THE CONTRIBUTION OF MEDIEVAL ROMANIA TO CYRILLIC EARLY PRINTED TETRAEVANGELIONS

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Abstract

Most of the Cyrillic early printed tetraevangelions were printed on the territories of contemporary Ukraine, Russia, Lithuania or Serbia. Just nine, out of the 110 editions, and only in 16th century were issued on territories of contemporary Romania. The goal of the article is to analyse the importance of the nine Cyrillic Early Printed tetraevangelions issued on the territories of contemporary Romania (i.e. Muntenia and Transylvania) for textual scholarship of the Church Slavonic translation of the Gospels. The investigation was based on the two fragments of the Gospels and other texts (i.e. Chapter lists) present in the Cyrillic tetraevangelions. All nine Cyrillic Early Printed Romanian tetraevangelions, on the basis of textual variants, were divided into two main groups. The first group comprises the following four editions: 1512 - Târgovişte, 1546 and 1551-1553 - Sibiu, 1583 - from Sebeş or Braşov (which has some very rear textual variants). Other five younger Tetraevangelions constitute the second group: 1561-1562 - Braşov, 1579 - Alba Iulia, 1579 - Sebeş, 1582 and after 1582 - the Monastery of Saint John on the River Colentina in Bucharest. Textual variants present in Cyrillic Early printed tetraevangelions issued on territories of contemporary Romania prove the need to include these nine Gospels in textual scholarship of Church Slavonic tradition.

Keywords: Cyrillic, early prints, Tetraevangelion, Romania

1. Introduction

The start of Cyrillic printing dates back to the end of the 15th century. Books in Church Slavonic language started to be printed in the Cyrillic alphabet in Kraków - the capital of the Kingdom of Poland, by Schweipolt Fiol. Only four liturgical books were issued from his printing house: Octoechos (1491), the Book of Hours (1491), the Lenten Triodion (1492-1493) and the Pentecostarion.

Another Cyrillic book, also called Octoechos, was issued in the capital of the Principality of Zeta - in Cetinje (contemporary Montenegro). It was printed in 1494 by Hieromonk Macarie in the Crnojević printing house. Here, in the first

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state press, which operated between 1493 and 1496, some other books (such as the Psalter and the Euchologion) were also issued.

In this way, other printing houses in which Cyrillic books in Church Slavonic were issued can be enumerated, but we have to concentrate on the medieval Romanian contribution to Cyrillic early printed tetraevangelions.

The first Cyrillic tetragospel book written in Church Slavonic was issued in 1512. That was a full twenty years after the first Cyrillic book was printed in Krakow. This tetraevangelion was issued by Hieromonk Macarie in Târgowişte. Hieromonk Macarie from Târgowişte is often believed to be the same printer who had previously worked in Cetinje and, after the fall of the Principality of Zeta to the Turks in 1499, fled via Venice to Walachia, where in 1511 he started his printing activity. Having printed the first book in a Serbian recension of the Church Slavonic language, and the first book on the territories of Walachia, in a Middle-Bulgarian recension of Church Slavonic, Hieromonk Macarie is called the founder of Serbian and Romanian printing.

For almost 300 years of Cyrillic printing history, i.e. since the date when the first Cyrillic liturgical tetraevangelion was issued in 1512, up to the end of the 18th century, this type of book, with the text of the four Gospels, was the most popular and was in high demand among clergymen. This is not surprising, as it has to be placed on the altar in every Orthodox Church and is obligatory for every religious service in the Orthodox Church. Consulting the catalogues of Cyrillic early printed books, we know that in this period of almost 300 years [1]:

- liturgical tetraevangelions were printed 112 times,
- the New Testament 38 times,
- the New Testament with the Book of Psalms 13 times,
- the Bible just 18 times.

