

LITURGICAL TRADITION IN THE ROMANIAN TETRAEVANGELION ISSUED IN 1561 IN BRAȘOV AND ITS RELATION TO THE CYRILLIC EARLY PRINTED GOSPEL EDITIONS FROM THE 16TH CENTURY¹

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Abstract: Cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelion issued in 1561 in Brașov by Deacon Coresi was the first edition containing the Good News solely in Romanian language. It was widely studied from different perspectives, while its liturgical tradition, fully written in Church Slavonic language, did not draw scholars' attention. The study examines the commemorations of saints and feasts as well as various events present in the Menologion of 1561 Romanian edition with special attention paid to eight Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia issued in the 16th century. The study proved that 1561 Coresi's Romanian Tetraevangelion closely follows the liturgical tradition reflected in the 1562 Romanian-Bulgarian Gospel edition, and varies in this regard from two Tetraevangelia printed in 1546 and 1551-1553 in Sibiu by Filip Pictor Moldoveanu.

Keywords: Romanian Tetraevangelion, 1561, Coresi, Brașov, Menologion.

Only eleven Cyrillic early printed liturgical Slavonic Tetraevangelia were issued in the territories of the 16th century Medieval Romania. Two of them have been considered lost, Brașov's 1565² and 1577 (Sazonova 2003, 1205 – No. 6; Ostapczuk 2022a, 70) editions. The 1551–1553³ bilingual Tetraevangelion from Sibiu is preserved only in an extensive fragment from the Gospel of Matthew (i.e., 3, 17-27, 55; *zachalas*⁴ 6-113). Thus, only eight of these eleven 16th century Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia (hereinafter also called Slavonic) containing a special addition with liturgical rubrics can be considered

¹ This article has been written under the research project financed by the National Science Centre (Poland). Decision number: UMO-2020/37/B/HS1/01658.

² Some Gospel copies described usually as the 1562 edition from Brașov, kept at the National Library of Russia in Sankt Petersburg, are sometimes treated as the edition issued in 1565 in Brașov by Dyak Kalin (Demény / Demény (1986, 186-187; 196-197)). See also: Oltean 2019, 251.

³ Only part of the Gospel of Matthew, i.e., 4, 17-27, 55, *zachalas* 6-133, from this Slavo-Romanian liturgical Tetraevangelion is extant for scholarly research. For the edition of the text, see *Evangheliarul Slavo-Român...* 1971.

⁴ The term *zachalo*, which corresponds to Greek noun ἡ ἀρχή, later assumed the meaning of pericope (Garzaniti 2013, 38-39).

in scholarly research of religious traditions of Medieval Romania. This special appendix is usually divided into several parts in correspondence with church calendar, i.e., synaxarion (containing movable feasts), menologion (i.e., fixed calendar), and a few others⁵.

An analysis of feasts and commemorations of saints and church, state, historical or nature events present in the menologia, together with their textual study allowed to divide eight⁶ Slavonic Tetraevangelia issued in the 16th century Medieval Romania into three following groups (Ostapczuk 2022a, 79-83; 96-119; 2022b, 57-61; 71-87):

- Group no. 1: two editions⁷ issued in 1512 in Târgoviște by Monk Makarije⁸ and in 1546 in Sibiu by Filip Pictor Moldoveanu (the Moldavian);
- Group no. 2: four Gospels printed in 1562 in Brașov by Deacon Coresi with Dyak Tudor, in 1579 and 1583 in Brașov (or Sebeș) by Deacon Coresi with Manuil, and in 1579 in Alba Iulia (Bălgrad) by Dyak Lorinț;
- Group no. 3: two editions issued in 1582 and after 1582 at the Monastery of St. John the Baptist (Plumbuita on the River Colentina, now in Bucharest) by Hieromonk Lavrentie.

