aber mir geschrieben habt, darauf antworte ich: Es ist dem Menschen gut, daß er kein Weib berühre;

Latin: de quibus autem scripsistis bonum est homini mulierem non tangere;

CB: е де каре скрисетѡми, бине ѡмоуа де мѡтаре се нѡ апропїесе;

AC: деѡ ѡе аци вон скрись мїе ѡ рѡспоуѡзѡ кѡ асте ѡмѡлѡи бине ка ниѡи де ѡ мѡарѡ сѡ се атингѡ;

In the German version there is one addition compared to the other textual traditions ‘darauf antworte ich’ which also appears in AC: *ѡ рѡспоуѡзѡ, I answer.*

- 56) Gal 4:6 *And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father;*

Slav: да ѡкоже есте сїнове, посла бѡ дѡхѡ сїа своего ви сїца ваша ви пїѡ авба ѡѡѡ;

Greek: Ὅτι δὲ ἐστε υἱοὶ, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν κρᾶζον· ἀββὰ ὁ πατήρ.

Luther: Weil ihr denn Kinder seid, hat Gott gesandt den Geist seines Sohnes in eure Herzen, der schreit: Abba, lieber Vater!

Latin: quoniam autem estis filii misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra clamantem Abba Pater;

AI: де кѡм сици фїи тримѡе днѡлѡ дѡхѡлѡ фїѡлѡи сѡлѡ лнтрѡ лнма воастрѡ стригѡ авба татѡле;

AC: ΔΟΥΝΔΕ ΒΟΙ ΦΕΥΘΟΡΙ ΣΕΨΙ ΔΟΥΜΝΕΖΕΔ ΤΡΕΜΨΕ ΔΧΟΥΛ ΦΪΟΛΔΙ ΛΟΥΙ ΛΗΤΡΔ ΙΝΙΜΙΛΕ ΒΟΔΕΤΡΖ
 ΣΤΡΙΓΖ ΔΡΔΓΟΥΛΨ ΠΖΡΙΝΤΕ;

Here again, the German text differs from the others because of its ‘Abba, lieber Vater’
Abba, dear Father! Which has been rendered in AC as well ΔΡΑΓΟΥΛΨ ΠΖΡΙΝΤΕ, although
 ΑΒΒΑ Abba is omitted.

To conclude this section, it is indeed possible that Luther’s New Testament was used during the revision process of AC in preparation of its printing. The key aspect to understand at this point is whether the revisor was in possession of a full translation of the Apostolos text from German into Slavonic, or whether the German text was used from time to time to implement some changes when the Romanian text that AC was revised against was hard to understand. This, however, requires further analysis of the second half of AC (Costinescu suggests that Luther’s NT has been used after Romans only), and a detailed comparison between the lexical and also syntactical renderings of this half compared to the first half.

3.4. A New Affiliation Scheme

Based on the detailed analysis of the Epistles of James, I and II Peter as well as the passages from the Epistles to the Corinthians (I) and Galatians (here section 3.2. and 3.3.), the following affiliation scheme can be drawn.

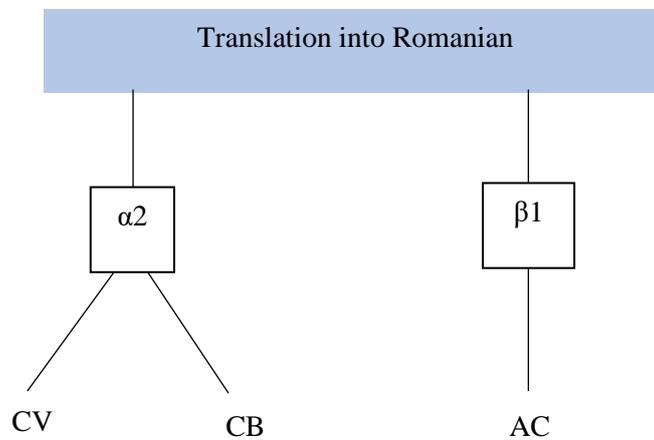


Fig.5. Affiliation scheme of the Romanian sixteenth-century Apostolos text

The scheme suggests the existence of an initial translation of the Apostolos into Romanian based on a Fourth Redaction Slavonic source, of South Slavonic provenance. The translation, then, underwent an unknown number of revisions before coming down to CB, CV, and AC. The letters α and β point to the fact that the revision principles according to which the Romanian text was changed were different – one adhering to the idea of a literary rendering of the source tradition (α), and the other following a higher degree of free interpretation (β). From α derived CV and CB, revised against different South Slavonic sources – CV against a text close to H49 and C93, and CB revised against the Slavonic text present in the manuscript. From β , instead, derived AC. Although there is still doubt about the revision process that led to AC, examples 40 and 41 and most importantly 46-52 show that for different parts of the text both Slavonic and German sources might have been used. This last point leads me to say that also in the case of the Apostolos text two different redactions should be hypothesised for its tradition in Romanian – one which groups CV and CB together, and the other which sets AC apart.

4. Conclusion

Two main issues have been addressed in this chapter: which sources were used for the translation of the Apostolos text into Romanian and is it possible to draw an affiliation scheme connecting the versions of the Romanian Apostolos text surviving from the sixteenth century? The main aim, however, of this chapter was to identify a fitting method of analysis for the available primary sources, which might then lead to understanding better the textual tradition of each source. The key feature of the method used above is, of course, philological comparison, where as many relevant primary sources as possible are taken into account. It would be, for example, important to compare our Romanian sources with the readings of the First, Second, and Fourth Redaction of the Apostolos text in Slavonic, but only at an initial stage. Once it is clear which redaction is closer to the text's tradition in Romanian, there will be little point in looking at the First and Second Redactions.

In the course of the philological analysis many issues have emerged. First, the difficulty of not having the same number of sources for each textual excerpt analysed – while Cleminson's

work on the Catholic Epistles is of great help, unfortunately for the time being there is no such work done on the Acts of the Apostles. Consequently, those ten chapters (18-28) of the Acts which are present in CV, CB, and AC cannot be studied with the same confidence as, for example, the Epistles of James, I Peter and part of II Peter. Second, while there are facsimile and critical editions of the Romanian primary sources here analysed, they are rarely analysed comparatively, so that the available studies stop at looking at one source at a time. Additionally, even when a comparison is made, it usually merely involves lexical differences among the sources. All in all, these difficulties arise from both the failure to implement an adequate philological method and from failure to consult all relevant primary material.

My provisional view is that two separate redactions of the Apostolos text in Romanian were circulating in the three principalities of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia. Both of them derive from a translation process which used Church Slavonic as its source language, and the Fourth Redaction of the Slavonic Apostolos as its source text. Arguably, one of the translations, which is well-represented by CB, is the result of the literal rendering of the Slavonic text into Romanian, that is, a text as close to the original (Slavonic) wording as possible. CV is mainly in line with the same rendering principle, although it sometimes offers more interpretative readings, and its syntactical structures are more consistent among themselves (example 44, where the wave, singular, is swept by the wind, as opposed to CB, where the wave, singular, *are* swept by the wind, with the verb being in the plural). AC, instead, seems to me to belong to a different redaction. Analysis of the Epistles of James, I and II Peter soon revealed that there is no verse where AC does not read differently from CV and CB. The variations of AC with respect to CV and CB are not only lexical, but grammatical. Therefore, either the revisor was consciously implementing specific textual changes to a copy that ultimately can be traced back to an archaic translation of the Apostolos – and even in this instance it is possible to talk about a different redaction – or the text belongs to a different translation. Additionally, in light of the hypothesis that Luther's NT might have been used during the revision process in composing AC, if not for a distinct translation of the Apostolos altogether, there is no doubt that AC belongs to quite a different textual tradition from CB and CV.

Nonetheless, the work on the Romanian Apostolos is far from finished. In order to be able to consolidate my hypothetical view on the text's tradition in Romanian, further philological analysis of CV, CB and AC is needed. In particular, part of the next chapter will be dedicated to the study of chapters 18-28 of the Acts of the Apostles and the exploration of translation principles applied in rendering biblical books in Romanian during the sixteenth century.

Chapter 4: Translation and Revision of the Psalter and Apostolos in Romanian

1. Introduction

In studying the source tradition from which the Psalter and the Apostolos texts were translated into old Romanian, as well as the affiliation diagram connecting the sixteenth-century textual witnesses to these texts, more than once we have come across the issue of the translation and revision principles followed in composing and altering one or the other text. After a brief introduction to the topic, this chapter will investigate the translation principles and techniques applied to translating biblical texts into Romanian in the sixteenth century and will offer a detailed study of textual variety across the sources with the aim of unveiling the revision process they might have undergone.

Unfortunately, there are no contemporary accounts of translating from Church Slavonic or from any other language into Romanian in the sixteenth century. The only rationale for having certain biblical or liturgical books rendered into Romanian come from Coresi's colophons to his printed editions, as we have seen in chapter one. So that in the colophon to the 1577 bilingual edition of the Psalter, Coresi writes: *скрисѣ вамь азъ вѣстѣ ѡзлатири къ ѡвѣтъ · дѣмь скосъ дѣ ꙗ ѡзлатирѣ срѣвѣскѣ прѣ лимѣ рѡмѣнѣскѣ · съ вѣ фїе дѣ ꙗцелегѣтѣрѣ · ши грѣмѣтичилюрь · ши вѣ рогъ ка фѣрѣци мїеи съ ѡетици ши бине съ сокотици [...],³⁷ where, although no mention is made of the translation principles followed in translating the Psalter, at least it is suggested that the source was indeed Slavonic (on the meaning of 'Serbian' see Thomson 1988: 689, note 82). In the colophon to the *Gospel Homiliary* printed in 1581, Lucas Hirscher, mayor of Braşov and patron of the book's publication, gives a more detailed account on what led him to print this book and on where he found its source text, that is, by the Wallachian Metropolitan, owner of the book. In closing, he says:*

НОИ ѡ ДѢДЕМЪ ЛѢ КОРЕСИ ДІАКОНѢ, Ѣ ЕРА МЕЩЕРЬ ꙗВѢЦАТЬ ꙗТРАЧЕСТЬ ЛОУКРѢ ·
ДѢ ѡ СКОСЕ ДѢ ꙗ КАРТѢ СРѢВѢСКѢ ПРѣ ЛИМѢ РОУМѢНѢСКѢ · ꙗПРЕДНѢ Ши КЪ

³⁷ 'I wrote for you this Psalter with answer, which I rendered it from a Serbian Psalter in the Romanian language; that it may be of understanding to you and to the scribes. And I ask you, as my brothers, to read and meditate well [upon it]' (my translation).

преѡции дела бесѡрека шкѡилорь де лѡгрѡ ѡетатѡ брашовоуѡди · аноуме попь
іане ши попа миѡди.³⁸

Both quotations are taken from texts in which the authors mainly focus on the moral and educational value of the books in question and where the reference to the source and the target languages is marginal when compared to the authority given to the task of translation as supported by Cor 1:19: ‘Yet in the church I would rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue’, where the focus is on the idea that biblical translations are a source of further understanding of God’s teachings.

When it comes to understanding of дѡмь скось де ꙗ ѡзѡтирѡ срѡвѡскѡ пре лїбѡ рѡмѡнѡскѡ of the Psalter’s colophon or де ѡ скосе де ꙗ карѡтѡ срѡвѡскѡ пре лимѡ рѡумѡнѡскѡ of the Gospel Homiliary colophon, it is plausible to assume that by the verb ‘a scoate’ it is meant *to print*, while the adjective ‘Serbian’ indicates *Slavonic* in a broader understanding, that is, not necessarily South Slavonic. The issue of the Psalter in 1577, in fact, follows the edition of 1570, so that ‘am scos’, *I brought forth*, does not indicate the act of translating the text, for there existed already a translated version of it, but simply of printing it. Following this, the reference to the Serbian/Slavonic language, in both colophons, probably indicated the source tradition of these texts, rather than the immediate source language.

When looking at the issue from a different perspective, ‘biblical translation is intimately connected with the religious trends and tenets of the community’ (Schwartz 1963: 9), and aspect that in the case of the Romanian lands presents a complex yet fascinating picture. Put simply, although the internal structure of the Psalter and Apostolos texts in Romanian follow the Orthodox tradition as found in many Slavonic manuscripts and printed edition, the promotion of their further production and circulation, especially through the art of printing, was supported by representatives of the Reformed Churches. In terms of the translation of the Holy Scripture, the Orthodox and the Reformed Churches had different and at times conflicting views. If with the arrival of Humanism and the work of Johannes Reuchlin and Desiderius Erasmus primary importance was given to the

³⁸ ‘We gave it [the book] to deacon Coresi, who was a skilful master in such art, so that he, together with the priests Iane and Mihai from the Șcheii Church nearby Brașov, might bring forth the Serbian book into Romanian [...]’ (my translation)

original text and the study of the Holy Writ in Hebrew and Greek for the Old Testament and the New Testament respectively (Schwartz 1963: 11-15), the Orthodox Churches of the Balkans and Eastern Europe were also placing a high importance on the Greek religious sources as inherited from the Byzantine world and as rendered in Church Slavonic. Indeed, since the ninth century and the translation of the first biblical books in Church Slavonic through the mission of Cyril and Methodius, Church Slavonic acquired the status of a liturgical language and later of literary language (MacRobert 2006), which meant that it was not considered heretical either to read or attempt exegetical work upon the Holy Scripture in Church Slavonic. The interesting element about the rendering of the biblical texts in Church Slavonic is that like the tradition of the vernacular Bibles in Western Europe (see the example of the history of the translation of the New Testament into English from Greek after Tyndale in Schwartz 1963: 18-19), it is a history of continuous revisions. As pointed out in the *Introduction*, for the Slavonic tradition of the Apostolos and Psalter texts, for example, more than four and six redactions respectively can be identified up to the fifteenth century. In particular, a turning point in the history of the transmission of religious texts in Church Slavonic was the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, when all liturgical and biblical books underwent a process of textual revision and further lexical and syntactic adaptation to the Greek model (Garzaniti 2001: 96-102; MacRobert 1998b; Thomson 1998; Христова-Шомова 2003). Consequently, although both the Orthodox and the Reformed Churches ultimately give a position of prominence to the Greek text, the path that led them to it is quite different. The case of the Romanian translations is only to be understood from both perspectives. On the one hand, they are the result of the same literal approach to translation and revision as in the case of the Slavonic texts. On the other hand, initially, the principal purpose of these translations was that of giving means to the faithful to gain a better understanding of God's teachings, that is, the attitude towards the translated text was comparable to that of Luther towards vernacular/translated text.