During the 16th century, Cyrillic tetraevangelions in Church Slavonic were only printed on the territories of contemporary: Romania - eleven times, Serbia and Montenegro - three times, in Moscow (Russia) - three times and once in Vilnius (Lithuania). Due to the complicated and tragic historical situation from the 17th century until the end of the 18th, there were no Cyrillic tetragospels printed in Church Slavonic in Serbia, Montenegro or the territory of contemporary Romania. The only lands where Gospel books were issued in Church Slavonic during these two centuries were East Slavic areas, i.e. contemporary Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania and Belorussia.

From the first century of Cyrillic printing history, there were known tetragospels in three redactions of Church Slavonic: eleven editions in Middle Bulgarian - preferred by Wallachians and Transylvanians, three editions in Serbian - preferred by Serbians and Montenegrins, and four editions in East Slavonic - preferred by East Slavs. The former were printed in Walachia and Transylvania, the second in Serbia and Montenegro and the third in contemporary Russia and Lithuania. This situation continued for less than a century. The last tetragospel in a Serbian recension was printed in 1562 in Mrkšina Crkva, and the last in Middle Bulgarian recension was issued 21 years later in 1583, in Sebeş or Braşov. From midway through the 16th century until

the end of the 18th century, Cyrillic tetragospels in East Slavonic recension of Church Slavonic were printed many times in Moscow, Vilnius, Lvov, Kiev and Pochaiv. Taking into account all the data, it should come as no surprise that most, almost one hundred, of the early printed tetraevangelions in Church Slavonic are East Slavonic recension. The rest - less than 15 - are in one of the South Slavic recension of Church Slavonic.

2. Romanian early printed Cyrillic tetraevangelions

Only eleven out of all the editions of early printed Cyrillic tetraevangelions appeared on the territory of contemporary Romania, and all of them were issued in Middle Bulgarian recension of the Church Slavonic language. Only the following nine (Table 1) [2-5] are accessible for the research.

Table 1. Romanian Cyrillic early printed tetraevangelions.

No.	Year	Place of printing	Printer's name
1.	1512	Târgovişte	Hieromonk Macarie
2.	1546	Sibiu	Philip Pictor the Moldavian
3.	1551-1553	Sibiu (and in the Romanian language)	Philip Pictor the Moldavian
4.	1561-1562	Braşov	Deacon Coresi with Deacon Tudor
5.	1579	Sebeş	Deacon Coresi with Manuil
6.	1579	Alba Iulia (Bălgrad)	Deacon Lorinţ
7.	1582	Monastery of Saint John the Baptist (Plumbuita) on the River Colentina near Bucharest	Hieromonk Laurentie and Ivan
8.	after 1582		Hieromonk Laurentie (or Deacon Lorinţ [6])
9.	1583	Sebeş or Braşov	Deacon Coresi with Manuil

Apart from the nine tetragospels listed above, there were also two editions that have not survived until today. The first is a tetraevangelion printed in Braşov on 2 September in 1565 by Deacon Kalin [7]. The second is the Gospel issued by Deacon Coresi in Braşov in 1577 [4, p. 1205].

The third tetra, issued in Sibiu in 1551-1553 by Philip Pictor the Moldavian, was the only bilingual tetraevangelion, with Church Slavonic and Romanian texts in two columns, both printed in the Cyrillic alphabet. Only a fragment from the Gospel of Matthew still survives [8].

3. Importance of Romanian early printed Cyrillic tetraevangelions

The first Church Slavonic tetraevangelion from Târgovişte occupies a very important place in Cyrillic printing history. It is thought to be the original for other tetras printed later [9-12]. The Gospel from Târgovişte spread very

rapidly especially in the South the Slavic world and was an inspiration and a model for subsequent tetraevangelions. This is why all Ugro-Wallachian and Serbian Church Slavonic tetragospels, despite their various recensions, are considered to be very similar to one another. Subsequent editions - in Serbia and Montenegro, Wallachia and Transylvania - were published with few or no changes in the text, and varied more in ornamentation [13]. For example, Serbian tetraevangelions printed in Ruino (1537) and Belgrade (1552) are referred to as an exact reprint of the Târgowişte Gospel (1512). The Gospel printed in 1546 in Sibiu by Philip the Moldavian is also thought to be a reprint of the Târgowişte Gospel from 1512. The same is assumed for numerous subsequent tetraevangelions printed in the second half of the 16th century. However, some scientific studies have shown that there are textual variants in some of the early printed Cyrillic Gospels issued in the Middle Bulgarian (and also Serbian) recension of Church Slavonic [9].