The subject of the present publication is the analysis of the Cyrillic early printed Romanian liturgical Tetraevangelion issued in 1561 in Brașov⁹ or, more precisely, just a fragment of it. This is the first printed edition of the Gospel text in the Romanian language with an extant appendix containing liturgical rubrics¹⁰. The objective is to study its liturgical tradition and compare the results to be obtained with the outcomes of the analysis of eight Slavonic Tetraevangelia issued in the 16th century Medieval Romania. Special attention

⁵ The synaxarion and menologion are two main sections of the special appendix to liturgical Tetraevangelia. It also contains Eleven Sunday Matins Resurrection Gospels and readings for various occasions (Garzaniti 2013, 40).

⁶ The veneration of saints and feasts in the only Slavo-Romanian Gospel issued in 1551-1553 in Sibiu has to be studied too. Information that reflects the liturgical tradition of this Tetraevangelion can be solely found in the text of the Gospel of Matthew. These rubrics have to be compared with the corresponding information present in the same type of Gospel books. The outcomes obtained from the study of menologia found in Cyrillic early printed Tetraevangelia in the research of the Slavo-Romanian Gospel can be treated as secondary data, as the same texts present in different parts of the typologically homogenous books can be textually different. The Chapter Titles of the Four Gospels in manuscripts can serve as an example (Moszyński 1990).

⁷ Three Serbian liturgical Tetraevangelia, issued in 1537, 1552 and 1562, also belong to this group.

⁸ For the edition of the text, see Miklas 1999.

⁹ For the edition of the text, see *Tetraevanghelul tipărit de Coresi...* 1963.

¹⁰ In the Slavo-Romanian Tetraevangelion issued in 1551-1553, as it was already stated in the first paragraph, its special appendix with liturgical rubrics has been lost.

has to be paid to the second group of Romanian-Bulgarian Gospels, the oldest and primary representative of which is the edition issued in 1562 in Braşov by Deacon Coresi with Dyak Tudor. That is because this issue and the Romanian Tetraevangelion in question came from the same workshop and were prepared by the same printers, who most possibly used the same source (Mareş 1967, 651-668). The outcomes of these liturgical and textual analyses can be predicted in advance¹¹, but without an evidence, they would only be scientifically useless assumptions. To implement such assumptive premises in studies of Romanian or Church Slavonic handwritten or printed copies (Tetraevangelia included) they have to be based on verifiable scholarly liturgical and textual analyses.

For a long time, the Coresi's Romanian Tetraevangelion has been the subject of various studies (Haneş 1913, 988-1007), and it continues to draw¹² scholars' attention¹³. Most of them concentrated on its original, printing house and printer, translation(s) and potential translator(s), Romanian language, linguistic and philological analyses, etc. Thus far, none of the numerous studies devoted to this Romanian edition has researched its liturgical tradition.

The Romanian Tetraevangelion¹⁴ in question was issued on January 30, 1561¹⁵. It was printed by Deacon Coresi in cooperation with Dyak Tudor. Two out of the nine (Guseva 2003, 96) extant copies and the edition of Coresi's Romanian Tetraevangelion were consulted. As the edition published in 1963 by Florica Dimitrescu (*Tetraevanghelul tipărit de Coresi... 1963*) contains a transcribed text of exclusively¹⁶ four Gospel books¹⁷ supplemented with

¹¹ The supposition that the Church-Slavonic Gospel text in the Slavo-Romanian Tetraevangelion issued in 1551-1553 by Filip Pictor Moldoveanu (the Moldavian) is homogeneous with his first edition issued in 1546 in Sibiu and with the text of the Tetraevangelion printed by Monk Makarije in 1512 in Târgovişte, was proven by a textual study of several fragments from the Gospel of Matthew (Ostapczuk 2019a, 378; Ostapczuk 2021, 389-392).

¹² The bibliography of publications devoted to Coresi see: Urs 2012a, 57-61; Urs 2012b, 50-55; Urs 2012c, 28-32.

¹³ As an example, the doctoral thesis written and defended in 2019 by Ioana C.R. Ciobanu can be pointed out (Ciobanu 2019).

¹⁴ The detailed information on this edition and its printer, i.e., Coresi, is accessible in various catalogues and numerous scholarly publications.

