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Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, Poitiers

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The wooden church of Mogoș-Miclești. Courtesy of the Transylvanian Ethnographic Museum, Cluj-Napoca.

L'église en bois de Mogoș-Miclești. Avec l'aimable autorisation du Musée ethnographique de Transylvanie, Cluj-Napoca.

(cf. p. 124, Fig. 6).

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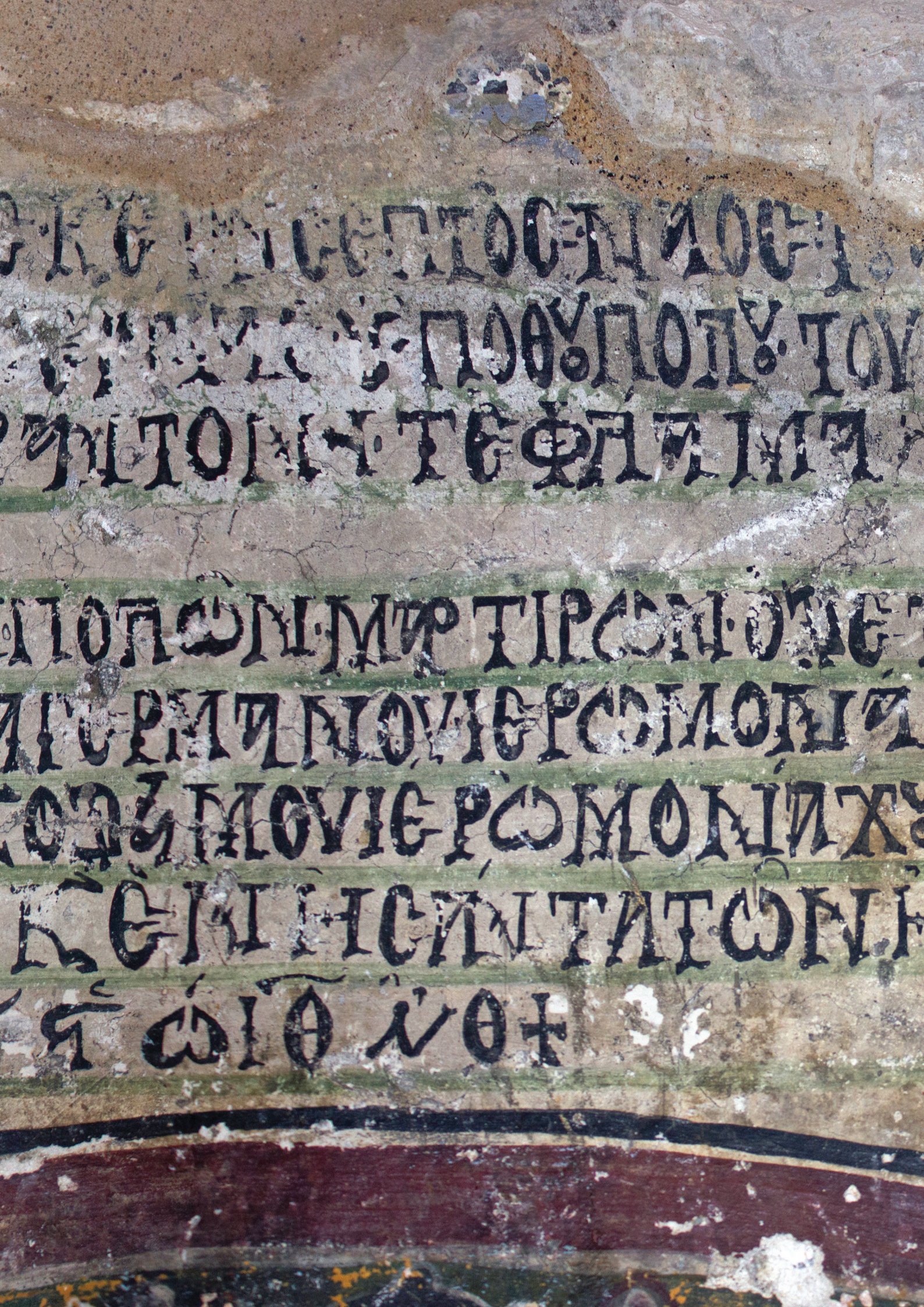

The Dedicatory Inscription of Saint George Church at Akraifnion, Boeotia (1311)
Notes after the Completion of the Conservation Works

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translation by Silvia Chiosea

RÉSUMÉ: L'église de Saint George, un édifice en croix inscrite avec coupole, de type complexe à quatre colonnes, est située au pied de l'acropole de l'ancienne Acraephia. À l'époque de l'occupation franque, le village portait le nom de Karditsa et faisait partie du duché d'Athènes. La recherche s'est longtemps accordée sur l'idée que la construction de l'église devait être attribuée à Antoine le Flamenc, un chevalier français mentionné par l'inscription votive. Le donateur aurait fait bâtir l'église en l'honneur de saint George, saint militaire auquel il devait sa survie pendant la bataille de Halmyros (1311), lorsque les Catalans anéantirent l'armée franque. Les récents travaux de conservation, financés par le programme opérationnel régional *Thessalie-Grèce continentale-Épire 2007-2013*, ont cependant révélé que l'évolution architecturale de l'édifice est bien différente : le chevalier franc n'aurait fait que rénover une église qui existait déjà. Le présent article propose donc une nouvelle lecture de l'inscription, recentrée sur une analyse des transcriptions précédentes faites par J. A. Buchon et W. Miller, et montre que les anciennes interprétations du texte étaient sans doute erronées. Bien qu'il soit actuellement impossible de déterminer la séquence précise des événements mentionnés par l'inscription, il est certain qu'ils se sont produits avant et après 1311 (date de la bataille et également date de l'inscription). Des observations détaillées, associées aux phases de construction du monument et aux couches ultérieures de sa décoration murale, viennent confirmer ces idées.

MOTS-CLÉS: Quatrième croisade, Byzance, peintures murales, inscriptions votives, arcosolium.

REZUMAT: Biserica Sfântului Gheorghe, un edificiu în cruce greacă complexă, cu cupolă descărcată pe patru coloane, este situată la poalele acropolei din vechea Acraephia. Localitatea purta numele de Karditsa în anii ocupației latine și făcea parte din ducatul Atenei. Cercetătorii au crezut multă vreme că biserica ar fi fost ridicată de Antoine le Flamenc, un cavaler francez amintit în textul pisaniei. Ctitorul acesta ar fi ridicat biserica pentru a-și arăta recunoștința față de sfântul militar care l-ar fi scăpat cu viață din bătălia de la Halmyros, în anul 1311, când catalanii au zdrobit armata nobililor franci. Lucrările recente de conservare, finanțate prin programul operațional regional *Thesalia-Grecia continentală-Epir 2007-2013*, au arătat că evoluția arhitecturală a monumentului este totuși destul de diferită: cavalerul franc a renovat o biserică care exista deja. Articolul de față propune o nouă lectură a pisaniei, în comparație cu transcrierile ei făcute anterior de către J. A. Buchon și W. Miller, pentru a arăta că vechile interpretări ale textului erau probabil greșite. Deși starea actuală a cercetării nu poate permite periodizarea exactă a diferitelor evenimente numite sau nenumite de către pisanie, se poate spune că o parte dintre ele au avut loc înainte, iar altele după 1311 (dată a bătăliei și a pisaniei totodată). Cercetarea atentă a fazelor de construcție ale monumentului și a straturilor ulterioare de pictură murală confirmă și ele concluzia de mai sus.

CUVINTE CHEIE: Cruciada a IV-a, Bizanț, picturi murale, inscripții votive, arcosolium.

The church of Saint George is located on the foothills of the acropolis of ancient Acraephia (O.Gr. *Ἀκραιφία*) (Fig. 2), at the southern end of the settlement of Akraifnion (Gr. *Ακραίφνιο* – known as Karditsa / Gr. *Καρδίτσα* before 1933). The edifice belongs to the architectural type of a cross-in-square complex four-columned type of church, with narthex and exonarthex. The inscription which is the scope of the present article is painted above the keystone of an arcosolium from the southern wall of the main nave (Fig. 6).[1]

Several features point to a funerary character in the iconography of the arcosolium. Despite the fact that the monument was decorated with several successive layers of paintings (12th (?), 14th, 16th, and 19th centuries), the inscription was never covered by the later mural strata. Moreover, its layer includes other 14th century representations.[2] Of particular interest are the pair of angels adorning the intrados of the arcosolium (Fig. 3-5), bearing signs of reference to the Revelation,[3] as do the pair of angelic figures blowing trum-

Fig. 1. Akfrainion, church of Saint George. Detail of the dedicatory inscription. *All photos by the author, unless otherwise noted.*



▲ Fig. 2. Akfrainion, church of Saint George. View from the South-West.

pets on the spandrels of the arcosolium arch. These representations fit well with the iconography of the Second Coming and the eschatological theme was probably dictated by the burial character of the ensemble.[4]

It is also worth mentioning some issues of chronology. Underneath the layer of the dedicatory inscription, one may notice traces of an earlier mural painting, probably from the 12th century. Furthermore, close to the arcosolium, the 16th century layer of the south wall is situated at the same level as the 14th century one, thus leading to the question whether the inscription and the frescoes surrounding it indeed belong to the 16th century. The difference in dating between the inscription stratum and the 16th century murals is based only on stylistic grounds. The angels adorning the spandrels of the arcosolium and particularly those of its intrados belong to a type of depiction characterizing the burial chapel of the Church of the Holy Saviour in Chora, Constantinople (ca. 1316-1321).[5] They can also be compared with the 1302-1303 murals from the church of Saint Demetrius in Makrychori (Gr. *Μακρυχώρι*, Euboea)[6] and the late 13th century ones from Panagia in Oxylithos (Gr. *Οξύλιθος*, Euboea).[7] Further proof may be provided by comparisons made with other monumental paintings of Boeotia, chronologically close to the decoration of the Akraifnion arcosolium, and by following the dominant trends in the murals of those times. Such are the paintings preserved in the churches of Saint Nicholas and Saint Paraskevi in Kanavari (Gr. *Καναβάρι*, Boeotia),[8] or in the crypt of Saint Nicholas monastery church in Kambia (Gr. *Καμπιά*, Boeotia),[9] all of them from the end of the 13th century or from the beginning of the next, as well as the cave church of St. Blaise or the monastery of Zoodochos Pigi in Kopais (Gr. *Κωπαΐδα*, Boeotia), of 1333.[10]

However, there are some problems with the chronology of the murals. According to W. Miller, D. Steel, director of the Lake Copais Company, visited the church in 1907 and noticed that "the inscription painted on the plaster of the wall" had "pieces of plaster... cracked and threatening to fall and destroy a portion of it", therefore he proceeded to its restoration.[11] Other interventions were made by the Archaeological Service after the Second World War,[12] and during the recent implementation of the project 'Consolidation and Restoration of the Church of Saint George in Akraifnion, Boeotia' (*Στερέωση και αποκατάσταση ναού Αγίου Γεωργίου στο Ακραίφνιο Βοιωτίας*).[13] At the end of this last intervention, the inscription was cleaned and consolidated.[14] Samples were also taken from the murals of the arcosolium for physicochemical pigment and substrate analysis.[15]

The inscription has been published twice, first by J. A. Buchon in a footnote of his 19th century edition of the *Chronicle of Morea* (Fig. 8); next by W. Miller in 1909 (Fig. 7). W. Miller never provided a translation or an interpretation. J. A. Buchon, on the other hand, tried to interpret it and provided a reading described by him as "rectification", a







Fig. 3-5. Southern wall of the main nave, arcosolium. Angels painted on the intrados.

term that hides an interventionist approach to the restitution of the text:

> *Ἀνηγέρθη ὁ θεῖος καὶ πάνσεπτος ναὸς τοῦ ὑπεραγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου, διὰ συνεργείας καὶ πόθου πολλοῦ τοῦ θεοσεβεστάτου καβαλάρι μισὲρ Ἀντωνι λε Φλάμα (le chevalier messire Antoine le Flamenc). Ὥδε τέλος εἴληφε πολλῶν μαρτύρων, ὧδε τέλος εὗρεν ἱστορία αὕτη παρὰ Γερμανοῦ, ἱερομονάχου καὶ καθηγουμένου, καὶ Νικοδήμου, ἱερομονάχου, τῶν αὐταδέλφων τους ἀνακαινίσαντας τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον. Ἔτει ς ω ι θ* (cf. Fig. 8).[16]

This reading is of course incorrect, therefore proving that the text read by J. A. Buchon must have been incomplete and that he tried to reconstruct it. Similar problems may arise from a comparison with the drawing published by W. Miller (Fig. 7), and the very good preservation state of this inscription today together with the strong colour of its letters equally cause concern (Fig. 1): the physicochemical analysis has shown that the composition of certain colours of this inscription can be traced up to the 20th century.[17] It is therefore possible that the inscription's good condition is probably due to the work referred to by D. Steel and to the interventions in the painting of the church, as testified by another 1925 inscription also painted therein.

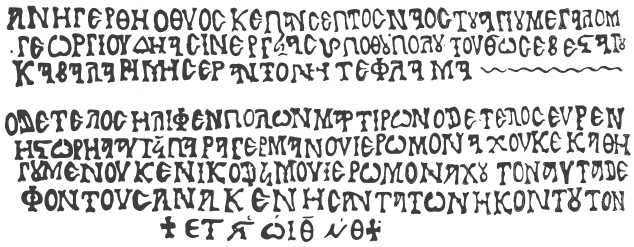
Furthermore, G. Velenis classified our text in the category of late inscriptions, considering it to be at least four centuries later than the date indicated (1311).[18] Yet no evidence of renovation works has been identified in the church that may be dated to the 18th century, and the comparison of our inscription with the ones belonging to the last phase of the mural decoration painting (19th century) invalidates this hypothesis. It would not be impossible to say that matters are still unclear concerning the year of the church's renovation, the year of Anthony le Flamenc's death (in case he was indeed buried there, as stated by previous research), and the year when the inscription was written. These events cannot all coincide with 1311. This year may be considered a *terminus post quem* for certain events, because it was then that lord *τε Φλάμα* was saved from the battle of Halmyros (spring of 1311), and he must have been still alive by 1313.[19] Therefore, it can be assumed that the inscription relates in different ways to each of these events, from the point of view of the two renovator hieromonks mentioned in the second part of the inscription.

As if these baffling details were not enough, the arcosolium was clearly not intended as a burial place for Lord Anthony le Flamenc. Recent restoration work showed that it pre-existed this event, as is clearly visible from an exterior examination of the church (Fig. 2, 29). The analysis of façades showed that the arcosolium belongs to the initial construction phase of the church, therefore making the use of the verb *ἀνεγείρω* ('to raise') extremely puzzling since the church could not have been erected in the time of this Frankish lord. Perhaps that only its upper part, differentiated in construction, corresponds to reparation work carried out after the original construction of the monument, since the interior part of the arcosolium preserves samples of coloured mortar from the original painting layer, under the layer with the inscription, as previously stated.

The current state of the inscription presents eight legible and well-preserved lines, with an upper part that may or may not have been lost. The black, equidistant capital letters underlined in green were painted on a white background, and they were framed by black, white, and red stripes.



Although the beginning of each line starts at a certain distance from the left margin of the frame, and although the letters are sparsely arranged in the first words, the end of each line presents a rather crowded arrangement of letters. Here is the proposed reading, taking into account the drawing published by W. Miller and the 1845 reading of J. A. Buchon (before the time when the inscription was repainted), as it was published in the first version of the present article:[20]



1 ĂΝΗΓΕΡΘΗ . ΟΘΥΟC.ΚΕΠΑΝCΕΠΤÒC.ΝΑΟCΤΟΥΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC
2 ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ.ΔΗĂCΙΝΕΡΓΙΑCῦΠΟΘΟΥΠΟΛΛΟΥ.ΤΟΥΘ$^{\varepsilon}$ΩCΕΒΕC$_{\text{T}}$ΑΤΟΥ
3 ΚΑΒΑΛΑΡΙΜΗCΕΡΑΝΤΟΝΗ.ΤΕ ΦΛΑΜΑ ~~~~~~

4 ΟΔÈ ΤΕΛÓC.ΗΛΙΦÉΝ ΠΟΛΩΝ ΜΑΡΤΙΡΩΝ.ΟΔΕΤÉΛΟCΕΥΡΕΝ
5 ΗC$_{\text{T}}$ΟΡΗΑΑΥΤΕΙΠΑΡΑΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΥ.ΙΕΡΩΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ.Κ,ÈΚΑΘΗ
6 ΓΟΥΜÉΝΟΥ.ΚΕΝΙΚΟΔΕΙΜΟΥΙΕΡΩΜΟΝÁΧΟΥ.ΤÒΝΑΥΤΑΔÈλ
7 ΦΟΝ.ΤΟΥCΑΝΑΚÈΝΗCΑΝΤΑΤΩΝΗΚΟΝΤΟΥΤΟΝ
8 + ΕΤΟΥC CΤ̓ΩΠΘ Ἰ̓ΝΔΙΚΤΙΩΝΟC Θ +

To begin, a simple observation is that the conjunction KAI ('and') is written as KE on lines 1, 5, and 6, while in line 2 it was abbreviated as ϋ (Fig. 10), a rare element but attested nonetheless.[21] Another observation should deal with the particular way in which the letters Δ and N were rendered. All characters have finials at the tops and bottoms, with small buds adorning the letters M, T, H, Φ, and small parallel lines of equal length marking the connecting strokes of the letters N and M. Gaps rarely occur between words, while points are sometimes inserted in various parts of the text. In addition, words are often spelled out and some inconsistencies may be identified in their spelling. The letters are self-contained, with limited abbreviations for the diphtongue 'OY'[22] and stigma.[23] Other abbreviated words are ΜΕΓΑ]-ΛΟΜ(ΑΡΤΥΡΟC) (line 1) and the tachygraphy for IN-(ΔΙΚΤΙϽΝ)[24] (line 8), (the indiction being the 9th one).[25] Even though the 13th and 14th centuries saw a strong tendency in losing the autonomy of letters, creating ligatures,[26] such refinements are generally absent from our inscription, with the exception of a few instances where the letters are interwoven, for example A and N in the word ANTONH (line 3).

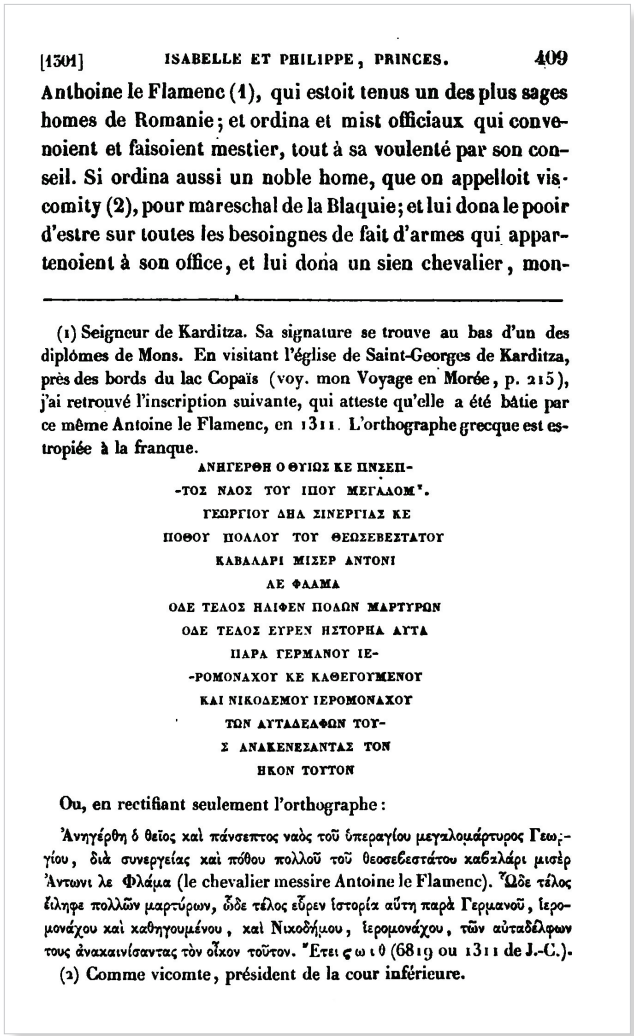
Since we are dealing with palaeographical matters, it must be noted that there are other writings distributed in the vicinity of our inscription. A series of isolated symbols preserved on the surface of the arcosolium were probably painted by the same calligrapher who wrote the dedicatory inscription. For the time being, it is ill-advised to talk about other epigraphic evidence preserved in the interior of the narthex, although these inscriptions also belong to the late-Byzantine period.[27] Cases of inscriptions similar to ours are often found in the 13th century,[28] and even later.[29] From a palaeographical standpoint, the Akraifnion inscription may be compared to other examples dating back to the early 14th century, all of them from the Peloponnese, such as a 1347-1348 inscription from the cave church of Saint Marina in Langada (Gr. *Λαγκάδα*, Messenian Mani, Messenia),[30] a series of inscriptions from the church of Saint Nicholas in Platsa (Gr. *Πλάτσα*, Messenian Mani, Messenia), dated to 1337-1338, 1343-1344, and 1348-1349,[31] but most of all the 1325-1326 inscription preserved in the church of Saints Anargyri in Agionori (Gr. *Αγιονόρι*, Argolid) (Fig. 11).[32]

Once these palaeographical particularities are dealt with, there are other essential pieces of information that the Akraifnion inscription provides. Until recently, research held that the church dates from 1311, the date transcribed in

Fig. 6. Akfrainion, church of Saint George. Southern wall of the main nave, arcosolium. General view.

Fig. 7. Facsimile of the inscription published by W. Miller. Source: Miller 1909, p. 199.

Fig. 8. Page from the J. A. Buchon edition of the *Chronicle of Morea* containing his reading and 'rectification' of the Akraifnion inscription. Source Buchon 1845, p. 409.



[1301] ISABELLE ET PHILIPPE, PRINCES. 409

Anthoine le Flamenc (1), qui estoit tenus un des plus sages homes de Romanie; et ordina et mist officiaux qui convenoient et faisoient mestier, tout à sa voulenté par son conseil. Si ordina aussi un noble home, que on appelloit viscomity (2), pour mareschal de la Blaquie; et lui dona le pooir d'estre sur toutes les besoingnes de fait d'armes qui appartenoient à son office, et lui dona un sien chevalier, mon-

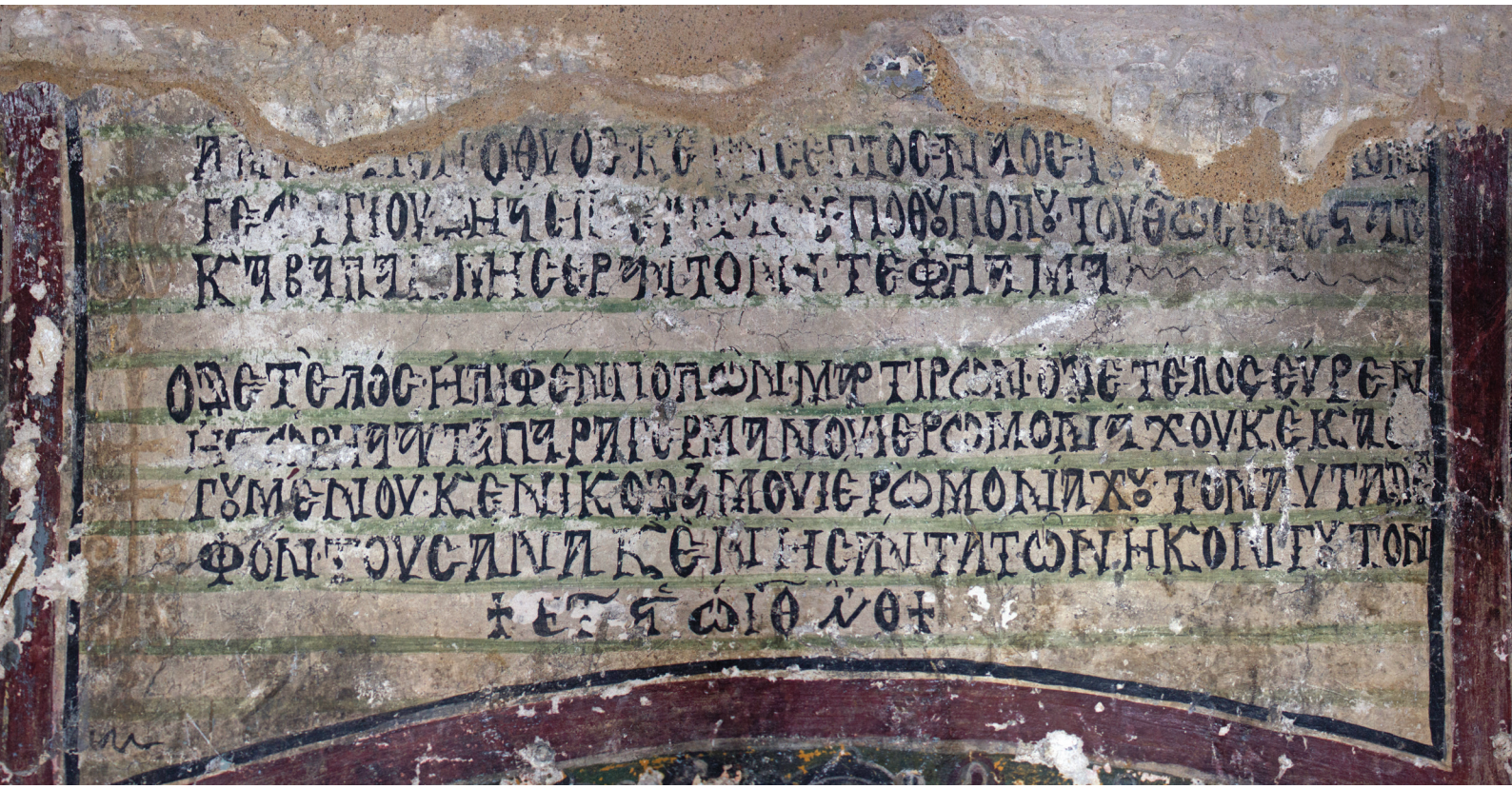
(1) Seigneur de Karditza. Sa signature se trouve au bas d'un des diplômes de Mons. En visitant l'église de Saint-Georges de Karditza, près des bords du lac Copaïs (voy. mon Voyage en Morée, p. 215), j'ai retrouvé l'inscription suivante, qui atteste qu'elle a été bâtie par ce même Antoine le Flamenc, en 1311. L'orthographe grecque est estropiée à la franque.

ΑΝΗΓΕΡΘΗ Ο ΘΥΙΩΣ ΚΕ ΠΝΣΕΠ-
-ΤΟΣ ΝΑΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΙΠΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΜ'.
ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΔΗΑ ΣΙΝΕΡΓΙΑΣ ΚΕ
ΠΟΘΟΥ ΠΟΛΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΩΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ
ΚΑΒΑΛΑΡΙ ΜΙΣΕΡ ΑΝΤΟΝΙ
ΑΕ ΦΑΛΜΑ
ΟΔΕ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΗΛΙΦΕΝ ΠΟΛΩΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ
ΟΔΕ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΕΥΡΕΝ ΗΣΤΟΡΗΑ ΑΥΤΑ
ΠΑΡΑ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΥ ΙΕ-
-ΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΚΕ ΚΑΘΕΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΝΙΚΟΔΕΜΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ
ΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΤΟΥ-
Σ ΑΝΑΚΕΝΕΣΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΝ
ΗΚΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ

Ou, en rectifiant seulement l'orthographe :

Ἀνηγέρθη ὁ θεῖος καὶ πάνσεπτος ναὸς τοῦ ὑπεραγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου, διὰ συνεργείας καὶ πόθου πολλοῦ τοῦ θεοσεβεστάτου καβαλάρι μισὲρ Ἀντωνι λε Φλάμα (le chevalier messire Antoine le Flamenc). Ὧδε τέλος ἔλαβε πολλῶν μαρτύρων, ὧδε τέλος εὗρεν ἱστορία αὕτη παρὰ Γερμανοῦ, ἱερομονάχου καὶ καθηγουμένου, καὶ Νικοδήμου, ἱερομονάχου, τῶν αὐταδέλφων τοὺς ἀναχαινίσαντας τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον. Ἔτει ϛωιθ (6819 ou 1311 de J.-C.).

(2) Comme vicomte, président de la cour inférieure.





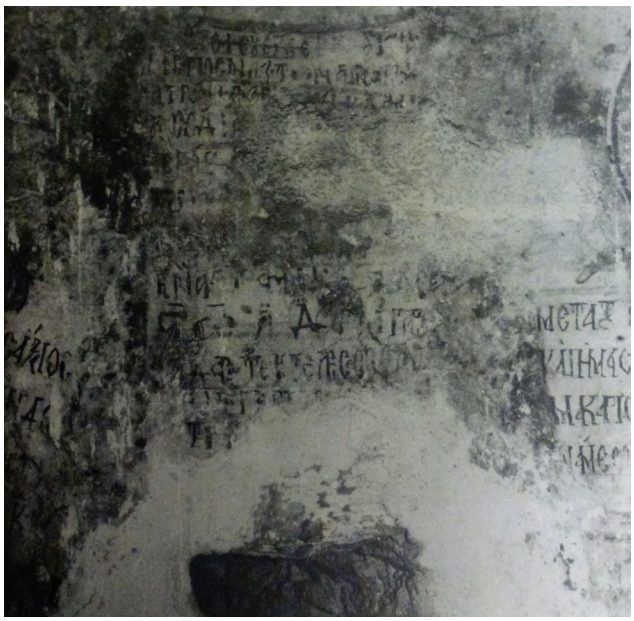


Fig. 9. Akfrainion, church of Saint George. Southern wall of the main nave, dedicatory inscription. General view.

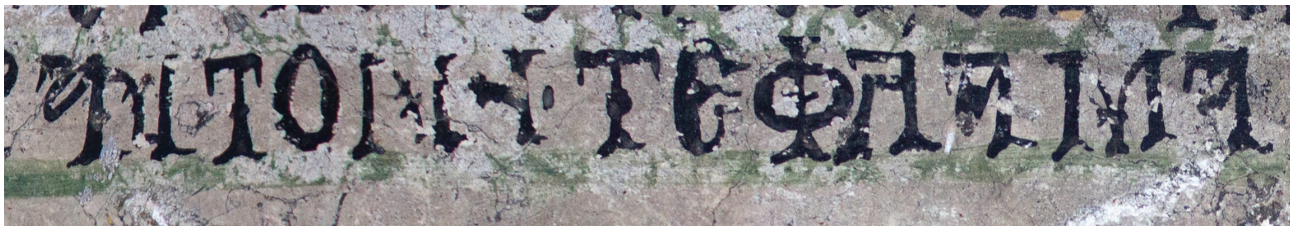
Fig. 10. Detail of the previous photo: ϑ for ΚΑΙ.

Fig. 11. Aghionori, church of Saints Anargyri, sanctuary apse. Inscription dated to 1325-1326. Source: Δρανδάκης, Κατσαρός 1988, pl. 31.

the inscription.[33] The recent restoration works made it nevertheless clear that the edifice pre-existed this date. Indeed, an earlier building phase was identified.[34] Therefore, the verb ΑΝ[ΗΓΕΡ]ΘΗ – if this reading by J. A. Buchon and W. Miller is correct – must refer to a renovation undertaken in the early 14th century. This scenario is confirmed by the mention of the renovators in the seventh line of the text. In any case, we are dealing with a formal expression, common to most inscriptions, whether they concern the erection or the renovation of churches.[35]

Further in the reading of the inscription, one will encounter many typical expressions, such as the phrase Ο ΘΥΟC ΚΕ ΠΑΝCΕΙΠΤΟC ΝΑΟC,[36] common to dedicatory inscriptions, and often accompanied by a reference to the patron saint, in this case Saint George, a saint held in high esteem by all political agents of the region in those times: Byzantines, Franks, and Catalans.[37] As a parenthesis, even though political colouring may be considered irrelevant in this context, as St. George was a universal saint, equally venerated by Catholics and Orthodox, it was usually implied that the donor allegedly made a donation to honor Saint George, the military saint to whom he would have credited his survival in the 1311 deadly battle against the Catalans.[38]

Next, although the wording ΔΗΑ CΙΝΕΡΓΙΑC (ΚΑΙ) ΠΟΘ(ΟΥ) ΠΟΛ(ΟΥ) is also common in dedicatory inscriptions,[39] this specific case is of particular interest, as the inscription clearly states that it concerns the work carried out with the assistance of a Frankish nobleman: ΑΝΤΟΝΗ



TE ΦΛΑΜΑ (hereafter Anthony le Flamenc) (Fig. 12). Anthony was a baron of Karditsa (Akraifnion) in Boeotia, appointed by the Duke of Athens, Guy II de la Roche, and as such his representative in the administration of the Duchy. The Greek version of the *Chronicle of Morea* does not mention him, but the French text provides a few pieces of information:

> *Et puis que le duc revint au Giton, si ot son conseil avec les barons de la Blaquie et avec le seignor de la Sole, monseignor Boniface de Veronne et monseignor Anthoine le Flamenc, qui estoit tenus .j. des plus sages hommes de Romanie; et ordina et mist officiaux qui covenoient et faisoient mestier tout a sa voulenté par son conseil. Si ordina aussi .j. noble home que on appelloit Vucomity pour mareschal de la Blaquie; et lui dona le pooir d'estre sur toutes les besoingnes de fait d'armes qui appartenoient a son office, et lui dona .j. sien chevalier, monseignor Jehan le Flamenc, pour estre compaignon ensemble de ordiner et adrechier toutes besoingnes dou pays. Et puis si ordina pour bail et son lieutenant sus tout le pays, pour maintenir justice de toute maniere de gent, montseignor Anthonyo le Flamenc, qui estoit tenus le plus sage dou duchame. Et quant li duc ot ordiné toutes ces besoingnes qui estoient neccessaires au païs de la Blaquie, si revint a Estives, ou il demouroit plus sovent que en autre lieu de tout son duchaume.*[40]
>
> When the duke returned to Lamia, he held a council with the barons from Thessaly, the ruler of Amphissa, Lord Boniface of Veronne, and Lord Anthony le Flamenc, who was considered one of the wisest men in Romania. He appointed suitable officials, who were all to his liking, with the council's approval. He also appointed a nobleman named Vucomity as marshal of Thessaly and gave him authority over all matters concerning feats of arms that pertained to his office. He also gave him one of his own knights, Lord John le Flamenc, to be his aide in overseeing all the country's needs. He appointed Lord Anthony le Flamenc, considered one of the wisest men of the duchy, as regent and his lieutenant over the whole country. When the duke had settled all the affairs necessary for the country of Thessaly, he returned to Thebes, where he dwelled more often than in any other place in his duchy.[41]

▲ Fig. 12. Akfrainion, church of Saint George. Detail of the dedicatory inscription: ANTONH TE ΦΛΑΜΑ.

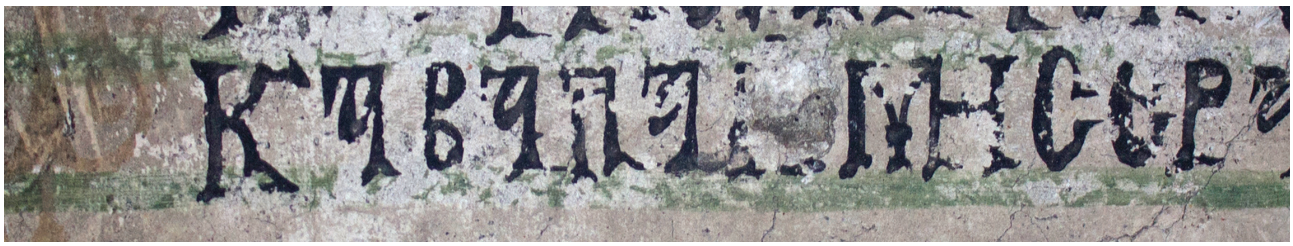
▼ Fig. 13. Another detail: TOY ΘEϬCEBE(CT)AT(OY).

▼ Fig. 14. Another detail: KABAΛAP[I] MHCEP.

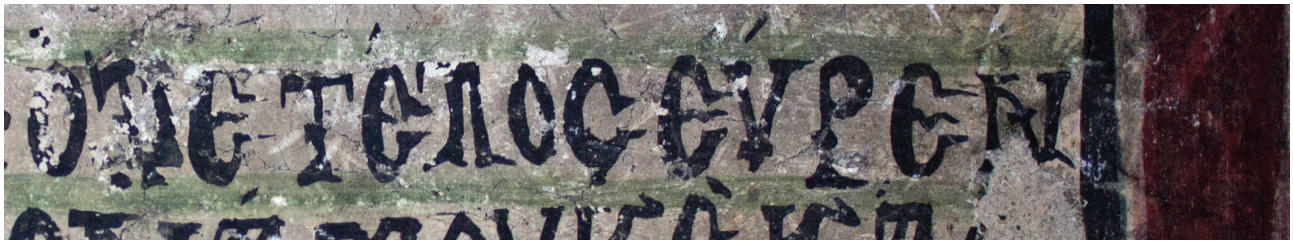
It was previously implied that, having married Isabella Palavitsi, he became owner of the castle of Vodonitsa, which he lost after the death of his wife. Others suggested that he may have had possessions at Koroneia and Patricio.[42] He was one of the few survivors of the Battle of Halmyros, fought between the Frankish lords of the region and the Catalan Company (March 15, 1311). Walter V de Brienne, the last Frankish duke of Athens (1308-1311), fell in that battle among many other knights. The Catalan brothers Galceran and Francesch de Puigpardines succeeded Anthony in the lordship of *Cardanica*, that is, Karditsa.[43] There is, however, more to say about Anthony than plain political or military history, especially in the context of our church's dedicatory inscription.

The complete phrase mentioning the Frankish lord is TOY ΘEϬCEBE(CT)AT(OY) / KABAΛAP[I] MHCEP ANTONH TE ΦΛΑΜΑ (Fig. 13, 14). Except for rare instances, the names of the laity are usually not accompanied by adjectives or titles of this kind.[44] Moreover, the inscription introduces the name of Anthony at the end of a threefold series of determinants: *θεοσεβέστατος*, *καβαλάρης*, and *μησέρ*. These words depict the triple status of the ktetor in the eyes of the Akraifnion community: Anthony was devoted to God,[45] as he made a donation for the renovation of the church, but he was also a knight, and a person of high social standing, as implied by the use of the word MHCEP (cf. Old French *messire*) (Fig. 14), an honorary title preceding the names of Frankish noblemen.[46] This threefold arrangement seems to be carefully planned and it is highly unusual in the context of a Greek inscription mentioning the ktetors.[47]









▲ Fig. 15-16. Other details: ΟΔΕ ΤΕΛΟC ΗΛΙΦΕΝ / ΟΔΕ ΤΕΛΟC ΕΥΡΕΝ.

▼ Fig. 17. Detail: ΠΟΛϾΩΝ ΜΑΡΤΙΡϾΩΝ.

From a socio-political point of view, the name and titles of the Frankish lord as a whole are somewhat of a puzzle. It is difficult to determine whether this threefold sequence belonged to the official terminology employed by the Franks or not. It certainly looks like a title of nobility, but it could equally be an ad hoc creation of the inscription's transcriber. In the Greek version of the *Chronicle of Morea*, the word *μισίρε* and its variants *μισέρ* or *μισέρε* are used in relation to the Frankish lords; they are equivalent but opposite to the title given to the Greek archontes: *κύρ*. On the other hand, *καβαλάρης* ('kavalaris') is not attested in the text of the *Chronicle*, but there are mentions of a place named *Καβαλλαρίτσης* ('Kavallaritsis') in the vicinity of Chlemoutsi castle (Aelis, in the Peloponnese), the residence of the Villehardouin Frankish lords.[48] This suggests that the word was frequent in the vernacular language, but it does not seem to have been used in an official sequence, next to *μισίρε*. *Καβαλάρης* appears nevertheless in the *Poulologos* poem (late 14th century) with the meaning of 'knight'.[49] And there are many other occurrences in the *Tale of Alexander*, *History of Velissarion*, *Imperios and Margarona*, etc. Since these late medieval and early modern Demotic texts bear the influence of many Western features, some of them being translations of Western texts from Italian sources, the presence of *καβαλάρης* and its derivatives account for a wide use of the term in connection with the Franks. The word also appears in *Digenis Akritas*, meaning that by the 15th century (the time when the version of the Escorial manuscript was transcribed) it was well adopted into the Greek language.[50] It is therefore highly possible that the threefold official title sequence was created ad hoc for the Akraifnion inscription, but this also implies that the Frankish lord was held in high esteem by the local community.

It has been commonly assumed that the Franks restricted the access of the indigenous population to the administrative apparatus in the areas that they occupied, and that they placed the local church under their control.[51] A Catholic archbishopric was indeed installed in Thebes during the Latin rule.[52] However, despite the installation of Latin hierarchs at the head of this particular metropolitan see, research also points out that the initiative of building and decorating the churches in the areas dominated by the Franks must have belonged to the lower and indigenous clergy of the area, especially to local priests.[53] Taking into account the particular situation alluded to in the Akraifnion inscription, it is safe to say that our Anthony *τὲ Φλάμα* must have developed a special relationship with this local monastery and that he may have allowed a certain freedom of movement and expression for his subjects. To further support this claim, it is worth noting that the expenses seem to have been covered by the Frankish knight himself, while the coordination work and the mural paintings were left in the charge of monks Germanus and Nicodemus. The situation is not common, and comparisons come from other Latin-held areas, where there are cases in which Frankish rulers made donations to Orthodox churches.[54] The arrival of the Catalans probably saw the rights of the local people diminished, but as far as ecclesiastical matters are concerned, one thing is clear: although the bishops were Latin, the presence of the Orthodox clergy was tolerated, and this was the general rule for all Frankish lordships.[55]

Since the Frankish lord survived the battle of Halmyros in 1311,[56] researchers thought that his involvement in the decoration of the Akraifnion church of Saint George had a twofold reason: his survival (during the battle) as well as his salvation (all ktetorial works or donations to churches have as main purpose the ktetor's salvation).[57] Nevertheless, the exact date of Anthony's death is not known. This is probably one of the reasons for which J. A. Buchon tried to modify the word of the fourth line (beginning of the second part of the inscription), reading it as *ὧδε*.







▲ Fig. 18. Detail: Η(CT)ϢΡΗΑ ΑΥΤΕΙ.

▲ Fig. 19. Detail: ΑΝΑΚΕΝΗCΑΝΤΑ.

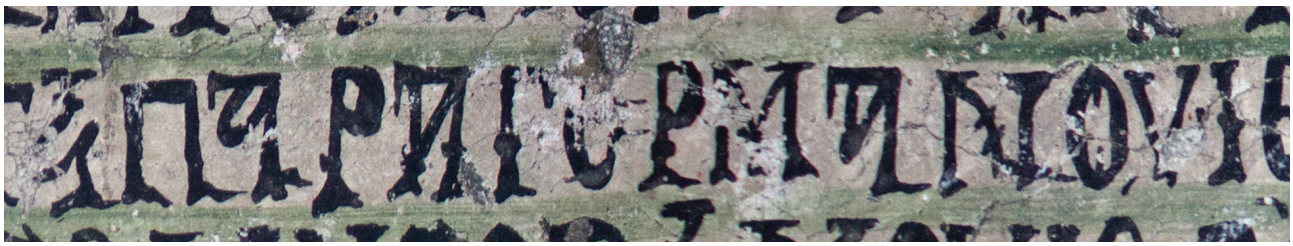
▼ Fig. 20. Detail: ΠΑΡΑ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΥ.

Upon further reading, the dedicatory inscription also states that ΟΔΕ ΤΕΛΟC ΗΛΙΦΕΝ... ΟΔΕ ΤΕΛΟC ΕΥΡΕΝ (Fig. 15-16). If this line is isolated from the following ones and if we remain faithful to the interpretation of J. A. Buchon, who saw the inscription before it was probably repainted, the difficulty in interpreting it coming from the vagueness of ΟΔΕ. J. A. Buchon believed it to be an adverb – possibly referring to Akraifnion as site of Anthony's death around the year 1311, chronology noted at the end of the inscription – but it could also be read as Ο ΔΕ – referring to the 'end', meaning the death of the Frankish ruler himself. This interpretation, published in the initial Greek version of this study,[58] was also dictated by an exact interpretation of ΠΟΛϢΝ ΜΑΡΤΙΡϢΝ (Fig. 17). If interpreted faithfully, this sequence may refer to the death of the ruler occurring in front of many witnesses, as reference to the neotestamentary expression *διὰ πολλῶν μαρτύρων* from 2 Ti 2:2 ('in the presence of many witnesses'). The use of the verb *λαμβάνω* followed by a genitive case also begs for a translation of this type ('the end grasps / holds many witnesses'). However, this interpretation does not provide any information concerning the circumstances of the Frankish lord's death. We are left with what we already knew: the Catalans' supremacy in the region led to the transfer of the feud from the Frankish lord to new Catalan masters.

If we pursue the same line of interpretation and consider that the beginning of line 5 (Η(CT)ϢΡΗΑ ΑΥΤΕΙ) (Fig. 18) is not related to the narration of the events, then the hieromonks and brothers[59] Germanus and Nicodemus are to be identified with the painters who 'narrated', that is, decorated the church with frescoes.[60] There are, however, some doubts as to whether this interpretation is to be preferred or not, because the verb is used in the third person singular. If this is not a mere inconsistency, the text may refer to one of the two monks as painter or overseeing the work.[61] Add to this the further presence of the article ΤΟΥC, in the plural, while the participle ΑΝΑΚΕΝΗCΑΝΤΑ (Fig. 19) comes in the singular. All these inconsistencies point to the calligrapher's being unaccustomed to the literary language in the second section of the inscription, further supported by the spelling ΝΙΚΟΔΕΙΜΟΥ instead of ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΥ.

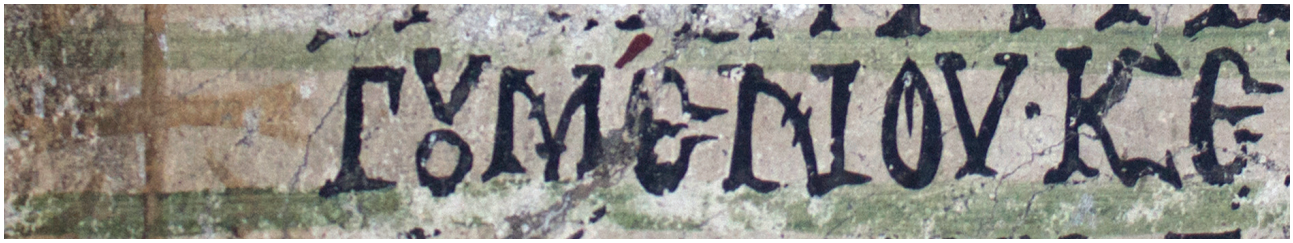
The difference in style between the two sections is striking. The first one (acephalous, 3 lines) employs standardized wording, while the second one presents a more narrative style. If we maintain the initial interpretation, one guess would be that the first section was drafted while the ruler was still living, at a time when the mural decoration was still being accomplished. That the initial inscription would be transcribed at this point is supported by the presence of a decorative wavy line covering the space left blank at the end of line 3. The remainder of the inscription may have been completed later, after the death of the lord, or when the renovation was complete,[62] maybe because the different social statuses of the renovators would have made their mention less desirable, had the Frankish lord still lived.[63] In this case, the distance between the two sections of the inscription may account for the time gap between two phases in the renovation of the church. This assumption was based on several epigraphic cases in which portions of the space allotted to dedicatory inscriptions were left empty, only to be later filled in with relevant information.[64]

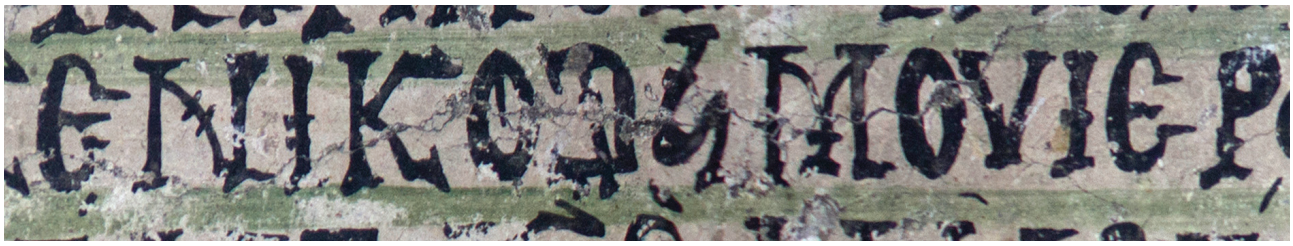
Nevertheless, the two parts of the inscription do not display evident palaeographical differences. It is therefore possible that the renovators' different social status would not matter much, as long as their contribution to the ktetorial act was genuine. Even though brothers Germanus and Nicodemus were both monks, the first stands out as hegumen of the monastery. One might imagine that Germanus (as leader of the monastic community) and Nicodemus (as member of the same community) were included in the dedi-

















catory inscription because they may have actually contributed one way or another to the church's renovation. It is of little or no significance if this event was simultaneous with or consecutive to Anthony le Flamenc's donation, as this scenario does not necessarily exclude the freedom of movement and expression granted by Anthony to his subjects. The absence of Western influences in the murals adorning the tomb would thus suggest that the Latin lord had a certain degree of familiarity with Byzantine art. The Hellenizing rendering of his name would further confirm that he may have developed close relationships with the locals at a social level as well. Undoubtedly this may also be due to other reasons, still unclear. Add to this that in the rare cases of Balkan dedicatory inscriptions recording multiple events, the only year clearly mentioned is that of the church's completion or painting, whereas other events are referred through other formulas.[65] This would make the Akraifnion inscription an odd case, subject to debate.

A second interpretation would thus consider that stylistic differences are not necessarily evidence that the different sections of the inscription were conceived or written at different moments. Such differences may occur within a text written all at once by a single scribe. The scribe could have used more standardized wording or consecrated formulas for communicating a common and standard event, but may have found himself uneasy when communicating an unusual event, such as the one mentioned in the second part of our inscription, hence the different narrative style. Some words also raise difficult problems for the interpretation of the inscription, two of them in particular: *πολλῶν μαρτύρων* (the mention of witnesses does not belong to that part of the inscription) and *ἀνηγέρθη* (a contradiction, because the church was certainly not built with the assistance of the Frankish lord). It is then advisable to imagine alternate possibilities and to remember that the repainting of the dedicatory inscription at the beginning of the 20th century certainly changed the original aspect and form of the text.

Let us point out that only the first and last two letters from the word ΑΝΗΓΕΡΘΗ are visible at the beginning of the first line. It is impossible to tell what the initial word could have been, but the reading ἀνηγέρθη clearly comes from J. A. Buchon. The word appears as such in the drawing of the inscription published by W. Miller, but he does not provide a photo to accompany it. The only piece of information is that when D. Steel visited the church and read the text, "pieces of plaster were cracked and threatening to fall and destroy a portion of [the inscription]", therefore D. Steel proceeded to an intervention.[66] The drawing made by W. Miller was made after this intervention and by the look of the contemporary state of the inscription, its upper part was the one threatening to fall. Nevertheless, this means that the inscription drawn by W. Miller was incomplete, and he used the reading of J. A. Buchon in order to complete the missing parts of the first line, correcting what he believed to be wrong readings (ΑΓΙΟΥ instead of ΙΠΟΥ, for instance), as he felt the need to publish it at the end of his own research. It is safe to assume that W. Miller probably accepted J. A. Buchon's reading *ἀνηγέρθη*, as the use of this verb reminded him of the beginning of many other dedicatory inscriptions. He was more interested in the year and he spoke about the battle of Halmyros. Last but not least, since the arcosolium was a burial place, he also imagined that the Frankish lord could have been buried there.

Nevertheless, when closely inspecting the preserved lower part of the lost letters in the first line of the inscription, there is no trace of an E from ΑΝΗΓΕΡΘΗ (Fig. 28). Instead, the fourth and third letters from the end have vertical lines, therefore pointing to another possible reading. Since another common way to start an inscription is with ΑΝΙΣΤΟΡΙΘΗ ('it was painted'), and since the third and fourth letter from the end of these words have vertical lines, I believe that this other reading is to be preferred, especially since it would correspond to the evolutionary phases of the Akraifnion church. Lord Anthony was therefore patron of the (re)painting, and not first ktetor of the church. Moreover, if we take into account that several words of the inscription have missing letters or letters added in superscript (Θ^{ε}ΩCΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ or ΑΥΤΑΔΕ^{λ}ΦΟΝ), it would be easier to read *πολλῶν μαρτυρίων* instead of *πολλῶν μαρτύρων* and to interpret the whole sequence as referring to the 'end of many toils'.

◀ Fig. 21-27. Detail: ΙΕΡΩΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΚΕ ΚΑΘΗ/ΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΕ ΝΙΚΟΔΕΙΜΟΥ ΙΕΡΩΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΑΔΕΛ/ΦΟΝ.

▼ Fig. 28. Detail: The AN...ΘH part of the inscription.



The new reading of the inscription would be:

1 ĂNIC$_{T}$ΟΡΙΘΗ • ΟΘΥΟC • ΚΕ ΠΑΝCΕΠΤÒC • ΝΑΟC Τ[ΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC]
2 ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ • ΔΗÄ CΙΝΕΡΓΙΑC Ʊ ΠΟΘΟΥ ΠΟΛΟΥ • ΤΟΥ Θ<Ε>ΩCΕΒΕC$_{T}$ΑΤΟΥ
3 ΚΑΒΑΛΑΡΙ ΜΗCΕΡ ΑΝΤΟΝΗ • ΤΕ ΦΛΑΜΑ ~~~~~~

4 ΟΔÈ ΤΕΛÓC•ΗΛΙΦÉΝ ΠΟΛΩΝ ΜΑΡΤΙΡ<Í>ΩΝ•ΟΔΕ ΤÉΛΟC ΕÝΡΕΝ
5 ἘΗC$_{T}$ΟΡΗΑ ΑΥΤΕΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΥ • ΙΕΡΩΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ • ΚÈ ΚΑ[ΘΗ]
6 ΓΟΥΜÉΝΟΥ • ΚΕ ΝΙΚΟΔΕΙΜΟΥ ΙΕΡΩΜΟΝÁΧΟΥ • ΤÒΝ ΑΥΤΑΔÈ^{λ}
7 ΦΟΝ • ΤΟΥC ΑΝΑΚÈΝΗCΑΝΤΑ<C> ΤΩΝ ΗΚΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ
8 + ΕΤΟΥC ,Č$_{T}$ΌΠΘ (Ἰ^ΝΔΙΚΤΙΩΝΟC) Θ +

1 *Ἀνιστορήθη ὁ θεῖος καὶ πάνσεπτος ναός τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος*
2 *Γεωργίου διὰ συνεργίας καὶ πόθου πολλοῦ τοῦ θεοσεβεστάτου*
3 *καβαλάρη μισὲρ Αντώνη τε Φλάμα ~~~~~~*

4 *ὅδε / ὧδε τέλος εἴληφεν πολλῶν μαρτυρίων. ὅδε / ὧδε τέλος εὗρεν*
5 *ἱστορία αὕτη παρὰ Γερμανοῦ ἱερομονάχου καὶ καθη-*
6 *γουμένου καὶ Νικοδήμου ἱερομονάχου τῶν αὐταδέλ-*
7 *φων τοὺς ἀνακαινίσαντας τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον*
8 *ἔτους ,Č$_{T}$ΌΠΘ ἰνδικτιῶνος Θ΄*

Fig. 29. Akfrainion, church of Saint George. View from the South-East.



This godly and sacred church of the holy great martyr George was (re)painted with the assistance and great desire of the most God respecting knight sir Antoni te Flama. Such was the end of many toils. So it came to an end this painting work by Germanus priest-monk and monastery head and Nicodemus priest-monk, these two being brothers, who renovated this church + year 6819 indiction 9th +

Despite its convincing arguments, this other reading is interventionist in its turn. It is based on the attributing of a series of errors to W. Miller and J. A. Buchon, errors that cannot be conclusively proven in the absence of a photo of the inscription from a time before the intervention of D. Steel.

In conclusion, the church of Saint George in Akraifnion was a monastery catholicon that appears to have been renovated by two hieromonks with the help of the Frankish lord Anthony le Flamenc. The initial phase of this renovation dates back to the 14th century, but the arcosolium itself certainly preceded this dating. The data provided by the recent restoration works unfortunately do not provide more clues as to the identity of the persons buried there,[67] but the study of the inscription shows that it probably condenses a series of events that did not occur simultaneously, therefore 1311 should not be necessarily linked to the battle of Halmyros. The renovation could have taken place before this event, or even before and after the confrontation, therefore accounting for the two parts of the inscription reflecting two different situations in the monks' relation with the Frankish lord. The likelihood that the second part of the inscription was completed after the battle, at a time when Lord Anthony le Flamenc had already lost his dominion over Karditsa, is higher, but this cannot erase the doubts concerning the presumed errors made by W. Miller and J. A. Buchon. The ideas above should be considered a working theory presented after the completion of the restoration work, but subject to change in future research. A closer look at the other features preserved by the monument itself will certainly complete the present research.

Notes:

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1 The first transcription of the text was published by Buchon 1843, p. 217. Cf. Buchon 1845, p. 217. It was followed by a more accurate one by Miller 1909, p. 199. Cf. Miller 1926, p. 379. The version transcribed here presents the text as preserved nowadays, with few variations in comparison to that published by W. Miller. The spaces between words are marked only when they appear in the inscription. Abbreviations are developed in parentheses and unpreserved fragments of text are enclosed in square brackets. In the analysis of the text that follows, the quotations of the inscription are used in the form in which they are transcribed here, but with spaces between words. The present reading does not aim at a philological restoration of the inscription's text.

2 Καλοπίση-Βέρτη 1999, p. 77; and Καλοπίση-Βέρτη 2007, p. 73.

3 These figures have been noticed in the past. Cf. Χ. Κοιλάκου, ΑΔ, 42 (1987), Β'-*Χρονικά*, p. 116.

4 See the Deisis depiction of the arcosolium in the north aisle of the Saint Sophia church at Nicaea (nowadays Iznik, Turkey), 13th century (Restle 1976, p. 530).

5 Underwood 1966, vol. 1, pl. 368, 370-372.

6 Εμμανουήλ 1991, pl. 9, 29.

7 Εμμανουήλ 1991, pl. 38.

8 Χ. Κοιλάκου, ΑΔ, 52 (1997), Β'-*Χρονικά*, p. 114; Χ. Κοιλάκου 2000, p. 1021-1024.

9 Παναγιωτίδη 1981, p. 597-622; Ιερώνυμος 2005, p. 288-295.

10 Χ. Κοιλάκου, ΑΔ 51 (1996), Β'-*Χρονικά*, p. 73; Γρυπάρη, Κοιλάκου 1999, p. 32; Λιάπης 2000, p. 1-13. Ιερώνυμος 2005, p. 430-443; Gerstel 2006, line 33.

11 Miller 1909, p. 200, for the English quotations. Cf. Μίλλερ 1926, p. 379.

12 Π. Λαζαρίδης, ΑΔ, 19 (1964), Β'-*Χρονικά*, p. 208-210. Π. Λαζαρίδης, ΑΔ, 21 (1966), Β'-*Χρονικά*, p. 211-213. Π. Λαζαρίδης, ΑΔ 22 (1967), Β'-*Χρονικά*, p. 259. Χ. Κοιλάκου, ΑΔ 42 (1987), Β'-*Χρονικά*, p. 116 (about the works concerning the cleaning of the inscriptions).

13 Funding: ΟΡ 'Central Greece-Epirus' (*Στερεάς Ελλάδας-Ηπείρου*), 2007-2013. Duration: 2010-2014.

14 These works are due to S. Karnezos, conservator of antiquities and works of art.

15 A sample was also taken from the inscription. See Οικονόμου, Καρύδης 2014, fig. 47, 48-49, pl. 1-2.

16 Buchon 1845, p. 409, note 1.

17 Prior to sampling, because of the invasive nature of the works performed during the extraction of the samples, it was considered likely that they were contaminated with newer materials and deposits. See Οικονόμου, Καρύδης 2014, p. 51, 55.

18 Βελένης 2004, p. 710.

19 *PLP*, vol. 12, p. 128, no. 29952.

20 Κωσταρέλλη *s.a.*

21 It probably comes from a corruption of the abbreviation of ΚΑΙ which basically takes the form of a final (ς) (or the Latin s), but in practice results in quite different forms, close to the one that may be observed in our inscription. See Церетели 1896 [1904], VII, lines 49, 56, 58, 75, 83-85, where variations of this abbreviation resembling the one discussed here are quoted from Byzantine manuscripts. For the same abbreviation used in manuscripts, see a 12th century manuscript in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 59. 02, f. 29r, lines 3, 10, 11 etc. For the use of the same abbreviation in inscriptions, see the one painted on the southern wall of the sanctuary apse in the church of Kaphiona (Gr. *Καφιόνα*, Mesa Mani, Laconia); Drandakis 1984, p. 171.

22 ΟΥ is abbreviated in lines 1, 2 (Χ 2), 6, and 7; not abbreviated in lines 2 (Χ 2), 5 (Χ 2), 6 (Χ 2), and 7.

23 In the word ΘΕϬCEBE(CT)AT(OY) of line 2.

24 Oikonomides 1974, p. 72.

25 Grumel 1958, p. 260. For chronological systems, see Βελένης

2008, p. 661-665 in particular.

26 Μουτσόπουλος 1977, p. 14, 16.

27 The mural paintings of this monument will be the subject of another study.

28 See for example Kalopissi-Verti 1992, lines 12, pl. 22-23; lines 16 of pl. 28; and lines 25 of pl. 43-44.

29 As illustrated by Saint John Potamitis close to Kokkala (Gr. *Κοκκάλα*, Kato Mani, Laconia), ca. 1300 (Κατσαφάδος 2015, p. 134, fig. 81); in Saint Nicholas of Platsa (Gr. *Πλάτσα*, Messenian Mani, Messenia) in the inscription of the south aisle, above the western door, of 1348-1349 (Μουρίκη 1975, p. 15, pl. 58); and in Saint George in Artos (Gr. *Αρτός*, Rethymno, Crete), of 1401 (Spatharakis 1999, pl. 23). However, inscriptions with underlining are known from earlier examples. For other examples, see Bandy 1970, p. 95-95 XVII, Elounta, no. 67 (a 4th-5th century mosaic inscription with underlining).

30 Καλοπίση-Βέρτη 1984, p. 174, fig. 3.

31 Μουρίκη 1975, p. 12-15, 92-93, 15-16, fig. 57, 94-95.

32 Δρανδάκης, Κατσαρός 1988, p. 245, pl. 31.

33 Miller 1909, p. 198; cf. Μίλλερ 1926, p. 377; Miller 1960, p. 285. See also Π. Λαζαρίδης, ΑΔ, 19 (2964), Β'-*Χρονικά*, p. 208; Ε. Γκίνη-Τσοφοπούλου, ΑΔ, 42 (1987), Β'1-*Χρονικά*, p. 116; Καλοπίση-Βέρτη 1999, p. 77; Edbury, Kalopissi-Verti 2007, p. 12-13.

34 The initial phase of the church may be dated having the 12th century as a *terminus ante quem*.

35 The meaning of the erection may be also implied from the use of *ἀνεκαινίσθη*. Εμμανουήλ 1991, p. 31-32.

36 See for instance Διαμαντή 2012, p. 33, note 61 (including bibliography). The inscription by Saint Demetrius in Krokees (Gr. *Κροκεές*, Laconia), 1285-1286, bears many similarities in structure and wording to the one examined here.

37 Καλοπίση-Βέρτη 2007, p. 65, note 65 (with bibliography); and p. 73, note 61.

38 Cf. Miller 1909, p. 199: "in pursuance of a vow made before he went into action".

39 The erection or renovation of a church is noted in different words. See for this Ahrweiler-Glykatzi 1962, p. 4 (with examples). Cf. Διαμαντή 2012, p. 34, note 162 (with examples).

40 Longnon 1911, p. 347-348.

41 Van Arsdall, Moody 2016, paragraphs 879-880.

42 Lock 1986, p. 105, 110.

43 For the historical facts of the period, see Ντούρου-Ηλιοπούλου 2012b, p. 7-19 (with bibliography); as well as Κοντογιάννης 2012, p. 67, note 2 (with bibliography). For Anthony le Flamenc, see Miller 1909, p. 377-379; Λιούκ 1912, p. 8; Μίλλερ 1926, p. 198-200; Μίλλερ 1927, p. 378-379; Koder, Hild 1976, p. 182; Σφηκόπουλος 1981, p. 114; *PLP*, vol. 12, p. 128, no. 29952; Σαββίδης 1998, p. 82, *s.v.* Benjamin Hendrickx; Κοντογιάννης 2012, p. 82, note 66 (with bibliography). Ortega 2012 does not mention him in her study about the aristocracy of Frankish Greece. Also, I. Σφηκόπουλος 1981, p. 20-21, line 2, published a coat of arms found in the castle of Ypati (Gr. Υπάτη, Fthiotida), which he attributes to the knight Anthony le Flamenc. I. Σφηκόπουλος further notes that a similar coat of arms was found in the Saint George church of Akraifnion, but this information is neither confirmed by the bibliography so far, nor did it occur during the last restoration work of the church. M. Hirschbichler 2004, p. 21, fig. 15, ignoring I. Σφηκόπουλος, cautiously identifies a coat of arms from the gate of Akronafplia fortress (Gr. Ακροναυπλία, in Nafplio, Argolid) with the one of the settlement of le Flamenc, basing her interpretation on its resemblance to a document with a seal dating back to 1305. Nevertheless, the aforementioned coats of arms do not really match.

44 An exception would be the 1302-1303 inscription from the Saint Demetrius church in Makrychori (Gr. Μακρυχώρι, Euboea). See Εμμανουήλ 1991, p. 31-33; Καλοπίση-Βέρτη 1999, p. 87-88.

45 References to the ktetors' piety are common in inscriptions. Cf. Kalopissi-Verti 1992, p. 63, no. 14.

46 See the *Academic Dictionaries and Encyclopedias* website, *Dictionary of Greek* (accessed 26-3-2019). With regard to these address formulas in other regions dominated by the Franks, see Κωτσάκης 2006, p. 21-23; Κοντογιανοπούλου 2012, p. 221; Κηπουρός 2016, p. 144.

47 The terms *κυρ*, *κύριος*, or *κύρης* are usually chosen in such cases. Cf. Κοντογιανοπούλου 2012, p. 209-226; Διαμαντή 2012, p. 34; Κωσταρέλλη 2012, p. 62, note 241.

48 Καλονάρος 1990, p. 380, 384 (glossary entries). For *Καβαλλαρίτσης*, see the v. 5326, 5431, 5457, 5460.

49 The text reads *καβαλαρίου γυναίκαν*, 'wife of a knight'; Eideneier 2016, p. 278, v. 243.

50 Cf. *θαυμαστός νεώτερος ήτον ο καβαλάρης* ('its rider was a marvellous young man'); Jeffreys 1998, p. 241, v. 42.

51 Ντούρου-Ηλιοπούλου 2012b, p. 9.

52 Koilakou 2013, p. 189.

53 Μουρίκη 1978, p. 67.

54 Although examples of purely Western art have been identified, there are also instances in which Frankish ktetors preferred Byzantine art, as it happened in Akraifnion. See for this Edbury, Kalopissi-Verti 2007, p. 33. For relevant examples from Crete, see Μαλτέζου 2000, p. 14. For Naxos, Κωσταρέλλη, Κωτσάκης 2018, p. 455-470.

55 Miller 1960, p. 301-302; Mitsou-Talon 1988, p. 483-484. The Catalans seem to have acted favourably towards the local Greeks no earlier than the late 14th century, providing protection or exemption from taxes to the Greeks who wanted to settle in the territories under Catalan rule. The local Orthodox bishopric was reinstated at the time of the Florentine Duchy of Athens and Thebes (1388-1456), when the Greek language was used in official documents, and a school for Greek studies was established. See Ντούρου-Ηλιοπούλου 2012a, p. 125, 129.

56 The location of the battle is now identified with nowadays Almyros (Gr. *Αλμυρός*) in Thessaly. Jacoby 1974, p. 223-230 (with the old bibliography). See also Koder, Hild 1976, p. 171; and Κοντογιάννης 2012, p. 68, note 4.

57 Τσεβάς 1928, p. 89.

58 Κωσταρέλλη s.a., p. 1038.

59 For the interpretation of the word ΑΥΤΑΔΕΛ|ΦΟΝ, see Πιτσάκης 2014, p. 678.

60 In the 1314-1315 inscription from the church of Christ the Saviour in Veria (Gr. *Βέροια*, Central Macedonia), the painter is described as 'historiographer' (*ιστοριογράφος*). Cf. Πελεκανίδης 1994, p. 8.

61 Κωσταρέλλη 2012, p. 241, note 1458.

62 References to two phases mentioned in inscriptions may also be found elsewhere. Cf. Βελένης 1990, p. 358.

63 Cf. Καλοπίση-Βέρτη 1997, p. 137, 143-144, who notices that the dedicatory inscriptions of provincial monuments mention the names of the painters only when there are no substantial social differences between them and the donors.

64 There are many inscriptions where a single author reuses parts of earlier inscriptions and adds his own new parts. For Greece, see *e.g.* the case of the 1278 inscription in the Archangel Michael church at Polemitas (Gr. *Πολεμίτας*, Mesa Mani, Laconia); Kalopissi-Verti 1992, p. 71-74, no. 21, fig. 37. For a Balkan example, see for instance the ca. 1400 lengthy dedicatory inscription of Zrze (North Macedonia); Ивковиħ 1980.

65 See for this Năstăsoiu, Adashinskaya 2017, p. 41, note 42 *et seq.*, who mention the dedicatory inscriptions of Saint George church in Staro Nagoričane (North Macedonia, 1312-1313), recording King Stefan Uroš II Milutin's victory over the Turks; the inscription of Saint Andrew Monastery in Treska (North Macedonia, 1389), mentioning the lands donated by the ktetors, including the latter's chrysobull; or the one in Zrze monastery (already mentioned here), recording the changes of rulership in its territory.

66 Miller 1909, p. 200, for the quotations. Cf. Μίλλερ 1926, p. 379.

67 The remains of more than one person have been found buried in the arcosolium. See Βαξεβάνης 2015, p. 25-26.

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The Pious Saint Paraskevi Church in Răşinari

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RÉSUMÉ: L'édification de l'église de Sainte Parascève à Răşinari et l'achèvement de sa décoration (peintures murales, icônes et autres dotations pour la célébration du service divin) ont représenté un processus long et laborieux (1752-1798). Ce dernier a constamment été soutenu par des prêtres et des croyants, sous la présidence de plusieurs évêques, de Petru Pavel Aron à Dionisie Novacovici, en passant par Sofronie Chirilovici, Ghedeon Nichitici et Gherasim Adamovici. La prospérité économique des habitants de Răşinari a fait que la décoration de l'édifice soit accomplie par de très bons artisans de l'époque – peintres locaux ou originaires des villages voisins, artistes originaires des pays extracarpathiques, aussi bien que d'Europe occidentale. Les recherches entreprises il y a neuf décennies par I. D. Ştefănescu et Ş. Meteş ont été complétées et approfondies par d'autres historiens de l'art roumain ancien, et elles soulignent la précieuse contribution de tous ces maîtres. De son côté, la présente étude contribue à établir la paternité de certaines œuvres qui, par leur caractère original, ennoblissent le lieu de culte de Răşinari ; et propose une chronologie interne des étapes de l'élaboration artistique de ce monument exceptionnel.

MOTS-CLÉS: art post-brancovan, guilde des maçons, influences baroques, programme iconographique, peintres.

REZUMAT: Zidirea bisericii „Sfânta Cuvioasă Paraschiva” din Răşinari, decorarea cu picturi murale şi icoane şi înzestrarea ei cu tot ce era necesar pentru celebrarea slujbelor a însemnat un proces laborios, întins pe aproape jumătate de secol, între 1752 şi 1798. A fost susţinut în permanenţă de preoţi şi credincioşi şi s-a desfăşurat sub patronajul mai multor episcopi, de la Petru Pavel Aron şi Dionisie Novacovici, la Sofronie Chirilovici, Ghedeon Nichitici şi Gherasim Adamovici. Prosperitatea economică a răşinărenilor a făcut posibil să fie angajaţi, în scopul decorării edificiului, vestiţi meşteri ai vremii – zugravi locali ori proveniţi din satele învecinate, a altora invitaţi de dincolo de munţi, din Ţara Românească, şi chiar a unor artişti originari din Apusul european. Cercetările întreprinse în urmă cu nouă decenii de I. D. Ştefănescu şi Şt. Meteş, completate şi aprofundate de strădaniile altor istorici ai artei vechi româneşti, au evidenţiat aportul valoros al acestor maeştri. Studiul de faţă contribuie îndeosebi la stabilirea paternităţii anumitor opere care au înnobilat, prin caracterul lor original, lăcaşul de închinare răşinărean, propunându-şi totodată să stabilească cum se cuvin considerate, în succesiune cronologică, etapele întocmirii artistice a acestui excepţional monument.

CUVINTE CHEIE: artă post-brâncovenească, bresle ale zidarilor, influenţe baroce, program iconografic, pictori.

The church of Pious St. Paraskevi in Răşinari was built in the middle of the 18th century in order to replace an ecclesiastical monument dedicated to the same patron saint.[1] It was erected in the center of the commune, in a place called *La Scaun*, where the charges of the common people once used to be judged. From the testimony of the Greek-Catholic archpriest of Răşinari, Tatomir, recorded in a document drafted on 17 May 1761, it can be understood that that church was "old, actually ancient" (*templum antiquum utpote vetustissimum*), therefore its builders were long forgotten.[2] The venerable age of the construction is also mentioned in two of the inscriptions placed, at two different moments in time, on the façades of the present-day church. It is mentioned there: "The date of the old church, from XC (AD) 420, and the new one from 1755" (*Văleatu besearecii cei vechi de la XC* (Hr.) *420 iară cea noo 1755*) (Fig. 3),[3] respectively "The date of the old church, from XC (AD) 420, and the new one from 1758. Priest Vasilie Şt." (*V[ă]leatul besear[i]cii cei vechi anii D[o]mnuli de l[a] XC (Hr.) 420 iară cea noo 1758. popa Vasilie Şt.*) (Fig. 5).[4] The explanation for this early dating, which cannot have any possible connection with the age of the actual building, is provided by a manuscript document, "The Topography Book of Răşinari Village Border". By "transforming and renewing" previous writings, starting with "the old border book, the one from the good old king Atila 420" (*vechea carte hotarnică, cea de la bunul şi vechiul Craiu Atila 420*) (Fig. 6),[5] the "Răşinari Book of Borders" (*Cartea ocolniţă a hotarului satului Răşinariu*) highlighted the fact that the reference to year 420, mentioned as a chronological landmark when the Hunnic empire was founded,[6] was meant to emphasize what was equally transmitted by tradition. It highlighted the continuity of Romanians with their ancestors' presence in the village from times immemorial.[7] It also reiterated what had been enshrined by acts of acknowledgement emitted throughout history by the political leaders that ruled in the Transylvanian lands: the right of property over the territory of the village, as legiti-





▲ Fig. 1. St. Paraskevi church in Răşinari, SW view. Source: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, Bucharest, 1967, p. 120.

▲ Fig. 2. St. Paraskevi schurch in Răşinari, interior view of the nave. *Courtesy of Astra Museum, Sibiu.*

mately exercised by the inhabitants of Răşinari.

As it happened everywhere else in Transylvania, the old church of Răşinari became a Greek-Catholic place of worship from the very moment this confession came into being. "The successive visits of the Greek-Catholic bishops who served there, from Atanasie Anghel to Patachi, who, as Tatomir remembered, had even celebrated his appointment as an archpriest... to Klein and Petru Pavel Aron, were recorded in the collective memory".[8] The parish museum still preserves the antimins offered to the church in 1730 by the Greek-Catholic bishop of Făgaraş, Ioan Inochentie Micu (Fig. 19).

Although in the first half of the 18th century the number of the Greek-Catholic priests in Răşinari was remarkable,[9] from then on some servants of the altar abandoned Greek-Catholicism,[10] a Union to which, in fact, the worshippers had never adhered. It is therefore not surprising that in such a context some disturbances occurred. For example, on April 18, 1745, the Orthodox villagers of Răşinari, led by their priests, forcibly occupied the church; however, the revolt lasted only a few days, as the authorities responded immediately and brutally to repress it.[11]

Despite the return to a calm and peaceful atmosphere, the villagers of Răşinari were unable to forget the suffering they had endured. The church hierarchy also clearly understood that intimidation was not the key to ensuring the obedience of the nearly three thousand souls who formed the community of Răşinari village in 1750;[12] instead, it was necessary to capture their benevolence by clemency and measures meant to improve their material and spiritual condition. What shortly followed once the conflict had ceased may be seen as an attempt at reconciliation. From the aforementioned document, drawn up in 1761 by archpriest Tatomir, we find out about the circumstances in which, almost a decade before, a new worship place started to be built in Răşinari. Because the old church "was ruined and became overcrowded, with the efforts of the villagers and priests and the support of the bishop of that time (Peter Paul Aron, *emphasis ours*), who not only laid the foundation stone and sent the archpriest from Sadu to hire an architect, but was also the first to start work, to give money for the foundation, and to provide paternal advice to those who initially hesitated, a wonderful church was built".[13] The village community contributed with 2000 florins,[14] a fairly significant amount once put into perspective with the tax obligations of the villagers of Răşinari. Every year they had to pay a tax that exceeded 10,000 florins (equivalent to the tax borne by "the entire Miercurea area")[15] to the council of Sibiu, amount to which the expenses for trial that the village had with the city of Sibiu (since 1733) were also added.

In the 1940 monograph dedicated to St. Paraskevi church, archpriest Emilian Cioran recorded the local tradition according to which the new structure was built around the old church,[16] which was demolished only after the new walls had risen to the level of the vaults. If we start from what archpriest Tatomir had stated regarding the laying and consecration of the foundation stone for the new church in Răşinari by Peter Paul Aron, we might acknowledge that the event took place in the spring of 1752, roughly two and half years before the episcopal vicar returned to Vienna, on September 13, 1754, following his consecration as bishop.[17] This assumption is reinforced by the testimony of Johannes Drotlich, a craftsman in the masonry guild of Sibiu, who mentioned how on June 5, 1753, while he was demolishing the old church in Răşinari, one of the workers who accompanied him there found among the debris a holy book that belonged to a Romanian called Aliman (Alăman), the son of priest Savul.[18] The walls of the new structure, the foundations of which were laid out, as I believe, a year before, in 1752, had been raised to the level where the old church, now encased in the new one, had to be demolished in order to begin the construction of the vaults.

Upon his return to the country, bishop Aron made his first stop in Sibiu, where he was welcomed in the Diet to have his appointment diplomas confirmed and to be "immediately ensured with the seat and vote among the states, which constituted the Transylvanian Diet".[19]

A manuscript note written on a Gospel belonging to St. Paraskevi church and published by Nicolae Iorga includes, at the end of an account of events that took place in Răşi-





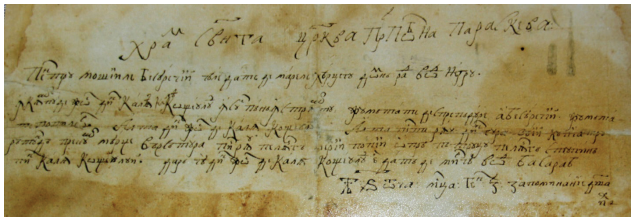


▲ Fig. 3. Lapidary inscription on the western façade of the church. Credits: all photos were taken by the author, unless otherwise stated.

▲ Fig. 4. Inscriptions that mention the date when the building of the church was finished, noted above the entrance to the narthex.

◀ Fig. 5. A lapidary inscription mounted on the southern façade of the bell tower.

▼ Fig. 6. Fragment from the end of the Răşinari village "Book of Borders", in which the "estates" that were owned by the church with the patron saint Paraskevi are listed.



nari in 1754, reference to the fact that "in that year bishop Pavel also arrived" (*tot întru acest an au venit şi d. Vl[ă]d[i]ca Pavel*).[20] It is not clear enough whether the author of the note referred to Petru Pavel Aron's return as a bishop in Transylvania.[21] However, it is plausible that being present in Sibiu in September 1754, the Greek-Catholic hierarch might have made a visit to Răşinari in order to see how work was progressing on the site of the new church.

Nevertheless, it is certain that by the spring of 1755 the building was finished, as this particular year was recorded in three of the inscriptions on the church façades. I have already reproduced the contents of the inscription with stone-cut words on the western wall, near the bell tower. A second inscription, written with Cyrillic characters incised on the wooden lintel above the door of the church, reads: "YEARS OF THE LORD. 1755 (with Cyrillic characters) MAY : 29 (with Cyrillic characters)" (*ANII D[O]MNULUI. 1755 MAI : 29*)". More than three decades later, when the painting of the areas below the tower had already started, the inscription incised on the lintel was covered with a layer of fresco plaster, over which the painter Popa Ioan Grigorievici transcribed, this time in brush strokes, the text that had been masked, as follows: "FROM THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH. YEARS OF THE LORD: 1755 (with Cyrillic characters): MAY: 29 (with Cyrillic characters) I" (*DE LA ZIDIREA BISEARECII. ANII DOMNULUI : 1755 : MAI : 29 I*) (Fig. 4).





▲ Fig. 7-8. Church altar table on which the name of Bishop Petru Pavel Aron of Bistra is mentioned in an inscription.

The following fragment from a letter preserved in the Metropolitan Archives of Blaj, dated June 10, 1757, addressed by Bishop Aron to one of the priests in Răşinari, stated that: "Having completed now, with the help of God, the new church ..." (*Rânduindu-se acum cu ajutorul lui Dumnezeu acolo noua biserică...*).[22] Based on the fragment mentioned above, Augustin Bunea and later Emilian Cioran[23] considered that it was a reference to the act of consecration of the new church. The assumption proved to be justified, being confirmed by an inscription, so far unpublished, marked on the foot of the stone altar table in the sanctuary of the church. Framed by beautifully craved ornamental acanthus leaves, the lapidary text reads: "completion date 1757. in the days of the venerable bishop p. p. a. of bistra" (*(vă)leat 1757. în zilele pre(a)luminatului arhi(e)reu p. p. a. de bistra*) (Fig. 7, 8). The inscription is completed by two figurative elements from the coat of arms of Aron family form Bistra, *i.e.* the eagle and the serpent framed in a heraldic shield. The coat of arms was known only from a block print inserted in the *Votiva apprecatio* brochure, printed in Blaj, in a single copy, on June 29, 1760, to pay homage to the bishop on his name day.[24]

The discrete manner in which the consecration of the church was performed is surprising, given the remarkable monumentality of the worship place from Răşinari. It was an outstanding building, not only for the region of Sibiu, but also for the whole of Transylvania, even if, at that time, it bore a tower which was considerably shorter and more modest than it is today. The situation can be explained by the progressive intensification of the actions directed against Greek-Catholicism. The bishop had to confront that phenomenon, especially during the two years following the completion of the church in Răşinari. "Bishop Aron", wrote Augustin Bunea, "was even trying to calm down the agitated spirits, but the people... did not listen to him anymore. Thus, for example, when the bishop went to Sălişte in September 1757 (near Sibiu), only few people followed him in the church at the Divine Liturgy".[25]

This evocation might indicate the tensions that had accumulated between the Greek-Catholic hierarchy and the clergy on one hand and the village inhabitants of Mărginimea Sibiului on the other hand, an atmosphere that was not favorable to any festive manifestations, such as the consecration of a church. However, there are still some testimonials about the way in which the villagers of Răşinari honored Bishop Petru Pavel Aron for his contribution to the building of the worship place. There are two icons painted above the arcade on the southern façade of the bell tower through which access is granted to the door of the church. The first represents the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, holding an ark (Fig. 11), a symbol of the Apostolic Church. In the present case, it displayed the form of the church built by the villagers of Răşinari. The image had obviously been meant as a sign of veneration for the hierarch who bore the names of the two saints.[26]

If we are to consider the placement of the second icon representing the "Nativity of the Lord" (Fig. 10) right above the entrance to the church, we could admit that its purpose was to mark the patronage to which the place of worship was dedicated. According to sources that will be discussed later, Bishop Aron did not follow the local tradition of Răşinari, namely that all the churches that had successively been built in the village were under the spiritual patronage of St. Paraskevi.

The two wall icons were only later integrated in the ensemble of iconographic compositions that covered almost half of the tower's southern façade (Fig. 9). For this reason, they were not perceived as forming a distinct segment of this complex, both as regards their initial function and their realization by another painter than the one subsequently employed to complete the painting of the respective part. The identity of the artist who painted them before the church's consecration, probably during 1756, might be established by highlighting a few particularities of style which can be associated with the manner specific to painter Stan, the son of priest Radu from Răşinari.

For example, in the icon depicting the Nativity Scene, the hilly background against which the Nativity Cave is represented recalls the wall paintings with the same subject made by Stan for the church in Sebeşul de Sus (a scene painted around 1773-74, on the northern tympanum of the narthex), as well as the one in Sibiel (exterior wall painting of 1775, Fig. 13). The hills are evoked by a gradual transfer from intense tones of red to bright, ochre yellow. The split trunks of the trees that are scattered on the otherwise rather barren hills are a mark of Stan the painter, mark that appears in other works signed by or attributed to him. Among the figures that make up the scenes in each of the paintings referred to above, including the one in Răşinari,







Fig. 9. Wall paintings on the southern façade of the bell tower – the base section.

Fig. 10-11. Details. *The Christmas Hymn* and *Saints Peter and Paul*, Painter Stan from Răşinari (attribution).

Fig. 12. The *Christmas Hymn*, painters Grigorie Ranite and his son Ioan (1760-61). Southern wall of the nave.

Fig. 13. The *Christmas Hymn*, painter Stan from Răşinari (1775). Southern façade of the Holy Trinity church in Sibiel (Sălişte, Sibiu County).





the Mother of God is portrayed in the same worshiping attitude, kneeling but keeping her upper body in a vertical position. Likewise, the straw basket in which Child Jesus is laid has a specific weave in all the representations produced by the above-mentioned artist.

In the icon of Saints Peter and Paul, the background against which the figures of the two apostles are projected has a similar composition in all the mural representations of the churches painted by Stan, the earth and the air occupying the compositional framework in equal proportions. The blue-indigo sky is dotted with white stars,





Fig. 14. *St. John the Evangelist*, painter Stan from Răşinari (1771). Nave of St. Nicholas church from Cacova / Fântânele (Sălişte, Sibiu County).

Fig. 15. Painter Vasile Munteanu from Sălişte (1788). The Ascension of the Lord church, Sălişte. Southern façade.

Fig. 16. Răşinari, St. Paraskevi church. Detail from the icon of *Saints Peter and Paul*, Painter Stan from Răşinari (attribution).

Fig. 17. Răşinari, St. Paraskevi church, façade of the eastern apse. Painters: Pop Ivan and Nistor Dascălul (1758) signatures. Detail from the *Proclamation of the Lord* scene.

Fig. 18. Răşinari, St. Paraskevi church, the façade of the eastern apse. The *Lamenting of the Lord*: Painters Pop Ivan and Nistor Dascălul (1758).







the redbrick ground has a marbled appearance, with blue and white splashes of color. In the image from Răşinari, the church held in the hands of the two apostles is represented in a way that recalls the image of the arks held by the martyrs-deacons painted by Stan on the hemicycle of the eastern apse of the church dedicated to St. Nicholas in Cacova (Fântânele, 1771).

An indisputable mark of the style of Stan Zugravul, highlighted by the icon of the "Holy Apostles" on the façade of the church in Răşinari, can also be identified through the specific letter shapes from the inscription that accompanies the image (Fig. 16). The vertical lines of the letters, always short and intently thickened, reveal his unmistakable hand. As far as the church door is concerned, an anonymous painter represented the same Saints Peter and Paul, highlighting again the desire of archpriest Tatomir and that of the other Greek-Catholic priests to pay homage to Bishop Aron.

After its consecration, probably in the spring of 1757, the church was taken over by the villagers of Răşinari who had massively abandoned the Greek-Catholic confession, refusing to obey Bishop Aron and the priests that were still loyal to him. According to archpriest Emilian Cioran, this might have occurred in 1758, which would explain the reason why the second lapidary inscription mentioned at the beginning of this study, was placed on the southern wall of the bell tower, just above the icons assigned to Stan. Similarly, as regards the form and content of the text of the earlier inscription mounted on the western façade of the church, this new inscription differs only by the dating of the new village church in 1758 instead of 1755. In addition, the text mentions the name of "priest Vasilie Şt" (*popa Vasilie Şt.*).[27]

As written in the 1733 conscription book of the Romanian clergy, Vasilie was ordained in 1724 by Bishop Pataki as a Greek Catholic minister of the region.[28] Later, he turned to the Orthodox confession, going as far as playing a role in the rebellion of the Orthodox villagers from Răşinari in 1745. The Greek Catholic Bishop of Muncaci, Manuil Olsavszky, considered both Vasile and priest Man in Răşinari among the "most prominent leaders of the anti-unionist movement".[29] It is obvious that priest Vasile was again, in 1758, at the head of those who stormed the church and that, at his initiative, the inscription meant to mark their victory was placed on the wall of the church.

The villagers immediately did what was necessary for the continuation and completion of their church project. Thus, even during 1758, two painters from Răşinari were asked to collaborate in order to complete the exterior mural program. They painted several monumental iconographic compositions, as well as images of patriarchs, prophets, apostles, hierarchs and martyrs on the walls of the apse and on the northern and southern façades of the nave.[30] The identity of the two painters is revealed in an inscription still visible in the lower left corner of the composition in which the Lamenting of Christ is depicted (Fig. 16): "1758 (with Cyrillic characters) painter Pop Ivan, master Nistor stară (the old) (1758)" (*1758 zugrav Pop Ivan, dascăl Nistor stară*) (Fig. 17).[31] Nistor's signature also appears on the parchment that prophet Aaron unfolds[32] in the icon from inside a niche on the upper register of the northern façade. On the same wall, the image of St. Paraskevi contains the mention of year 1758,[33] which also appears in the inscription with the names of the donors for the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist icons on the upper register of the southern façade.

The swiftness with which such a large number of mural compositions was executed in one year is not surprising if we take into account the fact that the team made up of Ivan and Nistor was attested as early as 1720, their collaboration having been consolidated on the basis of "affinity and mutual trust".[34]



▲ Fig. 19. Antimins given by Bishop Inochentie Micu to the church St. Paraskevi (demolished in 1753) from Răşinari.

Among those who paid for these mural paintings can be identified members of Orthodox priests' families, such as "priest Şărban[35] and his wife Soră" (*erei Şărban şi ieriţa Soră*),[36] leading villagers, such as Bucur (with his wife Soră),[37] spouses Bucur Martin and Stanca,[38] Coman Sârbu and Stana,[39] and Stan.[40] Again, from among the many wealthy villagers from Răşinari were selected those who endowed the church with objects of worship. On a liturgical vessel made of silver (kept in the parish museum), the following words were inscribed: "this diskos and sveazda (star in Slavic, *emphasis ours*) were donated by Pătru Sîrbul for the church in Răşinari, 1758 (with Cyrillic characters)" (*acest discos şi sveazda le-au făcut Pă[tr]u Sîrbul besearecii Răşinariulu[i] de pomană, 1758*).

To conclude the brief evocation of this first step in the development of the mural painting in the church, it is worth pointing out that the painting process started with the decoration of the exterior part of the building and not, as might be expected, with the painting of the interior, where the iconographic program is in direct connection with the liturgical ceremony. The explanation may be related to the advanced age of the two painters, who, upon completing that mural ensemble, had marked the end of their artistic careers which lasted for almost four decades. Evidence for this is found in the moving acknowledgment of this situation, when the second painter recommended himself in the signature referred to above as Nistor Stară, that is, the "Old" one. It can be easily understood, therefore, why they did not venture to paint the interior of the church as well, where the custom required that work should begin from the vaults, a demanding enterprise even for a young man. In addition, daylight work was more suitable to their probably tired eyesight.

We do not know whether the two artists had anything to do with recommending Grigore Ranite to the villagers of Răşinari as the best painter suited to continue the mural decoration of the Pious Paraskevi church. However, it is certain that the painter from Craiova "had spiritual kinship among the villagers of Răşinari, very well placed in the local ecclesiastical hierarchy".[41] In 1754 he became the godfather







Fig. 20. Răşinari, St. Paraskevi church, nave. *Evangelist Luke*, painter Grigorie Ranite and his son Ioan (1760).

Fig. 21. Detail of the previous image mentioning the work of the painters Grigorie Ranite and his son Ioan (1760).

Fig. 22. Răşinari, St. Paraskevi church. Narthex, southern wall. Votive inscription including the signatures of the painters Grigorie Ranite and his son Ioan (1761).

of the young Iacov Izdrail,[42] the son of the Man (*Many*), the Orthodox priest from Răşinari. Man, at the beginning of the seventh decade, received the task of administering the project of painting the church together with priest Şerb.[43]

Grigorie Ranite arrived in Răşinari accompanied by his son, Ioan, after they had just finished painting in 1759[44] the church of the Crasna hermitage in Gorj County. During their works for the St. Paraskevi church, the father-son team produced interior mural paintings and icons between 1761 and 1763, in sucessive stages mentioned in a few inscriptions. The custom consecrated by tradition was observed throughout the process of application of the mural decoration. Thus, in 1760, the painting of the upper register of the nave and the pendants (Fig. 20, 21) was completed,[45] and the painting of the scenes on the vault and the hemicycle on the apse of the altar probably continued in the same year. In 1761, Grigorie and Ioan began work on the vertical walls of the nave, advancing in the narthex, where they painted at least the iconostasis (which would be demolished in 1866, as will be discussed later), that is, the wall from the east of this part of the church and at least some of the side walls (Fig. 22).[46]

During the same period and up until the end of 1763, the pair also painted the iconostasis icons, as well as those for the iconostasis of the church dormer (fruntar).[47] Two of the eight royal icons painted at that time, those of St. Nicholas and St. Paraskevi, are now found on the iconostasis (Fig. 24, 25). They do not bear any signature or date, but they were attributed to Grigorie Ranite and were most likely part of the set of large icons that the inscription on the southern wall of the narthex mentions as having been painted in 1761, being destined for the iconostasis in the church porch.[48] As far as the four royal icons are concerned: St. Paraskevi (dated: 12 December 1760), Deisis (1762), the Mother of God with the Child (1762), and Saint Nicholas (1763; Fig. 23), three of them were signed by Grigorie Ranite, and can be presumed to have initially belonged to the iconostasis.[49] Also from the composition of the iconostasis painted at that time, there are still seven festal icons from 1761 by Grigorie the painter, preserved in different locations (the Resurrection of Lazarus, Palm Sunday, the Presentation of Mary, and the Annunciation) and by his son (Holy Trinity, Annunciation, Transfiguration, and the Lord's Ascension with the Sunday of Thomas).[50]

The production of the iconostasis meant, besides the painting of icons, the elaboration of the carved decoration composed of a variety of stylized vegetation ornaments, carved and lined by the hands of a craftsman whom, without specifying the source of information, archpriest Cioran identified with a certain "Ioan, Carpenter in Câmpulung".[51] The Post-Brancovan style of the iconostasis in the church of Răşinari may be an argument supporting the hypothesis of an artist from the former capital of Wallachia, where there was a significant tradition of stone and woodcarving. Perhaps the most important impetus to this artistic practice was the presence of one of the most gifted craftsmen of the Brancovan era in 1712 Câmpulung, none other than the well-known stonecutter Lupu Sărăţan, who was employed alongside "the apprentice from Cozia, Grigore" for the restoration and embellishment of the buildings of Negru Vodă Monastery and of the new "boyar house" in Câmpulung.[52] In the team that was then gathered by abbot Mihail, chancellor and a trusted person of Constantin Brancovan, there were also wood carvers who produced high-quality liturgical furniture pieces for the old place of worship, among which a precious arch-hierarch's throne dedicated to Antim Ivireanu, Metropolitan of the time, has lasted until today.[53]

Ioan the "carpenter", a disciple of those skilled craftsmen and cabinet-maker in the first decades of the 18th century, was probably recommended to the villagers of Răşinari by Grigorie Ranite himself, whose origins can be traced to Câmpulung at least on his father's side. Ioan Grigorievici reveals the origin of the family from Muncel in an inscription dated







▲ Fig. 23. Răşinari, St. Paraskevi church, *Saint Nicholas*, an icon signed by the painter Gregorie Ranite (1763).