It is worth mentioning that the first tetraevangelion printed in Târgovişte served as a model not only for printers, but also for scribes. As proof of this claim, we can point the manuscript preserved at the library of the Romanian Academy of Science in Bucharest under number 503 [14]. This codex was copied from the Târgovişte Gospel, as its ornamentation proves, just 20 years after it was released, i.e. between 1532 and 1535. It can be deduced from the historical information included at the manuscript's colophon, that states that Ioan Vlad Vintilă (ιѡ҃ влⷬаⷣ), the son of Radu cel Mare (сн҃ь прѣдобраго и великааго г҃пдина, ιѡ҃ раⷣула воеводѣ), as the Great Voivode and the Lord of all lands of Ugro-Vallachia and Podunavia (великыи воевода и г҃пдїнь вьсеи ꙁемли оугровлахїискои и подоунавїю), copied this soul saving Gospel manuscript (аꙁь <…> написахь сїе дш҃еспснꙗꙗ книгꙗ, четворобл҃говѣстїе).

There are also other Gospel manuscripts copied from early printed tetraevangelions issued in later years. As an example, we can point to the Gospel manuscript preserved at the Historical Museum in Lviv No 36 or the Dragomirna Monastery No 1820, but it seems that both of these have been copied from a Cyrillic early printed tetraevangelion issued in Lviv in 1636.

A textual research based on 90 Cyrillic tetraevangelions proved that all eleven Tetraevangelions issued on the territory of contemporary Romania occupy a special place in the Cyrillic printing history and deserve special attention.

4. Textual research of Romanian early printed Cyrillic tetraevangelions

4.1. Research sources

Several selected texts from different parts of the tetraevangelions, i.e. the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, four prefaces of the Theophylact, archbishop of Bulgaria, and four Chapter Lists to the Gospels (ta. kefa, laia) were the point of research carried out on the basis of all early printed Cyrillic Romanian Tetraevangelions issued in Middle-Bulgarian recension of Church Slavonic in

the 16th century. As an additional sources, many other early printed Cyrillic tetraevangelions in the East Slavonic and Serbian recensions of Church Slavonic Language, issued in Moscow, Vilnius, Lviv, Kiev, Pochaiv, Belgrade and etc., were also examined. Only twenty Gospel editions from Moscow, all from the 18th century, were not explored in this research.

Table 2. Textual variants of Romanian (and Serbian) Cyrillic early printed tetraevangelions.

Gospel	All tetraevangelions of East Slavonic redaction	All Ugro-Wallachian (and three Serbian Gospels)
Mathew 5.3	цесарствие небесною	цесарство
Mathew 5.13	аще же соль обꙋаетъ ни въ что же бꙋдетъ	къ чьсомꙋ можеть
Mathew 5.28	любодеистова съ нею	прѣлюбы сьвори
Mathew 5.29	въвержено бꙋдетъ въ гееннꙋ	въ гееннꙋ огненнꙋю
Mathew 5.32	развѣ словесе любодѣинаго	развѣ словесе прѣлюбодѣаннаго
Mark 1.6	поасъ оусмѣнъ о чреслѣхъ его	оуснїань
Mark 1.7	емоуже нѣсмь достоинъ преклонъ са раздрѣшити ремень сапогъ его	поклонъ са
Mark 1.36	и гнаша его симонъ	по немь
Mark 2.9	что есть оудобѣе рещи раслабленомоу	ослабленомоу
Mark 2.12	и въста абие. и вземъ одръ	въставъ
Mark 2.22	просадитъ вино (…) и вино пролиетъ са	пролѣетъ са
Mathew 40	аще лѣпо есть отъпоущати жены	аще достоитъ поустити женꙗ
Mathew 54	о законницѣ	о въпросшимъ законницѣ ог о въпросацимъ законницѣ
Mathew 58	о дни и часѣ	о дни ономь и часѣ
Mark 7	о имꙋщемъ сꙋхꙋ рꙋкꙋ	о имꙋщихъ сꙋхꙋ рꙋкꙋ
Luke 33	о неповелѣнньмъ въслѣдовати	послѣдовати
John 6	о цревѣ моужи	о црькомъ моужи
John 17	о оутѣшители (or о послании ꙋтѣшителꙗ)	о параклитѣ