In order to be able to infer the translation and the revision principles followed throughout the sixteenth century in rendering the Holy Scripture into Romanian, we are obliged to refer to the textual sources themselves and build backwards the theoretical framework which the translators

and revisors had in mind. Structurally, this chapter will treat the topics of translation method, techniques and revision processes employed in the tradition of the Psalter and Apostolos texts in Romanian.

2. The Translation of Biblical Texts into Old Romanian

Any practice of translating involved three key factors – the source text (ST) as representative of its source language (SL), the target text (TT) communicated through its target language (TL), and the translator or revisor functioning as mediator between the other two factors. The degree of interaction between these three factors, and in this case it is worth combining the notion of ST and SL and TT and TL for it is within the limits of these texts only that the source and the languages are analysed, define the procedure through which a translation is realised. The role played by the ST/SL is defined by its genre and linguistic authority, that is, by the general attitude with which the source was regarded. The Psalter and the Apostolos being both religious texts, rendered from the official Church language into Romanian, it should be assumed that the ST and the SL enjoyed maximum authority, and that consequently the translations were mainly source-oriented – an aspect which Nida places at the base of a formal-equivalence translation approach (1964: 426). However, the practical means through which it was attempted to reach formal equivalence bring into picture the role played by the TL and that of the translator/revisor. First, because the target texts reveal certain moments of departure from the source text, and second, because there are many variant readings across the textual witnesses of single texts (Psalter and Apostolos in this case) which are to be explained in the light of the translator's activity rather than the tradition of the source text.

A distinction should be made between translation method and translation techniques. In the main I follow Molina's definitions – the translation method is the overall principle followed by the translator in achieving his/her objective and it works at the macro-level of the text; translation techniques are the procedures by which a translation equivalence is achieved, and they affect the micro-units of the text (2004: 507-09). In terms of techniques, it is possible to classify them as source- or target-oriented. Translating through a borrowing, a calque, or a literal rendering would

fall within a source-oriented translation practice. Techniques such as amplification, generalization, particularization, transposition and modulation reveal instead the role played by the target language and the activity of the translator (Molina and Hurtado Albir 2004: 509-11). This distinction is important, for the chapter is structurally divided into first investigating the translation method and then the translation techniques which can be identified in the textual sources of the Psalter and Apostolos texts in Romanian.

While the practice of translating sees the involvement of the SL, TL, and the translator, my analysis has focused mainly on textual varieties across the sixteenth century sources of the Psalter and Apostolos in Romanian, that is, it is result-oriented. Consequently, the theoretical framework derived from comparing the sources among themselves and with the tradition of the source text serves as a practical tool to organise and develop a coherent narrative throughout the chapter. In this respect, unless there is an unquestionable mistake in rendering or interpreting the ST, the variant translations are considered equally valid, and the attempt is to uncover the reasons which led to such variation. Additionally, no attempt will be made at formulating a general theory of translation of biblical texts in Romanian in the sixteenth century. It seems, in fact, that the approach to translation and to revision, in particular, was quite flexible, and that there were no standard translations which had a higher degree of authority over other translations. This is, however, an aspect that will become apparent throughout the analysis advanced in the chapter.

Additionally, a result-oriented study of the translation method and techniques applied in composing the texts of the Psalter and Apostolos in Romanian leads me to conflate to a certain extent the concept of translation/revision and translator/revisor. In chapters two and three it has been shown that it is not possible to have access to the original or 'archetype' translation of the two texts in Romanian, and that the primary sources available are the result of a process of revision and adaptation applied to biblical books. Similarly, we have no information about the original authors of these translations, and whether they are the result of an individual or group initiative. The word translation in this chapter, therefore, is used in the broader sense of rendering a text from one language into another, including revising the translated text with reference to the original source text, and retranslating the original text with reference to previous translations. By 'the translator' I

mean whichever individual or group of individuals working at the composition of one of the primary sources I am dealing with.

2.1. The Translation Method of the Psalter and Apostolos Texts

The basic translation method followed in rendering the Psalter and the Apostolos texts in old Romanian during the sixteenth century is that of literal translation, corresponding to the concept of formal equivalence described by Nida (1964: 165). If we look at the examples provided from psalm 119 and the first seven verses of the Epistle of James chapter 3, we notice that to each translation unit in Church Slavonic there corresponds a translation unit in old Romanian. It should be noted that, considering the nature of the two languages involved in the analysis and in order to facilitate the textual comparison, the concept of translation unit in this chapter is similar to that proposed by Vinay and Darbelnet (1995: 20-30), so that unit of translation, lexicological unit, and unit of thought should be understood as equivalent. Vereščagin, in his study of the translation method applied in rendering biblical books from Greek into Church Slavonic, is another point of reference for this study. In brief, what is here defined as translation unit, Vereščagin names ‘word’, where this indicates ‘not only the lexeme, that is, a lexical element, but also any morphological word which plays an independent (syntactical) role in the sentence (such as conjunctions, pronouns, particle of negation, but propositions and auxiliary verbs)’ (Верещагин 2014, see chapter 1). Overall, in this study, a translation unit comprises instances of prepositional and noun phrases (columns 1, 12, 15 and others in psalm 119, and columns 46 and 49 in the passage from James), verb-forms including cliticized forms and auxiliaries (columns 18, 38, 39 in psalm 119, and 99 and 101 in James), both in Church Slavonic and old Romanian.

The verse division of the examples from the Psalter and the Apostolos follow those found in Rahlfs’ Septuagint and Nestle-Aland 28th edition of the New Testament in Greek.³⁹ When there is a direct correspondence between the Slavonic and the Romanian translation units, these are aligned under one column. If the word order in the Romanian sources is different from the Slavonic example, the Romanian translation unit is numbered in superscript to correspond to the

³⁹ Accessible at Online-Bibles database provided by the German Bible Society:
<<https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/online-bibeln/ueber-die-online-bibeln/>>[Accessed 22/06/2022]

Slavonic translation unit. When there are additional lexical units in the Romanian sources which are not matched by the Slavonic counterpart, these are recorded unnumbered in a separate column, and will receive further consideration later in the chapter. No changes have been applied to the syntactic order of the verse in the Slavonic and Romanian sources.⁴⁰ Additionally, the translation units of psalm 119 and James 3:1-7 are numbered in sequence, starting anew for each textual excerpt, so that it is easier to refer to each translation unit within the space of the chapter.

2.1.1. Psalm 119

The first aspect to note about the translation method applied to the translation of psalm 119 and to the Psalter in general is that the grammatical class of every translation unit is respected – a verbal construction is rendered with a verbal construction, as are nominal and other syntactic constructions. In the case of psalm 119, there is only one instance between columns 9 and 10 where an additional element, a reflexive clitic, is added in PS and which has no correspondent in the Slavonic tradition. This is probably due to the context of verse and the anticipation of the possessive article of *дѣлѣ мѡѣ*, the direct object of the verb, with a personal pronoun *мѣ*, *me*. Generally, however, the literal translation method is followed. A few places where there are varieties either among the Romanian sources or between the Romanian renderings and the Slavonic original reveal instead the translation techniques used by the individual translators and revisors in dealing with the text.

In columns 18 and 22 the Slavonic perfective verbs are rendered with a future construction in Romanian, and because in Romanian such construction is built with the auxiliary ‘vrea’, *to want*, there is an increase in the number of words used in rendering the translation unit. Additionally, in PH there is no reflexive particle in the translation of *приложит сѧ*, which might be due to either a coordination of verbs, that is, the reflexive particle in 18 applies also to the verb in 22, or a simple omission. In column 30 it can be noticed that the Slavonic prepositional phrase *съ горащими агльми* has been analysed differently in PH, PC2 and the other sources. While in PV, PS, PCb, PC and PC1 the Slavonic prepositional phrase is recognised and translated with a parallel prepositional

⁴⁰ While psalm 119 is cited directly from the Tomić Psalter, the verses from the Epistle of James follow Cleminson’s collation of the Catholic Epistles (obtained through personal correspondence).

phrase, in PH съ горацими is probably taken as one word, that is, as a participles of the verb съгорѣти, a form which in principle is estraneous to Church Slavonic constructions. The result is that while in PH we have a gerund functioning as a modal adjunct to the finite verb – the arrows are being sharpened by burning with coals –, the other Romanian sources have an instrumental phrase –the arrows are sharpened with the burning coals. Additionally interesting is the case of PC2, which follows the tradition of PV, PS, PCb and the previous two printed editions, but drops the preposition *with* and so appears to have analysed the word in a similar fashion to PH.

In columns 32 and 33 the Slavonic presents an interjection, оубы мнѣ, *alas* or *woe is me*, which is either rendered literally in PV and PS, or presents the additional element of a preposition in PCb, PC, PC1 and PC2. It is likely that in this instance the customs of the target language played a role (Tuțescu 2006), for ‘vai de mine’ is a set phrase to render оубы мнѣ. In the case of PH, it might be that during the modification of the Romanian text the revisor added the preposition but failed to change the case of the pronoun from dative to accusative.

In column 38 there is an example of lexical variety across the Romanian sources. The Slavonic verb възсѣлити сѧ, *to settle down*, is rendered with ѧ се мѡутѧ, *to move* (with reflexive particle, mirroring the Slavonic), in PH and PC2 and with ѧ ѡнтрѧ, *to enter*, in the other sources. The difference is given by the analysis of the verb: in PH and PC2 the overall meaning of the Slavonic verb is taken into account, while in the other sources a greater attention is devoted to the prefix въз-, *in-*, and so a different verb is chosen. However, the verb *to enter* cannot take the reflexive clitic pronoun in Romanian so that the element of reflexivity present in the Slavonic source is lost.

Column 42 presents us with a case of change of grammatical category, that is, the change from a verbal construction to a noun plus copula construction. Consequently, the third person singular aorist verb in много пришлѣствовѧ дѡшѧ мѡѧ, *much sojourned my soul*, is rendered with a simple perfect in PH and PC2 (although lexically they are different) and with a noun phrase in the other sources: пришлецъ фѡу, *was a wanderer*. This could be considered a case of direct intervention of the translator/revisor, where the technique of transposition is applied.

Column 45 presents a significant mismatch in the word count between the source and the target languages, due to the fact that in some instances the Slavonic present active participle is translated with a relative construction in Romanian. It is also interesting to notice that in PH we have an instance of modulation, that is, of change of viewpoint in the verse, and the addition of the indirect object clitic *ми*, so that the text *ѡѡ ѡѡ нѡ ми юбирѡ паѡѡѡ* can be understood as *those who did not love my peace*, rather than *with those who hate peace*, as it is rendered in the other sources.

A last grammatical category which presents variety in psalm 119 is the rendering of Slavonic adjectives and adverbs. The adjective in column 48 and the adverb in column 54, for examples, are rendered as prepositional phrases in Romanian. While the adjectives in columns 31 and 40 are mainly rendered with a noun in the dative case: *поустынными* and *кидарскими* → *поустїиѡи* and *квдарюлюю*. The only source to behave differently is PH, which has a prepositional phrase in 31 and an adjective in 40.

From the analysis of psalm 119 it is possible to draw a few, brief considerations. As mentioned at the beginning of section 2.1., the general translation method followed in rendering the Psalter into Romanian is that of literal translation. In particular, both the syntactic order (with the exemption of columns 6 and 7 in PH, where the order of the verb and its reflexive clitic are inverted) and the grammatical category of each translation unit are followed. However, a close analysis of the text makes us identify other aspects involved in the process of translating. First, there are instances of adapting to the ways of the TL (see columns 32-33, 40, 45, 48, 54), as well as the adoption of different translation techniques across the Romanian witnesses, which bring to textual variety (example 42).

2.1.2. James 3:1-7

The translation method used in rendering the text of the Apostolos is the same as for the Psalter, that is, a literal translation where both the structure of the sentence and the grammatical class of each translation unit of the SL are matched in the TL. However, the Romanian textual witnesses of the Apostolos in Romanian present a higher number of variations, the result of a different implementation of translation techniques throughout the text. Probably also because of the highly

narrative nature of the text (a sequence of events), there are many more additions or omissions of ‘small’ words such as conjunctions (such is the case in the textual tradition of the Apostolos in Church Slavonic as well). Some of them can be explained in the light of a different Slavonic source (addition of the pronoun *нѣтрѣ* in CB between columns 86 and 87 can be explained if *C93 C94corr Lk T26 H49 Bd* are taken into account, for example), others however seem to be the result of the translator/revisor’s deliberate choice. These, therefore, although reported as found in the original source, will not receive further analysis. As with the analysis of psalm 119, I will systematically go through the instances of variety among the Romanian textual sources and comment on them.