◥ Fig. 24. *Saint Paraskevi*, icon on the iconostasis of the church St. Paraskevi in Răşinari, Grigorie Ranite (attribution).

◥ Fig. 25. *Saint Nicholas*, icon on the iconostasis of the St. Paraskevi church in Răşinari, Grigorie Ranite (attributed).

▶ Fig. 26. *Old Testament Trinity*. Festal icon, Ioan Grigorievici the Painter (attributed).

1785 under the tower of St. Paraskevi church, in which he recommends himself as the nephew of painter Ranite from Câmpulung.[54]

This stage in the process of endowing the St. Paraskevi church with mural paintings and iconostasis icons, significant also for the subsequent evolution of the ecclesiastical art in the Southern-Transylvanian parts, took place in the background of some dramatic events in the lives of villagers from Răşinari. In May 1761, the project regarding the "dismembering" the Greek-Catholic from the non-Greek-Catholic worshipers in several villages of the Sibiu district was already drafted and passed to the magistrate for execution. The communities readily and willingly complied with the decisions of the Supreme Court, except for the inhabitants of Sadu and Răşinari. In Răşinari, where 713 non-Greek-Catholic families had been registered compared to only 51 who declared themselves Greek Catholic, the dismemberment commission established that the church was to be attributed to the Greek Catholics, while the Orthodox received the permission to build another place of worship.[55] In order to subdue the villagers of Răşinari into obeying the orders, an impressive army of six infantry companies, a Hussar troop and several cannons[56] were deployed near the village on May 26, 1761. "When the inhabitants saw the troops approaching, they flew into large groups into the nearby forests. The remaining ones, refusing to hand over the keys, were beaten and forced to open the church, which was sanctified again by the Greek-Catholic bishop Aron, who was present there".[57]

Despite the terror exerted on them, the Orthodox from Răşinari could not be kept away from the church. Emilian Cioran pointed out that "after the storm passed" they regained their place of worship "now forever, as later approved by Emperor Joseph II".[58] Although it is not specified when the Orthodox community took possession of the church, the fact would be related to the appointment of



Dionisie Novacovici in September 1761 as bishop of the Romanians from Transylvania who did not adopt the Greek-Catholic confession. The archbishop had his temporary residence in Sibiu where he lived only for a short while – soon after his installation he made an extensive trip in order to get to know his diocese. After having completed his canonical visit from the end of 1762 and until 1767 when he left Transylvania forever, Dionisie Novacovici resided in Răşinari[59] among many believers and next to the great church there, which served him as an episcopal cathedral. Thus, from 198 priests ordained by the hierarch during his pastoral life in Transylvania, 36 received the ordination in the church dedicated to St. Paraskevi. The first of these was priest Ivan of Valea village, in Turda district, ordained in Răşinari on December 25, 1762. On March 22, 1763, another ordination was celebrated for a local priest, Oprea, and the last ordination took place on 27 April 1763.[60]

As regards the artistic endowment of the church, few details have been preserved from the time of Bishop Dionisie Novacovici's residence in the village. The latest mention of painter Grigorie Ranite at Răşinari dates from 1763, when he signed the above-mentioned royal icon of Saint Nicholas, for which Bucur, son of priest Şerb, and his wife Ana, had paid.[61] On a silver chalice purchased at that time and today preserved in the parish museum, the following words were inscribed: "this holy chalice belongs to the non-unionist church of Răşinariu 1767" (*acest s[f] p[a]h[a]r iaste al be. neunite R[ă]ş[nariu] 1767*).

A more comprehensive text, recording another donation, was handwritten on a gospel printed in 1750 in Bucharest during the reign of Gregory (II) Ghica and the pastoral mission of Metropolitan Neophyte the Cretan. The inscription is written in Cyrillic characters on the lower lines of several pages at the beginning of the book and reads: "This Gospel was bought, tied and dressed with barshon and silver-planks[62] entirely at the expense of dignitary Petru Răspop, villager and old mayor of Răşinari, and offered to the holy Orthodox church of Răşinari on Saint Elijah's day (the name of the prophet was later canceled and replaced with the name "Holy Paraskevi")[63] during the year 1767 in the month of June 20, when in Transylvania Dionisie Novacovici was Bishop of Buda and of the Orthodox in Transylvania Amen" (*Această Evanghelie s-au cumpărat, s-au legat şi s-au îmbrăcat cu barşonc (barşon) şi cu table de argint cu toată cheltuiala jupânului Petru Răspop lăcuitoriului şi vechiului birău a Răşinariului şi s-au dat închinare la sfânta biserică cea neunită a Răşinariului la hramul Sfântului Ilie în cursul anului 1767 în luna lui iunie 20 fiind pravoslavnic Arhiereu în Ardeal, Domnul Dionisie Novacovici Episcopul Budii şi a Ardealului [neuniţilor] Amin*). It is worth pointing out that, at the time of the donation, the patron saint of the church was still St. Elijah, to whom the church was probably dedicated in 1761 in the context of the new consecration performed by Bishop Peter Pavel Aron.

As far as the next two decades are concerned, it appears that the aspect of the church in Răşinari remained unchanged, with no mention of any intervention. However, an important event in the life of the community took place on June 11, 1772, when the successor of Dionisie Novacovici in the hierarch seat, Bishop Sofronie Chirilovici, established an Orthodox deanery in Răşinari,[64] and whose first appointed administrator was priest Coman Bârsan.

After Sofronie became bishop of Buda in 1774, the seat of the Transylvanian Orthodox Bishopric remained vacant for almost ten years, a situation that would somehow explain why the villagers of Răşinari did not manifest the same enthusiasm for endowing and adorning the church as they had in the times when the project was under the patronage of hierarchs Aron and Novacovici. However, a donation made at this stage can be pointed out: the candles placed in front of the royal icons of the iconostasis. These were crafted in the workshop of a silversmith who signed with the initials SPC and who engraved, on one of the pieces, the following donation formula: "these holy candles were given to the holy Orthodox church by Petru Ratopu for remembrance, 1778" (*Această sfântă candelă o au dăruit sfi(ntei) biseareci cei neunite Petru Rătopu pentru pomenire. 1778*).

The impetus for new artistic enterprises meant to complete one of the most beautiful Romanian churches of the time took place at the same time as the installation of the Orthodox Bishop Ghedeon Nichitici in Sibiu. Although he remained in the seat for only four years, between 1784 and 1788, his privileged relationship with the villagers of Răşinari and their parish church materialized, among others, in the reopening of the painting works at the sumptuous worship place. Precious information of detailed and precise character about the work that was carried out at that time is found in the manuscript document discovered in 1931 in the canopy that covered the holy table of the Pious Paraskevi church. Towards the end of the text, it is mentioned that "it was written by me, Priest Savva Popovici, Orthodox parish priest in Răşinari, 1795 November 7" (*s-a scris prin mine Popa Savva Popovici paroh neunit în Răşinari, 1795 Noemvrie 7*). Emilian Cioran, who transcribed and published this document, certified its authenticity by drawing attention upon "the well-know, clear and beautiful handwriting in Cyrillic letters of the archpriest, a tireless scholar and priest, an assessor and sometimes president of the Bishop's Council, Savva Popovici from Răşinari".[65] Emilian Cioran compared the handwriting with that found in other manuscripts which he thought to belong to the same author. The name of Savva Popovici Bârsan appears in the manuscript, included in the list of priests in office at that time, immediately after the name of the archpriest of Răşinari, Coman Bârsan, whose son he actually was. However, it should be mentioned that, at that time, Savva held the position of "eparchial archpriest" of Sibiu (Fig. 49), where the eparchial center was located. The signer of the manuscript from 1795, who, as we have seen, was simply recommending himself as the "Orthodox parish priest in Răşinari" (where he activated between 1791-1816),[66] was actually the homonymous son of the scholar archpriest, whose name became listed on the aforementioned document only a few positions below, in the form "priest Savva Popovici from Răşinari" (*popa Savva Popovici ot Răşinari*) (Fig. 50).[67] Circling back to the information from the manuscript regarding the painting and decoration of the church interior, we should first mention the data referring to what had been undertaken during the period of Ghedeon Nichitici's activity as bishop:

> In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.
>
> With the help of the Holy Trinity, these things were done in our holy church, which is Orthodox, dedicated to Saint Prepodoavna Paraskevi; the things mentioned below were done in the year of Christ: 1787: in the days of Emperor Joseph II. The Priests and the Elders of the village have commissioned the painters for decorating the iconostasis, namely Georgie of Cacova Aiud and the priest Niţ from Ghijasa de Sus for 700 : and 50 : florins and the doors of the altar paid with 25 : from the money given as charity, the floor under the tower was paid with 12 florins : in the same year the church was paved to the aisles, for which Petru Răspop paid 50 florins : and by the charity of many people on three occasions the paving was completed, for which 243 florins were spent".[68] The same stages correspond to other achievements, but recorded in the end of the report completed by Savva Popovici: We also mention here the following things: Painting under the tower, 35 : florins. Painting on the outside of the tower 110. At the back of the altar, for the icon of Daniil the prophet 7 : florins : inside the church, at the back, where the passions of Christ are represented : 80 : florins : The entire porch 26, at the eaves of the tower covered with tin plate 170 : florins. Kr. 46 : of charity. The new side windows, next to the pews, were completed and Pătru Răspop paid for their doing and painting 30 and again from charity money 8 : florins…
>
> *În numele Tatălui şi al Fiului şi al Sfântului Duh, Amin.*

Cu ajutorul Sfintei Troiţă s-au făcut aceste lucruri în sfânta biserica noastră ce neunite care este Hramul Sfânta Prepodoavna Parascheva începându-să a să face lucrurile aceste mai jos însemnate la Anu de la Hr. : 1787 : în zilele împăratului Iosifu al doilea. S-au tocmit tâmpla de Preoţi şi Bătrânii satului cu zugravi ce o au zugrăvit, Georgie dela Cacova Aiudului şi popa Niţ din Ghijasa de sus cu flor. 700 : şi 50 : şi uşile oltariului 25 : bani de milostenii, pe pardositul supt turn 12 flor : tot într-acelaş an s-au pardosit biserica până la strane şi au plătit Petru Răspop 50 : de flor : şi din milostenia de la mai mulţi oameni în trei rânduri s-au pardosit până s-au isprăvit şi s-au cheltuit 243 : de flor." Aceleiaşi etape îi corespund şi alte înfăptuiri, înregistrate însă spre finalul raportului întocmit de Savva Popovici şi anume: „Mai însemnăm aicea aceste lucruri : Zugrăvitul supt turn, 35 : de fl. Pe faţa turnului din afară 110. La oltariu la fund pe icoana lui Daniil prooroc 7 : flor : fundul din biserică din lăuntru care sânt patimile lui Hr : 80 : de flor : Tinda peste tot 26, la straşina turnului cei coperite cu bădică 170 : flor. Kr. 46 : de milostenie. S-au făcut fereştile cele nouă de la strane şi au dat Pătru Răspop pe făcut, pe zugrăvit 30 : şi iară din milostenie 8 : flor. ...[69]

It should first be pointed out that, up until the time the document was written, the community had returned to the old tradition of dedicating the church to the spiritual patronage of St. Paraskevi.

In 1787, the counsel of the elders whose names are marked in the report along with the seven priests "all from Răşinari, who served in the church of Prepodoavna Paraskevi" "has hired painters to paint the iconostasis". As Saveta-Florica Pop remarked, this was about receiving works already began by that point and paying the craftsmen, according to the agreement.[70] The replacement of the iconostasis icons (with the exception of the royal doors and two of the icons of the first register – those of St. Nicholas and St. Paraskevi) with new ones took place in the years 1784 and 1785, as it emerges from the dating inscriptions written by the painters (Fig. 27).[71] This is probably due to the change in the taste of those who ordered them, in the sense of increased interest in the style the Western painting. Their names are mentioned in the document: "Georgie of Aiud's Cacova and Niţ of Ghijasa de Sus", and were paid with 700 and 50 florins, respectively, money that was added to the corresponding payment for painting the Deacon's doors (25 florins). The signature of the two painters who collaborated on the painting of the iconostasis icons appeared only on the royal icon of Our Lady with the Child (now lost) in the manner: "Of Gheorghie Painter sin Iacovi 1785. Ioan Chiş [Painter]".[72] Gheorghe, then resident in Cacova, Aiud (today, Livezile, Alba County),[73] was the son of the painter Iacov from Răşinari, and priest Niţ from Ghijasa de Sus (Alţâna, Sibiu County) was an older acquaintance of the villagers from Răşinari, none other than Grigorie Ranite's son.[74] Just because they knew him since he had worked in his early youth with his father on the church paintings, the villagers continued to name Ioan as they used to call him: "Ioniţă (Niţ)" or "Ioan Chiş" (from *Kis*, which in Hungarian means "Little One").

In 1785 Ioan Grigorievici was commissioned the task of finishing the wall painting of the church. The references made by the priest Savva Popovici regarding the sums of money paid to the artist for each segment of the iconographic ensemble made at that time are exact and can easily be confronted with what remained from the painting of that time, inside and on the façades of the church. The various dates and assignments of the paintings, as they appear in the document, are supported by what can be inferred from the contents of a few inscriptions found in the church.

Certain paintings made by Ioan in distinct parts of the place of worship date back to 1785. Described in 1795 as work paid out of the public contribution ("of charity") with 11 florins and 46 Creiţari,[75] a fairly limited portion of the mural decoration on the southern façade of the nave covered "the eaves", as referred to in the document (*i.e.* some niches in the high register between the middle girdle and the cornice). Under these niches in which the apostles Titus, Barnabas, John and Timothy were represented, there is an inscription including the autograph of the artist and the date when the painting of the icons was completed: "Popa Ioan Grigoriovici painter, 1785 June 27" (*Popa Ioan Grigoriovici zu(grav), 1785 iunie 27*) (Fig. 28).[76]

During the same summer, the scenes painted under the bell tower (Fig. 26)[77] were completed, and were paid 35 florins, the pictures being accompanied by the inscription that we previously referred to: "Being a painter at this work Popa Ioan Grigorievici nephew of Ranite from Câmpulung. 1785" (*Fiind zugrav la acest luc[ru Popa] Ioan Grigoriev[ici] [n]epot lui Ranite de [la] Câmpu lung. 1785*) (Fig. 30). It is likely that, by the end of the summer, priest Ioan covered extensive surfaces on the façades of the bell tower with paintings,[78] as mentioned in the document signed by Savva Popovici: first of all, "those on the face of the tower from the outside" (paid with 110 fl.) and then "the ones at the eaves of the tower, those covered with tin plate (paid with 170 fl.)". In the first segment with images depicted painted above the arcades, there is a register of martyrs painted in medallions in the Parable of Human Life (the southern façade) and the Gospel-inspired scene "I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink" (Mt 25:35), painted in a niche on the western wall. The second segment, much richer in iconographic representations (still visible[79] are scenes from the lives of St. Demetrius, St. Paraskevi, and Prophet Elijah of Tishbe) was extended, at least on the southern façade and up under the eaves of the tower, which at that time was smaller than it is today, from where the "helmet" (*bădică*) was covered with white tin boards.

When considering the works carried out until 1795 there

Fig. 27. The iconostasis of the church St. Paraskevi from Răşinari, the frieze of the prophets (detail). The painter Gheorghe, the son of Iacov from Răşinari (1784).

Fig. 28. Răşinari, St. Paraskevi church, the southern façade. Signature of the painter Popa Ioan Grigorievici (1785).

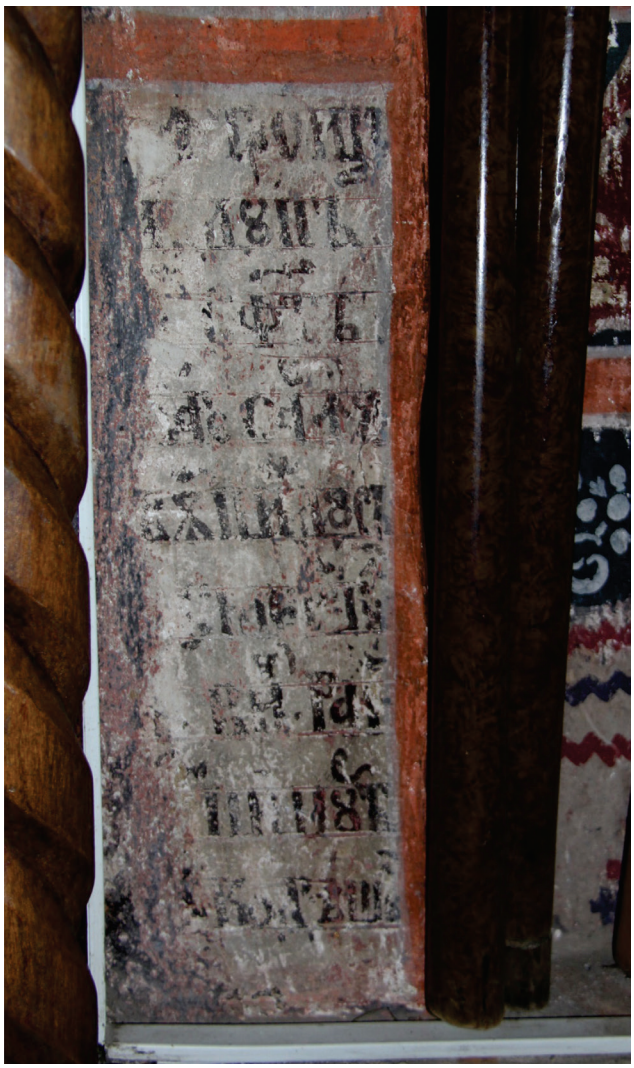












▲ Fig. 29. Răşinari, St. Paraskevi church, the mural decoration depicted under the bell tower. The *Last Judgment* (detail), Popa Ioan Grigorievici the Painter (1785).

◥ Fig. 30. Detail with the mention of the painter Popa Ioan Grigorievici (1785), "the nephew of Hranite the painter from Câmpulung".

▶ Fig. 31. Răşinari, St. Paraskevi church, narthex, a fragment from the inscription above the door, including the names of the donors for the painting (1793).

◢ Fig. 32. Răşinari, St. Paraskevi church, narthex, the northern wall. Inscription including the signature of painter Popa Ioan Grigorievici (1793-1794).

are also some references to the additions that have been made to the mural decoration inside the church, all of which are attributed to priest Ioan Grigorievici the Painter. It is difficult to determine when the paintings were executed due to the laconic nature of their registration in the text of the document and the fact that the inscriptions found on their right-hand sides, partially covered by subsequent layers of painting, still require restoration work in order to be fully understood. It is plausible, however, that these interventions took place in sucessive stages probably starting in 1786 (when the painter was comissioned with and paid for their completion), then during the period between 1787 (as mentioned by priest Savva Popovici) and November 1795. On the other hand, the research undertaken on these mural decoration areas highlighted the fact that Priest Ioan Grigorievici continued to work on the narthex even after 1795.

The first painting out of those commissioned within the timeframe supplied by Savva Popovici is mentioned thus: "At the altar, at the bottom on the icon of Daniil the Prophet 7 : Florins" (*la oltariu la fund pe icoana lui Daniil prooroc 7 : flor*). It was therefore stated that what was painted occupied the area at the level of the sanctuary vault, which can be more accurately identified with the inner concave surface of the arch above the iconostasis, where ten prophets, including Daniil, are represented in round medallions. The following reference was made to "the end of the inside of the church, in which the Passion of Christ is represented: 80: Florins" (*fundul din biserică din lăuntru care sunt patimile lui Hr : 80 : de flor*). The Passion cycle occupies the entire surface of the cradle-vault covering the western midspan of the nave. Furthermore, the document states that "the entire porch was painted" (*tinda peste tot*), and for which were paid 26 florins.

As mentioned previously, it is probable that the execution of the mural in the narthex was carried out in stages over several years. So far, two dates going beyond the timeframe provided by Savva Popovici have been highlighted.

These correspond to the final period, when the last sections of the mural decoration were completed. The first date, 1794, was identified on the western tympanum, in one of the scenes inspired by the Book of Revelation ("Chapter 7: And I saw 4 (in Cyrillic characters, *emphasis ours*) angels holding the four Winds of the Earth in their hands" (*Cap. 7 : Şi am văzut 4 îngeri ţiind în mâini ceale 4 vânturi ale pământului*).[80] Another year, 1798, was inscribed by the artist on the phylactery of St. Sava, whose icon was painted on the north wall of the porch.[81]

The attribution of these later paintings to Popa Ioan Grigorievici is plausible and can be supported by the finding that they correspond to this artist's specific style. Moreover, it is known that the artist extended his stay in Răşinari, though with some interruptions, until at least 1798, when he signed the painting of a wayside cross[82] made at the expense of the family of Petrus Albulu (Albu),[83] on a place at the end of the village, donated for this purpose by a certain Maniu Drăgoie (Drăgoi).

In the narthex of St. Paraskevi church there are two inscriptions whose texts, hidden under subsequent layers of painting, might contain information to support this attribution and to determine more precisely the timeline of execution for the last section of the mural decoration. One of these is placed just above the entrance door (Fig. 31), but from the text noted on a banner, only fragments of words can be deciphered. These coud be interpreted, with a certain degree indulgence, as bearing the names of two of the parish priests at that time: "…Savva, Popovici, Priest Alaman…" (*…[Sav]va Po[povi]ci, P[opa] Alăma[n]…*). The contents of the second inscription, at the base of the northern wall of the porch (Fig. 32), half-masked by one of the support pillars of the tribune, is more difficult to decipher. What can be perceived, however fragmentary as the words at the beginning of each row are still covered by the wooden pillar, reads:

… | of the Holy Trinity
… | [The one] after
… | the Saint
… | that was began [on]
… | [and] completed
… | humbly
… | [Gregorie]vici • Rani[te]
… | [By] the care of
… | Kodreaşul

… | *în Troiţă*
… | *[cea] după*
… | *sfântă*
… | *care s-au înce[put]*
… | *[să]vârşindu-să*
… | *smeritul*
… | *[Grigorie]vici • Rani[te]*
… | *[fi]ind purtă[tor de grijă]*
… | *Kodreaşul*

The first name mentioned in the inscription appears to be that of the painter Ioan Grigorievici, who, as he had done in the inscription under the tower, was also careful to mention the name of his grandfather, Ranite the painter. The second name inscribed is that of the person mentioned in the document from 1795, at the end of which it is written: "Having taken care of the things mentioned to be inside the church, as administrator of the goods in the holy church, Bucur Kodreaşu" (*Fiind purtătoriu de grije la lucrurile ce sânt înlăuntru însemnate şi gociman sfintei biserici Bucur Kodreaşu*).[84] The possible completion of the existing gaps in the text by means of restoration works might be an opportunity to clarify important aspects as regards the content of the inscription – for instance a mention of the decoration work carried out by that point in the balance sheet, albeit not contemporary with the completion of the painting of this last part of the church.

There are other arguments supporting the need for more thorough investigation of the mural areas where the inscriptions are found. One might start from what can be understood from a few notes relating to the old church in Răşinari included in a chronicle of the most important events that happened during the years 1866 and 1867 in the life of the village or in the history of the Austrian Empire. It is a manuscript written in Cyrillic on 30 pages,[85] preserved under the title: "Document written by the pious and former teacher and precentor Petru Grigorie, written on March 1, 1866" (*Dieata lăsată de cucearnicul şi fostul dascal şi cantor Petru Grigorie, scrise de la întâiea 1 Martie 1866*) (Fig. 47, 48).[86] The mention of Petru Grigorie, "also known as Janu",[87] as a teacher of the children of Orthodox villagers from Răşinari was mentioned early on in an autographed writing on the front page of a "Triodion" printed in 1800 in Blaj. His signature appeared at the end of a short reminder about how the strong earthquake of January 11 (old Style) 1838 was felt in Răşinari: "By Petru Gligorie, Orthodox chanter in the new Church" (*prin Petru Gligorie Dascăl neunit la S. Bisearică cea noaă*).[88]

In the pages of the "Dieata" (written document), several paragraphs refer to the age of the church and the stages in which the mural painting was undertaken; they are interesting since they seem to reflect what the chanter could make out at the time from the content of the various inscriptions existing on the walls of the worship place. In the 64th section of the chronicle, Petru Grigorie wrote the following:

> From the building of the old church in the village, dedicated to Pious Paraskevi, in the year 420 after the birth of Christ. As written on the outside of the tower, above the door of the church, when the church was completed in the year 1755, May 29. In 1761 the painting of the church began and it was completed in the year 1794, by the Popa Ioan Grigoroviciu the painter.
>
> The porch of this holy church and the part under the tower were painted in the days of the high emperor of Austria, Francis the 2nd, in the days of the Orthodox Archbishop Gherasim Adamoviciu of Transylvania, of the archpriest Savva Popovici of Sibiu, Priests Popa Coman, P. Isaie Măţu, P. Iacov Izdrail, P. Ioan Popoviciu, P. Savva Popoviciu, P. Alaman Popoviciu/Cazan. In the judgment of Comşe Grecu, November 15, 1793.
>
> *De la zidirea s. biseareci cea veachie din satu, hramu Cuvioasa Paraschiva, Anul 420 după naşterea lui Hr. După cum stă pe turnu dinafară pus scris iar de când s-au clădit zidit această s. bisearică care să află făcută până astăzi pe acest loc iaste Anu 1755, 29 Maiu săvârşită, precum să veade vălatul iară şi subtu turnu deasupra uşii bisearicii. S-au început a să zugrăvi această S. bisearică la Anu 1761 şi s-au săvărşit la Anu 1794, de popa Ioan Grigoroviciu Zugrav.*
>
> *Tinda aceştii sfinte biserecii înlău[n]tru bisearicii şi subtu turnu s-au zugrăvit în zilele înălţatului împărat al Austrie Franţisc al 2-ile, fiind Arhiereu ţării Ardealului Gherasim Adamoviciu neuniţilor, Protopop Savva Popovici Sc. Sibiiului, Preoţi Popa Coman, P. Isaie Măţu, P. Iacov Izdrail, P. Ioan Popoviciu, P. Savva Popoviciu, P. Alăman Popoviciu / Cazan. În judecata lui Comşe Grecu, în 15 Noem. A. 1793.*

It is worth pointing out that the way in which the names of the priests Sava Popovici and Alăman Popovici of Răşi-

nari are placed one after the other in the text of the inscription engraved on the walls, which chanter Grigorie reproduced, corresponds exactly to the mention of the two in the inscription mentioned above, the one positioned above the door in the church.

A few other notes communicate new aspects concerning the transformations that the church had gone through, as well as certain of its endowments from the time when the chronicle was written:

> On July 3, 1865, the stone step leading to the bell tower was completed and paid with 400 Austrian F(lorins), also in this holy church, in the year 1866, because people increased in number, the attic for the choir was built for the young school children, which was completed on June 12, when the thick wall separating men and women in the church was pulled down, for the sum of 659 Aus(trian) F(lorins).
>
> On July 22, 1865 a new bell, weighing of 6 măji was raised in the tower of the old church and it was called the little bell, and on March 9, 1866 another bell was moved and raised, also in the old church, from the new church, the one which was given by Petru Albu for the new church. In addition, we hope that by 24 December 1866/7 of this year, new seats and others as in the new church will be brought here as well.
>
> On July 17, 1867 new seats were brought and placed until July 25 this year in the holy, old church.
>
> And on the April 25, 1867 the village church was covered with red tin plate along the tower ...
>
> A lot was written by me, the sinner, with a hen feather and a hand of dust, my hand to rot, but those who will come to remember me.
>
> P. Grigorie chanter.

> *În 3 Iulie A. 1865 s-au săvârşit şi rădicat treapta de piatră cu coperişul lor pe unde te sui în turnu la clopote cu 400 f(lorini). v(echi). aus(trieci), tot la această s. bisearică şi în A. 1866, tot aici, din cauza înmulţirii poporului s-au făcut şi la această s. bisearică, pod coru pentru tinerimea şcolară, în 12 iunie s-au gătat, dărâmându-să şi zidul gros dintru bărbaţi şi femei în mijlocul s. bisearici veachie neunită, cu preţul 659 f. v. aus.*
>
> *În 22 Iulie 1865 s-au rădicat un clopot nou de 6 măji în turnu tot la B: veachie şi l-au numit clopotul cel mic, în 9 Martie 1866 s-au mutat şi ridicat încă un clopot tot la bisearica veachie de la bisearica cea noaă cel ce au fost dăruit de Petru Albu la bisearica noaă. Şi sperăm că până în 24 Deciem. 1866/7 a acestu ann. c. să vor face şi jeţuri noaă şi altele ca şi la bisearica cea noaă.*
>
> *În 17 Iulie 1867 au venit jeţuri noaă şi au aşezat toate până în 25 Iulie. A. c. la Sf[â]nta bisearică cea veachie.*
>
> *Şi la 25 Aprilie, 1867 s-au coperit bisearica din sat cu blehiu roşu pe lângă turn...*
>
> *Scris-am eu mult păcătosul, cu peana de găină şi cu mâna de ţărână, mâna să putrezească, cine va ceti să mă pomenească.*
>
> *P. Grigorie Dascăl normalicesc.*

Painter Ioan Grigorievici, who was the only artist commissioned with the the mural paintings during this second stage in the decoration of the church, is also attributed with a tryptic (Fig. 33) preserved in the museum hosted in the former Bishopric Seat of Răşinari. Saveta-Florica Pop analyzed this artistic work and suggested as possible date for its completion the time span between February 17 to December 8, 1768,[89] identified "on the left side of the central panel, a possible signature of the painter, barely visible: «Ioan Z.»".[90] Upon revision of the names of those mentioned "inside, on the central panel", she considered that "the donors were enrolled in two columns: the first mentioned being Bishop Dionisie Novacovici, succeeded by some of the priests of Răşinari".[91]

Fig. 33. Tryptich-prayer list comprising the names of church builders and donors. Painter Oprea Măţă Popovici from Răşinari (about 1784).

Fig. 34. Detail mentioning the work of the painter Oprea Măţă Popovici from Răşinari.





In relation to these opinions, certain observations are required. The first concerns the alleged autograph of the painter Ioan Grigorievici, which can be hardly deciphered in the place indicated by Saveta-Florica Pop. A closer analysis of the inscription (Fig. 34) revealed, however, that the identity of the person communicated by the small signature is in fact "Oprea Măţă : […]ici : Z". From the ending "– (v)ici" or "– (ov)ici" of the word that is no loger clearly visible as the paint faded away it could be assumed that the term, if it did not perform any patronymic function since the inscription mentioned painter Oprea's surname, it must then indicate the priestly quality of his father. This is plausible because a painter with a similar name, most likely the same person as the author of the Tryptich, had signed the royal icon of Virgin Mary with the Child in the early years of the nineteenth century for the church in Ţichindeal (Nocrich village, Sibiu county) with the following words: "Oprea painter Popovici. Răşinari".[92] In this case, it could be hypothesized that painter Oprea was the son of priest Isaiah Măţă (Mâţ), ordained in 1760 by Metropolitan Grigorie in Bucharest[93] and who had been priest in the village until 1808. It would not be the only situation when a priest from Răşinari encouraged his offspring to learn the craft of painting icons, since there are other examples of the same, such as the case of the brothers Stan and Iacov, or Popa Ivan the Young, who were all sons of priests.

A second matter worth pointing out is the manner in which the names of the donors listed in the commemoration Triptych were displayed on the page. Although the painter drew a vertical line of demarcation in the median shaft on the central panel (probably adopting a classical pattern of diptych, where the names of the living believers and those of the one who had passed away to the Lord are written on distinct columns), the names were written on only one column. Upon close inspection it seems obvious that the word *Manahia* (*Monahia*, *i.e.* nun) was written in the final fourth row on the right side of the panel to which corresponds a name specific to the monastic order, *Giervasia* (*Ghervasia*), which was written at the beginning of the following, fifth line towards the left side, and not the name Stana, with which the row would begin if the existence of a second column is admitted to have existed on the right side. The female name Stana, common in Răşinari, appears thirteen times in the triptych, twice referring to clergymen' wives, as the name was unusual for a nun.

The names of all persons (alive or deceased) who had contributed over several decades to the building and adornment of the church in Răşinari were inscribed on the triptych for "everlasting remembrance. The list of benefactors' names begins with that of "Archbishop Dionisie (Novacovici)" (*Arhiereul Dionisie*), the only orthodox Serbian bishop of Transylvania having resided in Răşinari and considered by the villagers as the founder of the church. The bishop's name is followed by that of a certain Dimitrie and then, starting with "Archpriest Savva (Popovici)" (*protoerei Savva (Popovici)*), nine other priests are mentioned: "priest Oprea, priest Iacov, priest Ioanaş, priest Alăman, priest Petru[94] Şărban, priest Ioan, priest Preda, priest Tatomir, priest Vasilie" (*erei Oprea, erei Iacov, erei Ioanăş, erei Alăman, (erei) Petru Şărban, erei Ioan, erei Preda, erei Tatomir, erei Vasilie*). To these follow the names of four clergymen' wives, and finally, a long row of names of worshipers from the village. Most of the priests mentioned on the tryptich were still active in the parish towards the end of the 18th century, four being mentioned in the document from 1795, and others, such as Ioanăş,[95] Tatomir, or Vasilie were part of an older generation of servants to the altar, from the time when the church was only starting to be built.

Two further aspects of the tryptich have also drawn our attention. First, the omission for still unclear reasons of the name of the archpriest of Răşinari, Coman Bărsan, contemporary to the building and adornment of the monumental church. The second is related to the mention of a certain Dimitrie at the very beginning of the donors' list, immediately after Archbishop Dionisie's name and, respectively, before that of archpriest Savva Popovici. It is appropriate to point out that the name Dimitrie was written by the painter in bold letters, which were also used only in the case of Bishop Dionisie, indicating that he was acknowledged as having superior status to all the other persons mentioned after him. This sufficient argument to admit that the reference was made to the scholar and teacher of Braşov, Dimitrie Eustatievici, secretary and interpreter to the Serbian bishops Dionisie Novacovici, Sofronie Chirilovici and Ghedeon Nichitici.[96]

As for Savva Popovici "the Elder", Saveta-Florica Pop noted that the mention of the archpriest function which he exercised at the time when the list of donors was written may be an important factor in support of dating the triptych from Răşinari. She admitted, at the same time, that the church rank "with which Savva recommended himself, on July 10, 1779",[97] was acquired by the priest from Răşinari "at a date that is still unknown".[98] Of the historians specialised in the church life of the Orthodox from Transylvania, only Ioan Lupaş referred to this matter, stating of Savva Popovici "that Bishop Gherasim (Adamovici) appointed him archpriest of Sibiu and assessor, sometimes even president of the Episcopal Council".[99] However, it may be possible that the Archbishop reconfirmed a rank in the church administration of the diocese for priest Savva of Răşinari, which he actually held for a long time,[100] possibly starting as early as 1779, when he could have succeed the archpriest of Sibiu, Ioachim Simion,[101] who is known to have died in 1780.[102]

Therefore, if we take into account this last aspect, namely that Savva Popovici was registered as archpriest, we can acknowledge that painter Oprea could have been commissioned with the execution of the triptych sometime after 1780, most likely in 1784 or 1785. During that period, Dimitrie Eustatievici held the position of Secretary for Bishop Gideon Nichitici,[103] if he actually is the one mentioned among the donors for the St. Paraskevi church.

Bishop Ghedeon passed away on 20, 1788,[104] being 'buried' in Răşinari, next to his father.[105] The tomb lies in the nave of St. Paraskevi church, next to the royal doors, covered with a slab of porphyry. In 1878, Peter Brote wrote about the "red marble stone" saying that, during his childhood, "an inscription used to be carved into the stone, but now it is completely erased".[106] The next bishop, Gherasim Adamovici, was consecrated in Sibiu after almost one year, on September 13, 1789. Meanwhile, the villagers from Răşinari continued to endow their church, making some changes to the building by enlarging the windows in the apse and the nave. Then, exactly on the very year when the new hierarch was appointed, the juror of the village, Coman Şerb, and all the six priests concluded a contract with master Mihail Betzinger of Sibiu "to lift the tower of our church a part above as it is now and cover it with tin plate, and also make the cross on the tower, at his expense, 8 «urme» (units of measurement) higher".[107] In quoting this paragraph, archpriest Cioran probably used the original document of the contract that was then still preserved in the parish archive, the same fact being mentioned in the document from 1795, where it was said that "in the year 1789: the tower was upraised, for which 800 Florins were paid from the money of the village".[108] Further, in the same

notice written by priest Savva Popovici, there is another addition, namely that "for the clock that was mounted into the church tower 420: florins: were spent".[109]

Several pieces of liturgical furniture, as well as the additional adornment of the iconostasis that had been carved decades before by craftsman Ioan of Câmpulung, were also completed during the time when Gherasim Adamovici was bishop in Transylvania. In the document drawn up by priest Savva Popovici, each of these pieces of furniture were identified in the order of their production. Details are given on how each artefact was elaborated and about the craftsmen who carved or painted them, as well as the expenses taken up by certain donors or by the worshippers in Răşinari. Such information makes it possible to find correlations between the artefacts described so thoroughly with the parts that are either still preserved in the church or exhibited in the parish Museum.

In the account drawn up on November 7, and completed on November 20, 1795, it is stated that:

> In the year 1791: the priests and the elders of the village hired a German artist, namely Eber Hoart, born in Buda, who was flower-carver and who made the iconostasis, paid by Simion Poplăcian and Dumitru Tălmăcean, for the making and the painting of which 714 florins was paid : at the year 1792: The pulpit was also done by the same German for 120 : Florins : From the savings of the village and 4 fathoms of wood. Also in that year the archbishop's throne was made, on which Bishop Gherasim Adamovici sat first, for its making 190 florins from the village, from mayor Bucur Drăgoi, and for the same German 8 florins were given from charity. At the year 1793 : the iconostasis (archaic Romanian: tâmplă) of the altar was done and for table makers 72 florins were paid : to the German craftsman for carving the flowers again 72 florins, and for gilding 200 florins : Coman Sfăra from Răşinari for 4 florins and also for the altar 20 florins, and for the workings at the altar in the year 1795 : October 29. Also in this year the Table of oblation was made for 48 : florins :... Also at the year 1795 : The crucifix[110] was made as well as the flowers on the top of the Iconostasis 2 : pieces that were gilded. The Iconostasis, the Pulpit and the crucifix and the iconostasis from the altar and the flowers on top of the iconostasis were made by carpenter Krişţov Kalman from the famous fortress-city of Sibiu, who began the gilding in the year 1792 : and finished at the end of this year 1795 : November. 20...
>
> *La anul 1791 : au tocmit preoţii şi bătrânii pe un neamţ anume Eber Hoart născut de la Buda piltehaur adecă săpător de flori şi au făcut Iconostasul şi l-au plătit Simion Poplăcian şi cu Dumitru Tălmăcean, pe făcut pe zugrăvit 714 : La anul 1792 : s-au tocmit catedra tot cu acelaş neamţ pe făcut 120 : flor : din lada satului şi 4 : stânjeni de lemne 8 : flor : Tot într-acest an s-au făcut Scaunul cel Arhieresc [pe] care au şezut întâi vlădica Gerasim Adamovici şi s-au cheltuit numai pe făcut 190 : flor : dintr-ai satului de la judele Bucur Drăgoi şi tot la acelaşi neamţ neavând cu ce isprăvi i s-au dat din milostenie 8 : flor : La anul 1793 : s-au făcut catapeteasma la prestol şi s-au plătit pe măsari 72 : flor : la neamţ pe săpatul florilor iară 72 : de flor : şi au plătit pe poleitul aurului 200 : de flor : Coman Sfăra din Răşinari : pe 4 : flor : iar tot la prestol 20 : flor : şi lucrul acesta al prestolului la anul 1795 : Octomvrie 29 : Tot în anul acesta s-au făcut Proscomidia şi s-au cheltuit 48 : de flor : ... Tot la anul 1795 : s-au făcut raspetia şi florile de pe vârful tâmplii 2 : ştiucuri s-au poleit. Iconostasul şi catedra şi raspetia şi catapeteazma de la prestol şi florile de pre vârful tâmplii de dumnealui fărgoltăr Krişţov Kalman din vestita cetate a Sibiului, au început a să polei la anul 1792 : şi şi-au luat sfârşitul la acest an 1795 : Noem. 20...*[111]

Furniture items crafted between 1791 and 1795 are still preserved, though some of them are incomplete or have been placed elsewhere than in the church. Nothing is mentioned in Savva Popovici's report about other decorative elements crafted then, such as the one positioned next to the iconostasis, or the Ark-icon (*icoana-chivot*) of the altar. From the furniture that is no longer in use in the church, the table of oblation (*Proskomedia*) is exhibited in the parish Museum, together with a fragment from the Archpriest's throne. All the other objects, including the rest of the pieces from which the throne was made, or the decorative elements from the old altar's canopy have been identified and recovered with the intent of restoration from where they were put in storage many years ago.[112]

Much information can be gathered from the report written by Savva Popovici on the nature of each of the sculpture campaigns from end of the 18th century. It records the interventions made in 1791, or possibly even during the previous year, on the iconostasis completed by Ioan, the carpenter of Câmpulung. Sculptor Eber Hoart, whose identity will be referred to later on in this paper, was given only the task of embellishing the iconostasis with ornaments that would increase its sumptuous aspect. The most spectacular effect was obviously conferred by the additions to the area crowning the church, including the crucifix icon with *molenia* (Fig. 42-45), and what is identified in the document by the phrase "flowers on the top of the iconostasis", namely two symmetrical arched side panels consisting of rich ornaments executed in the technique of the hemstich sculpture (Fig. 35).[113] Based on certain "common aesthetic features" with the artistic works mentioned above, other decorations, carved and applied to the upper side, crowning both the royal doors (Fig. 36) and the deacon's doors can be attributed to the same artist.

In 1792, the same German sculptor agreed on the appropriate price for carving the pulpit ornaments (Fig. 38), as well as for the 4 fathoms of wood necessary for the completion of the same piece. At the same time, Eber Hoart was contracted to craft the archbishop's throne (Fig. 39, 40, 41); in 1793, two pieces were commissioned to the aforementioned artist, with the purpose of furnishing the sanctuary: the "iconostasis of the altar and the table of oblation". As mentioned previously, the table of oblation is now in the museum in the former Episcopal house. The canopy that once covered the altar table was removed at some point. The elements from which it was made are almost entirely lost, save for a few fragments (Fig. 37) and the pedestal that neatly integrates the stone table laid there by Bishop Aron on the dedication of the church on its four sides (Fig. 7). However, there is a description of the two objects, made by archpriest Emilian Cioran at a time when they could still be seen in the apse of the church: "In the altar, above the table, there is a carved wooden canopy, fixed on four richly-ornamented pillars. The all-seeing eye of God, in a triangular halo, figures the gift of God that, like a shadow, watches over the altar table. Such a canopy is also found at the table of oblation, both carved and gilded by Eber Hoart "flower carver" (*săpătoriu de flori*). At the table of oblation we find «Ioan the painter».[114] The oldest covering on the altar table, made of silk, was given by Apostol[115] of governor Hrizea who lived in Răşinari in the 18th century, and married the daughter of teacher Aleman Galea".[116] The gilding of all these sculpted objects was done between 1792 and 1795 by the Hungarian craftsman Krişţov Kalman (Kristóf Kálmán), *Fărgoltăr* (gilder) from Sibiu.





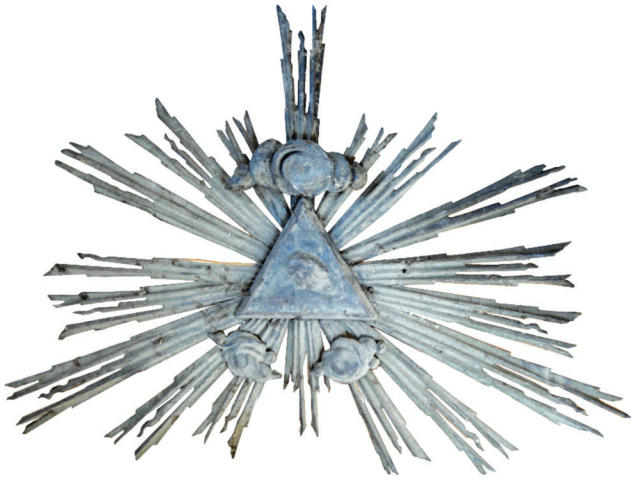
▲ Fig. 35. The carved decoration of the iconostasis (detail), crown. Carver Franz Eberhardt, gilder Kristof Kalman (1791-1795).

▲ Fig. 36. The carved decoration of the iconostasis (detail), the crown of the royal doors. Carver Franz Eberhardt, gilder Kristian Kalman (1791-1795).

The author of the sculpted furniture is identified by the priest Savva Popovici as "a certain German Eber Hoart, born in Buda, pitehaur or flower-carver". It is possible that the form "Eber Hoart" actually resulted from the approximate phonetic adaptation of the German name Eberhardt, since the author of the document has often adapted the uttering of foreign names to the Romanian pronunciation. For instance, the Hungarian name Kristóf was written as *Krişţov*, while more common German names that referred to the practitioners of crafts such as *fărgoltăr* (*Vergolder* = gilder) and *pitehaur* (*Bildhauer* = sculptor) were also pronounced and written according to the rules of the Romanian language). This hypothesis may be supported by the fact that an artist of the same name was certified in the area at the same time. Based on information found in a civil status register from 1886, we can see that the author made a list of Transylvanian artists, among whom he mentioned a certain Franz Eberhardt, sculptor from Sibiu, who died in that city at the age of 45, on January 12, 1799.[117] The historian Jósef Biró also makes a record of the sculptor Franz Eberhardt in connection with his contribution to the interior decoration of the Roman Catholic Episcopal Cathedral in Oradea, stating that, at the time of his arrival in Transylvania, the artist had Hungarian citizenship.[118]

If we admit that Eber Hoart and Franz Eberhardt were one and the same person, then the information that Jósef Biró communicates about the origin of the sculptor is confirmed by the document from Răşinari, stating that he was "born in Buda". Moreover, it is possible that such a finding would lead to the formulation of another hypothesis regarding his origin, namely that there was a degree of kinship between him and sculptor Anton Eberhard (1725[119]-1768), Franz being perhaps the son of Anton. Anton (Antal) Eberhardt was born in the town of Győr, where he acquired his artistic craft, becoming a sculptor just like his elder brother Johann (Janós), and another brother of his, Joseph (József), who was a carpenter. Around 1750, sculptor Anton Eberhard was to settle in Buda,[120] the rights of citizenship being recognized in 1756.[121] From his rich artistic activity in Buda, numerous statues and decorations carved in wood and stone, executed for several parish churches of the city, were chosen: Sts. Peter and Paul – Óbuda (1744-1749), St. Catherine (1752), the Assumption – Nagykovácsi (where he collaborated with his brother, "completing, in 1754, the main altar, and in 1761, the side altars"), St. Ana (lateral altars, 1767, 1768) or the Franciscan church (*Belvarosi Ferences Templom*).[122]

Franz Eberhardt alias Eber Hoart was born in Buda in 1754, at a time when sculptor Anton Eberhardt was a resident of the metropolis, awaiting recognition of his status as a citizen, and was in full artistic bloom. In such circumstances, the family relationship between the two becomes extremely plausible. It is known that Franz began to practice wood carving as an independent artist, therefore with skills already acquired, around the age of 20, which would indicate the possibility that he had begun his instruction very early, as it often happened with the offspring of artists. He chose to make his way to professional fulfillment by



◣ Fig. 37. The canopy of the Holy Table (detail). Franz Eberhardt (1793-1795).

▼ Fig. 38. Pulpit. Carver Franz Eberhardt, gilder Krištov Kalman (1792-1795).

▼ Fig. 39. Hierarch throne (reconstitution). Carver Franz Eberhardt (1792-1795)

◢ Fig. 40. Hierarch throne. Carver Franz Eberhardt (1792-1795).



leaving Buda and transferring his activity to Transylvania, making a (likely) first stop in Oradea. As early as 1761 some historians mistakenly attributed him sculptures destined for the Minorites church in Arad,[123] which was impossible since at the time the sculptor was only 7 years old. However, it is a fact that his work is mentioned for the first time in connection with the decoration of wooden statues and carved vegetal ornaments of the altars of the Roman Catholic Episcopal Cathedral in Oradea, made after the year 1777. In the "Register of Accounts (20 July 1785) of the canonical Joseph Solomon" it was recorded, alongside the names of other several craftsmen, carvers in stone or wood, that of "Francis Eberhardt (... With an amount of 5380 florins)".[124] To him was also "attributed the execution of the altar of the Evangelical church at Hărman (Braşov county)",[125] from the year 1779.[126] Probably shortly before the 1786 re-consecration of the parish church dedicated to Sts. Simon and Judas in the village of Cetăţuia (Mag. *Csatószeg*, Harghita county), the artist crafted the "figurative pieces of the altar"[127] in this Roman Catholic church, but possibly also the carved decorations of the pulpit.

When exactly Franz Eberhardt settled in Sibiu is still uncertain, but we can assume the reason why he felt attracted to this city. Marked by the austerity of the Protestant spirit until the arrival of the Austrians in Transylvania, the urban atmosphere of Sibiu had changed, especially in the last two or three decades of the eighteenth century. At that time it saw an intense church-building program either in the Roman-Catholic, Greek-Catholic, Reformed or Orthodox communities, as well as the rise of residential buildings such as those of Governor Samuel von Brukenthal, architecturally and decoratively designed in the manner of the late Baroque, but with more pronounced classical notes. All those buildings were adorned with statues and richly sculpted ornamental profiles, both inside and out. In the city that lies on the banks of Cibin river, such an activity demanded the presence, of stone or wood carvers and foreign stucco-makers from German, Austrian, or other Transylvanian artistic centers[128] for longer or shorter periods of time. It was therefore natural for the Romanian communities as well, as founders of the churches that were being built or embellished during this period in the city or in nearby villages such as Răşinari, to request the collaboration of some of the craftsmen mentioned above. In addition, these artists probably desired to fully integrate into the urban society and promote, through the works they had ordered, the new Western artistic styles. In all those places of worship, the production of liturgical furniture was exclusively commissioned to foreign craftsmen, and bears the imprint of stylistic eclecticism specific to the end of the eighteenth century.

Fig. 41. Hierarch throne (detail).



Considered a part of sculptor Franz Eberhardt's entire and undoubtedly more extensive creation in relation to what is currently being attributed to him, the group of furniture items he produced for the St. Paraskevi church in Răşinari manifests the most complex character, demonstrating a higher level of artistic and technical experience his craft had reached during the last years of life, and recommending him as one of the most gifted Transylvanian sculptors of those times.

The impressively diverse repertoire of the decorative motifs that inspired Franz Eberhard in the decoration of the sculpted furniture pieces he crafted in Răşinari, as well as in any place where he was invited to exercise his talent and mastery, is common with that of his contemporary artists, employed to contribute to the sumptuous aspect of church or palace interiors from Sibiu. The way in which he managed to organize the large array of elements from which his compositions are made is also a dominant trait of the art of that period, oriented towards the expression of the balanced ratio between sensitivity and reason by the artistic processes. The analytical trend in the interpretation of forms predominantly inspired from the vegetal universe:[129] the garlands of acanthus, laurel, and oak leaves adorned with rose, sunflower, and poppy flowers, or with various fruits – grapes, pears, plums, gourd, in combination, here and there, with ribbons and urns, is indicative of an effort towards an openly manifested effort to achieve a degree of synthesis. The geometrical and symmetrical arrangement of vegetal ornamentation makes these decorations, naturalistic in appearance, to be very orderly and architectural in essence.[130]

Finally, we should refer to the author of the images painted during the last period mentioned above, on the *molenia* crucifix and those distributed on the pulpit and the crown of the pulpit. The cost, representing an amount of 714 florins, was calculated in exchange for the realization of "crucifix" and other carved ornamentation applied to the iconostasis according to the note drawn up in 1795. However, as far as we can understand, the payment was made separately: "for the making", therefore for the execution of the sculpted decoration and "for painting", thus the painter who was the author of the crucifix icon was also paid separately.

Saveta-Florica Pop attributed to Gheorghe, the son of Iacov from Răşinari, the paternity of the paintings on the liturgical furniture, assuming to be the same hand that painted the icons on the iconostasis (identifying the possible initials of the name of this painter, noted at the base of the cross on the iconostasis). According to her, "Gheorghe would return to Răşinari in 1795, when he completed the cross with the Crucifixion and the *molenia*, plus the pulpit, pieces that evoke a strong influence of the Baroque, both as regards the manner of painting and decoration. The initials G.B. inscribed at the base of the cross with the Crucifixion, on both sides of Christ's feet, attested the work of Gheorghe the Painter (*Zugravul*). This type of signature, using the initials,









Fig. 42. Crucifix icon. Carver Franz Eberhardt. Painter Joseph Neuhauser (1795).

Fig. 43. *Molenia.* Carver Franz Eberhardt. Painter Joseph Neuhauser (1795).

Fig. 44. *Molenia.* Carver Franz Eberhardt. Painter Joseph Neuhauser (1795).

Fig. 45. Crucifix (detail).



▲ Fig. 46. Crucifix icon. Church of the "Greeks" in Sibiu. Iconostasis. Currently in the Archangels church in Gura Râului. Painter Joseph Neuhauser (1798).

is often found in his artistic creations. He usually used G. Z. (*Gheorghe Zugrav*), yet this time we consider that the painter wanted to display in his home community his social condition, that of a boyar, in which Iacov the Painter, his father, had been invested. Beginning with 1782, Gheorghe started to add the specification of his status as boyar on his artistic works, next to his name. An example of this is the inscription from the church in *Valea Largă* (Sălciua village, Alba County)".[131]

However, upon close inspection of the capital letters to which Saveta-Florica Pop referred to, we find that the second letter is "B" (*Vede*, corresponding to the Latin letter V) and not the sign that is related in form, but nevertheless different, of the letter Б (*Buke*, corresponding to the Latin B). This is clearly proven by the use of both characters in the writing of the appellation Bogoslov (Б[О]ГОСЛОВ), associated to the name of the St. John (the Theologian), mirroring his image on the prayers-icon (molenia) mounted to the right of the crucifix (Fig. 44). Moreover, the two Cyrillic letters (Г: В:) are arranged slightly below the feet of the Savior and in the vicinity of the skull with crossed bones at the base of the Cross (Fig. 45), which the two letters appear to indicate. As part of the old symbols accompanying the image of the Crucifixion in Eastern iconography, these bones are sometimes described by using the Slavonic word глава (*glava*, meaning 'head'), denoted either in abbreviated form Г: В: or Г: А:, or by the words which make up the phrase ГЛАВА АДАМА (*Glava Adama*, meaning 'Adam's skull'). In this context they are meant to evoke that pious tradition, according to which the blood dripping from the wounds of the crucified Savior washed the skull of Adam, the forefather.

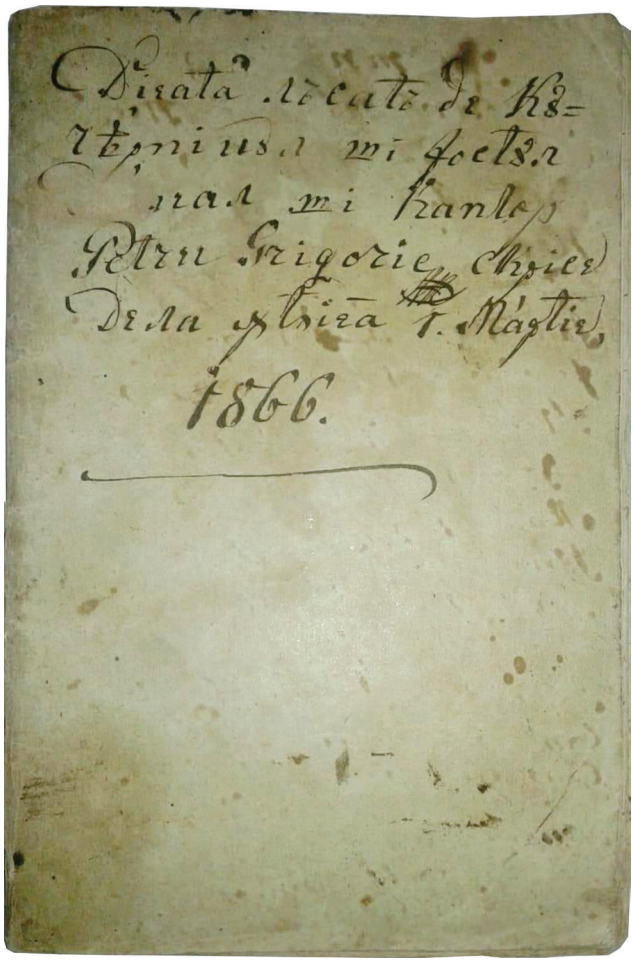
Therefore, the hypothetical attribution of the crucifix-icon to Gheorghe the Painter (*Zugravul*) can no longer be sustained, being also improbable if considered from the perspective of the different style that this artist's works emphasize, for instance, the icons painted by him for the iconostasis of the church in Răşinari. There is, instead, a striking similarity between this work and the painting of the crucifix icon made between 1797-1799[132] by painter Joseph Neuhauser from Sibiu, in order to crown the iconostasis of the Transfiguration church belonging to the "Greek" merchants' company in Sibiu (Fig. 46).

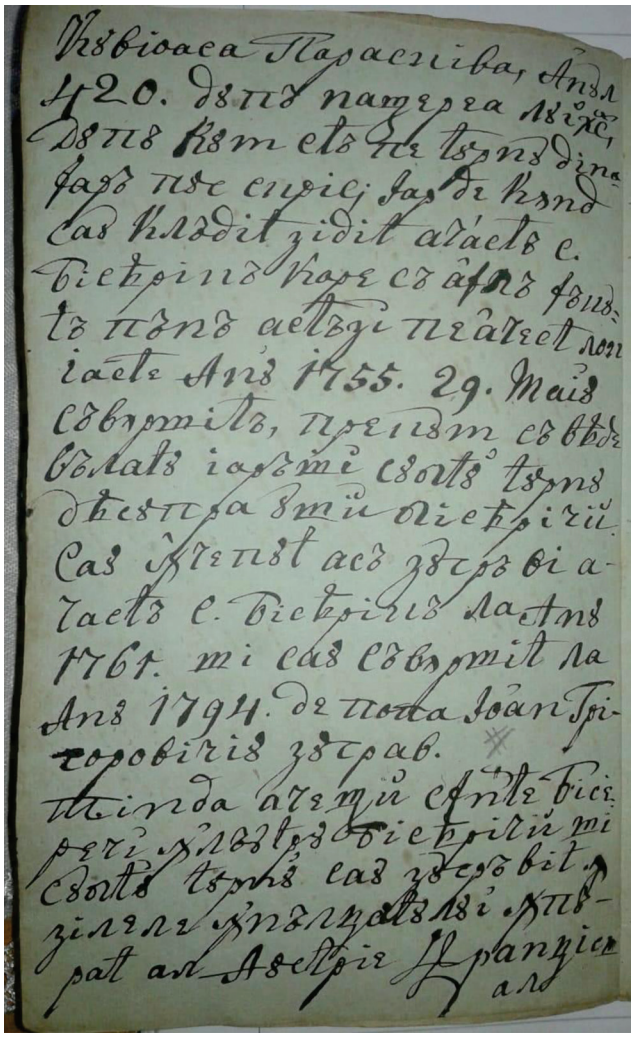
The Austrian-origin painter Joseph Neuhauser who settled in Sibiu in 1785, worked until his death in 1815 at the age of 48 as drawing master for the Normal School of the Theresian Orphanage.[133] His involvement in the painting of some icons for the church in Răşinari should not, therefore, come as a surprise. A previous collaboration of his with the Romanians in Sibiu is attested by the 1795 painting of the iconostasis of the Greek-Catholic Romanian church from Măierimea de peste Cibin, a work that no longer existed by mid-20th century but is still preserved in a vintage photograph. He might have also had dealings with the Orthodox inhabitants of the same suburb, who had probably commissioned him the painting of the *raspetia* for the iconostasis in St. Luke church from *Strada Lungă* (lit. Long Street), consecrated in 1791 by Bishop Gherasim Adamovici. The building, heavily altered during the last century, still has the original royal doors, the cross with prayers and two candlesticks, these being most probably the works of sculptor Franz Eberhardt. The painting of the crucifix and of the prayers, completed at that time, was covered by other successive representations. However, from what can still be observed not without difficulty in an old photograph of the interior of the church, the aspect of the iconographic representations applied on the support of these pieces may lead to the hypothesis that they were indeed painted by Joseph Neuhauser.

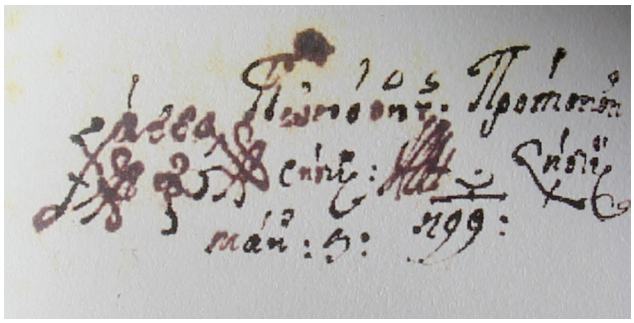
In addition, the images of the evangelists doubled by their symbols from the medallions decorating the body of the pulpit in the church from Răşinari display similarities with the representations of the same saints on the icon painted by Neuhauser in the Greek-Catholic church from Maierii Sibiului. This aspect can be observed in the old photograph of the sculpted iconostasis, especially in the icon of St. Luke, where the association of the figure of the calf with the evangelist is similar to the representation of the same saint on the pulpit of the church in Răşinari.

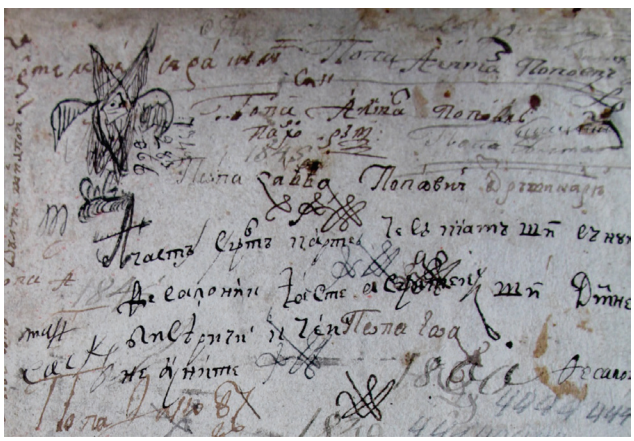
As far as the other two images painted on the furniture items, the icon of the Savior blessing on the panel mounted under the lectern crown can be attributed to Popa Ioan Grigorievici.[134] The same might held true for the panel mounted beneath the canopy of the oblation table, today very blackened by soot, featuring the Inhexaustible Chalice theme. However, the author of the icon of the Virgin Mary holding the Child Jesus, decorating the ark placed on the altar table carved by Franz Eberhardt, remains anonymous.

The process of building St. Paraskevi church in Răşinari, as well as that of its decoration with wall paintings and icons and its endowment with precious furniture, vessels, and liturgical veils extended over almost half a century, between 1752 and 1798. Presumably, this was the most complex and elaborate artistic project for the Transylvanian Romanian ecclesiastical environment of the 18th









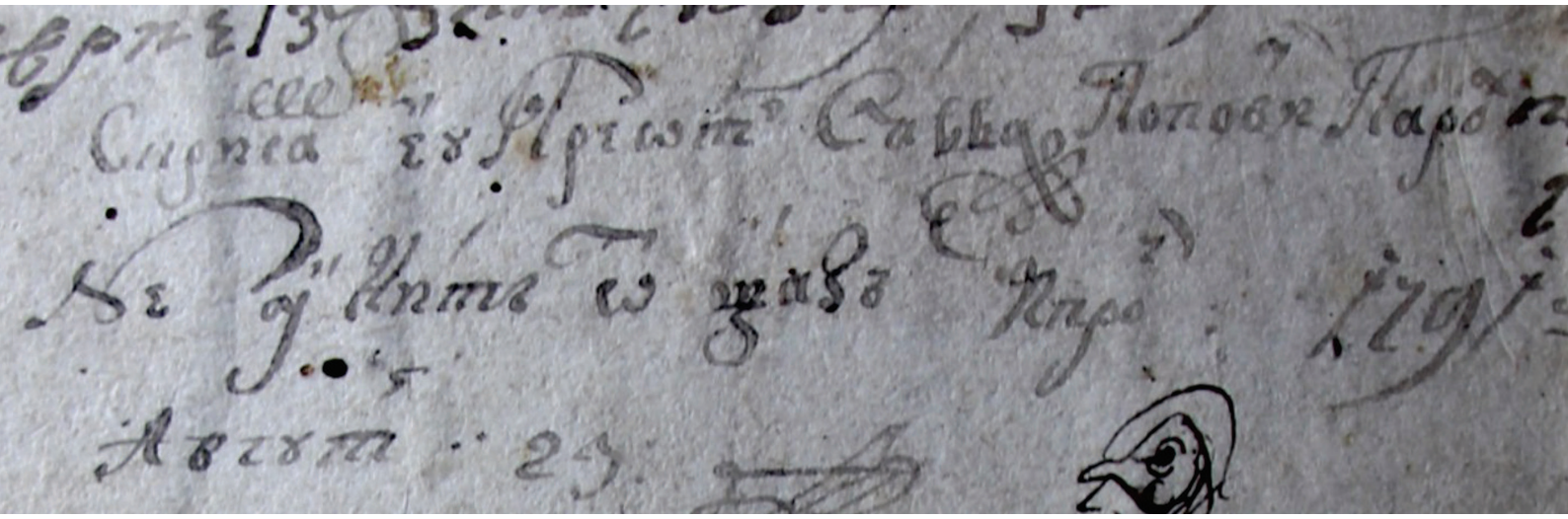
▲ Fig. 47. Manuscript of the *Diata* (chronicles) of Petru Grigorie the chanter (1866).

◥ Fig. 48. Manuscript of the *Diata* (chronicles) of Petru Grigorie the chanter (1866).

▶ Fig. 49. Archpriest Savva Popovici of Sibiu. Signature (1799).

◢ Fig. 50. Signature of Priest Savva Popovici ot Răşinari and Priest Aliman Popovici.

century. It was also one of the few public enterprises supported by so many Transylvanian bishops, from Petru Pavel Aron and Dionisie Novacovici, to Sofronie Chirilovici, Ghedeon Nichitici, and Gherasim Adamovici. This patronage, defined by excellence, was doubled by the worthiness and enthusiasm of priests and deacons such as Tatomir, Vasilie, Şerb, Savva, and Alăman Popovici, who proved able to deftly manage the resources that the villagers of Răşinari were ready to provide with piety and devotion. In addition, these coryphaei also had the merit of transforming the achievements described above into an identity manifesto, an expression of the Romanian civilization, culture, and spirituality in Transylvania. Inspired by the post-Byzantine architectural program of the Wallachian tradition, the church of Răşinari was conceived at dimensions that go beyond the usual proportions of ecclesiastical spaces in Wallachia. The bell tower on the western side is one of the most impressive among the Romanian churches, contributing both to the enhancement of the monumental effect and to the synthesis of the styles specific to the worship places in this part of the country. The economic strength that the villagers of Răşinari had in the 18th century allowed them



▲ Fig. 51. Signature: "Priest Savva Popovici, Orthodox priest ot Ştază i proci (and other)" (1791).

to commission the most gifted craftsmen to decorate the building. As it was natural to happen in an artistic center with an established tradition, the painters chosen were either local artists or craftsmen working in neighboring villages: Ivan and Nistor, Stan and his nephew (his brother's son), Gheorghe, Oprea Popovici, and Ioan of Poplaca. Other artists to whom works were commissioned came from beyond the mountains, from Wallachia. Linked by birth to Câmpulung and by their craftsmanship to the Brancovan art, Ioan the Carpenter and the father-son painters Grigorie Ranite and Ioan Grigorievici were also called to work for the church in Răşinari. The last two artists mentioned here were finally 'adopted' by Transylvania, which absorbed them into an artistic stream that, owing to their contribution, was becoming more and more specific. The original synthesis of the Transylvanian painting style was also included in the melting pot that, for several decades, the Răşinari church had become. At the same time with the substantial infusion of elements inspired by the tradition of the Wallachian art, there was a counter-current tendency to assimilate Western stylistic formulae, highlighted in the expression of the icons painted by Gheorghe, the son of Iacov and, even more pronouncedly, by the Răşinari villagers' choice to entrust the adornment of the church to artists from the European West, *i.e.* sculptor Franz Eberhardt and painter Joseph Neuhauser. This orientation will become a predilection, reflected in the Western style in which the new church dedicated to the Holy Trinity and built during the first two decades of the 19th century in Răşinari can be included, both architecturally and decoratively.

Notes:

1 *Храм свнта црква пр[ъ]по[до]бна Параскева, pentru moşiile besearicii, ceale date de Marele Hearţegu Domnu Rad[u] – Vod[ă] Negru… Leat 6891 [1383], m[e]s[i]ţa Ghen[arie] 7, за поминание дша их [pentru pomenirea sufletului său]* ("*Храм свнта црква пр[ъ]по-[до]бна Параскева*, for the estates of the church, those given by the Great Hertseg and ruler Rad[u] – Vod[ă] Negru… Completion time 6891 [1383], month of January 7, *за поминание дша их*, [for the remembrance of his soul]"; a fragment from *Cartea ocolniţă a hotarului satului Răşinariu* ("The Topography Book of the Răşinariu Village Border"), identified in the old Romanian school in Răşinari and currently preserved in the Parish Museum. The document was published by Nicolae Iorga, but he considered it an 18th-century "invention" that used at least in part older authentic sources, including passages from a donation of 1383. Iorga 1906a, p. 229 et seq.

2 Miron 2004, p. 336, 483.

3 On a stone plate mounted on the western façade of the church, under the roof.

4 On a stone plate mounted on the southern façade of the bell tower.

5 Iorga 1906a.

6 The Hunnic Empire was founded by Rugila or Rua, Attila's uncle.

7 Răşinari appears for the first time in written documents in 1381. Cf. Luca, Pinter, Georgescu, 2003, p. 177.

8 Miron 2004, p. 336, 483.

9 The Statistics of 1733 recorded 12 Greek-Catholic priests in Răşinari. Togan 1898; Bunea 2012, p. 333.

10 Bunea 1901, p. 252; *Şematismul* 1900, p. 599.

11 Păcală 1915, p. 358; Dragomir 2002, p. 215-217.

12 Bunea 2012, p. 333.

13 Miron 2004, pp, 336, 337, n. 230.

14 Păcală 1915, p. 359.

15 Păcală 1915, p. 77.

16 Cioran 1940, p. 325.

17 Bunea 1902, p. 10, 33-34.

18 *Translatio Testimonialum de inventis metalibus in templo s. Parascevae. Infrascriptus praesentium vigore fidem facio quod anno 1753 d. 5. Junii tempore dum antiquum templum resinariense dirutum sodalis meus in ruderibus antiqui templi librum quendam forte invenerit, quem accurens Valachus Alliman cognominatus f. Popae Szavul ad se recepit. Reliqua deo commendo. Sign. Cibinii anno 1773. 4. Junii. Johannes Drotlich cehae Murariorum Cibin. magister.* See *Archiv* 1853, p. 73, 74; Cioran 1940, p. 325, n. 1.

19 Bunea 1902, p. 33.

20 Bunea 1902, p. 33.

21 See a note written by deacon Iacov Izdrail on a collection of homilies kept in the same church of Răşinari: *în Ardeal Vl[ă]d[i]că fiind d. Pavel; întru acestŭ anŭ (1754) aŭ venit acest Vl[ă]d[i]că în Ardeal* ("…in Transylvania, bishop being Pavel, in this year (1754), this

Bishop came to Transylvania"). Iorga 1906b, p. 155, inscript. 531.

22 Bunea 1902, p. 215, n. 4.

23 Cioran 1940, p. 330.

24 References: Chindriş 2016, p. 201, 202; Tatai-Baltă 1986; Tatai-Baltă 1995, p. 117-118,193; Tatai-Baltă *s.a.*, p. 5-7, fig. 1; Tatai-Baltă 2005, p. 94, 99, fig. 2.

25 Bunea 1902, p. 118.

26 Porumb 1998, p. 327.

27 If the Cyrillic character Ш (Şt), added at the end of the inscription, initially represented the hydronyme *Ştază* (*Ştează*), priest Vasilie would be assigned an area of the parish in Răşinari located along the brook crossing the village. Later, priest Savva Popovici, the Young, is recommended in a similar way, as *paroh neunit ot Ştază…* ("non-Greek Catholic parish priest of Ştază …").

28 Hitchins, Beju 1989, p. v.

29 Bogdan-Duică 1896; see also Păcală 1915, p. 358, n. 1; 365.

30 Pop, Cucui, Dumitran 2010, p. 68-78, fig. 44-60.

31 Cioran 1940, p. 333; Porumb 1983-1984, p. 380; Porumb 2003, p. 43-45.

32 Pop 2009, p. 101.

33 Porumb 2003, p. 45, n. 20.

34 Pop, Cucui, Dumitran 2010, p. 34.

35 In the Conscription records of the Romanian clergy, of 1733, priest Şerb (Şărban), ordained in 1730, was not registered as Greek-Catholic. See Hitchins, Beju, 1989, p. V.

36 Inscription above the "Deisis" icon, placed on the upper register of the southern façade.

37 Inscription on the left side of the "Lamentation of Christ" icon, on the façade of the eastern apse.

38 On the large icon of the "Holy Archangel Michael", from the lower register of the southern façade.

39 On the icon of "St. John the Baptist", from the upper register of the southern façade.

40 On the large icon of "Holy Archangel Michael", from the upper register of the northern façade.

41 Dumitran 2010, p. 93, n. 51.

42 Iorga 1906b, p. 155, doc. 531.

43 While participating in the completion of the exterior painting of the church, the members of priest Şerb's family proved to be equally enthusiastic in donating the money needed to pay the painters of frescoes and icons located inside the church.

44 Dumitran 2010, p. 89, n. 42.

45 1760. *Fiind zug[ravi] la această boltă cu evangheliști, Grigorie, Ioan sin ego* ("1760. Being the painters at the vault of the evangelists, Grigorie, Ioan sin ego") – on the pendant with the representation of evangelist Luke. Cioran 1940, p. 333; Porumb 1983-1984, p. 387, n. 57; Dumitran 2010, p. 89, n. 43.

46 *…Fiind zugrafi Grigorie, Ioniţă sin ego, 1761, 1761* ("Being painters Grigorie, Ioniţă sin ego, 1761 (Cyrillic characters) 1761 (numbers)". The complete text of the inscription from the the southern wall of the narthex was published by Saveta-Florica Pop. Pop 2013a, p. 419, n. 2.

47 Dumitran 2010, p. 89, 90, n. 44.

48 Porumb 1976, p. 108, 121, fig. 6, 36; Pop 2013a, p. 419-446.

49 Of these, only the icon of Saint Nicholas is still preserved in the church of Răşinari, the other three having been stolen at the end of 20th century. Photographic reproductions of these icons were published by Porumb 1998, p. 319; Porumb 2003, il. 109; Pop 2013a, p. 436, 437, ilu. 1-3.

50 Pop 2013a, p. 436, 437.

51 Cioran 1940, p. 332.

52 Chihaia 1988, p. 209 et seq.; Chihaia 1968, p. 22.

53 Rădulescu 2010, p. 71 et seq..

54 Abrudan 2017a.

55 Ciobanu 1926, p. 76, n. 1.

56 Cioran 1940, p. 331, n. 2.

57 Bunea 1902, p. 215, 216.

58 Cioran 1940, p. 331.

59 Iorga 1902, p. 264, 265.

60 Hitchins, Beju 1974, p. 38, 39. Other sources mention ordinations that took place after this date. See for this the case of the priest Nica of Bran, ordained by Dionisie Novacovici in the church of Răşinari on May 14, 1763. Popa 2007, p. 165, n. 47.

61 Cioran 1940, p. 332.

62 The red velvet covers, the silver plates representing the icon of the "Lord's Ressurection" and the four evangelists, as well as the hinges and latches have been preserved as such.

63 The annulment and replacement in the old text of the church's patronage was made 62 years later, by the hand of the person who wrote a new note on several pages of the book: *Şi s-au preînnoit acesta în zilele • prea înălţatului şi spre neamul nostru • prea milostivului şi prea bunului împărat • Franţ Întâiul • pravoslavnic arhiereu al neuniţilor • din marele prinţipat al Ardealului şi • părţilor lui împreunate, prea luminatul şi prea o sfinţitul şi neamului său • prea bine cugetătoriul domn Vasilie Moga, (…) în Mühlnubach • Domn Direactor şi local protopop• prea cinstitul domn Moisi Fulea • în • fungeşi neuniţi acuma în slobodul şi crăiescul sat Răsinariu aflători preoţi: 1mo Emilian Popovici, sau Kăzan; 2do Iacov Izdrail; 3tis Ego,… Basilius Papp recenzor Iacovici…; 4dus Daniil Popovici sau Savavici; 5dus Petru Brotea • gociman Crăciun Sobaşe(?) • Ano Domini milesimo octingentesimo vigesimo nono 1829 Die 7ma Martie • Amen* ("And it was pre-renewed in the days • of the high, generous • and too merciful and too good emperor • Franz the First [Franciscus Primus - in Latin characters, *nn*] • Orthodox archpriest of worshippers that were not Greek Catholics • from the great principality of Transylvania and • the other parts brought together, too enlightened and too holy and benevolent • ruler. Vasilie Moga, [Basilius Moga - Latin characters, *e.m.*] (…) in Mühlnubach [Szász Sebeş – Latin characters, *e.m.*] • Director and local archpriest • and most honoured Moisi Fulea • In [Nagÿ Ludos - in Latin characters, *e.m*] • Orthodoxs worshippers in the now free and blooming village of Răsinariu, priests: 1mo Emilian Popovici, or Kăzan; 2do Iacov Izdrail; 3tis Ego,… Basilius Papp recenzor Iacovici…; 4dus Daniil Popovici or Savavici; 5dus Petru Brotea • gociman Crăciun Sobaşe(?) • *Ano Domini milesimo octingentesimo vigesimo nono 1829 Die 7*ma March • *Amen*").

64 Cioran 1940, p. 331.

65 Cioran 1940, p. 335.

66 Cioran 1912, p. 124.

67 On the last page of the book entitled *Tesalonic* (*A preafericitului Arhiepiscop al Tesalonicului Simeon: Voroavă de întrebări şi de răspunsuri întru Hristos*; i.e. "The Honored Archbishop of Thessalonica Simeon: A Series of Questions and Answers in the name of Christ") bought for the Orthodox church of Răşinari, in 1777, a beautiful autograph of this priest has been preserved, which reads as such: "Written by me, Priest Savva Popovici, Orthodox parish priest of the non-Grek-Catholic Parish *ot Ştază i proci* August 23, 1791" (fig. 51).

68 Cioran 1940, p. 333, 334.

69 Cioran 1940, p. 335.

70 Pop 2011a, p. 347.

71 The year 1784 appears in Cyrillic letters on the phylactery carried by the Prophet David and, respectively, with numbers, on

King Solomon's phylactery, in the upper register of the Iconostasis (Pop 2011b, p. 180, 502 (ill. 147), 505 (ill. 168, 169), 506 (ill. 178-179)). The year 1785 was also legible in the inscription of the royal icon of the "Mother of God with the child".

72 Emilian Cioran (Cioran 1940, p. 332.) partly deciphered the inscription; see also Porumb 1998, p. 142.

73 Porumb 1998, n. 66.

74 Abrudan 2014, p. 206, 207.

75 "Creiţar" was a silver coin worth one-hundredth of one florin.

76 Pop, Cucui, Dumitran 2010, p. 71.

77 Cf. Pop 2011a, p. 349, 355, 356.

78 Cf. Porumb 2003, p. 113; Cf. Pop 2011(I), p. 349, 356.

79 Some of the images painted at that time are currently covered by the stone stairs built in 1865.

80 Pop 2011a, p. 349.

81 Pop 2011a, p. 349.

82 Meteş 1929, p. 130.

83 As mentioned in the manuscript of Savva Popovici from Răşinari, Petru Albu was one of the elders who formed the church council of the Răşinari church ever since 1787. Abrudan 2009, p. 329, n. 81.

84 Cioran 1940, p. 334.

85 The pages of the manuscript (13×21 cm) are unnumbered; numbers appear only for different sections of the text.

86 I express my gratitude to Father Nicolae Jianu from Răşinari, who informed me of the existence of this unpublished manuscript.

87 Popa 2007, p. 104, n. 332.

88 *La 11 Ianur. 838 s-au cutremurat pământul atâta de tare încât s-au crepat S. Biserică cea noao din Copăcele noaptea pe la 10 ceasuri. Răşinari, luna, Anul mai sus scrise. Prin Petru Gligorie Dascăl neunit la S. Biserică cea nouă. 1838* ("On January 11, 838, the earth shook so powerfully that the walls of the new church from Copăcele cracked during the night, at about 10 o'clock. Răşinari, the month and the year mentioned above. Petru Gligorie Orthodox chanter in the new church. 1838").

89 Pop 2013a, p. 430.

90 Pop 2013a, p. 429.

91 Pop 2013a, p. 429.

92 Abrudan 2017b, p. 593.

93 Cioran 1940, p. 331.

94 In the 1767 conscription book of the Greek-Catholic diocese of Făgăraş written by Bishop Atanasie Rednic in Răşinari, the name of priest Pătru, ordained in Bucharest, is also mentioned. Dumitran, Dumitran, Laslo 2009, p. 172, 173.

95 A priest from Răşinari called Ioanăş (Iuones) had been ordained by Atanasie Anghel in 1711. Hitchins, Beju 1989, p. v.

96 *Neştiind sau vorbind rău româneşte, arhiereii sârbi, care tindeau să-şi extindă jurisdicţia canonică şi asupra Transilvaniei, ţineau pe lângă ei un secretar român* ("Unable to speak Romanian, or speaking it badly, the Serbian arch-hierarchs, who tended to extend their canonical jurisdiction to Transylvania, hired Romanian secretaries, who accompanied them"). Pervain 1971, p. 34, N. 16; Dimitrie studied in Moscow, where he probably mastered his knowledge of Slavic languages. Lupşa 1947, p. 30.

97 Cioran 1955 (1991), p. 8-9; apud Pop 2013a, p. 430, n. 45.

98 Nicolae Iorga published the following note, marked *pe un cronograf admirabil caligrafiat (de la Răşinari): Şi am scris eu popa Savva Popovici de la Răşinariu, asesor cons[istoriului] ep[is]cop[esc], August 10, 1790…* ("on an admirable chronograph (written in Răşinari): And I, priest Savva Popovici, wrote from Răşinari, as Assessor to the Bishopric administration, August 10, 1790…") (Iorga 1906b, p. 155. doc. 532); *Savva Popovič, protopopŭ ot Răşinariŭ*, signed, on April 20, 1795, a certificate for 15 florins received from the representatives of the Greek company in Sibiu, for the remembrance of Dimitrie Dutca (Iorga 1906a, Doc. CCXXXIV, p. 117). On another document, published by N. Iorga, representing an act of hiring a representative at the church of Bungard, there was the signature of *Savva Popovič, protopopŭ alŭ Sibiiuluĭ, de la Răşinari, şi asesor conzistorum episcopesc, la ani 1795, Oc[tomvrie] 18* ("Savva Popovič, Protopopŭ alŭ Sibiiuluĭ, from Răşinari, and Assessor of the Bishop's Conzistorum, at years 1795, Oc[tomvrie] 18") (Iorga 1906b, Doc. XXXI, p. 294); *Sibiiŭ, 26 Septembre 1796, «c[alendarul] vech[iŭ]… Savva Popovič, protop[opul] Sibiiului şi asesor conz[istorial], Ilie Popovič, paroh im[părătesc] si asesor…* ("Sibiu, September 26, 1796, «C[alendar] Vech[iŭ] … Savva Popovič, Protop[ope] Sibiu and Conz[istorial] Assessor, Ilie Popovič, emperor's parish priest and Assessor…»") (Iorga 1906a, Doc. CCLII, p. 121).

99 Lupaş 1928, p. 18.

100 Father Mircea Păcurariu believes that Bishop Gideon Nichitici appointed Savva Popovici 'the Old' as Consistorial Assessor (diocesan adviser) "since the first year of his activity as priest, 1784… And that he became a trustworthy man of the last Serbian bishop of Transylvania, Gherasim Adamovici, whom he accompanied in his canonical visits to the diocese …". Păcurariu, 2002, p. 42.

101 Ioachim Simion was registered as Parish priest and administrator of the Orthodox Bishopric of Sibiu (*Parochus et Archidiaconus*) in the conscription written by Bishop Dionisie Novacovici, in 1767. Hitchins, Beju 1984, p. 563.

102 The year 1780, mentioned in connection with the alleged date of death of Archpriest Ioachim Simion, is included in the funerary list (*pomelnic*) of priests who serving in the "Palm Sunday" church of Avrig.

103 Dimitrie Eustatievici held the office of "secretary" intermittently (1762-1767, 1771-1773, and 1784-1785 inclusive)". Pervain 1971, p. 34.

104 Puşcariu 1889, p. 155.

105 Muşlea 1943, p. 134.

106 Brote 1878, p. 9.

107 Cioran 1940, p. 327, 328.

108 Cioran 1940, p. 334.

109 Cioran 1940, p. 334.

110 Crucifixion, (the note is written by Emilian Cioran).

111 Cioran 1940, p. 334, 335, n. 1.

112 The sculpted furniture belonging to the church of Răşinari was recently studied in a BA paper. Dinu 2016.

113 Dinu 2016, p. 20.

114 The reference concerns the icon covering a niche above the altar table. The icon illustrates the Holy Veil and the episode from the Legend of Saint Veronica. The painting is signed by Ioan the painter, identified with Ioan of Poplaca, Cioran 1940, p. 334; Pop 2013b, p. 166, 180.

115 *Cu privire la Răşinari, trebuie să mai amintesc petrecerea aici în a doua jumătate a veacului al XVIII-lea a fugarului Apostol, fiul banului muntean Hrizea şi al soţiei lui Gherghina, care se căsători de două ori, – a doua, cu o pribeagă, Dumitrana, făcând nunta în casa preotului Manea Izdrăilă – şi care a murit la Cluj, lăsând o fată Eva, care se mărită cu dascălul Aliman Galea, în 1783-4, dregătorii români ai Răşinarului dădeau dascălului Aliman mărturiile şi adeverinţele de nevoie pentru a reclama în «ţară» moşiile ce se cuveneau dăscăliţei Eva* ("With regard to Răşinari, it is worth mentioning here that in the second half of the eighteenth century, a certain fugitive, called Apostol, the son of the Wallachian governor Hrizea and of his wife, Gherghina, who married twice, – the second time a wanderer, Dumitrana, made his second wedding in the house Priest Manea Iz-

drailă. He died in Cluj, leaving behind a daughter, Eva, who married the teacher Aliman Galea, in 1783-1784; the Romanian administrators of Răşinari gave the teacher Aliman the testimonies and certificates needed to claim in the other «country» the estates of Eva"). Iorga 1906a, p. XXXIII, XXXIV.

116 Cioran 1940, p. 332.

117 *1799. Franz Eberhardt, Bildhauer in Hermannstadt. Starb 45 Jahre al am 12 Jänner 1799. Siebenb. Intelligenzblatt. v. J. 1799. Nr. 11 S.88.* W.S. 1886 p. 142.

118 Petranu 1935, p. 50.

119 According to another source, his birth year would be 1713 (https://www.gyorikonyvtar.hu/gyel/index.php/Eberhardt_Antal).

120 *Lexicon* 2019a.

121 In the civil status registry, Anton Eberhard, a sculptor, was registered as a citizen of Buda on September 4, 1756. Cf. *Arhiva* 2019.

122 Aggházy 1959, p. 186-187; *Lexicon* 2019b.

123 Marki 1895, p. 827, *apud*, Sabău 1992, p. 152, n. 67; Aggházy 1959, p. 187; apud Lexikon 2019b; Sabău 1992, p. 115; according to other sources of information, *Franz Eberhardt, a sosit (la Oradea) pe la sfârşitul anilor 1750… unde a moştenit atelierul meşterului Joseph Wagner* ("Franz Eberhardt, arrived in (la Oradea) at the end of 1750… where he inherited the workshop of the craftsman Joseph Wagner"); see Kémenes 2017, p. 7.

124 Biró 1932, p. 47, 145, 146; *apud*, Sabău 1992, p. 109, n. 48.

125 Popica 2011, p. 56, 57, n. 31.

126 Aggházy 1959, p. 187; *apud*, *Lexicon* 2019b.

127 Sabău 1992, p. 116.

128 Sabău 1992, p. 27.

129 Zoomorphic motifs appear only in two consoles supporting the pulpit, whose endings are carved as lions' heads.

130 Dinu 2016, p. 31.

131 Pop 2011b, p. 182, p. 507, il. 190 a, 190b-c.

132 The foundation stone of the church in Sibiu was laid on August 31, 1797 (Bodogae 1987, p. 101), and shortly before the construction was completed, on August 6/17, 1799, the "Holy Transfiguration Icon" was placed above the door (Karathanasis 2003, p. 92, Boicu 2017, p. 53).

133 A carefully documented outline of Joseph Neuhauser's biography (1767-1815) was assembled by Julius Bielz (Bielz 1956), an art historian from Sibiu.

134 Pop 2013a, p. 423, 446, fig. 15. Saveta-Florica Pop attributed this icon to Grigore Ranite.

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Perceiving Religious Mysticism in the Key of Political Repression: *The 'Burning Bush' Group*

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RÉSUMÉ: L'effondrement des États communistes de l'Europe de l'Est a mis en lumière des histoires d'héroïsme pendant la répression et fait parler d'oppression, de survie et de dignité. Cependant, les tendances historiographiques récentes cherchent désormais à comprendre les aspects systémiques des quarante-cinq années de Régime communiste en Roumanie. Les études culturelles et sociales, l'histoire comparée, la et l'histoire orale, entre autres, interprètent et redimensionnent nos conceptions sur le mode de vie pendant le communisme. En partant d'une approche post-révisionniste, s'appuyant sur une analyse du discours et sur la sémantique, la présente étude se propose d'interpréter quelques extraits des archives de la police politique (*Securitate*) concernant l'histoire du groupe d'intellectuels et de clercs connu sous le nom de Rugul aprins (*Buisson ardent*), qui ont été cibles de la répression communiste et incarcérés ensemble pour agissements contre l'ordre social. Puisque leurs préoccupations spirituelles et leur philosophie culturelle témoignaient pleinement d'une attitude anti-communiste et d'une critique du régime socialiste, ils sont devenus l'objet d'un suivi informatif de la Securitate, puis inculpés lors d'un procès mené pendant la seconde vague répressive du régime, en 1958. La présente recherche suit la trame narrative et les thèmes du discours de la Securitate, en essayant en même temps de proposer une interprétation de la façon dont les institutions répressives se rapportaient face à l'idée de religiosité et de 'mysticisme'.

MOTS-CLÉ: vie spirituelle, répression politique, répression religieuse, archives de la Securitate, clergé et intellectuels.

REZUMAT: Dacă prăbușirea comunismului aducea lumină asupra poveștilor de eroism din timpul represiunii și vorbea despre opresiune, supraviețuire și demnitate, tendințele istoriografice recente caută mai degrabă să înțeleagă aspecte sistemice ale celor 45 de ani de regim comunist în România. Studiile culturale și sociale, istoria comparată, microistoria și istoria orală, printre altele, interpretează și re-dimensionează conceptele noastre despre viața în comunism. Pornind de la o abordare post-revizionistă, cu ajutorul analizei de discurs și a semanticii, studiul își propune să interpreteze fragmente din arhivele Securității referitoare la povestea grupului de intelectuali și clerici cunoscuți drept „Rugul Aprins", ținte ale represiunii comuniste, care au fost încarcerați în grup sub acuzația de uneltire contra ordinii sociale. Preocupările lor spirituale și ethosul cultural care implica inerent atitudini anti-comuniste și critica regimului socialist i-au transformat în obiective ale urmăririi informative a Securității, și mai apoi în inculpați ai unui proces desfășurat în timpul celui de-al doilea val represiv al regimului, în 1958. Cercetarea noastră urmărește structura narativă și temele discursului Securității, încercând să propună, în același timp, o interpretare asupra modului în care instituțiile represive înțelegeau ideea de religiozitate și de „misticism".

CUVINTE CHEIE: viață spirituală, represiune politică, represiune religioasă, arhivele Securității, cler și intelectuali.

The people and their history[1]

A theme of interest for historians, theologians, philosophers, as well as literature researchers or journalists, the "Burning Bush" group at the Antim monastery in Bucharest benefitted from memorialistic and historiographic retrievals that placed it into a general image of exemplarity. Be it either the exemplarity of their inherent anti-communism (they were labelled as a "spiritual opposition to communism" and "resistance through faith"), the exemplarity of eluding political affiliations (through their image of "cultural circle", "spiritual circle"), or the ideal of "living conviviality" between clergy and intellectuals (recurrent themes such as "the intellectuals and the Church"), the image of the Burning Bush maintains their quality of model, of paradigm for all the aspects mentioned above.

Strictly speaking, the "Burning Bush" refers to a group of intellectuals who, in the beginning of the 1940s, were the promoters of a cultural and theological circle grouped around the Antim monastery of central Bucharest. Their initiative was a result of long term friendships and of cultural and spiritual affiliations that dated back to the interwar era. The group apparently held an official formula as well, as *Our Lady of the Burning Bush Association* (lit. *The Burning Bush of the Mother of God Association*) (Fig. 1). Their activity included public open meetings-lectures, available to the people that visited the Antim monastery on Sunday afternoons, but several group members, as close friends, would also meet weekly to discuss theological issues or



for spiritual guidance.