¹⁵ The printing process started on May 3, 1560 (*Tetraevanghelul tipărit de Coresi... 1963*, 22).

¹⁶ I. Ciobanu published the transcription of the four Gospel books only and colophon (see: Ciobanu 2019, 347-437).

¹⁷ She compared the Gospel text of this edition with the Romanian manuscript kept at the British Library (call number: Harley 6311B), written by Radu Grammatik of Măniceşti in 1574, who copied 1561 Coresi's Gospel (*Tetraevanghelul tipărit de Coresi... 1963*, 19). More on this codex, also called as Romanian London Tetraevangelion, see: *A Catalogue of the Harleian...*, 356; Džurova/ Duičev 1977,

apparatus criticus and photos of whole Tetraevangelion with sometimes completely illegible text of the menologion, there was a need to employ in research some extant copies. The one preserved at the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest¹⁸, and the copy kept at the University Library in Cluj Napoca¹⁹ were consulted. Both of them were available as digital scans in PDF files²⁰, in open access on the Academy's and the University's websites.

Comparison of Coresi's Romanian Tetraevangelion with eight Slavonic Gospel editions issued in the 16th century Medieval Romania pointed out that in the first one the four prefaces (so-called τὰ προοίμια), written by blessed Theophylact, archbishop of Ohrid, and the four lists of chapter titles (i.e., τὰ κεφαλáια), as well as the subscriptions (i.e., afterwords) to the four Gospel books are missing. This Romanian Tetraevangelion contains the text of the four Gospel books and, as an edition issued for the purposes of celebrating religious services, a liturgical manual. This addition with liturgical rubrics is divided into four parts, i.e., synaxarion together with Eleven Sunday Matins Resurrection Gospels, readings for various occasions, menologion and information on the Gospel and Apostle readings according to the Octoechos tones (Guseva 2003, 95). The Coresi's Romanian Tetraevangelion²¹ ends with colophon, where the place, date, printers, and other historical information related to its appearance is provided. Its four Gospel books and colophon are in the Romanian language, while all liturgical rubrics – embedded into the text of Good News as well as in the appendix – are in the Church Slavonic language²². It attests that all Romanian Tetraevangelia, like the Coresi's one,

No. 10; Grba 2012, 277; Cleminson 1988, 161-162 (No. 107). In 1572 Radu Grammatik copied another Church Slavonic Tetraevangelion, now kept at the Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia, No. 873 (more on this codex see: Stoianov/Kodov 1964, 42-46 {No. 873}).

Other handwritten Romanian Tetraevangelia have to be researched as well, for example copy kept at the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest, call number Rom 296 (dated to the half of 17th c.).

¹⁸ <http://digibuc.ro/> (access date 20.05.2023).

¹⁹ <https://dspace.bcucuj.ro/handle/123456789/12472> (access date 04.04.2023).

²⁰ The folio 247 containing liturgical rubrics for June 24 – August 14 is missing in the copy kept at the Romanian Academy Library (available on the website).

²¹ The content of the handwritten Romanian London Tetraevangelion, except for Paschalia for the years 1547-1618, very long colophon and homily on humility, is similar to the Coresi's Romanian edition, see Cleminson 1988, 161 (No. 107). Contrary to the printed version, this manuscript contains information on how the Gospel is to be read (f. 262v-263), i.e., сказание приѣмлющѣи всѣхъ лѣтнѣе число еѿ ѿское и еѿ лнстѣѣ прѣвеманиѣ ѿ кѣзѣѣ начинають и до гѣе стають.

²² All liturgical rubrics and other postfatory material in Romanian London Tetraevangelion are in Serbian Church Slavonic with Bulgarian influence (Cleminson 1988, 162 {No. 107}).

were to acquaint believers with the message of the Good News and that clergy that used them still employed Cyrillic books in Church Slavonic language for liturgical purposes.