In column 7 we find another way in which the Slavonic present active participles were rendered in Romanian, that is, with a gerund (CB and CV). However, AC has rather a finite verb, the presence of which probably influences the conjugation of the subsequent finite first person plural verb *принимемъ*, *we will receive*, rendered as *прѣимици*, *you receive* (second person plural). This is an example of transposition. Similar to this instance is that of column 47, where the passive participle *затачѣми* is rendered with an articulated participle in CB and CV but with a finite verb in AC. However, in column 48 the finite verb *вѣрацаютъ сѧ*, *are turned around*, is instead rendered with a gerund in AC *лѣторѣкѣндѣ сѧ*, *turning [themselves]*. The overall result is that the understanding of James 3:4 in AC is different from the one found in the original source as well as in CB and CV, although every translation unit in the source text finds a corresponding unit in the target text:

SI: *корабли толици сѣще и ѿ жестокоу вѣтрѣ затачѣми вѣрацаютъ сѧ малѣмъ кормильцемъ: the ships being so great and being driven by strong winds, are turned around by a small rudder;*

AC: *корабѣа кѣтъ фѣиндѣ ши дѣ юте вѣнтѣ ѿ адѣпостимѣ лѣторѣкѣндѣ сѧ коу микѣ крѣмицѣ: the ship so great/of such size being and from the bitter wind we shelter it, turning around with a small rudder;*

CB/CV: *корабѣа атыцѣ фѣиндѣ ши дѣ рѣдѣ вѣнтѣ гѣсите, лѣторѣ сѧ кѣ митѣтѣ крѣмитѣрѣ: the ship (plural in CV) such being and by the strong wind being found, turn around with a small rudder.*

James chapter 3, verses 1-7

3:1

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
SI	нє	мнози	оучителиє	бываите	братіє	моа	вѣдаще	ѣакѡ	болии	грѣхъ	примемъ
CB	нѣ	мѣлци	ѡвѣцѣтори	фиреци	фраціи	мієи	цииндѣ	къ	ман марє	пѣкатѣ	лѣшмиѣ
CV	ноу	моулци	ѡвѣцѣтори	фїреци	фраціи	мієи	цїиндѣ	къ	ман марє	пѣкатоу	преемимѣ
AC	ноу	моулци	ѡвѣцѣтори	фиреци	фраціи	мієи	цици	къ	ман марє	пѣкаты	прїимици

3:2

		12	13	14	15	16		17	18	19	20
SI		многѡ	во	согрѣшаемъ	вси	иже		словомъ	нє	согрѣшитъ	сеи
CB		мѣлтѣ	амѣ	грешимѣ	тоци	чїне		къ кѣвѣнтѣл	нѣ	грѣшаще	ачєл
CV	ши	моултѣ	амѣ	грешимѣ		чєл чє		коу кѣвѣнтоул	ноу	грєшаще	ачєл
AC		моуль	амѣ	грешимь	тоци	чє	ѡсѣ чєл чє	¹⁸ ноу	¹⁹ грєшаще	¹⁷ коу коуѡвѣнтѣль	ачєл

	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
	совершенъ	мѣжъ	силєнъ	ѡбѣздатѣ	и	все	тѣло
є	дєсѡврѣшитѣ	ѡѡрѡатѣ	тарє	чєш ѡфрѣнѣзѡ		тотѣ	трѣпоул
є	²² ѡѡрѡатоу	²¹ дєсѡврѣшитѣ	тарє	ашѣ ѡфрѣрѡ		тотоу	трѣпѣл
	дєсѡврѣшитъ	ѡѡрѡать	силникъ	ашь ѡфрѣнѡ		тотъ	троупѣль

3:3

	28		29	30	31		32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
SI	се		конємъ	ѡрѣзды	ѡ оустѡ		ѡлагдемъ	дѡ ѡвинѣют сѡ	намъ	и	все	тѣло	и хъ	ѡѡрѡадемъ
CB	ѡдєкѡ		кѡилор	зѡѡлє	ѡ гѣрѡ		ѡѡгѡмѣ	се плѣчє се	ноѡѡ	ши	тотѣ	трѣпѣл	лор	ѡтѡрѡчємъ
CV	ѡдєкѡ	ѡмоу	кѡилорѣ	зѡѡлєлє	ѡ гоурѡ	лѡ	ѡѡгѡмоу	се соує се	ноѡѡ	ши	тотоу	трѣпоул	лорѣ	ѡнтѡрѡчє
AC	ѡтѡ		кѡлѣль	зѡѡлѡ	ѡ гоурѡнѣ		ѡѡгѡмь	дє се сѡпѣнє	ноѡѡ	ши	тотъ	троупѣ	лѣнѣ	ѡнтѡрѡчємь

3:4

	40		41	42	43	44	45	46	47		48
SI	се		и	корабли	толници	сѣще	и	ѿ жестокоꙗ вѣтрѣ	затачаеми		вбращаютъ са
CB	ѣтѣ		ши	корабѣа	атьцѣ	фѣиндѣ	ши	де рѣѣ вѣнтѣ	гѣсите		ѣторкѣ се
CV	адекѣ	амоу	ши	корабѣиле	атѣта	фѣиндѣ	ши	де изакланѣ вѣнтоу	гѣсите	ши	се ѣнторкоу
AC	адекѣ			корабѣа	кѣтъ	фѣиндѣ	ши	де юте вѣнтѣ	ѡ аѣзпостимѣ		ѣнторкѣндѣ се

49	50	51	52	53
малѣмѣ кормильцемѣ кѣ митютѣ крѣмитѣрѣ де митюта кѣрмитѣдрѣ коу микѣ крѣмицѣ	ѣмо же аѣе ѣкѣтрѣ ⁵² а дерѣптѣторѣи коумѣ	стрѣмленіе ѡ порнѣрѣ ⁵⁰ ѣкѣтрѣ ⁵³ ва вѣрѣ	правѣцѣмоу дерѣптѣторѣѡ ⁵³ ѡ ва ⁵¹ сѣ ѡ порнѣскѣ	ѡщѣтѣ вѣрѣ ва ⁵¹ дѣѣ стрѣминаре ⁵² дерѣптѣѣѣ ѡ

3:5

	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64
SI	тако	и	аѣыкѣ	малѣ	оуѣѣ	ѣстѣ	и	вѣльми	ѡвалитъ са	се	малѣ
CB	аша	ши	лимба	микѣ	мѣдѣларѣ	ѣсте	ши	ѣодрте	лаѣдѣ се	адекѣ	кѣ пѣцинеѣ
CV	аша	ши	лимба	митютелѣу	мѣдѣларѣ	ѣсте	ши	ѣодрте	се лаоуѣѣ	адекѣ	поуцинеѣ
AC	аша	ши	лимба	микѣ	воуѣкѣѣѣ	ѣсте	ши	ѣодрте	лаѣдѣ се	ѣтѣ	поуцинеѣ

65		66	67	68
огнѣ ѣокѣ ѣокоу ѣокѣ		коликѣ кѣте кѣте кѣтѣ	вѣщѣ лѣкроуѣре лоуѣклоуѣре ѣнре	сѣжизѣѣтѣ дрѣе дрѣе дрѣе

3:6

	69	70		71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	
SI	и	аѣыкѣ		огнѣ	лѣпѣта	неправѣѣ	тако	и	аѣыкѣ	водворѣѣтъ са	во оуѣѣѣѣ	нашиѣѣ	
CB	ши	лимба	ши	ѣокѣл	ѣрѣѣмсеѣѣѣ	недерѣптѣѣѣѣ	аша	ши	лимба	токмѣѣѣ се	ѣтрѣ мѣдѣларѣе	ноаѣтре	
CV	ши	лимба	ѣ	ѣокоу	ѣроуѣсаѣѣѣ	недерѣптѣѣѣѣ	аша	ши	лѣба	рѣѣекѣ се	ѣнтрѣ мѣдоуѣларѣе	ноаѣтре	ши
AC	ши	лимба			ѣрѣѣмсеѣѣѣ	дерѣптѣѣѣѣ	аша		лимба	дѣспѣнѣдѣ се	ѣнтрѣ мѣдѣларѣе	ноаѣтре	

80	81	82	83	84	85	86		87	88	89
СКВЕРНАЦИ	все	тѣло	и	ѡпалѣѡци	коло	рождѣства		и	ѡпалѣемъ	ѡ геенны
де споруѣѡ	тот	трѣпоул	ши	апрїинде	ѡпрежоур	нѡскѣтѣл		ши	апрїнсѣ	де геенѣ
споруѣѡ	тотоу	трѣпѣл	ши	пѣлѣѡе	ѡпреѡорѣл	нѣскоуѡулѣи	нострѣ		пѣлитоу	де гїееноу
споруѣѡ	тотѣ	троупѣлѣ	ши	апринде	ѡпрежѣрѣлѣ	нѣскѣтѣлѣи		ши	апринѣѣндѣ се	де ла геенѡ

3:7

	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99
SI	всако	во	естество	свѣрен же	и	птицѣ	гадѣ же	и	рыбѣ	оумѡѡдет са
CB	тоатѡ		фирѣ	фирѡлор	ши				а пеѡїлор	ѡинѣ се
CV	тоатѣ		фирѣ	фїерилороу	ши	пасѣрилорѣ	гадинелороу	ши	пеѡилорѣ	оустенескоу
AC	де тоатѡ		а фѣптѣра	фїарѡ	ши	пасѡри	гадине	ши	пеѡи	оустенескѣ се

100	101	102	103
и	оумѡѡит са	естествомъ	ѡеловѣѡескимъ
ши	кїнѣескѣ се	кѣ фирѣ	ѡминѣскѡ
ши	моуѡѡескѣ се	коу фирѣ	ѡменѣскѣ
ши	мѣлѡѡескѣ се	де фирѣ	ѡменѣскѡ

Another point of difficulty in this verse is to be found in columns 51-53. The overall meaning of this verse is: ‘the ships, which though they be so great and are driven by fierce winds, yet are they turned about with a very small helm, whithersoever the helmsman pleases’ (KJV). The passage ἰαμοже аще стремление правациоμου хощетъ, *wherever the direction of him steering pleases*, is rendered literally in CB, but presents some variation in CV and AC. In CV there is a change of the word order but not of the word’s grammatical class, а дерептѣторѣи ꙗкозѣтъ ѿ ва дѣѣ стръминнаре, *of the one steering wherever he wants out of impulse*. In AC, however, there is both a change in the word order as well as in their grammatical category: коумъ ва врьъ съ ѿ порнѣскѣ дерептѣзъ ѿ, *as [he] wants to direct it, so he steers it*. These changes create some confusion at the syntactical level and alter additionally to the meaning of the sentence.

Between columns 16 and 17 there is an instance of linguistic amplification in the case of AC. The relative pronoun иже is rendered initially with ѡе, *which*, followed by an additional translation ꙗко ѡеѣѣ ѡе, *instead that which*, which adds the element of the adversative conjunction ꙗко to the relative construction. Additionally, the order of the translation units of 17-19 is inverted in AC, which is probably the result of the adaptation to the natural word order to be expected in Romanian (SVO). Similarly, the word order of 21-22 is inverted in CV, which might be explained by the same reason (postnominal placement of the adjective).

Between columns 20 and 21 it is interesting to notice the addition of the copula ‘is’ in AC and CV, while it is absent in CB. This, once more, is an example of linguistic amplification, when an additional grammatical element is inserted to adapt to the needs of the TL. Besides the addition of the copula, this passage of the Apostolos has instances of the addition of personal pronouns in their clitic form in the accusative case. Such is the case with CV between columns 31 and 32 as well as AC in columns 47, 52 and 53.

Column 64 presents the addition of the preposition ꙗко, *with*, in CB, which transforms the expected noun phrase from Church Slavonic into a prepositional phrase in Romanian, and causes into question the agent of the verb which follows, арде, *burns*, for which the insertion of a reflexive clitic is expected for an impersonal construction – ꙗко ꙗцинеѣѣ фокѣ ꙗкѣте ѣѣсѣоуѣ се арде, *with a*

small fire how many things are burned. The lack of the reflexive clitic and the presence of the preposition *with* makes it such that the subject of the verb *burn* is *fire*. The insertion might have occurred at the time of the revision, especially if *сѣ малъ огнь* has been interpreted as prepositional phrase, that is, if the demonstrative pronoun *сѣ* has been read as the preposition *сѣ*. PH would present the conflation of two translations – *αδεκϰ* for the demonstrative pronoun referring to the preceding context of the verse, and the preposition *сѣ*, result of a misreading of the ST.

Finally, we can notice how the present active participles in columns 80 and 84 are rendered with a finite verb in all three Romanian texts, and how the present passive participle in column 88 is translated with a participle in CB and CV and with a gerund in AC. Once more, this last example shows us how, although the sense is the same, the perspective on how the action takes place changes: in CB and CV *λιμβα ... απρῖνεϣ/πζλιτουϣ δε γεενϣ*, *the tongue being set on fire by hell*, as opposed to AC *лимба ... απρηνζβηδϣ сѣ δε ла геенϣ*, *the tongue catching fire from hell*.

A detailed analysis of James 3:1-7 shows us how also in this instance of the Apostolos the general approach of a literal translation method is followed. However, the number of translation techniques employed is higher and, as a result, higher is the number of varieties among the sources. This might be due also to the differences in genre between the Psalter and the Apostolos texts, one being poetry and the other being prose. Nida writes: ‘In poetry there is obviously a greater focus of attention upon formal elements than one normally finds in prose. Not that content is necessarily sacrificed in translation of a poem, but the content is necessarily constricted into certain formal moulds’ (1964: 157). Indeed, it seems that during the translation process of the Apostolos there is more awareness of the overall narrative context of the verse/textual passage, especially in the case of AC. The case of CB is different, where the adherence to the literal translation method is stricter. As a conclusion to this section, it is now possible to define better meaning of literal translation method – each translation unit in the source text finds a parallel translation unit in the target text. Even in Church Slavonic, which since the ninth century was employed and modified in order to resemble more and more the Greek language lexically and syntactically, there are instances where there is no perfect correspondence between the two languages. Vereščagin points this out (2014:

19-20), saying that in the instance of the translation of the Gospels there is a 98% correspondence between the number of *morphological words* present in the Greek ST and those in the Church Slavonic TT. Such is not the case with the translations in old Romanian, for the structure of the language, though adaptable to the structures Church Slavonic, often requires a higher number of words to deliver the same content (due also to it having more analytic verb structures, and making more use of prepositions). It is more fitting, therefore, to talk about translation or concept units, and analyse which exact translation units favoured variety in the translation and revision process between Church Slavonic and old Romanian. The next section of the chapter will be dedicated to this very aspect. All in all, by translation method it should also be understood the overall principle or objective followed in transposing a source text into the target language.

2.2. Translation Techniques Applied to the Psalter and Apostolos Texts

Translation, as we have seen so far, is a two-facet process, relying on the aspect of reproduction of the source text and that of adaptation to the target language. The textual variety existing across the Romanian sources, therefore, can derive from differences existing in the ST (see chapters two and three) or be generated during the process of adaptation to the target language. This last aspect can be analysed from numerous viewpoints, depending on the research questions to be explored. If so far I tried to answer to the question *why* certain textual varieties exist in the target texts of the Psalter and Apostolos in Romanian starting from the source texts, I would now like to explore the aspect of *how* these differences were introduced, that is, which translation techniques have been used by the translators/revisors throughout the texts. The intention behind this analysis is to find patterns across the texts which can tell us more about the author working on them, and so take the textual differences not as individual instances scattered throughout the text, but as pointers and possible explanations to the purpose the translator/revisor had in altering the text. In this respect, I should note that the expression *translation technique* is kept as such in order to keep a relation to the broader field of Translation Studies and to how certain rendering principles are named in the field. In truth, in the case of the textual tradition of the Psalter and Apostolos in Romanian we are mainly dealing with techniques and approaches to textual revision.

In the main, I rely on Vinay and Darbelnet's list of terms of translation techniques (1995) and on Molina's distinction between translation method, technique and strategy (2004). Not all techniques coined by Vinay and Darbelnet are relevant to the study of the textual differences found in the sources of the Psalter and Apostolos texts in Romanian. The most important ones are those of amplification, transposition, and modulation. Additionally, many differences rely on a degree of interpretation used during the translation process, especially in the case of the Hurmuzaki Psalter. Consequently, interpretation will be considered as an additional translation technique or form of adjustment implemented in rendering the source text.