The original cultural experiment proposed at Antim as well as the Burning Bush's solution for spiritual life under communism continue to intrigue and fascinate. Also, the story of their small community intersects several historical turning points, which make both their collective and individual biographies all the more relevant. First of all, the history of the Burning Bush coincides with significant times in the history of the Romanian Orthodox Church during communism; secondly, their experience of political detention ties them to the universe of the Romanian Gulag and to the issues of repression, memory and suffering. Most of the intellectual and clergy arrested in the Burning Bush group were imprisoned in Aiud, the "typical" prison

destined for cultural and intellectual elites,[2] while the younger students of the group were mainly imprisoned in Gherla and Periprava. Also, their occasional meetings during the 1950s, accurately documented by the Securitate,[3] speak, in fact, of practices of everyday life during communism. Also, not to be neglected when speaking of the Burning Bush members are also issues of biography and identity, particularly religious identities during communism; notably, their anchoring in the mystic and hesychast tradition of Eastern Orthodox Christianity differed from the social Christianity that the Romanian Orthodox Church assiduously promoted in the beginning of the socialist years. Adding to the fact that the local theological tradition was not favourable to the elitist model of the scholar monk, the new desiderates of cohabitation between the Romanian Orthodox Church and the regime somewhat supported the idea of a Christianity for the "masses", acquiring ideological anti-bourgeois, anti-elitist and anti-intellectual emphases. Which was, in itself, a huge disadvantage to the model initiated by the Burning Bush group.

A brief inquiry into the history of the Burning Bush and the historical circumstances that surround them shows us several profiles of interwar intellectuals and clergy: Sandu Tudor (writer, poet, journalist, newspaper owner and director) (Fig. 4), Benedict Ghiuș (theology student, then hierodeacon, hieromonk and, since 1939, archimandrite; foreign student at the Theological Institute in Strasbourg) (Fig. 5), Alexandru Mironescu (scientist and science professor at the University in Bucharest, with a doctoral degree completed in France) (Fig. 6), Vasile Voiculescu (World War I doctor, consecrated poet and writer) (Fig. 7). A deep friendship tied Sandu Tudor and Alexandru Mironescu since the 1930s. Also, their cultural affiliations to other writers and clergymen facilitated their initiative of creating an association that would promote the orthodox hesychast tradition through public conferences and lectures.

A first event took place in 1943, when, at the initiative and invitation of bishop Tit Simedrea, several intellectuals and clergy retreated to the metropolitan residence of Cernăuți for "Seven Days of Prayer" (Fig. 2). Apparently, this corresponded to Simedrea's idea of regenerating orthodoxy through a deeper Christian life, and a profound observation of the Christian dogmas, an idea which he probably adopted during his doctoral studies at Oxford.[4] The 1943 retreat would be later followed by a 1946 retreat to Govora monastery which followed a similar pattern, and eventually settled into the weekly lectures held on Sunday afternoons at the Antim monastery.

In the middle of the 1940s, the Antim monastery was an effervescent environment. It had a central location in Bucharest. Financially potent supporters had been helping the monastery's post-war reconstruction.[5] Abbot Vasile Vasilache was a skilled administrator, and the monastery's physical redevelopment coincided with the presence of an educated monastic community, among which the newest at the time was monk Agathon, the former journalist and writer Sandu Tudor. All in all, it was a popular, public-sought and dynamic environment, furtherly accentuated by the cultural imprint set by the activities proposed and sustained by both clergy and intellectuals. The symbolic support given by patriarch Nicodim[6] also signified his desire for a missionary model, a catechetical experience in the form proposed by the Burning Bush Association. A point, which, consequently, the public conferences had indeed

◀ Fig. 1. The icon *Our Lady of the Burning Bush*, whom the Association was named after.
Courtesy of the Antim monastery.

▼ Fig. 2. Participants of the symposium of Cernăuți, 1943. Among them, Sandu Tudor (fourth from the left), Alexandru Mironescu (fifth from the left), metropolitan Tit Simedrea (eighth from the right), Constantin Noica (fifth from the right).
Courtesy of Marius Vasileanu.



accomplished.

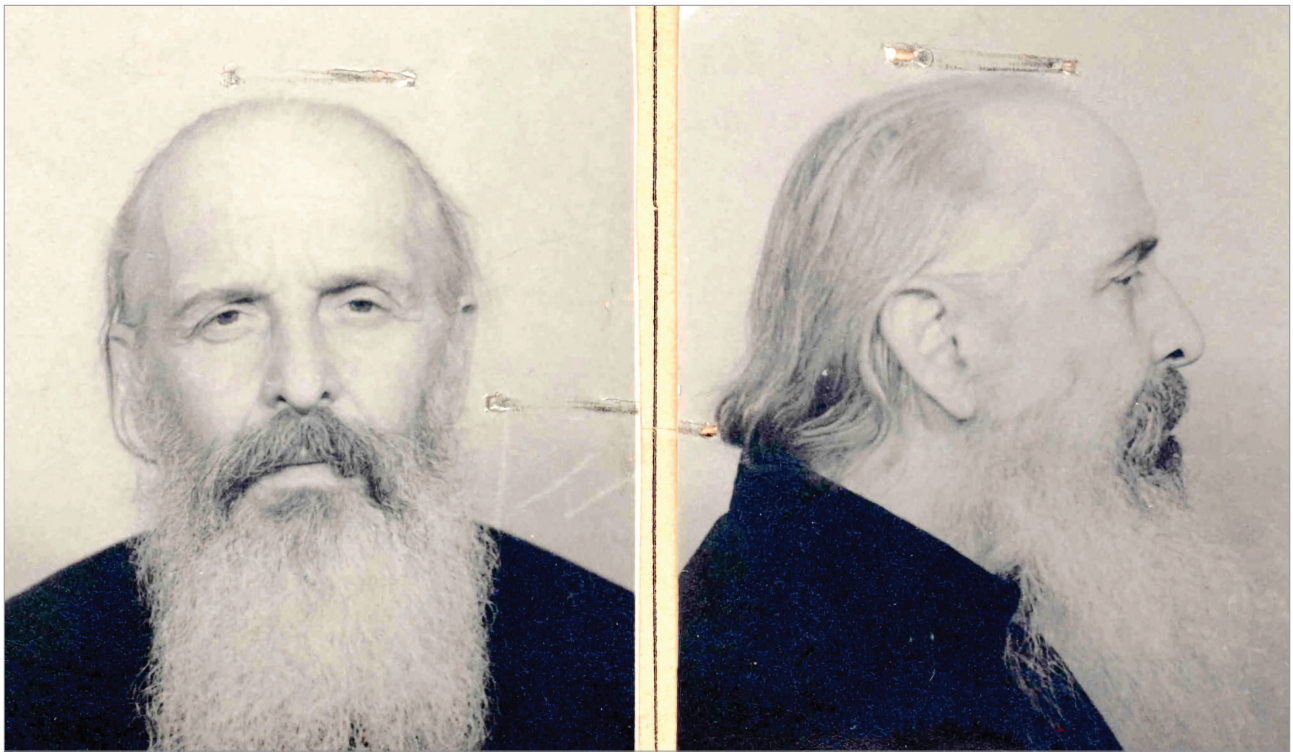
What propelled and gave cultural originality to the lectures that the Burning Bush proposed to the public were their rediscovery and practice of the Prayer of the Heart. Their previous interest in this prayer coincided with the arrival in Bucharest of metropolitan Nicolay Amasusky of Rostov, who had taken refuge from the Soviet Army, fleeing from Rostov to Odessa along father Ioan Kulighin (or *Ioan the Foreigner*, as the Burning Bush members named him) (Fig. 3). This unknown Ioan Kulighin, who practiced the Prayer of the Heart and was a keeper of the Optina monastery's spiritual tradition, proved to be a revelation and an answer to the searches of the friends who would later on be known as the Burning Bush. He shared and passed on his rich mystic experience to those willing to listen and was deeply treasured by those gravitating around him. *Ioan the Foreigner* would fondly and highly be remembered by the Burning Bush members a long time after his deportation by the Soviet authorities.[7]

Ending the meetings of the Burning Bush Association in 1948 (as a consequence of the communist ban on all associations) was followed by measures meant to protect these intellectual clergymen. Sandu Tudor (at that time ordained as hieromonk Agaton) was sent to Crasna Monastery in Gorj County and then served political detention from 1950 to 1952. Benedict Ghiuş, Andrei Scrima and others were sent to Neamţ Monastery (1950). After 1952, Sandu Tudor (Hieromonk Agaton) retreated to the Rarău Skete and, in 1955, he became a hieroskemamonk. From this year on, he re-established contact with his old, close friends and occasionally descended to Bucharest to meet them, usually at Alexandru Mironescu's home. As for archimandrite Benedict Ghiuş, he had been teaching at the Neamţ Monastic Seminary from 1950 until 1955. During that time, he also came to Bucharest periodically and met with Sofian Boghiu, Felix Dubneac and Alexandru Mironescu.[8]

Young students in search for spiritual guidance gravitated around these figures, particularly fathers Benedict and



▲ Fig. 3. Ioan Kulighin, photo from the collection of Sofian Boghiu (published by Antonie Plămădeală in 1992 and by Gheorghe Vasilescu in 1999). Initially published in *Cuviosul Ioan cel Străin (din arhiva Rugului Aprins)*, 1999, p. 7.



Sofian; eventually, youths came to take part in the reunions held at Mironescu's home or at the Plumbuita Monastery's chapel. A couple of Architecture students made acquaintance of hieroskemamonk Daniil during a summer holiday spent at Slatina and Rarău monasteries. Thus, their initially close circle enlarged. The content of the meetings varied from religious and literary readings to discussions on philosophy or, occasionally, comments on international events, with focus on spiritual guidelines for the students, who also came for confession or advice from father Daniil (Fig. 12). To the young students who took part in the group's meetings and received both spiritual guidance and intellectual formation, this was a breath of fresh air from the ideological guidelines. However, it would later lead to their incarceration, along other members of the group.[9]

Archives and narratives of repression

Distorting reality in communism meant reading reality, events and people through the lens of ideology. By adopting a binary vision of the world, ideology bestowed on a large part of the former regime's society the negative image of the "class enemy". The opponents who were either identified and arrested, or suspicioned and tracked by the repressive apparatus were political persons, clergy, intellectuals, as well as peasants, high school or university students who performed anti-communist activities, and so on. Also, beside the active opponents of the regime, many imprisonments were abusive, illegal and uncalled for, defining the first communist years as a time of undifferentiated terror.

As time passed, the regime consolidated and stabilized, and so did its repressive institutions. Throughout an entire decade (1948-1958), the institutional presence of the Soviet political advisers diminished almost completely, and ten years after the debut of the regime, the Red Army troops also retreated. Paradoxically, this is when the regime makes a statement of power through the initiation of a new wave of arrests that were supposed to prove the strength of a consolidated and stable regime, somewhat reminding of the logic of Stalinist permanent repression: *It had to be demonstrated that there was a need for a state that would be firm and unforgiving to its adversaries. Legions of traitors were necessary towards this purpose and were invented out of every piece, in order to serve the cause.*[10]

In this sense, the large varieties of anti-communism that the repressive apparatus fought against and attempted to annihilate, throughout time, even included, beside the political and armed resistance, several quite original forms of expression, such as literary, cultural and spiritual communities and circles – all the more so as their promoters proposed an inner resistance and a spiritual self-preservation in the face of the socialist values.

Confronted with a different reality – not material, but spiritual; not materialistic, but "idealistic" – proposed by these opponents of the regime, by people whose logic was incomprehensible to the regime, the repressive institutions labelled them in correspondence to their own purposes and attributions: as elements that lead a subversive activity, moreover a counter-revolutionary one, under the mask of religion/of different cults, mostly the Orthodox, who were in numerical majority.[11] In the summer of 1958, during the second large repressive wave of the Romanian communist regime, among the arrested were the old friends of the Antim Burning Bush, along several of their younger friends.

Another very interesting aspect is observed by historian Alain Besançon, who notes the manner in which, *in communism, the execution has to follow a judiciary exam, so that the people or their representative – the party organs – can identify and incriminate the enemy, either the declared enemy or the hidden one.*[12] In other words, the condemnation of the enemy is performed (both physically and symbo-

Fig. 4. Photo of hieroskemamonk Daniil (Sandu) Tudor (Alexandru Teodorescu) from the investigation files. *ACNSAS, Direction Research, Exhibitions, Publications.*

Fig. 5. Photo of Benedict Ghiuș from the investigation files. *ACNSAS, Criminal Fund, file 202, volume 7, f. 87 (r).*





▲ Fig. 6. Photo of Alexandru Mironescu from the investigation files. *ACNSAS, Criminal Fund, file 202, volume 6, f. 366 (r).*

▼ Fig. 7. Photo of Vasile Voiculescu from the investigation files. *ACNSAS, Criminal Fund, file 202, volume 6, f. 131 (r).*

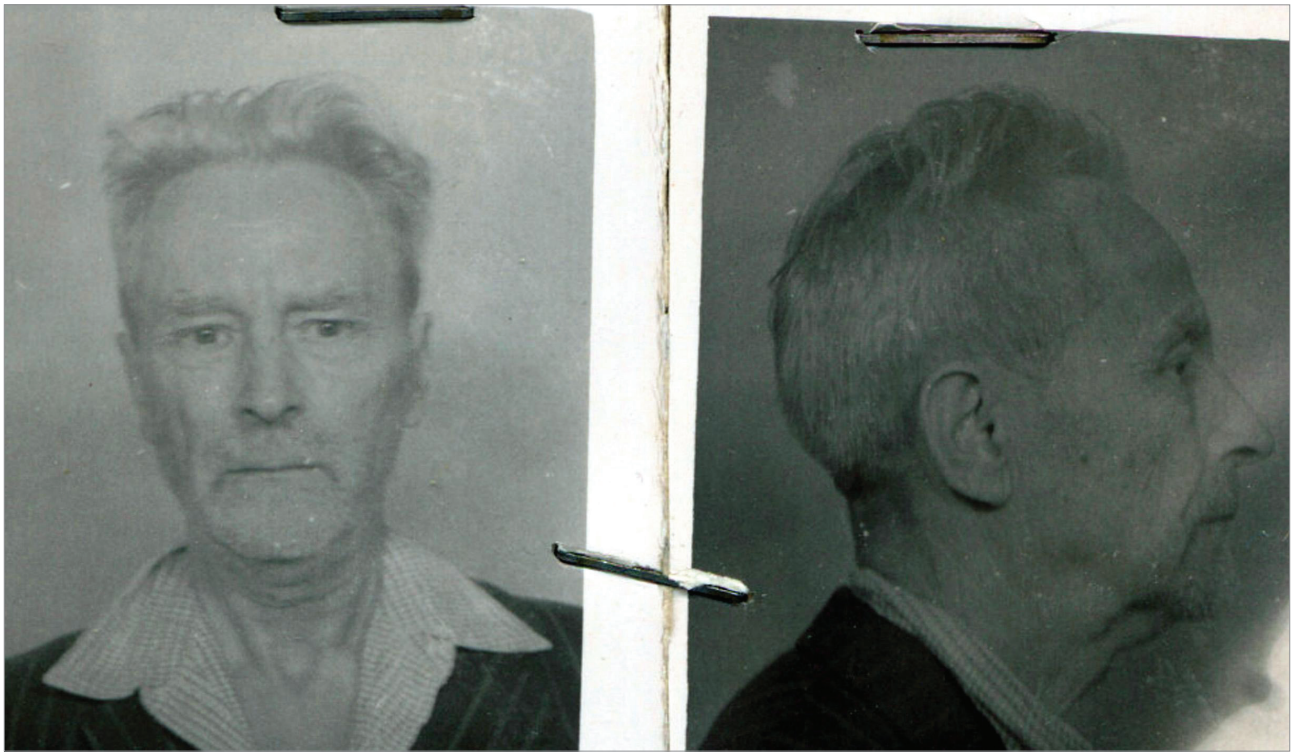
lically) as a consequence of a legalist process, that rigorously demonstrates in its evidences the entire guilt of the enemy. No records are more detailed than those of the Securitate, and no narration is more coherent than that of the enemy that conspires against the regime.

Our previous research attempted to explore the narrativity generated by the files of the Securitate,[13] and at the same time attempted to propose a methodological approach of the Securitate files through discourse analysis, and to discuss the relation between power, ideology and discourse, as well as the influence of social context on the production of discourse.

Understanding the files of the Securitate not as a unitary corpus of ideologically mediated texts unified by the *langue de bois*, but rather as a juxtaposition of varied documents that were produced in different contexts and that can be interpreted and analysed according to the instances and specificities of enunciation not only offers us more nuanced explanations, but also provides us with a precious insight into the institutional functioning of the repressive apparatus. Moreover, it is fascinating to observe the gradual construction of the master narrative, both in the informative tracking files and in criminal investigation ones.

The present research will attempt to emphasize the construction of this narrative, in parallel with a non-quantitative semantic analysis of the terms "mystic" and "mysticism", as they appear in the Securitate files that concern members of the Burning Bush.

The group's informative tracking file (Fig. 8) was initially a verification file open at the end of 1956/early 1957,[14] which was transformed, following a 5-month-verification, into a group file.[15] The types of documents included are, mostly, of operative (informative tracking) nature: personal files (syntheses of the individual's biography, based on the data held at the time by the Securitate), biographical notes, requests for data verification, informative notes received by the Securitate officers from different informants or agents, documents that concern the institutional dialogue between the headquarters and the different regional Securitate centres (which are, mostly, requests for the continuity of informative tracking and surveillance), synthesis papers (which engulf information from several informative notes), syn-



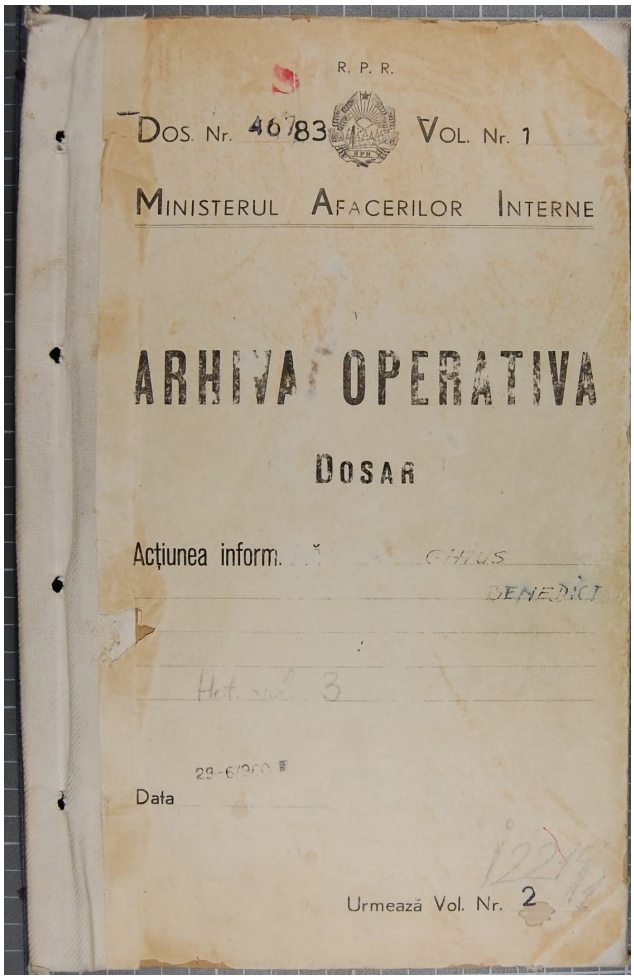
thesis notes, synthesis reports (that resume the measures taken as part of the informative tracking action), plans of measures, task notes for officers, task notes for agents, copies of letters belonging to Burning Bush members, transcriptions of the technical surveillance, summaries of tailing activities and so on. All these types of documents are to be found throughout the six volumes of the group's informative tracking files.

To what concerns the content and the general themes of the volumes, it is worth noting that the first three volumes document thoroughly the meetings of the "mystic circle" from the Mironescu family home, as well as the "hostile activity" derived from the students' participation to these meetings. The first volume encompasses the most detailed, numerous and relevant informative notes,[16] mostly from 1956-1958, but not exclusively, as it also contains informative notes gathered during a larger time span (some of them even dating back to 1949).

The words and their meanings

Defining the terms mystic / mystical / mysticism[17] nowadays emphasizes, on one hand, the idea of secrecy or mystery: *mystic*: "irrational or rationally unexplainable, secret, hidden"[18] or "that has a hidden meaning, that stays beyond understanding";[19] "that contains a secret; full of mystery, enigmatic, obscure".[20] It can also refer to the unmediated experience of the supernatural and the direct contact with divinity: mysticism: "orientation, within a religion or within philosophical-religious thinking, that asserts the possibility of direct contact or communion between man and divinity";[21] *mysticism*: "the belief in the existence of supernatural forces and in the possibility of man of directly communicating with these forces";[22] *mystical*: "having a spiritual meaning or reality that is neither apparent to the senses nor obvious to the intelligence",[23] or "involving or having the nature of an individual's direct subjective communion with God or ultimate reality";[24] *mystic*: "someone who attempts to be united with God through prayer".[25]

A term's virtualities inside the language vary throughout the years. Such was the case for the terms *mystic/mystical/mysticism*. During the interwar years, a theology course taught by Nichifor Crainic at the University of Cernăuți was entitled *Orthodox Mystic and Ascetism*, and defined *mysticism* as "the coronation of asceticism, the culminant point of religious life, characterized by the immersion of the individual self into the divine self".[26] It was the year 1935/1936. Almost a decade later, orthodox mysticism was being taught as a discipline alongside orthodox asceticism, but only for a short time, by Dumitru Stăniloae and Ioan Gh. Savin. The latter's university courses[27] were hectographed by students and somehow survived over the years until they were published for the first time in 1995. Savin defined *mystical theology* as "the theological discipline that concerns the study of the human and divine means through which becomes possible the immediate and intuitive knowledge of God, known as mystical knowledge".[28] His courses were very structured and took detailed explanations of the terms' Greek etymology and their definitions in early Christian theology. What is interesting, however, is that Savin dedicated a course to explain several improper definitions of *mystic/mystical/mysticism*, among which: mysticism seen as "an exceptional psychological and physiological state, for mystical phenomena is often being classified as psychopathic or straight pathologic";[29] mysticism as a primitive mentality (following Auguste Comte's positivist model) and mysticism seen as fanaticism and Messianism.[30] These misdefinitions of *mystic* and *mysticism* find their way into the latter perception of the term, particularly during the ideological transformations of the socialist era.



▲ Fig. 8. Cover of the first volume of the informative file of the Burning Bush group. *Courtesy of the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives (ACNSAS), Direction Research, Exhibitions, Publications* (same as Fig. 9-11).
ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, volume 1, cover.

After 1948, mysticism, understood as the option for (inner) religious experience becomes an attitude contrary to socialist morals. It is an interesting stance, because we are not faced with an incrimination of religion itself, as it was considered that "dissolving religion through administrative measures rather than through *the fight towards the gradual unmasking of its reactionary and idealistic nature*[31] would hurt the cause of the proletariat, it would distract some less conscious proletarian and working peasantry elements from their class struggle.[32] It must not be forgotten either that the class enemy hides behind the mask of piety, in order to artificially cause religious agitation and to alienate the working men from the vital issues of revolutionary class struggle, from the fulfilment of the great tasks that lie before our People's Republic".[33]

Last but not least, the Securitate itself is the most truthful voice that defines its own perspective and perception on mysticism. In a 1950 meeting with the heads of regional Securitate departments, adjunct minister Gheorghe Pintilie clearly stated: "A comrade with mysticism, he has no business to do here, we will not even elaborate on this. It has to be seen how much… [how mystic he is].[34] Comrades with religion, party members or non-party members, very well,

they have our love, but they can work elsewhere; despite the entire lack of work force that we have, despite our complaints, but [we are] better off without them. [...] We have to tell our comrades, we have nothing against it, but not here; at other Ministries: Internal Affairs, Justice, but not at the Securitate. [...] There's no place here for comrades who believe in God, who go to church, who wear a cross; we are an organ that needs to beware these things, as experience and practice has showed us. [...] Our organs have great tasks, specific tasks; we must fight and throw out everything rotten."[35]

The 1956 dictionary of contemporary Romanian language illustrates the mutations inside the language, as follows: *mystic*, "someone full of mysticism, who denotes mysticism",[36] while mystics is defined as "the totality of ideas that found the basis of a mystical doctrine".[37] *Mysticism*'s definition becomes "a form of the *religious idealistic conception of the world* [italics belong to us, I.U.], that propagates the belief in the existence of supernatural forces";, and even the dictionary's illustrative sentences hold an amount of socialist irony: *Mysticism is always fatal to nations.*[38]

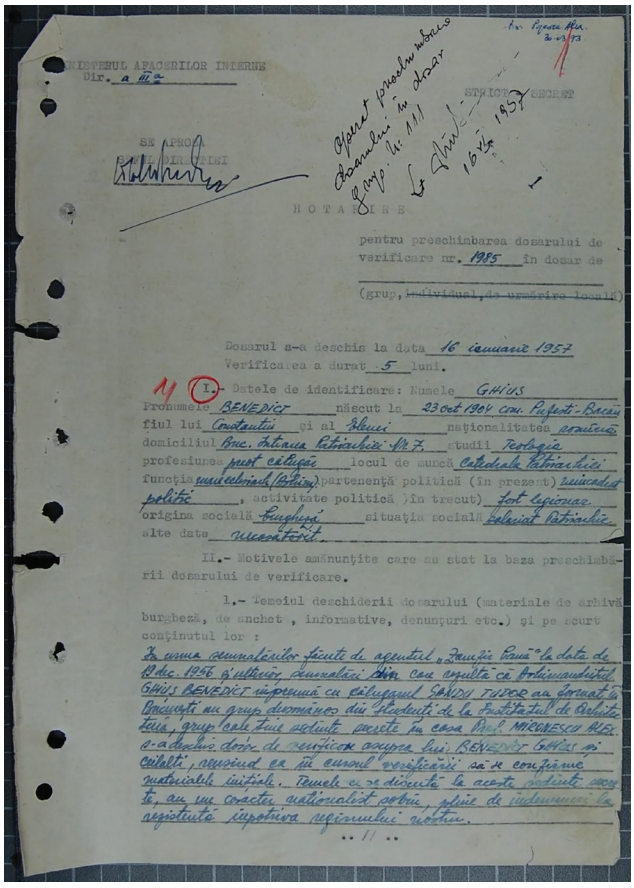
The words and the Securitate: building a story

The terms *mystic/mystical/mysticism* appear in connection to the Burning Bush first and foremost as definitions or labels of the activity of their cultural circle. These labels first appear in the late 1940s, inside the first datable informative notes that concern the activity of the Burning Bush:

"Also, during the priorship of Vasile Vasilache, the former director of the «Credința» newspaper, Sandu Tudor, was accepted at Antim; Sandu Tudor, in connection to archimandrite Benedict Ghiuș and several retired generals and former high dignitaries of the Antonescu government, created an association that *officially has a mystic purpose, but which in fact holds political implications* too, manoeuvring from the shadows and under the mask of mystical exercise, the believers' preparations for the resistance against democracy. The association wears the curious institution name of «Our Lady of the Burning Bush» – «dedicated to a deeper research and experience of the orthodox teachings and piety».[39] Its activity is summarized to «everything that can fulfil a true spiritual life, through writing, through words, through one's experience or through action». To illustrate their *diseased mentality*, it is enough to mention that their status grants the lead of their association to the «Holy icon of the feast, Our Lady of the Burning Bush, the one who is our true guide and governor, similarly to the tradition held by the endowments of Holy Mount Athos». In this association there are registered only individuals who, through their structure, their intellectual preparation, and their past activities, are reactionary. They practice a diseased mysticism with the purpose of consolidating the resistance towards the political regime. Particularly at Antim, a group of former generals from the Antonescu government and their wives promote an atmosphere of diseased mysticism and agitation, in the perspective of a presumed religious persecution that were to follow on behalf of communism. The promoters of the movement are archimandrite Benedict Ghiuș and Sandu Tudor, currently monk Agaton. [...] The *mystical*

Fig. 9. The decision for changing the verification file into a group tracking file. *ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, volume 1, f. 1.*

Fig. 10. Plan of measures within the informative surveillance action of the Burning Bush group. *ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, volume 1, f. 196.*



HOTĂRÎRE

pentru preschimbarea dosarului de verificare nr. 1985 în dosar de

(grup, ~~individual, de urmărire locală~~)

Dosarul s-a deschis la data 16 ianuarie 1957
Verificarea a durat 5 luni.

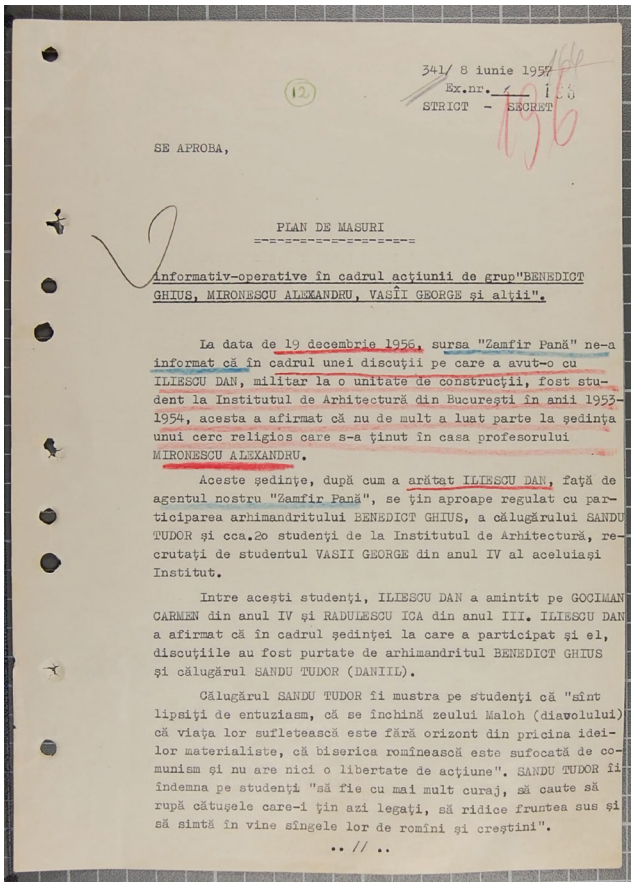
I.- Datele de identificare: Numele GHIUS
Prenumele BENEDICT născut la 23 oct 1904 com. Pufești-Bacău
fiul lui Constantin și al Elenei naționalitatea român
domiciliul Buc. Intrarea Patriarhiei Nr 7, studii Teologie
profesiunea post călugăr locul de muncă Catedrala Patriarhiei
funcția membru (Sfânt) apartenență politică (în prezent) simpatizant
politic, activitate politică (în trecut) fost legionar
origina socială burghezi situația socială Călugăr Patriarhie
alte date necunoscut

II.- Motivele amănunțite care au stat la baza preschimbării dosarului de verificare.

1.- Temeiul deschiderii dosarului (materiale de arhivă burgheză, de anchetă, informative, denunțuri etc.) și pe scurt conținutul lor :

In urma comunicărilor făcute de agentul „Zamfir Pană" la data de 19 dec. 1956 și ulterior, precum și cu ocazia cercetării arhimandritului GHIUS BENEDICT împreună cu călugărul SANDU TUDOR au format la București un grup dușmănos din făcuți de la Institutul de Arhitectură, grup la care țin ședințe acestia în casa lui MIRONESCU ALEX. S-a dovedit dorința de revanșă a lui BENEDICT GHIUS și celălalți, arătând că în cursul verificării să se completeze materialele inițiale. Temeiul ce se dicută la acest dosar este, au un caracter naționalist-șovin, pline de vădurmeres la adresa regimului nostru.

.. // ..



341/ 8 iunie 1957
Ex.nr. 1
STRICT - SECRET

SE APROBA,

PLAN DE MASURI

informativ-operative în cadrul acțiunii de grup "BENEDICT GHIUS, MIRONESCU ALEXANDRU, VASÎI GEORGE și alții".

La data de 19 decembrie 1956, sursa "Zamfir Pană" ne-a informat că în cadrul unei discuții pe care a avut-o cu ILIESCU DAN, militar la o unitate de construcții, fost student la Institutul de Arhitectură din București în anii 1953-1954, acesta a afirmat că nu de mult a luat parte la ședința unui cerc religios care s-a ținut în casa profesorului MIRONESCU ALEXANDRU.

Aceste ședințe, după cum a arătat ILIESCU DAN, față de agentul nostru "Zamfir Pană", se țin aproape regulat cu participarea arhimandritului BENEDICT GHIUS, a călugărului SANDU TUDOR și cca.2o studenți de la Institutul de Arhitectură, recrutați de studentul VASII GEORGE din anul IV al aceluiași Institut.

Intre acești studenți, ILIESCU DAN a amintit pe GOCIMAN CARMEN din anul IV și RADULESCU ICA din anul III. ILIESCU DAN a afirmat că în cadrul ședinței la care a participat și el, discuțiile au fost purtate de arhimandritul BENEDICT GHIUS și călugărul SANDU TUDOR (DANIIL).

Călugărul SANDU TUDOR îi mustra pe studenți că "sînt lipsiți de entuziasm, că se închină zeului Maloh (diavolului) că viața lor sufletească este fără orizont din pricina ideilor materialiste, că biserica românească este sufocată de comunism și nu are nici o libertate de acțiune". SANDU TUDOR îi îndemna pe studenți "să fie cu mai mult curaj, să caute să rupă cătușele care-i țin azi legați, să ridice fruntea sus și să simtă în vine sîngele lor de români și creștini".

.. // ..

movement at Antim is an extension of the heyschasm of Holy Mount Athos. It manifests as follows: at the end of Vespers or Matins, the priest remains in front of the Royal Doors, in complete silence. Believers also remain immobile, staring at a fixed point, and, in this mystical ecstasy, they pretend to see the uncreated light of which Jesus was surrounded on Mount Tabor."[40] [italics belong to us, I.U.].

This consistent and extensive narrative forms the basis of the epithets maintained throughout the years when characterizing the activity or the members of the Burning Bush, and comprises several aspects: the fact that their religious beliefs and their mystical impropriation of faith are considered a "diseased mentality"; that the members are already considered *reactionary* by the regime from their mere biographical specifications; and, more important, that their cultural group is preparing for acts of resistance against the regime under the mask of their religious and mystic preoccupations. The correct identification of their mysticism as hesychasm, is not an issue retained by the files in the *longue durée*; what the discourse of the archives does, in fact, conserve, is the *mystic/mystical* epithet and the idea that they perform political activities under the mask of religion.

Counter-revolutionary and reactionary activity led under the mask of religion was an issue of deep concern for the Securitate, whose internal structure illustrates the direct interest and bias that preceded the surveillance and discursive interpretation given to events. The 3rd Direction within the institution was responsible for "the combat against terrorist actions, hostile and nationalist groups as well as against the reactionary activity of the clergy and sectarians".[41]

Within the 3rd Direction, Service IV performed the "work of discovering and annihilating hostile groups and elements that develop their activity of undermining the democrat regime in PRR under the activity of religions and sects",[42] and Bureau I of this Service concerned itself with uncovering "the hostile activity developed by reactionary elements within the lines of orthodox clergy".[43]

During 1950-1958, extensive surveillance monitored the reactionary and counter-revolutionary activity of suspect clerics from monasteries throughout the country suspect of being legionary or of harbouring legionaries.[44] This larger informative action would eventually become the prologue of the anti-monastic 1959 measures.[45] Among the "reactionary" monks residing in different monasteries, names of clergy who had also been part of the Burning Buh were also mentioned.[46]

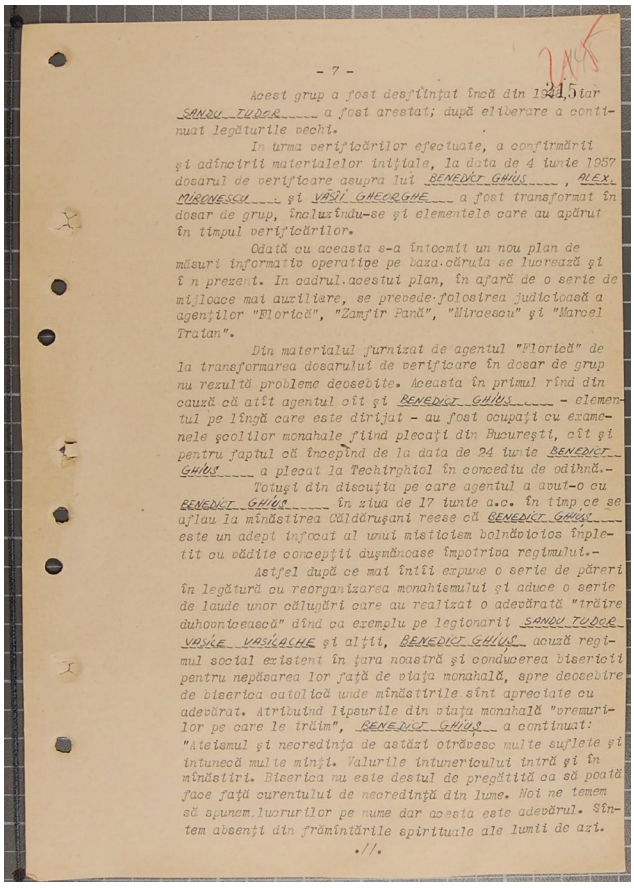
On the other hand, as mentioned before, the Burning Bush group's informative tracking file was opened in December 1956/January 1957, following a denouncing that indicated that "Archimandrite Ghiuș Benedict alongside monk Sandu Tudor formed, in Bucharest, a hostile group composed of students from the Institute of Architecture, that hold secret meetings in professor Mironescu Alex.'s house. A verification file was opened on Benedict Ghiuș and the others, which managed to confirm the initial materials. The issues discussed at these secret meetings have a nationalistic chauvinist character, and are full of urging to resistance against our regime" (Fig. 9).[47]

Following the denounce, the initial verification materials[48] mentioned that similar meetings were initially held between 1946-1947, "under the mask of the «Burning Bush» association. [...] At those meetings, the main actors were still the three *mystical elements* [italics belong to us, I.U.] mentioned above: prof. Mironescu Alex., monk Sandu T. and archim. Benedict Gh. A similar report was also made in 1955 by informant "Cornel", but it was not given importance. Further evidence are the fact that Sandu T. is tracked by the Suceava region[49] through an informative action for current legionary activity. Moreover, because all the three elements are known in our evidences as counter-revolutionary elements capable of hostile acts towards the regime".[50]

Furthermore, the operative category under which the Burning Bush members' activity was inventoried was "*subversive activity under the mask of religious mysticism*, to be further categorized as *subversive group activity led under the mask of the orthodox cult*".[51]

The composition of the surveillance narrative seems to indicate the term *mystic* as an epithet associated with the members, or as an attribute of the subversive or the counter-revolutionary activity. For instance, Alexandru Mironescu is known as "a mystical element, that has connection to mystical elements in whose entourage he manifests hostilely against our regime and against the new social order in the popular democratic countries".[52] Other individual identification data summarizes information such as: "Since 1948, he is known to have connection to clerical circles, and to be interested in religious mystical problems. He is presently reported to have formed, along other elements, an orthodox mystical circle, that gathers in his home and is combative against the materialist doctrine".[53] This information also hints at the content of the terms *mystic* and *hostile*: "together with other students, he frequents a mystical orthodox circle in prof. Mironescu's house, where they discuss issues of combating materialism, and students are being given a *hostile education*".[54] "Hostility" and "mysti-

Fig. 11. Fragment from a synthesis note regarding operative measures taken during the informative action. *ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, volume 1, f. 215.*



- 7 -

215

Acest grup a fost desființat încă din 1[illegible], iar SANDU TUDOR a fost arestat; după eliberare a continuat legăturile vechi.

In urma verificărilor efectuate, a confirmării și adîncirii materialelor inițiale, la data de 4 iunie 1957 dosarul de verificare asupra lui BENEDICT GHIUȘ, ALEX. MIRONESCU și VASILE GHEORGHE a fost transformat în dosar de grup, incluzîndu-se și elementele care au apărut în timpul verificărilor.

Odată cu aceasta s-a întocmit un nou plan de măsuri informativ operative pe baza.căruia se lucrează și în prezent. In cadrul.acestui plan, în afară de o serie de mijloace mai auxiliare, se prevede folosirea judicioasă a agenților "Floricică", "Zamfir Pană", "Mironescu" și "Marcel Traian".

Din materialul furnizat de agentul "Floricică" de la transformarea dosarului de verificare în dosar de grup nu rezultă probleme deosebite. Aceasta în primul rînd din cauză că atît agentul cît și BENEDICT GHIUȘ - elementul pe lîngă care este dirijat - au fost ocupați cu examenele școlilor monahale fiind plecați din București, cît și pentru faptul că începînd de la data de 24 iunie BENEDICT GHIUȘ a plecat la Techirghiol în concediu de odihnă.-

Totuși din discuția pe care agentul a avut-o cu BENEDICT GHIUȘ în ziua de 17 iunie a.c. în timp ce se aflau la mînăstirea Căldărușani reese că BENEDICT GHIUȘ este un adept înfocat al unui misticism bolnăvicios împletit cu vădite concepții dușmănoase împotriva regimului.-

Astfel după ce mai întîi expune o serie de păreri în legătură cu reorganizarea monahismului și aduce o serie de laude unor călugări care au realizat o adevărată "trăire duhovnicească" dînd ca exemplu pe legionarii SANDU TUDOR VASILE VASILACHE și alții, BENEDICT GHIUȘ acuză regimul social existent în țara noastră și conducerea bisericii pentru nepăsarea lor față de viața monahală, spre deosebire de biserica catolică unde mînăstirile sînt apreciate cu adevărat. Atribuind lipsurile din viața monahală "vremurilor pe care le trăim", BENEDICT GHIUȘ a continuat: "Ateismul și necredința de astăzi otrăvesc multe suflete și întunecă multe minți. Valurile întunericului intră și în mînăstiri. Biserica nu este destul de pregătită ca să poată face față curentului de necredință din lume. Noi ne temem să spunem.lucrurilor pe nume dar aceasta este adevărul. Sîntem absenți din frămîntările spirituale ale lumii de azi.

.//.



▲ Fig. 12. The icon of *Our Lady of the Burning Bush* that was in possession of the Mironescu family during the 1950s. Courtesy of *Arhiva Rugului Aprins* collection.

◢ Fig. 13. Wayside cross (*troiță*) in memory of the Burning Bush at Antim monastery, consecrated on June 11, 2017. Credits: Archim. Policarp Chițulescu.

cism" are, therefore, expressions of anti-socialist values. (Fig. 10)

Moreover, the technical surveillance installed in 1957 showed that the friends and acquaintances that gathered in Mironescu's home have "connections based on a *mystic activity*, as Mironescu discusses with them in terms of idealist philosophy".[55] Discussing a book's content in terms of mysticism occasionally indicates an overlapping of the concepts *mystic/theologic/religious*: "The book *The Eastern Church*, given by Văsâi to our agent, was edited in 1929 and has, beside its *mystic content*, an anti-communist character. This is also explainable taking into account that the author, N. Arseniev, was a white who led a prodigious anti-Soviet propaganda while teaching at the Theological Institute of Warsaw".[56] Spiritual guiding was also included among hostile activities; a plan of measures dating June 1957 states that "Ghiuș Benedict has a leading role as a spiritual adviser, both at meetings and outside them, as he is charge with individually educating the members in a mystic-hostile spirit".[57] Further in the informative tracking file, a 1958 document concluded that Benedict Ghiuș, Mironescu Alexandru, Sandu Tudor, Sofian Boghiu "and other hostile elements gather periodically in different places to give *mystical nationalistic education* to a group of students from Bucharest".[58]

The circulation of ideas, the debates and discussions specific to the type of community described by the informative notes (a "mystics' circle") are a perpetuation of anti-socialist values. Not only was the group cohesive, constant in its preoccupations, but it also had a certain social impact: "currently, Sandu Tudor intends to enlarge this circle, by attracting, either directly or indirectly, through his collaborators, new adepts from the anti-popular intellectuals and students".[59] A synthesis note dating from July 1957 aptly summarizes the relations and activities of the Burning Bush members: "[…] it results that the elements tracked within this action have suspect connections to each other, that they have hostile manifestations themselves, that each of them has a hostile past towards our regime and that not by accident each of them is situated on the positions of an idealistic philosophy, preaching mysticism and enlarging their mystic circle in the entourage of both mature intellectuals and students".[60]

Another synthesis-note on operative measures reveals a more detailed context surrounding the *mystical*, *hostile* labelling. More precisely, the content of an informative note reveals the following: "Still, from the conversation had by the agent with Benedict Ghiuș on June 17, while they were at the Căldărușani monastery, it is concluded that Benedict Ghiuș is a fiery adept of a *diseased mysticism melted with evident hostile conceptions* against the regime. Thus, after expressing several opinions regarding the re-



organization of monastic life and bringing several praises to monks who have reached a true "spiritual experience", such as legionaries[61] Sandu Tudor, Vasile Vasilache and others, Benedict Ghiuș accuses our country's social system and the Orthodox Church's leadership for their indifference towards monastic life, as opposed to the Catholic Church, where monasteries are truly appreciated. Attributing the faults in monastic life "to the age we are living in", Benedict Ghiuș continues: "Atheism and the faithlessness today poison many souls and darken many minds. The waves of darkness are entering monasteries as well. The Church is not prepared enough to be able to face the faithlessness currents of the worlds. We fear to name things, but this is the truth. We are absent from the spiritual unrest of nowadays world" (Fig. 11).[62]

Conclusions

Through semantic analysis we notice how the various virtualities of the terms within the Securitate documents reenforce, in the end, the same master narrative that would eventually serve as criminal sentence in the autumn of 1958: a group of hostile elements with "reactionary" pasts have hostile manifestations towards the regime and are holding subversive meetings, where they educate the youth in a mystical, hostile manner; and, naturally, their activity is directed against the regime.

The files of the Burning Bush group from the Securitate archives reflect how a natural spirituality is transposed and ideologically signified into counter-revolutionary actions. However, the Securitate's discourse does not completely distort reality. It is correct to affirm that the Securitate instrumented facts or interpreted them according to its ideological framework and its internal regulations in order to incarcerate "elements" that are dangerous to the state order; the substance of the problem is, though, deeper; because, in the end, the entire world of socialism is a reverse order. The reference points of normality according to human rights are inexistent, since that normality does not exist under communism. This is why the ideological fault is not limited to the repressive apparatus (whose abuses we still, however, condemn), because communism itself is an immense fault.

From this point of view, members of the Burning Bush – despite the fact that they were leading a non-violent activity that did not pursue political plotting, but rather "a spiritual fight against communism" that implied education, culture and instilling the young with values opposed to atheistic materialism (and characterized as "mystic", "idealist", "hostile") – became enemies of the regime through their ideas and ethos, for the regime tolerated no alterity.

Notes:

1 The present study follows and develops previous research, such as Ioana Ursu, "Narrativity and Legitimation in the Discourse of the Communist Archives: Analysing the Files of 'The Burning Bush Organization'", *History of Communism in Europe*, 5, 2014, p. 155-167; Ursu 2017, p. 351-360. Previous research was also supported through the Sectoral Operational Programme "Human Resources Development" 2007-2013, co-financed through the Social European Fund, within project POSDRU/59/1.5/S/140863 (2014), title "Competitive Researchers in Europe in the Field of Humanities and Socio-Economic Sciences. A Multi-Regional Research Network". Also, the research was made possible through the support given by the Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes and Memory of the Romanian Exile (IICCMER), through their 2013/2014 doctoral scholarship programme.

2 Aiud penitentiary, seen as the "intellectuals' prison", is an image painted by the collective memory, and not necessarily confirmed by the statistics of the prisoners, their political orientation and so on.

3 As seen in the informative tracking files of Alexandru Mironescu, Sofian Boghiu, Adrian Făgeţeanu, Arsenie Papacioc etc.

4 An assertion that belongs to Alexandru Mironescu, one of the key members of the Burning Bush group and active participant to most of the group's history, whose words were noted by an informant in 1957. ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, vol. 1, f. 316.

5 Vasilache 1984, p. 17-20.

6 Enache 2013, p. 61.

7 Mironescu 2001.

8 Ioana Ursu, "Clergy and intellectuals as «class enemy»: the «Burning Bush»", *Ars liturgica. From the Image of Glory to the Idols of Modernity, the 16th International Symposium on Science, Theology and Arts proceedings*, Alba Iulia, Reîntregirea, 2017.

9 *Ibidem.*

10 Boia 2011, p. 80. (*translation belongs to us, I.U.*).

11 Among the structure of the Securitate, there were departments assigned to trace the legionary and counter-revolutionary activity led under the mask of religion. See Dobre 2006, p.104-105.

12 Besançon 2007, p. 29. (*translation belongs to us, I.U.*).

13 Ursu 2014, p. 155-167.

14 The decision of opening the file is dated 29 December 1956, but another document mentions 16 January 1957 as the date of opening, which corresponds to the 5-month-latter term, 16 June 1957, that mentions the transformation to a group file.

15 ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, vol. 1, f. 1.

16 Relevant to the informative tracking action employed by the Securitate.

17 Ursu 2019.

18 *Dicţionarul explicativ al limbii române*, 2009 ed. (*DexOnline*).

19 *Dicţionarul explicativ al limbii române*, 1998 ed. (*DexOnline*).

20 *Noul Dicţionar Explicativ al Limbii Române*, 2002 ed. (DexOnline).

21 *Marele Dicţionar de Neologisme*, 2000 ed. (DexOnline).

22 *Dicţionarul Explicativ al limbii române*, 1998 ed. (DexOnline).

23 https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/mystical, accessed 17 September 2019.

24 *Ibidem.*

25 https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/mystic, accessed 17 September 2019.

26 Crainic 2010, p. 166.

27 Savin 1996.

28 Savin 1996, p. 19.

29 Savin 1996, p. 34-36.

30 Savin 1996, p. 38.

31 *Italics belong to us, I.U.*

32 Enache 2009, p. 170.

33 ACNSAS, Documentary Fund, file no. 195, vol. 2, f. 2-3 *Apud* Enache 2009, p. 170.

34 *Note belongs to us, I.U.*

35 Extract from a meeting with the commanders of regional

directions of the Securitate, March 1950. Oprea 2002, p. 145-146 *Apud* Enache 2009, p. 167-168.

36 *Dicționarul* 1957, p. 92.

37 *Dicționarul* 1957.

38 Quoted from Cesar Bolliac, 19th century Romanian revolutionary. *Dicționarul* 1957.

39 The quoted fragments come from the status of the Association, and are also found in the blessing request that Sandu Tudor addressed patriarch Nicodim regarding their activities at Antim: "Since last year, in the Holy Monastery of Antim a spiritual activity has begun, with the purpose of the research and deeper experience of the orthodox teachings and piety, under the guiding of abbot archimandrite Vasile Vasilache. Every Sundaty, a group of clergy and lay men took part in the holy services, and in the afternoon meetings were held, with the purpose of edification and deepening of the orthodox mystical life. […]". For further details, see Vasilescu 1999, p. 92-93.

40 Informative note from 1949. ACNSAS, DGSS Fund, file 213/1949, f. 113-114.

41 Dobre 2006, p. 104.

42 Dobre 2006, p. 105.

43 Dobre 2006.

44 See Păiușan 2001.

45 For further reading on decree 410/1959 for the re-organization of monastic life, see Enache, Petcu 2009.

46 Păiușan 2001, p. 206, 326.

47 ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, vol. 1, f. 1.

48 Which were none other but the information given by a loyal collaborator of the Securitate, code name "Zamfir Pană". ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, vol. 1,, f. 8.

49 By the Securitate regional direction of Suceava.

50 ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, vol. 1, f. 8.

51 ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, vol. 1, f. 10.

52 ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, vol. 1, f. 129. Proposal paper regarding Alexandru Mironescu, 1952.

53 ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, vol. 1, f. 5. Identification file regarding Alexandru Mironescu, 1957.

54 ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, vol. 1, f. 8. Identification file regarding George Văsâi, 1957.

55 ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, vol. 1, f. 228. Synthesis on the measures taken, July 1957.

56 ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, vol. 1, f. 377. Note of Bureau III regarding an informative note on G. Văsâi, June 1957.

57 ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, vol. 1, f. 198.

58 ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, vol. 1, f. 25. 1958 file regarding Benedict Ghiuș.

59 ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, vol. 1, f. 97.

60 ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, vol. 1, f. 229-230.

61 The "legionary" accusation would have proved useful and the attempt to correlate it to the Burning Bush corresponded both to the documentation of the legionary activity of monastic clergy throughout the 1950s, and to the intent of sentencing the Burning Bush group under accusations of legionarism. This, however, could not be proven (except for several past legionary affiliations of some of the trial group members – who were not, strictly speaking, members of the Burning Bush central group).

62 ACNSAS, Informative Fund, file 2214, vol. 1, f. 215.

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The Musical Instruments in the Early Vernacular Translations of the Psalms

Collective Research

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Following in the footsteps of the two conferences of Poitiers (*Heresy and Bible translation in the Middle Ages and at the dawn of the Renaissance*, October 27, 2017, Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale) and Alba Iulia (*Vernacular Psalters and the Early Rise of Linguistic Identities*, June 27-28, 2018, Museikon), the nucleus of researchers already collaborating in a previous Museikon publication (*Vernacular Psalters and the Early Rise of Linguistic Identities: The Romanian Case*, Bucharest, DARK Publishing / Muzeul Național al Unirii Alba Iulia, 'Museikon Studies', 1, 2019) decided to expand the scope of their common effort and see how a comparative philological approach would work on a practical level. The idea of this collective research and paper came naturally in the early stages of the preparation of a future project dealing with a comparative approach of vernacular Psalters and Gospels both in relation to their high-prestige Greek, Latin, or Church Slavonic sources, and at an intravernacular level, where some of them could have influenced the others. The comparisons between vernacular translations are useful for the identification of translation clusters active in several languages and for the reconstruction of a pan-European *forma mentis* which shaped the early vernacular renderings of the Bible.

The present paper is also an editorial test. While experimenting with format, the contributors equally tested how common publications such as this may be replicated in the near future, in a journal dedicated only to a comparative philological study of early Bible translations. The current subject (musical instruments terminology) was chosen in order to provide a representative prospective section of the entire corpus. New collaborators were invited to join in and contribute to the exploration of the more difficult aspects of the study, thus anticipating the opening of philology to a wider array of disciplines, according to the needs of the explored realia. Since the topic is far from being exhausted and since many European languages are not yet dealt with, the study will be continued in the next issue of *Museikon*.

Glossary

The *BINÔME SYNONYMIQUE* (French philology) refers to a sequence of two synonyms belonging to the same grammatical category and placed on the same level of syntactic hierarchy, often used to introduce or gloss neologisms (cf. Buridant 1980, p. 5)

ETYMOLOGICAL ATTRACTION (used in Romanian philology) defines the selection of an inherited word when recognizing its etymology in the source language. Primarily used to explain lexical coincidences between the Romanian *Scheian Psalter* and the Latin psalters (cf. Munteanu 2008, p. 83).

TRANSLATION CLUSTERS refer to words or groups of words translated in the same way in independent versions, because of basic equivalents and automatisms in the target language.

Fig. 1. St. Peter abbey church, Moissac (France), first half of the 12th century. Credits: Photothèque du CÉSCM / Amelot.

The Old Greek text (EC)

Musical instruments are well represented not only in the Psalms, but also in 1-2 Chronicles, which are the second most "musical" section of the Hebrew Bible. Stringed instruments such as *kinnôr* ("lyre") and *nēḇel* ("harp") are by far the most prominent, seconded by the *šôp̄ār* ("ram's horn"), all of which had a wide range of uses, both in cultic and secular contexts. Less prominent instruments were the *ṯōp̄* ("tambourine") and the *ṣĕlṣelîm* ("cymbals"). The shape and size of these, as well as other less noteworthy instruments evolved over time, so the descriptions offered by Josephus or the Babylonian Talmud must be taken with due caution.

Before analyzing each term in more detail, a caveat is in order. The Old Greek version of the Bible is not consistent in translating the Hebrew terms. To take only one example, kinnôr is rendered both as *κιθάρα* and *ψαλτήριον*, the latter being, in turn, used to equate both *nēḇel* and *kinnôr*. Although the following section focuses on the musical instruments mentioned in the Psalms, the scholar approaching this topic must be aware that a full discussion would have to include the full array of Greek terms corresponding to the Hebrew terms.

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS

Heb. *kinnôr* (14 occurrences in the MT of the Psalms) is rendered by three words in the Greek version of the Psalms: 10 x *κιθάρα* (Ps 32:2; Ps 42:4; Ps 56:9; Ps 70:22; Ps 91:4; Ps 97:5 x; Ps 107:3; Ps 146:7; Ps 150:3); 3 x *ψαλτήριον* (Ps 48:5; Ps 80:3; Ps 149:3); 1 x *ὄργανον* (Ps 136:2).

Its use is governed by preposition *bĕ* (*bĕḵinnôr* = *ἐν κιθάρᾳ* LXX). The noun is used almost exclusively in the singular (for the plural *kinnōrôṯ* see Ps 137:2 MT = Ps 136:2). It is qualified by an adjective only once, in Ps 81:3 MT (*kinnôr naʿîm* 'pleasant lyre') = Ps 80:3 LXX (*ψαλτήριον τερπνόν*).

Most of its occurrences are used in parallel structures alongside *nēḇel* ('harp') or *ṯōp̄* ('timbrel', 'tambourine'). Judging from the number of occurrences of *kinnôr* in the Hebrew Bible, this instrument seems to have been more popular than the *nēḇel*. It featured in processions to the Temple and was small enough to be carried around.

Another term used to translate *kinnôr* in the Septuagint is *κινύρα*, which occurs solely in the historical books (1-2 Samuel, 1-2 Chronicles etc.). Flavius Josephus, who uses the term *κινύρα* (rather than *κιθάρα*) ascribes its invention to King David and gives the following description: *ἡ μὲν κινύρα δέκα χορδαῖς ἐξημμένη τύπτεται πλήκτρῳ* "the *kinyra* had ten strings stretched on it, which were struck with a plectrum" (*Ant.* 7:306 Loeb 281). According to a Rabbinic tradition (T.b. LCL. 13b), the *kinnôr* of the Temple had seven strings. The information is probably spurious: R. Judah simply quotes from Ps 16:11 and reads "seven" instead of "fullness" (*i.e.* "In your presence there is fullness of joy").

Heb. *nēḇel* (cf. Syr. *nablā*, Lat. *nablium*), with eight occurrences in the MT of the Psalms, denotes a stringed musical instrument, *i.e.* harp. It is rendered by three words in the Greek version of the Psalms: 6 x *ψαλτήριον* (Ps 32:2; Ps 56:9; Ps 91:4; Ps 107:3; Ps 143:9; Ps 150:3); 1 x *κιθάρα* (Ps 80:3); the occurrence *kelî-nēḇel* (Ps 71:22 MT, lit. "instrument consisting of a harp"), similar to the expression in 1 Ch 16:5, is translated incorrectly as *σκεῦος ψαλμοῦ*, "instrument of psalm". In the historical books, *nēḇel* is adapted into Greek as *νάβλα*. According to Josephus (*Ant.* 7:306, LCL 281), the *nēḇel* = *νάβλα* had twelve notes and was plucked with the fingers (*ἡ δὲ νάβλα δώδεκα φθόγγους ἔχουσα τοῖς δακτύλοις κρούεται*). In the Hebrew text, *nēḇel ʿāsôr* (Ps. 33:2; Ps 144:9) refers to the harp with ten strings. In Ps 92:4 only *ʿāsôr* is used, but the same musical instrument is meant. It is assumed that the *nēḇel* is mentioned less frequently in the Hebrew Bible because, unlike the *kinnôr*, it required great skill on the part of the player.

In connection with Gr. *ψαλτήριον* (10 x in the Old Greek) it must be noted that it translates not only *nēḇel* (6 x), but also *kinnôr* (Ps 49:5 MT = Ps 48:5 LXX; Ps 81:3 MT = Ps 80:3 LXX; Ps 149:3). Based on 11QPsalms[a], we can assume that *kinnôr* is the underlying Hebrew term for *ψαλτήριον* in Ps. 151:2. In three cases, the instrument is described as having ten strings (*δεκάχορδον*). In the biblical text it is often used in combination with the verb *ψάλλω* (to pluck the string with the finger, as opposed to using the plectrum, *κρούειν τῷ πλήκτρῳ*). Only in the works of the Patristic writers and in superscripts appended to Alexandrian copies of the Psalms was *ψαλτήριον* used to denote the 'Psalter'.

Heb. *minnîm* (pl.) occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible, in Ps 150:4, where it is used probably as a synecdoche for the whole instrument. It also occurs in the extant Hebrew text of Sirach (39:15), in the expression *kelê mînnîm* "instruments of strings". Given the generic use, no specific instrument can be associated with it. In the Old Greek version, *minnîm* is rendered by *χορδαί* "strings". In classical Gr. *χορδή* "intestine", "gut", was also used, by semantic development, to refer to a musical string or a musical sound (*χορδὴν ποιεῖν* 'to make a sound').

WIND INSTRUMENTS

Heb. *šop̄ar* (cf. Akkad. *šappāru*, Syr. *šīpūrā*), 4 x in the

Masoretic Text (transliterated)

Ps 32:2 [33:2] hôḏû laYHWH bĕḵinnôr bĕnēḇel ʿāśôr zammĕrû-lô

Ps 42:4 [43:4] wĕʾāḇôʾāh ʾel-mizbaḥ ʾĕlōhîm ʾel-ʾēl śimḥaṯ gîlî wĕʾôḏĕḵā bĕḵinnôr ʾĕlōhîm ʾĕlōhāy

Ps 46:6 [47:6] ʿālāh ʾĕlōhîm biṯrûʿāh YHWH bĕqôl šôp̄ār

Ps 48:5 [49:5] ʾaṯṯeh lĕmāšāl ʾoznî ʾepṯaḥ bĕḵinnôr ḥîḏāṭî

Ps 56:9 [57:9] ʿûrāh ḳĕḇôḏî ʿûrāh hannēḇel wĕḵinnôr ʾāʿîrāh ššāḥar

Ps 67:26 [68:26] qiddĕmû šārîm ʾaḥar nōgĕnîm bĕṯôḵ ʿălāmôṯ tôp̄ēp̄ôṯ

Ps 70:22 [71:22] gam-ʾănî ʾôḏĕḵā biḵlî-neḇel ʾămittĕḵā ʾĕlōhāy ʾăzammĕrāh lĕḵā bĕḵinnôr qĕḏôš yiśrāʾēl

Ps 80:3 [81:3] śĕʾû-zimrāh ûṯĕnû-ṯōp̄ kinnôr nāʿîm ʿim-nāḇel

Ps 80:4 [81:4] tiqʿû ḇaḥōḏeš šôp̄ār bakkēseh lĕyôm ḥaggēnû

Ps 91:4 [92:4] ʿălê-ʿāśôr waʿălê-nāḇel ʿălê higgāyôn bĕḵinnôr

Ps 97:5 [98:5] zammerû laYHWH bĕḵinnôr bĕḵinnôr wĕqôl zimrāh

Ps 97:6 [98:6] baḥăṣōṣrôṯ wĕqôl šôp̄ār hārîʿû lip̄nê hammeleḵ YHWH

Ps 107:3 [108:3] ʿûrāh hannēḇel wĕḵinnôr ʾāʿîrāh ššāḥar

Ps 136:2 [137:2] ʿal-ʿărāḇîm bĕṯôḵāh tālînû kinnōrôṯēnû

Ps 143:9 [144:9] ʾĕlōhîm šîr ḥāḏāš ʾāširāh llāḵ bĕnēḇel ʿāśôr ʾăzammĕrāh-llāḵ

Ps 146:7 [147:7] ʿĕnû laYHWH bĕṯôḏāh zammĕrû lĕʾlōhēnû ḇĕḵinnôr

Ps 149:3 yĕhalĕlû šĕmô ḇĕmāḥôl bĕṯōp̄ wĕḵinnôr yĕzammĕrû-lô

Ps 150:3 halĕlûhû bĕṯēqaʿ šôp̄ār halĕlûhû bĕnēḇel wĕḵinnôr

Ps 150:4 halĕlûhû bĕṯōp̄ ûmāḥôl halĕlûhû bĕminnnîm wĕʿûḡāḇ

Ps 150:5 halĕlûhû ḇĕṣilṣĕlê-šāmaʿ halĕlûhû ḇĕṣilṣĕlê ṯĕrûʿāh

Psalms (Ps 47:6 MT = Ps 46:6 LXX; Ps 81:4 MT = Ps 80:4 LXX; Ps 98:6 MT = Ps 97:6 LXX; Ps 150:3), refers to a ram's horn used to give audible signals on a wide range of occasions. In wartime it announced either the beginning or the end of a battle. In peacetime it signaled the enthronement of a new king (1 Kg 1:34) or heralded one of the main religious ceremonies: the day of atonement (Lev 25:9). The arrival of a new moon festival (*ḥoḏeš*) was marked by *šōp̄ar* blasts (Ps. 81:4 MT = Ps 80:4 LXX). It featured, alongside *nēḇel* ('harp') and *kinnôr* ('lyre'), among the instruments deemed appropriate in communal worship of ancient Israel (Ps. 150:3).

In the Old Greek version of the Psalms, it is consistently rendered by *σάλπιγξ* (4 x). In one instance, the translator seems to have been aware that a typical Greek *σάλπιγξ* was made of bronze and therefore translated *šōp̄ar* by *σάλπιγξ*

Septuagint (LXX)

Ps 32:2 ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν κιθάρᾳ, ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ δεκαχόρδῳ ψάλατε αὐτῷ

Ps 42:4 καὶ εἰσελεύσομαι πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ, πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τὸν εὐφραίνοντα τὴν νεότητά μου· ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν κιθάρᾳ, ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός μου

Ps 46:6 ἀνέβη ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ, Κύριος ἐν φωνῇ σάλπιγγος

Ps 48:5 κλινῶ εἰς παραβολὴν τὸ οὖς μου, ἀνοίξω ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ τὸ πρόβλημά μου

Ps 56:9 ἐξεγέρθητι, ἡ δόξα μου· ἐξεγέρθητι, ψαλτήριον καὶ κιθάρα· ἐξεγερθήσομαι ὄρθρου

Ps 67:26 προέφθασαν ἄρχοντες ἐχόμενοι ψαλλόντων ἐν μέσῳ νεανίδων τυμπανιστριῶν

Ps 70:22 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν σκεύει ψαλμοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειάν σου, ὁ Θεός· ψαλῶ σοι ἐν κιθάρᾳ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ

Ps 80:3 λάβετε ψαλμὸν καὶ δότε τύμπανον, ψαλτήριον τερπνὸν μετὰ κιθάρας

Ps 80:4 σαλπίσατε ἐν νεομηνίᾳ σάλπιγγι, ἐν εὐσήμῳ ἡμέρᾳ ἑορτῆς ὑμῶν

Ps 91:4 ἐν δεκαχόρδῳ ψαλτηρίῳ μετ' ᾠδῆς ἐν κιθάρᾳ

Ps 97:5 ψάλατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν κιθάρᾳ, ἐν κιθάρᾳ καὶ φωνῇ ψαλμοῦ

Ps 97:6 ἐν σάλπιγξιν ἐλαταῖς καὶ φωνῇ σάλπιγγος κερατίνης ἀλαλάξατε ἐνώπιον τοῦ Βασιλέως Κυρίου

Ps 107:3 ἐξεγέρθητι, ψαλτήριον καὶ κιθάρα· ἐξεγερθήσομαι ὄρθρου

Ps 136:2 ἐπὶ ταῖς ἰτέαις ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς ἐκρεμάσαμεν τὰ ὄργανα ἡμῶν

Ps 143:9 ὁ Θεός, ᾠδὴν καινὴν ᾄσομαί σοι, ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ δεκαχόρδῳ ψαλῶ σοι

Ps 146:7 ἐξάρξατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν ἐξομολογήσει, ψάλατε τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν ἐν κιθάρᾳ

Ps 149:3 αἰνεσάτωσαν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν χορῷ, ἐν τυμπάνῳ καὶ ψαλτηρίῳ ψαλάτωσαν αὐτῷ

Ps 150:3 αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν ἤχῳ σάλπιγγος, αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ καὶ κιθάρᾳ

Ps 150:4 αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν τυμπάνῳ καὶ χορῷ, αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν χορδαῖς καὶ ὀργάνῳ

Ps 150:5 αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν κυμβάλοις εὐήχοις, αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν κυμβάλοις ἀλαλαγμοῦ

Ps 151:2 αἱ χεῖρές μου ἐποίησαν ὄργανον, οἱ δάκτυλοί μου ἥρμοσαν ψαλτήριον.

κερατίνη 'trumpet of horn' (Ps 98:6 MT = Ps 97:6 LXX). In the same verse, Heb. *ḥăṣôṣərāʰ* 'trumpet' was translated as *σάλπιγξ ἐλατή* 'trumpet of hammered (metal)', in order to distinguish it from the one made of horn.

Heb. *ʿûḡāḇ* "pipe" or "flute" is only used once in the Psalms (Ps 150:4). In the Old Greek version, it is rendered by *ὄργανον*. Note the same equivalence between *ʿûḡāḇ* in 11QPsalms[a] and *ὄργανον* in Ps. 151:2. Although *ὄργανον* is the generic term for "instrument", in Ps. 136:2 it is also used for the Heb. *kinnôr* "lyre" (Ps. 137:2 MT).

PERCUSSION INSTRUMENTS

Heb. *ṯōp̄* (cf. Sam. *taf*, Jewish Aram. *tuppā*, Arabic *duff*), 3 x in the Psalms (Ps 81:3 MT = Ps 80:3 LXX; Ps 149:3; Ps 150:4), 'timbrel', 'tambourine', refers to a small hand-held wooden circle covered with a leather membrane (and sometimes furnished with bells). It was typically used by women who danced in celebratory processions, both secular and cultic (*ʿălāmôṯ ṯôp̄ēp̄oṯ* "girls playing tambourines" Ps 68:26 MT = *νεανίδων τυμπανιστριῶν* Ps 67:26 LXX). In the Psalms, the verbal forms used in connection with ṯōp̄ indicate that the players were also male. In the later biblical texts, *ṯōp̄* is omitted form the list of instruments accepted for the temple worship (1Chr. 15:16-24; 16:4-6, 42; 25:1-6).

In the Old Greek version of the Psalms, it is consistently rendered by *τύμπανον*. The unidiomatic sequence *δότε τύμπανον* (Ps 80:3 LXX) is calqued on the Heb. *ṯĕnû-ṯōp̄* (lit. "give the timbrel" = "sound the timbrel").

Heb. *ṣĕlṣelîm* (pl.) refers to a musical instrument of percussion, *i.e.* cymbals. Based on Ps. 150:5 scholars have traditionally claimed that two distinct types were in use in biblical times: *ṣilṣĕlê-šāmaʿ* 'cymbals of sound' or *ṣilṣelĕ-ṯerûʿāʰ* 'cymbals of clang' *i.e.* resounding cymbals. However, the distinction is tenuous. Although no description is given, it can be inferred that the instrument consisted of two bronze discs, with handles, which were struck against each other.

In the Old Greek version *ṣilṣĕlê-šāmaʿ* is rendered as *κύμβαλα εὔηχα*, "euphonious cymbals". The translator has equated *šāmaʿ* with a positively connotated adjective and thus has softened the force of the original. By contrast, in the same verse, for Heb. *bĕṣilṣĕlê ṯĕrûʿāʰ* the Old Greek has the Semitizing *κύμβαλα ἀλαλαγμοῦ* "clashing cymbals".

Flavius Josephus offers a brief description of this instrument: *κύμβαλά τε ἦν πλατέα καὶ μεγάλα χάλκεα* "*kymbala* were large, broad plates of brass" (*Ant.* 7:306, LCL, vol. 281).

Abbreviations:

Akkad.	Akkadian
b.	Babylonian Talmud
Jewish Aram.	Jewish Aramaic
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
Sam.	Samaritan
Syr.	Syriac

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Church Slavonic versions (CMM)

1. In the earliest Church Slavonic translation of the Psalter, Redaction I, made in the late 9th-10th century but extant from the 11th century onward, there was a standard treatment of terms for musical instruments. It was followed in the four subsequent redactions known up to the 15th century among the Orthodox Slavs and in subsequent revisions of the 16th-18th centuries (see Thomson 1998, p. 797-825), also in the version of Redaction I with corrections from the Vulgate which was current in Catholic Croatia (Vajs 1916; Šimić 2014), and still prevails today (see Гильтебрандт 1993 (1898), *sub vocibus*). Some Greek terms are regularly translated, others are regularly adopted as loanwords:

a) translations

κιθάρα > гѫсли (*gǫsli*) (Ps 32:2; Ps 42:4; Ps 56:9; Ps 70:22; Ps 80:3; Ps 91:4; Ps 97:5; Ps 107:3; Ps 146:7; Ps 150:3)

σάλπιγξ > трѫба (*trǫba*) (Ps 46:6; Ps 80:4; Ps 97:6; Ps 150:3)

χορδή > струна (*struna*) (Ps 150:4)

b) loans

ψαλτηρίον > псалтырь (*psaltyrĭ*)(Ps 32:2; Ps 48:5; Ps 56:9; Ps 80:3; Ps 91:4; Ps 107:3; Ps 143:9; Ps 149:3; Ps 150:3; Ps 151:2)

τύμπανον > тѵмпанъ (*tumpanŭ*) (Ps 67:26; Ps 80:3; Ps 149:3; Ps 150:4)

ὄργανον > органъ (*organŭ*) (Ps 136:2; Ps 150:5; Ps 151:2)

κυμβάλον > кѵмбалъ (*kumbalŭ*) (Ps 150:5)

2. There is a small number of exceptions to this general practice in the form of minority variant readings found in South Slavonic manuscripts which otherwise follow Redactions I and II:

τύμπανον > кемпанъ (*kempanŭ*) in the *Psalterium Demetrii* (Redaction I) (Miklas et al. 2012), звоно (*zvono*) in the Belgrade and Pljevlja Psalters (Redaction II) (MacRobert 2010, p. 429) (Ps 149:3; Ps 150:4).

κυμβάλον > кемпанъ (*kempanŭ*) in the *Psalterium Demetrii*, кимбанъ (*kimbanŭ*) in the Pogodin and Dečani Psalters (Redaction I) (Jagić 1907; Митревски 2000), звоно (*zvono*) in the Belgrade, Pljevlja and Athens Psalters (Redaction II) (MacRobert 2010, p. 429) (Ps 150:5).

3. In Redaction IV, which is represented by a single manuscript, the *Norov Psalter* (Чешко 1989), there is occasional inconsistency in the translation of *ψαλτηρίον*, which is sometimes translated as *пѣснивьць* (*pěsnivĭcĭ*) (Ps 107:3; Ps 151:2) but is more often borrowed as *псалтырь* (*psaltyrĭ*) (Ps 32:2; Ps 48:5; Ps 56:9; Ps 80:3; Ps 91:4; Ps 143:9; Ps 149:3; Ps 150:3).

4. The Church Slavonic version of the commentary on the psalms by Theodoret of Cyrrhus, thought to have been made in 10th-century Bulgaria but extant only in East Slavonic manuscripts, tends to avoid loanwords and so normally translates terms for all musical instruments (Погорелов 1910, *sub vocibus*; Погорелов 1910b; Lépissier 1968, p. 303; Вершинин 2018); though its manuscript tradition exhibits some inconsistency in the treatment of *ψαλτηρίον*, either because this version was a revision based on Redaction I or because scribes were influenced by their familiarity with other redactions:

κιθάρα > гѫсли (*gǫsli*) (Ps 32:2; Ps 42:4; Ps 56:9; Ps 70:22; Ps 80:3; Ps 91:4; Ps 97:5; Ps 107:3; Ps 146:7; Ps 150:3)

σάλπιγξ > трѫба (*trǫba*) (Ps 46:6; Ps 80:4; Ps 97:6; Ps 150:3)

χορδή > струна (*struna*) (Ps 150:4)

ψαλτηρίον > пѣсньница (*pěsnĭnica*) (Ps 32:2; Ps 56:9; Ps 107:3; Ps 149:3, Ps 150:3?); псалтырь (*psaltyrĭ*) (Ps 48:5; Ps 80:3; Ps 91:4; Ps 143:9)

τύμπανον > бѫбьнъ (*bǫbĭnŭ*) (Ps 67:26; Ps 80:3; Ps 149:3; Ps 150:4 uncertain)

ὄργανον > съсѫдъ (*sŭsǫdŭ*) (Ps 136:2); пищаль (*pištalĭ*) (Ps 150:4)

κυμβάλον > звоно (*zvono*) (Ps 150:5)

5. Some East Slavonic psalter manuscripts of the later 14th and 15th centuries also prefer such translations to loanwords for musical instruments. These manuscripts are clearly compilations, either of Redaction II or of Redaction V, with the Church Slavonic version associated with Theodoret's commentated psalter, and contain other characteristic readings from that version (see MacRobert 2010, p. 423-440). In this respect they differ from the South Slavonic manuscripts mentioned above (paragraphs 2 and 3), in which the translations of musical terms shared with the Church Slavonic version of Theodoret are isolated and may well be fortuitous.

Psalterium Bononiense (tr. IC)

Исповѣдаите сѧ господеви въ гѫсълъхъ, въ псалътыри десѧтъстъроуннѣ поите емоу	Ps 32:2
вънидѫ къ ѡлътарю бжию, къ боу веселѧщоѡмоу юность моѫ, исповѣмъ сѧ тебѣ въ гѫслехъ бже бе мои	Ps 42:4
Възыде бъ въ въсъкликновении, гъ въ гласѣ трѫбънѣ	Ps 46:6
Приклонѧ въ притъчахъ оухо мое, Разъгнѫ къ ѱалътири ганание мое	Ps 48:5
Въстани славо моя въстани ѱалътирю и гѫсли, въстанѫ рано	Ps 56:9
Варишѫ кънѧзи ѩдѣ пожштнихъ по срѣдѣ дѣвь тўпаниць	Ps 67:26
И бо азь исповѣмъсѧ тебѣ въ людехъ ги въ съсѫдѣхъ ѱаломъсыхъ, истинѫ твоѭ бже въспоѭ тебѣ въ гѫслехь стыхь излеь	Ps 70:22
Прїимѣте ѱаломъ и дадите тўмбанъ, псалтыръ красенъ съ гѫслими	Ps 80:3
Въстрѫбите на новъ мѣсѧцъ трѫбоѫ, въ нарочитъ день празника вашего	Ps 80:4
Въ десѧтостроуннѣ ѱалтири съпѣснїѫ въ гѫслех	Ps 91:4
Поите боу нашемоу въ гѫслехъ, въ гѫслехъ и въ гласѣ псаломстѣ	Ps 97:5
Въ трѫбахъ ѡкованахъ и гласомъ трѫбы рожаны, въскликнѣте прѣдъ цремъ господемъ	Ps 97:6
Въстани славо моя, въстани ѱалтирю и гѫсли, въстанѫ рано	Ps 107:3
На врѣбїи по срѣдѣ еѫ ѡбѣсихомъ ерганы нашѫ	Ps 136:2
Бже пѣснъ новѫ въспоѫ тебѣ, въ ѱалтыри десѧтостроунънѣ въспоѭ тебѣ	Ps 143:9
Начъите гви въ исповѣдани, поите боу ншему въ гѫслехъ	Ps 146:7
да въсхвалѧть имѧ его въ лицѣ, въ тимпанѣ и ѱалтири да поѫтъ емоу	Ps 149:3
хвалите и въ гласѣ трѫбънѣмъ, хвалите и въ ѱалътири и въ гѫслехъ	Ps 150:3
Хвалите и въ тўмпанѣ и лицѣ, хвалите и въ строунахъ и ерганѣ	Ps 150:4
Хвалите и въ кўмбалѣхъ доброгласнѣхъ, хвалите и въ кўмбалѣхъ въсклицанїя	Ps 150:5
рѫцѣ мои створистѣ ѥрганьї, пръсти мои съставишѫ ѱалтир	Ps 151:2

Fig. 2. Arbore church (Suceava county, Romania). Murals on the Western wall of the nave (soon after 1503). Musical instruments in the Derision of Christ. Credits: Radu Oltean.

Latin versions (VA)

A thorough analysis of the Latin versions is not necessary here, as they will be often discussed in the vernacular sections of the present study. Our interest being primarily in the translations from these sources, a simple presentation of the various Latin versions of the Book of Psalms will suffice for now.

The *Vetus Latina* had a *Psalterium Vetus*, but the replacement of this Latin text with other versions already available since late Antiquity led to its quick extinction. The discussions concerning the Cyprianic Psalter, the various quotations in the works of the early Church Fathers, or the 12th-century Latin bible from Monte Cassino bear little consequence to this study, as our medieval and early modern translators worked from other (complete) versions.

The Middle Ages regarded three of these versions as translations made by Saint Jerome: Gallicanum, Romanum and Hebraicum. Very often, the vernacular translations of the Psalter follow one of these texts (usually Gallicanum), but the manuscript tradition was never stable and there are many mixed ot contaminated Latin psalters, offering readings from one or two other versions.

Romanum, as it was known in the Middle Ages, was not the Roman Psalter of Saint Jerome. Jerome produced a similar psalter indeed, he mentioned it in his preface to the *Psalterium iuxta Septuaginta* and described it as a quick translation, but there seems to be no connection between this early Hieronymian psalter, lost today, and the Romanum in use in Rome during medieval times. Romanum was a version of the Psalter used in Rome alongside Gallicanum, in the British Isles (see its use in the Old English translations), and in other areas of the Catholic

	Gallicanum	Romanum	Hebraicum
Ps 32:2	Confitemini Domino in cithara; in psalterio decem chordarum psallite illi.	confitemini domino in cithara in psalterio decem cordarum psallite ei	Confitemini Domino in cithara: in psalterio decachordo cantate ei.
Ps 42:4	Et introibo ad altare Dei, ad Deum, qui laetificat iuuentutem meam. Confitebor tibi in cithara, Deus, Deus meus.	introibo ad altare dei ad deum qui letificat iuuentutem meam confitebor tibi in cithara deus deus meus	Et introibo ad altare tuum, ad Deum laetitiae et exultationis meae, et confitebor tibi in cithara, Deus Deus meus.
Ps 46:6	Ascendit Deus in iubilo, et Dominus in uoce tubae.	ascendit deus in iubilatione dominus in voce tube	Ascendit Deus in iubilo, Dominus in uoce bucinae.
Ps 48:5	Inclinabo in parabolam aurem meam; aperiam in psalterio propositionem meam.	inclinabo ad similitudinem aurem meam aperiam in psalterio propositionem meam	Inclino ad parabolam aurem meam: aperiam in cithara enigma meum.
Ps 56:9	Exsurge, gloria mea; exsurge, psalterium et cithara; exsurgam diluculo.	exurge gloria mea exurge psalterium et cythara exurgam diluculo	Surge, gloria mea; surge, psalterium et cithara: surgam mane.
Ps 67:26	Praeuenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus, in medio iuuencularum tympanistriarum.	praeuenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus in medio iuuenum tympanistriarum	Praecesserunt cantatores eos qui post tergum psallebant in medio puellarum tympanistriarum.
Ps 70:22	Nam et ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmi ueritatem tuam, Deus; psallam tibi in cithara, sanctus Israel.	et ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmorum ueritatem tuam deus psallam tibi in cythara deus sanctus isrl	Ego autem confitebor tibi in uasis psalterii ueritatem tuam, Deus meus: cantabo tibi in cithara, Sancte Israhel.
Ps 80:3	Sumite psalmum, et date tympanum; psalterium iucundum, cum cithara.	sumite psalmum et date tympanum psalterium iucundum cum cithara	Adsumite carmen, et date tympanum, citharam decoram cum psalterio.
Ps 80:4	Buccinate in neomenia tuba, in insigni die solemnitatis uestrae;	canite in initio mensis tuba in die insignis sollempnitatis uestre	Clangite in neomenia bucina, et in medio mense die sollemnitatis nostrae.
Ps 91:4	in decachordo psalterio; cum cantico, in cithara.	in decacordo psalterio cum cantico et cithara	in decachordo et in psalterio; in cantico in cithara.
Ps 97:5	Psallite Domino in cithara; in cithara et uoce psalmi.	psallite deo nostro in cithara in cithara uoce psalmi	Canite Domino in cithara; in cithara et uoce carminis.
Ps 97:6	in tubis ductilibus, et uoce tubae corneae. Iubilate in conspectu regis Domini;	in tubis ductilibus et uoce tubae cornee iubilate in conspectu regis domino	In tubis et clangore bucinae iubilate coram rege Domino.
Ps 107:3	Exurge, gloria mea; exurge, psalterium et cithara; exurgam diluculo.	exurge gloria mea exurge psalterium et cithara exurgam diluculo	Consurge, psalterium et cithara: consurgam mane.
Ps 136:2	In salicibus in medio eius suspendimus organa nostra;	in salicibus in medio eius suspendimus organa nostra	Super salices in medio eius suspendimus citharas nostras.
Ps 143:9	Deus, canticum nouum cantabo tibi, in psalterio decachordo psallam tibi.	deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi in psalterio decem cordarum psallam tibi	Deus, canticum nouum cantabo tibi; in psalterio decachordo psallam tibi.
Ps 146:7	Praecinite Domino in confessione, psallite Deo nostro in cithara.	incipite domino in confessione psallite deo nostro in cithara	Canite Domino in confessione: canite Deo nostro in cithara;
Ps 149:3	Laudent nomen eius in choro, in tympano et psalterio psallant ei.	laudent nomen eius in choro in tympano et psalterio psallant ei	Laudent nomen eius in choro: in tympano et cithara cantent ei.
Ps 150:3	Laudate eum in sono tubae; laudate eum in psalterio et cithara.	laudate eum in sono tubae laudate eum in psalterio et cythara	Laudate eum in clangore bucinae: laudate eum in psalterio et cithara.
Ps 150:4	Laudate eum in tympano et choro; laudate eum in chordis et organo.	laudate eum in tympano et choro laudate eum in cordis et organo	Laudate eum in tympano et choro: laudate eum in chordis et organo.
Ps 150:5	Laudate eum in cymbalis benesonantibus; laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis.	laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibus laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis	Laudate eum in cymbalis sonantibus: laudate eum in cymbalis tinnientibus.



world. Gallicanum is the second Hieronymian translation of the Book of Psalms, a version correcting the readings of his first one. It was made after the text of the Hexapla, the six synchronized versions of the Old Testament text, two of them in Hebrew, four of them in Greek, placed side by side (hence Gallicanum's occasional description as the Hexaplaric version). Gallicanum is the most copied and used Latin version. Saint Jerome also produced a third translation, the so-called Hebraicum, using pre-Masoretic Hebrew texts, but this version was never used in liturgy.

The Milanese or Ambrosianum Psalter is the version used in the Ambrosian rite of Milan. Traditionally considered to be made in mid-fourth century from the Septuagint, its readings are often very similar to those of Romanum. Last but not least, the Mozarabic Psalter is the version used in the Mozarabic rite of the Iberian Peninsula.

Milanese / Ambrosianum

Confitemini Domino in cithara:

in psalterio decem chordarum psallite ei.

Introibo ad altare Dei: ad Deum qui laetificat iuventutem meam. Confitebor tibi in cythara, Deus, Deus meus:...

Ascendit Deus in iubilatione: et Dominus in voce tubae.

Inclinabo ad similitudinem aurem meam: aperiam in psalterio propositionem meam.

Exurge, gloria mea, exurge, psalterium et cithara: exurgam diluculo.

Praevenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus: in medio iuvenum tympanistriarum.

Et ego confitebor tibi in populis, Domine: in vasis psalmorum veritatem tuam, Deus. Psallam tibi in cithara, sanctus Israel;...

Sumite psalmum et date tympanum: psalterium cum cythara.

Canite in initio mensis tuba: in die insignis sollemnitatis vestrae.

In decacordo psalterio: cum cantico et cythara.

Psallite Domino in cithara: in cithara, et in voce psalmi.

In tuba abietum et voce tubae corneae: iubilate in conspectu Regis Domini.

Exurge, gloria mea, exurge, psalterium et cithara: exurgam diluculo.

In salicibus, in medio eius: suspendimus organa nostra.

LIPSESC p. 158-159

Incipite Domino in confessione: psallite Deo nostro in cithara.

Laudent nomen eius in choro: in tympano et psalterio psallant ei.

Laudate eum in sono tubae: laudate eum in psalterio et cithara.

Laudate eum in tympano et choro: laudate eum in chordis et organo.

Laudate eum in cymbalis benesonantibus, laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis.

Mozarabic

confitemini Domino in cithara

in psalterio decem chordarum psallite ei.

et introibo ad altare dei mei ad deum qui laetificat iuuentutem meam confitebor tibi in cithara deus deus meus.

ascendit deus in iubilatione dominus in uoce tubae

inclinabo ad similitudinem aurem meam aperiam in psalterio propositionem meam

exurge gloria mea exurge psalterium et cithara exurgam diluculo

praevenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus in medio iuuencularum tympanistriarum

et ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmorum ueritatem tuam deus psallam tibi in cithara sancte srahel

sumite psalmum et date tympanum psalterium iocundum cum cithara

canite in initio mensis tuba in die insignis sollemnitatis nostrae

in decem cordarum psalterio cum cantico et cithara.

psallite deo nostro in cithara in cithara et uoce psalmi.

in tubis abietum et uoce tubae corneae iubilate in conspectu regis domino

exurge psalterium et cithara exurgam diluculo

in salicibus in medio eius suspendimus organa nostra

deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi in psalterio decem cordarum psallam tibi

canite domino in confessione psallite deo nostro in cithara

laudent nomen eius in choro in tympano et psalterio psallant ei

laudate eum in sono tubae laudate eum in psalterio et cithara

laudate eum in tympano et choro laudate eum in cordis et organo

laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibus laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis

Fig. 3. Sainte-Foy abbey church (France), column capital of the cloister, late 11th century-early 12th century. Wind and string instruments. Credits: Photothèque du CÉSCM / Biay.

SOURCES:

For the edited text of the *Gallicanum*, *Romanum*, and for the *Mozarabic Psalter*, see Ayuso Marazuela 1962, vol. 2, p. 512, 574, 594, 602, 644, 694, 716; and vol. 3, p. 780, 836, 860, 930, 1078, 1110, 1126, 1134, 1138. For the edited text of the *Hebraicum*, see Harden 1922, p. 35, 51, 56, 58, 68, 80, 86, 103, 118, 124, 125, 142, 178, 186, 189, 192. For the edited text of the *Milanese / Ambrosianum Psalter*, see Magistretti 1905, p. 33, 47, 51, 53, 61, 71, 76, 90, 103, 108, 123, 152, 162, 164.

The Oxford Psalter French translation and its derived texts (VA)

The *Oxford Psalter* represents the first French translation of the psalms, and is the head of the largest group of psalm translations within the entire Old French literature. This version, copied in the Douce 320 manuscript of the Bodleian Library in Oxford in the first half of the 12th century, is a faithful translation of the Psalms and Old Testament Canticles, transcribed on a single column, without any Latin text accompanying it. Its autograph nature is proved both by the corrections in the form of erasures and additions (copied as such in all the other manuscripts of the *Oxford Psalter* group) and by its recently proven links to the Latin text transcribed in the *St Albans Psalter* (Short, Careri, Ruby 2010). Add to this, in our own quotations, the reading *nostre* from *nostrae* (Ps 80:4); or the fact that instead of *exsurge* reiterated three times in Ps 107:3, the *St Albans Psalter* has *psallam* for the first occurrence, a particular choice reflected in the *Oxford Psalter*'s reading *esjorrai*. There are two editions of the Douce 320 text, one made by Fr. Michel in mid-19th century (Michel 1860), and another one by I. Short, published quite recently (Short 2015). I present the Short edition separately from the version copied directly from the manuscript, because its punctuation is not always preferable (cf. Ps 70:22: *la tue uerite deus; ie canterai*, changed into *la tue verité; Deus, je canterai*). The Latin text of the *St Albans Psalter* is also presented next to it, transcribed directly from that manuscript (Hildesheim, Saint Mary Cathedral Library, no reference number).

The translation choices for the musical instruments are: *harpe* for *cithara*; *saltier* for *psalterium*, *buisine* for *buccina* or *tuba*, with the rare exception *tube* for *tuba* in Ps 80:4, due to a probable etymological attraction; *tympane* for *tympanum*; *cymble* for *cymbalum*; and *organe* or *organo* (Latinism

	St Albans Psalter (ms.)	Oxford Psalter (ms.)	Oxford Psalter (Short ed.)
Ps 32:2	Confitemini d*omi*no in*cithara*: in*psalterio* dece*m* cordaru*m* psallite illi	Regehissez al segnur en harpe; en saltier de dis cordes cantez a lui	Regehissez al Segnur en harpe, en saltier de dis cordes cantez a lui
Ps 42:4	Et introibo ad altare dei: ad d*eu*m qui l*æ*tificat iuuentute*m* mea*m*. Confitebor tibi in cythara deus deus meus	E ie enterrai al altel deu; a deu chi esleecet la meie iuuente. Ie regehirai a tei en harpe d*eu*s li miens d*eu*s	E je enterrai a l'altel Deu, a Deu chi eslëecet la meie juvente. Je regehirai a tei en harpe, Deus li miens Deus
Ps 46:6	Ascendit d*eu*s in iubilo: d*omin*us inuoce tub*æ*	Munta d*eu*s en cant; li sire en uoiz de buisine	munta Deus en cant, li Sire en voiz de buisine
Ps 48:5	Inclinabo inparabolam aurem meam; ap*e*riam in*psalterio* p*ro*positionem meam.	Ie enclinerai en parole la meie oreille; a ouerrai en saltier la meie p*ro*positiun.	Je enclinerai en parole la meie oreille, aoverrai en saltier la meie propositiun.
Ps 56:9	Exurge gl*ori*a mea exurge psalteriu*m* et cythara: exurgam diluculo	Esdrece tei la meie glorie esdrece tei saltier e harpe; ie leuerai par matin	Esdrece tei, la meie glorie, esdrece tei, saltier e harpe! Je leverai par matin
Ps 67:26	Pr*æ*uenerunt p*r*incipes coniuncti psallentib*us*: in medio iuuencularu*m* timpanistriaru*m*	Deuancirent li prince coniuint as cantanz; el milliu des iuuenceles tympanistres	Devancirent li prince conjuint as cantanz, el milliu des juvenceles tympanistres
Ps 70:22	Nam et ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmi ueritatem tuam d*eu*s: psallam tibi in cythara sanctus israhel	Kar nedes ie regehirai a tei es uaisels de salme la tue uerite d*eu*s; ie canterai a tei en harpe sainz disr*a*el	Kar nedes je regehirai a tei es vaisels de salme la tue verité; Deus, je canterai a tei en harpe sainz d'Israël
Ps 80:3	Sumite psalmum: et date tympanum: psalterium iocundu*m* cum cythara	Pernez salme. e dunez tympane; saltier esledeceable ot harpe	Pernez salme e dunez tympane, saltier esledeceable ot harpe
Ps 80:4	Buccinate in neomenia tuba: in insigni die sollemnitatis n*ostr*ae	Buisinez en la festiuel tube; el noble iurn de la nostre solennited	Buisinez en la festivel tube, el noble jurn de la nostre solennitéd
Ps 91:4	In decacordo psalt*e*rio: cu*m* cantico in cythara	En saltier de dis cordes; ot cant en harpe	en saltier de dis cordes, ot cant en harpe
Ps 97:5	[folio absent from the manuscript]	Cantez al segnur en harpe en harpe e en uoiz de salme	Cantez al Segnur en harpe, en harpe e en voiz de salme
Ps 97:6	[folio absent from the manuscript]	en buisines turneices. e en uoiz de buisine de corn. Cantez en lesguardement del rei segnur	en buisines turneïces e en voiz de buisine de corn! Cantez en l'esguardement del rei Segnur
Ps 107:3	psalla*m* in gloria mea. Exurge psalteriu*m* et cythara: exurga*m* diluculo	esiorrai en la meie glorie. Esdrece tei saltier e harpe; ie mesdrecerai par matin	esjorrai en la meie glorie. Esdrece tei, saltier e harpe! Je m'esdrecerai par matin
Ps 136:2	In salicib*us* in medio ei*us*: suspendim*us* organa n*ost*ra	Es salz el milliu de li; suspendimes noz organes	Es salz el milliu de li suspendimes noz organes
Ps 143:9	D*eu*s CANTICU*m* nouu*m* cantabo tibi: in psalterio decachordo psallam tibi	D*eu*s nouel cant ie canterai a te; en saltier de dis cordes canterai a tei	Deus, novel cant je canterai a te, en saltier de dis cordes canterai a tei
Ps 146:7	Precinite d*omi*no in confessione: psallite deo nostro in cythara	Cantez al segnor en confessiun; cantez a nostre deu en harpe	Cantez al Segnor en confessiun, cantez a nostre Deu en harpe
Ps 149:3	Laudent nomen ei*us* in choro: in tympano et psalterio psallant ei	Lodent le num de lui en carole; en tympane. e saltier cantent a lui	Lodent le num de lui en carole; en tympane e saltier cantent a lui
Ps 150:3	Laudate eum in sono tub*æ*: laudate eum in psalterio et cythara	Loez lui en suen de buisine; loez lui en saltier e harpe	Loëz lui en suen de buisine, loëz lui en saltier e harpe
Ps 150:4	Laudate eum in tympano et choro: laudate eum in chordis et organo	Loez lui en tympane e choro; loez lui en cordes e organo	Loëz lui en tympane e choro, loëz lui en cordes e organo
Ps 150:5	Laudate eum in cymbalis benesonantib*us*: laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis	Loez lui en cymbles bien sonanz; loez lui en cymbles de ledece	Loëz lui en cymbles bien sonanz, loëz lui en cymbles de ledece

by error) for *organum*. Most of these translation choices are respected in the other translations of the psalms, either because of the popularity of the *Oxford Psalter* or because they represent translation clusters.