4.2. *Textual characteristics all Romanian (and Serbian) Cyrillic tetraevangelions*

This textual research demonstrated that all the early printed Cyrillic tetraevangelions issued in Church Slavonic displayed a high degree of stability of the Gospel text in three different recensions. There were, however, some textual variants [15, 16] that enabled all Ugro-Wallachian (and also Serbian)

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tetraevangelions to be excluded from the dominant East Slavonic Gospels group (Table 2).

Table 3. Textual variants of older Romanian (and Serbian) Cyrillic early printed tetraevangelions.

Gospel	All Gospels of East Slavonic redaction and five younger Ugro-Wallachian printed in 1561-1562, two 1579, 1582 and after 1582	Oldest Ugro-Wallachian Gospels (1512, 1546, 1551-1553 and 1583) (and three Serbian)
Mathew 3.17	конецъ богоꙗвлению	конецъ праздникꙋ
Mathew 4.2	изыде слꙋхъ его по всеи сѵрии	въ всꙗ сѵриѫ
Mathew 5.1, 20	цесарствие небесное	цесарство небесное
Mathew 5.2, 33	речено бысть древнимъ	древними
Mathew 5.24	шедъ прежде смири сꙗ	иди
Mathew 5.30	тѣло твое идетъ въ гееннꙋ	въвержено бꙋдетъ
Mathew 6.1	сꙋббота сыропꙋстнаа	сырне
Mathew 6.24	единого възлюбитъ а дрꙋгаго възненавидитъ	единого възненавидитъ а дрꙋгаго възлюбитъ
Mathew 8.1	въ слѣдъ его идахꙋ	идоша
Mathew 8.4	иже повелѣ въ законѣ моусии	ommited въ законѣ
Mathew 8.6	отрокъ (…) ослабленъ	раслаблень
Mathew 8.17	недꙋги (…) и болѣзни	аꙁы (…) и недꙗгы
Mathew 14.15	и часъ оуже минꙋ	година
Mark 1.22	incypit: въ врѣма оно чловѣкъ нѣкыи бѣ въ сонмици июдѣистѣ	бѣ в сонмици июдѣистѣ чловѣкъ (except the tetra from 1583)
Mark 1.36	симонъ и иже съ нимъ	соущии
Mark 1.42	отъиде (…) прокажение и чистъ бысть	оучисти се
Mark 2.3	носаце раслаблена жилами	omitted жилами
Mark 2.14	и глагола емоу, по мнѣ гряди	послѣдствоуи ми
Mark 2.21	возметъ конецъ его новое отъ ветхаго	кончиноу
Mathew 37	о въпросихъ льстивнѣ о кинсонѣ	omitted льстивнѣ
Luke 39	о имꙋщимъ бѣса глꙋха	бѣса нѣма
Luke 51	о рекшыхъ (…) ирода ради	за ирода
Luke 62	о мытарии фарисеи	о фарисеи и мытари
Luke 69	о въпрошшихъ (…) архиереехъ и старцѣхъ	о въпрошшихъ (…) архиереехъ
Luke 70	о виноградѣ притча	о виноградѣ

4.3. *Textual characteristics of the oldest Romanian (and Serbian) Cyrillic tetraevangelions*

Another part of the textual readings is confirmed only by the four oldest early printed tetraevangelions from the territory of contemporary Romania, and

also by three Serbian. None of the five other younger Ugro-Wallachian and none of the East Slavonic tetras share the textual variants presented in Table 3.