2.2.1. Change in Meaning: Amplification and Reduction

Amplification is the practice of inserting additional information and details that are not present in the ST, known in Vinay and Dabernet's treatise as explicitation. This can be linguistic (addition of copula, for example)⁴¹ or related to the message of the text, and is often used to make more accessible the meaning expressed in the ST. The opposite of amplification is reduction.

Psalter Text

In the case of the Psalter text, the highest number of examples of amplification and reduction are to be found in the Hurmuzaki Psalter.

In some instances, amplification is the result of repetition due to mnemonic interference. Two aspects play a role here: a) the text of the psalms is often repetitive and there are many set expressions used as poetic means throughout the text; b) the learning of psalms by heart was common practice in medieval times, either because of their extensive use during the Liturgy of Hours or because the Psalter was the main grammar book used in medieval times for teaching reading and writing, or indeed both. Memory, in fact, might have played a role in adding textual change across the Psalter sources, as also shown by MacRobert in the case of the textual tradition of the Psalter in Church Slavonic (2008). Such is the case of psalm 78:10, for example:

⁴¹ This section will not investigate the aspect of linguistic amplification, for in the main I collected examples of textual variety between the Romanian sources referring to differences in vocabulary or rendering of the source message.

Church Slavonic: да не когда рекжть жъзыци гдѣ ѿ бѣ ихъ. и оувѣсть са въз жъзыцѣхъ прѣ оѹима
нашими мзстъ крѣве рабѣ твоихъ пролитыж;

PH: се ноу кзндѡва зикъ лимвнмбиле иу асте дѣнедѣлѡ лоръ . дѣнвсѣдѡ ностроу ꙗ ѹерю ши пре
пзмзнтъ . ши се ва ши ꙗ лимви ꙗтре вкѣи ноцри коуратѡ е сзнице шербилоръ тзи дѣ възса.

After the first half of the verse, PH has the addition of дѣнвсѣдѡ ностроу ꙗ ѹерю ши пре пзмзнтъ,
our God is in heaven and on earth, which is probably taken from ps. 113:10-11, where verse 10 is
a perfect mirror of the versicle in psalm 78:10:

Church Slavonic: ¹⁰да не когда рекжть жъзыци гдѣ ѿ бѣ ихъ. ¹¹бѣ же нашъ на нѣси и на земли · възсѣ
елика възсѡтѣ сзтвори.

PH: ¹⁰се ноу кзндѡ ва зикъ пзгнрѣи ю е дѣсѣдѡ лоръ ¹¹дѣнвсѣдѡ ностроу ꙗ ѹерю ши пре пзмзнтѡу
тоатѣ кзтѣ дѣ врѣтѣ фалѣтаѣ.

The addition of the first part of verse 11 of psalm 113, therefore, is influenced by the
translator/revisor's memory. Similarly, in ps. 145:5 the Slavonic text reads *блаженъ емоу же бѣ*
ѡаквѣль пѡцнникъ его, *blessed is of whom the God of Jacob is his helper*, while in PH we find the
addition of *man* after blessed, *фѣриче дѣ възбатѡуль аѹелѣа ѹе доумнесѣдѣлѡ лѣи ѡаквѣи е ѡмоутѡрю*.
The phrase *μακάριος ἀνὴρ*, *blessed is the man*, is, in fact, a set expression that is found in through
the Psalter text (pss.1:1, 31:2, 33:9, 39:5, 83:6), so that the amplification in ps. 145:5 could be
related to interference of the translator's memory.

Another type of amplification that is found in PH is what can be seen as a double
translation, that is, when the same concept is expressed in two or more ways (Dimitrova 2019: 410-
11; Thomson 1988). This set of examples is particularly interesting when compared to the
renderings present in the other Romanian sources, for, besides telling about the employment of a
certain revision technique (doublets or Doppelübersetzung), it also plays in favour of the
hypothesis that during the copying of PH two different Romanian sources have been used, one
belonging to R1 and the other to R2.

Psalm	Church Slavonic	RH	Others	Variant Readings
85:13	ѿ ада прѣисподнѣго	де адоулоу де пре маи цю де десоуѣтѣ	де фонуаѣль ѣаѣлаѣи	де соупѣть фонуаѣль ѣаѣлаѣи - PC2
90:2	застѣпникъ мои ѣси и привѣжище мое въ мои	спреженигоурю мѣѣ еци тѣ ши амистоуитворюлоу мѣѣ дѣмнезеѣ ацоутворю мѣѣ	ажѣторю мѣ еци ши скѣпаре мѣ дѣмнезеѣ мѣѣ	
97:2	сказа гѣ спѣсѣнїе свое прѣѣ жзыкы ѿкеры правдѣ своѣ	аррѣтъ дѣмнеѣ спѣнїа са лтре ѡменрїи лимби ши дескопери дерептатѣ са	спѣсе домнѣль спѣсенїа са лнтре лимби дескопери дерептатѣ са	
101:12	ѣако сѣбно исзхоухъ	сѣкаю еоу ка фѣнѣроуаѣ ши оузкаю ма	еѣ ка фѣнѣль секаю	еѣ ка фѣнѣль оузкаю - PC2
118:48	възлюбихъ и глоумѣахъ са	юбию ши дорию	юбїи ши глѣмїа мѣ	PV lacuna
125:5	сѣщїи слѣзами	сѣмѣръторїѣ сѣмїадоу коу лакѣрѣми	ѣе сѣмѣнѣ кѣ лакѣрѣми	
131:9	и прѣѣбнїи твои възрѣаѣт са	ши коувишиши тѣи ѡѣрошиши тѣи ѡѣрарѣ се	ши прѣѣѡѡбнїиѣи тѣи ѡѣкѣра се вѡрѣ	

Most of these additions represent different options for rendering a Slavonic expression. Such is the case in pss. 125:5 and 131:9, for example, where the participle сѣщїи is first rendered with a noun сѣмѣръторїѣ, *sower*, and then with a gerund сѣмїадоу, *sowing*; while прѣѣбнїи твои is initially translated as коувишиши тѣи, *your venerable ones*, which is the default translation of прѣѣѡѡбнїѣ in RH,⁴² and then changed to ѡѣрошиши тѣи, *your blessed ones*, probably under the influence of the following verb възрѣаѣт са, *shall exult*. Similarly, in ps. 90:2 застѣпникъ мои is rendered twice, first as спреженигоурю мѣѣ, *my protector/support*, the default translation for застѣпникѣ in RH (pss. 82:27, 108:12, 118:114, 143:2), after which the reading present in the other sources is also added ацоутворю мѣѣ, *my helper*. In ps. 101:12 RH translates исзхоухъ with two synonyms сѣкаю and оузкаю ма, that is, *to dry up*. Examples 85:13 and 97:2 point, instead, to the way in which the text was analysed and then rendered into Romanian. Initially прѣисподнѣ in ps. 85:13 is analysed morphologically прѣ-ис-поднѣ, and the translation пре маи цю,⁴³ *deeper below*, is given. This, however, is altered to де десоуѣтѣ, *underneath/underground*, that is, to the general understanding of прѣисподнѣ. This is, of course, only one interpretation; it might also be that

⁴² Such is the case in pss. 131:16, 144:10-13-14-17, and 149:1-5-9, for example.

⁴³ Here the letter 's' at the end of the word is missing.

instead the approach of amplification was adapted, and the entire expression ДѢ ПРѢ МАИ ЦЮ ДѢ ДЕСОУПѢТЪ stands as one for ПРѢВИСПОДНѢГО, meaning *from deeper than below*. In psalm 97:2, instead, the initial rendering of ЖЪЗЫКЪ is interpretative ѡМѢНШИИ, *people/humans*, which is then altered to a more literal translation ЛИМЪБИ, *tongues/nations*, like the other Romanian sources.

The last type of amplification found in the case of the Psalter text is the traditional one, that is, the addition of content. In the case of PH these resemble side comments which have been integrated in the main text. For example, in ps. 88:39 И ѠВРЪЖЕ ХРІСТА ТВОЕГО, *and [you] rejected your anointed one*, PH has the addition of ЮБИТЪ, *beloved*, after ХІСЛОУ ТЪДЪ. Similarly, in ps. 102:8 we find a list of positive attributions to God: ШЕДРЪ МЛѢТИВЪ ГЪ ДЛЪГО ТРЪПѢЛИВЪ И МНОГО МЛѢТИВЪ, *generous and merciful is the Lord, very patient and full of mercy*, after which the addition of ШИ Е ПРАДЕВЪРЪ, *and he is indeed*, is supplemented in PH.

Besides the case of PH, the technique of amplification is also used, although sporadically, also in the other Romanian Psalters. In ps. 99:3, for instance, ТЪ СЪТВОРИ НА ДА НЕ МЫ, *he/that one made us and not we*, is rendered as АЧЕЛА ФЪЧЕ ПРѢ НОИ Е НЪ НОИ ПРЕНСЪ, *that one made us and not us him*, in PV; the addition *de facto* changes the meaning of the passage and supplements an additional meaning which is not present in the original sense.

However, the technique of amplification is mainly used in PH, which in this way resembles a work in progress manuscript, that is, of a text the form of which was still in the making, and which could be subjected to change. Another particularity of PH are the many examples where the technique of reduction has been used. In particular, these are instances when in the ST the same word is used twice, or two semantically close words are used; these are usually rendered with one word only in PH.

- 1) ps. 88:22, Slavonic: рука БВ МОА ПОМОЖЕТЪ ЮМЪ И мышца МОА ОУКРѢПИТЬ И, *for my hand shall help him and my arm shall strengthen him* → PH: ШИ АМЪ мъбра МЪ АЦЮУТА ВА ЛВИ · ПТЪРИ ВА ЕЛЬ.

The rendering of the verse in PH lacks the translation for мышца моя, *my arm*. Similarly, ps. in 97:1 спсе его десница его и мышца сѣаа его, *he delivered him by his right hand/arm and his holy arm*, is rendered as скотере луги ши брацѣ ѹе сѣтоу а луги, *salvation to him and his holy arm*. Once more, there is no translation for десница его, probably because the expression is similar to мышца [...] его.

2) 97:4 SI: възпонтѣ гѣи въз гжслехъ· въз гжслехъ и гласѣ ψαλμметѣ, *sing to the Lord with zither, with zither and voice of a psalm* → PH: маи кѣнѣ дѣнлоуи ностроу ꙗ ѹетере ши ꙗ гласоуриле кѣнтѣчѣлрѣ, *sing again to the Lord with harps and with the voices of the songs*. In PH there is no repetition for въз гжслехъ;

3) 131.3 SI. на вдрѣ постела моеѣ, *on the bed of my bedding* → PH: ꙗ патѣль мѣѣ, *in my bed*, with no repetition, while the other sources have ꙗ патѣль стратѣлѣи мѣѣ, *in the bed of my bedding*.

A similar approach can be found in the Voronež Psalter in ps. 89.14. Here the Slavonic reads и възрадовахом сѧ и възвеселихом сѧ, that is, *and we rejoiced and were glad*, two verbs quite close in meaning. While the other sources render the verbs as боукѣржмѣ не ши веселимѣ не, PV has only вѣкѣржмѣ не.

Another instance of reduction can be found in the Scheia Psalter. In ps. 96:9 the Romanian version of PS economised by rendering ꙗко ты гѣ вышнѣи по възсеи земли· зѣлау прѣвѣзнесе сѧ нѧ възсѣми бogy, *for you, Lord, are highest over all the earth; you were greatly exalted above all the gods*, with кѣ тѣ дѣнѣ де сѣсѣ прѣспре тоци дѣнесеи, *for you [are] the Lord from above all the gods*. The other sources present a literal translation: кѣ тоу домнѣль де сѣсѣ прѣспре тотѣ пѣмжнтѣль · фодрте рѣдикаши те прѣспре тоци зени, *for you are the Lord from above over all the earth; you were greatly exalted above all the gods*.

All in all, the technique in reduction is less used than that of amplification, and only in instances where there is a repetition of words or there are two words which overlap in their meaning. The amplification technique, instead, is applied to achieve many more objectives. In

some instances, it is a case of double translations, and in others the technique is used to explicate further the meaning of the source text.

Apostolos Text

As with the Psalter text, the technique of amplification is used more often than that of reduction. In particular, in the Voronež Codex the translation technique is used in instances of: 1) introducing direct speech; 2) repeating certain information derived from the context. Below there are a few examples of the first type of amplification.

Acts	Church Slavonic	CB	CV	AC
22:8	АЗЪ ЖЕ ѠВЪЩАХЪ, КТО ЕСИ ГИ	-	є еоу ррѣспоуишоу <u>ШИ</u> <u>ЗЕИШОУ</u> ЧІАРЕ ЕСИ ДНѢ	є єѣ рѣспоуишь ЧИНЕ ЕСИ ДОАМНЕ
22:27	ТЫСѦЦНИКЪ РЕЧЕ ЕМЪ	-	МИАШЪЛ <u>ШИ</u> ЛЪ АТРЕВЪ СИСЕ	МІАРИѠ ЗИСЕ ЛОУИ
22:28	ѠВЪЩА ЖЕ ТЫСѦЦНИКЪ	-	РРѣСПДНСЕ МИАШЪЛ <u>СИСЕ</u>	РѣСПОУНСЕ МІАРИѠ
23:6	ВЪЗВА ВЪ СЪНМИЦИ	СТРИГЪ АТРОЪ ГЛОАТЪ	КІЕМЪ ГЛОАТА <u>ШИ</u> <u>СИСЕ</u>	КЕМЪ АНТРОЪ ГЛОАТЪ <u>ЗИСЕ</u>

For the second type of amplification the wider textual context is necessary.

- 1) Acts 20:20 НИЧТОЖЕ ОБИНѦХ СЯ Ѡ ПОЛЕЗНЫХЪ, *nothing I kept back of the things being useful*, is rendered with a literal translation in CB and AC: НЕМИКЪ НЪ ТѦГѦДОУІЮ ДЕ ФОЛОАСЕЛЕ ЧЕ є, *nothing I denied of what is useful*; НЕМИКЪ НОУ МАМЪ СДПЪСЪ ЧЕ НОУЕ СПРЕ ФОЛЪ, *nothing I told you that is of no use*; and with the addition of judgements in CV: НЕМИКЪ НОУ МЕ ТЪГЪДЪИ ЮДЕУДАЕ ЧЕ ЄРА КОУ ФОЛОСЪ, *nothing I denied of the judgements which were of use*.