The menologion included in Coresi's Romanian Tetraevangelion is an abbreviated one. Thus, this Gospel edition belongs to the typological group of the eight Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia (Ostapczuk 2022a, 79-80; Ostapczuk 2022c, 38; Ostapczuk 2022d, 42-43). This type of menologion does not feature feasts and commemorations of saints and events for all days in every month, but only for those most important for the Christian worship from the printers' point of view or the Gospels' target users. An abbreviated menologion is found not only in all Gospel editions issued in the lands of 16th century Medieval Romania, but also in all Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia printed before 1652.

A comparison of the number of days in twelve months proved that the menologion present in Coresi's Romanian Gospel edition follows the liturgical tradition transmitted by the 2nd group of Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia, the oldest representative of which is Coresi's edition printed in 1562. All eight Slavonic Gospels issued in the 16th century Medieval Romania have the same number of days²³ in eleven months. The only difference concerns the fifth month, i.e., May. In this month four Slavonic Tetraevangelia from the 2nd group as well as Coresi's Romanian edition contain seven days, i.e., 2, 7-8, 21, 24-26, while four other Slavonic Tetraevangelia from the 1st and the 3rd groups have one day more, i.e., May 11. Commemorations of the Founding of Constantinople as the Capital of the Roman Empire (in 330), and saint Hieromartyr Mocius, presbyter of Amphipolis in Macedonia, who was beheaded in Byzantium in 288(-295) during the persecution of Emperor Diocletian (284-305), falling on May 11 are missing in all Slavonic Tetraevangelia that belong to the 2nd group (Ostapczuk 2022c, 39-40) and in Coresi's Romanian Gospel edition.

Each of three the categories, the eight Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia were divided into, has its own, distinctive only for them, group of liturgical remembrances and textual variants²⁴. All feasts and commemorations of saints and various church events²⁵, as well as their titles' verbatim correspondences²⁶ that are specific solely to the 2nd group of Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia, were also confirmed in Coresi's Romanian Gospel edition. Thus, the comparison of liturgical traditions reflected in the menologia of Coresi's Romanian Tetraevangelion, and all eight Romanian-Bulgarian Gospel editions proved that the abovementioned presupposition is right, i.e., Coresi's Romanian Tetraevangelion, at least in its liturgical part corresponding to the

²³ Ostapczuk 2022a, 105-106 (Tables No. 20-21); Ostapczuk 2022c, 38-39.

²⁴ Ostapczuk 2022a, 80-82, 106-119 (Table No. 22-24).

²⁵ Ostapczuk 2022a, 110-119 (Table No. 24).

²⁶ Ostapczuk 2022a, 107-110 (Table No. 23).

fixed calendar, is closely related to the 2nd group of Romanian-Bulgarian Gospel editions.

As an additional proof for the correctness of this conclusion the following numerous textual variants, as well as errors, distinctive only to the Coresi's Romanian Tetraevangelion and four editions from the 2nd (and sometimes also from the 3rd) group of Slavonic Gospels have to be listed:

a) providing information on a completely different pericope, for example:

- for the Liturgy on September 5, when Holy Prophet Zacharias, Father of the Forerunner, is revered, in Tetraevangelia from the 2nd and the 3rd groups as well as in the Coresi's Romanian edition *zachalo* 36 (λς.) from the Gospel of Matthew was indicated, while in the Tetraevangelia from the 1st group *zachalo* 96 (ϥε. or ϣς.) from the same book was given;

- for the Matins on January 25, when our Father among the Saints Gregory, the Theologian is commemorated, in Tetraevangelia from the 2nd group as well as in the Coresi's Romanian edition *zachalo* 35 (λϵ) from the Gospel of John was indicated, while in Tetraevangelia from the 1st and the 3rd groups *zachalo* 33 (λρ.) from the same book was given.

b) providing information on different Gospel book, for example:

- for the Liturgy on the Saturday after the Theophany in Tetraevangelia from the 2nd group as well as in the Coresi's Romanian edition the Gospel of John (ιϰ̄)²⁷ was indicated²⁸, while in Tetraevangelia from the 1st and the 3rd groups the Gospel of Matthew (μ̄)²⁹ was given.