4.4. Textual characteristics of younger Romanian Cyrillic tetraevangelions

Another part of textual readings is present only in five younger early printed Cyrillic tetraevangelions issued on the territory of contemporary Romania, i.e. in 1561-1562 (Braşov), twice in 1579 (Alba Iulia and Sebeş), 1582 and after 1582 (Monastery of Saint John near Bucharest). None of the other older Ugro-Wallachian (from 1512, 1546, 1551-1553 and 1583) and Serbian tetraevangelions (from 1537, 1552 and 1562) and all East Slavonic tetras share these textual variants (Table 4).

Table 4. Textual variants of younger Romanian Cyrillic early printed tetraevangelions.

Gospel	All of East Slavonic redaction, four oldest Ugro-Wallachian (1512, 1546, 1551-1553 and 1583) and three Serbian Tetraevangelions	Five younger Ugro-Wallachian Gospels (1561-1562, two from 1579, 1582 and after 1582)
Mathew 4.17	цесарство небесное	цесарствие небесное
Mathew 4.18	симона глаголемаго петра	симона нарицаемаго петра
Mathew 4.19	и глагола има грядѣта по мнѣ	и рече има идѣта по мнѣ
Mathew 5.25	въверженъ бѹдеши	въврьжетъ та
Mathew 5.32	творитъ ю прѣлюбодѣиствовати	творитъ ю прѣлюбы дѣати
Mathew 6.27	можетъ приложити възрастѹ	можетъ приложити тѣлеси
Mathew 6.30	богъ тако одѣеть не много ли паче васъ	богъ тако одѣлѣеть колми паче вамь
Mathew 7.23	николиже знахъ васъ	николиже познахъ васъ
Mathew 8.9	чл͠вкъ есмь подъ властию	чл͠вкъ есмь подъ властию оучиненъ
Mathew 8.21	повели ми прежде ити	повели ми прежде поити
Mathew 13.48	злыа извергоша вънъ	гнилыа извергоша вънъ
Mathew 14.15	да шьдше въ вси	да шьдше въ окрѣстныа вси
Mark 1.4	проповѣдаа (…) въ отъпоущение грѣховъ	въ оставленїе
Mark 1.5	и кр͠щахоу са вьси въ иордани рѣцѣ	въ иорданстѣи рѣцѣ
Mark 1.7	грядеть крѣплии мене	грядїи
Mark 1.25	запрѣти (…) гл͠а, оумолчи. и изыди из него	изыде
Mark 1.26	и сътрасе его доухъ нечистыи	сътрась
Mark 1.29	из сънмища исходаще приидоша въ домъ	omitted приидоша
Mark 1.31	и пристоупль воздвиже ю	added і͠с after пристоупль
Mark 1.34	страждоущаа различными недоугы	азами

Mark 1.44	ꙗже повелѣ моиси в҃ свѣдѣтелство имъ	в҃ законѣ
Mark 1.45	проповѣдати много и проносити слово.	приносити
Mark 2.1	слышано бысть	слоухъ бысть
Mark 2.3	приидоша къ немоу носаще раслаблена	ослаблена
Mark 2.4	одръ на немже раслабленыи лежаше	ослабленыи
Mark 2.5	глагола раслабленомоу	рече ослабленомоу
Mark 2.10	глагола раслабленомоу	ослабленомоу
Mark 2.11	возми одръ твои и иди в домъ твои	свои
Mark 2.17	призвати (…) но грѣшники на покаание	в҃ покаание
Mark 2.18	и приидоша и глаголаша емоу	рѣша
Mathew 66	о отъмѣтании (or отъвержеии) петровѣ	о мѣтани петровѣ
Mark 6	о леvии мытари	о леvии и мытари
Mark 20	о гꙋгнивѣмъ и глꙋсѣ	parallel chapter in лоука ꙁ҃г
Mark 40	о въпрошении господнии	parallel chapter in і҃ѡ ѕ҃і
Luke 25	о дщерѣ архисунагоговѣ	о дъщи снагоговѣ
Luke 69	о въпрошихъ господа	о въпрошихъ