The *Winchester Psalter* or *Psalter of Henry of Blois* (ms Cotton Nero C IV of the British Library) includes one of the most interesting bilingual (two-column) copies of the *Oxford Psalter*. It was probably made in Saint-Swithun, close to Winchester, in the 12th century, for the Anglo-Norman bishop alluded to in its name. The French language plays the role of a framework for the texts included in this manuscript. As such, the French translation always occupies the inner column (closer to the spine) on each folio in the first quire of the Psalter (f. 46r-50v), moving onto the right column afterwards. The legends of the Christological Cycle inserted in between the calendar and the psalms also have titles in French, but the text inscriptions inside of the images are in Latin.

There are not many variations in the translation choices of this version in comparison with the one transcribed in the Douce 320 manuscript in Oxford. The occasional transcription of *psaltier* instead of *saltier* may not be quoted as variation (cf. Ps 32:2 – *cithara* / *cythara*; *illi* / *ei*). Only the reading *organe* instead of *organo* (repeated in other variants of the manuscript group) may be of interest; or the suppression of *tei* in Ps 56:9. As for the *en son de buisine* where the *Oxford Psalter* has *en suen de buisine* (Ps 150:3), *son* is a correction. The initial transcription was *so_n*, with the third letter erased during the revision. Finally, it is worth noting that the *Winchester Psalter* presents the reading *in saltier* at Ps 91:4, where the preposition *in* is an error of the painter, because the Latin and French majuscules were painted at a different time. Nevertheless, the scribe of the *Winchester Psalter* also corrected some of the Latin readings of the *Oxford Psalter*. At Ps 150:4, where the Oxford manuscript has *en tympane e choro*, the British Library one has *en tympane e chore* (cf. *organe* instead of *organo* in the same verse).

Other manuscripts may be mentioned as well, but the readings preserved in their texts do not differ much from the one in the *Oxford Psalter* either. Such is the case of the Paris manuscript BnF, n. acq. lat. 1670 (end of the 12th century) or that of the *Corbie Psalter*, Paris, BnF, lat. 768, where the French text has been erased up to Ps 68 (f. 10r-58v). But there are also unfortunate cases, such as that of the *Copenhagen Psalter* (Copenhagen, Universtetsbiblioteket Arnamagnasanske Samling 618 4°, from the second half or at the end of the 12th century), where the French text has been erased in the 16th century in order to make space for an Icelandic translation of the psalms (Skårup 1977). As for the fragment of the manuscript in Oxford, Saint John's College, HB4 / 4.a.4.21 (I.subt.1.47), it contains only the Ps 9:5-10 and Ps 9:15-18. All the other manuscripts of the *Oxford Psalter* group are of a much later date.

It is most unfortunate that an interlinear translation from an independent translation, the so-called *Orne Psalter* from the mid-12th century, cannot be analysed here (Samaran 1929). It is but

Winchester Psalter Lat. (ms.)	Winchester Psalter Fr. (ms.)
Confitemini d*omi*no in cythara; in psalterio decem cordaru*m* psallite ei	Regehiseiz al seignur en harpe; en saltier de dis cordes cantez alui
Et introibo ad altare d*ei*; ad deum qui letificat iuuentutem meam. Confitebor tibi in cythara d*eu*s d*eu*s m*eu*s	E ie enterrai al altel deu; a deu ki esleecet la meie iuuente. Ie gehirai atei en harpe d*eu*s li miens d*eu*s
Ascendit deus iniubilo; dominus in uoce tube	Muntat d*eu*s en cant li sire en uoiz de buisine
Inclinabo inparabolam aurem mea*m*; ap*er*iam inpsalterio p*ro*positionem mea*m*.	Ie enclinerai en parole la meie oreille; a ourerai en saltier la meie p*ro*positiun.
Exurge gloria mea. exurge psalterium & cithara; exurga*m* diluculo	Esdrece la meie glorie esdrece saltier e harpe ieo leuerai par matin
Preuenerunt principes coniuncti psallentib*us*; in medio iuuencularu*m* timpanistriarum	Deuancirent li p*ri*nce coniuint as cantanz; el milliu des iuuenceles tympanistres
Nam & ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmi ueritatem tuam deus; psallam tibi in cythara s*anctu*s israhel	Kar nedes ie regehirai atei es uaisels de salme la tue uerite d*eu*s; ie canterai atei en harpe sainz de israhel
Sumite psalmum & date tympanum; psalterium iocundum cum cythara	Pernez salme. e dune tympane; psaltier esledeceable oth harpe
Buccinate in neomenia tuba; ininsigni die sollennitatis nostre	Buisinez en la festiuel tube; e el noble iurn de la nostre solennited
In decacordo psalterio; cum cantico in cythara	In saltier de dis cordes; oth chant en harpe
Psallite domino incythara incythara & uoce psalmi	Cantez al seignur en harpe en harpe e en uoiz de salme
in tubis ductilib*us* & uoce tub*ae* corne*ae*. Iubilate in conspectu regis domini	en busines turneices e en uoiz de busine de corn. Cantez en lesguardement del rei seignur
psallam in gloria mea. Exurge psalterium & cythara; exurgam diluculo	esioirai en la meie glorie. Esdrece tei saltier e harpe; ieo mesdrecerai par matin
In salicibus in medio eius; suspendimus organa n*ost*ra	Es salz el milliu de li; suspendimes noz organes
Deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi: in psalterio decacordo psallam tibi	Deus nouel cant ie canterai a te; en saltier de dis cordes canterai a tei
Precinite domino in confessione; psallite deo nostro in cithara	Cantez al segnor en confessiun; cantez a nostre deu en harpe
Laudent nomen eius in choro; in tympano & psalterio psallant ei	Loent le num de lui en carole; en tympane e en saltier cantent a lui
Laudate eum in sono tube; laudate eum inpsalterio & cithara	Loez lui en son de buisine; loez lui en saltier e en harpe
Laudate eum in tympano & choro; laudate eum in cordis &organo	Loez lui en tympane e chore; loez lui en cordes e organe
Laudate eum in cimbalis benesonantib*us* laudate eum incimbalis iubilationis	Loez lui en cymbles bien sonanz; loez lui en cymbles de leece

SOURCES:

For the references to the *St Albans* Latin manuscript version, see the p. 131, 156, 164, 166, 182, 200, 210, 236, 258, 294, 350, 362, 367-368, 371, 372. For the *Oxford Psalter* French manuscript version, see the f. 43r, 46v, 47r, 47v, 49v, 51v, 53r, 56r, 59r, 60v, 64r, 70v, 72r, 73r, 73v. For the same text in the Ian Short edition, see Short 2015, p. 59, 67, 69, 70, 75, 80, 83, 91, 98, 101, 109, 126, 129, 131, 132. For the *Winchester Psalter* Latin and French manuscript versions, see the f. 60v, 67v, 69v, 70r, 74v, 79r, 81r, 88v, 94v, 97r, 104v, 118r, 121r, 122v, 123r, 123v.

a fragment, a bifolium preserved at the National Archives in Paris, under the designation AB XIX 1734 in the Orne dossier, hence its name, and it contains only the verses Ps 77:40-62 and Ps 87:10-Ps 87:14 which are beyond the scope of this study.

The British Library Additional 35283 manuscript contains another copy of the *Oxford Psalter*. So far unedited, this version dates back to the first half of the 13th century. It includes a calendar (f. 1r-6v); the Latin psalms with their French translation on a second column, and with three leaves missing (f. 7r-112v); as well as the Old Testament canticles with their French translation (113r-115v); and a litany (f. 116r-118v). Several annotations made by a 14th century hand and the used aspect of of the folios of the codex support the idea that the manuscript was well read. French was the principal language of its scribe, as testified by a series of suppressions and errors in the Latin text on f. 70r, 78v-79r, and 86r-v. Even the very end of the Latin litany on f. 117v contains three unexpected French words (Agrigoroaei 2016).

Most of the translation choices are the same as the ones I found find in the other manuscripts of the *Oxford Psalter* group, but there are some curious cases that need to be examined further. *Saltier juable* instead of *saltier esledeceable* (Ps 80:3) may be explained through the influence of the Latin text (*psalterium iocundum*), but it may also originate in an earlier version of the same translation (*vide infra*, *Arundel French Psalter*). Nevertheless, *el noble jorn de la uostre festiualtét*, transcribed instead of *el noble jurn de la nostre solennitéd* (Ps 80:4), can be explained only through the redistribution of the words in the verse, with a displacement of the adjective *festivel* from *tube* to another segment of the same verse. It is also worth mentioning that the word *tube* from the *Oxford Psalter* has been replaced by *buisine*.

Another manuscript from the *Oxford Psalter* group is also preserved at the British Library. Manuscript Harley 273,

	Additional 35283 Lat. (ms.)	Additional 35283 Fr. (ms.)	Harley 273 (ms.)
Ps 32:2	Confitemini domino in cithara; in psalterio decem cordarum psallite illi.	Regeissez al seignur en harpe; en saltier de dis cordes chantez alui;	Regeisez au seignur en harpe; e en psauter de dis cordes chantez a li.
Ps 42:4	Et introibo ad altare dei ad deum qui letificat iuuentutem meam. Confitebor tibi in cythara deus deus meus;	E ieo enterai al altel deu; a deu ki esleecet la meie iuuente. Ieo regehirai atei enharpe deus li miens deus;	E ieo entrerai al auter deu a deu qe enleesce ma iuuente. Ieo regeierai a toi en harpe deu…
Ps 46:6	Ascendit deus iniubilo; et dominus inuoce tube;	Muntat deus enchant; lisire enuoiz de busine	Monta deus en ioie; e li sires en voiz de busine.
Ps 48:5	Inclinabo inparabolam aurem meamm aperiam inpsalterio propositionem meam.	Ieo enclinerai en prouerbe ma oreille auuerai en saltier la meie propositiun;	Enclinerai en parable moraille; ourerai en sauter ma proposicion.
Ps 56:9	[leaves missing after f. 54v – Ps 49]	[leaves missing after f. 54v – Ps 49]	Endrecez ma gloire endrecez sauter *et* harpe; ie leuerai par matin.
Ps 67:26	[leaves missing before f. 55r – Ps 67]	[leaves missing before f. 55r – Ps 67]	Auant uindrent les princes ensemble ioint as chantanz; en mileu de iuuenseals tympanistres.
Ps 70:22	Nam et ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmi; ueritatem tuam deus psallam tibi in cythara sanctus israel	Kar nedes ieo regehirai atei es uaisseaus de salme ta ueritet deus. ieo canterai atei en harpe sainz de israel.	Car e ieo regehirai a toi; en vesseals de saume; ta verite deu chanterai atoi en harpe seinz israel.
Ps 80:3	svmite psalmum & date tympanumpsalteriu iocundum cum cythara.	Pernez psalme e dunez tympane saltier iuable odharpe.	Pernez saume *et* donez tympan; sauter ioiable oue harpe.
Ps 80:4	Buccinate. inneomeniatuba; ininsigni die solemnitatis uestre.	Businez en la nuele lune de busine. el noble iorn de la uostre festiualtet.	Businez en la nouele lune o tube en noble ior de nostre solempnete.
Ps 91:4	Indecacordo psalterio: cum cantico incythara.	En saltier dediscordes ot chant de harpe.	En sauter de diz cordes; oue chanconen harpe.
Ps 97:5	Psallite domino in cythara incythara & uoce psalmi.	Chantez alseignur en harpe enharpe et en uoiz de psalme.	Chantez au seignor en harpe. en harpe *et* en uoiz de saume; en busines amenables *et* en voiz de tube de corn! Chantez en le regar de le roi segnor…
Ps 97:6	in tubis ductilibus et in voce tvbe cornee. Iubilate inconspectu regis domini;	en buisines turneices et en uoiz de buisine de corn. Chantez enlesgardement del rei segnur;	
Ps 107:3	[leaves missing before f. 86r – Ps 116]	[leaves missing before f. 86r – Ps 116]	… ie ioierai en ma gloire. Adrecez toi, sauter *et* harpe; ieo me dreceroi par matin
Ps 136:2	In sallicibus inmedio eius suspendimus organa nostra.	Es salz el milliw de li; suspendimes noz organes.	En sauces en milui de lui suspendimes nos organnes.
Ps 143:9	Deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi inpsalterio decacordo psallam tibi;	Deus nuuel cant canteraia tei; enpsalter de dis cordes canteraiatei.	Deu chant nouel chanterai a toi; en sauter de diz cordes chanterai a toi.
Ps 146:7	Precinite domino inconfessione: psallite deo nostro incythara;	Chantez alseignur ~~a els~~ enconfessiun; chantez anostre deuenharpe.	Chantez au seignor en *con*fession chantez a nostre deu en harpe.
Ps 149:3	Laudent nomen eius in choro; intimpano *et* salterio psallant ei;	Loent lenun delui encarole. en tympane. et salter cantent ali;	Loent le non de li enkarole; en tymbre *et* sauter chantent a lui.
Ps 150:3	Laudate eum in sono tube; laudate eum inpsalterio & cythara;	Loez lui enson de busine; loez lui en saltier et en harpe;	Loez le en soun de busine; loez le en sauter *et* harpe.
Ps 150:4	Laudate eum intympano *et* choro laudate eum incordis & organo;	Loez lientympane echore; loez lui encordes et organe;	Loez le en tymbre e en karole; loez le en cordes *et* en organe.
Ps 150:5	Laudate eum incymbalis benesonantibus laudate eum incymbalis iubilationis;	Loez lui encymbles biensonanz; loez li encymbles de iubilatiun…	Loez le en cloches bien sonanz; loez le en cymbales de leesce;…

also known as the *Ludlow Psalter* (though it is not a real psalter) is most likely a simple collection of various texts. The first section of the manuscript includes a calendar (f. 1r-6v) a copy of the Old French psalm translation (f. 8r-53r), canticles, and other religious texts (f. 53r-59r). No edition of the psalm translation was ever published; some quotations were published by V. Agrigoroaei (Agrigoroaei 2019) in an analysis of the Harley 273 rewriting of the original translation. The main interest of this particular version is its late date (14th century) and the aggressive reshaping of the original *Oxford Psalter* text by an English-speaking scribe.

Most of the Douce 320 original translation choices are respected (*harpe*; *(p)sauter*; *busine*; *tympanistres*; *tympan(e)*; *organnes*). Even the *tube* from the translation of Ps 80:4 has been preserved. However, the translations of Ps 149:3 and Ps 150:4 show a replacement of the original *tympane* with the word *tymbre*. And in Ps 97:6 there is another curious substitution, *tube de corn* instead of *buisine de corn* of the *Oxford Psalter* tradition.

Last but not least, the *Arundel Psalter* is probably one of the most interesting versions that need to be analysed. This copy of a French translation of the psalms was transcribed in manuscript Arundel 230 of the British Library and dates back to the second half or to the end of the 12th century. It contains a calendar (f. 1v-5v); the psalms (f. 7r-146r); canticles (f. 146r-157v); a litany, with petitions and collects (f. 157v-161r); as well as an office of the dead (f. 162r-179v); Gloria and Creed (f. 180r-v); but there is also an incomplete copy of Philippe de Thaon's *Comput* at the end of the codex (f. 182r-194v), copied by a hand similar to the one who transcribed the Old French gloss. The Latin text and the interlinear French translation were diplomatically edited by A. Beyer at the end of the 19th century (Beyer 1887 and Beyer 1888), but an edition of the text is still wanting. In many situations, the Old French translation closely follows the translation choices of the *Oxford Psalter* group. It is therefore possible that the *Arundel Psalter* may be a rewriting of the latter (Sneddon 1978), but another interpretation is equally plausible: that the *Arundel French Psalter* could be a development from a primary gloss version that also lead to the creation of the *Oxford Psalter* (Herman 1954). The situation is unclear and this may also be due to the particular Latin version that may have been used in its creation, a Gallicanum with many readings from Romanum (Pignatelli, Lavrentiev 2017). Nevertheless, in our particular case, it is worth noting that in the *Oxford Psalter*, *esledeceable ot harpe* from Ps 80:3 is a correction upon an erasure (*esledeceable* being an adjective for the previous word, *saltier*), and that the sequence was rewritten into the blank margin of the leaf, because the erased adjective was much shorter and there was not enough space to transcribe the correction within. The fact that manuscript Additional 35283 and manuscript Harley 273 present a different reading, identical to Arundel 230's *saltier juable*, may prove that the 1954 Herman hypothesis should not be discarded before a thorough verification is made.

As for the text copied on its leaves, the *Arundel French Psalter* is one of the most thought-provoking Old French translations of the psalms. The verses

Arundel Psalter Lat. (ms.)	Arundel Psalter Fr. (ms.)
Confitemini d*omi*no in cythara; in psalterio decem cordarum psallite.	Regehisez alseignur enharpe; ensalterie dedis cordes chantez
Et introibo ad altare dei; ad d*eu*m qui l*æ*tificat iuuentutem meam. Confitebor tibi in cythara d*eu*s d*eu*s meus;	E io enterai alalter dedeu; alseignur chi esleecet lamoie iuuente. Io regeirai atei enharpe deus deus limiens;
Ascendit deus iniubilo; dominus in uoce tub*æ*.	Munta deus en chant; lisire enuoiz debusinie;
Inclinabo inparabolam aure*m* meam; ap*er*iam in psalter*io* p*ro*positione*m* meam.	Io enclinerai en parole la moie oreille; aouerai ensaltier la moie proposiciun.
Exurge gl*ori*a mea. exurge psalterium & cythara; exurgam diluculo.	Esdrece tei lamoie gl*ori*e. esdrece tei psalter en harpe; io leuerai parmatin.
Pr*æ*uenerunt principes coniuncti psallentib*us*; in medio iuuencularum tympanistriarum.	Deuanc~~i~~nerent liprince coniuint aschantanz; inmilliu des iuuenceals tympanistres.
Nam & ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmi ueritatem tuam deus; psallam tibi in cythara s*anctu*s isr*æ*l.	Kar et io regeirai atei esuaisseals desalme latue ueritet deus; io canterai atei enharpe seinz isr*æ*l.
Sumite psalmum & date tymphanum; psalterium iocundum cum cythara.	Pernez salme. e dunez ty*m*pane; saltier iuable ot le harpe;
Buccinate in neomenia tuba; in insigni die solennitatis n*ostr*ae.	Businez enlafestiuel buisine; en noble iurn delan*ostr*e sollempnited.
In decacordo psalterio; cum cantico in cythara.	En saltier demiecordes; oth chant enharpe.
Psallite domino in cythara. in cythara & uoce psalmi;	Chantez a n*ostr*e seignur enharpe en- harpe e enuoiz de busine.
in tubis ductilib*us* & uoce tub*æ* corne*æ*. Iubilate in conspectu regis domini;	en busine demenable e enuoiz decorn. Chantez enleguardement delrei seignur;
…& psallam in gloria mea. Exurge psalte- rium & cythara; exurga*m* diluculo.	et esioirai en lamoieglorie. Esdrecetei saltier en harpe; io mesdrecerai parmatin.
In psallicibus in medio eius; suspendimus organa nostra.	Eshalz elmilliu delui; suspendimes. noz orgenes.
Deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi: in psalterio de cacordo psallam tibi.	Deus nouel cant io canterai atei; en salter dediscordes chant*er*ai atei.
Precinite domino inconfessione; psallite deo nostro in cithara.	Cantez a n*ostr*e a n*ostr*e seignur encon- fessione; cantez a n*ostr*e deu enharpee.
Laudent nomen eius in choro; in timpano & psalterio psall*ea*nt ei.	Loent lenun delui encarole; encarole; etentimpane e en salter cantent alui.
Laudate eum in sono tube; laudate eum inpsalterio & cithara.	Loez lui ensun debusine; loez lui ensalter eenharpe.
Laudate eum intimpano & choro; laudate eum incordis & organo.	Loez lui entimbre et en carole; loez lui encordes etorgane.
Laudate eum in cimbalis bene sonantibus; laudate eum incimbalis iubilationis;	Loez lui entympane bien sonanz; loez lui entimbles deleece.

SOURCES:

For the references to the Latin and French versions of the *Additional 35283* copy of the psalms, see f. 34r, 48r, 52r, 53r-v, 60v, 65r-v, 77r, 82v, 82v-83r, 103v-104r, 109r, 111r, 112v of that manuscript. For the *Harley 273* French manuscript version, see the f. 17r, 21r, 22r, 22v, 25r, 27v, 29r, 33r, 36r, 37v, 42r, 50r, 51v, 52v, 53r. For the *Arundel Psalter*'s Latin and French manuscript versions, see the f. 34r, 46v, 49r, 51r, 58v, 67r, 71r, 83v, 94r, 98v, 112r, 136v, 142r, 144r, 145v, 146r in that manuscript.

that interest us are full of errors and rewritings of all sorts, including errors and changes in the Latin text. *Psallite illi* from Ps 32:2 is rendered as *psallite* in the Latin text of manuscript Arundel 230, and the translation for *psallite* (*chantez*) is transcribed on the previous word (*cordarum*). Also, Ps 136:2 has *in psallicibus* in the Latin text, a clear error reflected in the Old French translation which glosses it as *es halz*. At the same time, Ps 42:4 has *de deu* instead of *deu*; *al seignur* instead of *a deu*; and *deus deus li miens* instead of *deus li miens deus*. The last choice is clearly determined by this particular copy of the Latin text (*deus deus meus*), but the previous ones are hard to explain.

Ps 91:4 has a curious reading *saltier de mie cordes* instead of *saltier de dis cordes* (probably a copying error, since the scribe copied the correct translation in Ps 143:9). Next, *kar nedes je* became *kar et jo* (Ps 70:22). Ps 97:6 has *busine demenable* instead of *buisines turneïces*; Ps 146:7 has a Latin word by mistake, *en confessione* instead of *en confessiun*; and Ps 146:7 has a nonsensical *harpee* instead of *harpe*.

But there are also a series of evident links to the *Oxford Psalter*. In Ps 56:9, the scribe adds *tei* two times to *esdrece*, as is the case in the *Oxford Psalter* (and not in all of the texts derived from it), therefore stemming from the original translation. He also also writes *psalter en harpe* instead of *salter e harpe*, which could be a copyist's error, except that he does it again in the translation of Ps 107:3 and this means that the error must be related to his particular understanding of what the two instruments were.

The oscillation between *chanter* and *canter* also proves that this is a copy of the *Oxford Psalter*, with *chanter* being a probable reflex of the scribe. Ps 67:26 has another copy error (*devancinerent*, corrected to *devancerent,* where the *Oxford Psalter* has *devancirent*). Ps 97:5 has *a nostre seignur* instead of *al segnur* (cf. Ps 146:7 for *al segnur* replaced by a copy error: *a nostre a nostre seignur*; cf. the repetition *en carole en carole* from Ps 149:3) and *en voiz de busine* instead of *en voiz de salme*. Both of them are unmotivated interventions of the scribe. They may be due to his lack of attention or because he was working with two manuscripts (source and copy) at the same time (the second one being an anticipation of a word in the next verse), especially since the Ps 97:6 has another nonsensical omission: *de corn* instead of *de busine de corn*. This type of error raises nevertheless a problem, because its nature points towards the scribe's possible use of a pre-existing French interlinear gloss in a source manuscript.

Finally, there are also links with later copies of the *Oxford Psalter*. For instance, the *saltier juable* in the translation of Ps 80:3 is a reading also recorded in manuscript Additional 35283, and one can imagine that the Arundel reading could have originated in an earlier version of the text. But the next verse has *sollempnitéd* and not *festiualtét*, therefore being much closer to the original version than than that of manuscript Additional 35283. Last but not least, the real questions concerning the translation arise in the glosses of Ps 150:4-5. *En timbre et en carole* (Ps 150:4) is a choice found again in the Harley 273 manuscript version. Nevertheless, the Arundel 230 manuscript reading *en tympane… en timbles* (Ps 150:5 does not correspond to the situation in that manuscript, where the two types of cymbals have been translated as *cloches* and *cymbales*. The Harley 273 copy has, on the other hand, a different type of connection with the *Oxford Psalter* original, for it uses *cymbales* for the latter's *cymbles*.

The *First French Psalm Commentary for Laurette of Alsace* (VA)

Much like the *Arundel Psalter*, the *First French Psalm Commentary made for Laurette d'Alsace* also presents Latin verses with a French interlinear gloss which may have been inspired by the Oxford Psalter translation. This continental text (at its origin, for it was later copied in England as well) was copied with a version of the Gallicanum in three of its manuscripts. The most important manuscript is preserved in New York, in the Pierpont Morgan Library, codex 338. The Gallicanum and its French gloss occupy a small column, with the text of the French commentary completing the rest of the folio and covering the whole width of the folio in the lower part. The O. III. 15 manuscript of the Hereford Cathedral Library dates back to the end of the 12th century and presents a text written on the latter's whole width, with a French interlinear translation, and followed by the French commentary. As for the Durham Cathedral Library manuscripts A II 11-13, its interlinear French translation does not appear consistently therein, but the text of the three Durham manuscripts forms a complete commentary (Ps 1-150). It was implied that the interlinear gloss of the Pierpont Morgan manuscript may contain readings from the verses transcribed by a certain *h3* scribe in the *Oxford Psalter*, while others assumed that the *Orne Psalter* gloss could have influenced the gloss in the three manuscripts of the *First French Commentary*, but it is difficult to estimate the real value of these approximate observations. The editor of the text concedes that this particular translation may be an independent one, and that some of the similitudes may be due to the presence of translation clusters (Gregory 1990, vol. 1, p. 6-10).

There is no complete edition of the text. S. Gregory edited only the commentary for Ps 1-50, in 2 volumes (Gregory 1990), while Ch. J. Liebman edited extracts in order to support a theory that the *Commentary* may have been written by Simon de Tournai (Liebman 1982). According to S. Gregory, the text was written in at least four stages by three or four authors. The first, author of the commentary for the first fifty psalms, would have written it in 1163-1164. The second (or maybe again the first) would have written in ca. 1165-1166 the commentary for the Ps 68-100. The third may have translated the commentary for the Ps 51-67 in 1175-1185, or before 1187. And the fourth and last one worked after 1187, completing the rest of the commentary (Ps 101-150). This composite aspect of the *First French Commentary* makes it impossible to speak of translation choices in connection with a certain writer. Furthermore, the extraction of the psalm verses with musical instruments from this text would be extremely painstaking, because of the incomplete status of the edition (Ps 1-50) and because the only manuscript containing the text of the last stage of the *Commentary* (Ps 101-150), the Durham Cathedral Library A II 13, is not yet available for an online consultation. From the point of view of the psalm translation, the selected excerpts presented on this page do not present different choices from the ones already observed in the *Oxford Psalter* group. *Cythara* is rendered as *harpe*; *psalterium* as *psaltier* or *psalterie*; *tube* as *boisine*; *cymbala* as *cymbes* or *cembes*; and *organum* as *orgue*.

Ps 32:2 in the *Commentary for Laurette d'Alsace*

TEXT AND TRANSLATION:

Confitemini Domino in cythara; in psalterio decem cordarum psallite illi.

Regeïssez le Seignor en la harpe; o el psaltier de dis cordes le loëz bien faisanz.

COMMENTARY:

Confitemini Domino in cythara etc. Cythara ço est harpe. Harpe est faite de fust et de cordes qui sunt el fust tendues et sonent en bas. Li fust ço est qu'il signifie la croiz nostre Segnur, les cordes nostres car. En la croiz nostre Segnur devuns nostre car estendre, ço est por l'onorance et por le servise de la sue croiz devuns nos nostre car peneir et travelier, et devuns en bas canter en humilitét. Se nos avuns bien, *Dominus dedit.* Se nos avuns mal, *Dominus abstulit.* Toz jors harpés, *sit nomen Domini benedictum in psalterio decem cordarum.* Li psalters est fais de fust et de cordes d'araim et sone par desore, et signifie *caritatem Dei et proximi.* El psalter ad dis cordes, et signefie les dis comandemenz de la loi, qui ensegnent coment um doit Deu ameir et le proisme. Ço est li dolz canz, li delitus, qui haut et cleir sone as oreilles Deu, dunt tote la cort celestiels s'esleëscet et esgoïst.

Ps 42:4 in the *Commentary for Laurette d'Alsace*

TEXT AND TRANSLATION:

Confitebor tibi in cithara, deus, deus meus. Quare tristis es, anima mea? Et quare conturbas me?

Je regehirai a toi en harpe, Dex, li miens Dex. Por quoi ies tu triste, la moie ame? Et por quoi me troubles tu?

COMMENTARY:

Confitebor tibi in cythara. En tabernacle m'estuet mals et paines soffrir, mais en la maisun, quant geo i venrai, la harperai je, la m'esbanïerai geo. *Tabernaculum enim est peregrinantium sive militantium* – li tabernacles est u des pelerins ki se eslongent u de le gent ki vunt en ost. Cum aussi *tabernaculum, bellum intellige, hostem cave.* Quant tu os nomeir le tabernacle, ço dist *beatus Augustinus*, quarde toi de tun enemi, sace que conbatre t'estoet. *Intra ad altare Dei* par bone devotiun, par seinte contemplatiun. Prent ta harpe, ço est aies pacience en tes paines, en tes mals que tu soffres por l'amnisteit Deu, car ço signefie la harpe. Vos savez bien que la harpe est faite que li sons li vient par desoz les cordes, et signefie que nos devuns Deu loër et gracier que nos soffruns alcun mal por lui et nos le recoilluns en grét et en patience. Dunc sone nostre harpe par desoz devers la terre, car de cele part nos vienent li mal et les tribulatiuns. *Si in tribulationis defeceris*, ço dist seins Augustins, cytharam *fregisti.* Ço est, se tu defals en tes tribulatiuns que tu soffres por Deu, que tu n'en aies pacience, ta harpe as brisee ; totes sunt rutes tes cordes, tot est perdut. […]

Ps 46:6 in the *Commentary for Laurette d'Alsace*

TEXT AND TRANSLATION:

Ascendit Deus in iubilatione, et Dominus in voce tube.

Deus monta en granz leëce, et li Sire en voiz de boisine.

COMMENTARY:

Ascendit Deus tot *ad litteram* en la seinte croiz. Serpens exaltatus ço signefie li serpens que Moyses leva en un fust el desert, ke cil qui l'esgarderoient fussent guari des pointures d'uns serpens ki entre als estoient. […] *In voce tube*, des angeles ki lor disent: […].

Ps 150:5-6 in the *Commentary for Laurette d'Alsace*

TRANSLATION (the Latin text is absent from the edition):

Loez lui en cembes bien sonanz; loez lui en cymbes de jubilatiun. Chescun esperiz loez le Seignur!

COMMENTARY:

Les cymbes sunt fundez de areim, si est lur maniere ke heom hurtet l'un a l'autre pur bien suner. Et ceo gloserent asquanz ke ceo esteient nos lievres ki tuchent l'un a l'autre pur Deu loer et beneir, car par les levres furmet hume les paroles. Mes melz semblet *beato Augustino quod cymbala benesonantia* seient cil ki se entresomunent et enortent a la Deu amur et al soen servise et a la sue loenge. Et ceo pot heom veer k'il i entent *cymbala animata* par ceo k'il dit après: *laudate eum in cimbalis iubilationis omnis spiritus*, car *iubilatio est mentis exultatio de eternis que verbis exprimi non potest et taceri non debet.* Ceo est une joie de queor ki vient des parmanables joies del ciel et est taunt grant ke la langue nel pot dire ne li quiers nel dait teisir. Ainz la chantet senz parole priveement lui et Deu, et par ceo piert bien k'il parolet de tels cymbes kar li autre ne poeient mie estre *cymbala iubilationis* cil ki de areim sunt fundu. Mes li bon ami Deu ki s'entreamonestent et somunent a Deu amer et a lui servir e a lur prosme aider *in caritate* et en tutes celes manieres ki meisters lui est : cil sunt *cymbala iubilationis.* Et fait a noter ke issi cum il par le ciel et par la terre somunt tutes les creatures a la loenge Deu, ceo est somunst nus, ke nus par tutes creatures et en tutes creatures loïssum Deu en l'autre psalme: *Laudate Dominum, de celis*, issi par cestes maneres de estruimenz et de chanz met il tutes celes maneres ke nuls heom penser pot ne dire; car si cum cil musicien dient, et veirs est, treis gendres, ces sunt treis principals manieres, sunt de voiz et de suns dunt heom chantet tuz les chanz ke heom penser pot: *voce, flatu, pulsu*, par voiz si cum vus veez ke tute gent chantent; *flatu* par focels u par estives u par alcune maniere de vent ki les chalemels fait soner; *pulsu* sicum cels harpes et tutes iceles manieres ke heom des mains fait suner: ci sunt tutes celes manieres mises, n'en i ad nule ubliee; car cele ki est *in uoce* est mise la u il dist *in choro*; cele ki est *in flatu* est mise la u il dit *in sono tube*; cele ki est *in pulsu*, cele est mise la u il dit *in tympano.* Et signifient ces treis manieres de chant le alme, le esperit, le cors: la voiz, le alme; li venz, l'esperit; li tuchemenz, le cors, ke heom tuchet cels harpes, cels psalteries, cels orgues pur faire suner. Et devez saver k'il cestes manieres tutes i ad mises plus par semblances ke par proprieté, car tut reguardet a cel vers: *Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius.* Tutes cestes manieres et cels diversitez de chanz tutes sunt esperituelment es sainz Nostre Seignur: il sunt *virtutes eius*, il sunt *multitudo magnitudinis eius*; il sunt *tuba*, il sunt *psalterium et cythara*, il sunt *tympanum et chorus*, il sunt *corde et organa*, il sunt *cymbala benesonantia*, il sunt *cymbala iubilationis*, il sunt tut chescun en sun ordene. Il sunt *cytharedi* ke Johans vit *cytharizantes in cytharis suis.* Li harpeur Deu ki lui harpent, et esbanient as harpes de lur cors et as psalteries de lur almes. Bele seor, en la lur cumpaignie mettet Deus les cors, et les almes de nus en la lur joie et en la lur feste, ke nus ovoec els pussuns chanter *in cymbalis iubilationis. Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.*

Ps 48:5 in the *Commentary for Laurette d'Alsace*

TEXT AND TRANSLATION:

Inclinabo in parabolam aurem meam; aperiam in salterio propositionem meam.

Jo enclinerai en semblance m'oreille; jo overai el psaltier ma propositiun.

COMMENTARY:

…Aperiam in psalterio. Psalterium ço est uns estrumens mult doz, et signefie *bonam operationem*, bones ovres. Et est a dire, ge vos ensegnerai mais g'en ferai men ensegnement tot avant. Ensi dist sainz Lucas: *Que cepit Jhesus facere et docere.* Nostre Sire Jhesus *aperit in psalterio propositionem suam*, car il fist le bien avant et pois ensegna les autres. *Audiamus quod dicimus, faciamus quod precipimus.*

SOURCES:

For the Ps 32:2, Ps 42:4, Ps 46:6, and Ps 48:5 in the *Commentary* see Gregory 1990, vol. 1, p. 343; and vol. 2, p. 453, 488, 497. For a provisional edition of the commentary of Ps 150:5-6, see Liebman 1982, p. 179-181.

The multilingual case of the Eadwine Psalter (VA)

This particular Old French translation is found in a trilingual manuscript named the *Eadwine Psalter* from the name of the scribe depicted in the same codex (Cambridge, Trinity College, ms R.17.1). The only edition of the French text was published by Fr. Michel at the end of the 19th century (Michel 1876) with an accompanying Hebraicum version, whose interline the French translation occupies. Nevertheless, the Hebraicum published by Fr. Michel is not the one transcribed in the Cambridge manuscript.

Another edition, a doctoral dissertation by D. Markey, includes the correct Latin text of the Hebraicum, but it is still awaiting her publication (Markey 1989). A synthesis of research has been published in a monograph concerning the various texts and images of the manuscript (Markey 1992).

The two other columns on each folio of the manuscript contain the other Latin versions: the Gallicanum occupies the widest column, the one closest to the spine; and the Romanum occupies the middle one. The Gallicanum is accompanied by a version of the *Parva Glossatura*, transcribed on its margins and in between the lines; while the interline of the Romanum contains an Old English gloss translation similar to the French one copied on the interline of the Hebraicum.

The translation has been dated to 1155-1160 and research aggrees that it could have been done at the priory of Christ Church. A copy of this translation is preserved in a Paris manuscript (BnF, lat. 8846) of a later date, and containing only the French translation of the Ps 1-97. The

Gloss (ms.) selected excerpts		Gallicanum (ms.)	Romanum (ms.)
	Ps 32:2	Confitemini domino in cythara; in psalterio decem chordarum psallite illi.	Confitemini domino in cythara. in psalterio decem cordarum psallite ei.
	Ps 42:4	Et introibo ad altare dei; addeum qui letificat iuuentutem meam. Confitebor tibi in cythara deus deus meus.	Introibo ad altare dei addeum qui laetificat iuventutem meam. Confitebor tibi in cythara deus deus meus.
	Ps 46:6	Ascendit deus in iubilo; dominus inuoce tubae.	Ascendit deus iniubilatione. & dominus in uoce tube.
	Ps 48:5	Inclinabo inparabolam aurem meam; aperiam inpsalterio propositionem meam.	Inclinabo adsimilitudinem aurem meam. aperiam inpsalterio propositionem meam.
	Ps 56:9	Exurge gloria mea. exurge psalterium & cythara; exsurgam diluculo.	Exurge gloria mea exurge psalterium & cythara. exurgam diluculo.
	Ps 67:26	Preuenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus; in medio iuuencularum timpanistriarum.	Preuenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus. IN medio iuuenum timpanistriarum.
	Ps 70:22	Nam & ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmi ueritatem tuam deus; psallam tibi in cythara sanctus israel.	& ego confitebor tibi inuasis psalmorum. ueritatem tuam psallam tibi in cythara deus sanctus israel.
	Ps 80:3	Sumite psalmum & date tympanum; psalterium iocundum cum cythara	Sumite psalmum & date timpanum. psalterivm iocundum cum cythara.
Inneomenia. uel inicio mensis. (f. 145r)	Ps 80:4	Buccinate inneomenia tuba; ininsigni die sollemnitatis nostrae.	Canite initio mensis tuba. indie insignis sollempnitatis uestrae.
	Ps 91:4	In decacordo psalterio; cum cantico in cythara.	In decachordo psalterio cum cantico & cythara.
	Ps 97:5	Psallite domino in cythara incythara & uoce psalmi;	Psallite deo nostro in cythara. incythara & uoce psalmi.
	Ps 97:6	in tubis ductilibus & uoce tube corneae. Iubilate in conspectu regis domini.	IN tubis ductilibus & uoce tube cornee. iubilate inconspectu regis domino.
Tuba concrepet regi. psalterium canat deo. cythara cum reliquis; sponso. Tuba terribilis. vel in bello sumitur. vel regiis aduentibus apparatur. Psalterium a summo. Cythara ab imo sonat. (f. 262r)	Ps 107:3	Exsurge psalterium & cythara; exsurgam diluculo.	exurge psalterium & cythara. exurgam diluculo.
	Ps 136:2	IN salicibus in medio eius; suspENdimus organa nostra.	IN sallicibus inmedio eius. suspENdimus organa nostra.
	Ps 143:9	Deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi; in psalterio decacordo psallam tibi.	Deus canticum NOuum cantabo tibi. inpsalterio decemcordarvm psallam tibi.
Chorus est contemperata uocvm collectio. (f. 262r)	Ps 146:7	Precinite domino in confessione; psallite deo nostro incythara.	Incipite domino in confessione. psallite Deo nostro IN cythara.
Cordas ponit pro omni instrumento musico quod cordarum tensione sonat. Organum quasi turris fistulis diuersis fabricata. flatu folium sonans. (f. 262r)	Ps 149:3	Laudent nomen eius inchoro; intympano & psalterio psallant ei.	Laudent nomen eius in choro in tympano. & psalterio psallant ei.
	Ps 150:3	Laudate eum in sono tube; laudate eum in psalterio & cythara.	Laudate eum in sono tube; laudate eum in psaltero & cythara.
Cymbala bene tinnientia sunt. ex permixtis metallis purissime phiale quae acutum sonum reddunt. (f. 262r)	Ps 150:4	Laudate eum in tympano & choro; laudate eum incordis & organo.	Laudate eum IN tympano & choro; laudate eum in cordis & organo.
	Ps 150:5	Laudate eum in cymbalis benesonantibus; laudate eum incymbalis iubilationis	Laudate eum incymbalis benesonantibus; laudate eum incymbalis iubilationis

Cambridge copy contains a much longer text, with French translations for most psalms, with the exception of Ps 125-130 et 149-150. Last but not least, due to its derivation from the Hebraicum version, the Old French interlinear translation of the *Eadwine Psalter* is different from the one copied in the manuscripts of the *Oxford Psalter* group. There are also a series of corrections, and the French text was transcribed by five different scribes.

Among the particular readings of Eadwine's Hebraicum version one may note: *dei* for *tuum* (Ps 42:4); *dominus* for *deus* (Ps 46:6); *expergiscere* x 3 for *surge* x 3 (Ps 56:9); *psallam* for *cantabo* (Ps 70:22); *buccina in neomenia* for *in neomenia buccina* (Ps 80:4); *cum* for *in* (Ps 91:4); *nostro* for *domino* (Ps 97:6); and *psallit* for *canite* (Ps 146:7). It is strange that the French translation gloss uses the verb *chanter* in the translations of Ps 70:22 and 146:7, in situations where the Latin Hebraicum version of the same manuscript uses *psallere* instead of *canere* or *cantare* of the more common Hebraicum. This bizarre choice may point towards something that D. Markey believed to be an "expected translation", that is, the translation that the present-day linguist would expect instead of the translation copied in the *Eadwine Psalter*. But this may not necessarily point to the origin of *Eadwine*'s Old French gloss in another source, as believed by D. Markey, from whence it could have copied into the *Eadwine*. The same Old French gloss

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SOURCES:

For the references to *Eadwine Psalter*'s French, Old English, and three Latin, as well as for the gloss manuscript versions, see the f. 54v, 75v, 82r, 84v, 99v, 116r, 123r-v, 145r, 165r, 173v-174r, 195v, 243v, 254r, 258r, 261r, 262r.

Old English (ms.)	Hebraicum (ms.)	Old French (ms.)
Ondettæþ drihtne oneærpungum ⁊onpsalterum tyen strenga singæþ him	confitemini domino in cythara in psalterio decacordo cantate ei.	Regehissez al seignur en harpe. en saltier de dis cordes chantez a lui.
Ic ingonge to wifode godes togode þe geblissiæð giogoðe mine. Ic ændete ðe onheærpæn god god min	Et introibo ad altare dei addeum laetitiae & exultationis meae. & confitebor tibi in cythara deus deus meus.	E ie enterrai al altel deu al deu de leece e de mun esioissement. e ie regehirai atei en harpe miens deus.
Æstigæþ god onwinsumnesse dræme ⁊ drihten on stefne bimæn	Ascendit deus iniubilo. dominus in uoce buccine.	Muntat deus en chant. li sires en uoiz de buisine.
Ic Onhilde to gelicnesse eære min icontine onspaltere foregesetenesse minre	Inclinabo adparabolam aurem meam. aperiam incythara enigma meum.	Ieo enclinerai a parole la meie oreille. ie aouerrai en harpe ma deuinaille
aris wuldor min aris Saltere ⁊ hearperas ic arise on morgen.	Expergiscere gloria mea. expergiscere psalteriu*m* & cithara expergiscar mane.	Esbruce tei lameie glorie. esbruce tei otu saltier e o tu harpe. ie me esbrucerai par matin.
Forecomon eældermæn togeþiedde singendum on midle gingra gliewmedene plegiendra mid timpanan.	Precesserunt cantatores eos qui post tergum psallebant. IN medio puellarum timpanistriarum.	Deuant alerent li chanteur cels ki apres le dos uerseillouent en milliu des pulceles timpanistres.
⁊ ic ændette þe on fatum salmesængæ soðfestnesse þine ic singe þe on heærpæn god hælig israhele.	Ego autem confitebor tibi inuasis psalterii ueritatem tuam deus meus. psallam tibi in cythara sancte israel.	Ie acertes regehirai atei en uaisels de salterii otu mes deus; ie chanterei atei en harpe saint disrael.
Nimad sealm ⁊ sellað swieg salter wynsum mid hearpan.	Assumite carmen. & date tympanum. citharam decoram cum psalterio.	Pernez ditie e dunez tympane. harpe bele od saltier.
Singoð on frumon monþum byman on dege fyr symbelnesse eowre.	Clangite buccina IN neomenia. & inmedio mense die sollempnitatis nostrae.	Cerned od buisine en la nuuelte de la lune. e en mi le meis iurn de nostre sollemnite.
þet ic on tin strengum getogen hefde / hu ic ðe on sælterio singæn meæhte / oðð þe mid heærpæn hliste cwemæn…	Indecacordo & in psalterio cum cantico in cythara.	En diseincordei; *et* en saltier. en chant en harpe.
Singæþ gode ure on hearpæn on heærpæn ⁊ stefne psealmæ.	Cantate domino incythara. in cythara & uoce carminis.	Chantez al seignur en harpe. en harpe e en uoiz de ditiet.
on hymæn geleddon ⁊ stefne byme horn wynsumiaþ on gesihþe kynges.	In tubis & clangore buccine iubilate coram rege nostro.	En buisines e el suen de la buisine chantez deuant nostre rei.
Aris wuldor min ærise sæltere ⁊ heærpæn ic arise on morgen.	Consurge psalterium & cythara. consurgam mane.	Esdrece tei saltier e harpe. ie mesdrecerai par matin.
On singendum on middæn his we hengon swegas ure.	Super salices in medio eius. suspendimus cytharas nostras.	Sur les salz enmiliu de li suspendimus noz estrumenz.
god sang niwne ic singe þe on saltre tien strengan ic singe þe.	Deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi. in psalterio decachordo psallam tibi.	deus nuuel chant chanterai a tei en saltier diseincorde uersellerai atei.
Onginnað dryhtene on andetnesse singað gode ure on hearpan.	Canite domino in confessione. psallit deo nostro incythara.	Chanted al seignur en confessiun. chanted a nostre deu en la harpe.
Hergæð nomæn his on þrete on swege ⁊ sælteræ singæþ him.	Laudent nomen eius inchoro; intympano & cithara cantent ei.	[no French translation for this psalm]
herigæð hine on swege hymæn hergæþ hine on psæltere ⁊ herpe.	Laudate eum inclangore buccine; laudate eum in psalterio & cythara.	[no French translation for this psalm]
hergæð hine on hylsongæ ⁊ ðreæt hergæð hine on heortan ⁊ orgænum.	Laudate eum intimpano & choro; laudate eum in cordis & organo.	[no French translation for this psalm]
hergæð hine on cymbalum wel cwegendum hergæd hine on cymbalum wynsumnesse.	Laudate eum in cymbalis sonantibus; laudate eum incymbalis tinnientibus.	[no French translation for this psalm]

Galt.

Rom.

Hebr.

¶ decim.

etam in nationibus: increpatio-

nes in populis: Ad alligan- ¶ Ecce quanta gla

dos reges eorum in compedi- ¶ pcepta dei. ¶ ut quod

bus: & nobiles eorum in manu- ¶ qd dura sunt unctia. vt ad iudicium q̄ faciunt scī. pōnis genteſ conſeptum;

cis ferreis: Vt faciant in eis ¶ a patrib; sanctorum. Ista aũ scpta sunt. ¶ traſgrediter

iudicium conscriptum: gla-

-riam gl̄am.

hec est omnibus sanctis eius

¶ Iudicium conscriptum. a patribus sanctorum. Ista autem scripta sunt & modo complent. legebant aliqn nō fiebant. modo fiunt. i conclydit ita p omnes gs. hoc agunt sci sic gl̄ant sic exultant in fauc; sic letant incubilib; sic exultant in gl̄a. sic cantant cantic. n. sic dic alla. conde. oie. ut ca.

Laudate dn̄m. Laus ista ē de ipsius nuptiis xpi & ecclie. Videns enim ppha ecclīam. i. scōs iam deposita omni fragilitate xpo coniungi in cena beatitudinis. inuitat illos ad laudandum dn̄m in omni genere musicorum instrumentorum ut in nuptiis solet fieri. & suppon multas causas quare ille sit laudandus. quia dedit omnia ei⁹ in firmamento quia morte sua diabolum uic. & credentes ad celū p duxit. Maria ipse celestes nuptie. ps̄ iste non est diuisus ppartes. quia de sola laude ag̃. Unde & arbon. i. indiuisibilis vocat'r.

on kydnessum
in nationibus in
ofen cidunge on
crepationes in po
folce tacte
pulis. A dalli-
bindde enne kunnas
gandos reges
hyne on
eorum in com-
se. secge nessum. 7
pedibus. & no
epelum hyne on
biles eorum in
bendum isenum
unculis ferreis.
decge ded on
Yt faciant in
hum dom
eis iudicium
emn pyreen
conscriptum:
pulbon dōs i
gloria hec est
ecellum hæſsum
omnibus san
his
ctis eius.

in gentibus
increpatione
in populis.
Vt alligés reges
eorum cathe-
nis. & inclitos
eorum compe-
dibus ferreis.
Yt faciant in
eis iudicium
scriptum. de-
cor est omni-
um sc̄orum
eius.

Adiutor boni uoluntatis deus qui omni mansuetudine te humiliter confitentē exaltas. pra qs ut sic scis exultare facias in gl̄am ita presentē ecclīam custodire digneris. abbui scti delectationib; inpollutam. p.



reflects solid links to the Hebraicum text of its manuscript. The inversion of *neomenia* (Ps 80:4) is reflected in the choice of translation of the French text (*en la nuvelté de la lune*) from the Greek *νεομήνιος* ('of the new moon'), but it may also come from the marginal gloss of the Gallicanum. Another explanation would be that the scribes could have used an Old French model belonging to the manuscript tradition of the *Oxford Psalter*, whose versions also use the verb *chanter* in the same contexts (or maybe this translation choice was influenced by the presence of the verb 'to sing' in the corresponding Old English glosses).

The translation choices for the musical instruments are not surprising: *harpe* for *cithara*, *saltier* for *psalterium*, *buisine* for *buccina* or *tuba*, and *tympane* for *tympanum*, with no translations for *cymbalum* or *organum* because Ps 149-150 are absent from this translation.

As an exception among the Old French Psalters, under the influence of already established Old English tradition (for an analysis of this version and another one, see Hawk 2015), the *Eadwine Psalter* has a French translation for Ps 151, in a different layout, because there is only one Latin version copied after the Old Testament Canticles, in the additional section of the psalter (f. 281r-v). However, the second verse of this supernumerary psalm mentions the name of two instruments and one may notice that the translation choices have been preserved:

> LATIN: Manus mee fecerunt organu*m*; *et* digiti mei aptauerunt psalt*e*rium. OLD ENGLISH: Heondan mine warhten organan, ond fingras mine gearcaden psalterium. OLD FRENCH: Mes meins firent le orgne, e mi dei afaiterent le saltier.

Fig. 4-9. Entire folio and details of f. 261v of the *Eadwine Psalter* (ms. Cambridge, Trinity College, R.17.1), preserving the second part of Ps 149 and the miniature illustrating the beginning of Ps 150. All musical instruments mentioned in the Psalter are represented herein. © *Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge.*



Latin *cithara* as French *harpe* (VA)

This is an obvious choice of translation, because the harp was one of the most used musical instruments of those times, and often observed in the representations of King David. Moreover, this was not restricted to art. In the *Lumere as Lais* by Pierre d'Abernon of Fetcham, a long 13th century poem (ca. 14.000 verses) translating a Latin theological treatise, the harp is dealt with extensively in connection with the same King David, therefore it must have been the word that the Old French authors had in mind when reading the ancient Greek-Latin word *cithara* in the psalms. See for instance the verses 6715-6718, right before the 44th chapter of Pierre's *Lumere*, verses dedicated to the tuning of this instrument as a metaphor for another type of 'tuning', of a religious sort (*Coment l'en deit temprer la harpe*):

> La harpe Davi n'ama mie
> Pur l'acord ki fu en l'armonie,
> Dunt il ne pout pas pur sun harper
> Saul en travaillant adeser…
> (Hesketh 1996-2000, vol. 1, p. 201-202)

In a note to the verse 6727, the editor of this 13th century poem compares the harp of the first two centuries of French literature to the "guitar of the 1960s" (Hesketh 1996-2000, vol. 1, p. 203), that is, one of the most popular instruments of the Middle Ages, and believes that the author of this poem might have played such a harp himself, since he was perfectly able to make precise observations concerning its tuning and playing. The same may be said about the Old English translators of the same period (*vide supra* the *Eadwine Psalter*) who used the same word.

Since we mentioned this particular manuscript, it should be noted that the *Eadwine Psalter* provides us with even more clues concerning this particular translation choice. The use of the word *estrumenz* in the Ps 136:2 of this interlinear French version reflects one of the problems that the translators encountered. As this word is used only once, and in a particular context, while the word *harpe* is used in all the other contexts, it is safe to assume that this choice was determined by the precise nature of that context. A reasonable explanation would be that the translator could not imagine how these 'harps' (plural, and probably perceived as triangular three-part frame instruments) could be hung on trees. He must have understood, for a moment, that the Latin original was speaking of another instrument than the one he had in mind and he consequently made a vague choice of translation, the 'instruments', mysterious and undefined as they were to him when reading the Hebraicum text. Another possible explanation for this translation choice may take into account the influence of the other two versions of the Psalter in the same manuscript (Romanum and Gallicanum, presenting the reading *organa* (cf. Markey 1989, p. 363-364, to be dealt with when discussing this other instrument).

As for *cithara* itself, the entry of this word in the French language is of a much later date. There is one curious use of *citerelle* in the *Bible d'Acre* (Gn 31:27 - *cur ignorante me fugere voluisti, nec indicare mihi, ut prosequerer te cum gaudio, et canticis, et tympanis, et citharis?* translated as *Por quoy nel me deis? Si t'eusse condut a grant joie en chantant et en sonant tabors et citerelles* ; Nobel 2006, p. 34), but this 13th century etymologizing choice is singular. For instance, the translation of the verse Gn 4:21 (*Et nomen fratris eius Iubal: ipse fuit pater canentium cithara et organo*) is absent from the *Bible d'Acre*, even though this is the second mention of *cithara* in Genesis.

The word may have been used occasionally, since it had derivatives. In a Northern Anglo-Norman context, for instance, albeit in Latin, there is an occurrence of the word *chithariste* in a receipt of 1330 (*Chithariste d'ni Rob'ti de Horneclyff ex precepto Prioris* – see for this *Extracts* 1898-1901, vol. 2, p. 517). Later in the same century, the word appears on the Continent in the works of Nicole Oresme (cf. Meunier 1857, word 330 of the list of Oresme words at p. 161-205; or in Oresme's translation of Aristotle's *Politics*, quoted by the DMF: *si comme est la cithare ou aucun autre tel instrument*). Even though there are many similar words in the French language since the 14th century (see for this *citole*, a musical instrument with chords – cf. the use of the word *cithole* as an interpretation for *cithara* in the Kerr manuscript, a rhymed variant of the Apocalypse, quoted further on), the word *cithara* itself does not appear before the first half of the 15th century. According to the

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SOURCES:

For *cithara* in the *Quatre livre des reis*, see Curtius 1911, p. 19, 31-32, 32, 70, 136. There are no mentions of *cithara* in Judges.

Cithara in the *Quatre livre des reis*

1 Sa 10:5	Post haec venies in collem Dei, ubi est statio Philisthinorum: et cum ingressus fueris ibi urbem, obvium habebis gregem prophetarum descendentium de excelso, et ante eos psalterium, et tympanum, et tibiam, et citharam, ipsosque prophetantes.	Apres vendras al munt Damnedeu u li Philistien unt lur estaciun. E quant enterras en la cite, encunteras les prophetes ki d'amunt vendrunt a estrumenz, psalterie, tympans, frestels e harpe; si prophetizerunt.
1 Sa 16:16	Iubeat dominus noster, et servi tui qui coram te sunt quaerent hominem scientem psallere cithara, ut quando arripuerit te spiritus Domini malus, psallat manu sua, et levius feras.	Li mals esperiz nostre Seignur te travaille. S'il te plaist cumande, e nus querrums alcun ki harper sache, que quant li mals esperiz Deu t'envaïrad, chanted e harped, e de plus legierement sufferas la peine.
1 Sa 16:23	Igitur quandocumque spiritus Domini malus arripiebat Saul, David tollebat citharam, et percutiebat manu sua, et refocillabatur Saul, et levius habebat: recedebat enim ab eo spiritus malus.	Li malignes esperiz le rei Saül plusurs feiz asaillid e traveillout, e David dunc devant le rei harpout e par tant li mals asuajout, kar li diables s'en turnout.
2 Sa 6:5	David autem et omnis Israel ludebant coram Domino in omnibus lignis fabrefactis, et citharis et lyris et tympanis et sistris et cymbalis.	E David e tuz ces de Israel juerent devant nostre Seignur od multes manieres d'estrumenz, od harpes e lires e tympans e frestels e cymbals.
1 Ki 10:12	Fecitque rex de lignis thyinis fulcra domus Domini et domus regiae, et citharas lyrasque cantoribus: non sunt allata huiuscemodi ligna thyina, neque visa usque in praesentem diem.	De cel gentil mairen as pareiz del temple e a sun paleis fist li reis faire uns esforcemenz e fist en faire harpes e lyres e altres estrumenz; e puis n'í fud ported ne veüd si gentil mairen ki fust de tyn.

DEAF, quoting a late French vernacular version of the *Life of St Eustace*, this may be the first time when the word *cythare* is used in the French language (see the text at Petersen 1925, p. 217, verse 939: *harpes, psalterions, cythares, manicordions*). In general, French authors favour the translation choices already established during the previous centuries (*i.e.* 'harp'). The assimilation of the Greek-Latin *cithara* with the harp is clear even later, in 1425-1430, when Jean Gerson glossed Latin *cithara* with French *harpe* (Fabre 2005, p. 129). This may be the effect of an earlier assimilation of *cithara* with the medieval harp. When the historical books (see the translation of 1-2 Sa and 1-2 Ki known as *Quatre livre des reis*) mention *cithara* and *lyra* in groups of instruments, 12th century French translators use a neologism for *lyra* (*lyre*), but do not hesitate to translate *cithara* with *harpe*. In fact, sometimes they do not even use the name of the instrument; they use a verb derived from it (*harper*, 'to pluck the strings'), in order to translate the Latin *psallere citharam*.

Psalterium as *(p)saltier* (VA)

Despite its overwhelming presence in Old French literary texts, not much can be said about the 'psaltery'. The instrument was well known to medieval men and its portative nature made it the evident choice of translation for the biblical instrument bearing the same name. Only the phonetic variants can be analyzed (*psalter, psaltier, psaultier, psautiers, saltier, saultier, sautaire, sauter, sauterie, sauterion, saltire, sauters, sautier*), but a review of these forms will not reach new conclusions, since they present similar phenomena to those noticed in other languages (see the treatment of the initial consonantic group in Old English: *saltere, psaltere*, but also *sealmleoð*). Moreover, it may force us to make a pointless distinction between homonyms: the musical instrument and the book of Psalms (*i.e.* the 'Psalter' itself).



Fig. 10: Aulnay (France). Saint Peter church (12th century). Detail of the outer voussure of the main portal: ass playing the harp (or the psaltery). Credits: VA.

The French translations of *tuba* and *buc(c)ina* (VA)

Buisine seems to be the preferred choice of the translators when it comes to rendering the names of both instruments in vernacular. This is the generic name of the trumpet found in most 12th and 13th century Old French texts. Its origin is Latin (from the biblical *buccina*), but the word appears independently from Latin contexts (see for this the romance of Alexander by Thomas of Kent: *Le roy Alisandre fet ses gresles corner, / E timbres e tabors e busines soner*; Foster, Short 1976-1977, vol. 1, p. 52). Variations are rare in the translations of these words. One such variation is the use of *bacinet* in the Anglo-Norman Judges, which acts as an exception even in the context of that particular translation.

There are also cases in which the word *buisine* appears even though it was not used in the original, simply because the latter referred to sounds of military nature (see for this 2 Ki 7:6 – *Siquidem Dominus sonitum audiri fecerat in castris Syriae, curruum, et equorum, et exercitus plurimi…*; paraphrased as *Kar nostre Sires out fait oïr par cel ost de Syrie forment grant noise e tumulte si cume ço fust de curres e de chevals e de buisines e de grant ost ki sur els venist*; Curtius 1911, p. 187). This means that *buisine* was the most common way of rendering any wind instrument. This is probably the reason why even the word *tuba* was frequently translated as *buisine*. The 12th century translations of Judges and *Quatre livre des reis* testify to this particular situation. And the 13th century Anglo-Norman *Douce Glossary* actually explains that both *tuba* and *buccina* should be translated by *buisine* (*hec tuba vel succina: bosine*, where *succina* is an error for *buccina*; Hunt 1991, p. 421). This is why an author such as Robert de Gretham (Robert the Chaplain), in his *Corset* poem (mid-13th century), thinks of the verses of the Apocalypse and uses *buisine* instead of a neologism derived from *tuba*, even though *tuba* is the only word used for 'trumpet' in the entire text of the Revelation (…*set*

Buccina in the *Bible d'Acre* (Exodus)

Ex 19:13	…cum coeperit clangere buccina, tunc ascendant in montem.	Quant la buisine sonera, si voisent vers le mont.
Ex 19:16	Iamque advenerat tertius dies, et mane inclaruerat: et ecce coeperunt audiri tonitrua, ac micare fulgura, et nubes densissima operire montem, clangorque buccinae vehementius perstrepebat:…	Quant vint au tiers jor et il fu cler matin, si comensa forment a toner et a espartir et nue forment espesse covri la montaigne et li sons de la buisine estoit forment oÿs.
Ex 19:19	Et sonitus buccinae paulatim crescebat in maius, et prolixius tendebatur:…	…et li sons de la buizine creissoit petit et petit et mult estoit oÿ de loing.
Ex 20:18	Cunctus autem populus videbat voces et lampades, et sonitum buccinae, montemque fumantem: et perterriti ac pavore concussi, steterunt procul,	Li pueples tot oÿ la vois et veoit les clartés com d'un lampier et le son de la buizine et la montaigne fumant, et avoyent grant paor et ce tenoyent de loins.

Buccina in the Anglo-Norman Judges

Jg 3:27	Et statim insonuit buccina in monte Ephraim.	Si fu donc une buisine haut sonee au mont Effraym por la victoire que Aoth ot faite.
Jg 6:34	Spiritus autem Domini induit Gedeon, qui clangens buccina convocavit domum Abiezer, ut sequeretur se.	Nostre sire qui bien voit le mal et la destruction qu'il detenoient a son pueple, tramist son saint esprit en Gedeon, si l'empli de sa grace; et il prist lors un bacinet, si le sona viguerozement, si en semont tote la force de la maison Abiezer que li suist en cela faire…
Jg 7:19	Ingressusque est Gedeon, et trecenti viri qui erant cum eo, in partem castrorum, incipientibus vigiliis noctis mediae: et custodibus suscitatis, coeperunt buccinis clangere, et complodere inter se lagenas.	Atant c'est emtus en l'ost et ces IIIc compagnons entor hore de mie nuit ; les gardes yerent ja esveillies et si pristrent a souner les buizines en haut ou merveillos esfroy, si entrehuterent ces canes qu'il porterent en lor mains que totes les ont depecees.
Jg 7:22	Et nihilominus insistebant trecenti viri buccinis personantes.	…mais par ce ne laisserent les IIIc lor enchaus et la noise des buisines qui aloient ades sonans.

Buccina in the *Quatre livre des reis*

1 Sa 13:3	…Saul cecinit buccina in omni terra, dicens: 'Audiant Hebraei'.	Lores cornad Saül une buisine par la terre e dist: 'Iço voil que oïent li Hebreu'.
2 Sa 6:15	Et David et omnis domus Israel ducebant arcam testamenti Domini in iubilo, et in clangore buccinae.	E David esteit vestudz de une vesture linge pur humilited. E tuit ensemble menerent l'arche od leesce e od chanz e sons de busine.
2 Sa 15:10	Misit autem Absalom exploratores in universas tribus Israel, dicens: Statim ut audieritis clangorem buccinae, dicite: 'Regnavit Absalom in Hebron'.	E enveiad chalt pas ses messages par tutes les lignees de Israel, si lur mandad que si tost cume il oïssent la busine suner que il criassent que Absalon regnereit en Ebron.
2 Sa 18:16	Cecinit autem Ioab buccina, et retinuit populum, ne persequeretur fugientem Israel…	Lores sunad Joab une busíne e fist arester sa gent que il ne enchalchassent Israel ki s'enfuieit.
2 Sa 20:1	Accidit quoque ut ibi esset vir Belial, nomine Seba, filius Bochri, vir Iemineus: et cecinit buccina, et ait…	Uns huem i fud lores ki esteit de mult maleit afaire, Siba, le fiz Bocri, del lignage Gemini. Cil sunad une busine e fist le pople entendre a lui,…
1 Ki 1:34	Et ungat eum ibi Sadoc sacerdos et Nathan propheta in regem super Israel: et canetis buccina, atque dicetis: 'Vivat rex Salomon'.	Si l'enuined iloc li prestres Sadoc a rei sur Israel, si sunerez une busine e direz: 'Vived e salf seit li reis Salemun!'
1 Ki 1:39	Sumpsitque Sadoc sacerdos cornu olei de tabernaculo, et unxit Salomonem: et cecinerunt buccina, et dixit omnis populus: 'Vivat rex Salomon'.	E Sadoc prist un corn a ulie del tabernacle e enuinst a rei Salomun, e sunerent la busine, e tuit li poples diseit: 'Vive e salf seit li reis Salomun!'

aungeles vit / ke od lour busoines chanterent; Sinclair 1995, v. 1195).

Nevertheless, a series of rare uses of a neologism derived from the Latin *tuba* has also been documented and it explains the situation of the manuscript tradition of the *Oxford Psalter* (verse Ps 80:4 in particular). In a Franco-Italian *Life of St Catherine* dating back to mid-13th century, one finds the pair *tube* and *buisine*, but the context may be inspired by the sacred texts:

> Par les terres, par les marines
> Oïriez tubes e boisines
> Tambur soner e cornaor
> Corner aut e flaüteor
> Faire son e le cri si grant,
> Q'on n'i oïst pas Deu tonant.
>
> (Breuer 1919, p. 218, vv. 533-538)

The situation does not differ from what one finds in some of the Old French translations of the *Apocalypse*. The Anglo-Norman *Revelacion* copied in the British Library ms. Royal 2 D xiii, edited by B. A. Pitts and dating back to the last third of the 13th century, a variant of the Anglo-Norman *Apocalypse* edited by P. Meyer, the word *tube* appears in the translation of Ap 10:7 as an etymological choice made by the versifier, who could not use *buisine* because of the meter. The second occurrence of *tube* in the same text, in the translation of Ap 18:22, seems to have a similar purpose, in order to complete a rhyming couplet, because it is paired with *buisine* in a way which reminds of the *binôme synonymique*. The Copenhagen manuscript version edited by Paul Meyer maintains the same translation choices for these two verses, but has one other use of *tube* in the second part of Ap 8:6, probably for the same metrical purpose.

However, all of this is completely irrelevant to a translator-versifier such as William Giffard, a chaplain from Shaftesbury at the end of the 13th century, who manages to use the word *buisine* everywhere in his adaptation of the Apocalypse. As for the abridged rhymed version copied in the Kerr manuscript (today ms. New York, Pierpont Mor-

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SOURCES:

For *buccina* in the *Bible d'Acre*'s Exodus (there are no mentions of *tuba* in Genesis and Exodus), see Nobel 2006, p. 93, 94, 95. For *buccina* in the Anglo-Norman translation of *Judges*, see Albon 1913, p. 14, 23-24, 27. The quotations are from the version of the Paris, BnF, n.acq. fr. 1404 manuscript only. For *tuba* in the same text, see Albon 1913, p. 25, 27. For the references of *buccina* in the *Quatre livre des reis*, see Curtius 1911, p. 23, 71, 85-86, 92, 97, 112. For *tuba* in the same text, see Curtius 1911, p. 99, 112, 191-192, 197, 199. The two verses from 2 Chronicles quoted in the same context (probably a marginal note concerning the speech of King Abiam to Jeroboam in the Battle of Mount Zemaraim, included in the French paraphrase) are at Curtius 1911, p. 149.

Tuba in the Anglo-Norman Judges

Quant Gedeon ce oy, si prist de lor vitaille et autant de lor cuisine…	Sumptis itaque pro numero cibariis et tubis,…	Jg 7:8
	The same error appears in the Musée Condé manuscript version, but the version copied in the BnF fr. 4467 et l'Arsenal 5211 is correct ("lor vitaille et tant de(s) buisines").	
…puis deviza les III[c] en III parties, si dona a chascun par soy une buisine et une quane tote voide, fors tant que lor luminaire fu au mileu est canes mises…	Divisitque trecentos viros in tres partes, et dedit tubas in manibus eorum, lagenasque vacuas, ac lampades in medio lagenarum.	Jg 7:16
Quant ma busine orres soner, donc sones les vos esforciement tout environ ces paveillons et cries a une vois: 'A Deu et a Gedeon'.	Quando personuerit tuba in manu mea, vos quoque per castrorum circuitum clangite, et conclamate: 'Domino et Gedeoni'.	Jg 7:18
…donc prirent les tisons qui as canes avoient este, as mains senestres, et as destres lor buisines sonans chascun d'eaus estant en son luec entor cel ost de lor henemis, et criant lor enseigne en haut: 'L'espee de Deu et de Gedeon'.	…tenuerunt sinistris manibus lampades, et dextris sonantes tubas, clamaveruntque: 'Gladius Domini et Gedeonis'.	Jg 7:20

Tuba in the *Quatre livre des reis*

Lores sunad Joab une busine e li poples partid de la cited; e Joab returnad al rei en Jerusalem.	…Et ille cecinit tuba, et recesserunt ab urbe, unusquisque in tabernacula sua: Ioab autem reversus est Ierusalem ad regem.	2 Sa 20:22
Adonias e tuit cil que il out envied oïrent la noise, e li cunvivies fud ja fait. E Joab, cum il oïd le sun de la busine, enquist dunt levast li tumultz par la cited.	Audivit autem Adonias, et omnes qui invitati fuerant ab eo: iamque convivium finitum erat: sed et Ioab, audita voce tubae, ait: 'Quid sibi vult clamor civitatis tumultuantis?'	1 Ki 1:41
Com il ot ce dit, cascuns se hasta et de son mantel se desfubla, et misent sous ses pies com il li vausissent faire siege et sonerent une buisine, et disent : 'Hieu regnera sor Israel'.	Festinaverunt itaque, et unusquisque tollens pallium suum posuerunt sub pedibus eius in similitudinem tribunalis, et cecinerunt tuba, atque dixerunt: 'Regnavit Iehu'.	2 Ki 9:13
E vit le rei ester a l'estal real si cume ert usages, e les chanturs e les busines entur lui e tut le pople de la terre esleesçant e busines sunant.	vidit regem stantem super tribunal iuxta morem, et cantores, et tubas prope eum, omnemque populum terrae laetantem, et canentem tubis…	2 Ki 11:14
E de cest aveir ne firent pas faire la vaissele ki cuveneit al temple, les channes, les crocs, les encensiers, les busines ne nient d'altre vaissele d'or ne d'argent ki al servíse apendeit.	Verumtamen non fiebant ex eadem pecunia hydriae templi Domini, et fuscinulae, et thuribula, et tubae, et omne vas aureum et argenteum, de pecunia quae inferebatur in templum Domini.	2 Ki 12:13
Pur ço Deu est ducs de nostre ost e li dreiturier pruveire sunt od nus ki ja sunerunt les busines encuntre vus.	Ergo in exercitu nostro dux Deus est, et sacerdotes eius, qui clangunt tubis, et resonant contra vos:…	2 Ch 13:12
Cume ço aperchut li reis Abia e cil de Juda que la bataille lur fud devant e deriere, la merci Deu requistrent e li pruveire sunerent les busines.	Respiciensque Judas, vidit instare bellum ex adverso et post tergum, et clamavit ad Dominum, ac sacerdotes tubis canere coeperunt.	2 Ch 13:14

gan Library, 40, supposedly from the end of the 13th century, even though the manuscript is one century older), its versifier uses once (the first time) the word *buisine*, either because he read it in an Old French source text or because it came naturally to him if he were reading a Latin one, but he quickly switches to the more contemporary sounding words *trumpe* and *trumper*, that he uses everywhere else in his adaptation. One should not forget that this is the same author who used *cithole* as an interpretation of *cithara*, ans so he was trying to update the readings of his text.

This may mean that the use of the word *tube* was probably restricted to an etymological context. It is of no surprise that we find it in the *Sibylle* attributed to Philippe de Thaon (mid-12th century), an early French author well known for his Latinisms. Little does it matter if this text was written by Philippe himself or by one of his imitators (who could therefore imitate his Latinisms as well); the context is quite clear, because the Latin text is also provided:

> De haut tube vendra,
> Triste sun sonera ;
> Et tuba tunc sonitum tristem demittet ab alto.
>
> (Shields 1979, p. 88)

A similar context may be observed at a later date, this time under the influence of a different language, influenced by Latin in its own turn. Two Franco-Italian texts of the late 13th and early 14th centuries also present the word *tube*, clearly modelled upon *tuba*. In the *Estoire d'Atile en Ytaire* (History of Attila in Italy), the author uses *tube* in the same context as *bucine*, an etymological variant of *buisine* (*Or fist Atile soner ses estrument, ses tubes, cors et bucines*

	Vulgate	Anglo-Norman *Apocalypse*	Anglo-Norman *Revelacion*
Ap 1:10	fui in spiritu in Dominica die, et audivi post me vocem magnam tamquam tubae,	… a jur de dimeigne, / Aprés moi oy un voiz grant cum busine,	… A jur de dimeigne / Aprés moi oy un' voiz grant cum busine,
Ap 4:1	Post haec vidi: et ecce ostium apertum in caelo, et vox prima, quam audivi tamquam tubae loquentis mecum,…	Eprés ce vi tot en apert / En cel un us ke fu overt, / E la primere voiz ke jo oy / Cum busine parleit ove moy:…	Aprés ce vi tot en apert / En cel un us ke fu overt. / E la primere voiz ke jo oy / Cum busine parleit ove moy:…
Ap 8:2	Et vidi septem angelos stantes in conspectu Dei: et datae sunt illis septem tubae.	E jeo vi seth angles ki esturent / Devant Deu ke seth tubes hurent.	E jo vi .vii. angles que esturent / En award l'Angnel, que .vii. tubes urent.
Ap 8:6	Et septem angeli, qui habebant septem tubas, praeparaverunt se ut tuba canerent.	E les seth angles ke busines hurent / Pur soner lur tubes tut prest furent.	E les angles que seeth busines urent / A soner lur busines se apparaillerent.
Ap 8:7	Et primus angelus tuba cecinit, et facta est grando, et ignis, mista in sanguine, et missum est in terram, …	E li premer angle sa busine ad soné: / Grisil e fu od sanc sunt medlé; / E pus en la terre li angle jetteit,…	E li primer angle sa busine soneit: / Gresil e fu ou sanc medlez esteit. / E pus en la terre l'em le geteit,…
Ap 8:8	Et secundus angelus tuba cecinit: et tamquam mons magnus igne ardens missus est in mare,…	E li secund angle sa busine soneit, / Une grant muntaine cum fu ardeit; / Aprés en la mer cel munt chaiet…	E li secunde angle sa busine soneit, / E un' grant munteine cum fu ardoit: / En la mer est veiee…
Ap 8:10	Et tertius angelus tuba cecinit: et cecidit de caelo stella magna,…	E li teirz angle sa busine soneit, / E une grant estoille cum fu ardoit;…	E li terce angel sa busine soneit: / Un' grant esteil' cum fu ardoit…
Ap 8:12	Et quartus angelus tuba cecinit: et percussa est tertia pars solis,…	E li quart angle sa busine soneit, / E li terz del solail occurs esteit,…	E li quart angel sa busine soneit: / E le terce del soleil feruz esteit,…
Ap 8:13	Et vidi, et audivi vocem unius aquilae volantis per medium caeli dicentis voce magna: Vae, vae, vae habitantibus in terra de ceteris vocibus trium angelorum, qui erant tuba canituri.	E jeo oy e vi un egle volant / Parmi le ciel, ke fu criant / En grosse voiz: 'Allas, allas! / A habitans en terre, unkore allas! / Pur les treis angles ke sunt a venir, / Ke hunt lur busines aprés sonir'.	E jo oi la voiz de .i. egle volant / Parmi les ceus, que ala disant / En grosse voiz: 'Alas, alas! / Habitanz en terre, le terce Alas! / Pur les .iii. angels que sont a vener, / Que ount lur busines prestes pur soner'.
Ap 9:1	Et quintus angelus tuba cecinit: et vidi stellam de caelo cecidisse in terram, et data est ei clavis putei abyssi.	E li quinte angle sona sa busine, / E une estoille tint la clef de abime / E jeo le vi de ciel en terre chaïr.	E li quinte angel suna sa busine: / E .i. esteile que tint la clef de abime / De cel en terre vi cheir.
Ap 9:13	Et sextus angelus tuba cecinit: et audivi vocem unam ex quatuor cornibus altaris aurei, quod est ante oculos Dei,	E li sime angle sona sa busine, / E de quatre corns oy une voiz terrine / De l'auter d'or que est par devant / Les oils Deu,…	E li sime angel sona sa busine: / E jo oy de quatre corns la voiz enterine / De l'auter de or que estoit pardevant / Les oiz Deu…
Ap 9:14	dicentem sexto angelo, qui habebat tubam: Solve quatuor angelos, qui alligati sunt in flumine magno Euphrate.	…que ala disant / Al sime angel que sa busine out: 'Les .iiii. angels liez, deliez tost, / Que la grant fluvie de Eufrates tenout'.	…que ala disant / Al sime angel que sa busine out: 'Les .iiii. angels liez, deliez tost, / Que la grant fluvie de Eufrates tenout'.
Ap 10:7	sed in diebus vocis septimi angeli, cum coeperit tuba canere, consummabitur mysterium Dei sicut evangelizavit per servos suos prophetas.	Més quant li setime angle tubera / La misterie de Deu dunc ert terminé / Si cum les prophetes hunt ewangelizé.	Mes quant li setime angel ad soné aprés / Sa tube, le misteris de Deu tut fet serront / E quanque ses serfs e prophetes ewangelicé out.
Ap 11:15	Et septimus angelus tuba cecinit: et factae sunt voces magnae in caelo dicentes: Factum est regnum huius mundi,…	E li setime angle sa busine soneit, / E une grant voiz del ciel diseit: / 'Le regne de ceo munde ore est fait,…	E li setime angel sa busine soneit, / E un' grant voiz del cel disoit: / 'Le regne de ceo mund ore est fet,…
Ap 18:22	Et vox citharoedorum, et musicorum, et tibia canentium, et tuba non audietur in te amplius: et omnis artifex omnis artis non invenietur in te amplius: et vox molae non audietur in te amplius:	Jammés ultre trové ne serra, / Ne harpe ne musike la ne chantera; / Tibies ne busines erent desornavant; / Voiz de tubes n'erent sonant, / Voiz de mole oy ne serra,…	Voiz de harpurs ne de musikes que chanterunt / En tibies e busines desorenavant; / E voiz de tube ne ert oy atant, / E la voice de la mole oy ne ert. / De chescun ovrers lur art pert…



Fig. 11. Sainte-Foy abbey church (France), column capital of the tribune, late 11th century-early 12th century. Horn players.
Credits: Photothèque du CÉSCM / Biay.

Giffard *Apocalypse*

E fu en esperit par un demeine / Deu ausi cume de busine,

Aprés cest vi joe e este vus / Enz en ciel overt un us! / E la voiz premere ke joe oi / Si come de busine parlant a mei…

E jo vi devaunt la face nostre Sire / Set aungeles tut en estaunt, / E l'em lur dona set busines graunt.

E li set aungele ke les busines aveient, / A soner lur busines se aparilleient.

E li premer aungle sa busine sona haut, / E est fet grezle e fu de saunc medlé meintenant, / E est envee en tute la terre,…

E li secund aungele suna sa busine, / E ausi come un grant munt se encline / Ardaunt de fu e est envé / Deske en la mer e tresbusché.

E li tierz aungele sa busine suna haut / E une grant esteille chain del ciel ardaunt…

E li quart aungele suna sa busine, / E la tierce par del solail e de la lune…

E joe vi e oi la voiz de un egle volaunt, / Par mi le ciel, e dist a sa voiz haute e graunt: / 'Gwai, gwai as habitaunz en terre / Ke a dreit ne volent lur salu quere!'

E li quint aungele suna sa busine clere, / E joe vi une esteille cheir de ciel en tere, / E li est dunee la clef del puz / De abisme…

E li siste aungeles suna sa busine, / E joe oi une voiz par vertu devine / Des quatre corners del auter de or / Ke est devaunt les euz nostre Seignor, / Ki dist als ist angele ke busineit: / 'Desliez les quatre angeles ore endreit / Ki sunt el grant fluive de Eufraten liez'.

Mes as jurs de la voiz del setime / Aungele, quant il sunera sa busine, / Serra le secré Deu achevez, / Si cum il a par ses prophetes prechez.

E le setime aungele suna sa busine haut, / E enz en ciel sunt unes voiz mut tresgrant / Ke diseient: 'Le regne de cest mund est…'

Ne voiz de busine n'i sera mes oie ne nule art, / Ne menestreus mes truvez cele par, / Ne voiz de moele n'i sera mes oie, / Ne lumere de launterne ne i lurra mes, ke ke l'em die…

Kerr ms *Apocalypse*

A moy, dit il, par .i. dimainge, / Furent mostrees par i ainge / .vii. busines en plusors…

Que saint Jans vit .i. uis oncier / Et la voiz oit d'une trumpe.

Lors vis .vii. ainges devant Dieu / A ques .vii. trumpes sunt livrées, / Par chascons d'aux destribuees,…

Et li .vii. ainges a lour trompes / Se prirent a apareillier / Et de lour trumpes esveillier

Quant l'ainge premier ot ulé / Et fue et sanc et noy et combele. / En terre et albres fit mele…

Et quant l'ainge secont chanta / Un mont ardant en la mer chut

Li tiers ainges trumpa si fort / Que une estoile chut a fontaines / Amere comme uns alaines,…

Et quant prist a trumper le quart / Le tier du solet fut passi, / Lune et estoiles assi,…

Lors cria une aille volant / Pour les .iii. ainges qui demeurent / A ces qui en terre labourent: / Las, que ferez, chetif dolant?

Le quint ainge fist sa criee, / Lors vient une estoile dou cier / Le poiz d'abime debochier / Dont il issit si grant fumee…

Quant le sexeme (ainge) ot soné / La secunde doulour fut prate,…

…Quar dou fluive c'on dit Effrate / Quatre ainges sunt abandonné, / Pour le tier de gens a mort matre;…

Mas a cri de l'ainge septime / Le mistere yert consummé / Dont Deux par ses sers l'a summé / Par lour evangile mëime.

Aprés prit le septimes ainges / A trumper et voiz sunt oÿes / Ou ciel et cleres melodies / A Dieu et son fil, et loanges.

Adont ceeserunt ses citholes / Et ses chansons et ses musiques / Et se(s) trumpes et ses violes / Et ses ouvriers et mechaniques / Et muelles pour faire daintiers / Et noces pour faire queroles,…

de tote part; Bertolini 1976, p. 53). And in the Franco-Italian chanson de geste *Entrée d'Espagne*, *tube* is used next to *gal*, an Italianism for 'rooster' (*Demain a nuit, au premer gal çantant, / Senç soner graile, tube ni estrimant*; Thomas 1913, vol. 2, p. 4, v. 8059-8060). Inversely, *buisine* appears in all sorts of texts, including chronicles (Robert de Clari, Guillaume de Villehardouin).

SOURCES:

For *tuba* in the Anglo-Norman *Apocalypse* edited by Paul Meyer (the Copenhagen ms version), see Meyer 1896, p. 188, 194-195, 214, 214-215, 215, 216, 217, 219, 222, 241-242. For a variant of the same text in the Anglo-Norman *Revelacion*, see Pitts 2010, p. 52, 58, 64, 65, 65-66, 66, 67, 68, 71, 84. For the same verses in the *Apocalypse* of William Giffard, see Rhys 1946, p. 3, 18, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 45-46, 49, 95. For the Kerr manuscript *Apocalypse* quotations, see Todd 1903, p. 541, 547, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556-557, 568.

The French translations of *organum* (VA)

There were not many options to translate the name of this instrument. Invariably, all translators had to use, just like in the case of *psalterium*, a Latinism. But the *realia* hidden behind this word are not always the same.

The word 'organ' (singular or plural) does not appear often in the text of the Bible. Apart from the two mentions in the book of Psalms, there is one mention in the Genesis, two in Job, one in Judith, another one in Wisdom and eleven in 1 and 2 Chronicles. This leaves us with very few terms of comparison for our two examples from the psalmic texts. The Genesis quotation has already been mentioned in the *cithara* French section of this dossier, and we noted that it was absent from the *Bible d'Acre*. The two verses from Job (Jb 21:12 and Jb 30:31) do not appear in the late 12th century Walloon fragments of *Moralium in Iob* (cf. Foerster 1876). There are no known French translations for the two books of Chronicles in our timeframe, except for the occasional marginal glosses integrated in the *Quatre livre des reis*, but they do not contain the verses that interest us here. As for Judith or Wisdom, translations of these books may exist, but they are from the close of the Middle Ages, therefore rendering all comparisons moot. There is however one situation in the *Quatre livre des reis* where the word 'organ' appears in a strange context:

> E David sunout une maniere de orgenes ki esteient si aturne ke l'um les liout as espaldes celi kis sunout. E il si sailleit e juout devant nostre Seignur.
>
> (Curtius 1911, p. 70-71)

We have already analysed the continuation of this text in the translations of the term *buccina*. There is no mention of an organ in the modern editions of the Vulgate (*Et David saltabat totis viribus ante Dominum…*; 2 Sa 6:14), but the sentence appears in some medieval biblical manuscripts and it is explained in the *Glossa ordinaria*:

> *Et David percutiebat in organis armigatis*
>
> IN ORGANIS ARMIGATIS. Id est armum ligatis dum manibus ferentis tanguntur. Aliud genus organi est quod cum aqua fit.
>
> (*Glossa ordinaria*, online edition at https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr, 2 Sa, Martin Morard edidit, Fabio Gibiino laborante, Isabelle Rava-Cordier cooperantibus, Parisiis, 2013-2016; future references use this edition too)

It is worth noting that the anonymous translator of 2 Sa adds ideas from the *Glossa ordinaria* explanation to its translation (*armum ligatis* > *ki esteient si aturne ke l'um les liout as espaldes*), in an effort to explain that this was not a common organ, but a portable one. It is difficult to presume what he made out of the rest of the *Glossa ordinaria* explanation, the one about the water organ.

The same meaning of 'portative organ' may be noted in Jean Brisebarre's *Restor du Paon* (ca. 1330), where *orgues* (Carey 1966, p. 105, 200, 201; or *orgenes* in the P manuscript) appear next to harps and other instruments in a procession. The same goes for Jean de la Mote, author of a *Voie d'enfer et de paradis* (1340), who mentions the organ in a short list of musical instruments, but the context does not allow for a conclusion whether it was a portative or a positive organ.

> Esbatemens, gieus, et reviaus,
> Joustes, tournois en prés flouris;
> Prestres, canones, moines gris;
> La ot vieles chalemiaus,
> Orghes, trompes, flaios, frestiaus,
> Tout gieus y fu, viés et nouviaus;
> Prendre y pooit on tous delits.
> (Pety 1940, p. 65, v. 1503-1509)

Other uses of the word are more enigmatic, like the one from the third French translation of the *Elucidarium* (ca. 1200), where there is talk of *les chanz des angles e les dulz orgres des sainz* (Düwell 1974). Or in a Franco-Italian version of the *Secretum secretorum* (ca. 1300), where the context does not allow a proper identification of the instrument (*Convenable couse est a l'empereor avoir de ses privez feels en le qiels il se delite ou diner <ou> ses estrumenz ou generacions d'organes qant il est ennoious, por ce qe l'arme de l'home en tieus choses se delite naturalment*; Babbi 1984).

In a Picard translation of the *Life of St Brendan* (second half of the 13th century), there is talk of a big organ, probably a church one: *Com il fuissent assis a le table, dont vint li oysiaus devant dis et s'assist ou coron, et resonnoit de ses eles estendues, aussi que se che fust li sons d'une grant orgene* (Wahlund 1900, p. 53, 55). In the same timeframe, the romance *Blancandin et l'Orgueilleuse d'amour* (early 13th century), mentions such a church organ (*Les orgenes, li encenssier / Les iglises et li mostier*; Sweetser 1964, p. 264, v. 4175-4176), but again, one can never guess its size. The ambiguity of the term does not change a century later, in the *Life of St Agnes* by Nicole Bozon (first half of the 14th century), where one may find an organ (*Sa bele chambre est preste / Ou chant e orgyn ert a la feste / E la karole de virgines / Ke la serrunt mes veysines* ; Klenke 1951, p. 95) in a context inspired by Ps 150 :4. Again, one cannot imagine what was the type of organ that the author had in mind.

Maybe that the automatic rendering of this word through a Latinism in the first French translations of the psalms was due to a lack of explanation for Ps 136:2 in the *Glossa ordinaria*, where *organa* are glossed only as *scripturas et promissa Dei*, without any further explanation. The translators did not know what to make of it.

This may also have influenced the translation choice in the *Eadwine Psalter*, where the translator uses *estrumenz* instead of *harpes* when he translates *citharae*. He could have looked to the other two columns of the Romanum and Gallicanum, as implied by D. Markey (Markey 1989, p. 363-364) and could have been intrigued by that particular reading, different from the one he found in his own version. Another explanation (cf. Agrigoroaei 2016) would take into account the Old English translation of the word *organa* in the neighbouring Romanum version as *swegas* ('sounds' or 'musical instruments'), a vague translation choice that reflects a common problem in both vernacular translations. This vague choice of translation characterizes other parts of the Old English gloss as well, especially that of Ps 149:3, where *tympano* was again translated as *swege* (cf. Ps 80:3, where it appears as *swieg*), even though in Ps 150:4 it was translated as *hylsongæ* (the latter being a hapax legomenon). One thing is clear, nevertheless. If the Old French gloss was influenced by the Old English one, this happened only in precise contexts (see for this the Old English translation for *tympanistrarum* as *gliewmedene plegiendra mid timpanan*, with no echo in the French text).

Fig. 12. F. 281r of the *Eadwine Psalter* (ms. Cambridge, Trinity College, R.17.1), preserving the end of the Old Testament Canticles and the beginning of the supernumerary psalm (Ps 151). The latter's initial miniature presents a portrayal of the organ in the 12th century. © *Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge.*

Ascendit ad celos. i. ipsa humanitas quę fuit passa. sic angli dicunt. vn ygaleit quod transl. a. in celu. Quia secun diuinitatē ad nullū poc ascende locum. Sic quidā uult. Sedet ad dexterā. d. p. o. Dexterā autē dī non carnalem ſ corporalē. ſ humana hē natā. ſ mīſ loco gtām dei consuetudinē regnandi. dī. ſ sedē pregnare dic. Inde uenturꝰ. Venturꝰ est in eadem forma mā er uisibilis. mā morituꝰ. in qua sepultꝰ. mā resurrexit. Nō mea cām humanitate mā amea fuit. sī gtā. i. maiestate. nō in ipsa forma.

Ascendit ad celos sedet ad dex-
ſ uptā a rendre
Ascendit ad celos sedet ad dex-
þeolade pine for healde hure
ſuffriō peannes þur nostre saluō.
teram dei patris omnipoten-
ſ þeonan is to cumane ſ deman
dilue est auenir iugier les uus
tis. indeuentus iudicare uiuos
ſ deadan. ſ to þæs to cuman
e les maiz. Al qui duenement
& mortuos. Adeuus adiuen-
alle menn sculen arisan
tiz humes unt de sort
tum omnes homines resur-
ond heore lichoman
cier o lur cors.
gere habent cum corpoib;
suis. & reddituri sunt de fa-
ſ seoluan ant speare off heore
alhzen þerran mid sceadþisnesse.
lur fez demenes reisun.
ctis propriis rationem. Et
da god duden sculen fraian to
qui bieus fiſent uune en
qui bona egerunt ibunt in
hechan liue ſ to seodan
uie parmanable. ki drerrez
uitam eternam. qui uero
da de huuel duden in to hechan fure.
malꝰ el fuu parmenable
mala in ignem eternum.
þis his de hi leua ſ himeane de hpile
leste est la ferz commune. la quele
Hec est fides catholica qua
mann ne hi leaueð fetlice ſ treoplice
quemkes freolenie eferme
nisi quisq; fideliter firmi-
ne meazen heo
ment ne crerraō. salfs
terq; crediderit. saluus
hi boliȝen beon.
estre ne purraō.
esse non poterit.