In this instance the Slavonic nominalized adjective ПОЛЕЗНЫХЪ is rendered with a noun (judgements) and a defining relative pronoun construction rather than with a relative pronoun construction only;

- 2) Acts 20:30 Ѡ ВЪ СѦМЪХЪ ВЪСТАНѦТЬ МѦЖІЕ, *from you yourselves will rise up men*, is rendered as ДИАНТРОЪ ВОИ АШИШ АВЪЦАЦИ АШИШ, *from you yourselves learned men will rise up men*, in CV, that is, with a qualifier defining the men. Considering the context of the verse, it might be that the translator wanted to emphasise the fact that even among the men whom Paul taught, there are going to be some who will distort the truth he imparted to them and deny it;

- 3) Acts 22:12 ἀνανία же нѣкто мѣжь, *Ananias, a certain man*, is rendered as ши оуѣ вѣрватѣ ѣви ера ноумеле ананіа, *a man whose name was Ananias*, in CV. Here the translator conveys the same meaning of the ST but makes explicit what in the original is implicit;
- 4) Acts 28:24 ωβι оуβω вѣрवादख̄ глѣмы имь, ωβι же не вѣрवादख̄, *some were believing the things said to them, others were not believing*, is translated as ши оуѣи крѣдѣ грзиѣ лорѣ де павел, гарѣ алцӣи ноу крѣдѣ, *and some were believing the things told them by Paul, while others were not believing*, that is, the agent is explicitated—the things being told by Paul.

Another type of amplification is that of double translation. Across the Romanian Apostolos texts, however, the nature of these changes. While AC presents sometimes a double translation which offers an explanation of some of some Slavonic words, overall, the impression is that double translations were almost a collation of two translation variants. The two set of examples from below point to this feature.

Reference	Church Slavonic	CB	CV	AC
9:38 + 9:39	въ горници	ѡтрѣ комцр'ниѣ х2	–	горницѣ зиѣесе касѣ де сѣсъ х2
15:30	вѣдаше посланиѣ просет'ше же	трѣмѣса	–	скриптѣра ѣе тремисе
23:33	вѣдавше посланиѣ гемонѣ	–	дѣдерѣ картѣ лѣ игѣемѣнѣ	дѣдерѣ картѣ ѣе ера тремисѣ лѣ гемонѣ тремиса
23:34	посланиѣ	–	карта	картѣ ѣе ера тремисѣ
1P1:12	желаютѣ аггли приникнѣти	желоуескѣ ѡцерѣи а плека	желѣскоу ши ѡнцерѣи а се плека	желѣескѣ ѡцерѣи а се плека <u>кѣтъ сѣ вѣзѣ</u>

First, in AC it is explained that горницѣ, taken as a loanword from Church Slavonic, is касѣ де сѣсъ, that is, *the house/living place from above*. Later, in Acts 15:30, 23:33 and 23:34, the Slavonic word посланиѣ is rendered first as скриптѣра, *writing*, then as картѣ, *book*; these words are then accompanied by an additional piece of information – ѣе ера тремисѣ, *which (was) sent*. The translator/revisor gives an interpretative translation first (*writing* and *book*), to which a literal translation is added: посланиѣ, a verbal noun, is understood as past passive participle, rendered in

Romanian as *ce era trimisă*, which is/was sent. In the First Epistle of Peter 1:12 there is another instance of double translation and explication: *желаютъ агъли приникнѹти*, *want the angels to look at*, is rendered as *желѹескъ ѿцерѹи а се плекѹ кзтъ съ вѹзѹ*, *the angels want to bend to see*, while CB and CV have only the verb *to bend*. The amplification, in this instance, is based on the meaning of the verb *приникнѹти*, which can mean *to bow*, but also *to look through*. The revisor of AC, therefore, combined the two meanings – the angels want to bow as far necessary to see.

The second list of examples presents a more traditional form of reduplication, that is, when one Slavonic word is rendered with two parallel, at times synonymic words. It is curious to notice that in many cases, especially the examples found in CV, one of the two renderings is also shared by the other two sources, and at times each rendering is the translation solution in one or the other source (Acts 20:28, 28:6). It seems that the translator collated two translation possibilities or explored other ways in which to render certain words (Acts 19:29, 19:31, 19:38, 20:28, 20:32, 21:31, 28:6, James 2:21).

Reference	Church Slavonic	CB	CV	AC
19:29	въ позорище	ѿтрѹ превире	ѿтрѹ прѹзвире ѿзборище	ѿнтрѹ превире
19:31	въ позоръ	ѿтрѹ аржтаре	ѿнтрѹ зборище ѿтрѹ <u>бѹцокѹрѹ</u>	ѿнтрѹ батжокѹрѹ
19:38	коупци соутъ	негѹцѹтори сѹнтѹ	негѹцѹтори сѹнтоу	жоудече <u>негоуцѹтѹри</u> сѹнтъ
20:28	сѹнабдѹ	добѹнѹди	о добѹнѹди <u>преверѹе</u>	ѿ превѹге
20:32	наслѹдѹе	добѹнѹдирѹ	добѹнѹдире	добѹнѹдѹ <u>оуѹмеен</u>
21:10	на дѹни многи и сѹнидѹ	спре зиле мѹлѹте ши деценсе	силе моуѹте сѹ ѿн <u>силеле аѹбле ешарѹ</u> <u>дециѹсе</u>	-
21:31	спѹрѹ	зборѹлѹди	глоатееи <u>спирѹ</u>	спирѹ
27:35	блѹгодари бѹ прѹ въсѹми	оуѹрѹ ѿн дѹмнезеѹ наинтѹ тѹтѹроѹ	блѹгодари днѹсеѹ ѿтре тоци	доуѹче оуѹрѹ <u>мѹзриндѹ</u> доуѹмнезеѹ ѿнтрѹ тоци
28:6	прѹтворѹшесе	фѹчѹрѹ	прѹфѹчѹрѹсе ѿндонрѹсе	ѿндонарѹсе
J1:23	ѹко иже естѹ	къ чѹл чѹ ѹсте	коу ѹсте	ѹинешѹ де вон <u>къ чѹла</u> чѹ ѹсте
J2:21	на ѹлтарѹ	спре жоуѹгеторю	спре ѹѹлгѹеторю	спре жоуѹгѹаре ѿнтрѹ <u>ѹлтарѹ</u>
J5:5	наслѹдисте са оупитѹсте ог оупитѹсте се накрѹмисте	ѹспѹтѹтѹ вѹ некрѹмитѹ	оуспѹтѹто ва ши ѿгрѹшатѹ вѹ	ѹрѹници вѹ сѹтѹраци вѹ <u>кѹрмици</u>

1P3:1	ДА И ИЖЕ ПРОТИВАТ СА СЛОВЪ	ДЪ҃ҪИ ШИ ЧИНЕ ПРОТИВИ СЕ ВА КЪВИНТЕЛЪ	АДЪ́ ЛЪТИНАЩЕ АЧЕСТЪ КЪВЪЗНТОУ ЧИНЕ СЕ СЕ <u>ПРОТИВЪЩЕ КЪВЪЗНТОУИ ...</u> <u>ШИ ЧЕЛ ЧЕ СЕ ПРОТИВЪЩЕ</u> <u>КОУВЪЗНТОУИ</u>	ДЕШИ ЧИНЕ СЕ ВА ПРОТИВИ КЪВЪЖНТЪЛЪИ
2P1:5	ВСЕ ПРИВНЕСШЕ	ТОАТЪ АДЪ́ ПЪРТА	-	ТОАТЕ А ДЕПРИНДЕ
2P 2:3	ЛИХОИМСТВИЕМЪ ЛЪЖНЫМИ СЛОВЕСЫ	КЪ́ АЛЕ СПРЪНЦАРИЛЪ МИНЧЮНОАСЕЛЪ КЪВИНТЕ	КОУ АСЪПРЪ ЛЪАРЪ КЪ МЕНЧЮРОАСЕ КЪВЕНТЕ	КЪ́ АШЕЛЪЧЮНИ ШИ <u>АЛКАМЪРЕ</u> МИНЧИНУАСЕ КОУВИНТЕ
2P 2:6	СЖЕГЪ РАЗОРЕНИЕМЪ УСЪДИ	АРСЕ КОУ СПАРЦЕРЕЛЕ	АРСЕ КЪ́ СПАРЦЕРЕ УСЪДИ	АПРИНСЕ КЪ́ ПЕРИРЕ <u>АРДЕРЕ</u> УСЪДИ

The example from the First Epistle of Peter 3:1 is particularly interesting, for in this instance PV has three translations of the same passage. The context of the excerpt is the following:

Slavonic: такожде же жены, повинѹща са своимъ мъжемъ, да и иже противат са словъ, женскимъ житиємъ безъ слова плѣнени бѹдѹтъ;

KJV: *Likewise, ye wives, be in subjection to your own husbands, that if any obey not the Word, they also may be won without the word by the conduct of their wives;*

CV: аша ши моуѣриле соупоундъ се алабъ сѣи вѣрбаци адѣ лѣтинаще ачестъ кѣвѣзнтоу чине се се
противѣще кѣвѣзнтоуи кредѣлнчорасеи моури кѣ вѣаца фѣръ кѣвѣзнтоу вѣлратѣу ла кредѣлцѣ фи ва
ши чѣ чѣ се противѣще коувѣзнтоуи моуѣрици коу вѣаца фѣръ кѣвѣзнтъ прѣдатъ фи ва;

The translation in CV presents a representative case of amplification, for it has both an additional piece of information derived from the context, as well as the re-rendering of the same expression three times. In order to facilitate the analysis of the verse I will divide the verse in smaller sections and provide a translation and a comment for each of them.

1. аша ши моуѣриле соупоундъ се алабъ сѣи вѣрбаци, *likewise the wives, submitting themselves to their own husbands*; literal translation following the Slavonic ST;
2. адѣ лѣтинаще ачестъ кѣвѣзнтоу, *often opposes this word*; this translation is slightly more problematic. It should correspond to да и иже противат са словъ, *so that he who opposes the word*. The question is over the meaning of лѣтинаще. Costinescu believes that the word is related to the Hungarian taláni and means *to meet/to coincide* (Costinescu 1973). I believe that it is rather linked to the Hungarian ellen, *against*, from which 'alean' comes into

Romania with the same meaning of *against*. From there a verb might have developed 'a lătini', which would have the same meaning of the Slavonic противити сѧ, *to oppose, to become adversary*. This is further supported by two more examples, in Acts 27:4, 28:17, and 28:19, where the adjectives противьнъ/съпротивьнъ, *opposing, hostile, resisting*, is rendered, only in CV, as ꙗтр-алѣнѣ, that is, *in opposition*. Another way of interpreting the meaning of the word лѣтинащє is to link it to 'latin' (or a more popular form 'lătin'). There are meanings of 'lătin' (also 'létin') in old Romanian than have general connotations of heretical or evil behaviour (apparently through the association with Catholicism). In some Romance languages terms such as 'latino/ladino' also mean clear or direct talk (in some cases it can also mean 'sly' talk) (Müller 1963);

3. ЧИНЕ СЕ СЕ ПРОТИВѢЩЕ КЪВЪЗНТОУИ КРЕДІАИУОАСЕИ МОУРИ КЪ ВІАЦА ФЪРЪ КОУВЪЗНТОУ . ВЪАРАТОУ ЛА КРЕДИЦЪ ФИ ВА, *he who opposes the word of the faithful wife with life without word will be captured into faith*. This passage should correspond to the second half of the verse, that is, from where reference is made to the husbands being rescued by the wives' conduct. Besides having a retranslation of what we have seen in the second excerpt, the translator adds the adjective *believing* for the wife and the noun *faith* at the end of the passage. There is, therefore, a degree of interpretation in this section;

4. ШИ ЧѢ ЧЕ СЕ ПРОТИВѢЩЕ КОУВЪЗНТОУИ МОУЕРИЦИ КОУ ВИАЦА ФЪРЪ КОУВЪЗНТЪ ПРЪДАТЪ ФИ ВА, *and he who opposes himself to the word of the wife with life without the word will be plundered*. This last translation is in line with how the passage is rendered in CB and AC, and follows, in the main, the Slavonic ST.

This example is particularly interesting also because it points to the translation path the revisor undertook in rendering the verse. It appears that from a more interpretative rendering, he opted eventually for a more literal approach.

Overall, the technique of amplification is used more often than that of reduction, both in the Psalter and the Apostolos. Generally, the technique is either implemented to insert additional information in the source text, often derived from the context, or it is a matter of double translations. In the

cases of the Hurmuzaki Psalter and the Voroneţ Codex, however, the presence of double translations might have also been the result of a collation, that is, the conflation of different translation options.

2.2.2. Change in Expression: Modulation and Transposition; Generalization and Particularisation

Of the other translation techniques, those of transposition and modulation are the most commonly used across the Romanian sources, especially in the case of the Apostolos text. Modulation indicates the change of point of view and/or semantics in the TL from the SL, although the same idea is conveyed. Transposition, instead, involves a change of grammatical categories between the SL and the TL, while the same meaning is preserved.

Modulation

An example of modulation can be found in ps. 85:9, where the Slavonic и прославаѣ́ има твоє, *and they shall glorify your name*, is rendered with a passive construction in PH: ши прославитиоу є ноумеле тѣѣ, *and glorified is your name*. The other sources have an active construction instead: ши слави вѣ ноумеле тѣѣ, following the Slavonic example.

Similarly, in Acts 20:12 the active construction и ѡтѣшѡшѡ сѣ не мало, *and they were comforted not moderately*, is rendered with an impersonal construction in CV: ши фѣ мѡѡгѡре ноу поуцинѣ, *and there was comfort not little*; while CB and AC present a reflexive construction: ши мѡнѡгѡѡрѡ сѣ нѣ пѣцинѣ, *and they were comforted not moderately*.

Another instance when the technique of modulation is used is the change from a reported to a direct speech, especially in the case of AC. For example, in Acts 20:8 Paul is about to depart from his disciples and tells them: гѡлаше къ нимъ хѡте изыти на оутрѣни прострѣть словѡ до полѣноци, *he spoke to them, intending to depart on the next day and was extending his speech until midnight*. The passage is rendered as an indirect speech in CB and CV: гѡзиѡ кътрѣ еи къ дѣмѡрѣца вѣ сѣ ѡсѣ ши тѣѡсе коувѣнтоуѡ пѣѡрѣ ѡ мѡѡсѡноѡпте, *he said to them that in the morning he wanted to depart and he extended his speech until midnight*; but not in AC: гѡжи кътрѡнѡшѡи . вѣрѣѡшь сѣ есѣ дѣ дѣмѡнѣцѡ · сѣ тинѣ коувѡнтѣ пѣнѡ ф мѡѡжнѡѡпте, *he said to*

them 'I would like to depart in the morning, I shall extend the speech until midnight', where it expresses a purpose – because he was about to leave, he intended to speak until later.