c) mentioning only one Gospel reading instead of two pericopes, for example:

- for September 26, when the Repose of Holy Apostle and Evangelist John the Theologian is revered, in Tetraevangelia from the 2nd group as well as in Coresi's Romanian edition there is information only about one Gospel reading (i.e., εν̄ϣ̄λιϵ ιϰ̄ ρλ̄ ϩ̄ϩ̄.), while in Tetraevangelia from the 1st and the 3rd groups two readings were provided (i.e., εν̄ϣ̄λιϵ ιϰ̄ ρλ̄ ϩ̄ϩ̄. на литургии. εν̄ϣ̄λιϵ ιϰ̄ ρλ̄ ϩ̄ϩ̄.)²⁹.

d) indicating place, i.e., month and day, where liturgical information can be found, instead of providing data on the Gospel pericope, for example:

- for December 5, when our Venerable and Godbearing Father Sabbas, the Sanctified is commemorated, in Tetraevangelia from the 1st group there is

²⁷ In this case erroneous indication of the Gospel book could be caused by the pericope from the Gospel of John ascribed to the previous day, i.e., the Synaxis of Honoured and Glorious Prophet and Forerunner and Baptist John.

²⁸ The *zachalo* (i.e., ρλ̄ ϩ̄ϩ̄.) was indicated correctly.

²⁹ Analogous variation is confirmed in three Serbian Tetraevangelia. In the first one there is one reading indicated, while in two others – two.

liturgical text³⁰ and information on two Gospel readings for Matins and Divine Liturgy, i.e., *евѣліе лугѣ глѣ ѿд. на литургии. евѣліе мѣ глѣ ѿд.*, while in Tetraevangelia from the 2nd and the 3rd groups as well as in Coresi's Romanian edition only information where the liturgical appropriate data is to be found, was provided, i.e., *слоужба сеѣ ѿд.*;

- for January 29, when the Translation of the Relics of the Holy martyr Ignatius, the God-bearer, is revered, in Tetraevangelia from the 1st group there is information on the Gospel reading for the Liturgy, i.e., *евѣліе мѣ глѣ ѿд.*, while in Tetraevangelia from the 2nd group as well as in Coresi's Romanian edition only information³¹ where the liturgical texts are to be found, was given, i.e., *слоужба декеврее ѿд.*;

- for June 29, when Holy and All-Praised Apostles Peter and Paul are commemorated, in Tetraevangelia from the 1st group there is liturgical text³² and Matins Gospel reading³³ i.e., *евѣліе іуваннѣ глѣ ѿд.*, while in Tetraevangelia from the 2nd group as well as in Coresi's Romanian edition only information³⁴ where the liturgical texts for Matins are to be found, was provided, i.e., *на оутрени слоужба възсѣ маи ѿд.*

e) indicating the type of the service, i.e., for the martyrs, Apostles, Cross, etc., instead of providing information on the Gospel readings, for example:

- for May 7, when the Appearance in the heavens of the Sign of Precious Cross over Jerusalem in 351 is revered, in Tetraevangelia from the 1st group there is information on the Gospel reading for the Liturgy, i.e., *евѣліе іѡ глѣ ѿд.*, while in Tetraevangelia from the 2nd group as well as in Coresi's Romanian edition only information³⁵ on the type of the service is to be found, i.e., *слоужба крѣтна.*

f) indicating a different place where the appropriate liturgical information should be found, for example:

³⁰ I.e., *на оутрени. прокименѣ гласѣ ѿд. ѡстна прѣдѣ глѣ сѣмѣртѣ. стихѣ. ѡто въздѣмѣ господѣви.*

³¹ Liturgical information found in two Gospels from the 3rd group, i.e., *евѣ мѣ глѣ ѿд.* *слоужба декеврее ѿд.*, is a mixture of rubrics present in Tetraevangelia from the 1st and the 2nd groups.