Bonum quidē egerūt. i. u. e. q̄ sēp erunt boni sine fine nīſ regnā cum Xpō. nīſ gnē tēnū. qui semp erit malꝰ sine fine pēnā infernū. sine ulla mīa. cū corpe. aīa ſ consumptuꝰ. i. ſ sēp ar sum. i. mum q̄ deficiens.

Hec fides catholica. Sē supi dixim. Hanc rogat. amonet. uñ ſ q̄sq; sacdos sciat. ſ p̄dicet. q̄. i. quā fidem quisq. i. aliquis fidelit. i. ſ de canon dubitet. sine qua nullꝰ abbas catholica fide nostre religionē possit. nullo sermonē t̄ hesitatiōe ſ quisq; nonerubuit. salutē ē ſ poterit.

Suba quidē. Suba est omne q̄d ē. Suba ū communē nois est. oīū rerū. que sunt. Nam dr ipse suba. est. ſ summa suba. ſ p̄ma suba. nomiū subarum ois sa. qui ipse est omnium rerum creatoꝛ. Eternitas quidē est. ē essentia ꝑ se deo dr. qui semp est. q̄d est. q. incommutabilis est. Subsistentia quidē est. Subsistentia eo sensu dr. q̄d semp stare. i. semp ē. ſ aliando humani corporis consuetudine. ſ p manendo. quia semp manet eo quod est.



þes ilca psalm is iprecu bi seoluan ſ dauide. ſ is uið uram ē ire tale of dan hundrede ſ fifti psalman. ſ droſtne sican he mæȝede ða he
Hic psalm pprie scribit dauid & extra numerum cū pugnauit cō
ēst sal me ðeinetuement eiscleurs. dauid. est se fust le nuntbre de lepsalmes ignimane salue. ſ cedes iuit il quant il cumbatit
od goliam. Cestre salme es ebreus lauret nen est hene meis del
feath ꝥ goliam. þes psalm þis napulr on hebreisc bocan hach ða hund
goliath. hic psalmus in ebreis codicib; non habetur sed nec aseptu-
secrance encrepreurs est a uuster e. þur ceo fere a refuser.
scouerra biqueðerel orinde lauuerel hine habbað don to san heodran ſ for hi he is to ascumanne.
agista inquit interpretib; additus est & iccirco repudiandus
Ic þes left
Ic þes sceap heorda mines feader.
leo ere þerring nech
leo þeissene les oxenes min ſ þere
VSILLA FRAM
mog mine broðran ſ alra
mei; pascebam oues patri mei.
encre mes freres. e
Heodan mine þarhren organan
Mes meins fiſent le orgne.
inter frs meos. & ad
sucest in mines feader huse
Manus mee fecerunt organū.
ſ fingras mine gearcaden psalterium.
plus uūnel en la meisun mun pere.
e mi dei a faire crent le salter.
olescentior in domo patris
& digiti mei aptauerunt psalterium.

The French translations of *tympanum* and *cymbalum* (VA)

Tympan(e), the preferred translation choice for *tympanum* in most of these old psalm vernacular renderings, is an evident Latinism. *Tymbre*, used only once in the Harley 273 rewriting and in the *Arundel Psalter* (Ps 80:3) is nevertheless used in a wide variety of texts (chansons de geste, romances of all sorts, didactic poems, glossaries, etc.), therefore being the current word for 'tambourine' in Old French. The three Old Testament adaptations presented in the lower part of this page are also divided in this aspect. The *Bible d'Acre* uses *ta(m)bour* in Genesis and Exodus, while the translations of Judges and *Quatre livre des reis*, both of them dating to the 12th century, prefer the Latinism *tympane*. The presence of *tympane* alongside *tymbre* in the *Arundel Psalter* may nonetheless allow us to consider that the Latinism was not necessary, that the translators could have used other words, and that their choice was dictated by their sociolect (cf. Agrigoroaei 2016).

But there is also another form of the word that does not appear in our translations of the psalms. When Adenet le Roi mentions in his *Cleomadès* (1285) a series of *cymbales, rotes, timpanons* (Henry 1971, vol. 1, p. 512, v. 17289), the form that he uses is chosen for the sake of the rhyme (the couplet ends with *micanons*), and in a context that already contains several instruments mentioned in the psalms. When repeating the formula, Adenet le Roi uses the form used in the Anglo-Norman Psalters:

> Harpes, rotes, gigues, vïoles,
> leuus, quitaires et citoles,
> et tinpanes et micanons,
> rubebes et salterïons.
> (Henry 1971, vol. 1, p. 223, v. 7249-7252)

We may therefore assume that this Latinism has a tendancy of appearing in lists, where authors need to multiply the number of instruments in order to impress the readers (cf. Henry 1971, vol. 1, p. 696, where the editor of the text is also wondering about the bookish nature of the inventory). But it also appears in a Franco-Italian rewriting of the *Song of Roland* (ca. 1300): *De soe cervelle se va lo tempan ronpant. / Del corno che'l sona è la voxe molt grant,…* (Gasca Queirazza 1955, p. 98, v. 1874-1875). And there is also an exception. In his *Ave Maria in roumans*, Huon le Roi de Cambrai (second half of the 13th century) does speak of *En vïele, en tympane, en cor / Et en tous estrumens encor* (Långfors 1913, p. 21, v. 157-158) in another list, but without mentioning other psalmic musical instruments. This means that the word became part of the current language. Only its old derivatives were lost.

The *tympanistres* from the old translations of Ps 67:26 did not enjoy much posterity in the French language, contrary to its Middle English avatar (see the 'Middle English section'). In texts other than the later copies of the 12th century translations, the tambourine-player is referred to as *tympanur*. Such is the case of the early 13th century *Gui de Warevic* chanson de geste:

> Bons arpeurs e vielurs,
> Roturs, gigurs e tympanurs
> De totes maneres i out jugleurs,…
> (Ewert 1932-1933, vol. 2, p. 25, vv. 7543-7545)

Or in the *Joies Nostre Dame* by Guillaume le Clerc de Normandie (first half of the 13th century), where the feminine form of this noun describes Virgin Mary:

> …Nostre amie, nostre avocate,
> Nostre dolce tympaneresse,
> Nostre amiable preieresse,…
> (Reinsch 1879, p. 223, v. 1004-1006)

This goes to show that the innate way of creating agent names in the French language prevailed to the detriment of the old (and infrequent) Latinisms. The word *tympanistre* is limited to the *Oxford Psalter* group and to its curious appea-

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SOURCES:

For *tympanum* in Gn and Ex of the *Bible d'Acre*, see Nobel 2006, p. 34, 86. For the same in the Anglo-Norman Judges, see Albon 1913, p. 46. For the same in the *Quatre livre des reis*, see Curtius 1911, p. 19, 36, 70.

Tympanum in the *Bible d'Acre* (Gn, Ex), Anglo-Norman Judges, and *Quatre livre des reis*

Gn 31:27	cur ignorante me fugere voluisti, nec indicare mihi, ut prosequerer te cum gaudio, et canticis, et tympanis, et citharis?	Por quoy nel me deis? Si t'eusse condut a grant joie en chantant et en sonant tabors et citerelles.
Ex 15:20	Sumpsit ergo Maria prophetissa, soror Aaron, tympanum in manu sua: egressaeque sunt omnes mulieres post eam cum tympanis et choris,	Aprés cest chant et ces graces prist Marie, la suer Aaron, un tambor en sa main et mult de femes aloient aprés li o tambors e caroles.
Jg 11:34	Revertente autem Iephte in Maspha domum suam, occurrit ei unigenita filia sua cum tympanis et choris:…	A cele hore que Gepte fu repaires de la bataille et vot entrer en Maspha en sa maison, corut sa fille encontre lui, ainz que nule autre creature, por sa revenue esjoir o corns et tympanes.
1 Sa 10:5	Post haec venies in collem Dei, ubi est statio Philisthinorum: et cum ingressus fueris ibi urbem, obvium habebis gregem prophetarum descendentium de excelso, et ante eos psalterium, et tympanum, et tibiam, et citharam, ipsosque prophetantes.	Apres vendras al munt Damnedeu u li Philistien unt lur estaciun. E quant enterras en la cite, encunteras les prophetes ki d'amunt vendrunt a estrumenz, psalterie, tympans, frestels e harpe; si prophetizerunt.
1 Sa 18:6	Porro cum reverteretur percusso Philisthaeo David, egressae sunt mulieres de universis urbibus Israel, cantantes, chorosque ducentes in occursum Saul regis, in tympanis laetitiae, et in sistris.	Cume David repeirad apres la bele victorie que Deu li dunad e a Jerusalem le chief Goliath portad, les femmes e les meschines vindrent encuntre le rei Saül od tympans, od frestels charolantes e juantes e chantantes que Saül out ocis mil e David dis milie.
2 Sa 6:5	David autem et omnis Israel ludebant coram Domino in omnibus lignis fabrefactis, et citharis et lyris et tympanis et sistris et cymbalis.	E David e tuz ces de Israel juerent devant nostre Seignur od multes manieres d'estrumenz, od harpes e lires e tympans e frestels e cymbals.

rance in the *Eadwine Psalter* French gloss (more proof that these two independent translations may be linked in one way or another). As for *tympanur*, it belongs to a group of agent names that includes other derivations from the names of biblical instruments (*vide infra* Angier's *cymbeour*). However, it is high time we speak about *cymbalum*.

Apart from *cymble*, the two other possible translations of this other word in Old French are *tympane* and *timbles*, as testified by the *Arundel Psalter*, and *cloche*, as one reads in the Harley 273 rewriting of the *Oxford Psalter*. The first two terms are probably the result of scribal errors (*tympane* is a clear scribal error, while *timble* seems to be a confused alliance between *tymbre* and *cymble*). As for the last translation choice, 'bells', is the result of a 14th century Anglophone's aggressive rewriting of the old translation.

The earliest Old French mention of this word may be found in Raschi's glosses to the Talmud, at the end of the 11th century, where 'cymbals' are glossed as *cenbes* (Darmesteter, Blondheim 1929, p. 20). This is very similar to the *cymbes* of the *First French Psalm Commentary*. In the somewhat later glosses of Joseph ben Simeon Kara, one finds an even closer phonetic rendering of the word: *cinbes* (Perani, Fudeman 2005, p. 422, and note 125 of p. 417). It seems to be the same word as *cimbe* used two times in the translation of St Gregory's *Dialogues* by Angier (ca. 1212):

> ...un jugleour mendis
> qui un singes savant a lot,
> od unes cimbes qu'il sonot,
> [...]
> e cist dolenz juglieres las
> od son singe sa cimbe sone!
> (Orengo 2013, p. 107, v. 2466-2468, 2476-2477).

Angier also uses the word *cymbeour*, 'player of cymbals' (*Comment Boneface avantdist la mort de cymbeour*) in order to translate the term *cimbalarium* from a Latin title (*Quomodo Bonefatius moriturum predixit cimbalarium*; Orengo 2013, p. 106), but this hapax was of course created on the spot and was not used by other authors.

It should also be pointed out that in the anonymous *Geste de Blancheflour et de Florence* or *Jugement d'amour* copied in late 13th and 14th century manuscripts, one may find the word *chimbes* (*Cheverie, tube, estume e chimbes*; Oulmont 1911, p. 168, v. 29). The same form of the word appears in the Franco-Italian chronicle of Martin da Canal (ca. 1275), where it is used in connection with a phonetic variant of the word *trumpe* ('trumpet'):

> Et aprés vient la clergie, trestos vestus de pluvials et de samit a or, et les tronbes et les chinbes; et vient un clerc en la rote apareillés de dras de dame, trestuit a or.
> (Limentani 1972, p. 254).

But Martin da Canal also uses a hapax legomenon verb created according to the pattern used for the creation of the denominative verb *tromber* from *tronbe*:

> Et aprés iaus s'en vont .vj. tronbeors, qui tronbent es tronbes d'arjent, et ij. homes aveduc iaus. que vont chinbant aveuc chinbes d'arjent.
> (Limentani 1972, p. 246).

There are also forms of our word that present a liquid consonant, just like what one finds in the *Oxford Psalter* group (*cymble*). The DEAF online version mentions one such occurrence in some of the French *Bibles moralisées* (even though I could not identify it). Nevertheless, these forms are rare and can be interpreted as etymological attractions corresponding to the words used in the Latin sources of these texts, were it not for a text that presents both forms at the same time.

Both forms appear in the two different versions of the *Anglo-Norman Poem about the Old Testament* (early 13th century) edited by P. Nobel, in a passage where the anonymous versifier speaks of the arrival of the Arch of the Covenant in Jerusalem:

> ms. E (London, British Library, Egerton 2710)
> Il portent harpes, giges e timpanz,
> Salteries, cores e cimbles ben sonanz,
> De totes maneres qu'il orent d'estrumenz.
>
> ms. B (Paris, BnF, fr. 902)
> Il portent harpes, giges e tympanz,
> Salteriez e chores e cimbes ben sonanz,
> Od tute les maneres qu'il unt d'estrumenz.
>
> (Nobel 1996, vol. 2, p. 504/505, v. 9599-9601)

This means, on the one hand, that both forms of the word were used in current speaking and writing, and that the presence or absence of the liquid consonant did not necessarily characterize a certain dialect or sociolect. On the other hand, the almost automatic choice of rhyme for the word *timpanz* (*cimb(l)es ben sonanz*) testifies to the immense influence of the psalm translations (cf. Ps 150:5) on the creation of a medieval French literary language. It is of no surprise that the Anglo-Norman adaptation of the so-called *Quatre livre des reis uses* a Latinism, *cymbals*, in order to translate the only occurrence of this word in 1-2 Samuel and 1-2 Kings.

▼ Fig. 13. St. Peter cathedral in Poitiers (France), modillion of the nave, late 12th century. Musician playing a tambourine. Credits: Photothèque du CÉSCM / Avril.



Concluding remarks for the French tradition (VA)

It is difficult to differentiate whether the mention of these instruments in later texts refers to genuine instruments, played in those times, or to cultural reflexes in the language of late authors, sometimes inspired by the psalms. Such is the case of the already quoted *Geste de Blancheflour et de Florence* or *Jugement d'amour*. This time, it is worth presenting its catalogue of instruments in full, since it contains several mentions of our psalmic instruments, including a curious use of the word *tube* alongside the word *buisine*:

...Citole i ot e viele,
E synphan, q'amour novele,
Qe doucement i font menee;

Tabours, trompe e la ffleüte
Flour de lice, gitere e dewte
Q'au delit furent sonee,
Rubibe, qoor e sautrie,
Harpe, tymbre tot autresie,
Of le chaunceon corounee,

Chaunte corne en armonie
De douz motette e balerie
De sautour e jugelour,
Tympan, orgues e busines,
Cheverie, tube, estume e chimbes
Fasoient notes de grant douceour.

Corne sarzenois e clarion,
Gyge, estru of le douz soun
Furent sonee tot entour.

(Oulmont 1911, p. 167-168, v. 16-33)



The editor of this text (Oulmont 1911, p. 168, note 20) believed that *gitere* was a type of guitar, but the presence of almost all the psalmic musical instruments points to a bookish context, in which the anonymous author simply may have taken his inspiration for some of the instruments from the psalms (*sautrie* for *psalterium*; *tube* for *tuba*; etc.). It is thus possible that *gitere* may not necessarily be a guitar, but more of a *cithara*, since the text also speaks of *citole*. But at the same time, in Guillaume de Machaut's *Prise d'Alexandrie*, written shortly after 1369, we find a similar list of musical instruments, including a certain *guiterne* that strickingly resembles the previous century's *gitere*:

Orgues, vielles, micanons,
Rubebes et psalterions,
Leüs, moraches et guiternes,
Dont on joue par ces tavernes,
Cymbales, citoles, naquaires,
Et de flaios plus que x. paires,
C'est a dire de xx. manieres,
Tant de fortes com des legieres,
Cors sarrasinois & doussainnes,
Tabours, flaüstes traverseinnes,
Demi doussainnes et flaüstes,
Dont droit joues quant tu flaüstes,
Trompes, buisines et trompettes,
Guigues, rotes, harpes, chevrettes,
Cornemuses et chalemelles,
Muses d'Aussay, riches et belles,
Et les fretiaus et monocorde,
Qui a tous instruments s'acorde,
Muse de blé, qu'on prent en terre
Trepié, l'eschauquier d'Engleterre,
Chifonie, falios de saus.

(Mas Latrie 1877, p. 35-36, v. 1148-1168)

Such lists of instruments are quite common in Old French poems. Adenet le Roi, whom I have already quoted, mentions a similar list in his *Cleomadès* (1285):

Se vous a ce point la fussiez,
plenté d'estrumenz oÿssiez,
vïeles et sauterïons,
harpes e gigues et canons,
leüs, rubebes et kitaires;
et ot en pluseurs lieus nacaires
qui mout tres grant noise faisoient,
mais fors des routes mis estoient;
cymbales, rotes, timpanons,
et mandoires, et micanons
i ot, et cornés et douçaines,
et trompes et grosses araines ;
cors sarrazinois et tabours
i avoit mout en lieus plusours.

(Henry 1971, vol. 1, p. 511-512, v. 17281-17294)

This means that the words mentioned in the French translations of the psalms represent generic names of instruments that do not necessarily need to be identified among medieval *realia*. As for the case of the very first translations (*Oxford Psalter, Eadwine Psalter*, etc.), their peculiar etymological readings for some instruments testify to their slavishly dependence on the Latin source.



Fig. 14. Lugaut church 5france), mural painting, first half of the 13th century. Musician playing a vielle. Credits: Photothèque du CÉSCM / Durand.

Fig. 15-16. Surgères (France). Notre Dame church, 12th century façade. Minstrels and monsters playing chordophones. Credits: VA.



Addendum: *carole* (CCA)

The translation choice for *chorus* in the *Oxford Psalter* tradition is particularly interesting. Current research holds that the French term *carole* refers to a type of dance choreographed as a group, a closed circle, mixed or unmixed, in which the performers hold hands (Mullally 2011, chapters 2 and 3). Despite R. Mullally's elaborate argumentation, the term remains ambiguous. For instance, it is occasionally juxtaposed with the term 'dance' or its derivatives, as in *Erec and Enide*'s *puceles querolent et dansent* or in the *Chevalier de la Charrette*'s *chantent, querolent et dansent* (see Mullally 2011, p. 29). It is also attached to other types of dances. Thus, the term *carole* could refer to a type of dance, but could also to distinguish itself from the dance. The term 'dance' has a generic value in the two quotations. In other words, *carole* would be a dance in the absence of instruments.

Fig. 17: Details of the miniature of f. 261v in the *Eadwine Psalter* (ms. Cambridge, Trinity College, R.17.1), illustrating the beginning of Ps 150. Representation of chorus, unrelated to the French translation choice (inspired by the corresponding miniatur in the Utrecht Psalter, ms Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr 32). © *Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge.*



Carole was also compared to the rondet / rondeau / rondel, a type of chorus song of fixed form. Beaudoin de Condé, in a rondet of *Li prisons d'Amours* (cf. Mullally 2011, p. 64) presents his song as a *chanson de carole* (*Ceste prizons dont ci parolle/ Iceste cançon de carolle/ C'est la prizons d'amors sans doute*; Mulally p. 65). As for the use of instruments to accompany the *carole*, the late example of Froissart's *Prison amoureuse* (Mullally 2011, p. 57-58) clearly distinguishes *estampie*, which is a dance accompanied by instruments, from the *carole*, as the latter would be choreographed but unaccompanied. Once again, *carole* would be a type of dance without instrumental accompaniment.

Some examples directly or indirectly connect the *carole* to the motet. For example, in the *Ars d'Amours*: *Et pour ce dient elles en leurs chançons et en leurs karoles ce motet* (Mullally 2011, p. 65). This connection between the motet and the *carole* does not seem to be incidental here. Indeed, the motet and the rondeau - which would be the song accompanying the carole – are indeed quoted together sometimes. The two lyrical genres (in the vernacular) are the first to have been noted polyphonically in manuscripts, in a mensural notation (see the quote from the Leys d'amors below). The motet is a polytextual genre though, unlike the rondeau which has only one text. Jean de Grouchy, in his *De Musica* (ca. 1300), compares the two genres: given its polytextuality, therefore its complexity, the motet would not intended for commoners; unlike the rondel, more appropriate for popular festivities. Like Froissart, quoted above, Jean de Grouchy equally distinguishes, the carole from the estampie. The analogy between motet and rondeau appears also in the mid-14th century *Leys d'Amors*: *Enpero huey ne uza hom mal en nostre temps daquest so. quar li chantre que huey son. no sabon apenas endevenir en un propri so de dansa. E quar noy podon endevenir. han mudat lo so de dansa en so de redondel am lors minimas et am lors semibreus de lors motetz* ("But this song is not well performed nowadays, as the singers of our days do not succeed in providing the dance with its proper singing; and being unable to do so, they changed this song to that of the rondeau, with the minims and semibreves of their motets").

Let us also add that the rondeau was first noted in the form of anonymous lyric insertions in narrative texts, and in a single voice when it includes a noted melody. The motets appear directly in vernacular and / or Latin already structured collections, with their (scholarly) polytextual and polyphonic form, for example in the French manuscript 844 of the BnF in Paris (ca. 1250), where about forty motets are noted alongside French songs. Adam de la Halle is the first known author of polyphonic rondeaux and motets.

I would therefore add something new to Mullally's definition of the carole. It could be related to a particular type of dance performed by all social classes, in a circle and a capella, with a rondet / rondel / rondeau song, but it could also belong to a polyphonic genre since its very beginnings (with an improvised polyphony). The rhythm of the song would be carried by that of the dance steps (and not the opposite, as it would be the case in the Occitan dances (see the quote from the *Leys d'Amors*). The term *carole* could designate both the dance and song (of the rondeau), and not only a type of dance accompanied by a rondeau song.

Pierre de Paris' French adaptation (VA)

The manuscript of Paris, BnF, fr. 1761, dating back to the 14th century (cf. Brayer, Bouly de Lesdain 1967-1968, who speak of the 13th century), contains a translation of the Psalter made by Pierre de Paris in Cyprus. The structure of the text is rather simple. It does not contain the usual prayers copied at the end of the psalters, but it has a translation of the psalms, followed by the Old Testament canticles and the Athanasian Creed. Added to this is a penitential treaty, therefore pointing toward a private use of the manuscript.

Awaiting the publication of the critical edition of this text, currently prepared by A.-M. Babbi, I have transcribed the quotations as they appear in the manuscript. Most of Pierre's translation choices are identical to those already discussed for the earlier French translations: *harpe*, *sautier*, *boussigne* / *bouzigne*. Ps 80:3 nevertheless shows two innovations (*tanbor*, *sauterion*) next to an already stable choice (*harpe*). *Tanbor* is repeated in Ps 150:4 (*tambour*), meaning that this word belonged to the category realia, since it was already used to translate *tympanum* in the *Bible d'Acre*. *Sauterion*, on the other hand, looks like a word belonging to a high prestige variety of language, and there are occurrences of it in several contemporary texts (see DEAF, *s.v.*).

There are several odd absences as well. They are evident in Ps 42:4, Ps 67:26, Ps 70:22, Ps 107:3, Ps 146:7, Ps 149:3, and Ps 150:5. The translation-adaptation of Ps 42:4 offers some evidence concerning these absences. Except for the first phrase (*E je entenderais…*), the remainder of the quotation has no connection with the text of the psalms. The second phrase (*Qui est invisible…*) is taken from *Glossa ordinaria* or a text related to it (*ad illud invisibile quo non accedit iniustus*), but even these glosses are incomplete, as our translator-adaptor does not follow the exegesis to the end (*…qui vero accedit sumitur in holocaustum divino igne totus incensus*). Instead, he seems to take words from the rest of the commentary and rewrite them (*Cest autier est celluy dieu qui el leesse ma sainteté*). The origin of the word *sainteté* is enigmatic. It could come from an interlinear gloss, or it could be a bad synthesis for the rest of the *Glossa* text (*de letitia finali pro qua laudat in tribulatione qui supra tristis erat unde et se confortat*). Pierre stopped here and did not paraphrase the remainder of the quotation where *cithara* is mentioned, either because he felt that he spent enough time on this verse, or because the rest was absent from his source.

The first option is of course preferable. We see it in Ps 150:5, after many other signs of fatigue, where Pierre wanted to put an end to his work, did not gloss much, maybe did not want to complicate his text with a mention of the cymbals, and simply referred to 'all instruments'. However, his source could be a different type of gloss from *Glossa Ordinaria*, of a yet unidentified redaction.

This is evident in Ps 146:7, where Pierre's translation follows the Latin text in the first part of the psalm verse, but switches to other ideas, which could not have been taken from *Glossa* (cf. *te prius accusa inde Deum lauda / post confessionem sequantur opera / ubi manus vocem sequitur ita vocem laudis sequantur opera*). I cannot of course exclude the possibility that he may have inserted the *veraye leësse* sequence sua sponte.

Pierre de Paris had a completely different interest from the previous translators of the Psalter. He produced a glossed version of the Book of Psalms with the intention of explaining the sacred text to a general public. He did not translate; he adapted the source text, which explains the absence or incomplete nature of many verses.

SOURCE:

See the manuscript, f. 43v-44r, 60r, 64v, 66r, 75v, 85v, 89v, 102r, 102r-v, 112v-113r, 117v, 129r, 157v, 163v, 168r, 168v.

ms. BnF, fr. 1761 (ms.)

Ps 32:2 Adonques confesses uous auseignor enlaharpe & chantes enlui enle sautier des .x. cordes car laparole douseignor est droituriere.

Ps 42:4 E ie entenderais a celui autier dedieu. Qui est inuisible auquel nul follon nenna. Cest autier est celluy dieu qui el leesse masaintete.

Ps 46:6 E pource que dieu amonte toute leesse & que il est ueray seignor amonte enlauois delaboussigne de son fill.

Ps 48:5 Ie enclineray enmaparolle maoreille. E ie demosterais par fait maproponssion. En lesautier pour coy douterais…

Ps 56:9 E o tu machar quies magloire lieuesus de mort. E otu sautier lieue sus. Eotu ma harpe lieue toi le bien matin leiour delaresurrection.

Ps 67:26 Les princes congoins ensemble seuindrent deuant les esioyans en lemy des iouuenselles esioyant.

Ps 70:22 E ie sire dieu meconforterays atoy. E anonssierais ta uerite a tous en les uayssiaus del saumes. Eiechanteray atoy enlaharpe que lesaint deisrael est ressucites demort.

Ps 80:3 Prenes lasaume & sougnes letanbor. E le sauterion. Eiues aueuc laharpe.

Ps 80:4 Boussignes enlaboussigne delanouuelle lune. Ennoble iour deuostre sollempnite.

Ps 91:4 Dont chascun sedoit loier enlesautier de .x. cordes. Een laharpe otoute leesse.

Ps 97:5 Esioyssiez uos auseignor enlaharpe. Eenla uois desaume…

Ps 97:6 …&enles bouzignes magnables. Eenlauois delabouzigne faite de corne. Esioyssyez uous enle regart dou Roy.

Ps 107:3 E tu toute ma bouche. Etu toute mapassiance leues sus alloyer dieu monpere E ie sonfis meleuerais lematin de mort & te loerais.

Ps 136:2 Nos pendimes enle saus qui estoyent sur les fluns nos escritures ou estoyent contenues les proumesses dedieu.

Ps 143:9 Sire dieu iete chanteray chant nouuel. Eiete chanterays enle sautier de .x. cordes.

Ps 146:7 Chantes auseignor enconfession &uous esioyssyes auostre seignor en toute ueraye leesse

Ps 149:3 Elles loyerent son non entoute acordance. Esse esioyrent auseignor Een operassyon temporelle. Een operassyon spirituelle.

Ps 150:3 Loes le enleson dellaboussine loes le enlesautier & enlaharpe.

Ps 150:4 Loes le enle tanbour &entoutes uos assemblees. Loes le entous les estrumens decordes Een les orguenes

Ps 150:5 Loes le entous les estrumens bien sounans. Eentous les estrumens delleesse.

Some translations from Italy (VA)

There are not one, but three versions of the *Tuscan Psalter* (*Salterio toscano*), preserved in 17 manuscripts (see for this Ramello 1997). S. Berger was convinced that the French *Bible du XIIIe siècle* was the source of the 14th century Tuscan Psalter and of other Italian translations of the Bible (Berger 1894). E. Barbieri studied the printed Bibles of the 15th and 16th centuries and tried to prove otherwise, but his analysis is too speculative (cf. Leonardi 1993, p. 841).

A. Cornagliotti proved that Berger's hypothesis had to be rejected (Cornagliotti 1979), but the sources of the Italian translations of the Psalter are not clear yet. Furthermore, there are only two verses of interest for us in the fragmentary *Salterio toscano*:

> Ps 80:3 Prendete i salmi e 'l saltero co• la cetera.
>
> Ps 80:4 Allegratevi con canto sonante della novella luna, non dimenticati li giorni dela nostra sollempnitade.
>
> (Ramello 1997, p. 154).

Apart from the simple assumption that the translation is etymological, no other conclusion can be drawn, since the second verse does not even mention the name of the musical instrument. There is an interesting reading *ribecha* ('rebec', from the family of the violin) in a 15th century manuscript from Florence, Biblioteca nazionale, II.IV.70, and this translation choice is followed by the adverb *giocondamente* (cf. Ramello 1997, p. 196), therefore being an interpretation of the *psalterium iocundum* (Gallicanum and Romanum) and not *citharam decoram* (Hebraicum). In the next verse, the same manuscript has another reading non-existent in other copies of the *Tuscan Psalter*: *di tronba nelcominciamento* (cf. Ramello 1997, p. 196), where the presence of the second word may indicate the translation of Romanum's *initio mensis* instead of *neomenia* from Gallicanum and Hebraicum. Since these are isolated readings, unidentifiable in other manuscripts, they must have been written only by the 15th century scribe. In such a case, the choice of translation *tronba* (identical to the Franco-Italian *tronbe* already mentioned in the French section of this study; and similar to the French *trumpe* used by late French authors) derives perhaps from the Latin reading *tuba* (Romanum). This addition to the Tuscan Psalter translation probably comes from this particular scribe's use of a Latin text for corrections or from his liturgical recollections.

The *Venetian Psalter* (*Salterio veneto*), on the other hand, unrelated to the Tuscan one, was preserved in two manuscripts only, but contains a complete text of the Psalms. In

SOURCES:

For the *Salterio veneto*, see Ramello 1997, p. 236, 249, 253, 255, 263, 273, 278, 291, 303, 308, 323, 350, 356, 359, 361, 362. For the *Marlemi Bible* Psalms, see any of its incunabula, vol. 3, p. 155, 166, 170, 171, 179, 187, 191, 203, 214, 219, 231, 256, 262, 264, 266.

Fig. 18: Treviso (Italy). Detached fresco preserved in the sacristy of the Saint Nicholas church (14th c.). Annunciation (with Christ and Saint Nicholas). Detail: Angels playing all types of musical instruments next to God the Father in Glory, some of which are the same as those found in the Italian translations of the Psalms. Credits: VA.



the edition of this vernacular text, all Latin comparisons have unfortunately been made to what the editor calls the 'Vulgate', whence the impossibility of identifying the Latin source.

Most of this translator's choices are etymological readings copying a Latin text or suffering the effects of etymological attraction (Ps 56:9; Ps 70:22; Ps80:3;Ps91:4;Ps97:5;Ps107:3;Ps136:2; Ps 143:9; Ps 146:7; Ps 149:3; Ps 150:3; Ps 150:4; Ps 150:5). He constantly pairs *cithara* with *çithara*/*cithara*, *psalterium* with *salterio*, *tympanum* with *timpano*, *organum* with *organo*, and *cymbalum* with *çimbalo*. An interesting detail appears in Ps 46:6, where the reading *tromba* may be influenced by *tuba* (Gallicanum and Romanum) and not *buccina* (Hebraicum). The same occurs in Ps 80:4; Ps 97:6; and Ps 149:3. In Ps 48:5, *salterio* comes again from Gallicanum or Romanum, and not from Hebraicum (*cithara*). The final proof is the use of the feminine in Ps 67:26 (*çovenete*). This translation testifies to the translator's use of a Gallicanum (*iuvencularum*) or Hebraicum (*puellarum*), not Romanum (*iuvenum*). This leaves us with one option for the identification of the Latin source – a copy of the Gallicanum – but this inference needs further data in order to be verified.

The psalm translation included in the 1471 Bible printed by Nicolò Malermi is of a later date. Traditionally considered to be reusing previous translations from the Trecento (indeed some readings are strikingly similar to those of the *Tuscan Psalter*), the Malermi Bible repeats some etymological choices made by the *Venetian Psalter*.

One finds, of course, the same *tromba* reading in Ps 46:6. Since it does not fit the Hebraicum, this comes either from a Gallicanum / Romanum tradition or directly from previous translations such is the *Venetian Psalter*. It is repeated in Ps 80:4. The use of the feminine *fanciulle* in Ps 67:26 points towards the use of Gallicanum or Hebraicum, and not Romanum, but this could also come from earlier versions. Nevertheless, *cetera* from Ps 48:5 indicates the Hebraicum and not the Romanum or Gallicanum as the likely source. This presents us with a puzzle, as it is difficult to imagine what source (or sources) Nicolò Malermi could have used. Another puzzling translation appears in 97:6, where *tubae corneae* (Romanum and Gallicanum) are reduced to half and interpreted as 'horn' (*corno*). Could this be an echo of Hebraicum's *bucina*? It is possible, given that Malermi's *cetere* in Ps 136:2 follow the Hebraicum (*citharas*) and not the Romanum or Gallicanum reading (*organa*).

There are instances in which this text does not closely follow the etymological imitation of a Latin text and prefers newer words. See for this *tamburo* in Ps 80:3, where Latin versions agree (*tympanum*). The word was reused in Ps 150:4. But there are cases in which Malermi made refined choices. Such is the case of *nablio*, a word used in Ps 91:4 to translate *psalterium*, not because Malermi needed it (see his previous uses of *salterio*), but because he preferred this particular interpretation. *Nablio* is reused in Ps 107:3, in the same context, but later the translator returns to *salterio* (Ps 143:9 and Ps 150:3). This means that he used a different source in those two verses. The word *nablio* stands for the Hebrew stringed instrument *nēḇel*. Since its translation in the Septuagint is *ψαλτήριον*, it is safe to assume that Malermi was sometimes using a learned gloss.

Venetian Psalter (ed.)	Malermi Bible (incunabulum)	
Confessate al Segnore in la çithara; in lo salterio de diese corde salmeçate a quello.	Celebrate il Signore colla cetera; cantate a lui su la viola e l'istromento da dieci corde.	Ps 32:2
Et io intrarò ad lo altare de Dio, ad lo Segnore che alegra la çoventude mia. Io te confesserò in la çithara, Dio, Dio mio.	E io entrerò all'altar di Dio: a Dio, che rallegra la mia gioventù. Dio, Dio mio, ti loderò sulla mia cetera:…	Ps 42:4
Muntò Dio in la iubilaçione, çoè cantò, et lo Segnore in la vose dela tromba.	Dio e salito con trionfo: il Signore con la voce della tromba.	Ps 46:6
Io inclinarò in la parabola la orechia mia; io avrirò in lo salterio la preposiçion mia.	Io inchinerò il mio orecchio alla mia parabola: io aprirò il mio detto oscuro con la cetera.	Ps 48:5
Leva suso, gloria mia; leva su, salterio et cithara; io leverò da maitino.	Levati gloria mia, levati salterio e cetera: io mi leverò sul far del giorno.	Ps 56:9
Pervegnudi sono i principi conçuncti a quelli che salmeçavano, in meço dele çovenete che sonavano i timpani.	I cantori andavano avanti Dio, quelli che sonavano gl'istrumenti miei: nel mezzo vi erano le fanciulle che suonavano vano i tamburi.	Ps 67:26
Perché et io confesserò a ti in li vasselli del salmo la veritade toa, Dio; salmeçerò a ti in la cithara, Sancto Israel.	Ancora io, o Dio mio, ti celebrerò nella tua verità sopra l'istrumento della viola: io canterò in tua lode, o Santo d' Israello su la cetera.	Ps 70:22
Reçevete el salmo, et dade el timpano e 'l salterio iocundo, cum la çithara.	Prendete a salmeggiare; recate il tamburo, la cetera dilettevole, e il nablio.	Ps 80:3
Sonate in quello li hedificii cum tromba nobile del dì dela solempnitade nostra.	Sonate con la tromba alle calende, nella solennità, al giorno della nostra festa.	Ps 80:4
in lo dechacordo, psalterio, cum chantico, in la çithara.	In sul decacordo, e in sul nablio; in sull'armonia che si fa con la çetera.	Ps 91:4
Salmeçadi a Dio in la çithara; in la çithara et cum vose de salmo;	Salmeggiate al Signore con la cetera; con la cetera, e con voce di canto;	Ps 97:5
in la tromba, et in la vose de tromba de corno. Allegràtive in lo conspecto del re del Segnore;	con trombe, et con suon di corno. Giubilate nel conspetto del Re, del Signore:…	Ps 97:6
Leva suso, psalterio et çythara; leverò suso la maitina.	Nablio, e cetera, destati: io mi risveglierò all'alba.	Ps 107:3
In li salixi inmeço de quello suspendessemo li organi nostri;	Appiccammo le nostre cetere ai salci, in mezzo di essa:	Ps 136:2
Dio, cantico novo io canterò a ti, in lo salterio dechacordo io salmeçerò a ti.	O Dio, io canterò una nuova canzone; io ti canterò sul salterio e l'istrumento da dieci corde.	Ps 143:9
Praecinite [Lat.] al Segnore in confessione, salmeçate alo Dio nostro in çithara.	Cantate al Signore con lode, cantate al nostro Dio nella cetera.	Ps 146:7
Laudeno lo nomine de quello in choro, in timpano et salterio salmeçeno a quello.	Lodino il suo nome nel ballo, cantino a lui sul tamburo e la cetera.	Ps 149:3
Laudate quello in lo sono dela tromba; laudate quello in lo salterio et la çithara.	Lodatelo in suon di trombetta, lodatelo in salterio, e in cetera.	Ps 150:3
Laudate quello in lo timpano et lo choro; laudate quelo in lo acordo et organo.	Lodatelo in tamburo e in piffero, lodatelo in corde ed organo.	Ps 150:4
Laudate quello in çimbali ben sonanti; laudate quello in çimbali de alegreça.	Lodatelo in cembali risuonanti, lodatelo in cembali di giubilo.	Ps 150:5

The Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter and its French source (IS, VA)

The translation of such glossed versions of the Psalms was not restricted to French or Italian literatures. Similar but unrelated to Pierre de Paris' *Psalter*, the *Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter* (MEGPP) presents the same approach, as it was apparently translated from a French version. Dating back to the 14th century, it alternates Latin verses with their Middle English translation.

The recent editors of the Middle English text, who also edit the Latin text of the English manuscripts and their probable French source (as a simple transcription) from the Paris manuscript, BnF, fr. 6260, do not scrupulously analyse the relationship between the French source and its English adaptation (Black, St-Jacques 2012, vol. 1, p. lxvi-lxix). They mention several idiosyncratic terms, concentrate on variant and erroneous readings, and warn against the use of an earlier study concerning the French loan words in Middle English text (Reuter 1938; Reuter 1939), because its author "did not have access to the data now available in the MED". According to them, "many of the 632 French loan words he lists from the MEGPP were current when the MEGPP was created". Nevertheless, this approach diminishes the fact that Middle English authors were at least bilingual, and that the presence of French words in the MEGPP does not naturally originate from the Middle English language, but as a consequence of this bilingualism.

As for odd translation choices in English, some are not as odd as they may seem: the editors consider *croude* from Ps 149:3 and Ps 150:4 (translating the French *cueur* / *chor*, in turn a translation of the Latin *chorus*) to be "an instrument of the Near East" (Black, St-Jacques 2012, vol. 2, p. 225). Indeed such an instrument existed in England at the time (crwth, crowd, or rote), bearing the exact same name (*croude*, *croudar*, etc.; cf. Remnant 1969), but the word *croude* in our text probably refers to 'crowd' as 'gathering of people' (see *săboru* in the Romanian 'rhotic' psalters as a similar translation choice; as well as the same *croude* in Richard Rolle's Middle English version).

Leaving such matters aside, it is worth noting that certain

	French version (ed.)	Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter (ed.)
Ps 32:2	Recongnoissez en Nostre Seigneur en vertu, et lui faictez les enseignemens de dix commandemens.	Schryueþ to Lorde in vertu, and dooþ to hym þe techyng of þe ten comaundement3.
Ps 42:4	Et ie entray a l'autier de Dieu, a Dieu qui fait ioieuse ma ieunesse.	And I schal entren vnto þe autere of God, to God þat makeþ glad my 3ingþe.
Ps 46:6	Dieu monta en doulx chant, et Dieu est en voix de trompe.	God went up [*with ioie*] and oure Lorde in voice of trumpe.
Ps 48:5	Ie enclineray mon oreille en parolles si ouureray ou psaultier mon propoz.	I schal bowe myne ere in wordes, and I schal oppen in þe sautere my purpose.
Ps 56:9	Tu, ma gloire, leue; tu, salterion et harpe, leue! Ie leueray le matin.	Arise, þou my glorie, arise sautere and harp! I schal arise in þe mornynge.
Ps 67:26	Les princes ioyeulx aiderent aux chantans, auec les petites et les ieunes pucelles tympanistres:	Þe princes ioyned togedre comen bifore þe syngeand, amyddes 3ongelynges taburnande:
Ps 70:22	Car ie recongnoistray, Sire, en toy en parolle de pseaulme ta verite; ha Dieu, ie chanteray a toy en harpe; tu es le saint d'Israel.	For I schal schriue vnto þe in wordes of song þi sooþnesse; a God, I schal synge to þe in harp; þou art þe holy of Israel.
Ps 80:3	Prenez pseaulme, et donnez a lui honnour, droit, et ioie.	Take a songe, and 3iue to hym li3tnesse, sautrie gladeande wiþ ioye.
Ps 80:4	Esiouyssez a lui en nouuel seruice de chant, ou noble iour de vostre sollempnite.	Gladen to hym in newe seruise of songe, in þe noble day of oure solempnite,…
Ps 91:4	en tes dix commandements, auec chancon et harpe.	in þi ten comaundement3, wiþ song and harp.
Ps 97:5	Chantez a Nostre Seigneur en harpe et en voix de pseaulme,	Syngeþ to our Lorde in harp, in harp and in voice of psalme
Ps 97:6	en esemes meuables et en voix d'eseme. Esioissez ou regard du roy, Nostre Seigneur;	in trumpis ledande and voice of trumpe of horne. Gladeþ in þe si3th of þe kyng, oure Lord;
Ps 107:3	Leuez, psalterion et harpe; ie leueray au matin.	Arise, my glorie, arise sautre and harp, and I schal arise in þe mornynge.
Ps 136:2	[Ps 136 after Ps 137] Nous pendismes nos ioyes transsitoires en la moitie de luy.	[Ps 136 after Ps 137] We hengen our ioyes in þinges passande in þe myddes of hym.
Ps 143:9	[the text passes directly from Ps 143:8 to Ps 143:10]	[the text passes directly from Ps 143:8 to Ps 143:11]
Ps 146:7	Chantez a Nostre Seigneur en confession, si chantez a Nostre Seigneur en harpe,	Syngeþ to oure Lorde in schrift, and syngeþ to oure God in harpe,
Ps 149:3	Louent le nom de Nostre Seigneur en cueur et en timpane, si chantent a luy en psalterion et en harpe.	Heri3en þai þe name of oure Lorde in croude, and synge þai to hym in tabour and sautre.
Ps 150:3	Louez le en son de cloche; louez le en psalterion et harpe.	Heri3eþ hym in soune of trumpe; heri3eþ hym in sautre and in harp.
Ps 150:4	Louez le en tabour et en chor; louez le en corde et en orgue.	Heri3eþ hym in taboure and in croude; heri3eþ hym in cordes and orgnes.
Ps 150:5	Louez le en cymballes bien sonnans; louez le en cymbalz de ioie.	Heri3eþ hym in cymbales wel soundande; heri3eþ hym in cymbales of ioye.

details from the quotations presented herein testify to a much more complicated relation between the French source and its Middle English copy. It is true that many verses clearly indicate that the source was French and related to the version identified in the two English manuscripts.

Nevertheless, the presence of the word *sautrie* in Ps 80:3 of the Middle English text, where the French version has none of the three expected instruments, confirms that the source is related to the fr. 6260 manuscript of the BnF, but stemming from a different prototype. Ps 149:3 shows that the French version presents a more accurate text, meaning either that the source of the Middle English text was corrupted here, stemming from a different variant, or that the Middle English translator mixed things up. Furthermore, the mysterious *eseme* translating the trumpet in Ps 97:6 may account for fr. 6260's dependence on a previous version using another word, such as *buisine* (hence a scribal error; we checked the manuscript reading at f. 144vb, lines 4-5).

If this is true, the English text would derive from a modernized version of the same French text, a version already using *trompe*, as does for instance Pierre de Paris (and the fr. 6260 manuscript too, but in Ps 46:6). The key to the identification of the source lies in an analysis of the late French Psalter tradition.

If we look into the translation choices for the musical instruments, other interesting things will help us understand this puzzling relation. The *taburnande varia lectio* of Ps 67:26, which is a perfectly correct French form (cf. *taborner*, 'to beat the drum'; *taborneor* or *tabornier*, 'drummer'; cf. DEAF) and testifies to the fact that the real manuscript source of this English version has yet to be identified. *Tanbour* itself could come from the French source, little does it matter that the fr. 6260 manuscript uses the word *timpane*. The use of *tanbour* in Pierre de Paris' version, in Richard Rolle's psalm commentary (*vide infra*), and in the MEGPP text may account for a later variant of the fr. 6260, stemming from a different branch of its manuscript tradition, or from an error.

As for the translation into *trumpe* of the fr. 6260 *cloches*, one may easily imagine the same solution: a scribal error of *timpane*, leading to the English *trumpe*.

Latin glossed version (ed.)

Confitemini Domino in cythara (id est virtutibus); in psalterio (id est documentis) decem cordarum (id est preceptorum) psallite (id est facite) ei.

[first part is absent] Confitebor tibi in cythara (id est in interiori cordis), Deus, Deus meus.

Ascendit Deus in iubilacione, et Dominus (noster) in voce thube.

[absent verse]

[absent verse]

[absent verse]

Nam et ego confitebor tibi in vasis (id est verbis) psalmi veritatem tuam; Deus, psallam tibi in cythara, sanctus Israel.

Sumite psalmum, et date tympanum (id est letabundum), psalterium iocundum cum cythara (id est gaudio).

Buccinate (id est iubilate) in neomenia (id est nouo seruicio) thuba (id est cantu), in insigni die solempnitatis uestrae,

In decacordo, psalterio (id est in decem preceptis tuis), cum cantico in cythara.

[absent verse]

[absent verse]

[absent verse]

In psallicibus (id est in transitoriis) in medio eius suspendimus organa (id est gaudia) nostra.

[absent verse]

[absent verse]

[absent verse]

[absent verse]

[absent verse]

[absent verse]

Discussion

CP: I do not agree with the reading *eseme*. It would be more likely to read here the word *estive* 'flute, whistle' (from the Latin *tibia*; see Godefroy 1881-1902, vol. 3, p. 615, for several occurrences in context). P. Meyer assumed that the same word hides behind the corrupt reading *estume* (or even *estru*, in my opinion) in the list of musical instruments from the *Geste de Blancheflour* already presented here (cf. Oulmont 1911, p. 168, v. 29 and 32; and note 32 of the same page for the contribution of P. Meyer). *Estive* appears in the *First French Psalm Commentary*, in the gloss of Ps 150:5-6 (*vide supra*: *par focels u par estives u par alcune maniere de vent ki les chalemels fait soner*) in a context where the anonymous 12th century author speaks of wind instruments in general. I therefore believe that the current transcription of the French text published by R. R. Black and R. St-Jacques needs to be corrected. In this particular case, my reading would be *estive d(e)menable… estive* (cf. *buisine demenable* in the Arundel Psalter).

IS: The reading *demenable* is indeed preferable in this context. Since the *Arundel French Psalter* reads *busine demenable*, with *demener* meaning 'to lead' (cf. AND), it is of particular interest to note that the MEGPP used *ledande*, also meaning 'leading', while the Rolle commentary to the psalms (*vide infra*) retains a Latinism (*ductils*), subject to double interpretation: either as a hapax, slavishly folowing the Latin, or as a way of making sure that the 'ductibility' or *trumpe* is clearly expressed. This can also be evidence in support of the MEGPP following a reading similar to *estive d(e)menable.*

VA: Another proof of *estive* translating *tuba* is the Frankish name of the city of Thebes (favourite residence of Duke Guy II de la Roche) in the *Chronicle of Morea* (*Estives*) following a wordplay first noted in the *Roman de Thèbes*.

SOURCES:

For the Latin version, see Black, St-Jacques 2012, vol. 2, p. 12, 17, 19, 22, 27, 29, 34, 38, 39, 42, 50, 52, 53. For the French version, Black, St-Jacques 2012, vol. 2, p. 86, 95, 97, 98, 104, 110, 113, 122, 129, 133, 142, 162, 166, 168, 169, 170. For the Middle English text of the *Glossed Prose Psalter*, see Black, St-Jacques 2012, vol. 1, p. 20, 28, 30, 31, 36, 42, 45, 53, 60, 63, 71, 88, 92, 93, 94, 95.

Richard Rolle's texts (RS)

The English hermit Richard Rolle (ca. 1300-1349) wrote two psalm commentaries: one in Latin (probably written first) and an English one (intended for Margaret Kirby, a nun, at a later date). Both versions include the Latin quotations of the source, followed by the vernacular translation in the case of the English commentary. At a first glance, the two Latin texts used by Richard Rolle in his Latin and English commentaries to the psalms are one and the same, except for minor differences stemming either from textual tradition or from editorial choices (cf. *e.g.* Ps 97:5 the *deo nostro* / *deo* readings). Rolle's version of Gallicanum was known not only in England, but also in Central Europe, where it enjoyed a wide circulation (6 manuscripts in Prague only, according to Van Dussen 2018). Here are two particular readings of this version: Ps 70:22 (*psalmorum*); Ps 80:3 (*est* added).

Rolle's English translation choices show some affinity with the ones in MEGPP. The key points are Ps 32:2, Ps 42:4, Ps 56:9, Ps 67:26, Ps 70:22, Ps 149:3, and Ps 150:5. These will be discussed more at length in the comparison with the Wycliffite versions.

SOURCES:

Richard Rolle's Latin Psalter was never edited. As others before us, we extracted the psalmic quotations from the early modern version published in Faber 1536. For the quotations, see fol. XVIIr-v, XXIIIv, XXVIr, XXVIv, XXXIr, XXXVIr, XXXVIIIv, XLVIv, LII-IIv, LVIIr, LXIIIIr, LXXVIIv, LXXXr, LXXXIv, LXXXIIv, LXXXIIv-LXXXIIIr, LXXXIIIr.

	Latin Comentary Lat. (ed.)	English Comentary Lat. (ed.)	English Comentary En. (ed.)
Ps 32:2	Confitemini domino in cithara & in psalterio decem cordarum psallite illi	Confitemini domino in cithara & in psalterio decem cordarum psallite illi	Shrifis til lord in the harpe: in psautery of ten cordis syngis til hym.
Ps 42:4	Et introibo ad altare dei ad deum qui laetificat iuuentutem meam. Confitebor tibi in cythara deus deus meus	…Confitebor tibi in cithara deus, deus meus:	I sall shrife til the in the harpe, god, my god; whi ert thou sary, my saule, & whi druuys thou me.
Ps 46:6	Ascendit deus in iubilo et d*omin*us in uoce tubae	Ascendit deus in iubilo: et dominus in voce tube	God steghe in ioy; and Lord in voice of trumpe.
Ps 48:5	Inclinabo in parabolam aurem meam aperiam in psalterio propositionem meam	Inclinabo in parabolam aurem meam: aperiam in psalterio proposicionem meam	I sall held in parabole myn ere; i sall oppyn in psawtry my proposicion.
Ps 56:9	Exurge gloria mea exurge psalteriu*m* & cythara exurgam diluculo	Exurge gloria mea, exurge psalterium & cythara: exurgam diluculo	Rise my ioy, ryse psautery and the harpe: i sall rise in the daghynge
Ps 67:26	Praeuenerunt principes coniuncti psalle*n*tibus in medio iuuencularum tympanistriarum	Preuenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus: in medio iuuencularum tympanistriarum.	Bifor come prynces ioyned til syngand: in myddis of wenchis taburnystirs.
Ps 70:22	Nam & ego confitebor tibi in vasis psalmorum veritatem tuam [?] psallam tibi in cythara sanctus Israel	Nam & ego confitebor tibi in vasis psalmi veritatem tuam deus: psallam tibi cithera, sanctus israel.	Fforwhi and i sall shrife til the vessels of psalmes, thi sothfastens: i sall synge til the in the harpe, haligh of israel.
Ps 80:3	Sumite psalmum et date tympanum psalterium iucundum est cum cythara	Sumite psalmum & date tympanum: psalterium iocundum cum cythara.	Takys the psalm and gifes the taburn: psaltry delitabil with the harpe.
Ps 80:4	Buccinate in neomoenia tuba in insigni die solennitatis vestrae	Buccinate in neomenia tuba: insigni die solempnitatis vestre.	Blawis in the newmone with trump; in nobill day of ȝoure solemnyte.
Ps 91:4	In decacordo psalterio cu*m* cantico in cythara	In decacordo psalterio: cum cantico in cythara	In psautery of ten cordys: with sange in the harpe.
Ps 97:5	Psallite deo nostro in cythara in cythara & voce psalmi	Psallite deo in cythara, in cythara & voce psalmi	Syngis til oure god in harpe, in the harpe and in the voice of psalme
Ps 97:6	in tubis ductilibus & voce tubae corneae Iubilate in co*n*spectu regis domini	in tubis ductilibus & voce tube corne…	in trumpys ductils and in voice of trumpe corne…
Ps 107:3	Exurge psalterium & cythara exurgam diluculo	Exurge gloria mea, exurge psalterium & cythara: exurgam diluculo.	Ryse my ioy, ryse my psautery and the harpe: i sall ryse in the dagheynge.
Ps 136:2	In salicibus in medio eius suspendimus organa nostra	In salicibus in medio eius: suspendimus organa nostra.	In the wylghis in the myddis of hit: we hang vp our orgoyns.
Ps 143:9	Deus, canticum nouum ca*n*tabo tibi in psalterio decachordo psalla*m* tibi	Deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi: in psalterio decacordo psallam tibi.	God new sange i sall synge til the; in psawtry of ten cordis til the sall i synge.
Ps 146:7	Praecinite d*omi*no in confessione psallite deo nostro in cithara	Precinite domino in confessione: psallite deo nostro in cythara.	Byfore syngis til lord in shrift; syngis til oure god in the harpe.
Ps 149:3	Laudent nomen eius in choro in tympano & psalterio psallant ei	Laudent nomen eius in choro: in tympano & psalterio psallant ei.	Loue thai his name in croude: in taburn and in psautere synge thai til him.
Ps 150:3	Laudate eum in sono tubae laudate eum in psalterio & cithara	Laudate eum in sono tube: laudate eum in psalterio & cythara.	Louys him in sown of trumpe; louys him in psaltry and in harpe.
Ps 150:4	Laudate eum in tympano & choro laudate eum in chordis & organo	Laudate eum in tympano & choro: laudate eum in cordis & organo.	Louys him in taburn and croude; louys him in strengis and orgyns.
Ps 150:5	Laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibus laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis	Laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibus: laudate eum in *cymbalis* iubilacionis	Louys him in chymys wele sownand; louys him in chymys of ioiynge

The Early and Late versions of the Wycliffite Bible's Book of Psalms (IS)

The Wycliffite Bible is the first complete translation of the Bible into English, undertaken in the Oxford University milieu in the second half of the 14th century by the followers the theologian John Wyclif, *venerabilis doctor* to some, *execrabilis seductor* to others. The identity of the translators is unknown; the scale and the scholarly nature of the project suggest the involvement of many academic translators.

The surviving manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible are divided in two textual families, an early version (EV), more indebted to Latin, and a later version (LV), showing a certain degree of care for an idiomatic rendering of the English language. However, both versions are flawed as far as syntax, lexis, and word order are concerned, as they follow (too) closely their Latin original.

The three Middle English versions presented here do not wildly diverge from one another, nor from the Latin text, as it is to be expected. The Wycliffite texts, closely related in endeavors and purpose, are less close in some of the translation choices that will be discussed below. As far as Richard Rolle's Psalms (RP) are concerned, while they closely follow their Latin original as well, it is worth pointing out that they present some translation choices in common with the MEGPP, which, at this point, no longer needs any introduction. However, these translation choices have more to do with doctrine and linguistic variation than with musical instrument realia.

The translation choices that become interesting once they are contrasted and compared occur from the very beginning of the sample under discussion in this study; for Ps 32:2, the EV and the LV follow the same line of translation as the MEGPP and the RP, save for *confitemini*, as one might expect,

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SOURCES:

For the two edited versions of the entire Wycliffite Bible, see Forshall, Madden 1850, vol. 2, p. 767, 779, 783, 785, 793, 804, 808, 821, 832, 837, 832, 851, 876, 882, 887, 888.

Early Version (ed.)	Late Version (ed.)	
Knoulecheth to the Lord in an harpe; in sautre of ten cordis doth salmys to hym.	Knouleche ȝe to the Lord in an harpe; synge ȝe to hym in a sautre of ten strengis.	Ps 32:2
And I shall go in to the auter of God ; to God that gladeth my ȝouthe. I shal knouleche to thee in an harpe, God, my God.	And Y schal entre to the auter of God; to God, that gladith my ȝonghthe. God, my God, Y schal knowleche to thee in an harpe.	Ps 42:4
God steȝide vp in ful ioȝe; and the Lord in vois of trumpe.	God stiede in hertli song; and the Lord in the vois of a trumpe.	Ps 46:6
I shal ful bowe in to a parable myn ere; I shal opene in a sauter my proposicioun	I schal bouwe doun myn eere in to a parable; Y schal opene my resoun set forth in a sautree	Ps 48:5
Rys vp, my glorie; ris vp, sautre and harpe; I shal risen vp erly.	Mi glorie, rise thou vp; sautrie and harpe, rise thou vp; Y schal rise vp eerli.	Ps 56:9
The princis camen befor ioyned with the singeris; in the myddel of the ȝunge wymmen tympanystris.	Prynces ioyned with syngeris camen bifore; in the myddil of ȝonge dameselis syngynge in tympans.	Ps 67:26
For and I shal knouleche to thee in vesselis of salm thi treuthe, God; I shal do salm to thee in an harpe, thou holi of Irael.	For whi and Y schal knowleche to thee, thou God, thi treuthe in the instrumentis of salm; Y schal synge in an harpe to thee, that art the hooli of Israel.	Ps 70:22
Taketh salm, and ȝyueth timbre; a merie sautre with an harpe.	Take ȝe a salm, and ȝyue ȝe a tympan; a myrie sautere with an harpe.	Ps 80:3
Trumpeth in the newe mone; with a trumpe in the noble dai of oure solempnete.	Blowe ȝe with a trumpe in Neomenye; in the noble dai of ȝoure solempnite.	Ps 80:4
Doth salm to the Lord in harpe, and in harpe and in vois of salm;	In a sautrie of ten cordis; with song in harpe.	Ps 91:4
Doth salm to the Lord in harpe, and in harpe and in vois of salm;	Singe ȝe to the Lorde in an harpe; in harpe and vois of salm;	Ps 97:5
in trumpis beten out, and in vois of the hornene trump.	in trumpis betun out with hamer, and in vois of a trumpe of horn.	Ps 97:6
Ris vp, sautre and harpe;	My glorie, ryse thou vp, sautrie and harp, rise thou vp; Y schal rise vp eerli.	Ps 107:3
In whities in the myddes of it; wee heengen vp oure instrumens.	In salewis in the myddil therof; we hangiden vp oure orguns.	Ps 136:2
God, a newe song I shal singe to thee; in the ten cordid sautre I shal do salm to thee.	God, Y schal synge to thee a new song; I schal seie salm to thee in a sautre of ten stringis.	Ps 143:9
Singeth beforn to the Lord in confessioun; doth salm to oure God in harpe.	Bifore synge ȝe to the Lord in knoulechyng; seye ȝe salm to oure God in an harpe.	Ps 146:7
Preise thei the name of hym in quer; in timbre and sautre do they salm to hym.	Herie thei his name in a queer; seie thei salm to hym in a tympan, and sautre.	Ps 149:3
Preise ȝee hym in the soun of trumpe; preiseth hym in sautre and harpe.	Herie ȝe hym in the soun of trumpe; herie ȝe hym in a sautre and harpe.	Ps 150:3
Preise ȝee hym in timbre and quer; preise ȝee hym in cordis and orgue.	Herie ȝe hym in a tympane and queer; herie ȝe hym in strengis and orgun.	Ps 150:4
Preise ȝee hym in cymbalis wel sounende; Preise ȝee hym in cymbalis of huge ioȝing	Herie ȝe hym in cymbalis sowninge wel, herye ȝe hym in cymbalis of iubilacioun	Ps 150:5

both choosing *knoulĕchen* instead of *shrīven*, an option less heterodox, safer, and much closer in meaning to its Latin source.

The same pattern is observed in Ps 42:4: the EV and the LV translate *confitebor* by way of *knoulĕchen*, while the MEGPP and the RP opt for *shrīven* again. Nothing noteworthy occurs in either Ps 46:6 or 48:5, all four translations being quite straightforward. The only variation in translation concerns *proposicionem* and is of a lexical nature, occurring this time in the LV and the MEGPP, reading *resoun* in the former and *wordes* in the latter.

Psalm 56:9 holds no surprise, as the four versions, still closely follow the Latin text. Things are different in Ps 67:26; the EV and the LV respect the Latin text, diverging only in translation choices for *tympanistrarium*: *tympanistris*, plural noun as a scrupulous rendering for the former and *syngynge in tympans*, gerund form for the latter. More interesting, however, are the translations found in the RP and the MEGPP for this psalm: *psallentibus* is translated by the gerunds *syngand* and *syngeand*, respectively. *Tympanistrarium* is translated in the RP as a plural noun of French provenance - *taburnystirs*, this being the only attested example of use and form in the Middle English Dictionary (MED), while the MEGPP uses the gerund *taburnande*, also of French provenance and only occurrence in the MED.

The translation choices in Ps 70:22 follow the pattern observed in Ps 32:2: the Wycliffite texts render *confitebor* by ways of *knouleche* and *knowleche*, respectively, while the RP and MEGPP both choose variants of *shrīven*. More striking (and perhaps innovative) in this psalm is the translation choice of the simple, straightforward *vasis* into *instrumentis* in the LV and *wordes* in the MEGPP.

The analysis of the next psalm in this study (Ps 80:3) pivots around the translations of *tympanum*: all four versions have different choices, the first three of French provenance and influence: *timbre*, *tympan*, *taburn*, and *gladdeth* (EV, LV, RP, and MEGPP, respectively). When put into perspective, it might lead to the hypothesis that *tympanum* could indeed name a whole array of realia percussion instruments, thus explaining the variety in translation choices observed in the first three texts, and perhaps it also explains the choice of *gladdeth* in the MEGPP: why choose one instrument out of many, when they are all used to express joy and mirth?

Psalms 80:3 and 80:4 are fused together in the MEGPP, and the passage discussed below is only extant in the EV, the LV and the RP. The EV preserves *buccinate* in translation by ways of the verb *trumpeth*, whereas the RP and the LV share the choice of being very explicit about the action by translating it into *blowe* [..] *with a trumpe* and *blawis* [...] *with trump*, respectively. This passage is glossed in the LV, probably drawing on the *Glossa Ordinaria* or a similar exegetical text: *This salm was ordeyned to be songen in the feest of trumpis, to doo thankinges to God for the fruytis of the ȝeer gederid thanne. Lire heere K. Neomenye; that is, the newe mone.* For further details, see the discussion on the French *Eadwine Psalter* above.

Psalm 91:4 is a close rendering of the Latin text in all four versions, showing nothing of notable interest. Psalm 97:5 is a different, more complex matter, revolving around the translation of *ductilibus*, qualifying *tubis*. The EV and the LV both translate *ductilibus* with explicit information about the *trumpis*: *beten out* (EV) or *betun out with a hamer* (LV). The RP translates *tubis ductilibus* word for word into *trumpys ductils*; *ductils* is the only attested occurrence of the word. For more information on this, *vide supra* the discussion on the MEGPP. The MED takes the interesting features a step further, as the MEGPP rendering *ledande* for *ductils* is also recorded as a possibility (bearing a question mark) for the meaning *malleable* in the *Surtees Psalter* for the same psalm, joining the explicit renderings of the EV and the LV. See for this the *Surtees Psalter* (from ms. Cotton Vespasian D.7, London, British Library), Ps 97:6:

> Singes to lauerd in harp euen
> In bemes ledandlike to se,
> With steuen ofe beme horned þat be.

Moving further in the analysis, all four versions of the Psalms featured here show different choices in the translation of *diluculo* for Ps 107:3: the (presumable) noun *morutid* for the EV, the adverb *eerli* for the LV, the gerunds *dagheynge* for the RP and *mornynge* for the MEGPP. I do not agree with the editorial choice of Forshall and Madden for *morutid* in the EV, unattested and having no etymological grounds; I would suggest *morntid* as a correction (on the grounds of *u* and *n* being easily mistaken for one another in the transcription process, and on the grounds of *morn-tid(e)* being heavily attested in both Old and Middle English).

As far as Ps 136:2 is concerned, apart from different lexical choices having in common stark Old English and Germanic roots (in translating *salicibus* in all versions under scrutiny here: EV *whities*, LV *salewis*, and RP *wylighs*), it is interesting to point out that the EV presents a different choice of translation for *organa* into *instruments* than the LV and the RP, both choosing a plural form of *organ*; this fragment is unfortunately absent from the MEGPP.

Psalm 149:3 is fortunately recorded in the MEGPP and all fours versions show features worthy of interest. The pivotal role here is held by the rendering of *choro*: for the forms recorded in the EV (*quer*, of French etymology) and the LV (*queer*, variant spelling of the EV reading), the MED points to these specific occurrences, in these specific contexts, as meaning either 'singing a song or dancing'.

It is an entirely different case with the translation choice in the RP and the MEGPP, where *choro* is translated as *croude*, meaning either a Celtic stringed instrument, heavily attested in the MED and indicated as an erroneous reading of the Latin *choro* in no less than 13 instances so far, or the pressing and / or gathering together of people, attested so far in only one source (the metrical romance of Arthur and Merlin from the Auchinleck Manuscript, ms. Advocates 19.2.1, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland). Another interesting feature in the translation of this psalm is that, while the LV slavishly follows the Latin original *tympano* for its translation, the EV reads *timbre*, the MEGPP *tabour*, and the RP *taburn*, the last two examples showing a curious proximity in translation choices, and all three a preference for words of French extraction.

The final psalm 150:3-5 reiterates the patterns observed in the other psalms above. The choice of verbs for *laudate* in all three verses across the four texts points again to a preference for French words in the EV and the RP (*preisen* and *louen*, respectively), while the LV and the MEGPP opt for idiomatic translations by means of graphic variants for *herien*: *herie* for the former, and *heriȝeþ* for the latter. Otherwise, the fours versions of Ps 150:3 might as well be carbon copies of one another and of the Latin text. And while on the topic of carbon copy-like choices, *tympano* and *choro* are rendered in each text the exact same way they were in Ps 149:3, namely *quer* / *timbre* and *queer* / *tympane* for the EV and the LV, and *taburn* / *croude* - *ta-*

boure / *croude* for the RP and the MEGPP, respectively.

The final verse under discussion for this psalm shows, for all four texts, a preference for gerund forms in the translation of the adjective *sonantibus*, but there is a number of differences worth pointing out as well: first, while three texts choose a slavish rendering of *cymbalis* (the EV, the LV, and the MEGPP), the RP follows its French penchant and translates *cymbalis* into *chymys*.

As a future venue for research, it would be interesting to run a lexicometry study on these witnesses, perhaps including the *Surtees Verse Psalter*, in order to establish colorations and correlations of the use of Germanic gerunds ("surprisingly rare" according to Donner 1986), of French loanwords, French-based innovations, and hapaxes, as this was unfortunately beyond the scope of the present study.

Fig. 19. Saint-Porchaire church tower, Poitiers (France), 11th c. View of the second modillion of the cornice after the 2011-2012 restauration. Credits: Photothèque du CÉSCM / Avril.



Old Czech Psalter translations of the 14th century (KV)

THE WITTENBERG PSALTER. One of the first translations of the Psalms into Old Czech is preserved in manuscript A VI 6 of the Bibliothek des Evangelischen Predigerseminars in Wittenberg, which also contains the Latin version of the biblical text. Although the earliest traces of the oldest translation of the Psalter are found in the isolated Czech glosses of a Latin Psalter from the turn of the 14th century (the *Museum Glossed Psalter*, Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, XVII A 12), several glosses make reference to a few musical terms. The complete text of the first translation was preserved a few decades later, when an unknown scribe transposed the whole first Czech translation of Psalms and the Old and New Testament Canticles between the lines of the Latin *Wittenberg Psalter*, not long after the original text was written. This other manuscript was written in mid-14th century, in a rather small octavo format, and contains the Latin Psalter (fol. 1r-263r), Latin antiphons and litany (fol. 263r-280v). The Czech translation for the psalms of the *Wittenberg Psalter* was translated quite literally, word by word, regardless of context, and it seems that this translation was primarily intended as an interlinear aide for understanding Latin Psalms during Mass and the Divine Office.

The layout of the manuscript indicates that it was planned to be bilingual from the beginning: the scribe wrote Czech words in red ink on a dedicated interline above the relevant Latin text, which is written on even lines in black ink. The Latin text of Psalm 91 was omitted by mistake during the copy process; it was added at a much later date on the last flyleaf of the manuscript, but without Czech translation. I therefore transcribe the quotation for Ps 91:4 from another copy of the first translation. Two fragments of two other Czech Psalters of the first half of the 14th century have survived, but without the verses needed for an analysis of the musical terminology. They were likely used as private prayer books, as the Latin version of the Psalms was omitted there.

In the 1350s, the Old Czech Psalter was incorporated in the first translation of the whole Bible. The *Dresden Bible*, the earliest extant manuscript of the first redaction, contains only minor adjustments to the Book of Psalms. As such, it is a valuable source for the restitution of Ps 91:4. The manuscript was unfortunately destroyed in 1914, when the Leuven library burned down. The *Dresden Bible* was on loan to Belgium, in order to be photographed (the codex was previously stored in Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mscr. Dresd.Oe.85). Fortunately, a modern edition has been published based on a manuscript copy made by Josef Vraštil in the beginning of the 20th century, and on photocopies of recto folios from the second half of the manuscript (for the facsimile see: Rothe, Scholtz 1993). The Book of Psalms was included in the fourth volume, in a semi-diplomatic transcription (Kyas, Kyasová, Pečírková 1996).

There are two editions of the Czech text of the *Wittenberg*

Wittenberg Psalter

Ps 32:2	Zpoviedajte sě hospodinu v húslech, v žaltářu o deseti strun pějte jemu
Ps 42:4	I vendu k oltáři božiemu a k bohu mému, jenž těší mladost mú. Zpoviedaju sě tobě v húslech, bože, bože mój
Ps 46:6	Všel bóh u přěradosti a hospodin v hlasu trúbném
Ps 48:5	Přichýli ku pověsti ucho mé, otevru v žaltáři vyloženie mé
Ps 56:9	Vstaň, chválo má, vstaň, žaltářu i húsli, vstanu v zabřěžďenie
Ps 67:26	Přědešla kniežata, sňemše sě <s> zpievajúcími, prostřěd mladic bubnujúcích [mladic bubnujúcích]
Ps 70:22	Nebo jáz vzpoviedaju sě tobě v sudiech chvály pravdu tvú, bože, vzpievaju tobě v húslech, svatý israhelský
Ps 80:3	Přijměte piesn a dajte buben, žaltář veselý s húslemi
Ps 80:4	Trubte v novu trúbu [tr<ú>bu], v slavný den hodóv vašich
Ps 91:4	V desieti strun [deseti strun] žaltáře, s piesní, v húslech
Ps 97:5	Pějte hospodinu v húslech a v húslech hlasom piesenským
Ps 97:6	v trúbách [trúbách] ľutých a hlasem trúby rohové. Radujte sě před králem nebeským
Ps 107:3	Vstaň, žaltářu a húsli, vstanu v zábřěsk
Ps 136:2	U virbí střěd jeho pověsichom húsle náše
Ps 143:9	Bože, piesn novú zpievaju tobě, v žaltáři deseti strun [deseti strun] vzpěju tobě
Ps 146:7	Přěpějte hospodinu ve zpovědi, zpievajte bohu našemu v húslech
Ps 149:3	Chvalte jmě jeho v kóře, u bubně [u bubně], v žaltáři pějte jemu
Ps 150:3	Chvalte jeho v zvucě trubném, chvalte jeho v žaltáři a v húslech
Ps 150:4	Chvalte jeho u bubně i v kóřě [v tancu], chvalte jeho v strunách i u varhaniech [v orhaniech]
Ps 150:5	Chvalte jeho v zvonečkách [zvonečkách] dobřě vzniecích, chvalte jeho v skrovadniciech [skrovadniciech] radostných

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SOURCES:

For the references to the *Wittenberg Psalter* manuscript version, see the f. 47v, 77v, 79v–80r, 88r, 96v–97r, 112v, 124v, 153v–154r, 184v–185r, 208v, 245v, 251v, 254v–255r, 256v–257v. The same text in the Josef Vintr edition, see Vintr 1986, p. 92, 111, 116, 118, 130, 144, 150, 170, 195, 216, 252, 261, 265, 268, 269. For the references to *Ps 91:4* from the *Dresden Bible*, see Kyas, Kyasová, Pečírková 1996, p. 258. For the references to the *Clementinum Psalter* manuscript version, see the f. 33v, 39v, 46v, 47v, 54r, 62r, 66r, 76v, 86r, 90r-90v, 102v, 125v, 130v, 133r, 134v-135r. The same text in the Adolf Patera edition, see Patera 1890, p. 61, 80, 86-87, 99, 115, 123, 144, 162, 170, 193, 235, 244, 248, 251-252. For the references to the *Chapter Psalter* manuscript version, see the f. 16v, 23v, 25v-26r, 30v, 35v, 38r, 45r, 51r, 54r, 61r, 75v-76r, 79r, 80v, 81v-82r. The same text in the Eugen Rippl edition, see Rippl 1928, p. 53, 61, 64, 69, 75, 78, 86, 93, 97, 105, 122, 126, 128-129. For the references to the *Poděbrady Psalter* manuscript version, see the f. 29va, 39va-39vb, 42va, 43va, 49va, 56vb, 60rb, 70ra, 78vb, 82vb, 93ra-93rb, 115va-115vb, 120va, 122va-122vb, 124ra-124va. The same text in the Adolf Patera edition, see Patera 1899, p. 31, 39, 41–42, 47, 53, 56, 64, 71, 74, 83, 101, 104–108.

Psalter, the older one being a semi-diplomatic transcription made by J. Gebauer in the 19th century (Gebauer 1880). The new one is a modern critical edition by J. Vintr (Vintr 1986). I used the Vintr edition of the *Wittenberg Psalter*, adding the missing punctuation to the verses and adjusting capital letters (*Hospodin* > *hospodin*). The musical terms also appearing in the *Museum Glossed Psalter* are repeated in square brackets. The verse Ps 91:4 is presented from the *Dresden Bible*. I transcribe it into modern Czech spelling according to the general principles used in the transcription of Old Czech texts.

The Clementinum Psalter represents the second Old Czech translation of the Psalms. This version was copied in an octavo manuscript of the National Library of the Czech Republic, XVII A 12, dating to the second third of the 14th century. It is a new translation of the Psalms, Canticles, Hymns, and Creed, written in a single column, without any Latin text accompanying it. The rubrics (*e.g. feřie úternie počíná* 'the third weekday /*i.e.* Tuesday/ begins') point toward the use of this psalter in the daily prayers of a nun convent. The scribe was not careful in his transcription. He often omitted syllables, words, even whole verses. Nevertheless, the *Clementinum Psalter* still remains the only complete source of the second translation from the 14th century. The omissions are due to an anonymous user of the manuscript in the 15th century, who did not like this particular Czech version, so the psalms on the first folio (Ps 1:1-Ps 2:8) were erased and replaced by a newer and more comprehensible translation. Fortunately, all the psalms containing musical terms were not damaged by the corrector.

The main lexicographical benefit of the second Old Czech Psalter comes from the special nature of this translation. It was made by an anonymous scholar who embraces a contemporary stylistic search for a more poetic (and artifi-

Clementinum Psalter	Chapter Psalter	Poděbrady Psalter	
Zpoviedajte se hospodinu v húslech, v žaltářu deseti strun slavte jemu	Zpoviedajte sě hospodinu v húslech, na žaltáři deseti strun slavte jemu	Vzchvalte hospodinu v húslech, v žaltáři deseti strun zpievajte jemu	Ps 32:2
I vejdu k oltáru božiemu, k bohu, jenž obraduje mladost mú. Zpoviedati sě budu tobě v ručniciech, bože, bože mój	A vejdu k uoltáři buožiemu, k bohu, jenž obveselije mladost mú. Vzpoviedaji sě tobě v hús<lech>, bože mój	I vendu k oltáři božiemu, k bohu, jenž těší mladost mú. Vzchválím tě v húslech, bože, bože mój	Ps 42:4
Vstúpil bóh v slávě a hospodin v hlasu trúby	Vstúpil buoh v jásaní a hospodin v zvuku trúby	Vstúpil bóh v radosti a hospodin v hlasu trúbném	Ps 46:6
Nakloňu u příklad ucho mé, otevru v chvále předloženie mé	Vchýlím u pověst ucho mé a otevru v žaltáři propověděnie mé	Nachýlím ku pověsti ucho mé, otevru v žaltáři vypravenie mé	Ps 48:5
Vstaň chvála má, vstaň sláva má a húsle, vstanu na zabřěžděňú	Vstaň, chválo má, vstaň, žaltáři a húsli, vstan<u> v svítanie	Vstaň, slávo má, vstaň, žaltáři a húsle, vstanu<ť> v zábřězk	Ps 56:9
Předešli sú kniežata, sjednáni slavúcím, u prostředcě mladic bubnujúcích	Předešla kniežata, přihrnuta slávu pějícím, vprostřěd mladiček bubenniček	Předešla kniežata, sjednána zpievajícím, prostřěd mladic bubnujících	Ps 67:26
Nebo i jáz zpoviedati sě budu tobě v sudiech slávy pravdu tvú, bože, slaviti budu tobě <...>, svatý Israhel	Nebo zpoviedati sě budu tobě v sudiech s žalmy pravdu tvú, bože, zpoviedati sě budu tobě v húslech, svatý Izrahel	Nebo jáz zpoviedaji sě tobě v sudiech chvál<y> pravdu tvú, bože, zpěji tobě v húslech, svatý Israheli	Ps 70:22
Přijměte slávu a dajte buben, slávu ochotnú s húslmi	Vezměte žalm a dajte buben, žaltář veselý s húslemi	Jměte chválu a dajte buben, žaltář veselý s húslemi	Ps 80:3
Vzvučte v hodovéj trúbě, v z<n>ameňú dne slavného našeho	Trubte v novém měsieci trúbú, u velikém dni hodóv vašich	Trubte na nov v trúbu, v slovutný den hodóv vašich	Ps 80:4
V desětistruné<m> žaltářu se zpievaním v húslech	V desětstrunném žaltáři s piesní v húslech	V deseti strun žaltáři s piesní v húslech	Ps 91:4
Slavte hospodinu v húslech, v húslech a hlasem slávy	Slavte hospodinu v húslech, v húslech a v hlasě žalmy	Pějte hospodinu v húslech, v húslech a hlasem chvalným	Ps 97:5
v trúbách povodných a hlasem trúby rohové. Slavte v obezřěňú krále hospodina	v trúbách v litých a v hlasě trúby rohové. Jásajte v uobezření krále hospodina	v trúbách dutých a hlasem trúby rohové. Radujte sě před králem hospodinem	Ps 97:6
Vstaň, chválo má, a vstaň, slavníku a húsle, vstanu <n>a úsvitě	Vstaň, žaltáři a húsle, vstanu v svítanie	Vstaň, žaltáři a húsle, vstanu v zábřězk	Ps 107:3
U vrbú u prostředcě jeho pověsili sme varhany naše	Na vrbí vprostřěd jeho pověsili smy orhany naše	Na vrbách u prostřed jeho pověsichom húsle naše	Ps 136:2
Bože, piesen novú spievati budu tobě, v slavníku desětistrunném slaviti budu tobě	Bože, piesn novú zpievati budu tobě, v žaltáři desětistrunniem húsli budu tobě	Bože, piesenci novú budu zpievati tobě a v žaltáři deseti strun zpěji tobě	Ps 143:9
Zvučte hospodinu ve zpovědi, slavte bohu našemu v húslech	Přězpěvujte hospodinu ve zpovědi, žalmy <pějte> bohu našemu v húslech	Před<p>ě<j>te hospodinu v zpovědi, zpievajte bohu našemu v húslech	Ps 146:7
Chvalte jmě jeho v kóře, u bubně a v slavníku slavte jej	Chvalte jeho jmě v sboře, v bubně, v žaltáři hra<j>te jemu	Ať chválé jméno jeho v kuoře, v bubně a v žaltáři vzpějí jemu	Ps 149:3
Chvalte jej v zvuku trubném, chvalte jej v slavníku a húslech	Chvalte jej v zvucě trúby, chvalte jej v žaltáři a v húslech	Chvalte jeho v zvuku trubném, chvalte jeho v žaltáři a v húslech	Ps 150:3
Chvalte jej u bubně a v kóřě, chvalte jej v srdcu a v varhaniech	Chvalte jej v bubně a v kuoře, chvalte jej v strunách a v uorhany	Chvalte jeho v bubně a v kóře, chvalte jeho v strunách a u varhaniech	Ps 150:4
Chvalte jej v zvonciech bez srdec dobřě vzňúcích, chvalte jej v zvoncích radosti	Chvalte jej v zvoncích dobřě zvučných, chvalte jej v zvoncích jásanie	Chvalte jeho v cymbalách dobře zvučných, chvalte jeho v skrovadiciech radostných	Ps 150:5

cial) expression. The translator often uses calques and neologisms instead of common expressions for Latin words. This translation method is evident in some of the words used to translate musical notions.

Only a semi-diplomatic transcription of the *Clementinum Psalter* was published (Patera 1890). I transcribed the verse quotations with modern Czech spelling, based on Patera's edition, and I used the manuscript version for checking.

The Compilation Psalters: the Chapter Psalter and the Poděbrady Psalter. Two copies of Czech Psalters of the second half of the 14th century survived. They contain the second translation mixed with the first translation, or sometimes even an independent rendering.

The *Chapter Psalter* (Prague, National Museum Library, I E 65), copied in a quarto parchment manuscript sometime in the 1380s, includes the Old Czech Book of Psalms accompanied by an Old Czech Little Office of Our Lady. The author of the version copied in the *Chapter Psalter* partially reworked the translation, often replacing the original words with new ones, particularly with new calques. Some of his expressions point to a connection with Old Church Slavonic, probably a reflex of the Southern Slavic monks' liturgy used in the Emmaus monastery of the Order of St Benedict in Prague (Kyas 1997, p. 34). Nevertheless, this does not apply to musical terms, as the *Chapter Psalter* mostly respected the translation choices of the *Wittenberg Psalter* in those particular cases.

The *Poděbrady Psalter* is another compilation psalter. It was copied in a quarto parchment manuscript, with the Psalms written on two columns. It dates back to 1396 (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Mscr.Dresd.k.2) and must have been conceived as an elaborate prayer book intended for a noblewoman. It contains a calendar (f. 3r-8v), the Psalms (f. 9r-134v), a Litany of the Saints (f. 134v-137v), Seven Penitential Psalms (f. 140r-150r), an Office of the Dead (f.150r-153v), etc. *Poděbrady Psalter* largely follows the first translation, but it contains a number renderings of the second Psalter translation. Traces of a third (and therefore new) translation can also be observed in the *Poděbrady Psalter*.

Both manuscripts were diplomatically edited: the *Chapter Psalter* by E. Rippl (Rippl 1928), the *Poděbrady Psalter* by A. Patera at the end of the 19th century (Patera 1899). As before, I transcribed the texts in modern spelling.

The Old Czech musical terms used in 14th century translations (KV)

The musical terms in the earliest Czech Psalter translations are both inherited words and loanwords. The oldest Czech terminology of musical instruments in the psalms is of Proto-Slavic origin (*buben*, *húsli*, *struna*, *zvon*). Nonetheless, other terms appear under an external cultural influence. I am referring here to a series of borrowings from Old High German and Latin. *Trúba* is one of the earliest loanwords, as are later words like *žaltář* and *organy* / *varhany*.

The translation choices of the first Old Czech Psalter for the musical instruments are *húsle* for *cithara*, *žaltář* for *psalterium*, *trúba* for *tuba*, *buben* for *tympanum*, *skrovadnicě* or *zvonečky* for *cymbalum*, and *varhany* for *organum*. Most of these terms are common words, except for the neologism *skrovadnicě*.

The translations of Latin *cithara*. The Old Czech *húsli* or its later morphological form *húsle* is almost the only translation choice for *cithara*. *Húsli* is a pan-Slavic word of vernacular origin referring to a string instrument (cf. Old Church Slavonic *gǫsli*, Czech *housle*, Polish *gęśl*, Russian *gúsli*, Slovak *husle*, Serbo-Croatian *gȕsle*, etc.). The Proto-Slavic reconstructed **gǫslь*, **gǫsli* is derived from the onomatopoeic verb **gǫsti* (< **gǫd-ti*) 'to play a string instrument'. In the verbal root *gǫd-*, the first voiced consonant *g-* stands for the onset of sonorous tone expressed by the nasal vowel *-ǫ-*. The following consonant *-d* indicates the conclusion of the tone. In Old Czech, the verb has the form *hústi*, *hudu*, *hude*, and it means 'playing a string instrument', as opposed to the verb *pískati*, which denotes playing a wind instrument. The Czech event noun *hudba*, derived from the verb *hústi*, meant just playing the string instrument; today music in general is named *hudba*.

The Old Czech word *húsli* is a *plurale tantum*, denoting an object with a set of strings and therefore representing a generic string instrument in the Old Czech Psalters. I am unable to determine the nature of this instrument in detail; it could be a lute, a harp, a lyre, or a fiddle. The second translator of the *Clementine Psalter*, who preferred vernacular words to lexical borrowings, replaced *húsli* in Ps 42:4 with the word *ručnicě*, also known from other Czech texts. It was derived from the adjective *ruční* (cf. the noun *ruka*, 'hand') and it refers to a musical instrument played with the hands. However, the translator stopped using this equivalent after several verses and returned to the word *húsli* from Ps 56:9 onward. That probably happened because the word *ručnicě* had several meanings in Old Czech: it also meant 'handcuffs' in the more recent biblical translations. See for this the Czech equivalent for the Latin *manica* in *Boskovice Bible*'s Ps 149:8, i.e. the third Czech translation of the Psalter:

> ad alligandos reges eorum in compedibus, et nobiles eorum in manicis ferreis
>
> aby svázali krále jich v pútech a urozené jich v ručnicéch železných

The *Clementinum Psalter* does not interpret the Latin phrase *in cithara* from Ps 70:22, but the preferred translation choice *v húslech* appears in all other copies. The Czech translation choices for Ps 136:2 show that Gallicanum was the primary Latin text translated into Old Czech, but the first translator of the Psalms also confronted it with other versions of the Latin Psalter, especially with the Hebraicum. In Ps 136:2, he preferred its expression *citharas* over the word *organa* from the Galicanum and Romanum. This is probably the reason why the Old Czech *húsle* appears instead of *orhany*/*varhany* in the *Wittenberg Psalter* and *Poděbrady Psalter*, as the latter sometimes follows the version of the first translation.

The translations of Latin *chorda*. The Latin *chorda* 'string' has been usually translated into Old Czech as *struna*. It is a Slavic word, from the Proto-Slavic **struna*, with an original meaning of 'horsehair, tendon; bowstring', and interpreted as a derivative of the Indo-European root **streu-* 'strip, line, fiber'. In Old Czech, the word refers predominantly to a string as part of a musical instrument. The Czech word *struna* was used not only in Ps 150:4 for *in chordis*, but three times more in verses Ps 32:2, Ps 91:4, and Ps 143:9, for phrases like *psalterium decem chordarum* and *decachordum* (*psalterium*). The phrase *decem chordarum* is translated literally as *deseti*/*desieti strun*, but the version of the *Clementinum Psalter* and the *Compilation Psalters* chose the composed noun *desětistrunný* 'ten-string', al-

ready existing in Old Church Slavonic (*deseti-*, *desęto-*, *desętьstrunьnъ*). The second Psalter translation differs from the others in Ps 150:4, where its translator read *in corde* instead of *in chordis* (Gallicanum) or *in cordis* (Romanum, Hebraicum). He therefore translated the verse as *chvalte jej v srdcu* 'praise him in the heart'.

The translations of Latin *tympanum*. *Buben*, the preferred translation choice for the percussion instrument *tympanum*, belongs to the Proto-Slavic heritage in Old Czech. It is inherited from the Proto-Slavic **bǫbьnъ*, in turn derived from an Indo-European onomatopoeic base **bomb-* (cf. Latin *bombus*, Greek *βόμβος*), depicting a repeated blow to a resonating instrument. The sound development of the Proto-Slavic word **bǫbьnъ* to the Old Czech *buben* largely obscured the imitative form of the word. The Old Czech *buben* 'drum' is a common word for a simple percussion instrument in the 14th century, so it was the most common way of rendering the Latin *tympanum*. At that time, it was already used for the forming of new words: a verb *bubnovati* 'to drum' and a noun *bubeník* 'drummer', from which other lexemes were derived in order to translate *in medio iuvencularum tympanistriarum* of Ps 67:26. A verbal adjective *bubnující* 'drumming' seems to be the preferred translation choice of both translators. However, the adjective was changed to an agent noun *bubenička* 'female drummer' in the *Chapter Psalter*.

The translations of Latin *cymbalum*. There was no preferred translation choice for *cymbalum* in the Old Czech Psalters. Each version provides us with a new rendering in vernacular for the name of this percussion instrument. Latin *cymbalum*, occurring twice in Ps 150:5, was interpreted by Czech translators as a glockenspiel, a percussion instrument composed of a set of metal objects, especially bells. Therefore, words like *zvonečci* or *zvonci* 'small bells' (*plurale tantum*) were used in the first and second Psalter translations. They are diminutive forms of the pan-Slavic word *zvon* 'bell, a cup-shaped percussion instrument' (cf. Old Church Slavonic *zvonъ*, Polish *dzwon*, Russian *zvon* etc.). The Proto-Slavic **zvonъ* with the meaning of 'ringing, sound' is a derivative of the verb *zvьněti* 'to sound, to resonate'. In the *Clementinum Psalter*, an innovation occurred in the form of *zvonci bez srdec* 'bells without a clapper'. The sequence probably refers to an instrument with small bells that did not have an inner clapper but was played with an external hammer.

Another interesting translation choice for *cymbalum* appears in the *Museum Glossed Psalter* and *Wittenberg Psalter*. The Old Czech word *skrovadničě* is quite enigmatic. It is most likely related to Old Church Slavonic *skovrada* 'grate, grill, pan', documented in other Slavic languages (cf. Polish *skawroda*, *skowroda*, Russian *skovorodá*, Byelorussian *skavaradá*, Upper Lusatian *škorodej*, etc.). The derivative lexeme with specification suffix *-ničě* was used as a name for a metal percussion instrument, maybe with a shape similar to a grate or a pan. Even though the variant *skrovadičě* for *cymbalum* appears again in the *Poděbrady Psalter* at the end of the 14th century, it was not a common expression, and it soon disappeared.

The second translation choice in the *Poděbrady Psalter*, the Old Czech loanword *cymbala* was taken from the third translation of the Psalter (see below).

The translations of Latin *Psalterium*. In the case of *psalterium*, all Czech translators used Latinisms, but the word *žaltář* was not adopted into Czech directly from Latin. It came from Old High German, as well as other religious, ecclesiastical, and biblical terms such as *almužna* 'alms', *biskup* 'bishop', and *papež* 'pope'. The Old High German *saltāri*, *saltāre* explains the fricative consonant /ʒ/ at the beginning of the Czech loanword. Corresponding loanwords in other Slavic languages, borrowed directly from Greek or Latin, begin with the consonantic group *ps-* (cf. Old Church Slavonic *psalъtyr'ь*, Russian *psaltýr'*, Bulgarian *psaltír*, etc.). Furthermore, the Old Czech word *žaltář* is polysemic, having the same meaning as Latin *psalterium* (*i.e.* book of Psalms, and musical instrument). As such, it is the only translation choice of the first Czech Psalter for *psalterium*.

The second translator proceeded in another way, since he was looking for a vernacular rendering. As he did not usually use loanwords, Old Czech *žaltář* occurred only in Ps 91:4. He seems to have preferred calques, because three typical Czech words for *psalterium* are found in the *Clementinum Psalter*. The Old Czech synonyms *chvála* (Ps 48:5) and *sláva* (Ps 56:9, 80:3) are words borrowed from Latin by literal, root-for-root translation. The Latin verb *psallere* corresponds to the Czech verbs *chváliti* 'to praise, to laud' or *slaviti* 'to glorify, to celebrate' (cf. *psallentibus* Ps 67:26 – *slavúcím*). However, the translator was not satisfied with the semantic calques *chvála* and *sláva*, because they were polysemic, denotating 'glory', 'fame', 'praise', 'celebration', 'hymn'. Moreover, he needed to use the word *sláva* for the translation of other Latin abstracts: *iubilum* 'rejoicing, singing' (cf. *in iubilo* Ps 46:6 – *v slávě*) and *psalmus* 'psalm' (cf. *in vasis psalmi* Ps 70:22 – *v sudiech slávy*; *sumite psalmum* Ps 80:3 – *přijměte slávu*, etc.). Consequently, the translator opted for another word (*slavník*), derived from the verb *slaviti*, not common in Old Czech. Latin *psalterium* was translated as *slavník* in the last four psalms (Ps 107:3; Ps 143:9; Ps 149:3; Ps 150:3). The attempts of the second translator to create a new terminology were not successful and they did not last very long, as the *Chapter Psalter* and the *Poděbrady Psalter* returned to the loanword *žaltář*.