4.5. Textual characteristics of the youngest Romanian Cyrillic tetraevangelion

The youngest Ugro-Wallachian early printed Cyrillic tetraevangelion, issued in 1583 in Sebeş (or Braşov), has some textual variants that are not confirmed in any examined Ugro-Wallachian, Serbian or East Slavonic tetraevangelions (Table 5).

Table 5. Textual variants of Romanian Cyrillic early printed tetraevangelions from 1583.

Gospel	All East Slavonic and Serbian with eight Ugro-Wallachian (except 1583)	The Ugro-Wallachian Tetraevangelion from 1583
Mathew 5.14	не можетъ градъ оукрыти са	крыти се
Mathew 5.19	иже (…) разоритъ единꙋ заповѣдеи	ѿ заповѣдеи
Mathew 8.5	Incipit: в҃ врема оно въшьдшꙋ	пришедшꙋ
Mathew 13.14	подобно есть цесарствие	цесарство
Mathew 15.3	за предание ваше	прѣщение
Mathew 1.9	бысть въ онѣхъ днехъ	по днехь тѣ^х
Mathew 1.16	видѣ симона и андреа брата того симона	того
Mark 1.37	глаголаша емоу, ꙗко вси тебе ищоутъ	ищемь
Mathew 48	о въпрошихъ г҃а	въпрошени
Mathew 55	о вопрошении і҃совѣ (or господни)	господа
Mark 25	о преображении і҃свѣ	спасовѣ
Luke 35	о въпрошемъ законницѣ	о въпроши^х законницѣ^х

5. Conclusions

All the textual variants revealed in this research have allowed us to distinguish the nine examined early printed Cyrillic tetraevangelions issued on the territory of contemporary Romania in Church Slavonic Language into the two groups.

The first group comprises four Gospels issued in:
- Târgovişte (1512),
- two in Sibiu (in 1546 and 1551-1553),
- and in 1583 in Sebeş or Braşov, which has some unusual textual variants in comparison with the other examined tetraevangelions.

The second group comprises five Gospels issued in:
- Braşov (1561-1562),
- Alba Iulia (1579),
- Sebeş (1579),
- and in the Monastery of Saint John on the River Colentina near Bucharest in 1582 and after 1582.

It is worth to mention that three Serbian early printed Cyrillic tetraevangelions, issued in Ruino (1537), Belgrade (1552) and Mrkšina Crkva (1562) belong to fist group of the Romanian Cyrillic Tetraevangelions.

The youngest Ugro-Wallachian Tetragospel from the first group - printed in 1583 (in Sebeş or Braşov) - can be classified into a separate subgroup, as only this tetra has certain very unusual textual variants that were not confirmed in any other examined early printed Cyrillic Gospels.

Comparing the dates of these two tetraevangelion groups and the names of their printers, it can easily be observed that all the Ugro-Wallachian tetragospels can be divided into two textual groups:
- the textual tradition of Hieromonk Macarie's Gospel (1512) - continued in Transylvania by the Gospel of Philip the Moldavian (1546 and 1551-1553) and Serbia by monk Theodosie (1537) and hieromonk Mardarie (1552 and 1562),
- the textual tradition of Deacon Coresi's Gospel (1561/62 and 1579) - continued in Transylvania by the Gospels of diak Deacon Lorinţ (1579) and Hieromonk Laurentie (1582 and after 1582).

This division of all the Ugro-Wallachian early printed Cyrillic tetraevangelions into two groups shows new opportunities for textual research of the Gospels' texts in Church Slavonic, and proves the importance of the tetraevangelions issued in the 16th century on the territory of contemporary Romania.

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