³² I.e., *на оутрени прокиментѣ гласѣ ѿд. възсѣ зѣмѣла изыде. стихѣ. нѣса повѣдоужѣтѣ.*

³³ Information on the Gospel reading, i.e., *на литургии маѣ глѣ ѿд.* is present in all eight Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia.

³⁴ Liturgical information found in two Gospels from the 3rd group, i.e., *на оутрени евѣ іѡ глѣ ѿд. слоужба възсѣ маи ѿд.*, is a mixture of rubrics provided in Tetraevangelia from the 1st and the 2nd groups.

³⁵ Liturgical information present in two Gospels from the 3rd group, i.e., *слоужба крѣтна евѣліе іѡ глѣ ѿд.*, is a mixture of rubrics found in Tetraevangelia from the 1st and the 2nd groups.

- for January 11, when our Venerable Father Theodosius the Cenobiarch is commemorated, instead of indicating December 5 (i.e., *СЛОУЖБА ВЪСА ДЕКЕВРІА Ё.*) – as it was done in Tetraevangelia from the 1st group, in Gospel editions from the 2nd group as well as in the Coresi's Romanian Tetraevangelion the September 28³⁶, i.e., *СЛОУЖБА ВЪСЪ СЕ^Ѡ КИ.*, was provided;

- for January 27, when the Translation of Relics of John Chrysostom is revered, instead of indicating the 25th day of the same month, i.e., *СЛОУЖБА ВЪСА ВЪШЕ ВЪ КЕ.* – as it was done in the Tetraevangelia from the 1st group, in Gospel editions from the 2nd group as well as in the Coresi's Romanian Tetraevangelion the November 13³⁷, i.e., *СЛОУЖБА НОЕВРЕЕ ГІ.*, was given.

g) omission of the day's number, for example:

- only in all Tetraevangelia from the 2nd and 3rd groups as well as in the Coresi's Romanian edition the number of the 21st day in January was omitted³⁸ on the margin.

h) combination of liturgical rubrics for two different days into one incorrect information, for example:

- confusion of liturgical rubrics for Saturday and Sunday after the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14)³⁹, i.e., a conjunction of the name of Saturday (*СОУБОТА ПО ВЪЗДВИЖЕНИИ КРЕСТА*) with the information on Gospel pericope for Sunday (*ЕВ^ѠЛІЕ М^Ѡ ГЛ^Ѡ ЛЗ.*)⁴⁰; this error was confirmed in Tetraevangelia from the 2nd and 3rd groups as well as in the Coresi's Romanian edition;

- confusion of liturgical rubrics for Saturday and Sunday before Nativity of Christ (December 24), i.e., a conjunction of the name of Saturday (*СОУБОТА ПРЪДЪ РОЖДЪСТВО ХЪВЪМЪ*) with the information on Gospel reading for Sunday (*ЕВ^ѠЛІЕ М^Ѡ ГЛ^Ѡ Д.*)⁴¹; this error was confirmed in Tetraevangelia from the 2nd group as well as in the Coresi's Romanian Gospel;

³⁶ Liturgical information present in two Gospels from the 3rd group, i.e., *СЛОУЖБА ВЪСЪ СЕ^Ѡ Ё.*, is a mixture of rubrics given in Tetraevangelia from the 1st and the 2nd groups.

³⁷ Liturgical information found in two Gospels from the 3rd group, i.e., *СЛОУЖБА НОЕВРЕЕ КЕ.*, is a mixture of rubrics found in Tetraevangelia from the 1st and the 2nd groups.

³⁸ All liturgical rubrics for January 21 were given correctly.

³⁹ All liturgical information on the Saturday and Sunday before the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14) was provided correctly.