The translations of Latin *tuba*. The trumpet was usually translated as *trúba* into Old Czech. It already translates Latin *tuba* in the glosses of the *Museum Glossed Psalter* (Ps 97:6). Although the Old Czech word *trúba* also was adopted from a foreign language, it must have been already

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REFERENCES:

On the Old Czech Psalter translation, see Kyas 1962; Kyas 1997, p. 32-34, 45, 71-72, 100, 120-122. On the musical terms in the Czech Bibles, see Svatoš 1998; Štědroň, Šlosar 2010, p. 15-16; Nejedlý 2018, p. 134-135. On the etymology of the Old Czech word *húsli*, see Štědroň, Šlosar 2010, p. 9-12; Machek 2010, p. 180; Rejzek 2015, p. 233, *s.v. housle*, *housti*; ESJS, p. 196-197, *s.v. gǫsli*, *gǫsti*. On the etymology of the Czech word *struna*, see Štědroň, Šlosar 2010, p. 10, 13, 15; Rejzek 2015, p. 667; ESJS, p. 893, *s.v. struna*. On the etymology of the Czech word *buben*, see Štědroň, Šlosar 2010, p. 9; Rejzek 2015, p. 103, *s.v. buben*. On the etymology of the Czech word *zvon*, see Štědroň, Šlosar 2010, p. 10; Rejzek 2015, p. 813, *s.v. zvon*. On the etymology of the Old Czech word *skrovadničě*, see Štědroň, Šlosar 2010, p. 15; ESJS p. 824-825, *s.v. skovrada*. On the etymology of the Czech word *žaltář*, see Newerkla 2004, p. 59, 67, 144-145; Štědroň, Šlosar 2010, p. 14; ESJS p. 725, *s.v. psalъtyr'ь*. On the etymology of the Czech word *sláva*, see ESJS p. 835-836, *s.v. slaviti*. On the etymology of the Old Czech word *trúba*, see Newerkla 2004, p. 143; Štědroň, Šlosar 2010, p. 10; Kluge 2011, p. 931, *s.v. Trompete*; ESJS p. 987, *s.v. trǫba*. On the etymology of the Old Czech word *orhany*/*varhany*, see Fiedlerová 1963, p. 305-308; ESJS p. 594-595, *s.v. orъganъ*.

assimilated in Czech during the High Middle Ages. The word family of *trúba* is very rich; it comprises verbs like *trúbiti*, *potrúbiti*, *vztrúbiti*, *zatrúbiti*, and *pozatrúbiti*; adjectives like *trubní*/*trubný* and *trúbový*; diminutive forms like *trubičě*, *trubička*, *trubka*, and *trúbina*; or agent nouns like *trubač*, *trúbník*, and *trubař*. Proto-Slavic *trǫba* is usually interpreted as a loanword of Germanic origin (cf. the Old High German *trumba*, possibly from an Old French *trompe*). Direct borrowing from Romance languages is also possible (cf. Middle Latin *trumba*, Italian *tromba*). The phonetics of Proto-Slavic *trǫba* point to an onomatopoeic origin, naming the sound of a metal wind instrument.

The translations of Latin *organa*. Another *plurale tantum* referring to a musical instrument in Old Czech Psalms is the word *orhany* or its more common phonetic variant *varhany* in Ps 150:4 (and in Ps 136:2 of the *Clementinum Psalter* and *Chapter Psalter*). It is an evident Latinism, but modern scholarship assumes that the *varhany* must have entered the Czech language from Old High German. The letter *v-* at the beginning of the word is interpreted as prosthetic, or as an original preposition *v*. It is a common word in Old Czech, so common that the second translator did not replace it with another vernacular word.

Discussion

VA: The 14th century Old Czech translation choices *húsli* and *struna* are basic Slavic terms corresponding to the readings *gǫsli* and *strunа* of the Church Slavonic psalters. According to you, two other terms (Old Czech *buben*, and *zvon*) belong to the same category of basic Slavic terms, but I notice that they do not appear in the majority of Church Slavonic psalters. I agree with your interpretation, as they correspond to *bǫbĭnŭ* and *zvono* in the Church Slavonic version from commentary on the psalms by Theodoret of Cyrrhus. Little does it matter that the large majority of Church Slavonic psalters have other readings for these musical instruments, using the neologisms *tumpanŭ* and *kumbalŭ*. The interesting thing is that the Theodoret translation choices are sometimes adopted and generalized in 14th and 15th East Slavonic manuscripts (cf. MacRobert 2009, p. 429). According to C. M. MacRobert, the generalization of these readings occurred as an influence of exegetical texts, chief among whom was the Slavonic translation of Hesychius of Jerusalem's commentary on the psalms. I therefore wonder if the Old Czech readings could also originate from exegetical contexts. A particular quotation from the Slavonic translation of this commentary bears a strong resemblances to the Old Czech situation. I am thinking about the gloss *timŭpanŭ estĭ boubenŭ* ('the tympanum is a drum') (MacRobert 2009, p. 429). What I can say for sure is that *Glossa ordinaria* cannot be the source of the Old Czech translation choices (the only technical explanation concerning this musical instrument is found in the gloss of Ps 150:4, *tympanum de corio fit, extenso in ligno*). Could the Old Czech text be related to the Theodoret Church Slavonic version? The latter was used in a South Slavic milieu since the 10th century, but this milieu was Orthodox, not Catholic. In any case, as things stand, I see only two possible interpretations: 1) an influence of previous South Slavic readings; or 2) translation clusters, that is, words that had to be translated as such because of basic equivalents and automatisms in the target language. Since option 1 is beyond my expertise, I give one last example supporting option 2. Why should we consider that the Old Czech *trúba* represents a loanword from Old High German? An identical term appears in the readings *trǫba* of the Church Slavonic psalms. Could this be another instinctive translation choice based on basic Slavic vocabulary?

CMM: Old Church Slavonic *trǫba*, Polish *trąba*, Czech *trouba*, Russian *truba*, Bulgarian *trăba*, Serbian / Croatian *truba* (etc. in other Slavonic languages) are the various outcomes, by regular sound change, of a single Common Slavonic loan from Germanic; there is no question of a separate loan from German into Czech.

HK: The existence of Old Church Slavic heritage in Old Czech language is a widely-discussed topic since early 19th century (cf. Vintr 1986, p. 9-13). The area closely bordering the territory of historical Bohemia (i.e. Great Moravia) was in contact with South Slavic territories since at least 863, the year when the Rostislav of Moravia invited and welcomed a Byzantine mission. Greek brothers Cyril and Methodius brought with them the Slavic translations of liturgical texts, written in a Slavic dialect of the Thessaloniki region. Some texts were also translated in Great Moravia, among which a possible complete translation of the Gospels (cf. Kyas 1997, p. 28-29). The Byzantine mission ended soon after Methodius' death with the expulsion of the Slavic disciples from Great Moravia. It is still unclear whether some disciples found refuge or not in nearby Bohemia, thus explaining a direct influence of the Church Slavonic tradition on the Czech language. It cannot be completely ruled out that Church Slavonic excerpts from the psalter could have circulated in Bohemia at that time.

A second, unarguable period of direct contacts between Czech and East Slavic areas occurred in the first half of the 11th century. The Sázava Benedictine monastery was founded at that time and Slavonic liturgy was used there. Nevertheless, its monks were already banished from Sázava in 1055. They took refuge in the Basilian monastery of Visegrád, where they established contacts with monks from the Kiev Pechersk Lavra. These contacts undoubtedly lasted even after their return to Bohemia in 1061, but this second Bohemian interlude did not last long, either. Already in 1096, the Sázava monks were again banished from Bohemia for good and the Sázava monastery had a Latin liturgical service. Given these facts, the original Slavonic presence in this monastery may have had echoes in later times; local monks could therefore use a vernacular translation of the psalter for their needs, but such texts were not preserved. Some awareness of the existence of a Church Slavonic version could equally be argued, but it must have diluted into an oral tradition by the time when the first Old Czech translations of the psalter were made.

A bold theory was argued by F. V. Mareš (Mareš 2000), who assumed that the first glosses to the Old Czech psalms could have been made as comments to the original Church Slavonic translation of the psalter. He believed that these glosses were primarily transcribed in those passages where the Church Slavonic text could cause difficulties for Old Czech readers, that is, when words looked similar in both languages, but their meaning was different. The first complete translation of the psalter was classified by F. V. Mareš as a response to a pre-existing, but outdated Church Slavonic translation, as a return to the ancient Slavic roots. However, this theory was rejected by J. Vintr, who found a relatively small number of possible paleo-Slavisms in the first Czech psalter (Vintr 1986, p. 22). Likewise, V. Kyas speaks only of distant lexical responses in the Old Czech versions of the Psalter (Kyas 1962, p. 9). The historical context cannot completely rule out the possibility of a Church Slavonic influence, but there is no clear evidence to support it, either. The different Old Czech translation by *buben* and *zvon*, as opposed to the majority of Church Slavonic psalters would rather suggest that we are indeed dealing with simple equivalents and automatisms in the target language.

Old Czech Psalter translations of the 15th century (KV)

At the turn of the 15th century, the Psalter was translated into Czech for the third time. In this new rendition of the psalms, the third translator modernised the language and style of the older Psalters, trying to render the meaning of whole sentences instead of concentrating his skill on the translation of individual words. At the same time, a new version of the translation of the whole Bible, the so-called second redaction, gradually took shape. The earliest surviving complete Bible manuscripts were copied in the 1410s, some of them belonging to the first redaction of the Old Czech Bible translation, others already containing the new second redaction of the Old Czech Bible.

The Czech versions of the psalms – first, second, and third translation, as well as their compilations – were transposed in some biblical manuscripts independently of the redaction of the Old Czech Bible and consequently suffered various alterations as well. Eventually, the third translation of the Psalter prevailed during the 15th century. It is preserved in complete Bibles, as well as in several separate Psalters from the middle and second half of the 15th century. Due to space limitations, the individual readings of minor variants of the 15th century Czech Psalter cannot be analysed here. I will therefore provide a general review of this particular Czech Psalter translation based on two biblical manuscripts and one early print.

THE BOSKOVICE BIBLE. The earliest copy of the third Old Czech Psalm translation is found in the *Boskovice Bible* (Olomouc, Research Library, M III 3, f. 235r-264v). So far unedited, this biblical manuscript is remarkable in several respects: its biblical text belongs mostly to the second redaction of the Old Czech Bible, it was written with diacritics, and the illumination of the manuscript is of high quality but was never finished. It contains Old Czech tables of lections and an unusual copy of the *Short Exposition of the Ten Commandments* by Master Jan Hus (placed before Exodus – the owner of the manuscript was apparently a follower of the Hussite movement). The *Boskovice Bible* was written in the early days of the Hussite movement. Some scholars date it back to a time before 1420.

Most of the first Czech Psalter's translation choices are respected in the *Boskovice Bible* Psalter: *žaltář* for *psalterium*, *trúba* for *tuba*, *buben* for *tympanum*, *struna* for *chorda*, *varhany* for *organum*. In the case of *cithara*, one may notice some variant readings in the third Psalter translation.

SOURCES:

For the references to the *Boskovice Bible* manuscript version, see the f. 240v, 242v, 243v, 245r, 246v, 247v, 249v, 251v, 252v, 255r, 259v, 260v-261v. For the references to the *Paděrov Bible* manuscript version, see the f. 199rb, 201rb, 201vb-202ra, 203ra, 204va, 205rb, 207ra, 208vb, 209va, 211va, 215rb, 216ra, 216va-216vb. For the references to the *First Printed Psalter*, see f. 23v, 32v, 35v, 36v, 42r, 49r, 52r-52v, 61v, 69v, 73r, 82v, 101r, 105v, 107v, 108v-109r.

Boskovice Bible	Paděrov Bible	
Chvalte hospodina na húslech a na žaltáři o desieti strunách chvalte jeho	Chvalte hospodina na húslech, na žaltáři o desieti strunách chvalte jeho	Ps 32:2
I vejduť k oltáři božiemu, k bohu, kterýžť obveseluje mladost mú. Chváliti tě budu na húsličkách, bože, bože mój	I vejdu k oltáři božiemu, k bohu, kterýž obveseluje mladost mú. Chváliti tě budu na húslech, bože, bože mój	Ps 42:4
Vstúpil jest bóh v utěšeném zpievaní a hospodin v hlasu trúby	Vstúpil jest bóh v utěšeném zpievaní a pán v hlasu trúby	Ps 46:6
Naklonímť v pohádky ucho své, otevruť v žaltáři própověd svú	Naklonímť v příslovie ucho mé, otevruť v žaltáři própověd mú	Ps 48:5
Vstaň, chválo má, žaltáři a húsličky, vstanuť na úsvitě	Vstaň, chválo má, žaltáři a húsličky, vstanuť na úsvitě	Ps 56:9
Předešli sú knieżata, přičiněni súc chvalebníkóm, prostřed mladic bubnujících	Předešli sú knieżata, spojeni jsúc chvalitebníkóm, prostřed mladic bubnujících	Ps 67:26
Neb i já chváliti tě budu v uorudí chvály pravdu tvú, bože, chválu vzdám tobě na húsličkách, svatý Izrahel	Neb i já chváliti tě budu v orudí chvály pravdu tvú, bože, chválu vzdám tobě na húsličkách, svatý Izraheli	Ps 70:22
Vezmě<te> chválu a dajte buben, žaltář utěšený s húsličkami	Vezměte chválu a dajte buben, žaltář utěšený s húsličkami	Ps 80:3
Trubte v novoměsiečné trúby, v slavném dni hodu vašeho	Trubte v novoměsiečné trúby, v znamenitém dni hodu vašeho	Ps 80:4
Na žaltáři o desieti strunách s piesní na húsličkách	Na žaltáři o desieti strunách s piesní na húsličkách	Ps 91:4
Chvalte hospodina na húslech, na húslech a v hlasu chvály	Chválu vzdajte pánu na húslech, na húslech a v hlasu chvály	Ps 97:5
a v trúbách dutých a v hlasu trúby rohové. S radostí chvalte před tváří hospodina krále	v trúbách dutých a v hlasu trúby rohové. S radostí chvalte před obličejem krále boha	Ps 97:6
Povstaň, žaltáři a húsličky, vstanuť na úsvitě	Povstaň, žaltáři a húsličky, povstanuť na úsvitě	Ps 107:3
Na vrbě v prostředce jeho pověsili smy húsle své	Na vrbí v prostředě jeho pověsili sme húsle naše	Ps 136:2
Bože, zpievati budu tobě piesen novú, na žaltáři o desieti strunách chváliti tě budu	Bože, piesen novú zpievati budu tobě, na žaltáři o desieti strunách chválu vzdám tobě	Ps 143:9
Zpievajte hospodinu u vyznávaní, vzdajte chválu bohu našemu na húslech	Zpievajte pánu u vyznání, vzdajte chválu bohu našemu na húslech	Ps 146:7
Chvalte jméno jeho v kuoře, na bubně a žaltáři chvalte jeho	Chvalte jméno jeho v kóře, na bubně i na žaltáři chvalte jeho	Ps 149:3
Chvalte jeho v zvuku trúby, chvalte jeho na žaltáři i na húslech	Chvalte jeho v zvuku trúby, chvalte jeho na žaltáři i na húslech	Ps 150:3
Chvalte jeho na bubně i na kóře, chvalte jeho na strunách i na varhanech	Chvalte jeho na bubně i na kóru, chvalte na strunách jeho i na varhaniech	Ps 150:4
Chvalte jeho na cymbálech dobře zvučných, chvalte jeho na cymbálech utěšenie	Chvalte jeho na cymbálech dobřě zvučných, chvalte jej na cymbálech utěšenie	Ps 150:5

Several times the translator used a diminutive form *húsličky* (Ps 42:4; Ps 56:9; Ps 70:22; Ps 80:3; Ps 91:4; Ps 107:3) instead of the common translation choice *húsle* (Ps 32:2; Ps 97:5; Ps 146:7; Ps 150:3). According to the *Wittenberg Psalter*, the word *húsle* instead of *varhany* is used in Ps 136:2 as well. The word *zvonci* no longer appears in the psalms of the *Boskovice Bible* and a Latinism *cymbál* is the preferred translation choice for *cymbalum* (Ps 150:5). This may imply that the word *cymbál* (with its morphological variant *cymbal*) known from the *Poděbrady Psalter* had already become a common word in Old Czech by that time. One may also assume that High German played a great part in the Czech adoption of the word *cymbál*, as the Old High German word *cymbala* probably entered Old Czech before it changed into the Middle High German *zimbele*.

THE PADEŘOV BIBLE is the earliest representative of the third redaction of the Old Czech Bible translation. The manuscript is stored in the National Austrian Library in Vienna (Cod. 1175, f. 194v-216r). This richly illuminated Bible was made for Hussite hetman Filip of Padeřov in 1432-1435.

The author of the third redaction of the Bible adopted the third translation of the Psalter and revised it, but he did not interfere with the translation of musical terms in general. There is only one variant reading in the *Padeřov Bible* in comparison with the third Psalter translation of the *Boskovice Bible*: the reading *húsle* instead of *húsličky* was used in Ps 42:4. As for musical instruments themselves, the miniatures marking the Psalter sections (*nocturni*) are especially valuable, as some of them depict the very musical instruments mentioned in the Psalms. In two of the *Padeřov Bible* miniatures, king David plays the *cithara* (f. 195r for Ps 1; f. 207r for Ps 80); in another one he plays the *cymbalum* (f. 209r for Ps 97); and in a fourth one, he holds the *psalterium* (f. 211v for Ps 109; cf. Kubík 2018, p. 66-67).

THE FIRST PRINTED PSALTER. The last Old Czech revision of the Psalter is associated with the preparation of the Czech Bible for printing. At first, the Psalter was printed separately in Prague in 1487 by a printer recently identified with Martin of Tišnov. Only two copies of the *First Printed Psalter* survived (Prague, Strahov Library, DP VI 16, and Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, 41 G 80). There are differences between them in the first letters of individual verses. These first letters in red ink were not printed, but painted by hand. Because of this the painted letters do not always coincide. The verse Ps 42:4, for instance, begins with the conjunction *a* in the copy of the National Library, while in the copy of Strahov Library it begins with the conjunction *i*. For this analysis, I used the readings of the National Library copy.

This fourth translation closely follows the translation choices of the third translation, with a few exceptions: the translator rejected the diminutive form *húsličky* for *cithara* (except for Ps 80:3), using the word *húsle* instead. On the contrary, he uses the diminutive form *bubnec* (Ps 67:26) as well as the word *buben*. In the verse Ps 136:2, the fourth translator returns to the Latin reading *organa* and translates it as *varhany*. The Old Czech word *žaltář* gained new meanings in the *First Printed Psalter*, denoting the 'psalm' itself; the previous translations preferred for this the words *piesn* 'song', *chvála* 'praise', *sláva* 'glory', or even the Latin *psalmus* (Ps 70:22; Ps 80:3; Ps 97:5).

The most significant change in the *First Printed Psalter*'s readings may be found in the translation of *chorus*. Latin *chorus* is polysemic, the biblical term referring to a choral dance accompanied by singing, to people gathered for dancing and singing, or (in the Middle Ages) to a choir performing liturgical songs. Metaphorically, the *chorus* also referred the place in the church where the choir gathered for singing, or even to some musical instrument used by them. Although the oldest rendering of the phrase *in choro* was preserved in the *Museum Glossed Psalter* as *v tancu* 'in a dance' (Ps 150:4), the *Wittenberg Psalter* and the second and third Czech Psalter translations adopted the Latin word as such (*kór*), probably with the meaning of 'choir gathered to sing'. However, the *First Printed Psalter* offers an unusual interpretation of Latin *chorus*. The fourth translator interpreted the phrase *in choro* (Ps 149:3) in the same way as *in tympano* 'on the drum' (Ps 150:4), that is, not as a place or an activity, but a musical instrument. He therefore chose the phrases *dvojitá píšťala* (Ps 150:4) and *odvojitá píšťala* (Ps 149:3) meaning 'double flute'. The original form *píščěl* is a derivative of the verb *pískati*

First Printed Psalter (incunabulum)

Ps 32:2 Chválu vzdávajte hospodinu na húslech a na žaltáři o desieti strunách prozpěvujte jemu

Ps 42:4 A vejduť k oltáři božiemu, k bohu, kterýžto obveseluje mladost mú. Chválu vzdávati budu tobě na húslech, bože, bože muoj

Ps 46:6 Vstúpil jest buoh v radostném zpievaní a hospodin v hlasu trúby

Ps 48:5 Nachýlímť ku přísloví ucha svého, odvierati budu na žaltáři pohádky své

Ps 56:9 Povstaniž, slávo má, povstaniž, žaltáři a húsle, povstanuť v jitře

Ps 67:26 Předešliť sú kniežata, spojená súce s těmi, jenž chvály zpievali, v prostřed mladic bubence držících

Ps 70:22 Neboť i já chváliti tě budu v nástrojiech žaltáře pravdu tvú, bože, zpievati budu tobě na húslech, svatý Izraheli

Ps 80:3 Vezmětež žaltář a dajte buben, žaltář utěšený s húsličkami

Ps 80:4 Trubtež v trúbu, kterúž se trúbí času nového měsiece, v znamenitém dni slavnosti vašie

Ps 91:4 Na žaltáři o deseti strunách s piesničkú na húslech

Ps 97:5 Chvaltež hospodina na húslech, na húslech a hlasem žaltáře

Ps 97:6 a na trouby duté a hlasem trúby rohové. Plesajtež před obličejem krále pána

Ps 107:3 Povstaniž, žaltáři a húsle, povstanuť na úsvitě

Ps 136:2 Po vrbiech u prostřed něho zvěsili sme varhany naše

Ps 143:9 Bože, piesen novú zpievati budu tobě, na žaltáři o desíti strunách prozpěvovati budu tobě

Ps 146:7 Zpievajtež hospodinu v chválení a prozpěvujte bohu našemu na húslech

Ps 149:3 A chvaltež jméno jeho na odvojité píšťale, na bubnu a žaltáři prozpěvujte jemu

Ps 150:3 Chvalte ho v zvuku trúby, chvalte ho na žaltáři a na húslech

Ps 150:4 Chvaltež o na bubnu a na dvojité píšťale, chvalte ho na strunách i na varhaniech

Ps 150:5 Chvaltež ho na cymbálech zvučných, chvalte ho na cymbálech plesánie plných

REFERENCES:

On the etymology of the Old Czech word *cymbala*, see Newerkla 2004, p. 127; Kluge 2011, p. 1011, *s.v. Zimbel*. On the etymology of the Old Czech word *píščala*, see Štědroň, Šlosar 2010, p. 13; Rejzek 2015, p. 516, *s.v. pistole*.

'whistle, play, blow', originating from the onomatopoeic base *pi-* by appending the intensification suffix *-sk-*. In more recent times, the phonetic variant *píščala* denoting a whistling instrument gained the new meaning 'pistol' due to external similarity (metaphorically). The name spread to Central and Western Europe and nowadays refers to a 'small firearm designed to be held in one hand' (cf. Czech *pistole*, English *pistol*, German *Pistole*, French *pistolet*). In the *First Printed Psalter*, one may assume that the words *(o) dvojitá píšťala* still refer to a musical instrument composed of two flutes, used for creating a more elaborate sound.

Discussion

VA: I believe that 15th century Old Czech translations should be compared to the Theodoret commentary as well, as it has two different readings for the organ (*sŭsǫdŭ* and *pištalĭ*, instead of the common reading in Church Slavonic psalters: *organŭ*). I am therefore interested in the fact that the translator of the Old Czech first Printer Psalter uses a similar word for the Latin *chorus* (*píščěl*). Returning to the commentary already quoted by C. M. MacRobert, it is worth noting that it actually contains the gloss *arganŭ estĭ pištalĭ* ('the organ is a wind instrument') (MacRobert 2009, p. 429). Although these translation choices refer to two completely different words (organ for Church Slavonic and chorus for Old Czech), there is a strong possibility that the use of the Old Czech *dvojitá píšťala* and that of the Church Slavonic *pištalĭ* reflect similar solutions that translators had to follow when confronted with an unclear context.

The possibility of a direct Church Slavonic influence is rather unlikely here. One would have expected similar readings in the peculiar vernacular choices for the word 'psaltery', but the Theodoret commentary has *pěsnĭnica* (instead of the expected Slavonic *psaltyrĭ*) and the second Czech translator has *slavník* (instead of the expected Old Czech *žaltář*). Since these readings are completely unrelated, one must exclude the possibility of a direct influence. Nevertheless, the translator of the Old Czech first Printed Psalter could have simply chosen a musical instrument previously unnamed in his translation. I have verified if this may originate from the *Glossa ordinaria* or another text related to it, but it cannot, because the *Glossa* is quite clear herein (*chorus est contemperata vocum collectio*). In this case, I wonder if the same word appears in other parts of the first printed Czech Bible? I am thinking about the historical books, where flutes are often mentioned. See for this the verses quoted in the analysis of *tympanum*, in the French section, where the anonymous French translator of the *Quatre livre des reis* version uses *frestel*, that is, 'flute' or 'whistle', in order to translate the Latin *tibia* (1 Sa 10:5) and *sistrum* (1 Sa 18:6; 2 Sa 6:5). If either of the translations of *tibia* and *sistrum* are in the form of *pištalĭ*, then my working hypothesis could be valid. If not, the problem is far more complicated than I imagined it.

KV: The translation choice *dvojitá píšťala* in the first printed Psalter may be related to contemporary biblical exegesis concerning the Latin term *chorus*. Although we do not know whether the fourth redaction from the *Prague Bible* was the work of the same translators who rendered the first printed Psalter, current opinion holds that both texts originated in the same environment, probably in the Utraquist-oriented Prague University. Both V. Kyas and J. Vintr (Kyas 1997, p. 129-130; Vintr 2012, p. 61-62) discussed its modernization of language and style, therefore the 4th translation reflected contemporary exegesis. The Latin word *chorus* referred to dancing during a procession in some Bible verses (*vide infra* for Ex 15:20 and Jg 11:34, where the phrase *cum tympanis et choris* occurs). The 1st, 2nd, and 3rd redactions of the Old Czech Bible translated the *chorus* as *tanec* 'dance'. The mention of a musical instrument in the 4th redaction represents a new choice. This Old Czech Bible translator chose a type of musical instrument that appears often in connection with the drum in the religious or triumphal processions of the historical books (e.g. Jg 3:10: *in tympanis et tibiis* – *s bubny a s pišťbou*, see below).

If this change was inspired by a biblical commentary, it would not be *Glossa ordinaria*, since it was not a source for the interpretation of the word *chorus* in other Old Testament verses. *Chorus* as a musical instrument is nevertheless mentioned in Anselm of Laon's *Explanatio in psalmos* (12th century). J. Vintr argued that the translators of the first Czech Psalter used this text along with other commentaries focusing on an allegorical interpretation of the Psalms (Vintr 1985, p. 421; Vintr 1986, p. 24). Two centuries later, the translators of the fourth redaction could have equally used the available exegesis, such as Alanus' note to the Latin word *chorus* in Ps 149:3: *Nota quia chorus est variarum vocum placens concordia, quae concordiam charitatis significat, in qua laudandus est Deus,* (…) *Vel chorus est musicum instrumentum, cuius chordae compares voces, nec discordes reddunt* ("Note that *chorus* represents the delightful harmony of different voices, meaning the harmony of charity / love, in which the Lord should be praised, (…) Or *chorus* is a musical instrument whose strings resemble voices, not disharmonic sounds" (PL, vol. 116, col. 692). Perhaps this is why the translator of the first printed Psalter chose a wind instrument which emits two harmonic tones.

Yet there is also another aspect to consider. The Czech word *tanec* had a negative connotation in the late 15th century. Hussite preachers criticized believers for worldly pleasures (wearing fine clothes, visiting taverns, playing dice, etc.) and dancing was considered to be a mortal sin, punishable according to the *Four Articles of Prague* (the Hussite programme of 1420). The word *tanec* would therefore be avoided cautiously in the Czech biblical texts used by the Utraquist Church. In the Old Testament verses (*e.g.* Jg 3:10, 1 Sa 18:6; see below), the phrase *ducere choros* 'to dance' was translated as *tancovati or vésti / voditi tancě*, while the authors of the *Prague Bible* decided upon a loose rendering *veseliti sě* 'jollify, revel' in both cases. This intentional lack of dancing in the fourth Bible translation may be related to the change of the traditional interpretation of *chorus* in the Psalms as well.

EXAMPLES:

Ex 15:20: *egressaeque sunt omnes mulieres post eam cum tympanis et choris* ‖ 1st, 2nd, and 3rd redactions: *i vyšly sú vščecky ženy po nie s bubny a s tanci* ‖ 4th redaction: *a vyšly jsú všecky ženy za ní z bubny a s píšťaly*

Jg 11:34: *occurrit ei unigenita filia sua cum tympanis et choris* ‖ 1st and 2nd redactions: *střěte jej jediná dci jeho s bubny i s tanci* ‖ 3rd redaction: *potka sě s ním jednorozená dcera s bubny a s tanci* ‖ 4th redaction: *vyšla proti němu dcera jeho jednorozená z bubny a s pišťbú*

1 Sa 18:6: *mulieres … cantantes, chorosque ducentes in occursum Saul regis, in tympanis lætitiae, et in sistris* ‖ 1st redaction: *ženy … zpievajíce a vedúce tancě proti králi Saulovi s bubny s velikým veselím a s húslemi* ‖ 2nd redaction: *ženy … zpievajíce a vodiece tancě proti králi Saulovi s bubny a s veselím a s húslemi* ‖ 3rd redaction: *ženy … zpievajíce a tancě vodiece v potkánie Saule krále v bubniech vesele a s húslemi* ‖ 4th redaction: *ženy … zpievajíce a veseléce se v cestu králi Saulovi s hudbami aneb s hudbou a s pišťbú i s bubny*

Jdt 3:10: *cum coronis et lampadibus, ducentes choros in tympanis et tibiis* ‖ 1st redaction: *s korunami a s vitice tancujíce s pišci i s bubeníky* ‖ 2nd redaction: *s korunami i světedlnicemi vodiece tance s pišci i s bubenníky* ‖ 3rd redaction: *s korunami a s lampami vodiece tancě v píštělách a v bubniech* ‖ 4th redaction: *s korúhvemi a s lampami veseléce se s bubny a s pišťbou*

Hungarian translations (AK)

Apor Codex. The earliest translation of the Psalter into Hungarian has been preserved as the first unit of the *Apor Codex*, a composite manuscript held today in Sfântu Gheorghe / Sepsiszentgyörgy, Romania (shelf mark: A 1330). While the second part of this volume was clearly prepared for the use of the Premonstratensian nuns of Somlóvásárhely in the first decades of the 16th century, its first part is older, originating from the end of the 15th century. This part was modelled probably on a *de tempore Psalterium cum hymnis*, containing a psalter with the hymns and canticles of the divine office for the period from Advent to Easter. The codex suffered serious damage throughout its history, several of its quires having been cut or torn out. Some pages are missing even from the extant quires. The translation of the first 29 psalms is therefore missing, while only small fragments of text remain from Ps 30-55. (Ps 80 and most of

	Apor Codex	Döbrentei Codex	Codex of Keszthely
Ps 32:2	[acephalous manuscript]	Hegedőbe valljatok Úrnak, tízszerű kintornában dicsőséhetek neki.	Valljátok Urat hegedőbe, és tízhúrú kintornába dicsérjétek űtet.
Ps 42:4	[acephalous manuscript]	És bemegyek Istennek oltárához, az Istenhez, ki én iffiúságomot vigasztalja. Én Istenem, én Istenem, hegedőbe neked vallok.	És belmegyek Istennek oltárához, én Istenemhez, ki megvigasztalja én ifiúságomat. Vallak tégedet hegedűbe, én Istenem.
Ps 46:6	[acephalous manuscript]	Isten felmene víg ínekbe, és Úr felmene kürtszóba.	Felmene Isten vigasságba, és Úr kürtnek szavába.
Ps 48:5	[acephalous manuscript]	Példabeszédre hajtom én fülemet, dicsősejtésbe kinyitom én tökélletes beszédemet.	Lehajtom én filemet példabeszédre, megnyitom dicsőítésbe én tekéletes beszédemet.
Ps 56:9	Kelj fel, én dicseségem, kelj fel zsoltár és hegedőben. Felkelek holval.	Én dicsőségem, támadj fel, támadj fel dicsősejtő. És hegedőszóval regiel felkelek.	Támadj fel, én dicséségem, támadj fel, én dicsőítém és vigasságom, én felkelek holval.
Ps 67:26	Eleveköltenek a fedelmek egyesöltenek az ifiúcska timpanizálók éneklőknek közepettek.	Fejedelnek dicsősejtőkhez közösülvén elöl vönnek [jönnek] templomnak vigadó leányok között.	Elélvevék fejedelmek szerkezvén dicsérőkhez vigadó leányoknak kezette.
Ps 70:22	Mert es én vallom teneked énekletnek edényiben te igazságodat, Isten. Éneklek teneked hegedőben Israelynek szente.	Mert ím, én es dicsősejtőknek edényében vallom neked te bizonyságodot. Israelnek szent, hegedőbe dicsősejtek neked.	Mert én es vallak tégedet, dicséretnek edénye, te bizonyságodat, Isten, dicséitem teneked hegedének miatta, Isdraelnek Istene.
Ps 80:3	[missing folios]	Vegyetek psaltert, és adjatok kintornyák [kintornyát], kedves dicsősejtőt hegedovel öszve.	Mondjatok dicséretet, és adjatok hálát, és kedves dicséretet tegyetek hegedővel.
Ps 80:4	[missing folios]	Kürtöljetek új kürtbe ti nagy fő innepteknek napján.	Kürteljetek új kürttel te innepteknek jeles napján.
Ps 91:4	a tízhúró zsoltárban éneklek hegedőben.	tízhúró kintornában hegedőbeli ínekkel.	tízhúrú kintornákba hegedűbeli ínekkel.
Ps 97:5	Énekletek Úrnak hegedőben, hegedőben és énekletnek szavával.	Dicsőséhetek Úrnak hegedőben, hegedőben és kintornának szavában,	Dicsérjétek Urat hegedűbe és kintornába és dicséretnek szavával.
Ps 97:6	vert trombitákkal és szaru trombitának szavával. Énekletek Úr királynak személyében.	visselő kürtökben és szarukürtnek szavában. Vigadjatok Úr király előtt.	viselő kürtbe és szaru csinált kürtbe. Vigadjatok Úr királynak elette.
Ps 107:3	Kelj fel, én dicsőségem, kelj fel, zsoltár és hegedő. Felkelek villámodat.	Én dicsőségem, támadj fel, psalter és hegedő holval felkelek.	Támadj fel, én dicsőségem, támadj fel én dicséretem és én hegedűm. Én feltámadok reggel.
Ps 136:2	A füzekre ő közepette felcsüggesztettük mü orgonáinkat.	Ott közepin az kvacson hogy ülönk vala, felfüggettük mi orgonánkot.	Űneki kezepette az fizesbe felfigeték mi vigasságtevénket.
Ps 143:9	Isten, új éneket éneklek teneked, a tízhúró zsoltárban éneklek teneked.	Isten, új íneket íneklek neked, tízhúrú kintornában dicsősejtek neked.	Isten, én új íneket íneklek teneked, és tízhúú [tízhúrú] kintornába dicsérlek tégedet.
Ps 146:7	Énekletek Úrnak vallatban, énekletek mü Istenönknek hegedőben.	Vallásban ínekljetek Úrnak, dicsőséhetek hegedőben mi Istenönknek.	Énekeljetek Úrnak vallásba, és dicsérjétek mi Istenenket hegedűbe.
Ps 149:3	Dicsérjétek ő nevét karban, timpanomban és zsoltárban énekljetek őneki.	Ű nevét dicsérjék karban, és dobban és kintornában dicsősöhönek neki.	Dicsérjék ű nevét karba, és dobban és dicséretbe dicsérjék űtet.
Ps 150:3	Dicsérjétek őtet trombitának szózatjában, dicsérjétek őtet zsoltárban és hegedőben.	Dicsérjétek Urat kürt hangosságában, dicsérjétek űtet kintornában és hegedőben.	Dicsérjétek űtet kürtnek hangosságába, dicsérjétek űtet kintornába és hegedűbe.
Ps 150:4	[acaudate manuscript]	Dicsérjétek űtet dobban és karban, dicsérjétek űtet szívekben és orgonában.	Dicsérjétek űtet dobba és karba, dicsérjétek űtet húrba és orgonába.
Ps 150:5	[acaudate manuscript]	Dicsérjétek űtet jószóló cimbalomban, dicsérjétek űtet vigasságos cimbalomban.	Dicsérjétek űtet jó hangus szavú cimbalomba, dicsérjétek űtet vigasságus cinbalomba.

Ps 150 have also been lost.) The analysis of these fragments (Bottyánfy 2016; cf. Zelliger 2014) demonstrated that the first part of the psalter (or what survived of it) contained a different translation from the work of the second scribe, who took over from the middle of Psalm 50. This second part preserves a translation prepared probably in the first half of the 15th century, which is closely related to the translation of the Old Testament preserved in the *Codex of Vienna* (National Széchényi Library, MNy 72) and the translation of the Gospels preserved in the Codex of Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hung. 1). They are parts of the so-called *Hungarian Hussite Bible*, the origin of which is still much-debated in Hungarian literary history (for the most important arguments and counterarguments, see: Szabó 1989, Korompay 2015).

Although the psalms appear in a numerical order, not according to order of the liturgy, and although they are introduced by rubrics offering information on the author, genre, and historical background of the texts, references are made to the liturgical function of some psalms as well. This suggests that the translation was not made from a liturgical book, but from a manuscript containing the Book of Psalms or several biblical books. However, the aim of the manuscript was liturgy related. It was probably prepared for nuns to facilitate their understanding of the liturgy. Hungarian-language summaries or titles were added to the psalms as marginal notes probably in the 1530s by a Gothic cursive hand. These marginalia are almost identical with the summaries figuring in the prose Psalter translated by the Protestant István Székely and published in Cracow in 1548 (Székely 1548). According to Réka Kocsis the marginalia pre-date the publication of the Székely translation, both texts possibly drawing on a common source (Kocsis 2014, 2015).

The translation of the psalms in the *Apor Codex* is based on Gallicanum, although Ps 94:4 reflects the version of Romanum (Szabó 1967, p. 205). The translator gives almost a word for word translation of the Latin text, faithfully transposing Latin constructions to the detriment of intelligibility (Boros 1903, p. 42-49). He prefers Latin loanwords such as *psalmos* and leaves some

Kulcsár Codex	Festetics Codex
Valljátok Urat hegedűbe, és tízhúrú kintornába dicsérjétek űtet.	[missing psalm]
És bel megyek Istennek oltárához, és én Istenenhez [Istenemhez], ki megvigasztalja én ifiúságomat. Vallak tégedet hegedűbe, én Istenem.	[missing psalm]
Felmene Isten vigasságba, és Úr kürtnek szavába.	[missing psalm]
Lehajtom én filemet példabeszédre, megnyitom dicsőítésbe én tekéletes beszédemet.	[missing psalm]
Támadj fel, én dicséségem, támadj fel, én dicsőítém et vigasságom, én felkelek holval.	[missing psalm]
Elélvevék fejedelmek szerkezvén dicsérők és vigadó leányoknak.	[missing psalm]
Mert én es vallak tégedet, dicséretnek edényébe, te bizanyságodat, Isten, dicséitem teneked hegedének miatta, Izdraelnek Istene.	[missing psalm]
Mondjatok dicséretet, és adjatok hálát, és kedves dicséretet tegyetek hegedűvel.	[missing psalm]
Kürteljetek új kürttel te innepteknek jeles napján.	[missing psalm]
tízhúrú kintornákba hegedűbeli énekkel.	[missing psalm]
Dicsérjétek Urat hegedűbe és kintornába és dicséretnek szovával.	[missing psalm]
viselem kürtbe és szaru csinált kürtbe. Vigadjatok Úr királynak elette.	[missing psalm]
Támadj fel, én dicsőségem, támadj fel én dicséretem és én hegedűm. Én feltámadok reggel.	[missing psalm]
Űneki kezepette az fizesbe felfigeszték mi vigassátevénket.	[missing psalm]
Isten, én új éneket éneklek tenekeded, és tízhúrú kintornába dicsérlek tégedet.	[missing psalm]
[missing folios]	[missing psalm]
Dicsérjék ű nevét karba, és dobban és dicséretbe dicsérjék űtet.	Dicsérjék ő nevét karban, és dobban és hegedőben dicséretet mondjanak őneki.
Dicsérjétek űtet kürtnek hangosságába, dicsérjétek űtet kintornába és hegedűbe.	Dicsérjétek őtet kürtnek zengésébe, dicsérjétek őtet árpában és hegedőben.
Dicsérjétek űtet dobba és karba, dicsérjétek űtet húrba és organába.	Dicsérjétek őtet dobban és karban, dicsérjétek őtet lawthúrokban (f. 133r: lalthhúrokban) és orgonában.
Dicsérjétek űtet jó hangus szavú cimbalomba, dicsérjétek űtet vigasságus cimbalomba.	Dicsérjétek őtet jól zengő cimbalomokban, dicsérjétek őtet vigasságnak cimbalomában (f. 133r: cimbalomiban).

SOURCES:

Apor Codex, Székely National Museum, Sfântu Gheorghe, Romania, A. 1330; *Döbrentei Codex*, Batthyaneum, Alba Iulia, Romania, R. III. 76; *Codex of Keszthely*, National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Hungary, MNy 74; *Kulcsár Codex*, National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Hungary, MNy 16; *Festetics Codex*, National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Hungary, MNy 73. For the literal transcriptions of the codices see their edited texts: Haader *et al.* 2014, p. 44, 58, 65-66, 93-94, 101, 121, 149, 158, 161-162, 164; Abaffy, Szabó 1995, f. 40r-v, 49r, 52r, 52v, 58r, 64v, 67v-68r, 76v-77r, 85r, 88v, 98r, 107v, 112r, 113v, 115r-v; Haader 2006, f. 40r, 57r-v, 62v, 64r, 75r, 86r–v, 92v, 110r, 127r, 133v, 153v, 192v, 201v, 205r, 207r–208r; Haader, Papp 1999, f. 37r, 53r, 57v, 59r, 68v, 80r, 85v, 101r-v, 114v, 120r, 136r, 172r, 180r, 182r-v; Abaffy 1996, f. 20r/132r, 21r-v/133r.

Latin words in his text when unable to understand or translate them; nevertheless, his text is quite polished and elegant (Szentgyörgyi 2014, p. 39-41). L. Hadrovics demonstrated the influence of a German Gospel translation made in Bohemia on the Gospel translation of the Codex of Munich. Comparing the mistranslations in the psalms of the Apor Codex to some German and Czech language Psalters (cf. *Poděbrady Psalter*, *Wittenberg Psalter*), he reached the conclusion that the German and Czech texts contain several elements in common with the Hungarian text. The differences from the Vulgate texts occurring in parallel in the Hungarian and German, respectively in the Hungarian and Czech versions, or even in all three variants suggest that the Hungarian translators used the same Bible versions as in the German and Czech environments. The striking similarity of some German and Czech expressions to Hungarian ones may even suggest that the Hungarian translators prepared for their work in a German and Czech linguistic milieu (Hadrovics 1994, p. 95).

Döbrentei Codex, a 1508 manuscript preserved in the Batthyaneum Library in Alba Iulia (shelf mark: R.III. 76), has the translation of all 150 psalms. The codex contains mainly liturgical texts: biblical pericopes for the entire year, canticles and hymns, as well as sermons from the breviary. Its psalter also has a pronounced liturgical character, as the psalms follow the liturgical order, and the rubrics also refer to the liturgical role of the texts (Madas 2013, p. 200). The Latin incipit of each psalm is given to help the reader in identifying them. The codex may have been intended for a community of nuns or for lay users. It was prepared by a member of the secular clergy, Bertalan of Halábor, a priest and notary who studied at the University of Cracow in 1493-1494. He did not mechanically copy the texts from his source, but he often corrected and improved them, being probably motivated by his pastoral duties (Haader 2009, p. 63-64). The translation of the psalms in *Döbrentei Codex* is connected to the one in the *Apor Codex*. G. Mészöly argued that they had a common source (Mészöly 1914; Mészöly 1915; Mészöly 1917, p. 37-41), while A. Boros pointed out the similarities between the *Psalter of Bertalan Halábori* and the one in *Kulcsár Codex*, believing the version in *Döbrentei Codex* to be an earlier redaction of the psalter figuring in the *Kulcsár Codex* and the *Codex of Keszthely* (Boros 1903, p. 81-118).

Fig. 20. An angel playing a chordophone in the 14th century murals of the Hungarian Reformed church in Sântana de Mureș (Hung. *Marosszentanna*, Mureș county, Romania). Credits: Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu.



Codex of Keszthely and Kulcsár Codex. The Hungarian psalters preserved in the *Codex of Keszthely* (National Széchényi Library, shelf mark: MNy 74) and the *Kulcsár Codex* (National Széchényi Library, shelf mark: MNy 16) go back to the same, probably much older, original. It was probably copied for a female community of Poor Clares or Franciscan tertiaries in 1522 in Léka / Lockenhaus by Gergely of Velike, an educated clergyman. It was finished in 1539 by the observant Franciscan friar Pál of Pápa and was possibly meant for the use of the Beguines of Ozora. The Latin incipits of the psalms figuring in both show that Gergely of Velike was a much better Latinist than Brother Pál. Beside the Psalter, both codices contain the Te Deum and some short prayers, suffragia, and commemorations. The *Codex of Keszthely* also has several hymns after the Te Deum, while the same place is occupied by the Athanasian Symbol in the *Kulcsár Codex*. The *Codex of Keszthely* contains more suffragia, commemorations, as well as the seven penitential psalms at its end. Due to missing pages, Ps 146 is absent from *Kulcsár Codex*.

Festetics Codex. A significant number of psalms figure in The Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary translated for Benigna Magyar (c.1465?–1526), the wife of Pál Kinizsi (1431?–1494), a famous general and legendary warrior of King Matthias Corvinus. The *Festetics Codex* (National Széchényi Library, shelf mark: MNy 73), prepared in 1492-1494 by the Pauline Fathers of Nagyvázsony, is an expensive parchment codex with two richly decorated pages and 11 coloured initials. Modelled on the book of hours, this prayer book contains, beside the Little Office, the introduction of the Gospel of John, the seven penitential psalms in Petrarch's rewriting, and some private prayers addressed to Mary. From among the psalms mentioning musical instruments, only Ps 149 and Ps 150 appear in this manuscript, however they figure twice.

Editions. The texts of all these codices have been published several times. Their best and most recent editions published in the *Régi magyar kódexek* series contain an introduction with a codicological, linguistic, and literary historical analysis (especially thorough in the case of the latest volumes), the photo of each page and the letter-by-letter transcription of the text. The literal transcription of the editions was transcribed here according to the modern orthographical rules.

16th-century Protestant translations. The variants of three 16th century printed Protestant translations have been added for comparison (*vide infra*). Despite their references to the Hebrew text, this new generation of translators did not directly translate from Hebrew. However, neither was the Vulgate version of the Bible the basis for their work. They used instead newly published humanist or Protestant Bible editions in which the Old Testament texts were retranslated into Latin from Hebrew. They also resorted to different Jewish and Protestant commentaries on the Hebrew texts. The first of these printed Psalters was published only nine years after the *Kulcsár Codex* was copied / prepared by the Lutheran teacher and minister, István Bencédi Székely, who studied Hebrew at the University of Cracow. His annotated translation was, first of all, a scholarly work based on Sebastian Münster's Hebrew-Latin Bible. A 1560 Hungarian Psalter was printed by Gáspár Heltai, who translated and published almost the entire Bible with the help of his learned colleagues versed in Greek and Hebrew. This translation was a truly Protestant edition relying heavily on Luther's Psalter, but with an application of the text to the Transylvanian Protestant community by the aid of summaries added to the psalms. Protestant in spirit was also the Hungarian Psalter included in the first complete Hungarian translation of the Bible prepared by a group of Calvinist preachers and scholars under the leadership of Gáspár Károli, the so-called *Vizsoly Bible* (for a general outlook on the early modern Hungarian Bible translations, see Ács 2017).

Musical instruments in the Hungarian manuscript Psalters (AK)

The preferred translation choices for the names of musical instruments occurring in the Hungarian translations of the psalms were *hegedű* for *cithara*, *kintorna* for *psalterium*, *kürt* for *tuba*, *dob* for *tympanum*, *orgona* for *organum*, and *cimbalom* for *cymbalum*. Some of these (*orgona*, *cimbalom*) are Latin loanwords, others are of a German (*kintorna*) or uncertain origin (*hegedű*, *dob*, *kürt*) (cf. TESz).

The translations of cithara. The almost universal Hungarian translation of *cithara* is *hegedű*, a word which denoted a plucked string instrument of that time, although its present day meaning is 'fiddle'. KesztK. and KulcsK. translate it as *vigasságom* ('my joy') in Ps 56:9. The translator substituted the musical instrument with a more abstract concept referring to the feeling which can be expressed by the instrument. Words derived from the same root occur when the translations copied in these two codices are rendering *tympanistriarum* in Ps 80:30 by *vigadó* ('celebrating'), or when translating *organa* with *vigasságtevő* ('maker of joy') in Ps 136:2. The latter stands in fact for 'musical instrument', a concept for which only such descriptive terms existed at that time. A treatise about the joys of heaven in *Sándor Codex* also uses this phrase along with *hangosság tevő instrumentum* ('sound / noise making instrument'), *hangosság* referring to music, as the contemporary word *zene* is an 18th-century creation (on the translation of musical terms in *Sándor Codex* see: Madas 2019.) In Ps 97:5, KesztK. and KulcsK. omit the second mention of *cithara*, and give two renderings for *voce psalmi* instead: *kintornába és dicséretnek szavával*. The occurrence of *hegedő* in Ps 149:3 in FestK. suggests that the translator must have used Hebraicum (*in psalterio et cithara*) instead of Gallicanum or Romanum (*in tympano et psalterio*) (but a mixed / contaminated Latin version could have also been his source). Here, all other manuscripts translate *psalterium* (AporK. *zsoltárban*; DöbrK. *kintornában*; KesztK. and KulcsK. *dicséretbe*).

The translations of psalterium. The several layers of meaning in the word *psalterium* and its derivatives probably troubled Hungarian translators. The word is rendered several times as *kintorna*, a word of Austrian-Bavarian origin denoting a stringed instrument, but the second translation choice reflects the more general meaning of the word 'praise'. *E.g. dicsősejtés* (DöbrK.), *dicsőítés* (KesztK., KulcsK.) in Ps 48:5. This choice is similar to the Old Czech *Clementinum Psalter* use of *sláva* and *chvála*. Further on, the DöbrK., KesztK., and KulcsK. use a variant of *dicsőítő* ('one who praises, glorifies') in Ps 56:9, while the AporK. translates *psalterium* as *zsoltár*, a word borrowed from German, just like its Czech counterpart. AporK. is faithful in its use of *zsoltár* for *psalterium*, but uses the verb *énekelni* for *psallere*. DöbrK., KesztK., and KlucsK. prefer to interpret this verb by different conjugated forms of *dicsérni*, and waver between *kintorna* and *dicséret* when confronted with a translation of the noun. On one occasion, DöbrK. even uses the word *psalter* (Ps 107:3). A unique translation choice was adopted for *psalterium* by FestK. in Ps 150:3, *árpa* (*hárfa*, 'harp'), a word borrowed from Italian (TESz II: 59).

The translations of tuba / buccina. The translation choices for wind instruments are straightforward. All manuscripts (except AporK.) prefer the Hungarian noun *kürt* for *tuba* and its denominative verb *kürtölni* for *buccinare* (Ps 80:4). The translator of AporK. chose the Italian loanword *trombita* (TESz III: 990). The occurrence of several Italian musical terms is particularly interesting, as the cultural and political relations between the Italian states and the Hungarian Kingdom were quite lively during the late Middle Ages. The interpretation of the *in tubis ductilibus* sequence (Ps 97:6) equally confused the translators. AporK. prefers the plain translation *vert trombitákkal* 'beaten trumpets', while the variants of DöbrK., KesztK. (*viselő kürt*, 'horn to be worn') and KulcsK. (*viselem kürt*, ungrammatical from 'I wear horn') are rather confusing.

The translations of tympanum. All manuscripts render *tympanum* by *dob* in the translations of Ps 149:3 and Ps 150:4, save for AporK. which uses the Latin loanword *timpanom*, but *tympanistriarum* in Ps 67:26 proved somewhat difficult to translate. AporK. resorted once again to a Latinism, creating first a verb (*timpanizálni*), then a participial form (*timpanizáló*). The translations in DöbrK., KesztK., and KulcsK. substituted the difficult term with a different participle, *vigadó* ('celebrating, revelling'), thus preferring the secondary meaning of the verse over the literal one. A similar solution was used when the KesztK. and KulcsK. translate *date tympanum* in Ps 80:3 with *adjatok hálát* ('give thanks'). Their version of the entire verse, using the phrase *mondjatok dicséretet* ('say praise') to translate *sumite psalmum*, is much more intelligible than the variant of DöbrK., which renders *psalmus* by *psalter* and *tympanum* by *kintorna* (the latter being a mistranslation).

The translations of organum. *Organa* was translated by a Latinism (*orgona*) in all cases save two. KesztK. and KulcsK. use the more general term *vigasságtevő* ('musical instrument') in the translation of Ps 136:2, as already mentioned in relation to the translations of *cithara*.

The translations of cymbalum. This instrument is always rendered by the Latin loanword *cimbalom*.



▲ Fig. 21. Kind David playing the psaltery in the same 14th century murals of the same Sântana de Mureș church. Credits: Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu.

CHORDA. Although it is not strictly speaking a musical instrument, two interesting translation choices for *in chordis* in Ps 150:4 must also be mentioned. KesztK. and KulcsK. offer an exact rendering *húrba* (a change of case made the text more accessible for Hungarian readers), but FestK. introduces an additional element into the text, specifying that the strings in question belong to a lute (*lanthúr*). As Ps 150 figures twice in the manuscript, the different spellings of *lant* are easy to identify. The first one (*lawt*) reflects the original early New High German form *laut*, while the second one (*lalth*) already testifies to an intermediary stage of the word, later modified into *lant* (TESz II. 719). Another curious variant of *in chordis* appears in DöbrK. Its translator makes the same mistake as the Czech translator of the *Clementinum Psalter*, taking *chorda, -ae* for *cor, cordis* and translating it as *szívekbe* ('in hearts'). Could this be a mere coincidence? Considering László Hadrovics's research on the AporK., the Old Czech *Clementinum Psalter* (a text unexamined by L. Hadrovics) should be analyzed more closely in relation to the Hungarian translations, as they may derive at least from a common Latin biblical or commentary tradition.

Discussion

VA: From the point of view of the verses analysed in this study, and from other studies already on the subject, did these early Hungarian translations influence the later tradition of printed books? What is, for instance, the case of the *Székely István Psalter* (Cracow, 1548)? D. Moldovanu stated that among the Romanian rhotic psalters, the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* (see the Romanian section) was in fact a rewriting of an initial translation made from the Hungarian *Psalter* of Székely István. For him, the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* bears witness to many lexical substitutions and syntactic rearrangements, with the purpose of adapting the initial translation to a parallel text of Slavonic origin. The 'deceptive' Slavonic character of this Romanian psalter would be further amplified by the Romanian philologists' continuous comparison of the rhotic psalters with Church Slavonic versions (cf. Moldovanu 2009a, p. 108-109), and their ignorance concerning the Hungarian Protestant tradition. However, D. Moldovanu ignored the dating of the manuscripts based on watermark analysis and believed that the original text came from a Protestant milieu, suffering a progressive 'Slavization' from one manuscript copy to another. Nevertheless, apart from mentioning the thorny issue of the *Filioque* in the Romanian translation of the Athanasian Symbol copied at the end of the *Scheian Psalter*, D. Moldovanu provided no solid argument in favour of his Hungarian hypothesis. He presented a paper about it, but this paper was never published. It would be interesting to find out whether the Hungarian Protestant texts of the 16th century owe their readings to previous Catholic versions.

AK: In order to illustrate my answer to your question, I added three 16th century prose translations of the psalms prepared by Protestants: István Székely, Gáspár Heltai, and Gáspár Károli (the *Vizsoly Bible*). The verses containing the musical instruments illustrate the consensus in the secondary literature that the Protestant translators did not use the Vulgate version. They used instead newly published Protestant Bible editions in which the Old Testament texts were retranslated from Hebrew. Although an unknown scribe introduced Hungarian arguments into the Apor Codex which are almost identical to those in the Székely translation and possibly stem from the same source, the psalm translations themselves are quite different. Among the early printed Hungarian Bible translations, only Benedek Komjáthy's Erasmian translation is believed to have been influenced by an earlier manuscript translation. However, he translated only Paul's epistles. At a first look, the Romanian texts do not look similar to the Hungarian Protestant ones.

István Benczédi Székely (1548)	Gáspár Heltai (1560)	Gáspár Károli (1590)	
Hálát adjatok az Úrnak hegedűbe, nablomba, és tízhúrú kintornába énekeljetek neki.	Dicsirjétek az Urat hegedővel, dicsiretet énekeljetek őneki tízhúrú lanttal.	Dicsérjétek az Urat hegedőbe, lantba, és tízhúró kintornában énekeljetek néki.	Ps 32:2
És bemenék az Istennek oltárához, az én vigasságomnak és örömömnek Istenéhöz, és hálát adok teneked én Istenöm, Istenöm.	Hogy bemenjek az Istennek oltárához, az Istenhöz, ki én öremem es vigasságom, hogy tégedet dicsirjelek hegedővel, én Uram, én Istenem.	Hogy bemenjek az Istennbek oltárához, az én vigasságomnak és örömömnek Istenéhöz, és dicsérlek tégedet örömmel, ó Isten, én Istenem.	Ps 42:4
Felmene az Isten nagy örömmel, az Úr nagy kürtszóval.	Felmegyen az Isten nagy örvendetességgel, es az Úr hangas trombitaszóval.	Felméne az Isten nagy örömmel, az Úr trombitaszóval.	Ps 46:6
Hajtom az én fülemet közbeszédre, és kijelentem az én mesémet hegedűbe.	Példára hajton fülemet, és hegedőbe jelentem bölcs mondásomat.	Hajtom az én fülemet példabeszédre, és kijelentem az én mesémet hegedőben.	Ps 48:5
Kelj fel, én dicsiretöm, kelj fel, nablomom és én hegedűm, felserkenök reggel.	Serkenj fel, én tisztességem. Serkenj fel, én árpám és hegedőm: igen reggel felserkentlek.	Serkenj fel, én dicsőségem, serkenj fel, én énekem és hegedűm, jó reggel felserkenek.	Ps 56:9
Elöl mennek az íneklők, és követik az zengedözők, közebbe az leányok dobot vernek.	Elöl mennek az éneklők, annak utána a hegedűsek az ő vigasságtövő szerszámokkal, kezebbé vadnak a dobos leánzók.	Elöl mennek vala az éneklők, azután hegedősök, középben valának doboló leányok, (ezt mondván).	Ps 67:26
Bizon én is hálát adok teneked, én Istenem, az igazságodért, íneklök zengő szerszámba, íneklek teneked hegedűbe, ó, Israelnek szentsíge.	Ennek okáért én is dicsirlek tégedet hegedűkkel, én Istenem, a te igaz voltodért. Mondom, hegedűbe dicséretet mondok teneked, te, Izraelnek szente.	Annakokáért én is tisztellek tégedet és az te igazságodat éneklő szerszámokkal, én Istenem, éneklek néked hegedővel, Izraelnek szent Istene.	Ps 70:22
Kezdjetek íneket, és adjatok dobot, és gyünyörűsíges hegedűt, nablommal öszve.	Hozzátok elő az arpát, adjátok ide a dobokat, a gyönyörűséges hegedőt az arpával egyetembe.	Vegyetek éneklő szerszámokat, vegyetek dobot, gyönyörűséges hegedőt és lantot.	Ps 80:3
Körtöljetök az kürttel az újságnak innepén, az szerzett üdőbe és az mi innepünknek napján.	Fújjatok trombitát az újhódnak innepén, a mi jeles innepünknek napján.	Énekeljetek az újholdnak innepén kürttel, az rendeltetett innepeken, az mi innepeinknek napjain.	Ps 80:4
Kintornába és nablomba és minden zengő szerszámba, hegedűvel öszve.	Lontban és arpában való énekléssel és mindenféle hegedőkben.	Tízhúrú hegedővel, lántval, énekkel, hegedővel.	Ps 91:4
Énekeljetek az Úrnak hegedűbe és versöknek szavával.	Énekeljetek az Úrnak dicsireteket hegedőkben, mondom, hegedőkben és énekmondásokban.	Mondjatok dicséretet az Úrnak hegedővel, hegedővel mondom és ékeléssel.	Ps 97:5
Trombitával és kürtszóval, örüljenek az király előtt.	Síppal és trombitaszóval örvendezzetek az Úr előtt, a tü királyotok előtt.	Trombitákkal és kürtnek zengésével zengjetek ez Iehova király előtt.	Ps 97:6
Serkenj fel, te, nablum, és te, hegedő, felserkenök reggel.	Serkenj fel, én arpám és hegedőm. Reggel felserkentlek.	Kelj fel, én lantom és hegedőm, felserkenek jó reggel.	Ps 107:3
Az fűzfáknak közepire felfüggesztöttük az mi hegedűnköt.	Az ott való fűzfákra felfüggesztök hegedőinket.	Az fűzfákra felfüggesztettük vala az mi hegedőinket Babilonnak közepette.	Ps 136:2
Isten, íneklek teneked vúj íneket, nablomba, és kintornába íneklek teneked.	Úristen, új éneket éneklek teneked, a tízhúró arpába dicsiretet mondok teneked.	Isten, új éneket éneklek tenéked, tízhúrú hegedővel mondok néked dicséretet.	Ps 143:9
Énekeljetek az Úrnak hálaadással, mondjatok dicséretet Istennek hegedővel.	Énekeljetek az Úrnak hálaadással, és hegedőbe dicsiretet mondjatok a mi Istenünknek.	Énekeljetek az Úrnak hálaadással, mondjatok dicséretet Istennek hegedővel.	Ps 146:7
Dicsirjék az ű nevét az karban, énekeljenek űneki dobba és hegedűbe.	Dicsirjék ő nevét csoportonként, dobban és hegedőben dicsiretet énekeljenek őneki.	Dicsérjék az ő nevét síppal, dobbal és hegedővel, mondjanak néki dicséretet.	Ps 149:3
Dicsirjétek űtöt kürtnek szavába, dicsirjétek űtöt nablomba és hegedűbe.	Dicsirjétek őtet trombitaszóval, dicsirjétek őtet arpában és hegedőben.	Dicsérjétek őtet trombitáknak zengésével, dicsérjétek őtet lántval és hegedővel.	Ps 150:3
Dicsirjétek űtöt dobba és karba, dicsirjétek űtöt húrokba és orgonába.	Dicsirjétek őtet dobbal és egybegyűléssel, dicsirjétek őtet hegedőhúrakkal és organákkal.	Dicsérjétek őtet dobokkal és sípokkal, dicsérjétek őtet húroknak zengésével és orgonákkal.	Ps 150:4
Dicsirjétek űtöt zengő cimbalomba, dicsirjétek űtöt jószavú cimbalomba.	Dicsirjétek őtet hangas cimbalomokkal, mondom, zengő cimbalomokkal dicsirjétek őtet.	Dicsérjétek őtet hangos cimbalomokkal, dicsérjétek őtet vigasságtévő cimbalmokkal.	Ps 150:5

Romanian psalters of the 16th century - the *corpus* (AG, MU)

THE 'RHOTIC' PSALTERS. The first known translations of the Psalter into Romanian are the 'rhotic ones' (*psaltiri rotacizante*) - so named because they testify to a curious phonetic phenomenon, the transformation of the intervocalic *n* into *r* in words of Latin origin, possibly through the intermediate phase *nr*. These psalters date back to the 16th century and they seem to be related to other 16th century Romanian psalters (*vide infra s.v.* Coresi psalters). In the history of Romanian philology, these psalters have been the subject of countless debates regarding their geographical location and dating, their status as copy or original, as well as their translators / scribes and the source of the translation.

The *Hurmuzaki Psalter* (PH) was copied in the manuscript rom. 3077 B.A.R. (that is, *Biblioteca Academiei Române*). It bears the name of the previous owner who donated it to the Library of the Romanian Academy. The manuscript has 134 folios, 125 of which contain the text of the Psalter. The last nine folios were added later and contain a typikon

	Psalterium Bononiense (tr. IC)	Voroneț Ps. Slavonic (ms.)	Voroneț Ps. Romanian (ms.)
Ps 32:2	Исповѣдаите сѧ господеви въ гѫсълъхъ, въ псалътыри десѧтъстъроуннѣ поите емоу	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 42:4	вънидѫ къ ѡлътарю бжию, къ боу веселѧщоѡмоу юностъ моѫ, исповѣмъ сѧ тебѣ въ гѫслехъ бже бе мои	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 46:6	Възыде бъ въ възъкликновении, гъ въ гласѣ трѫбънѣ	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 48:5	Приклонѧ въ притъчахъ оухо мое, Разъгнѫ къ ѱалътири ганание мое	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 56:9	Въстани славо моя въстани ѱалътирю и гѫсли, въстанѫ рано	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 67:26	Варишѫ кънѧзи ѣдѣ пожштнихъ по срѣдѣ дѣвь тўпаниць	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 70:22	И бо азь исповѣмъсѧ тебѣ въ людехъ ги въ съсѫдѣхъ ѱаломъсыхъ, истинѫ твоѫ бже въспоѫ тебѣ въ гѫслехь стыхь излеь	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 80:3	Прїимѣте ѱаломъ и дадите тўмбанъ, псалтыръ красенъ съ гѫслими	[lacuna in the manuscript]	[lacuna in the manuscript]
Ps 80:4	Въстрѫбите на новъ мѣсѧцъ трѫбоѫ, въ нарочитъ день празника вашего	[lacuna in the manuscript]	[lacuna in the manuscript]
Ps 91:4	Въ десѧтоструннѣ ѱалтири съпѣснїѫ въ гѫслех	въ десѧтоструннѣ ѱалтири съпѣснїѫ въ гѫслех	în dzeace maţe psăltiriei cîntaţi în ceateri
Ps 97:5	Поите боу нашемоу въ гѫслехъ, въ гѫслехъ и въ гласѣ псаломстѣ	поите гви въ гѫслех, въ гѫслех и гласѣ ѱаломстѣ	Cîntaţi Domnului în ceateri, în ceateri şi glasure cîntecelor
Ps 97:6	Въ трѫбахъ ѡкованахъ и гласомъ трѫбы рожаны, въскликнѣте прѣдъ цремъ господемъ	въ трѫбах кованах и гласѡм трѫби рожаны въскликнѧте прѣд цремь гмь	îm bucire ferecate şi cu glasure bucire de cornu strigaţi între împăratu Domnul
Ps 107:3	Въстани славо моя, въстани ѱалтирю и гѫсли, въстанѫ рано	въстани славо моа въстани ѱалтирю и гѫсли въстанѫ рано	Scoală-te, slava mea, scoală-te, psăltire şi ceateri
Ps 136:2	На врѣбїи по срѣдѣ еѫ ѡбѣсихомъ ерганы нашѫ	на врѣби по срѣдѣ еѫ обѣсихѡм ѡрганы нашѧ	În salce prin mijloc de ea spîndzurămu organele noastre
Ps 143:9	Бже пѣснъ новѫ въспоѫ тебѣ, въ ѱалтыри десѧтостроунънѣ въспоѫ тебѣ	бе пѣс<нь> новѫ въспоѫ тебѣ, въ ѱалтиири десѧтостроуннѣ поѫ тебѣ	Dzăul, cîntecu noau cîntu ţie, întru psăltire cu cîte dzeace maţe cîntu ţie
Ps 146:7	Начъите гви въ исповѣдани, поите боу ншему въ гѫслехъ	начите гви въ исповѣдани, поите боу нашемоу въ гѫслех	Începeţi Domnului în ispovedire, cîntaţi Dumnedzăului nostru în ceateri
Ps 149:3	да въсхвалѧть имѧ его въ лицѣ, въ тимпанѣ и ѱалтири да поѫть емоу	да въсхвалѧть имѧ его въ лицѣ, въ тўмпанѣ и ѱалтири даноѫть емоу	se laude numele lui în săboru, din tîmpănă şi în psăltiri se cînte lui
Ps 150:3	хвалите и въ гласѣ трѫбънѣмъ, хвалите и въ ѱалътири и въ гѫслехъ	хвалите его въ гласѣ трѫбнѣмь хвалите его въ ѱалтири и въ гѫслех	Lăudaţi pre-nsul în glasu de buciru, lăudaţi pre-nsul în psăltire şi în ceatiri
Ps 150:4	Хвалите и въ тўмпанѣ и лицѣ, хвалите и въ строунахъ и ерганѣ	хвалите его въ тўмпанѣ и лицѣ хвалите его въ струнахь и органѣхь	Lăudaţi pre-nsul în tîmpănă şi în zborure, lăudaţi pre-nsul în strune şi în organe.
Ps 150:5	Хвалите и въ кўмбалѣхъ доброгласнѣхъ, хвалите и въ кўмбалѣхъ въсклицанїя	хвалите его въ кўмвалѣх доброгласныхь хвалите его въ кўмва(лѣ)х въсклицанїа	Lăudaţi pre-nsul în clopote cu bure glasure, lăudaţi pri-nsul în clopote cu strigare
Ps 151:2	рѫцѣ мои створистѣ ѥрганьї, пръсти мои съставишѫ ѱалтир	рѫцѣ мои сътвористѣ ѡргань и пръсти моѧ съставишѧ ѱалтирь	Mîrule meale feaceră organe şi deagetele meale adurară psăltirea

of the Gospels in Church Slavonic. The text is full of lacunae; several psalms and psalm fragments are missing. The most convincing hypothesis concerning its dating considers that it could have been written sometime before 1516, maybe even at the end of the 15th century (see Mareș 2001, p. 51, based on the analysis of the paper's watermark).

It was recently edited (Gheție, Teodorescu 2005), but our quotations differ from the edited version, due to a comparison to the Church Slavonic text. Furthermore, the editors made many interventions in the manuscript text, adding letters, syllables, and even entire words. For instance, in the

SOURCES:

For the *Psalterium Bononiense* as reference for Slavonic versions, see Jagić 1907, p. 146, 209, 229, 235, 320, 340, 395, 446, 469, 537, 647, 674, 687, 695, 697, 698, 699. For PS, see its manuscript, p. 95, 134-135, 147, 151, 175, 203, 219, 264-265, 302-303, 319, 364, 445, 465, 474, 479, 481, 482. For PH, see its manuscript, f. 26v, 36v, 40r, 48r, 56v, 61r, 69r, 78v, 81v, 94v, 116v, 121r-121v, 123v, 124v, 125r; as well as Gheție, Teodorescu 2005, p. 113, 123, 127, 128, 135, 144, 148, 156, 165, 168, 181, 202, 207, 209, 211. For PV Slavonic and Romanian versions, see its manuscript, f. 9r, 12r-12v, 20v, 39r, 46v, 50r, 52r, 53r, 53v.

Hurmuzaki Ps. (ed.)	Scheian Ps. (ms.)	Romanum Lat. (ed.)	
Ispovediți-vă Domnului în ceateri, în cîntarile a dzeace strune cîntați lui	Ispovediți-vă Domnului în ceteri, în psaltire cu dzeace mați cîntați lui	confitemini domino in cithara in psalterio decem cordarum psallite ei	Ps 32:2
Și întra-voiu cătră altariul Dzeului și cătră Dumnedzăul ce veseleaște giunriia mea. Spuniu-me ție în ceatere, Dzăule, Dzăul mieu	Și întra-voiu cătră oltariul Dzeului, cătră Dzeu ce veseleaște tirereațele meale. Ispovedescu-me ție în ceateri, Dzeae, Dzeul mieu	introibo ad altare dei ad deum qui letificat iuuentutem meam confitebor tibi in cithara deus deus meus	Ps 42:4
Sui Dumnedzeu în chemare și Domnul în glasulu de bucinru	Sui Dzeul în strigari, Domnul în glasul bucireloru	ascendit deus in iubilatione dominus in voce tube	Ps 46:6
Și plecu în pildă ureachea mea, desfeciu în cîntare gîcirea mea	Pleca-voiu în prici ureachiia mea, deșchidzu în psăltire măiestriile meale	inclinabo ad similitudinem aurem meam aperiam in psalterio propositionem meam	Ps 48:5
Scoală, slava mea, scoală, psăltire și ceateră; scula-voiu de demîreață	Scoală, slava mea, scoală psaltiriei și ceateriei; scolu-me de noapte	exurge gloria mea exurge psalterium et cythara exurgam diluculo	Ps 56:9
Aflară giudeațele în margire cîntîndu, în mijloc fetele de tîmpăne	Ainte apucară giudecii aproape ce cîntă, pre mijloc de feate tîmpănă	praeuenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus in medio iuuenum tympanistriarum	Ps 67:26
Și ВСѠ eu ispovedescu-me ție în oaminrii, în vasele cîntecelor adevărulu tău, Dzeule; cîntu ție în ceateră, sfîntulu Israililor	Că eu ispovedescu-me ție în oameri, Doamne, întro vasele cîntarilor deadevărul tău, Dzeu; cîntu ție în ceateri, Sfîntul lu Israil	et ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmorum ueritatem tuam deus psallam tibi in cythara deus sanctus isrl	Ps 70:22
Luați cîntecul și dați tîmpănele, cîntecu frumos cu ceterele	Priimiți cîntecu și dați în tîpănă, în psaltirea frumoasă cu ceateri	sumite psalmum et date tympanum psalterium iucundum cum cithara	Ps 80:3
Bucinrați în lunra noao cu bucinrul, în slavita dzi a praznicului vostru	Bucinați în lună noao cu bucinu, în nărocită dzi de sărbotoarea voastră	canite in initio mensis tuba in die insignis sollempnitatis uestre	Ps 80:4
în dzeace strune orgoane, cîntecele în ceateri	în dzece mațe psaltiriei cu cîntece în ceateri	in decacordo psalterio cum cantico et cithara	Ps 91:4
Mai cînți Domnului nostru în cetere, și în glasurile cîntecelor	Cîntați Domnului în ceateri, în ceateri și glasurele cîntareei	psallite deo nostro in cithara in cithara uoce psalmi	Ps 97:5
În bucinre fărăcate cu glasul bucinre de coarne chemați înraintea împăratului și Domnului	în bucine ferecații și cu glasure bucine de cornu strigați între împăratul Domnul	in tubis ductilibus et uoce tubae cornee iubilate in conspectu regis domino	Ps 97:6
Scoală, slava mea! Scoală, orgoane și ceterile, scoală de demînrață!	Scoală-te, slava me, scoală-te psaltiriu și cetirea; scolu-me de demîneață	exurge gloria mea exurge psalterium et cithara exurgam diluculo	Ps 107:3
În salce în mijlocul ei spîndzurăm orgoanele noastre	În salce pre mijloc de ea spîndzurămu organele noastre	in salicibus in medio eius suspendimus organa nostra	Ps 136:2
Dzeule, cîntecu nou cînta-voiu ție, în cîntari cu dzeace strune cînta-voiu ție	Dzeae, cîntec nou cîntu ție, întru psaltire cu dzece mațe cîntu ție	deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi in psalterio decem cordarum psallam tibi	Ps 143:9
Înceapeți Domnului în spoveadă, cîntați Domnului nostru în ceateră	Înceapeți Domnului în ispovedire, cîntați Dumnedzeului nostru în ceateri	incipite domino in confessione psallite deo nostro in cithara	Ps 146:7
Se laude numele lui în ceate, în tîpăne și în psaltire se cînte lui	se laude numele lui în zboru, și în tîmpănă și în psaltire se cînte lui	laudent nomen eius in choro in tympano et psalterio psallant ei	Ps 149:3
Lăudați-l în glas de bucinre, lăudați-l în cîntari și în cetere	Lăudați elu în psaltiri și ceateri	laudate eum in sono tubae laudate eum in psalterio et cythara	Ps 150:3
Lăudați-l în timpăne cetele, lăudați-l în strune și orgoane	Lăudați elu în tîmpăne și zborure, lăudați elu în strune și organe	laudate eum in tympano et choro laudate eum in cordis et organo	Ps 150:4
Lăudați-l în clopote cele cu glasure, lăudați-l în clopotele strigariei	Lăudați elu în clopote bune glasure, lăudați elu în clopotu cu strigare	laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibus laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis	Ps 150:5
[should have been on the verso of a folio, but it was not copied]	Mînule mele feceră organu și degetele mele adunară psaltirea	[non-existent in the three Latin psalters' tradition]	Ps 151:2

translation of Ps 70:22, the editors mark a possible lacuna, but the manuscript presents no indication of any absent text. It is also worth noting that at the end of the same verse the reading is *Israililelor*, probably a scribal error. In Ps 91:4, the editors insert *de* after *strune*, an emendation that is not necessary. Furthermore, in the same verse, they add the preposition *cu* before cîntecele. Similarly, in Ps 97:6, a copulative conjunction (*și*) is omitted by the scribe and added by the editors. Last but not least, their reading *bunre* in Ps 150:5 does not exist in the manuscript. This is why we preferred a new transliteration directly from the manuscript.

The *Voroneț Psalter* (PV + PVS, copied in the manuscript rom. 639 B.A.R. – also in the Romanian Academy) was named after the monastery where it was discovered. It was dated to the interval between 1551-1558 (Mareș 2001, p. 51) and preserves only half of the Psalter, starting with Ps 77, with several lacunae. It is bilingual (Slavonic and Romanian), with parallel text. It was edited (Giuglea1910), but without the Slavonic text, and with the Romanian one in Cyrillic letters. We therefore chose to provide a new transcription for the needed verses.

The *Scheian Psalter* (PS, copied in the manuscript rom. 449 B.A.R.) bears the name of the one who donated it to the Library of the Romanian Academy. It dates back to 1573-1578 (see again Mareș 2001, p. 51). There are two editions of its text: a transliteration accompanied by a facsimile of the manuscript (Bianu 1889), and another one with a restored text (Candrea 1916). Due to these reasons, as well as for the sake of consistency, the transcription of the quotations is again ours.

These manuscript texts do not contain any data pertaining to their dating, geographical location, the person of the translator or that of the scribe copyist, nor about the source used in the translation. However, researchers agreed that all 'rhotic' translations of the psalms are probably copies of a single primitive translation, whose autograph did not survive. Nevertheless, the filiations of these versions are difficult to establish due to their numerous copies and intermediate revisions. Their origin from a common source is proven only by common translation errors, omissions, and identical translation choices for various words. It is obvious that the source of these Romanian translations was Slavonic, as evidenced by the multitude of Slavonic calques and loanwords, as well as by the imitation of Slavonic syntax. The identity of this lost Slavonic source is still unclear.

A. Mareș notices (Mareș 2005, p. 276-277) the differences between the Slavonic versions and the Romanian parallel translations, both of them copied in the bilingual manuscripts, and believes that the original Slavonic source of the primary Romanian translation could have been a revised version of the *Mladenović Psalter*, dating back to 1346 (that is, the manuscript slavon 205 B.A.R.). He further argues that the Romanian text was subsequently modified due to comparisons with the parallel Slavonic versions transcribed in the bilingual manuscripts, and even with later versions. According to him, the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* could be a revised version of the lost Romanian prototype, based on an old Slavonic version, different from the *Mladenović Psalter* text. All three 'rhotic' psalters are copies, and the source is said to have been a bilingual version.

There is also talk of a Latin source used in one of the successive revisions undergone by the initial translation. For the time being, this hypothesis lacks a convincing analysis (cf. Munteanu 2008; Pavel 2013). A third and last hypothesis is that the prototype of the three 'rhotic' translations could have been translated from Hungarian

	Ciobanu Ps. Slavonic (ms.)	Ciobanu Ps. Romanian (ms.)
Ps 32:2	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 42:4	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 46:6	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 48:5	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]	[acephalous manuscript, absent folio]
Ps 56:9	въстани слaво моа въстани ѱалтирю и гѫсли, въстанѫ рано	Scoală, slava mea, scoală, psăltiriei și ceateriei; scolu-mă de noapte
Ps 67:26	варишѫ кнѧзи близь пожщних по срѣдѣ двь тvмпаниць	Ainte apucară judecii aproape ce cîntă, spre mijloc de feate tîmpănă
Ps 70:22	и бо азь исповѣмсѧ тебѣ въ людех ги въ сѫ сѫдѣх ѱалѡмсых истинѫ твоѫ бе пожѫ тебѣ въ гѫслех стыи ииль	Că eu ispovedescu-mă ție în oameni, Doamne, întru vasele cîntărilor deadevărul tău, Doamne, cînt ție în ceateri, sfîntul lui Israil
Ps 80:3	прїимѣте ѱалѡм и дадите тvмпан ѱалтирь красень съ гѫслъми	Priimiți cîntec și dați timpănă, psăltiri frumoasă cu ceateri
Ps 80:4	въстрѫбите на новь мць трѫбоѫ, въ нарочит днь празника вашего	Bucinați în noao lună cu bucin, în nărocită dzi de sărbătoarea voastră
Ps 91:4	въ десѣтироунѣ ѱалтыри съ пѣснїѫ въ гѫслехъ	în dzeace mațe ale psăltireei cu cîntece în ceateri
Ps 97:5	поите гви въ гѫслех, въ гѫслех и гласѣ ѱалѡмстѣ	Tot cîntați Domnului în ceateri, în ceateri și cu glasurele cîntărilor (f. 89r)
Ps 97:6	въ трѫбах кованах и гласѡм трѫби рожаны въскликнѣте прѣд цремь гмь	În bucinele ferecate cu glasure bucine de cornu strigați între împărat Domnul
Ps 107:3	въстани слaво моа въстани ѱалтирю и гѫсли въстанѫ рано	Scoală-te, slava mea, scoală-te, psăltire și ceateră! Scolu-mă demîneața
Ps 136:2	на връби по срѣдѣ еѫ обѣсихѡм ѡрганы нашѧ	În salce pre mijloc de ea spîndzurăm organele noastre
Ps 143:9	бе пѣснь новѫ въспоѫ тебѣ, въ ѱалтиири десѧтироуннѣ пожѫ тебѣ	Doamne, cîntec nou cînt ție, întru psăltire cu dzeace mațe cînt ție
Ps 146:7	[lacuna in the manuscript]	[lacuna in the manuscript]
Ps 149:3	да въсхвалѧт имѧ его въ лицѣ и въ тимпанѣ и ѱалтири дапожт емоу	Să laude numele lui în zbor și în tîmpăne și în psăltirie să cînte lui
Ps 150:3	хвалите его въ гласѣ трѫбнѣ хвалите его въ ѱалтири и въ гѫслех	Lăudați el în glas de bucinu, lăudați el în psăltiri și în ceateri
Ps 150:4	хвалите его въ тинпанѣ и лицѣ хвалите его въ строунахъ и ѡрганѣх	Lăudați el în timpăne și zborure, lăudați el în strune și în organe
Ps 150:5	хвалите его въ кимвалѣ доброгласныхъ хвалите его въ кvмвалѣх въсклицанїе	Lăudați el în clopote cu bune glasure, lăudați el în clopoț cu strigare
Ps 151:2	рѫцѣ мои сътвористѣ ѡргань и пръсти моѧ съставишѧ ѱалтирь	Mînule meale feaceră organ și deagetele meale adunară psăltirea

(Moldovanu 2009, p. 58), the Slavonic aspect being the product of subsequent revisions.

The *Ciobanu Psalter*, also known as the *Moldavian Psalter* (P + PS, copied in the manuscript rom. 3465 B.A.R.), is an acephalous bilingual text. The Slavonic and Romanian versions of the psalms starts with Ps 48. The manuscript was analysed by A. Mareș, who dates it to the end of the 16th century, or 1573-1585, based on watermark analysis (Mareș 1972, p. 268). It is a polished copy of a version related to the *Scheian Psalter* and the Coresi Psalters of 1570 and 1577 (Mareș 1972, p. 283). The Romanian translation was confronted with the parallel Church Slavonic text. Linguistic analysis showed that the text was made in Moldova. It was never edited; the transcription belongs to us (*vide infra*, next page).

THE CORESI PSALTERS. These are the first Romanian printed psalters. The very first one was the *Romanian Psalter* (*Psaltirea românească*, CP1) of deacon Coresi, who printed it in 1570 at Brașov. The *Slavonic-Romanian Psalter* (*Psaltirea slavo-română*, CP) was also printed there, but in 1577, and it was attributed by A. Mareș to the same deacon (Mareș 1966). A similar Slavonic text accompanied by a Romanian one, "quite different at times" (Toma 1976:8) was printed in 1589 by Șerban, the son of deacon Coresi (CP2). The few known

Coresi Ps. 1577 Slavonic (ed.)	Coresi Ps. 1577 Romanian (ed.)	Coresi Ps. 1570 Romanian (ed.)	
исповѣдаитесѧ гви въ гѫслехь въ ѱалтири десетестроуннѣ понте емоу	Ispovediți-vă Domnului în ceateri, în psaltire cu zeace mațe cîntați lui	Ispovediți-vă Domnului în ceateri, în psaltire cu zeace mațe cîntați lui	Ps 32:2
и вънидѫ къ ѡлтарю бжїю къ боу веселѧщомоу юнѡстъ моѫ исповѣмсѧ тебѣ въ гѫслехь бже бе мои	Și întra-voiu cătră altariul Zeului, cătră Domnul ce veselește tinerețele meale. Ispovedescu-mă ție în ceateri, Doamne Dumnezeul mieu	Și întra-voiu cătră altariul Zeului, cătră Domnul ce veselește tinerețele meale. Ispovedescu-mă ție în ceateri, Doamne Dumnezeul mieu	Ps 42:4
[46:5] възыде бь въ скликновени гь въ гласѣ трѫбнѣ	[46:5] Sui Dumnezeu în strigări, Domnul în glasul bucinilor	[46:5] Sui Dumnezeu în strigări, Domnul în glasul bucinilor	Ps 46:6
[48:4] приклонѧ въ притчѧ оухо мое разгнѫ въ ѱалтири гананїе мое	[48:4] Pleca-voiu în price ureachea mea, deșchiz în psăltire măiestriile meale	[48:4] Pleca-voiu în price ureachea mea, deșchiz în psăltire măiestriile meale	Ps 48:5
[56:11] въстани славо моа въстани ѱалтирю и гѫсли, въстанѫ рано	[56:11] Scoală slava mea, scoală psăltiriei și ceateriei. Scolu-mă de noapte	[56:11] Scoală slava mea, scoală psăltiriei și ceateriei. Scolu-mă de noapte	Ps 56:9
варишѫ кнѧзи близь поющнх по срдѣ двь тумпаниць	Ainte apucară judecii aproape ce cîntă spre mijloc de feate tîmpănă	Ainte apucară judecii aproape ce cîntă spre mijloc de feate tîmpănă	Ps 67:26
[70:25] и бѡ азъ исповѣмсѧ тебѣ въ людехь ги въ съ сѫдѣхь ѱалѡмскых истинѫ твоѫ бе поѫ тебѣ въ гѫслехь стыи іилевь	[70:25] Că eu ispovedescu-mă ție în oameni, Doamne, întru vasele cîntărilor deadevărul tău, Doamne.Cînt ție în ceateri, Sfîntu lui Israil	[70:25] Că eu ispovedescu-mă ție în oameni, Doamne, întru vasele cîntărilor deadevărul tău, Doamne. Cînt ție în ceateri, Sfîntu lui Israil	Ps 70:22
[80:2] прїимѣте ѱалѡᵐ и дадите тумпань ѱалтирь красень съ гѫслъми	[80:2] Priimiți cîntec și dați tîmpănă, psăltire frumoasă cu ceateri	[80:2] Priimiți cîntec și dați tîmpănă, psăltire frumoasă cu ceateri	Ps 80:3
[80:3] въстрѫбите на новь мѣсець трѫбоѫ, въ нарочьть днь празника вашего	[80:3] Bucinați, în noao lună, cu bucin, în nărocită zi de sărbătoarea voastră	[80:3] Bucinați, în noao lună, cu bucin, în nărocită zi de sărbătoarea voastră	Ps 80:4
[91:3] въ десето строунѣ ѱалтири съпѣснїѫ въ гѫслехь	[91:3] În zeace mațe ale psăltireei cu cîntece în ceateri	[91:3] În zeace mațe ale psăltireei cu cîntece în ceateri	Ps 91:4
[97:7] поите гви въ гѫслехь, въ гѫслехьи гласѣ ѱалѡᵐстѣ	[97:7] tot cîntați Domnului în ceteri; în ceateri și cu glasurele cîntărilor	[97:7] tot cîntați Domnului în ceateri; în ceateri și cu glasurele cîntărilor	Ps 97:5
[97:8] въ трѫбах кованахь, и гласѡᵐ трѫбы рожаны въскликнѣте прⷱѣ цремь гмь	[97:8] în bucinele ferecate cu glasure bucine de cornu, strigați între împărat Domnul	[97:8] în bucinele ferecate cu glasure bucine de cornu, strigați între împărat Domnul	Ps 97:6
[107:2] въстани славо моа въстани ѱалтирю и гѫсли въстанѫ рано	[107:2] Scoală-te slava mea, scoală-te psăltire și ceateră. Scolu-mă demîneața	[107:2] <…> scoală-te psăltire și ceateră. Scolu-mă demîneața	Ps 107:3
на връби по срѣдѣ еѫ обѣсихѡᵐ ѡрганы нашѧ	În salce, pre mijloc de ea, spînzurăm organele noastre	În salce, pre mijloc de ea, spînzurăm organele noastre	Ps 136:2
бе пѣснь нѡвѫ въспоѫ тебѣ въ ѱалтиїри десѧтостроуннѣ поѫ тебѣ	Doamne, cîntec nou cînt ție, întru psăltire cu zeace mațe cînt ție	Doamne, cîntec nou cînt ție, întru psăltire cu zeace mațe cînt ție	Ps 143:9
начнѣте гви въ исповѣдани поите боу нашемоу въ гѫслехь	Începeți Domnului în ispovedire.Cîntați Zeului nostru în ceateri	Începeți Domnului în ispovedire. Cîntați Zeului nostru în ceateri	Ps 146:7
да въсхвалѧть имѧ его въ лицѣ и въ тимпанѣ и ѱалтири дапоеть емоу	să laude numele lui în zbor și în tîmpăne și în psăltire să cînte lui	să laude numele lui în zbor și în tîmpăne și în psăltire să cînte lui	Ps 149:3
хвалите егѡ въ гласѣ трѫбнѣ хвалите его въ ѱалтири и въ гѫслехь	Lăudați el în glas de bucinu, lăudați pre el în psăltiri și ceateri	Lăudați el în glas de bucinu, lăudați pre el ceateri și ceateri	Ps 150:3
хвалите его въ тимпанѣ и лицѣ хвалите его въ строунахь и ѡрганѣхь	Lăudați el în tîmpăne și zborure, lăudați el în strune și organe	Lăudați el în tîmpăne și zborure, lăudați el în strune și organe	Ps 150:4
хвалите его въ кимвалѣˣдоброгласныˣ хвалите его въ кимвалѣ въсклицанїа	Lăudați el în clopote bune glasure, lăudați el în clopot cu strigare	Lăudați el în clopote bune glasure, lăudați el în clopot cu strigare	Ps 150:5
рѫцѣ мои твористѣ ѡргань и пръсти мои съставиша ѱалтирь	Mîinile mele feaceră organ și deagetele meale adunară psăltirea	Mîinile mele feaceră organ și deagetele meale adunară psăltirea	Ps 151:2

copies of this text are printed in *scriptio continua*; the pages usually have 18 lines, with ornamented capital initials for the beginning of each psalm (in CP and CP2).

Of the three Coresi Psalters, only CP (1577) was completely edited: for the first time in 1881 (Hașdeu 1881), followed by a recent edition including the readings of the other two psalters (CP1 și CP2) în 1979 (Toma 1979). I.-A. Candrea used CP (1577) for comparison in his edition of the *Scheian Psalter* (Candrea 1916). One should also pay attention to the editorial interventions, for instance in the text of CP (1577): Ps 32:2 (the *mațe* reading was cancelled in the print, with *strune* written above it), and Ps 80:4 (*buciați* printed instead of *bucinați*). In CP1 (1570): Ps. 91:4 (the same *mațe* was cancelled, with *strune* written above it); Ps 143:9 (again, *mațe* was cancelled and written above it: *strune*); and Ps 146:7 (printed *domnulu* instead of *domnului*). Finally, in CP2 (1589): Ps 42:4 (printed *vesendu-se* instead of *veseleaște*); and Ps 67:26 (printed *apucara* instead of *apucară*). In Ps 80:3 of this last version, the editor (Toma 1979) considers that the readings *trîmbitați* and *trîmbita* may be errors.

In the bilingual Coresi psalters, each Slavonic segment is 'sandwiched' between the Romanian ones, without an apparent reason. When dealing with this Slavonic Romanian arrangement, I. Gheție believed that this may account for a didactic purpose of the print, the Romanian translation being used in order to facilitate the access to the Slavonic one, especially for the priests who used it during the divine service, but could not understand it (Gheție 1974:197). In his epilogue of the CP (1577, f. 312v), Coresi himself declares that the bilingual text was useful *preuților* […] *de înțelegătură și grămăticilor* ('to priests […] to be of use and learning to copyists'). A. Rosetti also believed that the Slavonic text justified the canonicity of the Romanian version, *pentru a risipi bănuiala de erezie* ("to dispel any suspicion of heresy"; Rosetti 1968, p. 650).

As to the degree of faithfulness of the Romanian translation in comparison with the Slavonic text 'sandwiched' between its segments, the editor identifies several instances in which the Romanian text faithfully renders the Slavonic text both in terms of spelling and translation, others in which the Slavonic spelling differs from one edition to another, as well as cases where the Romanian translation of the same Slavonic passage differs from one print to the other (Toma 1979, p. 17 *et passim*). In the Coresi psalters, a particular Romanian word may render a variety of Slavonic terms (especially in CP and CP1), but there are cases in which several Romanian equivalents (far removed in terms of meaning) translate a certain Slavonic word (CP2).

As to 16th century Romanian psalter translations in general, research agrees that they are all closely related to one another, and that they are based on a specific primary translation made from a Church Slavonic source, lost today (Gheție 1978, Mareș 1982; for a possible Latin source used initially or in one of the revisions, see Chițimia 1981; Munteanu 2008). Filiations are hard to establish, because of numerous copies and intermediate revisions.