The technique of modulation, therefore, is mainly used with active/passive constructions or in instances of reported speech.

Transposition

The application of the technique of transposition sees the change in the grammatical category of a word. Such is for example the case in ps. 105:24, where the construct HE AIIIK B'BY , [they] did not have faith, is rendered literally in PC2: $\text{H\text{S} A\text{D}APK KPEAMHIIK}$, [they] did not take/have belief; and to a certain extent in PH: $\text{HOY AWAPOZ \text{A} KP'BAE}$, [they] did not take to believe, although rather than a noun for *belief*, here we have a verb in the infinitive. The other Romanian sources, however, implement a grammatical change, and render the same concept directly through a verb: $\text{H\text{S} KPEZ\text{D}PK}$, [they] did not believe. The same type of variety can be found in the Apostolos. In Acts 21:7 $\text{MY KE PLLABANIE NAYANISE}$, and we started sailing, is translated literally in CB: $\text{E NOI ANOTAPE AYEPY}$, and we started swimming/navigating; and through the technique of transposition in CV: $\text{E NOI AYEPDM\text{S} A HOYTA}$, and we started to swim/to navigate.

Another example of transposition is found in the translation of James 3:18, where the genitive defining Christ, $\text{HICA XPI\text{T}A C\text{LABY}}$, *Jesus Christ of glory*, is rendered with a genitive construct in CB and CV (although there is a change in the number of the noun): $\text{IOY X\text{C} AA C\text{LABEOP\text{D}}$ and $\text{IC X\text{C} AA C\text{LABEEN}$; and with an adjective in AC: $\text{IC X\text{C} C\text{A}P\text{B}H\text{ITOP\text{Y}A}$, *Jesus Christ the glorified one*. The rendering of adjectives with a predicative connotation, therefore, is also source of variation. In psalm 115:2, for example, $\text{BZCBKB Y\text{L}KB \text{L}B\text{J}B}$, *every man is a liar*, is rendered literally in PS, PC, PC1 and PCb: TO WMOY MENFONWC , *every man [is a] liar*; in PV there is the addition of the copula: $\text{TO E WM\text{S} MENFYOP\text{C}\text{D}}$, *every man is a liar*. In PC2, instead, there is a verbal construction: TOTY WMOY MINTE , *every man lies*; while in PH $\text{L}B\text{J}B$ is interpreted as a noun ($\text{L}B\text{J}A$), so that the rendering, to which a copula is added, is the following: $\text{TOTY WMOY\text{OY} E MENFOY\text{P}Z}$, *to every is lie*.

These are only a few examples indicating textual variety across the Romanian sources which rely on modulation and transposition. In the main they rely on a different interpretation and, what is more important, on a different rendering of the source text. Nonetheless, these do not introduce substantial changes to the meaning of the text and seem to rely mainly on the translation skills as well as preferences of the translator/revisor.

Generalization and Particularization

Another two translation techniques which are worth pointing out are those of generalization and particularization, with the first referring to the approach of translating with a more general and/or neutral term something very specific in the ST, and the second being its contrary.

In psalm 91:13, for example, the borrowed word from Greek φοῖνιξ - φινниѣъ, *palm tree*, is rendered with a similarly borrowed term in Romanian in PS, PC, PC1, PC1 and PCb: φινникъ (with different spellings). In PH, however, the term is generalized to the concept of *tree*, so that the translation is поѡдълѡ. In a way, this is also a kind of explanation of what kind of object the referent is, palm trees not being common in the Romanian lands.

For an additional example of particularization, we can turn our attention to the Apostolos. In James 4:4 it is said how love of the world вражда бѣа естъ, that is, *is enmity to God*. CB and CV render this passage with a calque: врьжмаша лѡу дѡмнезеѡ ѡсте and врьжвѡ лѡ дѡнеѡ ѡсте; while AC is being more specific and to a certain extent interpretative by translating it as: драѡи лѡ дѡмнезеѡ сѡнтѡ, *are devils to God*. As can be noticed, enmity and devils are somewhat related, for the enmity to God par excellence is the devil, so that the reason of such particularisation can be understood from the context. Similarly, in Acts 27:27 носимѡмѡ намѡ въ пѡчинаѡ, where пѡчина means *sea* or *depth*, is rendered as пѡртаци нои ѡтрѡ ѡенѡне in CB and CV, where ѡенѡне stand for *abyss/great depth* and is not necessarily related to the depth of the sea. In AC, instead, the relation to the sea is more direct, although the concept of the abyss is lost: пѡртѡндѡне нои нтрѡ валѡре, *taking us into the waves*. This last example, once more, can be considered as a particularisation –

the revisor uses an image, that of the waves, which more directly can be associated to the idea of the sea.

These two techniques lead us to investigate the aspect of interpretation of the source text and of the translation preference a translator/revisor might have had in rendering a certain image in the target text. All in all, however, it is not possible to predict when the techniques of modulation, transposition, generalization, and particularisation are to be used in the Romanian sources. They are worth analysing as representative of the translator's overall approach to both the source and target text, and help us understand that there was a certain flexibility towards the ST. It should be assumed, in fact, that while the source text had a high level of authority, evident from the general literal translation method applied to it, the result text was not yet standardized and enjoyed the freedom of being altered according to minor translation principles (techniques). The study of these techniques gives us another reason in support of the hypothesis that PH on the one hand, and AC on the other, are the result of the different translation/revision path they underwent, which marks even more deeply their textual diversity from the other Romanian sources.

2.2.3. Change in Understanding: Interpretation

Another translation technique which results in textual variation across the Romanian sources is that of interpretation. By interpretation I mean a translation which does not render literally the message of the source text but rather contextualises it to the wider narrative picture or indeed the cultural context of the translator/revisor.

For example, in Acts 26:5 Paul explains before king Agrippa how since a young age he used to live amongst the Jews in Jerusalem and how по известнѣи ереси нашеѣ върѣ живѣ фарисей, that is, *according to the known sect of our religion, I lived as a Pharisee*. The rendering of фарисей in CB, however, is not a borrowing as in AC and CV, but an adaptation: тѣркѣ, which should probably be understood as *unbaptized/pagan* rather than of *Ottoman/Turkish* origin (Cosniceanu 2013: 79). In this instance the translator extrapolated the idea of the Pharisees belonging to a non-Christian religion and adapted the translation to his more imminent context – with 'turb' the intention was to signify a person of whatever other religion which was not Christian.

The most interesting examples, however, can be found in the Psalter text. The first few examples are interpretations based on Christian concepts, which are, therefore, linked to the cultural environment of the translator rather than the content of the Psalter. In ps. 118:120 the versicle ПРИГВОЗДИ СТРАСТЬ ТВОЕЮ ПЛЪТЬ МОЮ, *nail my flesh to your fear*, is rendered with a borrowing in PH ГЪВВОЗДѢШЕ, and as ЛИПЕЩЕ, *attach*, in PS, PC, PC1 and PCb. PC2, however, offers an additional interpretation: РЖСТИГНѢЩЕ ДЕ ФРИКА ТА ТРЪПЪЛЪ МІЕЪ, *crucify my body out of the fear of you*, which refers to Christ's Passion. Another similar example is found in ps. 104:15. The Slavonic НЕ ПРИКАСАЙТЕ СЯ ПОМАЗАНЪИ МОИХЪ, *do not touch my anointed ones*, is rendered as НЪ АТИНЦЕЦИ ДЕ ОУНШІИ МІЕИ, *do not touch my anointed ones*, in all sources as but PH, where we have БОТЕСАЦИИ МІЕИ, *my baptized ones*, for ОУНШІИ МІЕИ. Generally, in Redaction III ХРИСТЪ, *Christ* is replaced by ПОМАЗАННЪИ, *anointed*, for example in 17:51, 19:7, 88:39, 104:15, 131:10, 131:17; but not in 2:2, 27:8, 83:10, 88:52 (MacRobert 2010: 428). Similarly, we have ОУНЪЛ in PS and PC1 in the first set of examples and ХРИТОСЪ for the second, with the exception of 19:7 and 83:10, where the two terms are inverted, even though in the Church Slavonic parallel present in PC1 in both instances the word is ХРИСТЪ, in the accusative. The Hurmuzaki Psalter is less constant in its renderings: ОУНОУЛ in 131:10 and 131:17 (the same is the case for PV), but ХРИТОСЪЛЪЛ in 19:7, 88:39 and the above examples of the second group. Additionally, it has БОУАРОУЛЪИ in 17:51 and the already mentioned БОТЕСАЦИИ in 104:15. The last two examples might be due to an interpretative translation, especially the second example, where the revisor of PH uses a concept derived from his religious experience—the anointed or the consecrated ones are those who have been baptized in Christ's name.

A few examples, instead, refer to the social milieu of the revisor. In some instances of the Psalter *sheep* is changed to *ram*, probably because the gender of the animal did not fit the context of the psalm's verse. In the last part of psalm 118 the author asks for God's guidance in following his divine teachings and commandments, with the last verse reading: ЗАБЛѢДИХЪ ЯКО ОУУА ПОГЫБШЕЕ ВЪЗЫЦИ РАБА ТВОЕГО ЯКО ЗАПОВѢДИ ТВОЕ НЕ ЗАБЫ, *I wandered as a sheep perishing. Look*

out for your servant, for I did not forget your commandments! While the literal translation of ἰακὼ ωβυά is κα ὄλα, *sheep*, in all Romanian sources, PH has ка бѣрбѣѣлѣ ѹѣль перитѣ, *as the ram the perishing one*. The interpretation might derive from the immedesimation of the translator/revisor with the words expressed in the psalm, and probably the feeling that sheep does not suit the gender of the person, probably a monk, translating the Psalter. In ps. 79:2 we find a similar change to fit the gender of the subject in question. The Slavonic ωβυά in πασαιν ἰσλῆ βζημι · βοδαι ἰακὼ ωβυά ἰωσιφά..., *the one tending to Israel pay attention! the one guiding Joseph as a sheep...*, is once more rendered as ѻн бѣрбѣѣ in PH, that is, *a ram*, and as κα ὄλα, *as a sheep*, in all other sources. The assumption is that by doing so the revisor of PH wanted to respect the fact that Joseph was a male. Later in the psalm, at verse 14, there is another instance of a curious interpretation. The Greek καὶ μονιὸς ἄγριος κατενεμήσατο αὐτήν was rendered as и инокъ дивѣи поидль и кестъ, *and a wild beast laid hold of it*, in Church Slavonic, where инокъ means *solitary* or *alone* and later assumed the meaning of *monk*. The word is rendered as οὐτ̄ σινγδ̄ρ̄ σ̄λβατεкъ, *one alone wild*, in PS, PC, PC1 and PCb, and with a borrowing in PC2 инокъ с̄лбаτεкъ; PH, however, interprets the word in its vernacular sense and renders it as к̄злогъ с̄лбаτεкъ, that is, *an uncouth monk*.

Some interpretations are rather linked to the narrative context, where the literal translation is not satisfactory. An interesting case is provided by the rendering of κέρασ-ρογъ, *horn*, in Romanian. First it should be noted that also in the Slavonic tradition the rendering of κέρασ brought some difficulty. In particular, the fifteenth-century Eastern Slavonic manuscripts linked to Theodoret's commentary of the psalms present a different interpretation, where κέρασ is rendered as крѣпость, *strength* (pss. 17:3, 88:18, 88:25, 111:9, 131:7—see MacRobert 2010: 427). Interestingly, in three out of the five instances here mentioned, PH too has an interpretative translation, which, however, does not correspond to крѣпость. In verses 18 and 25 of psalm 88 PH has царра, *country*, while in 111:9 it has ꙗꙗрѣцѣѣ, *kingdom*. The reason for such interpretation can be found in the wider context of the verse.

SI: ¹⁸ѲАКО ПОХВАЛА СИЛЫ ИХЪ ТЫ ЕСИ. И ВЪ БЛГОВОЛЕНИ ТВОЕМЪ ВЪЗНЕСЕТ СА РОГЪ НАШЬ, ¹⁹ѲАКО ГНѢ ИѢ
ЗАСТЪПЛЕНІЕ И СТГО ІСЛѢВА ЦРЪ НАШЕГО

KJV: ¹⁷For Thou art the glory of their strength, and in Thy favor our horn shall be exalted. ¹⁸For
the Lord is our defense, and the Holy One of Israel is our King.

In this instance reference is made to the land of Israel and the Lord being its protector and shield.
The obscure metaphor of the horn, therefore, was reinterpreted in PH in view of what is said in the
following verse.

The passage from verse 25, и истина моя и мѡлтъ моя съ нѡи и въ имя мое възнѣтъ са рогъ ѡго,
but my faithfulness and my mercy shall be with him, and in my name shall his horn be exalted,
refers to king David, instead, and because the wording around рогъ is similar to what we have in
verse 18, it is possible that the revisor decided to present the same interpretation. The wording of
psalm 111:9 is also similar, but this time it refers to God himself, so that *kingdom* might be a better
suit than *country/land*. Slavonic: растоуи да оубогѡмъ. правда его прѣбываеть въ вѣкы вѣка. рогъ его
възнѣтъ са въ славъѣ, KJV: *He hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor; his righteousness endureth
for ever; his horn shall be exalted with honor.*

The poetical nature of the Psalter, which is full of metaphors and poetic images, leaves,
therefore, room for interpretation. In ps. 146:10 the Slavonic ни въ лысте мѡжъскыхъ, *nor in the
man's shins*, is rendered literally in PS, PC, PC1 and PC2 нече ѡ поулиле вървацилѡ, *nor in the
men's calves*, and interpretatively in PH: нече ѡ върѡутѣ вървацилѡрѡ, *nor in the men's strength*. It
might also be that the context of the verse influenced the translator/revisor's choice. Slavonic: не въ
силѣ конѣтъ възхоцеть ѡни въ лысте мѡжъскыхъ блговолить; KJV: *He delighteth not in the strength
of the horse. He taketh not pleasure in the legs of a man.* A similar case is provided by psalm
93:18, the Slavonic подвижа са нога моя is rendered as рѡрдикъ са соуфлетѡ мѡеѡ in PH and as
рѡрдикѡе пѡрѡрѡль мѡеѡ in the other sources. It is also plausible that the interpretation in this verse
was influenced by the subsequent verse. KJV: ¹⁸When I said, "My foot slippeth," thy mercy, O
Lord, held me up. ¹⁹In the multitude of my thoughts within me, thy comforts delight my soul.