⁴⁰ The proper liturgical information *СОУБОТА ПО ВЪЗДВИЖЕНИИ КРЕСТА. ЕВ^ѠЛІЕ ІВЪ ГЛ^Ѡ Л. НЕДЕЛА ПО ВЪЗДВИЖЕНИИ КРЕСТА. ЕВ^ѠЛІЕ М^Ѡ ГЛ^Ѡ ЛЗ.* became the following *СОУБОТА ПО ВЪЗДВИЖЕНИИ КРЕСТА. ЕВ^ѠЛІЕ М^Ѡ ГЛ^Ѡ ЛЗ.*

⁴¹ The correct liturgical information *СОУБОТА ПРЪДЪ РОЖДЪСТВО ХЪВЪМЪ. ЕВ^ѠЛІЕ ЛОУК^Ѡ ГЛ^Ѡ ОБ. НЕДЕЛА ПРЪДЪ РОЖДЪСТВОМЪ ХЪВЪМЪ. ЕВ^ѠЛІЕ М^Ѡ ГЛ^Ѡ Д.* became the following *СОУБОТА ПРЪДЪ РОЖДЪСТВО ХЪВЪМЪ. ЕВ^ѠЛІЕ М^Ѡ ГЛ^Ѡ Д.*

- confusion of liturgical rubrics for the Synaxis of the Most Holy Theotokos (December 26) and Saturday after Nativity, i.e., a conjunction of the name of the Synaxis (СЪБОРЪ ПРЪЧУТЪНА БОГОРОДИЦА) with the information on Gospel pericope for the Saturday (ЕВЪЛІЕ М^Ѧ ГЛ^Ѣ М^ѦС.)⁴²; this error was confirmed in Tetraevangelia from the 2nd group as well as in the Coresi's Romanian edition;

- confusion of liturgical rubrics for Saturday and Sunday before the Theophany (January 6)⁴³, i.e., a conjunction of the name of Saturday (СОУБОТА ПРЪДЪ ПРОСВЪЩЕНИЕМЪ) with the information on Gospel reading for Sunday (ЕВЪЛІЕ М^Ѧ ГЛ^Ѣ Д.)⁴⁴; this error was confirmed in Tetraevangelia from 2nd group as well as in the Coresi's Romanian Gospel.

Apart from all these additionally presented variants attesting that the Coresi's Romanian Gospel edition follows the liturgical tradition reflected in the four Tetraevangelia from the 2nd group, there is also some textual evidence suggesting its close relationship to the Romanian-Bulgarian Gospel printed in 1562, i.e., the edition issued in the same workshop and prepared by the same printers. As an example, the liturgical rubric for the Matins on May 8 can serve. Only two out of four Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia from the 2nd group⁴⁵, i.e., issued in 1562 in Braşov and 1579 in Alba Iulia, have the following liturgical information НА ОУТРЕНИИ. ПРОКИМЕНЪ ГЛАСЪ Д. ВЪ ВСѢ ЗЕМЛѢ ИЗЫДЕ ВЕЩАНІЕ. СТИХЪ. НБСА ПОВѢДѢТЬ. ВЪСЪКО ДЫХАНІЕ. ЕВЪЛІЕ ІВЪ, ГЛ^Ѣ ЖЪ, confirmed also in the very same form in the Coresi's Romanian Tetraevangelion. In two other Tetraevangelia from the 2nd group, this text is a little longer, i.e., in editions issued in Braşov in 1579 and 1583 words СЛАВЖ БОЖИЖ were added after НБСА ПОВѢДѢТЬ, and in the second one also ВАШЕ. СТИ after ИЗЫДЕ ВЕЩАНІЕ. The name of the feast of the Dormition of Saint Anna (July 25) can be referenced as another example. Only one Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelion from the 2nd group⁴⁶ issued in 1562 in Braşov has the following liturgical information ОУСПЕНИЕ СТЬА АННЫ, МАТЕРЕ СТЬА БЦЖ, confirmed in the very same form in the Romanian Tetraevangelion in question. In three other printed copies from the 2nd group this text is a little shorter, i.e., the second adjective СТЬА is omitted.

⁴² The proper liturgical information СЪБОРЪ ПРЪЧУТЪНА БОГОРОДИЦА. ЕВЪЛІЕ М^Ѧ ГЛ^Ѣ Д. СОУБОТА ПО РОЖДЪСТВѢ. ЕВЪЛІЕ М^Ѧ ГЛ^Ѣ М^ѦС. became the following СЪБОРЪ ПРЪЧУТЪНА БОГОРОДИЦА. ЕВЪЛІЕ М^Ѧ ГЛ^Ѣ М^ѦС.