	Coresi Ps. 1589 Slavonic (ed.)	Coresi Ps. 1589 Romanian (ed.)
Ps 32:2	исповѣдаитесѧ гви въ гѫслехьвъ ѱалтири десето строуннѣ поите емоу	Ispovediți-vă Domnului în ceateri, în psaltiri cu zeace struneacîntați-i
Ps 42:4	и вънидѫ къ ѡлтарю бжїю къ боу веселѧщомоу юнѡстъ моѫ исповѣмсѧ тебѣвъ гѫслехь бже бе мои	Și întra-voiu către altariul Zeului, către Domnul ce veselește tinerețele meale. Ispovedescu-mă ție în ceateri, Doamne Dumnezeul mieu
Ps 46:6	[46:5] възыде бь въ въскликновени гь въ гласѣ трѫбнѣ	[46:5] Sui Dumnezeu întru strigări, Domnul în glasul bucinilor
Ps 48:5	[48:4] приклонѧ въ притчѧ оухо мое разгнѫ въ ѱалтиригананїе мое	[48:4] Pleca-voiu în cîntări ureachea mea, deșchiz în cîntări măiestriile meale
Ps 56:9	[56:11] въстани славо моа въстани ѱалтирю и гѫсли, въстанѫ рано	[56:11] Scoală slava mea, scoală psăltire și ceateriei. Scolu-mă de noapte
Ps 67:26	варишѫ кнѧзи близь поющих по срдѣ двь тумпаниць	Ainte apucară judecii ce aproape cînta pre mijloc de feate tîmpănișe
Ps 70:22	[lacuna in the print used for the current analysis]	[70:25] Și adecă eu ispovedescu-mă ție în oameni, Doamne, întru vasele cîntărilor deadevărul tău, Doamne.Cînt ție în ceateri, Sfîntu lui Israil
Ps 80:3	[80:2] прїимѣте ѱалѡмь и дадите тумпань ѱалтирь красень съ гѫслъми	[80:2] Priimiți psalom și dați tîmpănă, în psaltire frumoasă cu ceateri
Ps 80:4	[80:3] въстрѫбите на новь мѣсець трѫбоѫ, въ нарочить днь празника вашего	[80:3] Trîmbitați la lună noao cu trîmbita, în nărocita zi de sărbătoarea voastră
Ps 91:4	[91:3] въ десѣтостроунѣ ѱалтири съпѣснїѫ въ гѫслѣˣ	[91:3] În zeace coarde psăltiri cu cîntece în ceateri
Ps 97:5	[97:7] поите гви въ гѫслехь, въ гѫслехьи гласѣ ѱалѡᵐстѣ	[97:7] tot cîntați Domnului în ceateri; în ceateri și în glasurile psalomilor
Ps 97:6	[97:8] въ трѫбахь кованахь, и гласѡᵐтрѫбы рожаны въскликнѣте прⷯѣ цреᵐ гмь	[97:8] în trîmbite ferecate cu glasure de bucine de cornu, strigați înaintea împăratului Domnul
Ps 107:3	[107:2] въстани славо моа въстани въ ѱалтирю и гѫсливъстанѫ рано	[107:2] Scoală-te slava mea, scoală-te psăltire și ceateră. Scolu-mă de demîneață
Ps 136:2	на връби по срѣдѣ еѫ обѣсихѡᵐ ѡрганы нашѧ	În sălci, pre mijloc de ea, spînzurăm organele noastre
Ps 143:9	бе пѣснь нѡвѫ въспоѫ тебѣ въ ѱалтири десѧтостроуннѣ поѫ тебѣ	Doamne, cîntec nou cînt ție, întru psăltire cu zeace coarde cînt ție
Ps 146:7	начнѣте гви въ исповѣданипоите боу нашемоу въ гѫслехь	Începeți Domnului în ispovedire. Cîntați Zeului nostru în ceateri
Ps 149:3	да въсхвалѧть имѧ его въ лицѣ и въ тимпанѣи ѱалтири дапоеть емоу	să laude numele său în glasuri și în tîmpăne și în psăltire să cînte lui
Ps 150:3	хвалите его въ гласѣ трѫбнѣ хвалите его въ ѱалтири и въ гѫслехь	Lăudați pre dins în glas de trîmbite, lăudați pre dins în ceateri și ceateari
Ps 150:4	хвалите его въ тиᵐпанѣи лице хвалите его въ строунахьи ѡрганѣˣ	Lăudați pre dinsul în tîmpăne și în glasuri, lăudați pre dins în strune și în organe
Ps 150:5	хвалите его въ киᵐвалѣˣ доброгласᶜныˣ хвалите его въ киᵐвалѣˣ въсклицанїа	Lăudați pre dins în clopote de bune glasure, lăudați pre dins în clopote cu strigare
Ps 151:2	рѫцѣ мои твористѣѡргань и пръсти мои съставишя ѱалтирь	Mînile mele feaceră organ și deagetele meale adunară psăltirea

SOURCES:

For the *Ciobanu Psalter* Slavonic and Romanian versions, see its manuscript, f. 12v-13r, 29r, 37v, 60r, 80r-80v, 89r, 111r, 156v, 168r, 174r-174v, 175r-175v, 176r. For the various versions of the Coresi Psalters, see Toma 1976, p. 142, 191-192, 207, 212, 242, 279, 296-297, 347-348, 392, 411, 411-412, 464, 561-562, 585, 595, 601-602, 603-604, 605.

Psalterium Bononiense as reference text for the comparison with Church Slavonic versions (IC)

The language of this mid-13th century version is the Church Slavonic of a Bulgarian variety. The version presents an archaic text, reflecting the primitive Slavonic redaction known as the Pseudo-Athanasian Commentary. The text of the *Bononiense* is presented in the form of a chain (*catena*), in which the commentary follows each verse. Within its redaction, *Bononiense* forms a distinct subgroup with *Psalterium Pogodinianum* (12th century) and *Psalterium Sinaiticum* (11th century). To the same subgroup belongs the *Codex Bucurestinus*, herein referred to as the (Branko) Mladenović version, a psalter of a Serbian variety written in 1346 for Branko Mladenović. It presents a series of contaminations with the 14th century Mount Athos revision of the translation of the Psalter (MacRobert 1995; MacRobert 1998). The *Bononiense* was edited by V. Jagić together with the *Pogodinianum*. The readings of *Codex Bucurestinus* are mentioned in the critical apparatus.

Musical terminology from the 16th century Romanian translations (AG, MU)

Ceteră for the Church Slavonic гѫслъ

For all occurrences of the Old Church Slavonic гѫслъ (Miklosich 1862-1865, '*κιθάρα*, *cithara*'), the 16th century Romanian translations with Slavonic sources read *ceteră*. This translation choice also represents the first occurrence of the word in the Romanian vernacular. *Céteră*, a doublet of the contemporary words *chitară* (from the Modern Greek *κιθάρα*) and *țiteră* (from the Hungarian *citera*), stems from the Latin term *cithera* / *cithara*, the instrument with four chords. It means a 'hard to define string musical instrument, sometimes referring to a guitar or a harp' (DLR, *s.v.*). In Dosoftei's Slavonic-Romanian Psalter (*Psaltirea slavo-română*), *ceteră* appears again in the exact same context. This particular translation choice could also be attributed to the use of a Latin source (*cithara*). In Modern Romanian, *ceteră* is used in dialectal and low prestige contexts, meaning 'violin'. Three Old Testament translations dating back to the 17th century use other terms in the same verses of the Book of Psalms. For Ps 32:2, the ms. 4389, from a Slavonic source, reads *vioară* ('violin'); while the ms. 45 of the 1688 Bible, cf. MLD, from a Greek source, reads *copuz* (Turkic type of guitar). For the remainder of verses, the translation choice remains the same: *alăută* ('lute', for Ps 42:4/ 5 in all versions), or *alăută* ('lute', in the 1688 Bible, cf. MLD; ms. 45) / *lăută* ('lute', ms. 4389). Cf. the same translation choices for Ps 56:9/ 11, Ps 70:22/ 25, Ps 80:3/ 2, Ps 91:4/ 3, Ps 97:5/ 6, Ps 107/ 3, Ps 146:7, Ps 150:3). Of particular interest is the translation of the Slavonic word гѫслъ in the 17th century Romanian lexicons based on *Lex. Ber.*: *Lex. Mard.* reads гуслъ *alăute* – in plural, *our note* –, *cobuz*; гусли *alăute*; while Lex. Staico reads: гуслъ *alăută nemțească* ('German lute'), гусли *vioare* ('violins'). One would therefore wonder why there is no mention of the word *ceteră*. Dosoftei's late use of the term may be explained as a consequence of his reuse of the previous translations of the Psalter. The word's absence from other 17th century texts with a Slavonic source may also testify to its dialectal use. In such a case, Coresi could have borrowed it from a source related to the 'rhotic' psalters. Moreover, the dialectal use of *ceteră* in the modern era is restricted to western Transylvania (see Scriban 1939, *s.v.*). Especially intriguing is its equivalence in the early lexicons, given the indications already present in their sources: гусль: гарфа, цитра (Lex. Ber.). Lexical attraction should have led to the use of the word *ceteră* instead. Its use in the 'rhotic' and Coresi psalters, as well as its subsequent absence in later texts, along with the Latin origin of the word, could therefore point toward the use of a Latin source in a certain evolutionary stage of the Romanian translation of the psalter.

Psaltire / *cîntare* / *orgon* (*orgoană*?) for the Church Slavonic ѱалтирь

Church Slavonic ѱалтирь is mostly translated by the Slavonic loanword *psaltire* in the 16th century Romanian psalters. DLR explains it with the help of *psalterion* (Modern Greek *ψαλτήριον*) and defines it as an 'old string musical instrument, of a triangular shape, used until the Middle Ages' (DLR, *s.v. psalterion*). Nevertheless, the very first mid-17th century Romanian dictionaries do not mention the 'musical instrument' meaning of *psaltire*, even though their source does (see Lex. Ber.). The only meaning ascribed to this term is that of 'mind, true learning, daring; singing' (*mentea*, *înțelepciune adevărată*, *îndrăzneală*; *cîntare*; Lex. Mard., f. 240v); cf. 'understanding of singing' (*înțeleagere de cîntare*; Lex. Staico, f. 175v). The *Anonymus Caransebesiensis* (Chivu 2008, p. 89) renders *psalterium* by *harfă* ('harp').

In four individual contexts of PH (Ps. 32:2; Ps 80:3; Ps 143:9; Ps 150:3), Church Slavonic ѱалтирь is translated as *cântare* 'song, singing', a noun translating the second meaning of the Slavonic term. It is difficult to determine what exactly led to the use of another equivalent than the usual one, borrowed from Slavonic; one could even suppose that a previously unanimous equivalence by *cântare*, coming from the prototype of the Romanian translations, may have been removed or replaced during later rewritings. However, this hypothesis does not explain the third translation choice for ѱалтирь in PH: *organ*, also used in plural, *orgoane*, this time in Ps. 91:4. As a note, it is worth highlighting that this plural form points to a singular form *orgon* or *orgoană*, maybe a loanword from the Hungarian *orgona*. However, this plural does not refer to ѱалтирь, but to the Church Slavonic ѡрѣганъ. Perhaps these alternative translation choices are determined by the imprecise terminology used to designate musical instruments, especially *organum* (Škulj 1998, p. 1125). Such instruments may not have been used by Romanian speakers at the time when the translation was made, thus explaining their treatment in the vernacular. Nevertheless, in this precise case, another possible explanation would take into account the particular meaning of 'organ' in northern dialectal areas of the Romanian-speaking lands during later periods (*vide infra*). It is also worth mentioning that PH (the oldest of the three 'rhotic' psalters) is the only text where these irregular translation choices appear.

Also difficult to explain is the rendering of ѱалтирь by *cîntare* ('song') in a single case of CP2 (Ps. 48:5). Perhaps this choice was determined by the collation of the older Coresi version with its parallel Church Slavonic text.

Strună for the Church Slavonic строуна

Another Slavonic borrowing is the loanword *strună* (Slavonic строуна, cf. Miklosich 1862-1865, '*νευρά*, *chorda*'), whose meaning in the 16th century psalters, Ps. 150:4, would be that of 'chord' (Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005, *s.v.*). In this given context, строуна is thus translated.

Nevertheless, the adjective десѧтостроунънѣ has been translated in many ways. In Ps. 32:2, the строуна from this adjective is rendered as *mațe* 'catguts' (*psaltire cu zeace mațe*), a word of Latin origin known since the 15th century (Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005, *s.v.*), referring to animal intestines used as chords. This is the second most used translation choice (PS, CP, CP1) for the noun *strună* (PH, CP2). In CP, the word *mațe* is cancelled and corrected as *strune* in superscript, probably under the influence of the Slavonic text printed in between the Romanian segments of this version. In Ps. 143:9, nevertheless, the *mațe* translation is kept as such: *mațe* appears in most texts (PS, PV, CP, CP1). PH continues to translate it as *strună*, and CP2 reads *coarde* ('chords'), a word known since the beginning of the 16th century, this probably being the latter's first occurrence in the vernacular (Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005, *s.v. coardă*). I. Gheție analysed the differences between CP2 and CP, noticing a progressive modernization of the text's language (Gheție 1976, p. 279; see also Toma 1979, p. 17, *passim*). He assumed that the CP2 text could be the result of collation of CP with the Church Slavonic version and with another Romanian psalter from the northern area of the Romanian lands. Ms. 45, which translates the Greek Septuagint in the 17th century, keeps the Slavonic loanword even though the Septuagint reads *ψαλτήριον* in this particular case.

Organ for the Church Slavonic ѡрѣганъ

Church Slavonic ѡрѣганъ (Miklosich 1862-1865, '*ὄργανον*, *organum*') is translated by *organ* (Ps. 136:2, Ps 150:5, Ps 151:2). DLR notices that this word first appears in the 'rhotic' psalters and interprets it as 'harp, lute, lyre' (cf. Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005 'musical instrument, especially harp') and proposes a multiple etymology (Slavonic ѡрѣганъ; Greek *ὄργανον*; Latin *organum*). T. Alexandru mentions the organ among the chordophone instruments, considering it to be identical with the lyre and the lute, and used by beggars of northern Moldavia and Transylvania (Alexandru 1956, p. 125). This would explain the translation of ѱалтирь by *orgoane* in PH (*vide supra*).

Bucium / *trîmbiță* for the Church Slavonic трѫба

The early Romanian translations of the Psalter use *bucin* (Ps. 97:6, Ps 150:3), from a Latin etymon, in order to translate the Slavonic трѫба (Miklosich 1862-1865, '*σάλπιγξ*, *tuba*'). DLR, *s.v. bucium*, considers that *búcin* (< lat. *buccina* 'trumpet') is the same instrument as *bucium*, and defines the two terms as 'a primitive wooden musical instrument (often made of lime tree, tied with cherry peels), with a hollow shell, in the form of a long tube (up to 2½ meters) which widens and is sometimes curved toward the end and produces a beautiful and resonant sound; at the narrow end, where it is blown, it has a walnut tub, called *țeve*; formerly used in wartime for (warning) signals; shepherds use it sometimes nowadays; *bucium* is used with the verbs *a buciuma*, *a cânta* ('sing'), *a zice* ('say'), *a sufla* ('blow'), *a trîmbița* ('trumpet')". The sequence *bucinul ferecat* (Ps. 97:6) is explained by DLR as 'trumpet', probably a reference to the fact that the (wooden) instrument could have been plated with metal (cf. *a fereca*, meaning 'to cover with metal'). The reading *ferecații* (PS) probably comes from a misinterpretation of the context by the scribe. H. H. Tiktin notes the meaning of 'musical instrument' in 1645 (in the *Șeapte taine* 'Seven mysteries') (Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005). The word *bucium* with the meaning 'log' (*trunchi, buștean butuc*) is known since 1426 (Gherman *s.a.*). DER considers that it suffered an extension of meaning, since the instrument itself has the aspect of 'a thick branch or trunk of medium thickness, covered in bark, but cleaned of branches'. Last but not least, the word *bucin* from the early Romanian psalters could have been chosen due to an etymological attraction. The Latin word *buccina* (Ps. 97:6) appears in Hebraicum, but the Romanum and Gallicanum (alternate sources for the early Romanian prototype, later confronted with a Slavonic version according to Chițimia 1981) have the reading *tuba* (Ps. 80:4, Ps 97:6, Ps 105:3). Only the verb *a bucina* of Ps. 80:4 (Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005, *s.v.*) may correspond to the *buccinate* of Romanum.

The Coresi Psalter of 1589 is the first one to replace *bucin* (Ps. 97:6, Ps 105:3) and *a bucina* (Ps. 80:4), words of Latin origin, with two translation choices inspired by the Church Slavonic readings трѫба and въстрѫбите from the Slavonic text: *trîmbită* (from Slavic *trabica*; see Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005,) and *(a) trîmbita*. These Romanian vernacular terms first appear in the Slavonic-Romanian Gospels (*Evangheliarul slavo-român*) of 1551-1553 (Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005). The 17th century first complete translation of the Septuagint into Romanian (ms. 45) maintains the use of *trîmbiță* and *a trîmbița*. As for Dosoftei, he makes a compromise. His text reads: *Bucinați în lună noaă cu trîmbita, în bună-nsămnată dzua sărbătorii voastre* (Cobzaru 2007, p. 488 [3]).

Tîmpină for the Church Slavonic тимпанъ

The 'rhotic' and Coresi psalters interpret the Church Slavonic тимпанъ / тумпанъ (Miklosich 1862-1865, '*τύμπανον*, *tympanum*') of Ps. 80:3, 149:3, 150:4 as *tîmpănă*, a word whose first occurrence in the Romanian vernacular is in PS. It is a Slavonic loanword (тимпанъ < Old Greek *τύμπανον*) (Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005, *s.v. tîmpină*). *Tîmpănă* (*tîmpină* in modern Romanian) is a musical instrument belonging to the category of drums (Alexandru 1956, p. 14). DLR identifies it with an instrument later known as *dairea* (a Turkic word describing an 'instrument similar to the tambourine'; DER, *s.v.*), as an extension of the words *tobă* ('drum'), *darabană* ('small drum'); it then refers to *timpan* as a 'tuneable percussion musical instrument, whose resonance body is a brass hemisphere covered with a tanned leather membrane more or less adjustable; when hit with drumsticks, it produces sounds'. The adjective тумпаница ('joueusse de tambourine, cymbalière'; Deschler 2003, *s.v.*) of Ps. 67:26 is rendered as *tîmpăn*, respectively *tîmpăniș* (cp2), terms that DLR interprets as early versions of the adjective *tîmpănăreț, -ă* 'the one playing the *tîmpină*'.

Clopot for the Church Slavonic кимвалъ

All early Romanian psalters translate the Church Slavonic кимвалъ (< gr. *κυμβάλον*) of Ps. 150:5 by *clopot* 'bell', a term of Bulgarian origin. DLR defines it as a 'metal instrument, especially made out of bronze, cast in a conical shape, open to the lower end and hollow inside, with a metal clapper striking its sound bow'. H. H. Tiktin notices the word in PS but does not interpret its meaning for this occurrence (Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005); the same dictionary registers the first mention of the word *chimval* in Lex. Mard. (1649).

Chimval (< Old Greek *κυμβάλον*) replaces *clopot* in later translations, such as Dosoftei's Metrical Psalter (*Psaltirea în versuri*, 1673) and Slavonic-Romanian Psalter (*Psaltirea slavo-română*, 1680) (cf. Tiktin (Miron, Lüder) 2000-2005, *s.v.*). If the 'rhotic' psalters were indeed translated from a Latin source (cf. Chițimia 1981), a reasonable translation choice through etymological attraction would have been *chimval*, as it would correspond to the Latin *cymbalum*.

References not included in the final bibliography:

ms. 4389 – Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, Romanian manuscript no. 4389 [ca 1665-1672]; a complete translation of the Old Testament from Slavonic and Latin sources by a Wallachian scribe (probably Daniil Andrean Panoneanul) in the second half of the 17th century.
ms. 45 – Library of the Romanian Academy, Cluj, 'Blaj' files, Romanian manuscript no. 45 [ca 1683-1686]; a complete translation of the Old Testament made by Nicolae Milescu and revised by a Moldavian anonymous scribe (probably Dosoftei) in the second half of the 17th century.
Lex. Ber. – Памва Берында, *Лексикон славенороссκий и имён толкование*, Kiev, 1627 (²1653, Kutein), http://litopys.org.ua/Ber.lex/be.htm; 10.05.2019.
Lex. Mard. – *The Slavonic-Romanian Lexicon of Mardarie Cozianul*, 1649; in the manuscript 450 of the Library of the Romanian Academy), http://medievalia.com.ro/manuscrise/item/ms-rom-450; 10.05.2019.
Lex. Staico – *The Slavonic-Romanian Lexicon of Staico*, after 1660, in the Romanian manuscript 312 of the Library of the Romanian Academy (f. 41r-216v).

Historical-contextual analysis of the 16th century Romanian musical terminology (ER)

CETERĂ. Throughout the entire territory of Europe, this term refers to the category of stringed musical instruments derived from the Greek and Latin etymons already presented, (Sagerman 1999, p. 79, 87). In the absence of a unanimous opinion regarding the definition of this instrument, it may designate the 'lyre' as well as different versions of the 'lute'. One could equate it with the Italian *cetera* (*chithara*; Vanzon 1828, p. 392) or *cistra* (Altieri 1749), the latter being essentially an Italian instrument, a product of the evolution of an older instrument called *citola*. It spread in Europe in the first half of the 15th century (Sagerman 1999, p. 84-86). Very similar to the Italian term, the Romanian one appears in the description of Camilo Cavriolo's embassy to Wallachia in 1603: *dopò questi con alquanto intervallo venuti Flauti, Cetere, buccine, e simil altri Musici Arnesi*" (*Historia della Transilvania*, Venice, 1638, p. 247-248; cf. *Călători străini* IV 1972, p. 320). In my opinion, *ceteră* is a mistranslation, the word most probably referring to an instrument from the psaltery group, with a resonance box and several strings (cf. *zither*). Anastasie Crimca's Psalter, created for Dragomirna monastery in 1616, shows two musical instruments – a lute and another instrument from the same family, with a slightly different shape, which is played with a plectrum and resembles a *cistra*. The number of tuning keys on the head of the instrument, which indicates the number of strings, is an important clue, as the lute has six strings, while *cistra* has three (for later representations of the same instrument, see Breton IV 1813, p. 138).

One should also consider the mural of Voroneț monastery, the place where one of the 'rhotic' psalters was preserved. It represents David playing a stringed musical instrument, probably a lute, because this instrument was introduced in Europe before the 10th century through Spain, and it was one of the most popular musical instruments in Europe during the 10th-16th centuries, until the emergence of the violin. If the Romanian translator were to look for a contemporary term, he would have easily chosen the lute, played by David himself in the Voroneț depiction. There are several mentions of the lute in documents of the 16th century. Some of them refer to the profession of lute player, as in the case of *Stoica alăutar, Rusim alăutar*, and *Tămna lăutar*, three Gypsies mentioned together with their families in a document of 1560 (DRH. A VI, 2008, p. 502-503). In the miniatures of the Crimca Psalter, David plays again the lute. Thus the *cetera* translation choice seems intriguing.

THE PSALTERY. Known under many names, be it *psaltery* or *kanun*, this instrument was similar to the modern santoor or cimbalom. It is believed that it was introduced in Europe by the Spanish Moors in the 11th century. The 14th century occurrences of this term designate an instrument with 64 strings (Farmer 1960, p. 445). In the original Greek and Latin translations of the psalters, this instrument refers to an angular type of harp (Sachs 1968, p. 115-116), but it is safe to assume that the 16th Romanian scribes did not probably imagine it as such. The first mention of the *psaltery* or santoor in the Romanian-speaking lands is found in the journal of Paul of Aleppo, in 1657, but the source does not provide enough information, so it would be safer not to choose between the two, even though I lean toward Paul having seen a santoor. However, these two instruments could not be interpreted as equivalents for the instrument mentioned in the Book of Psalms, as their adoption in the Romanian lands is of a later date. Although there is no conclusive evidence, the instrument referred to by the translator may be similar to the modern Romanian *țiteră* (*vide supra*). This other instrument belongs to the category of the psaltery, but it is smaller in size and very similar to the Italian *rotta* used by minstrels and troubadours, therefore similar to the angular harp. Current research considers that the *țiteră* could have been used well before our period, but there are no sources supporting this. One may recognize it very late, on the 1678 title page of Varlaam's *Cheia înțelesului* ('Key to understanding'), where two musical instruments are represented: a cavalry trumpet and a *țiteră*. One of the reasons why it should not be mistaken with other chordophones of the same family is its ring used for hanging, which also indicates its small size, unlike the pan-European psaltery, which is a larger instrument, held on the knees while playing. There are rustic versions of *țiteră* too (see Cosma 1973, p. 101), whose shapes fit even better the description of the ten-string psaltery mentioned in our texts, but their presence or use in the 15th-16th centuries is undocumented. One may of course assume that this undocumented status could be a consequence of the perishable material used in the construction of rustic instruments, as well the lack of interest shown by medieval and early modern sources for rustic realia.

BUCIN / BUCIUM. The Latin terms *buccina, buccinus, buccinum, buccinator*, and *buccinare* appear in military or civil contexts (Ziolkowski 2002, 44). *Buccina* refers to a bronze wind instrument of curved shape (or a natural horn), with no clear distinction concerning its form (its late Latin use refers to all types of wind instruments), but traditionally considered to have had the shape of the letter G, while the second refers to a curved animal horn (Ziolkowski 2002, p. 47, for the synonymy). It is highly possible that *bucium*



▲ Fig. 22: Voronet monastery church (Suceava county, Romania. Exterior murals (ca. 1547). Last Judgement scene: King David playing a stringed musical instrument. Credits: VA.

▶ Fig. 23: Voronet monastery church. Same mural ensemble: angel blowing a wind instrument. Credits: VA.

and *bucin* are the same word, since this instrument appears in several official documents, under different spellings. Its description is correct (*vide supra*). I would add only a short description of the production method; the wood is split along the fibre, tied tightly with cherry or birch bark and fastened with metal rings (or wooden ones) (Bărbuceanu 1999, 39). Apart from the already quoted sources, its other mentions are rather late, in 17th century sources. Grigore Ureche describes the battle of Crasna (1450) mentioning that the Moldavian army had many such instruments (*buciume*; Panaitescu 1958, p. 80). The instrument may have indeed bore this name in the 15th century, because many diplomas mention place names with this etymon: *Buciumeni*, village in Suceava country (Moldavia), February 6, 1424 (DRH. A I 1975, p. 82), with six further mentions in other documents; *Bucina*, a village in Wallachia, November 12, 1510 (DRH. B II 1972, p. 171); *Buciumeni* and *Buciumi*, also in Wallachia (DRH. B II 1972, p. 276, 317, 391); as well as *Bucinul*, probably referring to a mountain (DRH. B III 1975, p. 349) or *Buciumişul* (DRH. B IV 1981, p. 135). The first patronymics with the same etymon appear in Moldavian Slavonic documents: a certain John *Bucium*, lord of Chilia fortress and member of the princely council, June 5, 1456 (DRH. A II 1976, p. 86). Wallachian patronymics include *Buciomaş*, June 6, 1570 (DRH. B VI 1985, p. 258) or *Buci(u)meanul*, April 3, 1571 (DRH. B VII 1988, p. 16).

The reading *bucinre de coarne* (PH) / *bucine de cornu* is also interesting. It is unclear why the translator did not use the more common word 'horn'. This word was well known in Romanian-speaking lands and its meaning does not differ from the Latin *cornu*. It is mentioned by Anton Verancsics, on his way to Constantinople in 1553, in connection with the Transylvanian Székelys, who did not use 'military trumpets, but horns' (*Călători străini* I 1968, p. 412). The Latin source of this quotation uses the word *cornu* itself (MHH SS 1857, vol. 2, p. 145). In Moldavia and Wallachia, one of the first mentions of the horn comes from Paul of Aleppo, who describes its use during hunting parties, to which soldiers took part (Feodorov 2014, 244).

ORG(O)AN. The Greek and Latin versions of the Psalms use this term to describe an aerophone instrument, in reference to biblical realia. Modern translations of the Bible sometimes interpret it as the modern bagpipe or panpipes (Cahen 1921, p. 74). In biblical contexts, it may have been originally used to designate a form of shepherd's flute (Sachs 1968, p. 106). If the biblical context were properly understood, one would have expected a translation by the Romanian words *surlă* or *zurna*, wooden instruments often mentioned in historical sources and belonging to the family of oboes. The sound of the medieval oboes was high pitched and sharp, which led to their use in the princely courts, alongside trumpets (Gâscă 1988, 42). *Surlă*, a rustic oboe and similar to the Turkish *zurna* is a well-known instrument of the Balkans (Bărbuceanu 1999, 293). There are many mentions of these two instruments in Romanian historical sources, some of them mentioning them as etymons in names of professions (cf. a certain Mircea Purcel *surlariul* 'trumpeter', January 17, 1495; Bogdan 1913, 52-53), but there are no mentions of the 'organ', leaving this term open to debate.

TÂMPINĂ / TIMPAN. This other instrument is indeed a type of drum, duff, or the already discussed *darabană*, not to be mistaken with the various types of military drums, often mentioned in Romanian texts of the early modern period. Eastern peoples used it as the main percussion instrument in their music. It kept pace during dancing and it was handheld, for feminine use (Farmer 1991, 620-621), hence the *feate tîmpănă* from the Romanian translations. In the context of this quotation, the word refers to a dance of women, as represented in church murals, especially in the later depictions of Ps 150 (cf. Bobulescu 1940). *Timpane* may also refer to the *nagara drums*, used by Arabs in military music and already adopted by the Ottomans at the time when the 'rhotic' texts were transcribed (Rusu 2018, p. 365-366), or to similar instruments, of a hemispheric or conical shape, made of wood or bronze (Demian 1969, p. 39). Apart from a late mention in the Journal of Paul of Aleppo as *darabană* (Feodorov 2014, p. 244) and Ottoman references to the use of drums, *darabane*, and cymbals during a military expedition in Moldavia in 1538 (Guboglu, Mehmet 1966, vol. 1, p. 230), no other early mentions of this instrument are known.

CLOPOTE. The 'bells' should have been translated by *chimvale* (already mentioned) and *talgere*. As no specific percussion instrument is known to be used by Romanians, I imagine that bells must have been the closest alternative for a translation choice. *Chimvale* (the Arabian *zill*) were nevertheless used in Romanian contexts since the 15th century, and maybe even earlier, since the Ottomans appeared in the Balkans. When Moldavia and Wallachia were under Ottoman dominion, the sultan legitimized the Romanian rulers in a ceremony where *chimvale* were used among many other musical instruments (Rusu 2018).



Discussion 1 - *cîntare*

CMM: The use of *cîntare* (Ps 48:5) and *cîntarile* (Ps 32:2) in the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* (cf. Ps 70:*22, vasele cîntecelor in* PH*; or vasele cîntarilor in* PS*; etc) is c*omparable to the practice of translating *ψαλμός* and *ψαλτηρίον* in Church Slavonic Redaction IV and in Theodoret's commentary as *pĕsnĭ* ('song') and *pĕsnivĭcĭ* / *pĕsnĭnica*. These translations reflect an awareness on the part of the translators that *ψαλμός* and *ψαλτηρίον* are derivatives from Greek *ψαλλεῖν*. By contrast, as KV points out, the Old Czech *Clementinum Psalter* renders *psalterium* in a way which associates it with the extended meaning of *psallere* in Latin.

IC: The early Romanian translations of the Psalter are usually confronted only with texts from the pseudo-Athanasian redaction, and especially with *Codex Bucurestinus* (ms. sl. BAR 205). Al. Mareş argued that they stem from a common prototype translated after a Church Slavonic psalter belonging to the same family of manuscripts as *Bucurestinus*, but diverging from it (Mareş 1982; Mareş 1982b). He also argued that PH presents a revised version confronted with an older Slavonic psalter, probably one with a commentary: instead of the Ps 110 title, PH reads *Lăudăm Domnulu cel viu* ('Praise the living Lord'), which corresponds to the explanation of this psalm title in the *Vindobonense*: *Alliluiě se tl'kuet se ubo hv(a)la živomu B(og)u* (Mareş 1982, p. 222). When confronting our data with the filiation of the Church Slavonic psalters (MacRobert 1998, p. 928; cf. MacRobert 1995), it is evident that the Romanian prototype has more common readings with the pseudo-Athanasian Commentary and with the Athonite redaction. Nevertheless, these texts do not satisfactorily explain the translation choices of the Romanian psalms.

The translation of *ψαλμός* by пѣснь in the Theodoret Commentary (instead of the common choice ѱалѡмь) (Погорелов 1910a) may link the Romanian psalms to this other text. It should be noted that the choices *cântec, cantare* ('song', 'singing') for пѣснь appear both in the text of the psalms and in their titles. I therefore believe that the occasional use of the term *psalm* was introduced at a later date in the successive revisions of the Romanian psalms. It should be noted that the same translation choice derived from a probable пѣснь is used in other texts too. The *Bratu Codex*, written in Scheii Braşovului in 1650, has a curious reading in Acts 1:20. The 'Book of Psalms' is designated therein by the phrase *Cărţile Cântărilor* ('Books of Songs'), different from the *Cartea Psalmilor* ('Book of Psalms'), as attested in the same region.

Nevertheless, there are also differences between the Romanian translations and the Theodoret Commentary. In Ps 80:3 the Theodoret reading is пѣснь instead of ѱалѡмь, but there is also a reading бѫбънъ replacing the expected тумпань. Since the Romanian versions use the word *tâmpănă*, it is safe to assume that their source would read here тумпань. The same goes for the reading агодичие (cf. Greek *συκάμινα*) in the Theodoret Commentary (Ps 77:47), as it does not explain the Romanian translation choices either. The differences between the pre-Athonite and the Athonite Church Slavonic redactions are quite clear (MacRobert 1995, p. 208): PS reads *sicamenele*, very similar to the сукамины reading of the Athonite redaction (including *Bucurestinus*) and some variants of the pre-Athonite tradition, while the term *smochinele* ('figs') from PH and PV corresponds to смок'вы of the pre-Athonite tradition, represented by two Serbian psalters.

Should we then look for a Church Slavonic source reflecting both the Theodoret and pseudo-Athanasian traditions? When following the well-known divergent readings of these two traditions (cf. MacRobert 1994), it becomes evident that *reonilor* (PS) in Ps 63:3 corresponds to злобивьїхъ from the family of *Bucurestinus*, while *hicleaniloru* (PH) seems to be rendering лоукавноующихъ or rather лукавыхъ of the Oxford Slavonic Psalter, Pljevlja Psalter, etc., a family of manuscripts having common features with the Theodoret Commentary (cf. MacRobert 1995).

Some apparent interpretation choices made in PH may also be explained by the use of a Church Slavonic psalm commentary or a version derived from such a commentary, as it is difficult to accept the existence of free translations in a text where literal translation is otherwise consistently practiced. For example, ѧзыци is commonly translated as *limbi* ('tongues', meaning 'nations') in all early Romanian psalters. The PH readings in Ps 9:37 and Ps 77:54 are exceptions to this rule, since they speak of *păgâni* ('pagans'). The Theodoret Commentary establishes the equivalence between gentiles and pagans at Ps 9:37, which could explain this translation or, rather, the existence of a Slavonic source with this interpretative option. Nevertheless, another case of deviation from this particular Church Slavonic source is the rendering of ѱалтирь by *orgoane* in Ps 91:4 and Ps 107:3, unexplainable for the time being.

Discussion 2 - Slavonic and Latin sources

VA: From the analysis of the previous section of the study and by the look of the 16th century Protestant Hungarian translations, it is evident that the Romanian prototype could not be translated from a late Hungarian text. As already noted therein, the Protestants worked from new translations similar to Hebraicum. Maybe D. Moldovanu identified similar phenomena to the *buccina* of the Hebraicum (not the reading itself, which seems to be a translation cluster common to several Romance languages; see for this the French section). Other words would have led him to similar conclusions, such as *oltariul* (PS) and *orgoane* (PH; cf. the Apor and Döbrentei Codices, Ps 136:2 and Ps 150:4 for the use of this word in Hungarian), testifying to a Hungarian influence (either loanwords or basic phonetic traits), probably linked by him to the presumed Protestant origin of the Athanasian Creed in the *Scheian Psalter* (Gheţie 1973). However, D. Moldovanu didn't take into account that medieval Catholic psalters, both Latin and vernacular, transcribe it after the Old Testament canticles, at the end of the additional texts.

Nevertheless, he raises an interesting issue (Moldoveanu 2009). You already noted that when the Slavonic has десѧтоструннѣ, the Romanian texts have *dze(a)ce maţe* (Ps 143:9), with a different reading sustaining the Slavonic influence in PH only (*dzeace strune*). The same *dzeace strune* (PH) / *dzeace maţe* (PS) appears in Ps 91:4, where PV has a lacuna, but the Bononiense shows us that the Slavonic has again десѧтоструннѣ. Add to this that in this particular verse, the PH scribe (or his source) clearly missed the mark by using *orgoane* instead of the psaltery, even though the Slavonic text has it as a constant reading; and the PS has a correct reading *psaltiriei* (the hypothesis that *orgon* would designate a chordophone, being the initial translation choice, appears far-fetched; see below). If the Latin source hypothesis were not discarded, as well as its later Slavonic collation, the PH scribe would be too busy making other corrections and changes to his version, inattentive to the rest, and maybe occasionally working independently from the Slavonic source, hence the errors (see the similar case of the Harley 273 scribe in the French section, who equally

made incoherent changes, including the 'bells' of Ps 150:5, similar to those of the Romanian versions; Agrigoroaei 2019). If we take a look at Ps 149:3, this hypothesis becomes ever more evident. The readings *zboru* (PS) and *săboru* (PV) coincide and make sense when compared to Latin *chorus*, while the PH scribe went in a another direction (*ceate*). *Lectio difficilior* would dictate that *săboru* should be the preferred reading. I leave it to you to decide upon the nature of the link between *ceate* from PH and its Slavonic source, in connection maybe with the discussion about other odd translation choices for this verse already discussed in the French, English, and Czech sections. Further on, I will deal only with other possible evidence of a Latin source or one derived from Latin versions; and with the problem of translation clusters, linked to etymological attractions.

Tempting as it may be to derive the Romanian *bucin(r)* from a version of Hebraicum, because of its use of *buccina* instead of *tuba*, one should note that even Hebraicum has a reading *tuba* in Ps 97:6, so this is not sustainable. I believe this to be similar to the case of the French *buisine*, a translation cluster for several Romance languages and a generalised translation choice independent of the source. Should one interpret *bucinați* (Ps 80:3) in the same way, since Gallicanum reads here *buccinate* (but not Romanum)? The two words, noun and verb, were certainly linked, so a different explanation is not necessary. However, several other readings are not that clear.

Lăudați for *laudate* (all Latin versions) appears even in the bilingual PV, even if its Slavonic text reads хвалите. One might consider it to be another translation cluster, but then again, *începeți* (Ps 146:7) from all Romanian versions corresponds to *incipite*' of Romanum and Ambrosianum (cf. начите in the Slavonic version of PV). Could all these readings be etymological attractions? Their number continues to grow when *ceteră* is added to the list, but this term raises a different problem. Even though it seemingly follows the evolution of Latin words in the Romanian language (cf. *circus* > *cerc*; *circellus* > *cercel*), *cithera* could never follow the evolution of *buccina*. It disappeared from Western Romance languages, and the first translation choice of those early Western versions was the harp. This may be linked to the representations of *citharae* in the miniatures of Latin psalters, where several chordophones appear, including harps. The word re-entered Romance (and Germanic) languages under pressure from the Italian language (cf. *çithara* of the Venetian Psalter and *cetera* of the Malermi Bible in the Italian, the latter with an identical form as the Romanian *ceteră*). But this happened only during the Trecento, as indicated in the French section. Nevertheless, Italian had a different relation with Latin; it continuously reshaped its high prestige and literary variety via loanwords from the Latin vocabulary, and the use of the words having 'cithera' as etymon (excluding the inherited *cistre* or *citolle*) may indicate either a high prestige variety of language, or a loanword. The Romanian case seems extremely odd from this point of view, because it uses a word it should not have used.

Other 'rhotic' Romanian translation choices may equally be derived from Latin (Ps 48:5, Ps 136:2), even though the Slavonic versions have the same readings, as they are using loanwords, and matters are impossible to decide, probably because the syntax of Psalter translations is assiduously copied from their sources, in turn taking after the Septuagint (cf. Slavonic versions, Romanum, and Gallicanum). From a Latin standpoint, the source could be a manuscript with mixed readings of Gallicanum and Romanum, but mixed versions such as this come in countless numbers. Some of them have also readings of Hebraicum, which muddies the waters. As if matters weren't complicated enough, identifying possible Latin readings does not automatically mean that the so-called Romanian prototype had to be translated from Latin. The present study already shows, on the one hand, that there are several cases of intravernacular translations (French > Middle English; Czech > Hungarian). On the other hand, I have already stated that medieval Romanians came in contact with many other vernacular speakers (of Czech, Hungarian, but also Italian origin) whose influence could have ignited the first Romanian translations of the Psalter, especially in Banat and Hunedoara, where Romanian medieval communities were mixed, Orthodox and Catholic, and blended with both Hungarians and Serbs (Agrigoroaei 2018).

The presumable Hungarian phonetics of 'orgon' from PH may be equally explained according to this theory. It matters less here that this Hungarian-influenced reading comes from PH, being absent in the other two 'rhotic' psalters that I preferred until now. Human beings are not machines, perfectly replicating the exact same set of phonetic, morphological, syntactic or lexical traits, and the scripta of a copyist reflects an amalgamation of traits with various origins. Nevertheless, if the prototype of these translations was indeed created in Banat or Hunedoara, the explanation based on the chordophone used by the beggars of Moldavia simply does not make sense. If the late 15th-early 16th century angel painted in the murals of Chimindia (Hunedoara county, Catholic church of a Hungarian community) plays a portable organ, identical to those from the entire Western Europe, this means that the locals had a good idea as to what this instrument was, even though they may not have seen one in reality. Therefore, it would be absurd to consider that the Hungarians of Chimindia knew what the organ was,

▼ Fig. 24. Angel playing the harp in a late 15th-early 16th layer of painting in the church of Chimindia (Hung. *Kéménd*, Hunedoara county, Romania). Credits: VA.



but their Romanian neighbours living two or three kilometres away used this word to refer to a string instrument. From the point of view of realia, the 15th century Romanians living in the region of Hunedoara had more in common with their Hungarian neighbours than with the early modern Moldavian beggars who could have simply misused this term. The Romanian elite of Banat and Hunedoara was often bilingual, and the Hungarian noblemen of Chimindia intermarried with Romanian knezes from their region (Burnichioiu 2009, p. 347 *et passim*). But this may be applied to other instruments as well. The Chimindia murals equally present us with depictions of the psaltery and many other instruments that the locals were familiar with. This means that the Romanian prototype of the 'rhotic' psalters and its lost antigraphs were intended to be read by completely different people than those to whom the later apographs (the three 'rhotic' manuscripts known today) were addressed to. The dialectal layers identifiable in the scriptae of the three 16th century manuscripts should be equally analysed from a realia point of view. In this case, the presence of words like *ispovedire* (Ps 146:7) indeed look like loanwords from Slavonic (исповѣдани), but they do not guarantee that the prototype was translated from a Slavonic source. We know nothing about this autograph or his antigraphs. I believe that our data points to a richer linguistic context, and not necessarily to a clear confessional choice between Orthodox (Slavonic) and Catholic (Latin). Matters can be complex, varied, and especially layered.

MU: I am not necessarily rejecting the idea that the reading *orgoanele* in PH, Ps. 91: 4, is the result of a scribal error / intervention, but I believe that scribes did not have a clear representation (as we do today) of the realia behind the words they were copying. *Organ* is a contextual loan from the Slavonic text and they could have borrowed it in absence of a clear representation of the designated object (apart from its generic classification as musical instrument). The DLR meaning of 'harp, lute, lyre' is indeed a modern interpretation, but this does not mean that the organ could not have designated a stringed instrument. Alexandru located this meaning in northern Moldavia and Transylvania, that is, in the area where it was assumed (in his time) that the 'rhotic' psalters were copied), but he does not back this interpretation with references to his sources (Alexandru 1956, p. 125). His interpretation of organ as a stringed instrument is supported by Dosoftei's Metrical Psalter (1673), where the corresponding sequence of Ps 150:4 speaks indeed of the organ in this way: *Lăudaț pre toate locuri / Cu timpene și cu giocuri, / Lăudați-l să răsune / În orgoane tinse-n strune* ('Praise ye in all places / With timpani and delights, / Praise him to be heard / In organs with tuned strings'; Ursu 1974, p. 1055). Since the metrical adaptation of Dosoftei cannot be equated with a faithful translation, Dosoftei's interpretation presents us with an insight into what the term *organ* really designated in his time, independently from the Slavonic influence of a source text (an instrument in general, or a stringed instrument in particular).

AMG: If the PH translation choice Ps 91:4 were a scribal error, it would occur once in the PH text. Nevertheless, the term *ѱалтыри* is again interpreted as *orgoane* in Ps 107:3. A first guess would be that this choice was probably determined by the scribe's own representation of what Church Slavonic *ѱалтыри* meant. In this case, Alexandru's hypothesis should not be rejected, but his sources should be identified and evaluated nevertheless. A second guess would be that the Slavonic source consulted by the PH scribe read here *ѡрганы*, but such a version needs to be identified as well.

Fig. 25. Arbore church (Suceava county, Romania). Murals on the Western wall of the nave (soon after 1503). Musical instruments in the Derision of Christ. Credits: Radu Oltean.



Discussion 3 - *bucin / a bucina*

VA: Some aspects in the analysis of the term *bucin* are still wanting. If the simultaneous use of *bucin* and *bucium* is confirmed since the 15th and 16th century, I am wondering whether they refer to different instruments (1), different dialectal backgrounds (2), or different diastratic / diaphasic contexts (3). Option 1 is the less probable one among the three. The place-names and patronymics quoted above in the historical-contextual analysis show that *bucium* originally characterizes Moldavia, and that it was gradually introduced in Wallachia, where the etymon *bucin* / *bucim* was still present at the beginning of the 16th century. Our discussion should therefore expand toward the uses of the word in other Romanian-speaking areas.

In a short article dedicated to the term *bucin* and its denominative verb, T. Teaha lists its use in the rhotic psalters, in Coresi's prints, in the *Orăştie Palia* (1582), in Dosoftei's texts (17th century), and in the *Alba Iulia Psalter* (1651, in odd rhotic contexts), as well as in the *1688 Bible*, but he does not explain its disappearance from later literary texts. The last literary mention in his study is that of Petru Maior, but T. Teaha does not contextualize it according to a dialectal point of view either. Instead, he notes that the late mentions of *bucin* and its derivatives appear only in various parts of Transylvania. Finally, he deals with Romance words having the same etymon, especially in the Italian dialects and in the Friulan language (Teaha 1992). This Transylvanian use is particularly revealing; a first hypothesis would be that the presence of *bucin* in the literary texts quoted above was determined by the influence of the rhotic psalters in the early stages of Romanian literature (either directly or through Coresi's rewriting). This explains the late uses of the word by Dosoftei, whose language was rich in diaphasic levels.

If we ignore Dosoftei's translations and adaptations of the psalms and look at his other works, our words appear in interesting contexts: *bucinaţ cu bucini în Sion…* ('blow the trumpets of Sion'); *şi Domnul Dumnădzău totputearnicul în trîmbită va bucina…* ('and Lord God the almighty will blow the trumpet'); *cu strigare şi de bucin glas* ('with the loud voice of a trumpet'); *cîntări şi (…) urlete de trîmbite şi bucine şi cîntări îngereşti* ('songs and (…) trumpet cries, and trumpets, and angelic singing'); *acicea arată trîmbitele şi bucinele şi toată mulţîmea de musícă* ('here it shows the trumpets, and the trumpets, and all sorts of music'); *S Stridulia tum cverulium sonitum tuba fundet olimbo, / Zbierătoriu atunce groaznic sunet bucinul va da din ceriu* ('the trumpet will then give a howling and fearful sound in heaven') (Ungureanu 2012, p. 101, 167, 227, 228, 224, 287). Dosoftei clearly uses the term *bucin* and its denominative verb as synonyms of the Slavonic loanword *trîmbită* ('trumpet'), but he seems to be more at ease with the use of *trîmbită* than *bucin*. In his text, *bucin* is used alone only in contexts where references to the Psalms or Revelation are evident. This confirms the previous assumption that the use of *bucin* and *bucina* should be identified with a certain diaphasic level.

Nevertheless, other uses (such as those in the *Orăştie Palia*) should be linked to 16th-17th century dialectal contexts. In later times, the rhotic variant of the verb (*bucira*) suffered a transfer of meaning, being equally used to describe the wolf's howl in the dialects of Western Carpathians (Petrovici 1935, p. 158), as well as a baby's cry or all types of cry. The 1650 glossary of *Anonymus Caranssebiensis* (Banat) mentions the words *bucin* (noun) and *bucina* (verb), whom the modern editor of this text considers to be inherited words in the language, later disappeared or preserved only regionally (Chivu 2008). I believe that this disappearance and transfer of meaning was well started by 1650, since John Viski, translator of the Calvinist Metrical Psalter into Romanian (Hunedoara county, 1697), used the Slavonic loanword *trâmbite* and not the local word *bucin* in his adaptation of Ps 150: *Læudați-l en træmbite* ('Praise him in trumpets'; transcription by A. Dumitran, see *Adendum*).

This means that the mentions of *bucin* in late 17th century Transylvanian Romanian literary texts could be due to the literary influence of the old rhotic psalters, and maybe to the influence of other rhotic texts. When making this assumption, I am thinking of the *Sturdzanus Codex* readings, unknown to T. Teaha. *Sturdzanus* is a goldmine for the history of Romanian culture. As a side note, I already used its texts in an article dealing with the murals of the Leşnic church (15th century, Hunedoara county, Romania), in connection with the very first endogenous use of a Romanian word in the inscriptions of that church (cf. Agrigoroaei 2015), especially the homiletic 'Thoughts at the hour of death' (*Cugetări în ora morții*).

The many scriptae and many groups of texts of this miscellanea transcribed in 1580-1619 testify to a yet unclear mixture of overlapping dialectal strata, so it is ill advised to draw firm conclusions based on its readings. Nevertheless, there are three occurrences of the verb *bucina* in *Codex Sturdzanus* and they are particularly revealing for this analysis. For instance, in the third section of the same 'Thoughts…', certain phrases are adaptations of verses from the Revelation, some of them using the verb *bucina*: *Iară cîndu voru bucina arhanghelii spre patru cornure a pămîntului, de trei ori cu frică şi bură mare, pămîntul se va cutremura den toate capetele.* […] *Atunci se va deşchide poarta ceriului despre răsărit şi se va ivi împăratul Hristos, cum grăieşte prorocul, şi va bucina şi va aprinde focu cu mare bură şi cu mare tresnetu.* […] ('And when the angels will blow [their trumpets] to the four corners of the earth, three times in fear and with great storm, all the earth's ends will tremble. […] Then the eastern gate of heaven will be open and the emperor Christ will appear, as told by the prophet, and he will blow [the trumpet] and light a fire with great storm and with great thunder') (Chivu 1993, p. 263-264; or f. 41r, line 13, and f. 42v, line 10). The influence of a Latin source cannot be argued here, as the Vulgate text never uses the verb *buccinare*, only *canere tuba*. But the third and last mention of the Romanian verb *bucina* appears in a similar context, in the apocryphal Apocalypse of the Virgin. A Romanian version of it was copied in the same codex as 'A word about a walk with torments' (*Cuvîntu de îmblare pre la munci*). This other passage reads: *Bucură-te, arhanghele, că tu veri bucina la giudeţu şi veri deştepta adurmiții din veacu!* ('Rejoice, archangel, for you will blow [the trumpet] during judgement and you will wake up those forever asleep') (Chivu 1993, p. 249; or f. 17r, line 10). These are the only occurrences of this verb in the entire *Codex Sturdzanus*, and they show that *bucin* and *bucina* were automatisms already present in the language.

Yet, both the homiletic 'Thoughts…' and the apocryphal 'Word…' belong to the rhotic group of texts copied in that manuscript. The presence of the same group of texts in two other manuscripts, with the same *bucina* readings (*Todorescu Codex* and *Martian Codex*), points to the independent circulation of this rhotic group of texts well before their transcription in *Sturdzanus* (see Drăganu 1914, p. 200-201, 215 for their readings of the passages quoted above). According to Gh. Chivu, the texts that interest us here were transcribed by the *Studzanus* Scribe D, a speaker of the northern dialect of the Romanian language, but his source must have been written in the dialect of Banat, Hunedoara

county, or even Walachia (Chivu 1993, p. 67-70), as testified by rare rhotic phonetic aspects of the 'Thoughts at the hour of death' and several lexical choices. Since the three mentions of the verb *bucina* appear in texts copied by this scribe only, they probably came from a rhotic source, as they appear nowhere else in the manuscript. And since Scribe D copied these texts soon after 1590-1602 (based on watermark analysis; cf. Chivu 1993, p. 49), shortly after the printing of the *Orăștie Palia* and other texts showing traces of the dialect of Banat and Hunedoara, it is safe to assume that all these texts bore the literary imprint of the early rhotic psalters. These psalters probably shaped an early version of the Romanian literary language, later to be discarded in favour of other dialects, and their role is very similar to the one played by the Anglo-Norman psalters in the evolution of the French literary language. It should not surprise us that the French texts influenced by early Anglo-Norman psalters also use the term *buisine* and its denominative verb *buisiner* instead of *trumpe*, the preferred reading of Continental French. I therefore believe that the use of the term *bucin* and its denominative verb is a reflex of this old literary dialect from Banat and Hunedoara.

Addendum: Ps 150 in Viski's adaptation of the Calvinist Metrical Psalter (transcription by Ana Dumitran):

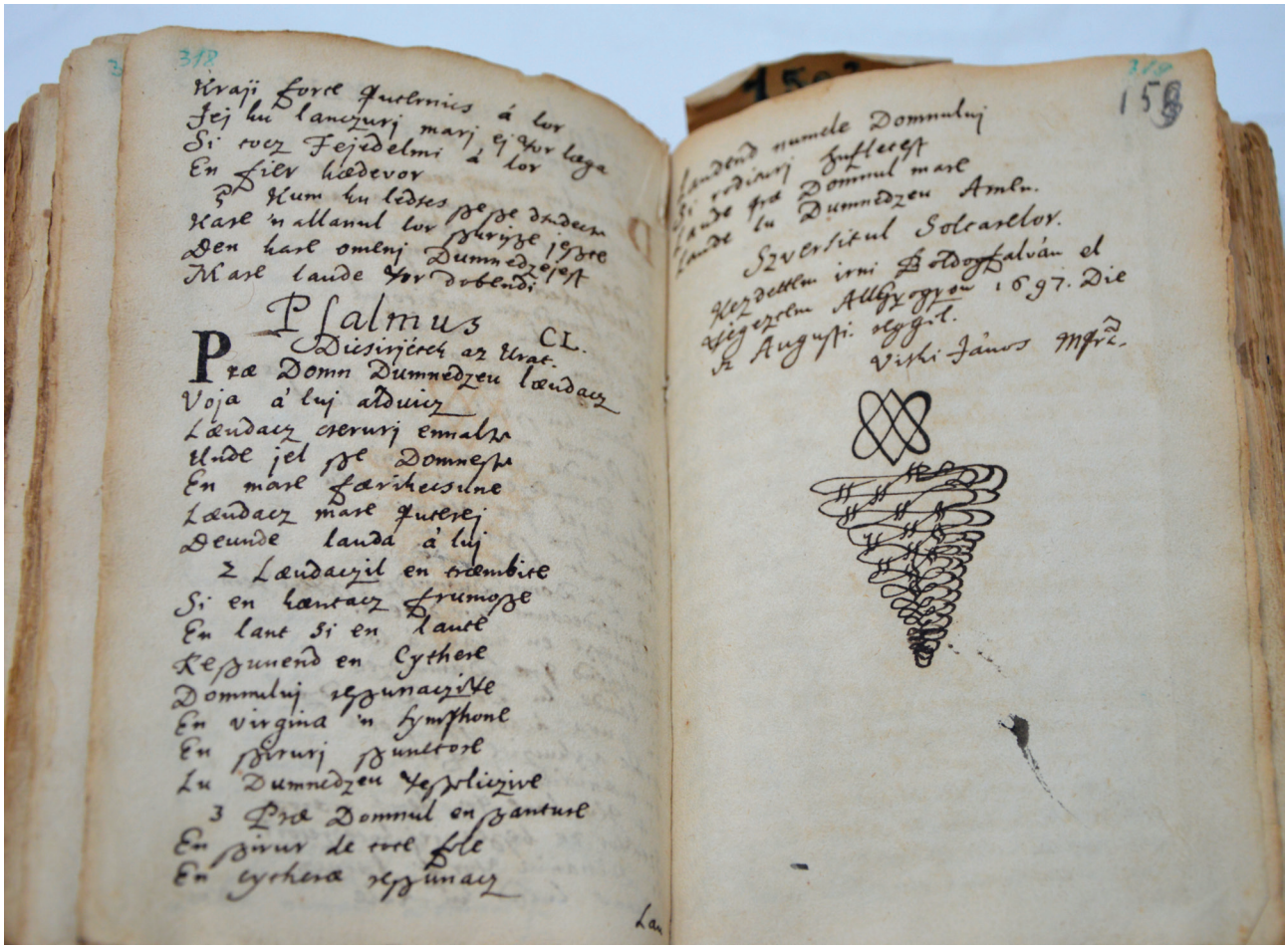
Psalmus CL
Dicsirjétek az Urat.

Præ Domn Dumnedzeu læudacz
Voja a luj alduicz
Læudacz cserurj ennalte
Unde jel sze Domneste
En mare færikecsune
Læudacz mare putere-j
De unde lauda a luj

2. Læudați-l en træmbite
Si en kæntacz frumosze
En laut si en laute
Ke szunend en cythere
Domnuluj reszunaczi-ve
En virgina-n symphone
En szirurj szunetore
Lu Dumnedzeu veszeliczive

3. Præ Domnul en szanture
En szirur de tote fele
En cytheræ reszunacz
Laudend numele Domnuluj
Si rediturj szufletest
Laude præ Domnul mare
Laude lu Dumnedzeu Amen.

Szversitul Soltarelor
Kezdettem irni Boldogfalván el végeztem AllGyogyon 1697 Die 12 Augusti reggel.
Viski János m(anu) p(rop)ria



Discussion 4 - *giudeci*

VA: Not related to the translation choices for the musical instruments, but extremely relevant to the debate concerning the geographical location of the rhotic prototype is the use of the words *giudeațe* (PH) and *giudeci* (PS) at the beginning of Ps 67:26. In this particular case, *giudeațe* seems to be a scribal error, very similar to an unwitting type of error, but nevertheless curious as such types of errors concern the beginning or the ending of a word, and not its ending. If we accept that *giudeci* is the correct translation choice (very similar in meaning to both Slavonic *кънязи* (*kŭnęzĭ*) and Latin *principes*), then we are faced with a puzzle: why did the Romanian translator not use the word *cnezi*, the coherent translation choice, as it was available in the source and target languages, with an identical meaning?

This looks like an echo of curious phenomena already present in the vernacular well before Romanian became a written language (for similar cases in Carolingian France, see the works of Michel Banniard). To me, *giudeci* may be already noticeable in a complaint addressed by several inhabitants of Remetea (Banat) to the wife of Benedict Himfi, their lord (late 14th century). Among the bizarre words and phrases of the Latin document (*e.g. volunt mori famus*, close to the Romanian phrasing *vor muri de foame*, that is, 'will die of hunger'), one may notice the repetition of the title *iudex* by which the plaintiffs designate the various administrators of the estate, those above their rank, as opposed to themselves, designated by *quenesii* (knezes, derived from the Slavonic *кънязи*) (for the document, see Lukinich 1941, p. 287-288, no. 255). Compared to this late 14th century use of the word *iudex* with the meaning of 'superior', it seems to me particularly interesting that *giudeci* in the rhotic psalters has the same Latin etymon. In case of a distant Latin source for the rhotic psalters, a hypothesis that I am not yet ready to dismiss, the absence of the Slavonic counterpart could explain the use of the Romanian term of a Latin origin. In case of a Slavonic source, the explanation is somewhat convoluted. The decline of the knezial status in the social hierarchy of the kingdom of Hungary could have triggered a depreciation of the word's meaning. Nevertheless, this would mean that the same rule would apply to the Slavonic *кънязи* that the translator read in a Slavonic source. Whatever the answer may be, it is worth noting that both explanations are possible only in a geographical area located within the kingdom of Hungary, such as Banat, Hunedoara county, or in their vicinity (the area where the rhotic psalters' prototype is located according to currently accepted research.

CPG: According to Sachelarie, Stoicescu (1988, p. 108-110, *s.v.* Dan Amedeo Lăzărescu, Nicolae Stoicescu; p. 257-258, *s.v.* Valeriu Șotropa, Dan Amedeo Lăzărescu), *knez* and *judec* were essentially the same institution under different names. *Knez*, derived from the Germanic *kuningaz*, represented the idea of leadership among the Slavs. D. Onciul and I. Bogdan maintained that the institution of *knez* was Romanian and represented a continuation of the Roman institution of *iudex*. *Knez* was a new term that came to replace the former term *judec*. While this term might have remained in the spoken language, the diplomatic sources of medieval Hungary from the 14th and 15th century exhibit almost exclusively the use of the Latinized terms *kenezius*, *keneziatus* (with the variant *quenesius*) as moniker of the chieftains of Romanian communities living on the royal castle domains or on lay or ecclesiastic landed properties.

The Romanian term *judec* was not recorded in the Latin charters. It is assumed that the knez was initially an elective function that gradually came to be held for the lifetime of the bearer and in the end became hereditary. In the 14th and 15th century the title was fully hereditary. The institution of knez is better made clear by the written sources at the time of its decline. Both in the Romanian principalities as well as in the kingdom of Hungary, *knez* underwent a sort of degradation in terms of social standing. In the principalities, the social elite was comprised of the boyar class and the meaning of the *knez* gradually came to be essentially that of a free person, losing the connotation of chieftaincy, while in Hungary, the fact that the knezes living on the ecclesiastical and lay landed properties were reduced to the role of intermediaries between the landowners or their officials and their own fellow villagers having some duties in regard to organization of labor, fiscal obligations and judging small offenses contributed perhaps to the degradation of the institution. On the marginal territories of the realm, in the areas of Banat and Hunedoara, where Romanian knezes and their villagers lived within the system of royal fortresses, the transfer of royal lands to the hands of private landowners was delayed until the late 14th and the first half of 15th centuries. The knezes of the royal fortresses turned their knezates (that is, the villages that they owned as knezes) into noble properties, thereby acquiring the status and rights of the "true nobility of the realm" (*veri nobiles regni*) (See Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu 2000).

In the letter addressed by the knezes living on the Remete domain to their landlady, the wife of Benedict Himfi, in the early 1370s, the term *iudex* referred to an official of the landowner in charge of administration of revenues on behalf of his lord. So far, to my knowledge, this letter was analyzed and commented upon only by M. Holban. Her approach unsurprisingly focused on the aspects of social history, discussing the peculiarities of language to some extent (Holban 1957) ; however a new linguistic approach of these peculiarities would be most welcome. The letter mentioned a certain *iudex* Nicholas, who was in a position of superiority to the knezes, even though he was a servant of the landowner. At the same time, one should also consider that there were various dignitaries bearing the titles of judges in the hierarchy of the realm of Hungary, ranging from the members of the royal council, such as the Palatine (who was *iudex Comanorum*) and Judge Royal (*iudex curie*), to the noble magistrates (*iudices nobilium*) serving in the judicial courts of the counties, and to the chiefs of cities (*iudex civitatis*). Thus, the idea of superiority of judges in positions of leadership could also have been sustained by the structure of offices in the 14th and 15th centuries. The preference given to the term *judec*, instead of the more straightforward *cnezi* may reveal important information for both history proper and the history of language.

Fig. 26. John Viski's adaptation of the Calvinist Metrical Psalter, written in 1697 in Sântămărie Orlea, in Romanian with Latin script. Page 318 of the manuscript currently hosted by the Library of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca section, Ms. Reformat 1502. Photo taken during the exhibition *Vernacular Psalters and the Early Rise of Linguistic Identities* (Alba Iulia, Museikon, 2018).

The study will be continued in the next issue of *Museikon*, covering more languages and furthering the discussions.

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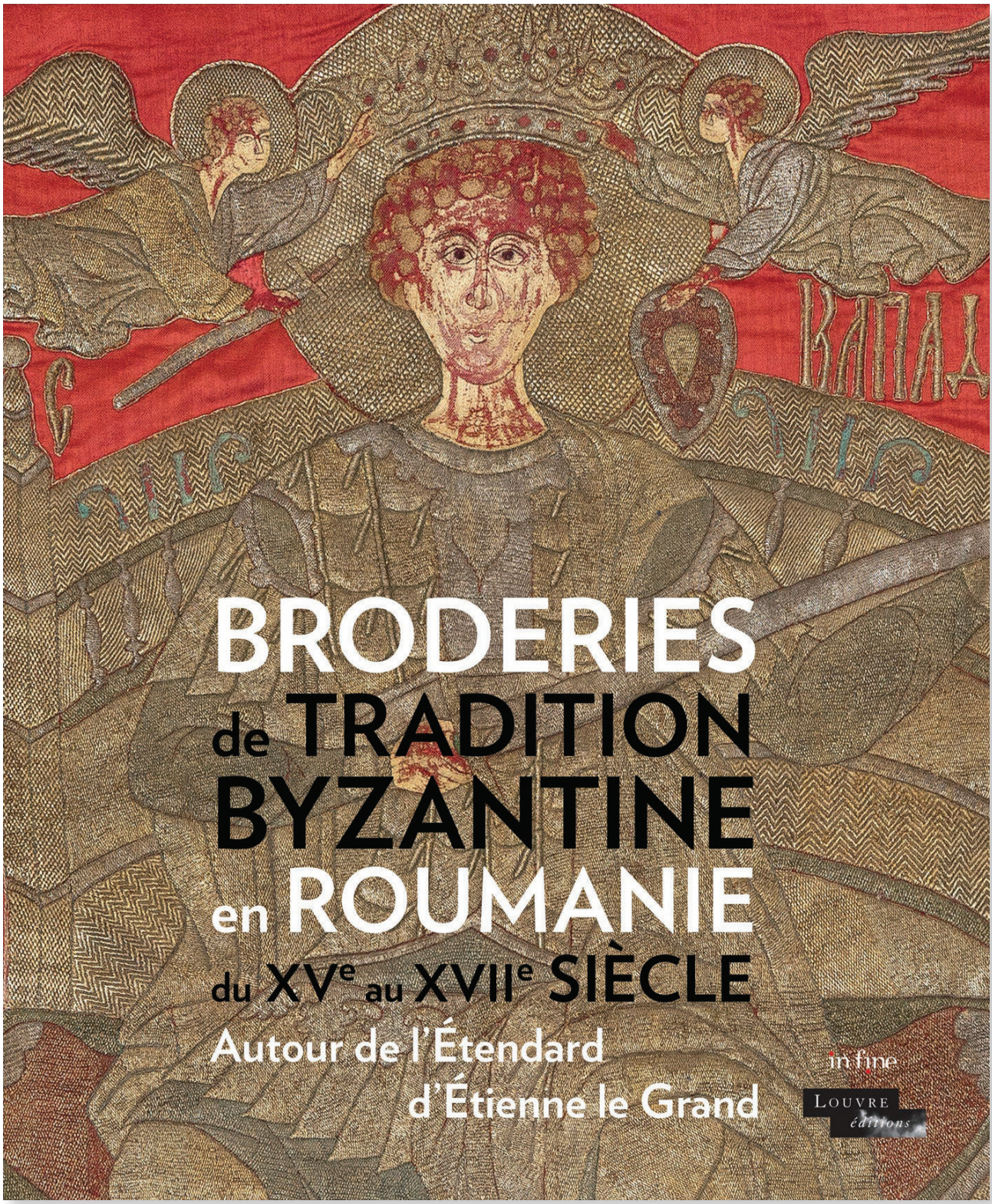
heritage



patrimoine



Broderies de tradition byzantine en Roumanie du XVe au XVIIe siècle
Autour de l'étendard d'Étienne le Grand
dir. Jannic Durand *et al.*
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Broderies de tradition byzantine en Roumanie du XVe au XVIIe siècle

Autour de l'Étendard d'Étienne le Grand

Iuliana Damian

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SUMMARY: During the *France-Romania Season*, the Louvre Museum hosted the first Romanian art exhibition ever organized by this prestigious museum, *The Byzantine tradition of embroidery in Romania between the 15th and 17th centuries. About the standard of Stephen the Great*, from April 17 to July 19, 2019. 36 exhibits from Romanian and French collections were presented to the French public, of which a unique ensemble in the world of embroidery from the collections of the National Art Museum of Romania, the National History Museum of Romania, and the monasteries Putna, Sucevița, and Three Hierarchs, illustrating the liturgical textiles used in the Orthodox churches, and the particular character of the Romanian tradition. The exhibition equally focused on the symbolic gesture made by the French state to return to Romania the battle standard of Stephen the Great in 1917, one of the most beautiful Romanian embroideries, created in 1500 and recovered by the French army from the Zographou monastery during the First World War. In addition, the important contribution of the researcher Gabriel Millet was highlighted by a series of photographs and watercolours, as Millet's pioneering volume *La broderie religieuses de style byzantin* led to a better understanding and promotion of the unique heritage of post-Byzantine embroidered textiles in Romania.

CURATORS OF THE EXHIBITION: Jannic Durand, Dorota Giovannoni (Muzeul Luvru), Emanuela Cernea, Iuliana Damian (Muzeul Naţional de Artă al României).

REZUMAT: Cu ocazia *Sezonului Franța România*, Muzeul Luvru a găzduit, în perioada 17 aprilie-19 iulie 2019, expoziția *Broderii de tradiție bizantină în România între secolele XV și XVII. În jurul Stindardului lui Ștefan cel Mare*, prima expoziție de artă românească organizată vreodată în cadrul acestui prestigios muzeu. 36 de exponate din colecții românești și franceze, dintre care un ansamblu unic în lume de broderii din colecțiile Muzeului Național de Artă al României, Muzeului Național de Istorie a României și ale mănăstirilor Putna, Sucevița și Trei Ierarhi, ilustrând specificul textilelor liturgice din bisericile ortodoxe și particularitățile broderiei de tradiție bizantină din Țările Române, au fost prezentate aici. Mesajul particular al expoziției s-a concentrat asupra gestului simbolic făcut de statul francez în 1917 de a restitui României aşa-zisul stindard de luptă al lui Ștefan cel Mare, una dintre cele mai frumoase broderii românești, realizată în 1500 şi recuperată de armata franceză de la mănăstirea Zografu în timpul Primului Război Mondial. Pe lângă acestea, a fost evocată, printr-o serie de fotografii și acuarele, importanța contribuției cercetătorului Gabriel Millet, autorul volumului-pionier *La broderie religieuses de style byzantin*, la cunoașterea și promovarea patrimoniului unic de textile brodate post-bizantine din România.

CURATORII EXPOZIŢIEI: Jannic Durand, Dorota Giovannoni (Muzeul Luvru), Emanuela Cernea, Iuliana Damian (Muzeul Naţional de Artă al României).

À l'occasion de la *Saison France-Roumanie*, le Musée du Louvre a accueilli, pendant trois mois, l'exposition *Broderies de tradition byzantine en Roumanie du XVe au XVIIe siècle. Autour de l'Étendard d'Étienne le Grand*. Organisée avec le concours du Musée National d'Art de Roumanie, du Musée National d'Histoire de Roumanie, des monastères de Putna, Sucevița et Trois Hiérarques et des Archives Diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères de Roumanie, l'exposition a permis au public de découvrir en première un ensemble unique au monde de broderies de tradition byzantine provenant des collections roumaines. À ce propos, il faut aussi remarquer que quelques-unes de ces pièces revenaient à nouveau à Paris après avoir déjà participé à l'*Exposition Universelle* de 1867 et à celle du *Jeu de Paume* de 1925.

L'exposition a eu lieu au cœur des collections médiévales du Département des objets d'art, au milieu des prestigieux trésors de la Sainte Chapelle et de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis, dans la même salle où furent présentés le trésor de Conques (2001) et le trésor de Preslav (2018).

Disposées en panoplies, les broderies liturgiques et décoratives provenant des Principautés Roumaines étaient non seulement destinées à mieux expliquer à un public principalement occidental les spécificités de l'héritage byzantin en matière de technique, typologie et iconographie ; mais également à l'introduire dans l'univers des commanditaires et des ateliers, où les femmes, princesses ou moniales, semblent avoir joué un rôle déterminant.

L'objet phare de l'exposition fut sans doute l'*Étendard* – probablement une bannière de procession ou un voile d'icône figurant saint Georges trônant – exécuté pour le prince Étienne le Grand de Moldavie (1457-1504). L'histoire de cette pièce – pillée au couvent athonite de Zographou



par un détachement armé franco-russe, en pleine Guerre Mondiale, et remise solennellement par la France à la Roumanie le 28 juillet 1917 – fut évoquée par des documents de correspondance diplomatique issus des archives roumaines et françaises (parmi lesquels figurait un télégramme de remerciement du roi Ferdinand de Roumanie au Président de la République, Raymond Poincaré). Une icône de *Saint Démétrios trônant* (Crète ou Venise, entre 1660-1697) provenant du Musée Ingres de Montauban complétait le cadre expositif, pour faire le point sur l'origine de l'iconographie des saints militaires dans l'art post-byzantin.

Dans la *Panoplie sacerdotale* se remarquait la vitrine des *epitrachelia*, où huit pièces très richement et diversement décorées étaient suspendues comme dans une armoire de sacristie. Le plus ancien, daté du XVe siècle, provenait d'un atelier byzantin. Parmi les autres pièces, se distinguaient également les *epitrachelia* décorés avec les portraits d'Étienne le Grand et de son fils, Alexandre (1496, Putna) ; celui de la Dame Maria (1504, Musée National d'Art de Roumanie) ; ainsi que celui de Barbu Craiovescu et de la Dame Neagoslava (1520/1521, Bistrița). Un *orarion* décoré d'anges et offert par le voïévode Vasile Lupu évoquait l'habit des diacres. Deux *epigonatia* – figurant la Transfiguration (Valachie, 1520-1521) et la Descente aux Limbes (Moldavie, XVIIe siècle) – évoquaient, en revanche, celui des hiérarques (évêques). L'image du costume ecclésiastique était complétée par des objets représentant l'Annonciation : la paire de manchettes, ou *epimanikia*, de Govora (XVIe siècle) et un autre fragment de vêtement datant du XVe siècle. Le portrait de saint Denis, issu du manuscrit des *Œuvres de saint Denis l'Aréopagite* (XIVe siècle) et le Saint Nicolas trônant, attribué à Michel Damaskinos (vers 1575-1590), donnaient une parfaite illustration du costume des évêques ou métropolites.

Une autre série de textiles utilisés au sein de l'Église orthodoxe à la fin du Moyen Âge furent intégrés dans la *Panoplie liturgique et tissus décoratives*. Dans l'ensemble offert par Étienne le Grand au Monastère de Putna (1481), on pouvait admirer les trois voiles servant à couvrir la patène et le calice, objets indispensables à la célébration de l'Eucharistie ou Divine Liturgie. Les *epitaphioi* ou *aërs* de Neamț (1436) et Voroneț (1515), inspirés du thème de la Lamentation, montraient, de leur côté, la préciosité de ces grandes voiles dont l'usage était réservé aux processions du Vendredi et Samedi saints. Deux relevés des fresques de l'église de la Peribleptos à Mistra – provenant des Archives Gabriel Millet de Paris et réalisés par Louis-Joseph Yperman en 1896 – illustraient la façon dont ces voiles étaient portés sur







Fig. 1-2. Clichés pris avant le vernissage de l'exposition. *Avec l'aimable autorisation du Musée National d'Art de Roumanie.*

Fig. 3. Voile d'icône offert par Serban Cantacuzène (1681). *Avec l'aimable autorisation du Musée National d'Art de Roumanie.*

Fig. 4. *Epitrachelion* offert par Étienne le Grand (vers 1504). *Avec l'aimable autorisation du Musée National d'Art de Roumanie.*

les épaules par les anges dans les peintures murales byzantines représentant la Divine Liturgie. Un autre type de voile (1481), brodé sur le thème de la *Panaghia* (la Vierge 'Toute Sainte') était probablement porté de la même manière par le prêtre pendant une cérémonie de bénédiction du pain en honneur de la Vierge Marie.

D'autres textiles précieux qui ornaient les églises furent intégrés à la suite de l'exposition, notamment le voile d'iconostase de l'Ascension offert par Étienne le Grand à Putna (1484) et le voile d'icône de Cotroceni (1681) illustrant la famille du voïévode valaque Șerban Cantacuzino et signé par le maître Gherasim.

Une troisième panoplie d'objets était dédiée aux *Couvertures de tombeaux et portraits funéraires.* Une gravure de l'*Histoire ou chronique du seigneur Geoffroy de Ville-Harduin* (1608-1660) représentant l'impératrice byzantine Théodora et provenant de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ouvrait le discours sur l'héritage symbolique d'une typologie









▲ Fig. 5. Manchette liturgique (premier quart du XVIe siècle). *Avec l'aimable autorisation du Musée National d'Art de Roumanie.*

◀ Fig. 6-8. Clichés pris avant le vernissage de l'exposition. *Avec l'aimable autorisation du Musée National d'Art de Roumanie.*

iconographique princière qui a duré jusqu'au XVIIe siècle. Cette dernière était également illustrée par les voiles funéraires de Marie de Mangop (Putna), ceux des princes Jérémie et Siméon Mogila (Sucevița), et par les portraits brodés du prince Ioan et de la princesse Tudosca (Trois Saints Hiérarques). Ces pièces constituaient, sans doute, l'ensemble de broderies le plus singulier issu de la tradition byzantine.

L'exposition portait, enfin, sur Gabriel Millet, figure incontournable de la recherche sur la broderie de tradition byzantine, et sur son ouvrage *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin* (1947), grâce auquel il a rendu célèbres de nombreuses pièces présentes à l'exposition au Louvre. Les photographies et les relevés qu'il a recueillis pendant ses nombreux voyages d'études au Mont Athos et dans les Balkans ont été rassemblés dans la Collection chrétienne et byzantine de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, accessible bientôt en format numérique au grand public.

L'exposition *Broderies de tradition byzantine en Roumanie du XVe au XVIIe siècle. Autour de l'Étendard d'Étienne le Grand* fut accompagnée par un généreux catalogue de 88 pages, riche en images et bibliographie, publié sous l'égide des Éditions du Louvre et In fine Éditions (avril 2019).

Commissaires de l'exposition : Jannic Durand, Dorota Giovannoni (Musée du Louvre), Emanuela Cernea, Iuliana Damian (Musée National d'Art de Roumanie).

When Masonry Destroyed Romanian Wooden Churches
Socioeconomics, Politics, Ideology, and Culture in the Heritage of Alba County

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This study was made possible by a generous award of excellence granted by the University 'December 1st, 1918" of Alba Iulia in July-December 2018, for a project bearing the title 'The replacement of the Romanian wooden churches with masonry churches and its social-economic, political-ideological, and cultural-heritage implications. Case study: the area of the current Alba county' (*Înlocuirea bisericilor românești de lemn cu biserici de zid și implicațiile sale social-economice, politico-ideologice și cultural-patrimoniale. Studiu de caz: arealul actualului județ Alba*).

RÉSUMÉ: L'histoire des églises en bois des communautés roumaines du comté d'Alba peut être synthétisée par les statistiques suivantes : près de deux-cent lieux de culte ont été identifiés, dont cent-quarante-cinq ont disparu, pour diverses raisons. Habituellement, si la disparition était la con-séquence d'une calamité, le plus souvent une incendie, et si l'événement avait eu lieu avant le XIXe siècle, la nouvelle église était par la suite reconstruite à nouveau en bois. Cependant, plus de quatre-vingt-dix églises en bois (voire cent-trente d'après d'autres estimations) ont été détruites et remplacées par des églises bâties. Ce vaste programme d'édification a commencé au milieu du XVIIIe siècle dans les Carpates Occidentales (*Apuseni*) et autour de la ville de Blaj. L'apogée se situe entre les dernières décennies du XIXe siècle et les premières décennies du XXe siècle. Cela justifie le peu d'informations disponibles sur leur disparition. L'histoire de chaque édifice s'explique à travers plusieurs cas de figure : églises vendues intégralement à d'autres paroisses ; églises désaffectées, le matériel étant vendu ou transformé en combustible pour alimenter les fours utilisées dans la fabrication des briques nécessaires à la construction d'une nouvelle église ; églises abandonnées, disparues discrètement après une période plus ou moins longue. Plus des deux tiers des quelques deux-cent églises en bois de l'actuel comté d'Alba ont été victimes de la modernisation et du progrès de la société roumaine transylvanienne, très pré-coce dans cette région administrative, bien avant l'union de la Transylvanie à la Roumanie. Quant à la situation des quarante-huit communautés qui possèdent encore des églises en bois, vingt d'entre-elles fréquentent en réalité des églises bâties, les églises en bois étant abandonnées, depuis plusieurs décennies, dans un état de dégradation avancé. Trente-six édifices sont inscrits sur la liste des monuments historiques, parmi lesquels se trouvent également six bâtiments entièrement ou principalement rénovés et deux églises disparues. Dans le présent article, afin de donner une image plus précise du phénomène de réduction drastique du nombre d'églises en bois au profit du bâti, celles-ci sont présentées dans l'ordre de leur disparition. Quelques informations relatives à la période de construction, à la peinture pariétale et aux ob-jets de culte sont également fournies lorsque nous avons pu recueillir les données nécessaires. Le tableau final permet d'avoir une image de l'ampleur des pertes subies par l'histoire de la culture et par l'histoire de l'art, voire par le patrimoine national.

MOTS-CLÉS: église orthodoxe en bois, église gréco-catholique, église disparue, église vendue, collection Museikon.

REZUMAT: Istoria cunoscută a bisericilor românești de lemn din județul Alba ne oferă următoarea statistică: documentar, au fost identificate aproape 200 de lăcașuri de cult, din care 145 au dispărut, din rațiuni diverse. De obicei, dacă motivul dispariției a fost o calamitate, cel mai adesea un incendiu, și dacă producerea sa a avut loc anterior secolului XIX, noua biserică a fost construită tot din lemn. Pentru mai bine de 90 dintre bisericile de lemn dispărute, dar destul de probabil și pentru alte circa 40, motivul dispariției a fost construirea bisericilor de zid, care, în Munții Apuseni și pe domeniul Blajului, a început încă de la mijlocul secolului XVIII. Perioada de apogeu a acestui efort ctitoricesc se cuprinde între ultimele decenii ale secolului XIX și primele decenii din secolul XX. Așa se explică puținătatea informațiilor referitoare la modul efectiv cum au dispărut, deși opțiunile nu au fost prea multe, căci fie au fost vândute cu totul altor parohii, fie au fost dezafectate și materialul vândut sau transformat în combustibil pentru arderea cărămizilor necesare construirii bisericii celei noi, fie au fost lăsate în părăsire și – după o vreme mai lungă sau mai scurtă – au dispărut discret. Se poate conchide că mai bine de două treimi din cele circa 200 de biserici de lemn din actualul județ Alba au fost victime ale modernizării și progresului societății românești

transilvănene, care în acest areal administrativ s-au produs devreme și au atins cote însemnate încă înainte de unirea Transilvaniei cu România. Cât privește situația celor 48 de comunități care încă mai dețin biserici de lemn, 20 dintre ele frecventează de fapt biserici de zid, cele de lemn, lăsate în părăsire, unele de mai multe decenii, aflându-se într-o accentuată stare de degradare. Pe lista monumentelor istorice sunt înscrise 36 de obiective, între care se numără și șase edificii integral sau în cea mai mare parte înnoite și două biserici dispărute. Pentru a oferi un tablou cât mai explicit al fenomenului restrângerii atât de drastice a numărului bisericilor de lemn în favoarea celor de zid, ele sunt prezentate în ordinea anilor dispariției, cu menționarea câtorva informații referitoare la momentul construcției, pictura parietală și obiectele de cult, acolo unde acestea se cunosc. Putem avea astfel și o imagine a dimensiunii pierderilor suferite în planul istoriei culturii și a artei, a patrimoniului național.

CUVINTE CHEIE: biserică ortodoxă de lemn, biserică greco-catolică, biserică dispărută, biserică vândută, colecția Museikon.

The history of the current administrative area known as Alba county does not have a history different than that of Transylvania. Many events which shaped the history of the province occurred in this area. Many political and spiritual institutions were also founded there, as well as many settlements, setting the pace for the entire evolution of Transylvanian society. The monuments mirror this historical development: fortresses, palaces, cathedrals, churches, schools – they are all examples of a wide variety of architectural styles. Among them, Romanian wooden churches represent a numerically consistent category, essential for the understanding of rural history and highly valuable for their mural painting. From the perspective of present-day society, for which most historical churches are valued as part of the universal or national cultural heritage, Romanian wooden churches represent a touristic potential insufficiently tapped and scarcely promoted, hence the need to re-examine and to promote them in every possible way, so that at least some of these churches may pique the interest of investors and benefit from restauration work. This is the scope of the present study, even though the motivation behind it was the plain desire to find out what led to the current situation.

Traditional discourse regards the wooden place of worship and the glass icon as crucial elements of the Romanian Transylvanian village. They are often praised for their ingenuity and formal plasticity, but most of all they are lauded because they were created by unsophisticated and illiterate minds, and by hands fit only for a basic level of craftsmanship – in short, by people out of nowhere, living in poverty and social oppression. Conscious or not, these two extremes



Fig. 1. The wooden church of Berghin, before its relocation in Alba Iulia. *Courtesy of the Alba Iulia Orthodox Archbishopric.*



Fig. 2. . The wooden church of Berghin, after its relocation in the bastionary citadel of Alba Iulia. Credits: Ana Dumitran.





Fig. 3. The wooden church of Ocoliș in 1910, a few hours before its dismantling and relocation to Cacova Ierii. Credits: private collection.

Fig. 4. The wooden church of Rădești in 1911, before its relocation to Șoimuș. Source: Radu 1911, p. 19.

Fig. 5. The wooden church of Rădești after its relocation to Șoimuș. Credits: Ana Dumitran.

sealed the fate for a majority of these wooden churches and very few survived into the 20th c. Other decisive factors leading to their destruction were the perishable materials out of which these churches were built, the ever-increasing demographical rate, and even unforeseen factors, such as natural disasters.

In other words, a wooden church could disappear because it fell prey to a disaster (fire, flood, landslide, etc.). Until mid-19th c., it would equally be decommissioned if it were found in an advanced state of degradation, its structural components needing to be replaced. The rising number of worshippers and their need for a larger building were usually solved by the extension of the old places of worship, most often with an additional narthex added to the western side of the old church. Other parts of the old church would also be renovated, especially the roof. The destruction and substitution of the old wooden buildings with masonry churches was only possible in the settlements from the Blaj domain, a fief of the Greek-Catholic Diocese, whose communities managed to reach a higher degree of economic growth as a result of the overall evolution of Transylvanian society during the Enlightenment Era, but this destruction and replacement could also happen in cases where the local community was luckily helped by wealthy donors.

When the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic dioceses were raised to metropolitan rank in mid-19th c., the emulation between them and the 1848-1849 inter-ethnical conflicts gradually generated a preference for masonry churches, even in the poor communities, who were forced to take loans and personally contribute in order to cover building expenses.

After 1918, and especially in the '30s, an 'epidemic' of national sentiment appeared, whose first victims were the old wooden churches. The Transylvanian Section of the Committee of Historical Monuments[1] was overwhelmed by demolition requests for such constructions or – in the best case scenarios – by sale requests to other parishes, or even as firewood, so that the new emblems of Romanian society (the masonry churches) could be auspiciously raised in their place as symbols for the people who felt free and willing to exert their creative energy. Most often the requests were imperative and the monuments were already in the process of being deconstructed.[2] The respectful appeal to a competent scientific opinion[3] was very rare, as most parishioners and priests shared the conviction that said churches could not hold anything of value, considering them unworthy of being preserved.[4]





Inexplicably, this haste and fervour to destroy all the churches that were laboriously built by previous generations reached a peak in ethnically and confessionally mixed communities, especially in the areas of the present-day Mureș and Cluj counties. The wooden church of Iernut represents a typical case of destruction, but many other similar examples were recorded during the extensive visit made by historian Atanasie Popa, delegate of the Committee, who published a series of articles which remain the only reference after the disappearance of these churches.[5]

In Iernut, the place of residence for the Greek-Catholic protopope since the first half of the 18th c., the church dated back to 1730 and had paintings from 1730, 1735, 1740, and 1763. Some of them were made by Popa Ionașcu of Făgăraș, Nistor and Iacov of Rășinari, Gheorghe son of Iacov, and David of Curtea de Argeș – all reference names in Transylvanian Romanian art. Iacob Domșa, the protopope holding office in 1931, considered that they were lacking a particular artistic or historical interest.[6] Scientific, art, and historical research was barely starting to take an interest in the wooden churches of Transylvania at the time, supporting thus the protopope's strong conviction that these monuments were not worthy of being preserved. However, Iacob Domșa had been warned about the existence of valuable components in the iconostasis and about the better-preserved parts of the mural painting, for which he was asked to provide storage in the attic of the new church.[7] As nothing survived – 'nothing should remain of what was a long time ago, signs of slavery and humiliation' (nimic să nu rămână din ceea ce a fost demult, semne de s*clăvie și de umilire*), as Atanasie Popa concluded –,[8] the protopope still bears a part of responsibility, even if some works may have disappeared under the watch of his successors.

After World War II, the more efficient administrative organization of the departments charged with the protection of the immovable cultural heritage led to a decrease in both the number of requests and in the number of demolition approvals for the old places of worship. Nevertheless, the



Fig 6-10. The wooden church of Mogoș-Miclești. *Courtesy of the Transylvanian Ethnographic Museum, Cluj-Napoca.*

old wooden churches disappeared discreetly as they were abandoned by believers, and there are cases in which the locals did not even remember the exact location of the lost monument. The legislative protection for the churches included in the list of historical monuments also proved to be insufficient and deceitful in the end. Even though a significant part of the wooden churches benefited from restoration works especially in the 70s, they were unable withstand the physical degradation inherent to organic materials, the passing of time bringing many of them to a state of ruin.

The habit of moving the churches from one site to another was not abandoned, either. It was reinforced by the Communist (and therefore atheist) administration's prohibition of building new churches. Probably the most significant example of this was the transfer of the ruined wooden church of Berghin (Fig. 1), an A class item on the list of historical monuments, and its reassembly at different elevations and based on a different plan in a bastion of the Alba Iulia citadel (Fig. 2), in order to mark the spot where prince Michael the Brave founded a cathedral for the Transylvanian Orthodox worshippers in 1596-1597. To date, as a corollary of uselessness, the official list of historical monuments still refers to Berghin as the site where this monument is located, despite the many efforts made by local institutions.

One of the benefits of those times was that historians and art historians became more and more interested in the wooden churches. The work of Ioana Cristache-Panait of the Institute of Art History in Bucharest is especially significant. Her efforts led to the publication of a series of monographs, such as the one sponsored by the Alba Iulia Orthodox Bishopric, printed in 1987 and dealing with the 'Wooden churches, historical monuments from Alba Iulia Bishopric, tokens of Romanian continuity and artistic creation' (*Biserici de lemn, monumente istorice din Episcopia Alba Iuliei,*



▲ Fig. 11. The wooden church of Acmariu after its relocation to the new site in Alba Iulia. Credits: Ana Dumitran.

▶ Fig. 12. *Annunciation*, Iacov of Răşinari, mid-18th c. Icon of the Holy Archangels church, Şilea. *Courtesy of Museikon.*

mărturii de continuitate şi creaţie românească).

A situation somewhat similar to the one in the inter-war period arose after the 1989 Revolution. Devotional enthusiasm, long time suppressed by the Communist (and therefore atheist) administration, manifested anew through the building of churches. The same political context favoured the revival of the Greek-Catholic Church and proved to be lucky for the surviving churches left unused after the religious unification in 1948. Within the boundaries of Alba county, the best example is the wooden church of Fărău, still used by the Orthodox community today, waiting for the funds necessary to build a masonry church. Yet the legislative void created by the repeal of Law 63/1974 on the protection of the cultural heritage of the Socialist Republic of Romania in December 1989 had a devastating effect on the old places of worship. A lot of mobile works of art, which were not yet collected in the bishopric and on the protopopial premises, were again lost. The sale of many churches in an advanced state of degradation was also considered to be a solution for their preservation. In anticipation of the funds necessary to build some churches according to the taste of the new generation of founders (ktetors), some churches ended up in urban areas as neighbourhood or hospital churches, while others provided the core for the creation of new monastic settlements.

Protection and rehabilitation programs for the wooden churches were launched only recently, as a result of foreign funding. The inclusion on the UNESCO World Heritage List of a few Maramureş wooden churches is one of the great achievements of these programs, as well as the restoration of 20 out of the approximately 70 wooden churches of Sălaj county between 1995-2010, under the aegis of the European Union, or the project *60 Wooden Churches*, initiated by architect Şerban Sturdza in 2009, initially supported by the Romanian Architects' Order and by the *Pro Patrimonio* Foundation, and after 2014 by *Europa Nostra* organization.

As the almost emotional outpour towards these fragile constructions became contagious, other Transylvanian county administrations became interested in inventorying their wooden churches and tried to identify financial resources in order to transform them into tourist attractions. The Alba County Council initiated an ongoing project in this regard: *Immovable Cultural Heritage. Worship Monuments of Alba County Cultural Heritage*. It is dedicated to all old churches in the county area, regardless of their


БЛІ ВЕЩЕНЇЕ
БУКУРЬТЕ ЧА ПЛИН ДЕ ДАРЬ МАРИЕ.











Fig. 13. *St. Nicolas seated on a throne*, Iacov of Rășinari, 1745. Holy Archangels church, Șilea. *Courtesy of Museikon.*

Fig. 14. *Virgin Mary with Child*, Nistor of Rășinari, 1738. Dumbrava (currently in the church of Dumbrava monastery). Credits: Ana Dumitran.

Fig. 15. *Virgin Mary with Child*, Gheorghe, son of Iacov, 1778. Hopârta. *Courtesy of Museikon.*

Fig. 16. *Jesus Christ the Great Teacher seated on a throne, surrounded by Apostles*, Ion of Beriu, 1749. Aiudu de Sus. *Courtesy of Museikon.*

Fig. 17. The wooden church of Șugag in 1912. Credits: private collection.

Fig. 18. *Jesus Christ the Great Teacher flanked by Apostles*, Nistor of Rășinari, 1733. Șpring. *Courtesy of Museikon.*



building material or religious confession. This project is a collaboration between the Alba County National Archives Service, the Alba County Directorate for Culture, and the National Museum of the Union in Alba Iulia. The project aims to gather scientific documentation based on which the monuments that require urgent interventions would be identified. Various funds would then be efficiently directed toward repairs or full restoration projects. Furthermore, several books have been published, oriented especially toward the younger generation or the clerical environment, in order to raise awareness and hoping that these historical monuments may become opportunities for the local communities provided they are willing to invest in tourism.

As for the recovery of the mobile heritage of these churches, mostly collected on the grounds of Law 63/1974, a new department was created in the National Museum of the Union in Alba Iulia: *Museikon*. Its name testifies to the mission it has: to promote the artistic values it received to administrate. This new cultural institution is a result of the collaboration between the Alba County Council, the Alba Iulia Orthodox Archbishopric, the Bergen University Museum (Norway), and the National Museum of the Union in Alba Iulia, and it equally benefits from a generous grant of the European Economic Area (EEA Grants). *Museikon* wishes to become an interface for the Romanian religious art, a dialogue between past and present, and most of all, a key player in the future of the icon, offering the new generations of artists a direct contact with local iconographic traditions, ever so diverse and rich in models that deserve to be re-discovered and disseminated.