This leads us to the final group of examples, where the interpretation is closely linked to the context of the text and to a certain extend the memory of the translator/revisor. In psalm 98:9 *взгорѣ сѣби* from *и поклоните се въ горѣ сѣби его· яко сѣтъ бѣ нашъ*, *and bow to his holy mountain, for holy is our God*, is rendered as *соуптѣ талпеле пиѡурелорѣ*, *below the soles of (his) feet*. This, however, might be related to verse 5 in the same psalm: *кланѣите се подножию ногу его; рн: кинраци въ соупѣ талпеле пиѡарелорѣ лоуи*, especially if the translator/revisor would have known the psalms by heart. The same appears to have happened in PV in ps. 138:23:

138:23 *оувѣждѣ сѣце мое, know my heart!* → PV: *ши веси ѡрима ма, see my heart*; others sources: *цѣи инема мѣ, know my heart*; the change in PV could have anticipated the verb in the verse to follow;

138:24 Sl. *и виждѣ аще пѣтъ безаконїа въ мнѣ, and see if the way of lawlessness is in me;*
→ PV: *ши веси се е карѣ коувва фзрѣлѣце ѡ мере, and see if by any chance the law of lawlessness is in me.*

This type of interpretation or alteration based on the immediate context of the verse is also present in the printed editions. In psalm 144:21 the Slavonic *хвалѣ гѣа възглагоуста моа, the Lord's praise shall speak my mouth*, is rendered literally across all the manuscript, but as *ладда домнѣлѣи грѣаще соуфлетѣлѣ мїеѣ*, *the Lord's praise speaks my soul*, in all the printed editions. It is possible that the interpretation of this verse was influenced by the beginning of the following Psalter: *хвали дѣе моа гѣ, bless the Lord my soul*. On this occasion the variation might have been introduced on a purely visual reason, that is, the printer might have mistaken the first verse of psalm 145 for the beginning of the last verse of 144.

The simple fact of interpreting an interpretation leads us inevitably into the domain of speculation. It is, therefore, difficult to reach a satisfactory degree of explanation of the textual changes identified in the Apostolos and the Psalter text. However, it is still possible to identify some of the plausible reasons for change. Schematically, I have divided them into interpretations

based on: a) the religious, cultural, and social context of the translator/revisor; b) the poetic image used in the text and its narrative; c) the imminent proximity or certain words or expressions.

To conclude this section and go back to my original question on *how* certain textual varieties were introduced across the texts of the Psalter and the Apostolos in Romanian, it would be reasonable to say that the translator/revisor looked beyond the translation unit as present in the source text and took into account a wider translation segment. This, however, does not apply to the whole length of the text, nor to all Romanian sources. The overall translation method, in fact, should still be assumed to have been that of a literal translation. Whenever there were, however, instances of difficulty in rendering the original text or understanding the readings in the result text, certain translation/revision techniques were used, which inevitably brought to textual change. Additionally, in some Romanian sources these techniques have been employed more extensively than in other. Such is the case of the Hurmuzaki Psalter, which acquires an even higher degree of idiosyncrasy – not only its translation is based on a different Slavonic source, and it might be the conflation of two Romanian redactions of the psalms, its text is also the result of a different approach to translation/revision, which can be defined as more flexible and interpretative.

2.3. The Influence of the Target Language

In describing the principles governing the formal-equivalence translation method, Nida says that the result text reveals many aspects of the form and content of the original text, for it reproduces ‘several [*of its*] formal elements, including: (1) grammatical units, (2) consistency in word usage, and (3) meanings in terms of the source context’ (1964: 165). Later in the book, Nida explains how the types of correspondence and contrast between the source and target languages can be structural and dynamic, that is, referring to the spheres of grammar and lexicon either from the perspective of linguistic constructions or that of the communication of the meaning of the text in a manner that would be natural in the TL (1964: 193-225). Nida’s considerations are useful in providing a list of features worth to take into account in analysing the textual variants of the Romanian texts of the Psalter and the Apostolos. However, it is essential to point out that while his interest is mainly directed towards features of correspondence and contrast between the source and

target languages, in this section of the chapter I will mainly be concerned with the instances of heterogeneity across the Romanian texts and refer to the source text/language to gain an additional insight into the differences to be found in the Romanian sources. In this respect, the formal (morphological and syntactical structures) and the lexical variation found across the translated texts represent the possibilities and to a certain extent the difficulties the translator might have had while working with biblical texts in Church Slavonic

This section, in fact, looks at those structural features of contrast, mainly grammatical, found in the Psalter and the Apostolos texts and analyses them in the light of the natural structures of the target language. If so far the focus has been on the target text and the way in which this was rendered into the source language (sections 2.1. and 2.2.), I would now like to focus mainly on the role played by the recipient language and the adapting of the message of the source language to the structures of the target language. The grammatical classes taken into consideration are verb, noun, and adjective. The number of examples found across the text of the Psalter and the Apostolos for each grammatical class varies, so that the analysis of each class may vary according to text.

2.3.1 Perfective Verbs in the Present and their Rendering in Romanian

It has already been pointed out how the Hurmuzaki Psalter differs extensively from the other sources of the Psalter text in Romanian. These differences are not only derived from the possible use of a different source text but are also structural – certain features of Church Slavonic have been rendered grammatically in a manner different from the other Romanian sources. This is the case with rendering the Slavonic non-past tenses, which tend to be present in meaning for imperfective verbs and future in meaning for perfective verbs. The tendency in PS, PV, PC, PC1, and PCb is to render the Slavonic construction with a present tense, no matter the aspect of the verb. The only exception to this dichotomy is PC2, where at times the future and at times the present tense is chosen. From psalm 77 to psalm 150 I have identified 47 instances when PH presents a future tense while the other versions have a present tense, of these PC2 has a future tense in 22 cases.⁴⁴ What is important here is that while the set of texts belonging to R1 of the Psalter in Romanian renders consistently the tense found in the source text, PH and to a certain

⁴⁴ The number of cases is subject to change, for I have analysed this issue only in part.

degree PC2 also take into account the aspect. Nonetheless, while PH and PC2 can be grouped together on the basis of their distribution of the future constructions, it should not be assumed that during the revision process of PC2 a second redaction (what was called R2 in chapter two) of the Psalter in Romanian has been used. These future constructions could have been derived independently from the Slavonic text directly. There are, in fact, some instances of lexical or structural disagreement between PH and PC2 (pss. 88:49, 90:13, 90:15, 102:16, 120:5, 143:6, 144:4), which would suggest that there is an indirect correlation between the two sources – each text, probably independently, renders the aspect of the Slavonic verb and not only the tense.

The table below lists some of the examples which can be found between psalms 77 and 150, though not all of them. The verses marked in bold show that both PH and PC2 present a future tense. Additionally, when PV and PC2 present the same verbal tense as PS, PC, PC1 and PCb the columns have a plus sign. A lacuna is marked with a minus sign.

Psalm	Church Slavonic	PH	PS, PC, PC1, PCb	PC2	PV
82:19	познаѣтъ	воръ кѣноще	сѣ кѣноаскѣ	+	-
84:6	прогнѣваѣши са	мѣнїа те вери	мѣнїи те	мѣнїа те вери	мѣнїа те вери
84:6	простреши	тинде вери	тинзи	тиндец вери	се тинзи
84:9	оуслышѣ что рече	доуши во че ва циче	доузи че зиче	сѣ доузѣ че ва зиче	доузѣ че циче + PS
84:14	положить	поунре ва	пѣне	пѣне ва	+
86:5	рече	циче ва	зисе	зиче ва	-
88:22	поможетъ	ѡцота ва	ажѣтѣ лоуи	+	
88:26	положѣ	вою (missing main verb)	ши пѣю	пѣне вою	-
88:27	възовет ма	кема ма ва	кемѣ мѣ	кема мѣ ва	-
88:30	положѣ	поунре вою	поую	пѣне вою	-
88:34	не разора	ноу вою спарце	нѣ спаргѣ	нѣ вою спарце	-
88:34	ни прѣврѣждѣ	нече вою прѣврѣтѣма	нече ватѣмѣ	+	-
88:35	ни вскрѣрна ...не ѡврѣгѣ са	ниче вою спурка ... ноу ма вою лепѣда	нече спѣркѣ... ноу мѣ лѣпѣдѣ	нече спѣрка вою ... нѣ мѣ вою лепѣда	-
88:37	прѣврѣдѣ	ва лѣкоуи	лѣкѣще	лѣкѣи ва	-
88:49	поживетъ и не оузритъ...избавитъ	ва вїе ши ва ведѣ ... ва избѣви	че вїе ши нѣ вѣде ... избѣвѣще	ва вїе ши сѣ нѣ вазѣ ... избѣвѣще	-
90:13	настѣпиши и попереша	кѣлка вери ши фрѣмнѣта вери	калѣе ши калѣи	а кѣлка вери ши кѣлка вери	+
90:15	възоветъ кѣ мнѣ и оуслышѣ и ... измѣ и и прослава и	кема ва кѣтрѣ менре ши асиолѣ ...лоуалѣ вою ши лѣ вою прослѣви	кема ва кѣтрѣ мине ши доузи вою ель ... скоць ель ши прѣ слѣвѣсѣ ель	кема ва кѣтрѣ мине ши доузѣи вои ...апѣкал вои ши прослѣви вою	+

93:4	прѡвѣщаѣтъ и вѣзгѣлѣ неправдѣ вѣзгѣлѣ	повести ворѣ ши грѣи ворѣ недерепѣтъ грѣи ворѣ	рѣспоундѣ ши грѣескѣ недерепѣтѣ грѣескѣ	+	-
93:7	не ѡузрѣтъ гѣ ни разоумѣеть	ноу ва вѣдѣ дѣмль нѣ ва ѡцелѣѣ	нѣ вѣде дѣнѣль нече ѡцелѣѣ	+	-
93:11	сѣвѣ	ци ва	цие	+	-
101:3	тѣжѣ	вою тѣнжи	тѣнжескѣ	+	+
101:19	вѣсхвалѣ	лѣоудѣ ворѣ	лѣдѣ	сѣ лѣоудѣ	+
101:28	не вскѣдѣѣ	ноу ворѣ скѣдѣ	нѣ скѣдѣ	нѣ вѣ скѣдѣ	-
102:16	не бѣдетѣ и не познаетѣ	ноу ва фѣ ши ноу ва коуноѣ	нѣ асте ши нѣ кѣноѣ	нѣ ва фѣ ши нѣ кѣноѣ + PS	-
103:9	не прѣидѣтъ ни вѣратѣ сѣ	ноу ва трѣѣ нече се ва ѡторѣ	нѣль трѣѣ нечи ѡ торѣ се	ноуѣ вѣ трѣѣ нече се вѣ ѡторѣ	+
107:8	вѣзнесѣ сѣ и раздѣла	ѡрѣлѣоѣе ме вою ши ѡпѣрѣи вою	рѣдикѣ мѣ ши ѡпарѣ	ѡнѣлѣ мѣ вою ши ѡпѣрѣи вою	+
108:7	сѣдѣтъ	ва ѡдека	жоудекѣ	жѣдека ва	-
109:6	сѣдѣтъ ѣзыкѡмъ испѣнить падѣнѣ сѣкроушитѣ главы	ѡудека ва лимбилѣ ши ва ѡплѣ кѣдѣрѣ ши ва фѣрѣма капетеле	жоудекѣ лимбилѣ ши ѡмплѣ кѣдѣрилѣ фѣрѣѣ капетеле	+	-
115:5	вѣздѣ	далѣ вою	дѣдѣ	+	+
118:74	оузрѣтъ мѣ и вѣзвеселѣтъ сѣ	вѣдѣ мѣ ворѣ ши се ворѣ вѣли	вѣдѣ мѣ ши веселескѣ се	вѣдѣмѣ вѣ ши весели се вѣ	-
118:117	спѣсѣ сѣ и поѡчѣ сѣ	мѣ вою ѡспѣ ши мѣ вою ѡвѣѣ	спѣсескѣ мѣ ши ѡвѣѣ мѣ	ши спѣси мѣ вою ши ѡвѣѣ мѣ вою	-
120:1	прѣидѣ	ва венри	вѣне	+	+
120:4	не вѣздѣрѣмлетѣ ни оуснетѣ	ноу ва доурѣмѣ нече ва адоурѣ	нѣ доурѣмѣтѣ нече адоурѣ	+	+
120:6	не ѡжежетѣ	ноу те ва арде	нѣ арде	нѣ ва ѡфѣрѣвѣнта	+
121:1	вѣнидѣѣмъ	ѡтра вѣмъ	ѡнтрѣѣмъ	сѣ ѡтрѣѣмъ	+
127:4	бѣвѣтъ сѣ	бѣви сѣ ва	благословѣѣ се	+	-
133:3	бѣвѣтъ тѣ	бѣви те ва	благословѣѣ те	+	+
138:10	наставѣтъ мѣ и оудѣрѣѣ мѣ	нѣстѣви мѣ ва ши мѣ ва цѣнѣ	дѣрѣѣ мѣ ши цѣне мѣ	+	+
138:11	поперѣ мѣ	кѣлка мѣ ва	кѣлкѣ мѣ	+	+
142:10	наставѣтъ мѣ	настѣви мѣ ва	нѣстѣвѣѣ мѣ	+	+
142:11	живѣши мѣ	ѡвѣе ме верѣ	ѡвѣе мѣ	ѡвѣи мѣ	+
142:11	извѣдѣши	скѣте верѣ	скѣѣ	+	+
143:6	раженѣши ... смѣѣши	верѣ рѣсѣѣра ... верѣ смѣнѣ	спѣрѣѣ ... смѣнѣѣѣ	гѣнѣ верѣ ...смѣнѣ верѣ	+
143:9	вѣспѣѣ теѣѣ... поѣ теѣѣ	кѣнѣта вою ... кѣнѣта вою цѣе	кѣнѣтѣ цѣе... кѣнѣтѣ цѣе	+	+
144:4	вѣсхвалѣтъ ... вѣзвѣстѣтъ	лѣдѣдѣ ... вѣѣи ворѣ	лѣдѣдѣ... спѣнѣ	лѣоудѣ вѣ ... спѣнѣ вѣ	+

2.3.2. Plural and Singular Nouns

Another structural feature contrasting the Romanian sources of the Psalter is the rendering of the grammatical number of nouns which belong to specific semantic categories.