⁴³ All liturgical rubrics on the Saturday and Sunday after the Epiphany (January 6), were provided correctly.

⁴⁴ The correct liturgical information СОУБОТА ПРЪДЪ ПРОСВЪЩЕНИЕМЪ. ЕВЪЛІЕ М^Ѧ ГЛ^Ѣ Е. НЕДЕЛЯ ПРЪДЪ ПРОСВЪЩЕНИЕМЪ. ЕВЪЛІЕ М^Ѧ ГЛ^Ѣ Д. became the following СОУБОТА ПРЪДЪ ПРОСВЪЩЕНИЕМЪ. ЕВЪЛІЕ М^Ѧ ГЛ^Ѣ Д.

⁴⁵ As well as one Gospel from the 3rd group, i.e., issued in 1582.

⁴⁶ As well as two Gospels from the 3rd group, i.e., issued in 1582 and after 1582.

As printers used to edit the reprinted text more or less extensively⁴⁷, the last two cases and some other similar variants are weak and not persuasive in text-critical studies. On the basis of these variants, in contrast to almost sixty rarely occurring textual readings found only in the Preface to the Gospel of Matthew, any conclusion can hardly be drawn. If the Coresi's Romanian Tetraevangelion had this text with numerous textual variants confirmed merely in the Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelion issued in 1562⁴⁸ included, it would be easy to prove that two Tetraevangelia, the Romanian and Slavonic ones, issued by Coresi in 1561 and in 1562 in Braşov did follow the very same liturgical and textual traditions, reflected in manuscript employed by Deacon Coresi with Dyak Tudor.

Conclusions

The research of menologia present in Coresi's Romanian Tetraevangelion and in eight editions of Slavonic Gospels issued in the 16th century Medieval Romania allowed to explore their traditions. It was proved, on the basis of liturgical and textual analyses, that:

- the Coresi's Romanian Tetraevangelion printed in 1561 in Braşov closely follows the liturgical tradition reflected in the four Romanian-Bulgarian Gospel editions from the 2nd group, the oldest and primary representative of which is the Slavonic Tetraevangelion issued in 1562 in Braşov by Deacon Coresi with Dyak Tudor;
- liturgical tradition of the Romanian Tetraevangelion in question differs from the liturgical tradition reflected in the two Romanian-Bulgarian Gospel editions from the 1st group, that includes Tetraevangelion issued in 1546 in Sibiu by Filip Pictor Moldoveanu (the Moldavian), i.e., by the printer who also issued the 1551-1553 bilingual Slavo-Romanian Tetraevangelion⁴⁹, sometimes treated as a possible source of 1561 Coresi's Gospel edition.

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⁴⁷A comprehensive study of Akathists, including a detailed analysis of editorial changes in different editions, was carried out by A. V. Popov (Popov 2013, 40, 43-78).

⁴⁸All textual variants of the Preface to the Gospel of Matthew are specific only to three Tetraevangelia issued in 1562, 1582 and after 1582, see Ostapczuk 2019b, 315-329.

⁴⁹Text-critical study of the Gospel text proved that 1551-1553 Slavo-Romanian edition, together with two editions issued in 1512 in Târgovişte by Monk Makarije and in 1546 in Sibiu by Filip Pictor Moldoveanu (the Moldavian), belongs to the first group of the Romanian-Bulgarian Tetraevangelia. See Ostapczuk 2021, 389-392.

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*Receptarea Sfintei Scripturi:
între filologie, hermeneutică și traductologie*

Lucrările Simpozionului Internațional
„Explorări în tradiția biblică românească și europeană”

XII
Iași, 18-20 mai 2023

Anca-Diana BIBIRI, Iosif CAMARĂ,
Ana Veronica CATANĂ-SPENCHIU, Maria MORUZ,
Mădălina UNGUREANU
(editori)



Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași
2023

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