The first list of examples contains nouns which refer to the human body, such as hands, legs, and bones. It appears that even in those instances when the nouns are in the singular in the Slavonic source, a rendering in the plural is preferred in PH.

Psalm	Church Slavonic	PH	PS, PC, PC1, PC2, PCb	PV
87:6	ѿ рѣкы твоѣѣ	де ꙗ мѣнрѣле тале	де мѣна	-
90:12	ногѣ твоѣѣ	пичореле тале	пичорѣль тѣѣ	+
101:6	кость моа	вселе мѣле	оаселе мѣле	всѣ мѣеѣ
105:26	рѣкѣ своѣѣ	мѣнроуле сале	мѣна са	-
108:27	рѣка твоа	мѣнрѣле та	мѣна та	-
120:3	ногѣ твоѣѣ	пичореле тале	пичорѣль тѣѣ	+
138:5	рѣкѣ твоѣѣ	мѣнроуле тале	мѣна та	+

It should be noted that these nouns are mainly in the plural throughout the Psalter text, in instances other than those mentioned in the table, so that it is possible that the translator/revisor of PH felt more confident in referring to them in the plural. However, there are also instances where the singular in the source text is respected, especially with reference to the hand (pss. 79:18, 88:22, 88:26, 103:28, 118:173, 120:5, 135:12, 137:7, 138:10, 143:7, 144:16).

What is more, the group of nouns referring to court(s), way(s), and dwellings tends to be rendered in the singular in PH, even if they are in the plural in Slavonic.

Psalm	Church Slavonic	PH	PS, PC, PC1, PC2, PCb	PV
83:2	села твоа	сатоуѣль тѣѣ	сателе тале	-
83:11	въ дворѣхъ твоихъ ... въ селѣхъ грѣшнихъ	ꙗ коуртѣ та ... ꙗ сатоуѣль пѣкѣтѣшиларѣ	ꙗ коурциле тале ... ꙗ сателе пѣкѣтошилѣ	+
101:7	пѣти своѣѣ	калѣ са	кѣиле сале	-
115:10	въ дворѣхъ	ꙗ кѣртѣ	ꙗ коурциле	+
118:3	въ пѣтѣхъ	ꙗ калѣ	ꙗ кѣиле	-
121:2	въ дворѣхъ твоихъ	ꙗ коуртѣ та	ꙗ коурциле тале	+
127:1	въ пѣтѣхъ ѿго	ꙗ калѣ лоуи + PS	ꙗ кѣиле лоуи	ꙗ калѣ лоуи
141:4	сѣзѣ моа	кѣррарѣ ма	кѣрѣиле мѣле	+

This might be related to the fact that usually these nouns refer either to God – God’s ways, courts, dwellings – or to the person speaking the psalm, and these are interpreted as one in PH. It

is, however, difficult to know the true reason behind the choice for an expression in the singular rather than in the plural in PH.

However, that is not always the case. In ps. 118:101, for example, the singular in \bar{w} $\text{взсѣького пѣти зла}$ is rendered with in the plural in PH as well as PC2: $\text{де тоатѣ каиле рралѣ}$. It appears, in fact, that in this instance the presence of the qualifier adjective всѣакъ , *each, entire, all*, might have played a role. In ps. 91:3 на възсѣкѣ ноци is rendered in the singular in PH, PS, PC, PC1 and PCb ѣ тоатѣ нваптѣ , but in the plural in PV and PC2 ѣ тоатѣ ноци . Similar is the case when the quantifier adjective всѣ , *every, all*, is present. The rendering of вѣ днѣ , *the entire day*, divides the witnesses of the Psalter text in Romanian in two groups – PH, PV, and PS on the one hand, and PCb together with the printed editions on the other. In ps. 85:3, in fact, we have ѣ тоатѣ силѣ , *in all days*, in PH, PV and PS, and ѣ тоатѣ зи , *in the entire day*, in the other sources. The same difference in rendering is to be found in pss. 87:10 and 118:97 in PH and PS (PV lacunar), then in pss. 87:18 and 88:17 in PS only (PH and PV lacunar), and in 139:3 in PV only. There is a tendency, therefore, to interpret the qualifier adjective either as ‘entire’ or ‘all’, which then guides the choice of translating the noun in the singular or in the plural, so that in this instance the semantic value of a word determined the difference in rendering.

The analysis of the rendering of certain nouns in the plural or in the singular is quite a fruitful one, and other examples of such contrast among the sources could be mentioned.⁴⁵ What these examples are pointing us towards it how certain concepts or images were conceptualized in a particular manner – that there are two hands and two legs, for example, but one way in God –, so that their rendering in the target language was based on the translator’s image of them rather than how they are to be found in the source text. The criterion in choosing a plural or a singular form, in this instance, is not based necessarily on the source text nor on the natural adaptation to the target language, but the conceptual understanding of some words that the translator/revisor might have had while working on compiling the Romanian text.

⁴⁵ This topic deserves further exploration, especially of the material derived from psalms 1 to 76. Additionally, other concepts such as God’s word, teachings, work, mercy, wonders, people as well as man’s thought, moaning, seem to give room to a similar singular-plural variety across the Romanian sources.

3. Conclusion

This chapter has been dedicated to the topic of translation of biblical texts from Church Slavonic into Romanian. The issue has been analysed from different perspectives, in the attempt to tackle from as many sides as possible the aspect of the many textual varieties found across the sixteenth-century Romanian sources of the Psalter and the Apostolos texts. It has first been pointed out that the general translation method employed in rendering both texts is that of literal translation. The source text, therefore, was the absolute point of reference in terms of both the message and the form of the text. In the main, the text was rendered translation unit for translation unit. Nonetheless, the employment of certain translation techniques can also be identified, especially in those instances when either the ST was hard to understand, or a completely literal translation was not considered satisfying (section 2.2.). The use of translation techniques reveals the fact that the wider context of a translation unit was also considered, and that other factors such as memory or word-conceptualizing played a role (sections 2.2.3. and 2.3.2). The analysis then shifted towards the target language and the adaptation of the source message to its features (as represented within the corpus of each Romanian text). In this way it was noticed that the different rendering of some grammatical units across the Romanian sources are not occasional but regular and help us better understand the way in which the target language was employed in the result text.

What is more, both the considerations on the translation techniques as well as on the rendering of grammatical units point to the fact that in the sixteenth century there was no authoritative translation of the Psalter and Apostolos texts into Romanian. These, therefore, were subject to continuous alterations. In the case of the Psalter text, the textual vicinity of PS, PC, PC1, PCb and to a certain extent of PV, show the existence of a somewhat established translation of the psalms during the second half of the sixteenth century – what was indicated as R1 in chapter two. However, the changes introduced in PC2 at the end of the same century as well as the varieties found in PH from the beginning of the century, suggest that R1 was only one development of the tradition of the Psalter in Romanian, which did not achieve a high level of authority. The tradition of the Apostolos text is harder to study, for there are very few witnesses available. However, it

appears that there is a discrepancy between the manuscript and printed tradition, with the latter being the result of a substantial revision of the former. It has also been shown that the revision processes saw the use of previous translations of the texts in Romanian as well as of the Slavonic source text (quite likely not the same of the original translation of either text). Once more, therefore, the introduction of textual variants was based on the authority of the source text and on the awareness that the target text/language could be modified to better adapt to expressing the original.

Conclusions

The object of investigation of the dissertation has been the textual tradition of the first literary sources in old Romanian, and in particular of the Psalter and Apostolos text. My original scope was that of identifying the manner in which Romanian was initially employed as literary language. Rather than advancing a historical study of the cultural dynamics characterising the Romanian lands in the sixteenth century, my approach has been that of finding an answer through philological analysis, and so allow the texts to speak for themselves and seek within them further indication about their provenance. In this respect, I chose to focus on the textual tradition of the Psalter and Apostolos texts and consider these as representative of the literary output in the Romanian lands in the sixteenth century.

My first step has been that of giving more space to the Slavonic tradition of the Psalter and Apostolos texts in order to understand the Romanian one. Since long it has been assumed that the initial point of departure for the development of religious literature in Romanian was the Slavonic tradition – many of the early Romanian texts are translations from Church Slavonic and build a literary corpus essential to the Christian belief and customs, that is, books derived from the Holy Scripture as well as liturgical and legal texts used for Christian functions and dictating its social arrangement. In affirming such connection, however, the actual role played by the Slavonic tradition has often been analysed on a superficial level, mainly on the basis of outdated research in the field of Slavonic Studies. In giving more space to the Slavonic tradition, I first explored its presence in the Romanian lands around the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in chapter one, and then tried to integrate the historical data available to me to the most recent philological studies on the texts of the Psalter and Apostolos in Church Slavonic and so gain a broad understanding of the possible versions of the texts circulating in Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania. It should, in fact, be noted that whilst the study of early writings in Romanian tends to be embedded within a Romanian national narrative, the space dedicated to the Romanian lands in Slavonic Studies is also quite restricted – the two fields are considered independent from one another, while, at least for some centuries between later medieval and early modern times, they walked in parallel and at

times intersecting paths. A close understanding of the Church Slavonic religious literature, its development, and circulation is essential for understanding the value of old Romanian literature.

In analysing the tradition of the Psalter and Apostolos texts I asked the same questions in both cases: what was the source tradition/text from which these derived? What kind of relation of affiliation there is between the extant Romanian sources of the Psalter and the Apostolos? How can we understand their further development and what is the rationale behind their textual varieties? Chapters two, three, and four, therefore, tried to answer each of these questions respectively.

My conclusions are that in the main the Romanian texts follow the Slavonic Athonite Redaction of the Psalter (Third Redaction) and Apostolos (Fourth Redaction) texts. The study of the source text explains in part why certain Romanian sources present variant textual readings: the Hurmuzaki Psalter is linked to an earlier textual tradition of the Church Slavonic Psalms; while Coresi's Apostolos shows evidence of textual influence on behalf of Luther's New Testament. This difference in the consulted source text, be it at the stage of translation or, more likely, at that of revision, led me to identify for both the Psalter and Apostolos texts the existence of two textual redactions circulating in the Romanian lands in the sixteenth century.

The identification of the source text(s) used, consulted, or referred to during the composition of one or the other sources, however, explains only part of the textual variation found across the Romanian texts. Chapter four explores the topic of translation practices in old Romanian as inferred from the primary sources themselves, and so provides further insight into their variant textual readings as explained through the relation between source and target languages, and the activity of the translator/revisor. Although literary translation is the principal approach employed in rendering religious texts in old Romanian, there are many instances when different translation/revision techniques are used throughout the sources, and so give rise to further variant readings. The adoption of different rendering techniques: 1) defines the peculiar nature of one text as distinct from another, especially if these are applied consistently; 2) makes us identify the points of difficulty in adapting the information of the source language to the structure of the target language; 3) gives us further understanding of role played by the translator(s)/revisor(s) in the development of a text's tradition.

The comparative study of the Romanian and Slavonic traditions of the Psalter and Apostolos texts allows me to say that at a time when Romanian had yet to acquire a literary status and had no official use in state or church matters, the main factor prompting the initial employment of Romanian language was that of better accessibility to the Sacred texts. At this point it is important to distinguish between the reasons motivating the appearance of the (hypothesized) early translations into old Romanian, which are not preserved today, and their further circulation in the sixteenth century. The activity of the Reformed Churches in Transylvania has undoubtedly stimulated an interest in vernacular renderings of the Scripture and contributed to an increase in availability of biblical books in Romanian, especially through the adoption of the print. However, this activity amplified the resonance of an element already in development at the beginning of the sixteenth century – the translation into Romanian of books essential to Christian life. Of the arguments leading me towards such conclusions, I want to put special emphasis on:

- the fact that the textual witnesses to the Psalter and Apostolos texts in Romanian rely on the Slavonic tradition, as it has been proved in chapters two and three, and not on the Latin, German, or Hungarian, as it might have been expected if the texts would have been translated in a Protestant milieu. The instance of Coresi's edition of the Apostolos suggests that at some point in the history of the text it has been revised, in part, against a German source of the New Testament. However, the German texts is not at the basis of the tradition of the Apostolos in Romanian, but a later feature of its textual development, which supports the theory that the Protestant attempt in enhancing the use of religious books in Romanian relied on pre-existing translations;
- the fact that in some instances textual readings found in bilingual Church Slavonic-Romanian sources differ, which suggests that the two texts stream from diverse paths; while the Church Slavonic text is usually a good representative of the Athonite Redaction for both the Apostolos and Psalter texts, the Romanian texts present interpretations typical of Redactions other than the Athonite. Related to this, it is conceivable to assume that the earliest translations were made in a monastic setting, where Slavonic manuscripts

belonging to different or mixed traditions were available, and were written as monolingual books. Consequently, bilingual texts were composed at a later stage.

The comparative study of the Romanian and Slavonic traditions of the Psalter and Apostolos texts also allows me to make further reflections upon the avenues of investigation I consider worth pursuing after the completion of this dissertation. As I have already stated in chapter one, in order to contextualise the early rise of Romanian as a literary language it would be essential to have a fuller picture of the production and circulation of books in Church Slavonic on the Romanian territory. In particular, the study of manuscripts preserved in Transylvania could cast further light onto where they were copied, how were they used, and the area of their circulation. There is, therefore, need for further bibliographical work, which would ideally be combined with a philological analysis. It would be interesting, in fact, to integrate the Slavonic materials preserved in Romanian and the Republic of Moldova within the wider field of Slavonic Studies, and consider them as part of the cultural continuum shared by the eastern and southern Slavic peoples. The study of the Slavonic heritage in Romania and the Republic Moldova is linked to the second research topic I see myself investing – a deeper linguistic analysis of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century literary sources in old Romanian. Based on the fact that these sources are representatives of anonymous translations of canonical religious books, their linguistic value has often been disregarded in studies dedicated to old Romanian. My perspective is that the identification of the source text(s)/tradition(s) of the earliest old Romanian writings can be of advantage, for a comparative analysis of the source and target languages can make us advance in understanding the linguistic features of the latter. In order to make considerations in this direction, however, having a linguistic corpus (perhaps with a multilingual dimension) of old Romanian texts would be imperative. I see the development of a linguistic corpus for old Romanian as a compelling project to work on in the future.

In conclusion, the pursuit of the two key questions of *why* and *how* the first literary texts in Romanian came into being led me to identify the source traditions laying at the basis of the Apostolos and Psalter texts and the translation principles and revision techniques employed in rendering them. Additionally, it led me to support the idea of cultural continuity and mutual benefit

between the Orthodox and the Protestant spheres, at least as far as the early Romanian literary output is concerned.

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