Yet all these good intentions and achievements hardly keep up with the more and more pronounced phenomenon of depopulation in rural communities, especially in the most isolated ones. Most of these depopulated townships still have their own old wooden churches, and the state of desolation of the monuments reaches alarming levels. In such places, isolation always translated itself into a slow rate of economic progress, delaying the replacement of the old wooden church, but preserving it nonetheless through the efforts of the local community. The care for the ancestral church made possible the preservation of irreplaceable artistic works, especially murals that were exposed to the most diverse and significant degradations. This is one of the reasons why Alba county still has a great number of valuable wooden churches, but the depopulation of the rural areas gradually leads to the destruction of all these monuments.

When studying the documentation on the history of the wooden churches in Alba county, one reaches the following conclusion: less than 200 places of worship are documented, 145 of which disappeared for various reasons.

Usually, if the the disappearance was due to a natural disaster, most often a fire, and if it took place before the 19th c., a new wooden church would be built. Such a case in which the old church was used until present times without the intention of building a masonry one is Mogoș-Cojocani: the old church of the township burnt in 1765 and a new one took its place in 1769. This church, decorated by the beautiful paintings of Gheorghe son of Iacov of Răşinari in two stages – 1769 and 1771,[9] is one of the most representative monuments in the area of the Western Carpathians (*Apuseni*). As the community gradually aged and diminished, with younger members moving toward urban areas, the church was protected for a while by rehabilitation works for its exterior structures, unfortunately not compliant with the requirements of a historical monument (code AB-II-m-B-00207). There is a similar case in Berghin, where the building raised in 1824 over the burnt church in 1820 was in turn replaced by another wooden church brought from Gârbova de Jos in 1900.[10] However, other cases were not as fortunate as these. In the 19th-20th centuries, masonry churches were directly built as replacements of the wooden churches who had deteriorated as a result of natural disasters (Asinip,[11] Cergău Mare,[12] Mesentea,[13] Vadu Moților,[14] Uioara de Sus,[15] and possibly Cetatea de Baltă as well[16]) or fallen prey to destructions during the 1848 Revolution (Micești).[17]

In the case of over 90 of the lost wooden churches, but most probably for another approximately 40 churches as well, their disappearance was a direct consequence of building masonry churches. In the Western Carpathians and on the Blaj Domain, this building program began as early as mid-18th c., with a climax from the last decades of the 19th c. until the first decades of the 20th c. This explains the scarcity of information regarding the actual manner in which those churches disappeared, although there were not many options, as they were either entirely sold to other parishes (Albac,[18] Cărpiniș-Roșia Montană,[19] Deal,[20] Gârbova de Jos,[21] Ocoliș (Fig. 3),[22] Ponor,[23] Poșaga de Jos,[24] Presaca Ampoiului,[25] Rădești (Fig. 4),[26] Strungari[27]) or decommissioned, their material being sold (Dumitra,[28] Șpring[29]). Alternative options were their use as fuel for burning bricks necessary to build the new church (Oiejdea),[30] or they were simply abandoned, leading to their discrete and undocumented disappearance. A documentation prior to the decommissioning of the ruins was made only for the church in Hăpria, while

Fig. 19. *Mamre Dinner*, Gheorghe Tobias of Abrud (attribution), 1737. Sălciua de Sus. *Courtesy of Museikon.*







Fig. 20. *Jesus Christ the Great Teacher*, Gheorghe, son of Iacov, 1791. Coşlariu. *Courtesy of Museikon.*

Fig. 21. *St. Nicolas*, Gheorghe son of Iacov, 1788. Coşlariu. *Courtesy of Museikon.*

Fig. 22. *Virgin Mary with Child seated on a throne, flanked by Archangels*, Gheorghe of Făgăraş, 1740. *Courtesy of Museikon.*

the one in Mogoş-Micleşti was accidently photographed (the glass negatives are currently kept at the Transylvanian Ethnographic Museum in Cluj-Napoca) (Fig. 6-10).

Other unusual cases also deserve attention, because they testify to a governmental lack of interest, despite many reports from the local authorities. The first one is the abovementioned situation of the Berghin church, subject to relocation in 1900, when the church was brought from Gârbova de Jos. When the new masonry church of the township was built in the 70s, the wooden one was about to collapse, therefore it was relocated again in a bastion of the Alba Iulia citadel, where it was reconstructed differently, with new shapes and proportions, but the official list of historical monuments still records as being located at the Berghin site (code AB-II-m-A-00186). The second interesting case is that of the church in Vingard, also victim to a long process of abandonment. Regrettably, the lack of care led to its destruction in a fire in 2009, but similarly, this tragic event is not taken into account and the lost church still figures on the list of historical monuments (code AB-II-m-B-00392). The third one is the case of a church dedicated to the Holy Archangels in Şpălnaca. It disappeared in a landslide several decades ago, but again, it is mentioned in the current list of historical monuments (code AB-II-m-B-00367).

The following churches may also be considered historical monuments in name only: the long-gone church of Cisteiu de Mureş, destroyed in a flood and rebuilt between 1983-1985, was never erased from the same official list of monuments, as its removal was never requested. The same situation is that of two wooden churches brought from Acmariu (Fig. 11)[31] and Brăzeşti[32] to Alba Iulia after 1989, or the St. Nicolas church of Sânbenedic[33] rebuilt on the same location, or the Holy Archangels church of Şilea,[34] relocated outside the village. In all these cases, the only surviving elements of the old wooden monument are the entrance frames and various liturgical objects (Fig. 12-13).

Based on the aspects mentioned so far, it can be concluded that more than two thirds of the approximately 200 wooden churches of the current Alba county area 'fell victims' to the modernization and progress of society, which occurred early and reached significant levels in this area even before the union of Transylvania and Romania. Economic benefits led to a certain national pride with negative repercussions on the historical and artistic heritage and, ultimately, on the cultural heritage. The earlier the replacement of wooden churches with masonry ones took place, the poorer the parish was in terms of ecclesiastic dowry of valuable objects, and the poorer in information regarding its past. Many representative objects of value were of course kept, but the ones that were lost were certainly more valuable in terms of quantity, and they rightfully deserve to be grieved, as this was the region where many important Romanian artists of the modern era were active. It is hard to believe things were different in earlier times, times from which only stray pieces survive – among which the imposing iconostasis of the wooden church of Lupşa monastery, dated to the mid-17th c. (Fig. 25-27),[35] counts only as a fortunate exception.


ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ
ΜΡ ΘΥ
ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ
ΙΣ ΧΣ


ΜΡ ΘΥ
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Fig. 23. *St. John the Evangelist*, Savu and Simion Poienaru of Laz, 1822. Vingard. *Courtesy of Museikon.*

Fig. 24. *Virgin Mary with Child seated on the throne*, Ioan Pop of Făgăraș, 1851. Vârtop. *Courtesy of Museikon.*

Fig. 25. The wooden church of the Lupșa monastery. Iconostasis. Credits: Anca Crișan.

As for the situation of the 48 communities of worshippers where wooden churches are still preserved, 20 of them actually attend mass in masonry churches: Arieșeni,[36] Băgău,[37] Certege,[38] Copand (a masonry church is still under construction),[39] Drâmbar,[40] Găbud,[41] Gârda de Sus,[42] Geogel (wooden church under restoration),[43] Ghirbom,[44] Lunca Mureșului,[45] Lupșa,[46] Noșlac,[47] Pianu de Sus,[48] Sartăș,[49] Sâncrai,[50] Șilea (St. Nicolas church),[51] Șpălnaca (St. George church),[52] Tău,[53] Turdaș,[54] and Valea Largă[55]). The wooden churches of these townships are abandoned, some of them have been for several decades, and in an advanced state of decay. In the case of Dealu Geoagiului,[56] the almost total depopulation of the village poses a real threat to the preservation of the historical monument. As for Gheoncani and Necrilești, where the wooden churches date from 1877 and 1946,[57] the walls have been rebuilt with masonry.

There are 36 landmarks registered on the list of historical monuments, among which there are also six integrally or mostly renewed buildings (Acmariu, Berghin, Brăzești, Cisteiu de Mureș, Sânbenedic (St. Nicolas), and Șilea (Holy Archangels)) and two lost churches (Șpălnaca (Holy Archangels) and Vingard). Out of the 28 remaining ones, the churches of Gârda de Sus, Ghirbom, Lunca Mureșului, Șpălnaca (St. George), and Turdaș recently benefited from professional restoration works and may become points of interest on a cultural tourist map, while the church of Geogel is in the process of being restored. There are also cases of unapproved but ample renovations, which more or less affected the historical value and both the inner and outer aspects of the monuments; however, this temporarily protected them from bad weather conditions. Such is the case of the churches in Goiești,[58] Lăzești,[59] and Mogoș-Cojocani,[60] all three of them being representative monuments in terms of mural paintings and mobile artistic heritage, and all three of them are still in liturgical use today. The church of Întregalde, also still in use, required special interventions following a fungal attack (*Merulius Lacrymans*). A particular care for wooden churches was noted at Băgău and Sub Piatră,[61] where religious service is held every now and then, even after the finalization of the masonry church. At Fărău,[62] the old construction was again used when the community of worshippers divided, and the Greek-Catholic parish was founded.

Last but not least, the churches of Sălișstea (former Cioara),[63] Găbud, Sânbenedic (Holy Archangels),[64] Șilea (St. Nicholas), Sartăș, and Valea Largă present an advanced state of degradation, especially their roof shingles.

The present study is not intended as the final word on the



subject of preservation of the wooden churches, so no conclusions are needed. Instead, the monuments will be further presented one by one in order to have an image as clear as possible of the phenomenon involving such a drastic reduction in the number of wooden churches in favour of masonry ones. The following list will present them in the order of their disappearance (exact year or approximate date), followed by their location, their construction date (when known), and a concise set of contextual data (history of the monument, mural painting, recovered liturgical objects or icons, etc.), provided that such details are known. This way, the high rate of destruction of the cultural and artistic heritage will be better assessed. In order to highlight the motivation for replacing the old wooden buildings with masonry churches, a red rhomboid shape will mark the cases in which the disappearance of the wooden church had a different cause.

Fig. 26. The wooden church of the Lupșa monastery. Exterior view from the South. Credits: Anca Crișan.

Fig. 25. The wooden church of the Lupșa monastery. Restauration of the sanctuary. Credits: Anca Crișan.





Wooden churches whose disappearance was recorded:

1728 ‖ Pianu de Jos ‖ [?] ‖ Wooden church replaced with a masonry one in 1728 at the expense of priest Gheorghe.[65]

before 1750 ‖ Dumbrava-Marga ‖ [?] ‖ Masonry church replacing the wooden one, already destroyed.[66]

ca. 1750 ‖ Feneș ‖ [?] ‖ Church mentioned in 1733, replaced by a masonry one in 1750, dedicated to the Nativity of Mary.[67]

ca. 1750 ‖ Laz ‖ [?] ‖ Wooden church replaced with a masonry one just before mid-18th c.[68] The current one dates to 1836 and was erected on a new site, in the centre of the village.[69]

before 1755 ‖ Rimetea ‖ [?] ‖ Wooden church according to a 1755 note on a liturgical book; a masonry church already in 1755.[70] The low percentage of Romanian inhabitants (even in the 19th c.) require a certain prudence in making further suppositions.

1760 ‖ Meteș ‖ [?] ‖ Church noted in 1733; replaced with the current masonry church in in 1760.[71]

◆ 1761 ‖ Abrud ‖ [?] ‖ Church of the Pociovaliște monastery, destroyed by general Buccow.[72]

ca. 1763[73] ‖ Presaca Ampoiului, Orthodox church[74] ‖ before 1733 ‖ Lack of data.

ca. 1766 ‖ Alba Iulia - Lipoveni ‖ Orthodox church set up in a shed, after the masonry one was ceded to the Greek-Catholics in 1761 ‖ The church disappeared after the building of the masonry church 'of the Greeks', dedicated to the Annunciation, probably in 1794.[75] Icons painted by Stan of Rășinari (1766) and an icon by Simon Oprovici (1783),[76] along with most of liturgical objects donated by the Macedo-Romanian community are now in the possession of the Annunciation church.

before 1770 ‖ Hădărău ‖ [?] ‖ Disappeared before 1770, when the masonry church[77] was built; its existence, certified by a local tradition, is assumed based on a wood framework of the masonry building.

ca. 1770 ‖ Poiana Ampoiului ‖ [?] ‖ Church mentioned in 1733, in the cemetery; replaced by the current masonry building as early as the end of the 18th c., possibly in 1770.[78]

ca. 1771 ‖ Pâclișa ‖ [?] ‖ Church mentioned in 1733; replaced by the current masonry church, ca. 1771.[79]

ca. 1773 ‖ Izvoru Ampoiului ‖ [?] ‖ Wooden church (?) replaced by a masonry one, ca. 1773.

1775 ‖ Drașov ‖ [?] ‖ Wooden church (?) replaced by a masonry one, in 1775.[80]

before 1777 ‖ Tibru ‖ [?] ‖ Church from *Gruiețul Puțului*, mentioned in 1733; replaced with a church made out of stone and wood, with a thatch roof, erected with the contribution of priest Ioan Sandu, before 1777; this second church was demolished in 1853 and replaced with the current one.[81]

1778 ‖ Mesentea ‖ 1674 ‖ Wooden church, destroyed by a fire; ◆ replaced with a masonry one.[82]

before 1780 ‖ Răhău ‖ 1764 ‖ Wooden church dedicated to 'St. Luke the Evangelist', dated to 1764, as testified by an inscription on a beam re-used in the current masonry church, erected in 1780-1800.[83] Still preserves an epitaph painted by Stan of Rășinari at the end of the 18th c.

ca. 1795 ‖ Alba Iulia – Maieri I ‖ Orthodox church built after the loss of the Maieri II church, in 1761 ‖ It disappeared during the erection of the masonry church in 1795. Icons painted by Simon Oprovici; the four imperial icons made in 1790[84] have disappeared; a few festal icons survived, preserved in the masonry church.

1795 ‖ Oarda de Jos ‖ 1730[85] ‖ Masonry church dated to 1796.[86]

1798 ‖ Cioara monastery ‖ [?] ‖ Church damaged in 1757 and ◆

in 1788; demolished in 1798; materials reused in the wooden church of Cioara (today Sălișstea), where a fragment of the painted iconostasis also also ended up.[87] Icons painted in 1767 by Stan of Rășinari and icons commissioned in 1770 by monk Chiril,[88] in the Museikon collection.

1801 ‖ Tătârlaua ‖ before 1733 ‖ Initial church of the Romanian community built on a land conceded by the revenue office a few years before the Inochentian conscription, by priest Crăciun, still active in 1733, and by his parishioner Stan Urde;[89] replaced with a masonry church in 1801, in turn demolished in 1941 due to landslides.

◆ before 1804 ‖ Cergău Mare ‖ [?] ‖ Church mentioned in the 18th c.; destroyed in a fire before 1804, when the current masonry church was erected. A fragment from the iconostasis (the apostles' frieze) was visible on the planks used to cover the room at the base of the tower until 2010. Painted by Gheorghe son of Iacov, ca. 1780.[90]

before 1805 or after 1867 ‖ Blandiana ‖ [?] ‖ Church mentioned in 1733; give to the Orthodox in 1761; disappeared either as a result of the new Orthodox church's erection before 1805[91] or – if it was later ceded to the Greek-Catholic minority – after the erection of the Greek-Catholic building in 1867.[92]

after 1809 ‖ Spătac ‖ [?] ‖ Spurious tradition about the relocation of two churches: the Orthodox one to Tău after 1737, under pressure from the Uniate;[93] and the Uniate one to Ohaba, in early 19th c.,[94] after the building of the masonry church in 1809. 1761 data note that the only church of the settlement was built by Maniu Zdrenghea and was restored through the care of one of his relatives, Onka Zdrenghea.[95]

early 19th c. ‖ Răchita ‖ [?] ‖ Masonry church erected in 1809-1818, with material from a 18th c. church mentioned in conscriptions; a bell dated to 1600 and a door from 1797,[96] the latter preserved in the collection of the 'Astra' Museum in Sibiu.

1811[97] ‖ Cetea, Orthodox church[98] ‖ before 1733 ‖ Lack of data.

ca. 1812 ‖ Trâmpoiele ‖ [?] ‖ Masonry church built in 1812 with material from the previous wooden church, existing in 1733; a bell dated to 1702.[99]

1815 ‖ Alecuș ‖ [?] ‖ Church mentioned in 1733; embellished and painted through the care of Tode Puskás before 1761;[100] replaced by the current masonry church in 1815.[101]

ca. 1819 ‖ Crăciunelu de Jos ‖ [?] ‖ Wooden church (?) preceding the current masonry one, erected in 1819;[102] the wooden church could have been renovated by just two persons in mid-18th c.[103]

1820 ‖ Săsciori ‖ [?] ‖ Wooden church abandoned after the building of the masonry church in 1790-1791;[104] it survived until 1820, when its materials were used in the renovation of the Vingard church.[105]

1824 or 1839 ‖ Cricău, Orthodox church ‖ [?] ‖ Church mentioned in 1733, left to the Orthodox; replaced by a masonry church in 1824 or in 1839.

1824[106] ‖ Straja[107] ‖ before 1733 ‖ Lack of data.

ca. 1834 ‖ Sâncel ‖ 1710 ‖ Church renovated in mid-18th c. thanks to the generosity of pious Catholics who provided the wood for construction and to the local priest who decorated it at his own expense;[108] preserved until ca. 1834, when the masonry church was built.[109]

1838 ‖ Lodroman ‖ [?] ‖ Church mentioned by the Innochentian conscription, repaired by villagers before 1761;[110] survived until 1838, when a masonry church was erected,[111] in turn replaced in 1927.

ca. 1840 ‖ Nădăștie ‖ [?] ‖ Wooden church of ca. 1840; a bell dated to 1732; abandoned, a sign that the current masonry church had already been built.[112]

after 1841[113] ‖ Glod[114] ‖ before 1733 ‖ Lack of data.

1847-1848[115] ‖ Arada (today Horea)[116] ‖ before 1750 ‖ Lack of data.

◆ 1848-1849 ‖ Micești ‖ [?] ‖ Wooden church mentioned in 1733; destroyed during the 1848-1849 Revolution; masonry church built in 1866; preserves a bell dated to 1794, taken from the previous church.[117]

1853 ‖ Ciugudu de Sus ‖ ca. 1700 ‖ Church sanctified by bishop Atanasie Anghel (1761 data);[118] was replaced by the current masonry one in 1853.[119]

1853 ‖ Pănade ‖ 1754 ‖ Church mentioned in 1733; rebuilt in 1754; imperial icons by Oprea Zugravul painted in 1755; festal icons added in 1770. Transferred to the masonry church built in 1853; again transferred to the church erected in 1974-1978, where they could still be seen in 1984.[120] The current location of the icons is unknown.

after 1855 ‖ Șibot ‖ [?] ‖ Wooden church mentioned in an 1855 inventory of the masonry one; used for keeping candlesticks at that time.[121]

1866 ‖ Doștat ‖ mid-18th c. ‖ Wooden (?) church; preceding (by a century) the building of a new masonry church as early as 1866;[122] the latter replaced in turn an edifice ruined due to old age, founded by a Catholic of the Rácz[123] noble family.

ca. 1867 ‖ Dumbrava (com. Unirea) ‖ [?] ‖ Wooden (?) church; preceding the masonry one built in 1867; icon of Virgin Mary with Child dated to 1738, attributed to Nistor of Rășinari,[124] nowadays in the church of Dumbrava monastery (Fig. 14).

1869 ‖ Poiana Vadului ‖ [?] ‖ Wooden church brought toward the end of the 18th c. from the hamlet of Stănești; replaced in 1869 by a masonry church; the recovered material was used for the building of the confessional school; later also demolished and rebuilt in the hamlet of Făgetu de Sus, when traces of painting were noticed.[125] Three icons attributed to Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu survived.

after 1872[126] ‖ Făget ‖ rebuilt in 1721[127] ‖ Impressive number of icons by Nechita Zugravul (1754), Iacov of Rășinari (mid-18th c.), and his son, Nicolae of Feisa (1774-1775) survived from the wooden church.

1874 ‖ Cheile Cibului – monastery church[128] ‖ ca. 1793 ‖ Masonry church dated to 1869, according to the commemorative inscription (after 2000).

1877 ‖ Lupu, Greek-Catholic church ‖ [?] ‖ Wooden church mentioned in 1733; renovated and painted through the care of Greek-Catholic protopope Maniu from Broșteni in the following decades.[129] This may be the reason why it was used by a few Greek-Catholic families in 1760. Decommissioned in 1877; the current masonry church was erected next to it, finalized in 1890. After the 1948 confessional reunification, this church remained the only church used in the liturgical service, the wooden Orthodox one being abandoned.

1879 ‖ Iclod ‖ [?] ‖ Renovated in 1733-1760;[130] replaced with the current masonry church in 1879.[131] A bell dated to the 18th c. survived.

1881 ‖ Bucerdea Vinoasă, Greek-Catholic church[132] ‖ 1861 ‖ Lack of data.

1884 ‖ Lunca (com. Valea Lungă) ‖ [?] ‖ Church mentioned in 1733; repaired in 1751 with the money resulted from church's revenues from the lands granted to it in the Theresian legislation;[133] survived until 1884, when a stone church was built,[134] possibly the current church, allegedly erected in 1907 (only important repairs were probably made at this other date).

1884 ‖ Vadu Moților (Săcătura) ‖ 1516 ‖ Church burnt by a lightning strike.[135] ◆

after 1890 ‖ Mihalț, Orthodox church ‖ after 1781 ‖ Wooden Orthodox church of the settlement, built after the Edict of Tolerance issued by emperor Joseph II in 1781; icon of the patron saint painted by Simon Oprovici in 1798, today in the Museikon collection; festal icons by an unknown but talented[136] painter, dated to the first half of the 19th c., in the same collection. Church disappears without trace after the building of the masonry church in 1890.

1891 ‖ Izvoarele (com. Livezile) ‖ Rebuilt in mid-18th c. with Catholic support[137] ‖ Wooden (?) church; an icon of The Descent of the Holy Spirit made by Iacov of Rășinari in mid-

18th c. and a Deesis icon painted by 'Sima Zugravul Logofăt, son of teacher Oprea from Craiova' in 1764;[138] the icons are in the Museikon collection.

1892 ‖ Hopârta ‖ second half of the 17th c. ‖ Church erected by Toader Șandru and renovated by priest Petru in the first half of the 18th c.;[139] replaced with the current masonry church in 1892; icons painted by Iacov of Rășinari and by his son, Gheorghe (1778);[140] in the Museikon collection (Fig. 15).

1893 ‖ Valea Lungă ‖ Built in 1753 on the land and at the expense of the local Catholic noble Ladislau Desi[141] ‖ Lack of data.

◆ 1898 ‖ Uioara de Sus (today Unirea) ‖ [?] ‖ Church built with the support of Ștefan Mikes of Zăbala[143] († 1761); disappeared in a fire of 1898.[142]

◆ 1898 ‖ Ungurei ‖ [?] ‖ Church destroyed; material reused for the building of the current church, except for the tower, which is of masonry, in 1898;[144] glass icons attributed to Petru of Topârcea and to anonymous icon painters from Șcheii Brașovului and Nicula.

1898 ‖ Tăuni ‖ 1757 ‖ Church mentioned in 1733; entirely rebuilt in 1757;[145] survived until 1898, when it was replaced with the masonry one; icons painted by Popa Nicolae of Feisa; nowadays in the collection of the Blaj History Museum.[146]

◆ second half of the 19th c. ‖ Vinerea, Orthodox church ‖ before 1795 ‖ Masonry church given to the Greek-Catholic in the second half of the 18th c.; Orthodox church erected prior to 1795 (local tradition holds that it was made of wood); used until the second half of the 19th c. when the Orthodox retook to the old church as the Greek-Catholic parish ceased to exist.[147]

◆ end of the 19th c. ‖ Tecșești[148] ‖ 1700 ‖ Wooden church destroyed during the building of the new one, also wooden; several wood and glass icons of the old church (18th c.-early 20th c.).[149]

1900 ‖ Ponorel, Orthodox church ‖ 1727 ‖ Material reused for the building of the school.[150]

1902 ‖ Leorinț[151] ‖ 1804 ‖ Lack of data.

1903 ‖ Cunța ‖ [?] ‖ Wooden church, mentioned in 18th c. conscriptions, survived until 1903, when the building of the masonry church began.[152]

1904 ‖ Roșia de Secaș[153] ‖ 1753 ‖ Icon from the first decades of the 18th c., attributed to Ivan of Rășinari, recently discovered and taken to the museum of Negraia monastery. Three more icons were of the same provenance; they were painted by Ivan of Rășinari in 1732; in the collection of the Blaj History Museum.[154]

1904 ‖ Decea, Greek-Catholic church ‖ 1820[155] ‖ Local tradition mentions a church brought from Măgina.[156]

◆ 1906 ‖ Asinip ‖ 1810 ‖ Church replacing an older one; repaired by priests Toader and Petru in mid-18th c.;[157] destroyed by strong winds in 1906.[158]

After 1906 ‖ Aiudu de Sus ‖ before 1750 ‖ Church erected by villagers before 1750, with the permission of Empress Maria Theresa; relocated to Aiud in 1785; disappeared after 1906. Nicolae Iorga, who visited the church in that year, saw traces of painting.[159] Only one icon signed by Ion from Beriu and dated to 1749[160] survived; currently in the Museikon collection (Fig. 16).

1907 ‖ Galtiu[161] ‖ 1748 ‖ Lack of data.

1908 ‖ Gârbova (Sebeș)[162] ‖ 1789 ‖ Wooden church with a masonry tower.

after 1908 ‖ Sălciua de Jos, Orthodox church[163] ‖ ca. 1780 ‖ Icons painted by Simon of Bălgrad 1794-1795; in the Museikon collection.

after 1908 ‖ Bucerdea Grânoasă ‖ [?] ‖ Older church of the Romanian community mentioned in 1733; a new church erected ca. 1745 with through the contribution of a lady of the Macslás[164] noble family; restored in 1800; made of wood[165] according to the 1887 Jubilee Schematismus of the Blaj Metropolitan bishop; ended up again in ruins. A masonry church was erected in its immediate proximity in 1908; a bell of the old church with undecipherable Latin inscription is still preserved.

1909 ‖ Dumitra ‖ ca. 1735 ‖ Church mentioned as being 230 years old in 1865;[166] decommissioned in 1909 and sold for the price of 1 crown and 90 filers; one icon painted by Simon Oprovici survived;[167] in the Museikon collection.

after 1909 ‖ Inoc[168] ‖ 1821 ‖ Church replaced in 1821; an icon attributed to Ion of Beriu, dated to mid-18th c.; two more icons probably made after 1821;[169] in the Museikon collection.

1910 ‖ Cricău, Greek-Catholic church[170] ‖ 1825 ‖ Lack of data.

1910 ‖ Șpring, Greek-Catholic church ‖ [?] ‖ Material recovered and sold through public auction, the buyer using it for household.[171]

1910 ‖ Tărtăria ‖ [?] ‖ Wooden church demolished in 1910;[172] three of its icons seen in 1977, disappeared during the last renovation of the current church, one of them being painted by Pop Tudor Zugraf.[173]

1911 ‖ Decea, Orthodox church[174] ‖ before 1750 ‖ Lack of data.

1911 ‖ Sânmiclăuș ‖ 1751[175] or 1799[176] ‖ Wooden church; one icon attributed to Iacov of Rășinari and another one attributed to his son, Nicolae of Feisa (both in the Cut parish museum); one icon painted by the other son of Iacov, Gheorghe, in 1775, in the collection of the Blaj History Museum.[177]

1912 ‖ Cistei-Târnave ‖ 17th c. ‖ Wooden church dated to 1744 according to the Jubilee Schematismus of the Blaj Metropolitan bishop;[178] considered to be very old in mid-18th c.,[179] a sign that repairs were made in 1744, probably recorded in a the dedicatory inscription still visible in 1900; current masonry church erected in 1912, the previous one being ruined; a bell dated to 1548 and a few icons painted by Oprea Zugravul in 1752 and Simon Oprovici in 1799;[180] in the Museikon collection.

1912 ‖ Meșcreac[181] ‖ 1703 ‖ Icon attributed to Iacov of Rășinari; other two icons attributed to Simon Oprovici;[182] in the Museikon collection.

ca. 1912 ‖ Glogovet ‖ [?] ‖ Church of 1761 endowed by Petru Dumitru;[183] endowed with a bell bishop Ioan Bob, which was added to the 1725 bell donated by priest Tudor; both in the new church built in 1912.

after 1912 ‖ Cenade ‖ [?] ‖ Romanian church mentioned by the 1733 conscription; soon disappeared; new wooden church built on the land donated by count György Bánffi (the place is mentioned in the conscription of general Buccow), with the contribution of Onofrei Oprea of Broșteni and Besu Oprea of Cenade;[184] located in the immediate proximity of the parsonage; new liturgical objects in 1798 and 1813, donated by several members of the Suciu family, who hired painter Petru of Topârcea for this purpose; part of the dowry offered then (imperial doors and two candlesticks) adorns the current masonry church erected in 1912 on a new site, in the centre of the village.

after 1912 ‖ Șugag ‖ [?] ‖ Church built before 1750; photographed in 1912 (Fig. 17); painted by Simion Poienaru of Laz, ca. 1837-1838;[185] festal icon by the same artist dated to 1837 (current location unknown);[186] icon of the Virgin Mary with Child by Ioan Covaci of Orăștie in 1792, currently in the collection of the 'First Romanian School' Museum in Șcheii Brașovului.[187]

1913 ‖ Șpring, Orthodox church[188] ‖ ca. 1700 ‖ Church mentioned in 1761, allegedly dating to the times of bishop Atanasie Anghel;[189] two imperial icons painted by Nistor of Rășinari in 1733;[190] in the Museikon collection (Fig. 18).

1913 ‖ Loman[191] ‖ [?] ‖ Several wood and glass icons by painters Savu (1819), Simion (1821), and Toma Poienaru (1867) of Laz; nowadays in the masonry church.[192]

after 1928[193] ‖ Ciugud, Orthodox church ‖ before 1787[194] ‖ A bell dated to 1806.

inter-war period ‖ Uioara de Jos (today Unirea)[195] ‖ [?] ‖

Church built by Stanislav Chirilă, One Crăciun, and Petru Pustim in 1717.[196]

inter-war period ‖ Sălciua de Sus ‖ [?] ‖ Two churches mentioned in the 1733 conscription; icons dated to the beginning of the 18th c.; iconostasis with four paintings by Gheorghe Tobias of Abrud (1737);[197] in the Museikon collection (Fig. 19).

1920 ‖ Cheia ‖ [?] ‖ Lost church; twelve festal icons attributed to Simon Oprovici, three other ones attributed to Gheorghe, son of Iacov; one icon attributed to Gheorghe Tobias of Abrud; and one icon by Martin Simion of Galda de Sus in 1803; in the current church. The antimins given by metropolitan bishop Gavriil of Moldavia in 1761, was moved to the collections of the Metropolitan Bishopric of Cluj in 1958.[198]

1924 ‖ Jidvei ‖ 1813 ‖ Masonry church dated to 1927.[199]

1925 ‖ Ciuguzel[200] ‖ 1678 ‖ Church renovated in 1804; masonry church built in 1925-1928.[201]

1925 ‖ Overem[202] ‖ 1725 ‖ Masonry church dated to 1926.[203]

1926 ‖ Cetea, Greek-Catholic church[204] ‖ 1841[205] ‖ Masonry church dated to 1924.[206]

1926 ‖ Daia Română, Orthodox church[207] ‖ before 1786 ‖ Imperial icons made by Petru of Topârcea in 1786;[208] in the Museikon collection.

1926 ‖ Fărău, Greek-Catholic church[209] ‖ 1814[210] ‖ Lack of data.

1927 ‖ Gâmbaș ‖ [?] ‖ One church, initially located close to the Reformed church (probably the first church of the community, built after the conscription of 1761); relocated in 1912-1913 in the village, until 1927;[211] the 1733[212] conscription explicitly mentioned Gâmbaș as lacking a Romanian church.

1927 ‖ Ohaba, Orthodox church ‖ 1818 ‖ Wooden church mentioned in 1733; replaced in 1818 by another one (also of wood); disappeared in 1927;[213] a fragment of the iconostasis[214] in the local museum.

◆ 1927 ‖ Ponorel, Greek-Catholic church ‖ [?] ‖ Wooden church demolished in 1927 to erect a new Greek-Catholic one, with the approval for demolition[215] given by the Committee for Historical Monuments. The new construction was also made of wood.

1929 ‖ Galați ‖ 1823 ‖ Wooden church mentioned in 1733; replaced in 1823 with another one also made of wood; disappeared in 1929.[216]

◆ 1930 ‖ Orăști ‖ [?] ‖ New wooden church replacing the old one in 1930.[217]

ca. 1930 ‖ Sântimbru ‖ [?] ‖ Church allegedly dating to 1442 (as argued in 1900);[218] seen by Nicolae Iorga in 1906, when it was abandoned and its paintings were falling; replaced with the new masonry church two decades later;[219] one icon (1818) and another one dated to early 18th c.;[220] both icons in the Museikon collection.

ca. 1930 ‖ Totoi ‖ before 1733 ‖ Wooden church mentioned in 1733; masonry church built by the Orthodox community in 1893; surviving well into the '30s.[221]

1932 ‖ Căptălan[222] ‖ 1827 ‖ Lack of data.

◆ after 1932 ‖ Petelca ‖ 1835 ‖ Wooden church renovated in mid-18th c.;[223] replaced by a new wooden church 1835; in turn replaced in 1932.[224]

after 1932 ‖ Uioara de Jos (today Unirea), church of the former Ciunga monastery ‖ [?] ‖ Icons painted by Iacov of Rășinari (1746), nowadays in the collection of the Blaj History Museum. One icon was lost (the Virgin Mary with Child), probably in the context of the 1761 events, and was replaced with another one painted by Iacov as well, now in the iconostasis 'Church of the Greeks' in Blaj. The icons were brought to Blaj in 1932, shortly before the destruction of the church; a dedicatory inscription mentions the latter's painting in 1830.[225]

after 1932 ‖ Beldiu[226] ‖ 1816 ‖ Masonry church dated to 1939.[227]

after 1932 ‖ Căpud ‖ 1854 ‖ Church mentioned in 18th c. documents;[228] replaced with a new one erected in 1854; a bell (1752, preserved in the new masonry church); an icon of the Virgin Mary with Child attributed to Gheorghe Tobias of Abrud; a Pantocrator icon attributed to Iacov of Rășinari; two icons by Gheorghe, son of Iacov dated to 1797 and 1802;[229] all icons in the Museikon collection.

After 1932 ‖ Ocna Mureș ‖ 1811 ‖ Church given to the Orthodox in 1761; replaced with another one built by Greek-Catholic salt mine workers in 1811.[230]

after 1932 ‖ Stâna de Mureș ‖ 1751 ‖ Lack of data.

1934 ‖ Sohodol ‖ [?] ‖ Church built or just renovated in 1751; ◆ disappeared after 1932;[231] no traces of its old inventory.

1938 ‖ Ciugud, Greek-Catholic church ‖ 1852 ‖ Church mentioned in the 1733 and 1750[232] conscriptions; reconstructed in 1752; re-built in 1852; a bell dated to 1747.

1940 ‖ Oiejdea ‖ 1600[233] ‖ Wooden church dismantled, the material being used as firewood for the brick ovens of the new church's construction site.[234]

ca. 1943 ‖ Coșlariu ‖ 1795 ‖ Lost church; icons painted by Gheorghe, son of Iacov in 1788 and 1791;[235] in the Museikon collection (Fig. 20-21).

1946 ‖ Sălciua de Jos, Greek-Catholic church ‖ before 1743 ‖ Icons painted by Gheorghe Tobias of Abrud; in the Museikon collection.

after 1948 ‖ Drâmbar, Greek-Catholic church ‖ [?] ‖ Church built in 1761-1831; rebuilt in 1848; relocated due to landslides in 1899; disappeared after the confessional re-unification of 1948.[236]

after 1948 ‖ Ohaba, Greek-Catholic church ‖ 1833[237] ‖ Possibly brought from Spătac.[238]

after 1948 ‖ Găbud, Greek-Catholic church ‖ 1875 ‖ Church ◆ recovered by the Greek-Catholics in 1762 (sole church of the settlement); replaced in 1875 with another one,[239] which disappeared after the confessional re-unification of 1948.

after WW2 ‖ Șeușa ‖ before 1750 ‖ 1952 masonry church.[240]

ca. 1960 ‖ Berghin, Orthodox church[241] ‖ 1721[242] ‖ Church ◆ abandoned after the confessional re-unification of 1948; disappeared; vague traces in the collective memory.

ca. 1960 ‖ Mogoș-Miclești ‖ 1711 or 1731[243] ‖ Monumental church, as seen in archive photographs; abandoned and ruined after the erection of the masonry church; its sculptures and paintings are lost; several icons painted in 1732, 1740 (Fig. 22), and 1835 survived;[244] in the Museikon collection.

after 1965 ‖ Micoșlaca ‖ [?] ‖ Church brought from Ponor ◆ (according to the local tradition), after a new masonry church was built there in 1804-1809;[245] fragments of painting dated to 1777;[246] destroyed by lightning after 1965; procession cross attributed to Gheorghe, son of Iacov, and eleven festal icons painted by painter Mincu from Wallachia in 1839; preserved in the parsonage.[247]

1968 ‖ Lupu, Orthodox church ‖ after 1761 ‖ Church left to a ◆ small Greek-Catholic community in 1760, whose number gradually increased until the local Orthodox became a minority; the Orthodox community nevertheless erected a church of its own; in turn destroyed and replaced with a relocated wooden church brought from Porumbacu de Sus (Sibiu county) in 1905 (according to the local tradition); abandoned in favour of the Greek-Catholic masonry church after the confessional re-unification from 1948; preserved nonetheless until 1968.

1980s ‖ Șpălnaca, Greek-Catholic church ‖ before 1761 ‖ ◆ Church dedicated to the 'Holy Archangels'; was restored in 1850; painted by Porfirie Șarlea of Feisa in 1858;[248] collapsed during a landslide.

1980s ‖ Mirăslău ‖ [?] ‖ Church built by priest Togya of Asinip (according to a 1761 mention);[249] apse reused from a previous church, with decent quality painting; nave added in 1846; narthex and bell tower added later; icons painted by an anonymous mid-18th c. painter, by Simon Oprovici in 1795,

and by Nicolae Zugravul in 1830; in the Museikon collection. The painted iconostasis, dated to 1855-1867 with the contribution of those named by the dedicatory inscription, was attributed to Porfirie Șarlea of Feisa. A note from a liturgical book dates some paintings to 1826; a mention of "Vasilie Ban and his son, Porfirie, of Feisa" in a lost inscription transcribed on a cabinet used as proskomedia;[250] cabinet currently in the collection of Măgina monastery.

1980s ‖ Sânbenedic, Greek-Catholic church ‖ [?] ‖ Church dedicated to 'St. Nicolas'; mentioned in 1733; renovated in 1760;[251] entrance frame, dated to 1773, and imperial doors, painted by Popa Nicolae of Feisa.

1988 ‖ Berghin, Greek-Catholic church ‖ [?] ‖ Church burnt in 1820, possibly Greek-Catholic,[252] erected as early as 1774 (year when the parish was created);[253] rebuilt in 1824 and dedicated to the Apostles Peter and Paul; replaced in 1900 with a church relocated from Gârbova de Jos, re-dedicated to the patron saints of the previous church; ruined in the '80s, after the erection of the masonry church. The Gârbova de Jos church was again relocated to Alba Iulia and placed in one of the fortification's bastion in order to mark the place where the Orthodox Metropolitan Bishopric of Transylvania was located until the beginning of the 18th c.

2006 ‖ Hăpria ‖ before 1733 ‖ Wooden church already existing in 1733; stone altar added in 1852; demolished in 2006 due to its advanced degradation; remnants of murals found during the decommissioning, signed by Gheorghe, son of Iacov; preserved in the parsonage; an iconostasis fragment preserved after 1852 reconstruction (apostles' frieze and *molenia* icons), signed by Nicolae Zugravul of Feisa, as well as the imperial icons, attributed to Ion of Beriu, and other icons dated to 1801 and 1810;[254] in the Museikon collection.

2006 ‖ Silivaș ‖ [?] ‖ Church components dated to the 17th c. (apse), 1820 (nave), 1894 (porch integrated in the nave), and 1930 (new porch, roof tiles, interior and exterior plaster);[255] icons in the collection of the Archbishopric of Alba Iulia since the 20th c.; one icon attributed to Iacov of Rășinari;[256] in the Museikon collection.

2008-2009 ‖ Gheoncani ‖ 1877 ‖ Church built on the site donated by Ioan Gheonca, with the contribution of Gavril Bălan, Teodor Bălțat, Vasile Ung, and Ioan David.[257]

2009 ‖ Vingard ‖ [?] ‖ Church erected in 1750;[258] restorations in the first decades of the 19th c., when, according to the local tradition, a church from Săsciori was relocated there, probably only as building material for an extension;[259] abandoned after the construction of the masonry church; destroyed in a fire of 2009; described by Ioana Cristache-Panait[260] and Ioana Rustoiu;[261] inventory partially salvaged from the fire and relocated to the National Museum of the Union in Alba Iulia (imperial doors by Damian Zugravul of Cugir in 1773; iconostasis cross with *molenia* icons, painted by Savu and Simion Poienaru of Laz in 1822 (Fig. 23); tetrapod painted with floral motifs in the 18th c.; epitaph painted by Savu Poienaru in 1811; glass icon of the Resurrection of Jesus, with 12 feast scenes, by Simion Poienaru); in the Museikon collection. The disappearance of the valuable mural ensemble, made in several stages by Petru of Topârcea (1822), Savu and Simion Poienaru (1820-1825, 1828), represents a great loss for the Romanian art from the first half of the 19th c.

Wooden churches with unrecorded disappearance:

Almașu de Mijloc ‖ Church mentioned in 18th c. conscriptions; glass icons and icons painted by Nicolae of Ludoș (late 18th c.) and Ioan Pop from Făgăraș (1839).

Avram Iancu ‖ Famous for its richly decorated portals.[262]

Biharea ‖ The present wooden church, built in 1872,[263] has a wooden icon of the Virgin Mary with Child, probably inherited from a previous church and dated to 1780, attributed to Simion Silaghi-Sălăgeanu, and a glass icon dated to 1798, attributed to the first workshop of Nicula village.[264]

Boz ‖ Mentioned in the Inochentian conscription of 1733; another 1761 mention specifying that the builder and the dating were unknown;[265] probably of considerable age. Given to the Orthodox in 1761; no further mentions. It may have survived until early 20th c. as an Orthodox church or it could have been the Greek-Catholic church whose bad state was mentioned in 1806.[266] The Orthodox of Boz intended to bring to their village the wooden church of Pianu de Sus in 1898, to avoid the danger of conversion by the Greek-Catholics, whose new stone church was unused[267] and were proposing the common erection of a Uniate church.[268]

Căpâlna ‖ Wooden church of the old settlement in a place called Pârloguri.[269]

Căpâlna de Jos ‖ Church mentioned in the Inochentian conscription, painted by / due to Petru Fleșar of Cistei in 1745-1750;[270] Orthodox since 1760. Local inhabitants moved from Orthodox to Greek-Catholic, so that a Greek-Catholic parish was founded for the second time in 1790, integrating the last converts in 1834. Old church disappeared without explanation. The local inhabitants remember two wooden churches, one Orthodox, one Greek-Catholic; nowadays only a stone church with tower erected in 1863. For a time this church housed a 1791 bell, nowadays lost, and two icons by painter Nicolae of Feisa, dated to the late 18th c., nowadays in the Museikon collection in Alba Iulia.

Cetatea de Baltă ‖ Church mentioned in 1733, located in the *Magoshegy* suburb of the settlement; unrenovated in 1761.[271] The local inhabitants remember a wooden church in the old cemetery, at the exit towards Tătârlaua, which would have burnt in a fire at an unknown date, before 1886. Several icons painted by painters from Feisa: Iacov and his sons, Gheorghe and Nicolae, as well as an collection of glass icons, all of them kept at the parsonage.

Cib ‖ Greek-Catholic wooden church; unclear chronology.

Galda de Sus ‖ Two churches mentioned in 1761; local tradition confirms that they were made of wood. Their mobile inventory was preserved in the late 18th c. stone church (later only church of the settlement after the confessional re-unification). Noteworthy: gilded silver cross donated by voivode Matei Basarab in 1645; 17th and 18th c. icons, some by Grigore Ranite of Craiova (in the Museikon collection and at the Ethnographic Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca); other icons by Simon of Alba Iulia (three of them in the church and a 1782 one in the Museikon collection), by Oprea Zugravul and Stan of Rășinari (dated to 1743 and 1782, in the Museikon collection).

Gura Arieșului ‖ Lost 18th c.church; icon of Michael the Archangel attributed to Iacov of Rășinari; icon of the Virgin Mary with the Child by his son, Gheorghe; image of the Holy Trinity, dated to 1818.[272]

Gura Negrii ‖ Books donated in 1701 and 1805; disappeared without further mentions.[273]

Limba ‖ Lost church; three late 18th c. icons by Simon of Alba Iulia, Petru of Topârcea, and an anonymous painter;[274] in the Museikon collection.

Lunca Târnavei ‖ Two churches mentioned in 1733; one probably for the Romanian inhabitants of Șona (disappeared before 1760); the other one was repaired and sanctified by the vicar Nicolae Pop of Biia (also lost);[275] new church built for the relocated village in mid-19th c.

Mogoș-Mămăligani ‖ Lost church; icons painted by Ion from Beriu (1754) and Ioan Costea-Verman (1835);[276] in the Museikon collection.

Poiana Aiudului ‖ Lost church, mentioned in 1761 (built by the ancestors of the priest);[277] two icons preserved, one painted in 1774 by Gheorghe, son of Iacov, and another one attri-

buted to Andrei of Cluj (mid-18th c.),[278] both of them in the Museikon collection); imperial doors made by an anonymous craftsman (late 18th c.), at Măgina monastery.

Sântămărie ‖ Church for the Romanian community, built ca. 1733-1750 with donations of Sendrei family (Catholics) and embellished by Pascu Veseușan.[279] An icon of Christ, painted by Gheorghe, son of Iacov (second half of 18th c.), and a tetrapod cross, painted by Porfirie Șarlea of Feisa (mid-19th c.), were preserved in the new wooden church erected in 1887,[280] missing since the erection of the stone church.

Vârtop ‖ Lost wooden church; one of its glass icons dated to 1851 was painted by Ioan Pop of Făgăraș, currently in the Museikon collection (Fig. 24).

Vidra de Jos ‖ 'Three Holy Hierarchs' church; known for one of its icons (*Deesis*) signed in 1729 by Dumitru Zugravul, nowadays in the Museikon collection.[281]

Vurpăr ‖ Wooden church of the Greek-Catholic community; it had roof tiles and was in good condition in 1883; disappeared.[282]

Wooden churches out of liturgical use:

Drâmbar ‖ Prior to 1761, relocated to the current site in 1878 due to landslides.[283]

Ghirbom ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-A-00231, considered to belong to the 17th c., according to the dating on the rood screen's beam: 1688, painting from the beginning of the 19th c.; benefited from restoration works in 1977 and in 2010-2013.[284]

Băgău ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-B-00181, built in 1710, renovated in 1756 and 1847, painted in 1806.[285]

Găbud ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-a-A-00221, built before 1774, since the first stage of the painting dates, finished in 1777.[286]

Lunca Mureșului ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-A-00247, allegedly dated to 1723, painted in 1810 and 1868,[287] benefited from restoration works between 2010-2013.

Noșlac ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-B-00255, erected before 1783, renovated in 1803, painted in 1822.[288]

Sânbenedic, 'Holy Archangels' church ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-B-00317, built in 1775, partially painted in 1804, extended in 1837, entirely repainted in 1861.[289]

Sâncrai ‖ Prior to 1733, renovated in 1761 and 1855, without painting.[290]

Șpălnaca, 'St. George' church ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-a-B-00368, renovated in 1865, painted by Porfirie Șarlea in 1868.[291]

Șilea, 'St. Nicolas' church ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-A-b-00366, built in 1774, painted in 1871.[292]

Turdaș ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-a-B–00378, before mid-18th c., renovated and painted in 1807.[293]

Gârda de Sus ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-A-00228, built in 1792, painted in 1804, recently restored.[294]

Sartăș ‖ Historical monument, code AB–II–m–B-00313, built prior to 1780 (date for the painting of the nave), extended in 1827 and 1828 to the altar and the narthex.[295]

Tău ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-a-B–00370, renovated in mid-18th c., enlarged in 1820, painted in 1822-1829.[296]

Pianu de Sus ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-a-A-00 262, rebuilt and painted in 1761, extended in the first half of the 19th c., additional painting in 1830.[297]

Săliștea ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-A-00314, erected in 1798, painted in early 19th c., possibly 1804.[298]

Wooden churches still in use:

Alba Iulia, 'Mihai Viteazul' parish ‖ Church brought from Berghin, entirely reconstructed.

Alba Iulia, 'St. Anthony the Great' parish ‖ Church brought from Brăzești, transformed. Historical monument, code AB-II-a-A-00193, built in 1769.[299]

Alba Iulia, 'St. Paraskeva' parish ‖ Built in 1993.

Alba Iulia, 'St. John the Forerunner' Monastery ‖ Church brought from Acmariu, entirely reconstructed. Historical monument, code AB-II-a-A-00170, built in 1768.[300]

Arieșeni ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-a-A-00177, built in 1791, painted in 1829.[301]

Bârlești ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-B-00184, built in 1844, painted in 1846.[302]

Certege, 'St. George' church ‖ Built in 1833.

Certege, 'St. Nicolas' church ‖ Built in 1838.

Cisteiu de Mureș ‖ Rebuilt in 1983-1985.

Cojocani ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-B-00207, built in 1769, painted in 1769 and 1771.[303]

Colibi ‖ Built in 1880.

Copand ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-B-00210, built in 1733-1750, relocated from the initial site in 1856, when it was painted as well.[304]

Dealu Geoagiului ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-A-00216, built in 1742.[305]

Fărău ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-A-00217, Orthodox church, renovated before 1761, rebuilt and painted in 1842, with additional material recovered from a church in Sâniacob (Mureș county) being.[306]

Geogel ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-A-00230, erected in 1751, western extension in 1823, stone apse built after 1848, paintings in 1756, 1770, and 1870.[307]

Goiești ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-A-00232, painted in 1790.[308]

Întregalde ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-B-00240, built in 1769, painted in late 18th c.[309]

Lăzești ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-B-00242, prior to 1738, painted in 1744, partially repainted in 1817.[310]

Lunca Arieșului ‖ Built in 1853.

Lupșa Monastery ‖ Monastery church, historical monument, code AB-II-m-A-00384, periodically rebuilt, painted in 1694, and mid-17th c. iconostasis almost entirely preserved.[311]

Mătișești ‖ Built in 1905.

Oașa Monastery ‖ Built in 1979-1996.

Olteni ‖ Built in 1926.

Orăști ‖ Built in 1953.

Ponorel, Greek-catholic church ‖ Built in 1927.

Popești ‖ Built in 1898.

Poșaga de Jos ‖ Built in 1927.

Poșaga de Sus-Belioara ‖ Built in 1863.

Poșaga, Izvor Hermitage ‖ Built in 1935.

Runc ‖ Built in 1852.

Săliștea, Afteia Monastery ‖ Built in 1935-1952.

Sânbenedic, 'Saint Nicolas' church ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-A-00316, mentioned in 1733, renovated in 1760, rebuilt after 1990.[312]

Sebeș, Hospital ‖ Church brought from Cerghid (Mureș county) in 2005.

Stâna de Mureș ‖ Built in 1946.

Sub Piatră Monastery ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-A-00361, erected in 1797-1798, mural paintings in 1844.[313]

Șilea Monastery ‖ 'Holy Archangels' church, brought from Șilea. Historical monument, code AB-II-m-A-00365-01, allegedly dated to 1664, rebuilt in 1745, painted in 1843.[314]

Șoimuș ‖ Church brought from Rădești (Fig. 5). Built in 1675, rebuilt in Șoimuș (neighbouring village) in 1911.[315]

Tecșești ‖ Built in 1900.

Ungurei ‖ Wooden church dated to 1898, stone tower.

Valea Inzelului ‖ Built in 1868.

Valea Largă ‖ Historical monument, code AB-II-m-B-00382, buil in 1737, painted in 1782.[316]

Valea Mare (Răcătău) ‖ Built in 1800.

Vidolm ‖ Built in 1762.

Notes:

1 The archive are kept at the National History Museum of Transylvania from Cluj-Napoca (still MNIT-CMIT).

2 On April 1, 1931, the Orthodox bishop of Cluj, Nicolae Ivan, addressed the following request to the Committee: "The believers of our church from Cucerdea commune, Târnava Mică county, willing to build a new church by themselves on the place of the existing old one, which, based on the account of our priest there, is made out of wood, having been built around 1600, kindly ask you to delegate the architect of the Committee of Historical Monuments on the spot at your earliest convenience, in order to assess whether there are any old or artistic material in that church to be stored in a museum, before it is demolished, demolition which will be carried out in the following days, once the building of the new church is undertaken in exactly the same place as the old one" (*Credincioșii bisericei noastre din comuna Cucerdea, județul Târnavei mici, voind să-și edifice biserică nouă în locul celei vechi de azi, care după referatul preotului nostru de acolo este de lemn și de prin anul 1600, vă roagă să binevoiți a delega de urgență la fața locului pe arhitectul comisiunii monumentelor istorice spre a se convinge dacă nu este ceva de reținut pentru muzeu ca vechime sau artă din acea biserică, înainte de demolarea ei, care va avea loc zilele proxime, după ce-i și dată deja în antrepriză clădirea bisericei celei noi, exact în locul celei vechi*; MNIT-CMIT, no. C3/2521). Given these terms, the reaction of the Committee could only come too late and it would have been useless, as proven by the report of its representative, Atanasie Popa: "From the commission of the Honorable Committee of Historical Monuments, on August 9, 1931, I went to research the wooden church in Cucerdea, Târnava mică. I was expected by two people in Cipău railway station, sent by the local Orthodox priest to tell me not to go to the commune, as the old church had already been demolished and sold to the contractor of the new church, which is under construction" (MNIT-CMIT, no. C3/2612).

3 The church in Sălcud (Mureș county) is an interesting case, as the local parson addressed the Committee of Historical Monuments on August 20, 1938 in the following terms: "I honourably inform you that we started the building of the (new) church long before we were aware of the Honorable Commission's provisions which prohibit the construction of (new) churches near the ones already recognized as historical monuments, provision which was communicated to us by the official body 'Renașterea' of Cluj No 37 of August 30, 1936. Unknowingly, we did not ask for or obtain an authorization. However, we have asked for an expert to ascertain the value and age of the old building, to no avail, both in 1936 and in 1937, through the Venerable Eparchial Council of Cluj. As this is not troubling the Honorable Commission's provision, we kindly ask you to give us clearance for demolition" (*Cu onoare vin a vă comunica că noi de edificarea bisericei (noi) în apropierea bisericei celei vechi ne-am apucat cu mult înainte de-a avea cunoștință de dispozițiile Onoratei Comisii, care interzice construirea bisericei (noi) în apropierea bisericelor declarate monumente istorice, care dispoziție ni s-a comunicat prin organul oficial 'Renașterea' din Cluj No 37 din 30 august 1936. Din necunoștință de cauză nu am cerut și nici nu am obținut autorizație. Am cerut însă atât în anul 1936, cât și în 1937, prin Venerabilul Consiliu Eparhial din Cluj, un expert pentru a constata valoarea și vechimea clădirii celei vechi, însă fără nici un rezultat. Nefiind penibil dispoziției Onoratei Comisii, cu onoare vă rugăm să binevoiți a ne da autorizație pentru demolare*). An earlier letter notes that "the old building endangers the new one due to water infiltration" (MNIT-CMIT, inv. C3/4068 and 4070). Indeed the Diocese of Cluj addressed two requests to the Committee on June 18 and September 27, 1937, asking for the visit of an expert (MNIT-CMIT, no. C3/3995 a and b). The requests were not answered. Another (condescending) was drafted by the parson of Pogăceanu (Mureș county): "In accordance with the instructions received from the Blessed Archepiscopal Consistorium of Blaj, by Order no. 3665-1932 of 12 Julie, I honorably inform you the following: a new church was built in the commune Pogăceaua de Câmpie of Mureș county, in the immediate proximity of the former and older church. This church was built of oak wood over 200 years ago. Given the lack of data, one cannot identify the year of its erection, only that – as the church was painted inside – from the shape of those painted in certain biblical scenes, one could deduce that it was built during the age of Maria Theresa. However, this too cannot be known for sure. We also have old icons and books, as well as a very old wooden cup. I have asked for the approval of the Blessed Consistorium to demolish the old church or sell it – eventually – to a smaller parish that would not have a church, since its material is still of very good quality, especially the oak. This approval was given to us pending the prior approval of the Committee of Historical Monuments in Cluj. So please take the necessary provisions and notify us of somebody's arrival for an inspection of the church at the scene or, possibly, give us other recommendations accordingly, so that we may know what to do" (*În conformitate cu instrucțiunile primite de la Preaveneratul Consistor arhiepiscopesc din Blaj, prin Ordinul Nr. 3665-1932 din 12 Julie, am onoarea a vă comunica următoarele: În comuna Pogăceaua de câmpie din județul Mureș s-a edificat o biserică nouă, în apropierea ei nemijlocită fiind biserica veche și bătrână. Această biserică a fost construită din lemn de stejar înainte cu peste 200 ani. Din lipsă de date nu să poate știi anul edificării, atât doar că – fiind biserica pictată în interior – de pe forma persoanelor pictate în anumite scene biblice s-ar deduce ca fiind edificată pe timpul erei Maria Tereza. Nici aceasta însă nu să știe sigur. Avem apoi icoane și cărți vechi, precum și un potir din lemn foarte vechi. Am cerut încuviințarea Preaveneratului Consistor pentru a demola biserica veche ori a o vinde – eventual – unei parohii mai micuțe care nu ar avea biserică, materialul din ea fiind încă – mai ales stejaru – foarte bun. Aceasta încuviințare ni s-a dat numai după ce vom primi avizul prealabil al Comisiunei pentru monumentele istorice din Cluj. Vă rugăm deci a lua dispoziținile necesare și a ne aviza, dacă să va deplasa cineva pentru constatarea bisericii la fața locului ori, eventual, alte inviațiuni a ne da în consecință, ca să știm ce e de făcut*). The letter was dispatched on August 3, 1932, and has a Post Scriptum testifying to the sender's impatience to eliminate the old church: "Nota bene: The blessing of the new church will take place on August 15, current year." (MNIT-CMIT, no. C3/2807).

4 An eloquent example is given by the request for the demolition of the church in Ernei (Mureș county): "The undersigned church representation, after 13 years of continuous struggle, through whip rounds, donations and aids, managed to see the new church built in the poor and 'magyarized' Greek-Catholic parish of Ernei, Mureș county. It is built on the same beautiful plateau, at the entrance of the village, near the Târgu-Mureș - Reghin road, in the immediate vicinity of the old church, which is almost ruined. We would like to demolish the old church in the shortest time for three reasons: 1) The beautiful aspect of the new Romanian church, dominating not only the entire commune, but a large part of the Mureș Valley towards Târgu-Mureș – is diminished. 2) If by April – the 1st community work session of the premilitaries – we demolish the church, Mr. Commander of the premilitaries will offer us his support in rendering the plateau flat, which can only be fully done after the old church has been removed. 3) The poor parish and its depleted building funds could make good use of [the old church's] material, selling it as construction wood for the completion of the new church. As for us, we declare that the church was also

examined by the Allhonorable of standing memory Elie Câmpean, protopope, yet he did not find the church to bear any historical importance (*Subsemnata reprezentanță bisericească, după o continuă sforțare de 13 ani, prin colecte, donații și ajutoare, a reușit a-și vedea edificată noua biserică în parochia greco-catolică săracă și maghiarizată din Ernei, jud. Mureș. Este clădită pe acelaș platou frumos, în cap de sat, lângă șoseaua Tg.-Mureș – Reghin, în imediata apropiere a celei vechi, care este aproape ruinată. Din trei motive am dori a demola vechea biserică în timpul cel mai scurt: 1) Aspectul frumos ce și l-a luat noua biserică românească, ce domineză nu numai întreaga comună, ci o mare parte a văii Mureșului spre Tg.-Mureș – este micșorat. 2) Dacă până în Aprilie – I-a sesiune a premilitarilor pentru munca de obște – am putea demola biserica, Dl. Comandant al premilitarilor me-a oferit tot sprijinul la planarea platoului, care numai după delăturarea bisericei vechi se poate face în întregime. 3). Parochia săracă și fondurile de edificare exhauriate s-ar ajuta mult prin vinderea materialului ca lemn de construcție, pentru terminarea celei noui. Din parte-ne, declarăm că a fost examinată și din partea Prea onoratului de pie memorie Elie Câmpean, protopop tractual, dar nu i-a aflat vreo însemnătate istorică*; MNIT-CMIT, no. C3/4152).

5 Popa 1930-1931, p. 161-314.

6 MNIT-CMIT, nr. C3/2605 și 2609.

7 MNIT-CMIT, nr. C3/2602.

8 Popa 1930-1931, p. 257-258.

9 Dumitran 2012, p. 243, with the previous bibliography.

10 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 52-53.

11 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 82.

12 Dumitran 2012, p. 169.

13 Fleșer 2001, p. 115.

14 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 135.

15 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 102.

16 The local inhabitants remember a wooden church located in the old cemetery, at the exit towards Tătârlaua, probably burned before 1886.

17 *Monumente de cult din ... Zona Alba Iulia*, p. [65].

18 Built in 1752, relocated in 1907 at Florica (Argeș county). Later relocated at Olănești (Vâlcea county) in 1954-1958; Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 40.

19 Rebuilt in 1784, relocated to Lazuri (Satu-Mare county); Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 118.

20 Relocated to Miercurea Sibiului as early as the end of the 18th century; Fleșer, Rustoiu, Dumitran 2005, p. 36-37.

21 Built in 1707, painted in 1790, sold to the Greek-Catholic parish of Berghin for the amount of 360 crowns; Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 51-52.

22 Relocated at Cacova Ierii (Cluj county) in 1910, according to a note on a photograph taken before its demolition. Icons dating to 1731, attributed to Vasile of Spermezeu, still part of the church's wall; Dumitran 2012, p. 251.

23 Relocated to Micoșlaca; Orian 2009, p. 39.

24 18th century Orthodox church relocated to Lazuri (Satu-Mare county) after 1928; the 1828 Greek-Catholic church was relocated to Hărcana district of the town of Turda in 1935; Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 112-113.

25 Built in 1854, relocated to Valea Mică after 1932; Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 87.

26 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 114.

27 Fleșer, Rustoiu, Dumitran 2005, p. 201.

28 In 1909, for the ridiculous price of 1 crown and 90 filers (SJAAN, fund *Dumitra Greek-Catholic Parish*, file 1/1909.

29 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 132.

30 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 70.

31 Dumitran 2012, p. 108-109.

32 Dumitran 2012, p. 154-155.

33 Dumitran 2012, p. 300-301.

34 Code AB-II-m-B-00365.01 (bell tower, AB-II-m-B-00365.02, preserved in its initial site); Dumitran 2012, p. 316-318.

35 Dumitran 2012, p. 233-235, with the previous bibliography.

36 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 43-44.

37 Miron 2004, p. 332; Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 82.

38 Probably dating to the first half of the 19th century, still in use.

39 Miron 2004, p. 332; Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 98-99.

40 Rustoiu, Fleșer 2007, p. 522-524.

41 Dumitran 2012, p. 196-198.

42 Dumitran 2012, p. 201-202.

43 Dumitran 2012, p. 205.

44 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 53-55.

45 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 84-85.

46 Dumitran 2012, p. 233-235.

47 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 96-97.

48 Rustoiu 2008, p. 11, 79, 83.

49 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 49-51.

50 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 39-40.

51 Dumitran 2012, p. 319-321.

52 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 75.

53 Dumitran 2012, p. 324-326.

54 Dumitran 2012, p. 330-331.

55 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 126.

56 Dumitran 2012, p. 182-183.

57 *Îndrumător Pastoral* 2005, p. 98.

58 Dumitran 2012, p. 209-210.

59 Dumitran 2012, p. 224-225.

60 Dumitran 2012, p. 243.

61 Dumitran 2012, p. 313-315.

62 Dumitran 2012, p. 191-192.

63 Dumitran 2012, p. 298-299.

64 Dumitran 2012, p. 302-303.

65 Miron 2004, p. 333.

66 Miron 2004, p. 333.

67 *Monumente de cult din ... Zona Alba Iulia*, p. [45].

68 Miron 2004, p. 333.b

69 Fleșer, Rustoiu, Dumitran 2005, p. 75-76.

70 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 118.

71 Fleșer 2001, p. 111.

72 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 37.

73 *Îndrumător Pastoral* 2005, p. 99.

74 *Monumente de cult din ... Zona Alba Iulia*, p. [74].

75 Dumitran 2011, p. 275-278.

76 Dumitran 2012, p. 110-112.

77 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 86.

78 *Monumente de cult din ... Zona Alba Iulia*, p. [73].

79 *Monumente de cult din ... Zona Alba Iulia*, p. [70].

80 Fleșer, Rustoiu, Dumitran 2005, p. 47.

81 *Monumente de cult din ... Zona Alba Iulia*, p. [80].

82 Fleșer 2001, p. 115.

83 Fleșer, Rustoiu, Dumitran 2005, p. 111.

84 Cf. MNUAI, colecția de documente, inv. 4292/58, f. 3v.

85 Miron 2004, p. 333.

86 *Îndrumător Pastoral* 2005, p. 99.

87 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 127-128.

88 Dumitran 2012, p. 297-298.

89 Dumitran 2012, p. 328.

90 Dumitran 2012, p. 169.

91 *Monumente de cult din ... Zona Alba Iulia*, p. [96].

92 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 138.
93 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 121.
94 Cristache-Panait 1987p. 56.
95 Miron 2004, p. 325.
96 Fleșer, Rustoiu, Dumitran 2005, p. 102, 106.
97 *Îndrumător Pastoral* 2005, p. 96.
98 *Monumente de cult din ... Zona Alba Iulia*, p. [96].
99 *Monumente de cult din ... Zona Alba Iulia*, p. [83].
100 Miron 2004, p. 326.
101 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 173.
102 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 193.
103 Miron 2004, p. 325.
104 Fleșer, Rustoiu, Dumitran 2005, p. 118.
105 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 132.
106 *Îndrumător Pastoral* 2005, p. 99.
107 *Monumente de cult din ... Zona Alba Iulia*, p. [76].
108 Miron 2004, p. 326.
109 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 178.
110 Miron 2004, p. 334.
111 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 195.
112 *Monumente de cult din ... Zona Alba Iulia*, p. [66].
113 *Îndrumător Pastoral* 2005, p. 109.
114 *Monumente de cult din ... Zona Alba Iulia*, p. [98].
115 *Îndrumător Pastoral* 2005, p. 99.
116 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 40.
117 *Monumente de cult din ... Zona Alba Iulia*, p. [65].
118 Miron 2004, p. 334.
119 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 162.
120 Dumitran 2012, p. 253.
121 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 131.
122 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 531.
123 Miron 2004, p. 330-331.
124 Dumitran 2012, p. 190.
125 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 107-108.
126 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 175.
127 Miron 2004, p. 327.
128 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 43.
129 Miron 2004, p. 330.
130 Miron 2004, p. 326.
131 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 176.
132 *Monumente de cult din ... Zona Alba Iulia*, p. [34].
133 Miron 2004, p. 326.
134 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 195.
135 Cristache-Panait1987, p. 135.
136 Dumitran 2012, p. 240-241.
137 Dumitran 2012, p. 214-215.
138 Miron 2004, p. 334.
139 Miron 2004, p. 332.
140 Dumitran 2012, p. 212.
141 Miron 2004, p. 327.
142 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 102.
143 Miron 2004, p. 332.
144 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 121.
145 Miron 2004, p. 328.
146 Dumitran 2012, p. 326.
147 Fleșer, Rustoiu, Dumitran 2005, p. 177-179.
148 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 81.
149 Dumitran 2012, p. 283-284.
150 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 139-140.
151 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 114.
152 Fleșer, Rustoiu, Dumitran 2005, p. 31.
153 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 119; Miron 2004, p. 325.
154 Dumitran 2012, p. 283-284.
155 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 163.
156 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 88.
157 Miron 2004, p. 332.
158 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 82.
159 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 38.
160 Dumitran 2012, p. 110.
161 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 130.
162 *Biserici din ... Zona Sebeș*, p. [90].
163 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 121.
164 Miron 2004, p. 325.
165 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 190.
166 SJA-AN, fund *Dumitra Greek-Catholic Parish*, file 1/1865, f. 8r.
167 Dumitran 2012, p. 190.
168 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 134.
169 Dumitran 2012, p. 214.
170 *Monumente de cult din ... Zona Alba Iulia*, p. [97].
171 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 132.
172 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 129.
173 Hărdălău 1981, p. 398, 411.
174 SJA-AN, fund *Decea Orthodox Parish*, file 1/1906, f. 1r.
175 Miron 2004, p. 327.
176 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 181.
177 Dumitran 2012, p. 303-304.
178 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 192.
179 Miron 2004, p. 325.
180 Dumitran 2012, p. 177.
181 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 114.
182 Dumitran 2012, p. 238-239.
183 Miron 2004, p. 326.
184 Miron 2004, p. 330.
185 Rustoiu 2008, p. 11, 89.
186 Rustoiu 2008.
187 Dumitran 2012, p. 323.
188 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 132.
189 Miron 2004, p. 333.
190 Dumitran 2012, p. 323.
191 Fleșer, Rustoiu, Dumitran 2005, p. 82.
192 Dumitran 2012, p. 227-228.
193 *Îndrumător Pastoral* 2005, p. 97.
194 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 60.
195 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 102.
196 Miron 2004, p. 334.
197 Dumitran 2012, p. 293-295.
198 Dumitran 2012, p. 173-175.
199 *Îndrumător Pastoral* 2005, p. 113.
200 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 83.
201 *Îndrumător Pastoral* 2005, p. 102.
202 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 84.
203 *Îndrumător Pastoral* 2005, p. 101.
204 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 70.
205 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 139.
206 *Îndrumător Pastoral* 2005, p. 96.
207 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 60.
208 Dumitran 2012, p. 187.
209 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 62.
210 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 446.
211 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 39.
212 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 128.
213 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 104.
214 Hărdălău 1982, p. 370.
215 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 139-140.
216 *Monumente de cult din ... Zona Alba Iulia*, p. [45].
217 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 114.
218 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 145.
219 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 130.
220 Dumitran 2012, p. 304.
221 *Monumente de cult din ... Zona Alba Iulia*, p. [81].
222 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 97.
223 Miron 2004, p. 335.
224 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 134.
225 Lupeanu-Melin 1933.
226 Fleșer, Rustoiu, Dumitran 2005, p. 166.
227 *Îndrumător Pastoral* 2005, p. 102.
228 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 134.
229 Dumitran 2012, p. 161.
230 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 101.
231 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 101.
232 Miron 2004, p. 333-334.
233 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 145.
234 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 70.
235 Dumitran 2012, p. 180-181.
236 Rustoiu, Fleşer 2007, p. 518-520.
237 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 198.
238 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 56.
239 Cf. *Șematismul* 1900, p. 447.
240 *Îndrumător Pastoral* 2005, p. 100.
241 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 51.
242 Miron 2004, p. 333.
243 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 189-190.
244 Dumitran 2012, p. 244-246.
245 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 102.
246 Orian 2009, p. 39.
247 Dumitran 2012, p. 239-240.
248 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 75.
249 Miron 2004, p. 335.
250 Dumitran 2012, p. 242.
251 Miron 2004, p. 326.
252 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 52.
253 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 528.
254 Dumitran 2012, p. 211.

255 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 74.
256 Dumitran 2012, p. 311.
257 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 146.
258 Miron 2004, p. 333.
259 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 132.
260 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 132-133.
261 Rustoiu 2008, p. 10-11, 14, 41-42, 44-46.
262 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 44.
263 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 72.
264 Dumitran 2012, p. 141.
265 Miron 2004, p. 333.
266 *Biserici din … Zona Sebeș*, p. [90].
267 *Șematismul* 1900, p. 528.
268 Fleșer, Rustoiu, Dumitran 2005, p. 16.
269 Fleșer, Rustoiu, Dumitran 2005, p. 17.
270 Miron 2004, p. 326.
271 Miron 2004, p. 326.
272 Dumitran 2012, p. 210.
273 Cristache-Panait 1987, p. 135.
274 Dumitran 2012, p. 226.
275 Miron 2004, p. 326.
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echoes



échos



The 'Museikon Workshops' (III)

MOZAIKON

May 31-June 5, 2019

The establishment of a Sacred Art section in the Orthodox Theology Faculty of Alba Iulia offered 'Museikon Workshops' the opportunity to diversify the educational offer dedicated to those interested in icon techniques. The third edition became a students' exhibition. Its title – *Mozaikon* – is a play on words between the students' main object of study, the mosaic, and the name of the museum. Given the intention to promote a new artistic training opportunity and making the most of the potential of our museum, this year's workshop produced mosaic icons. Fifteen students, coordinated by Dr. Sorin Albu, lecturer of the aforementioned faculty, made good on the skills acquired during the entire academic year and also passed an exam. The results reflect a multitude of personalities, proposing the visitors equally as many images of Christ's face. The public, especially the young one, had an excellent chance to learn more about the sacred art.





Poster and photos: Vasile Sârb.












by vasile sârb




by vasile sârb

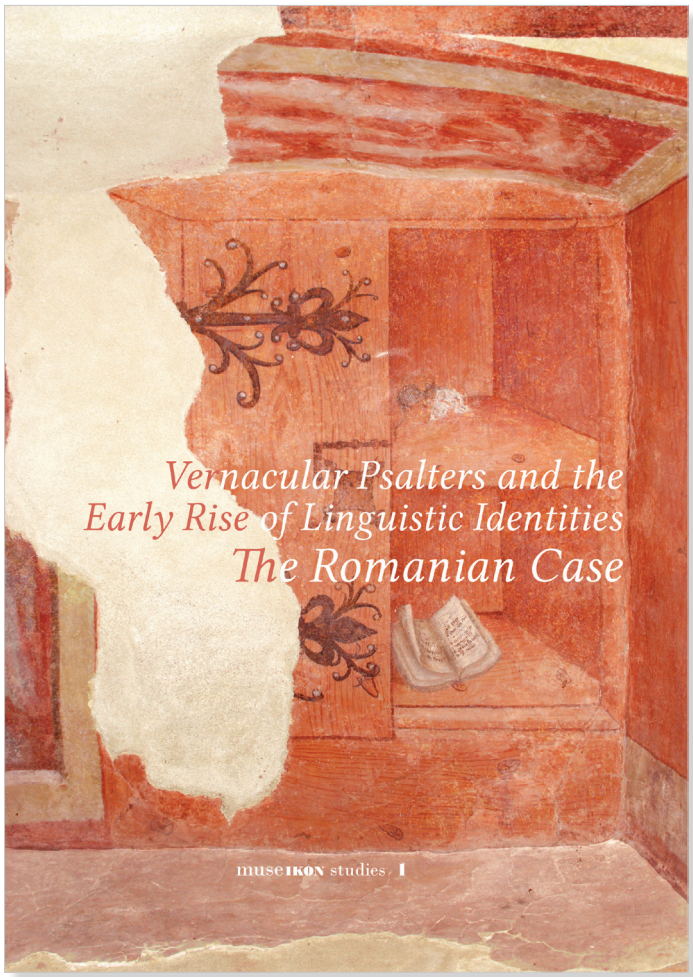






Participants:

Adela Ciupei-Stanciu
Priest Călin Felecan
Claudia Otilia Guțu
Emanuel Jilinschi
Vasile Luncian
Emilia Morariu
Paul-Adrian Mureșan
Niculina Pintican-Albu
Vasile Sârb
Andrei Ioan Stanciu
Magdalena Palada-Nicolau
Priest Ioan Zamora
Lavinia Loredana Leș (Nun Teofana)
Dana Georgeta Ghiță (Nun Serafima)
Olguța-Cristiana Orosfoian (Nun Antuza)



Vernacular Psalters and the Early Rise of Linguistic Identities: The Romanian Case

Proceedings of the conference edited by Vladimir Agrigoroaei and Ileana Sasu

Exhibition and presentation texts by Ana Dumitran and Vladimir Agrigoroaei

Exhibition catalogue by Florin Bogdan

Bucharest, DARK Publishing, 2019

Not for sale, available online

This book therefore serves many purposes. First and foremost, it introduces the question of the Romanian Psalters to foreign researchers and draws attention to the still unclear nature of the Western inspiration for these texts. The early beginnings of Romanian culture may be considered strange. The ambivalent heritage of both East and West may account for the heterogeneous nature of the early vernacular Psalters, because the lands inhabited by the Romanians of the 15th century were at a flexible confessional crossroad. Transylvania was both a Catholic and Orthodox land at the same time. However, the effects of Catholicism on the medieval Romanian communities are still a matter of debate. They may have been similar to the cultural effects of the Reformation during the 16th and 17th centuries, when Latin or Western influences led to the writing or printing of other Psalters, in prose or verse. This is why several studies insist on the influence of the Reformation as well as on its medieval roots, on literary, religious, or even cultural continuities – because this line of research needs to be further explored.

Secondly, the present volume wishes to compare the 'Romanian case' with similar quandaries in the history of other languages and literatures. Due to its monolingual nature, the Romanian philological research is often centred on its own 'national' language, in very much the same way the Czech, Hungarian, French, or English counterparts are too. The meticulous grammatical aspects of philology render it oblivious to the comparative line of approach. However, Romanian translations of the Psalter may easily be compared to the Hungarian or Czech Psalters, and these in turn to the English or French translations of the same sacred text. After the Reformation, the Western *Kulturkreis* gained in stability and growth. Theological aspects prevailed, as the translation into vernacular languages became the profession of learned men. But there were also literary aspects which cannot be ignored, factors that may have been underlying during the medieval times.

These two different approaches have been distilled into a book of modest proportions, with a third intention in mind, that of presenting them to the general public, both Romanian and foreign. In this regard, the volume follows the logic of the 2018 Psalter exhibition in the National Museum of the Union in Alba Iulia. This exhibition was set up with local means. It testifies to the particular character of the Romanian collections, where very few medieval manuscripts exist compared to the great collections of Western Europe. The exhibition included only modern printed books, an incunabulum and very few manuscripts, all of them modern as well, so its storyline was of course incomplete. The exhibition texts (included in this volume) broadened the perspective and addressed topics that the exhibition could not exemplify, such as the medieval beginnings of the narrative. This was also the role played by the accompanying conference: to complement it and fill the same gap. This is, of course, more evident in the present publication, where more articles are dedicated to manuscripts and to the turn of the 16th century than to the modern era, for which the exhibition catalogue, well furnished with explanatory texts, largely compensates (p. 7-8).

Fin dalle origini il movimento valdese fu attraversato al suo interno da dibattiti, fratture e distinte posizioni. Emblematico è l'incontro tenutosi a Bergamo («iuxta civitatem Bergomi» nel maggio 1218, dove due gruppi di *Pauperes* (gli *Ultramontani* e gli *Ytalici*), diversamente derivati dall'esperienza religiosa di Valdo di Lione, si incontrarono nel tentativo di conciliare differenti tendenze e posizioni. Il *Rescriptum*, prezioso documento conservatosi all'interno di documentazione inquisitoriale, riporta il resoconto di tale incontro.

Ottocento anni dopo il Centro Culturale Protestante ha organizzato un convegno che si è proposto di fornire aggiornate ricerche sia sugli specifici contenuti del Colloquio del 1218, sia sul contesto storico religioso, politico, sociale di cui il Colloquio fu, a suo modo, una delle vive e originali espressioni.



Centro Culturale Protestante
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ΛΒΡΑ.
ΠCΑΙCΤ

Fragments from the Painted Decoration of the Wooden Church of Crivina de Sus (Timiș County)

Found during the 2019 Restoration Works

Bogdan Ilieș
Asociația 'Arhaic', Zalău (RO)

Vladimir Obradovici
Universitatea Politehnică, Timișoara (RO)

The idea of restoring the St. Paraskeva Church of Crivina de Sus, a class "A" historical monument, began somewhat spontaneously in 2013, when a group of specialists from various fields arrived in Crivina to investigate its cultural landscape, as part of a larger research aiming at the socio-cultural character of Banat cemeteries.

In the winter of 2015, the church was protected with a textile membrane, tensed, set up on a metallic structure. This protecting structure was made after more than a year



Details from the recently discovered paintings.
The church under the tensed textile membrane.
The renewed wooden base of the monument.
The paintings at the time of their discovery in 2019.
Credits: Vladimir Obradovici, Ovidiu Micșa











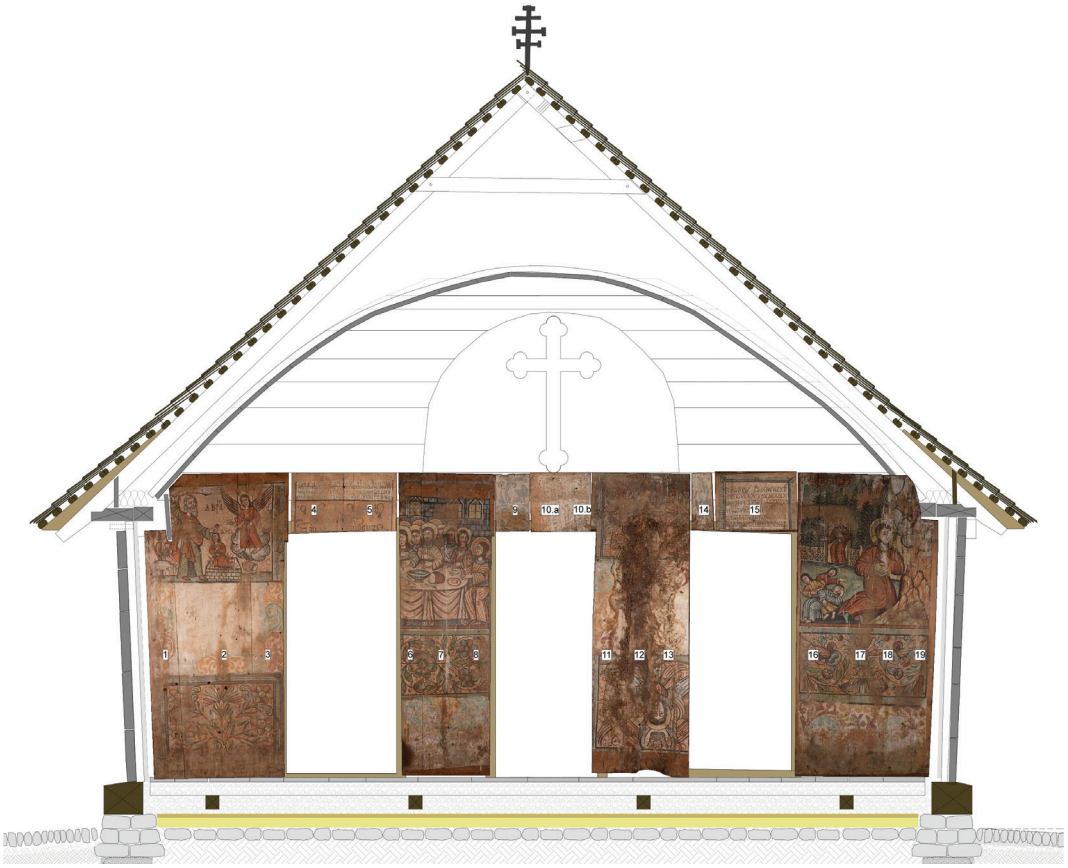
of engineering and fundraising, and was devised to have a completely reversible effect, in order for it to be used at other churches as well, after completing its purpose at Crivina de Sus.

In 2018 the restoration project was approved and started. During the restoration, in May 2019, and despite the fact





Votive inscription mentioning Szabados Daniel in 1680 a biblical verse / votive inscription mentioning the protopope Daniil of Ilia in 1698. Credits: Ovidiu Micșa.
Assembling the new wooden roof / The four painted fragments discovered in 2019. Credits: Ovidiu Micșa
Rendiition of the painted fragments as they were found at the time of the discovery. Credits: Vladimir Obradovici.
Details of the painted fragments in the next pages.














IC XC





that the church had been meticulously studied previously, a series of painted wooden boards were found, representing four biblical scenes and three inscription fragments.

These painted fragments were located in the nave, on the wall of the iconostasis; they had been nailed facing the inside, underneath the wall, hidden under a layer of stucco.

These extraordinary painted fragments depicting the Last Supper, Abraham preparing to sacrifice Isaac, the Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane, and a crowned Cherubim are essential to our understanding of the manner in which the church was once painted. As for the three fragments of inscriptions, they bring entirely new information on the history of this edifice and on protopope Daniil, during whose priesthood the church was built and painted. At the same time, the inscriptions mention the date of the painting, sometime in the last years of the 17th century, probably 1698. The discovered fragments, along with the rest of the icons from this church are currently undergoing restoration, and will eventually return to the church once the salvaging intervention is finalized.

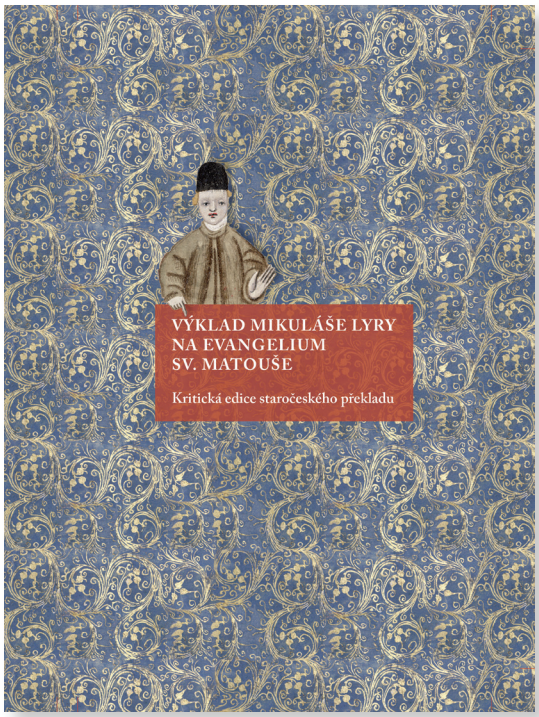












Výklad Mikuláše Lyry na evangelium sv. Matouše. Kritická edice staročeského překladu,
ed. Milada Homolková a Andrea Svobodová,
coll. Michal Dragoun, Zuzana Lukšová, Kateřina Voleková
Prague, Scriptorium, 2018.

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The book *Výklad Mikuláše Lyry na evangelium sv. Matouše* [A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew by Nicholas of Lyra] contains a critical edition of the Old Czech translation of a part of the extensive exegetical work *Postilla litteralis* by Nicholas of Lyra, in which he provided an exegesis of the entire Bible. Immediately after it was written in 1322/1323-1331, his Latin work began to enjoy great popularity and spread in numerous copies all over Europe: there are almost 90 extant manuscripts written in the Czech lands that contain the *Postilla* or its parts. Considering its distribution, it is not surprising that the Latin text of the *Postilla* was translated into vernacular languages already in the Middle Ages. This is also proved by the Old Czech translation of the interpretation of the Gospel of Matthew with forewords attributed to Jerome, which is likely to come from the turn of the 15th century. The translator's identity has not been revealed yet, but it can be assumed that he was a scholar from the circle of the Prague university. How much of the *Postilla* was translated into Czech by this unknown scholar will probably remain unknown as well: a certain plan to translate more books can be inferred from the fact that also Lyra's foreword to the Four Gospels was translated. Nevertheless, only the translation of the interpretation of the Gospel of Matthew has been preserved, moreover in a single manuscript, deposited in the National Library in Prague under the shelf mark XVII C 20, which probably comes from the time shortly before 1420.

The Old Czech translation is an important work of literature of the pre-Hussite period. It proves the increasing interest in the correct understanding of the Bible and the advanced stage of Old Czech, into which biblical as well as exegetical texts could be successfully translated. In terms of language, the translation is rather unique, often bringing words that are not used in any other source, which is largely determined by the character and extent of vocabulary in the Latin original as well as Lyra's method of interpretation, for which he earned the label of *doctor planus et utilis*. Furthermore, the Old Czech translation of Lyra's interpretation is important for the fact that it contains, albeit in the form of component, incoherent segments, almost the entire Gospel of Matthew, in addition in a form unknown from any other source: his text is the closest to the wording of the so-called second and third redactions of the Old Czech biblical translation, but it often contains a unique translation, which is not known from any other source.

The main prerequisite for the proper professional appreciation of this unique work of Old Czech literature is a critical edition, which it has received thanks to the project of the Czech Science Foundation supporting excellence in fundamental research, conducted in 2012–2018 and entitled *Kulturní kódy a jejich proměny v husitském období* [Cultural Codes and Their Transformations in the Hussite Period]. In the annotation, the text of the Old Czech translation is complemented by lexical variants from five selected Old Czech Bibles of the first to third redactions. As a complementation and support for the edition of the Old Czech translation, also the Latin text is printed there in a parallel (mirror) layout. Since there is no modern critical edition of Lyra's *Postilla*, a suitable text has been selected from the manuscript of Bohemian origin deposited in the Archives of the City of Brno in the collection of the Library of St James Church under shelf mark 84/59.

The resulting book is a joint work of a group of authors from the Department of Language Development of the Czech Language Institute of the Czech Science Academy under the guidance of Milada Homolková. The introductory chapter by Michal Dragoun deals with manuscript *Bohemica* containing works by Nicholas of Lyra and is accompanied by their detailed catalogue. The second chapter, written by Milada Homolková, focuses on the Old Czech translation of Lyra's interpretation of the Gospel of Matthew. The edition has been prepared by Milada Homolková, Andrea Svobodová (especially the Czech text), Zuzana Lukšová, and Kateřina Voleková (in particular the Latin text), with a non-negligible participation of Michal Dragoun. The authors present this book to the wide medievalist public as a modest contribution to the general topic of medieval reception and transmission of the biblical text, as a challenge to explore the domestic manuscript tradition and the intellectual influence of the writings of Nicholas of Lyra, as an incentive to continue and further the study of the Old Czech Bible and, last but not least, if not primarily, as an aid in describing Old Czech vocabulary and Old Czech in general.

The RICONTRANS *Project*
ERC Consolidator Grant 2018

Funded by the European Research Council (ERC) Consolidator Grant 2018, under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant Agreement No. 818791), the RICONTRANS project "Visual Culture, Piety and Propaganda: Transfer and Reception of Russian Religious Art in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean (16th-early 20th c.)" is directed by Dr. Yuliana Boycheva (IMS-FORTH). Host institution of the project is the Institute for Mediterranean Studies / Foundation for Research & Technology – Hellas (IMS-FORTH) in cooperation with the Benaki Museum (Athens). The 25 senior researchers of the team, experts in art history, history, philology, social anthropology, museology and art conservation, are leading scholars and promising junior researchers from 12 academic institutions, universities and museums in Greece, Germany, Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Russia. The project duration is 60 months, from 1/05/2019 until 31/04/2024.

The aim of RICONTRANS is to investigate for the first time the transnational phenomenon of artefact transfer and the various aspects of their reception in the region, in different historical periods and circumstances, in a systematic way, and in collaboration with an international and interdisciplinary team of experts. Applying the cultural transfer approach in combination with the recent theoretically challenging openings of art history into visual studies, this project aims to: (1) map the phenomenon in its long history by identifying preserved objects in the region (16th-early 20th c.); (2) follow the paths through which these art objects were brought to the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean, identify, and classify the mediums of their transfer; (3) analyse the dynamics and the various moving factors (religious, political, ideological) of this process during its various historical phases; (4) study, analyse, and classify these objects according to their iconographic and artistic particularities; (5) inquire into the aesthetic, ideological, political, and social factors which shaped the context of the reception of Russian religious art objects in a long period of time and in various social, cultural and religious environments; (6) last but not least, investigate the influence of these transferred artefacts on the visual culture of the host societies.

The close communication and cooperation of historians, philologists, and art historians will enhance the analytical potential of RICONTRANS. It will enable an investigation based on fresh and abundant material of composite questions concerning the interrelationships between artistic form, visual culture, personal piety, political and ecclesiastical propaganda, and ideology, such as the following: Through which practices of signification do the transferred icons and church objects, originally objects of private devotion, acquire political meanings and are turned into vehicles of state political and ecclesiastical propaganda? How important is their artistic quality and style in this process? How important is the 'political' role of these objects for their artistic impact in local icon painting and in the visual culture of the host society in general? How necessary were acts of 'active' intervention on the objects (such as renaming of icons, replacement of original inscriptions with translated versions thereof, painting of additional explanatory inscriptions etc.) for their "acceptance" and incorporation to the local liturgical practices and rites?

The first step of the research will be the identification and collection of two types of evidence – textual and material – on the transfer of Russian ecclesiastical art in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean, aiming to construct a large and representative basis of evidence. On the one hand, textual evidence will be provided by extensive and systematic bibliographic and archival research, which will examine selected bodies and types of material (ecclesiastical, state and private archival collections, travelogues, newspapers, and journals) in Russia, Greece, Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and North Macedonia. This research will collect information relative to the paths and mediums of Russian religious art transfer in the Balkans (*e.g.* Russian official donations of icons to monasteries and churches in the region; missions of Balkan monks and clerics to Russia for alms collection (*ζητείαι*) and various orders of Russian icons; maritime and inland trade with Russian icons; acts of donation of Russian icons by emigrants from the region to their places of origin etc.). It will also document publicly or privately expressed attitudes (aesthetic or ideological) towards these objects.

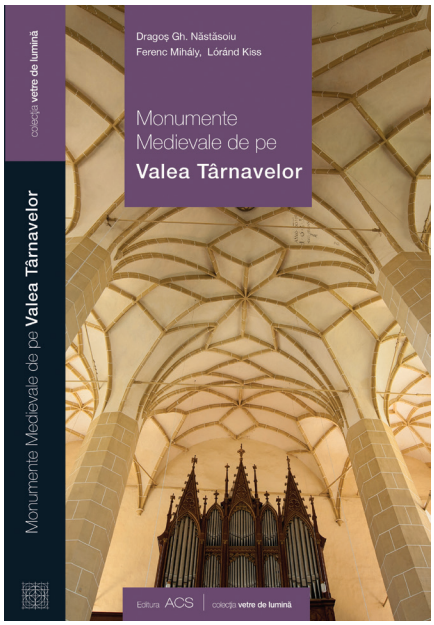
On the other hand, material evidence (*i.e.* Russian icons and other art objects held in churches, monasteries, museum, and private collections throughout the region) will be identified and photographically reproduced through field research missions. These will also render oral testimonies on the ways in which these icons reached their final destinations and observations on the attitudes of the people using them or being responsible for them (local clergy and lay population, museum curators and employees, private collectors). This type of evidence (oral) is particularly important for the investigation not only of their first, but also of their 'second reception', *i.e.* the current place of some of these objects in museum and private collections (*musealization*).



RICONTRANS

VISUAL CULTURE, PIETY AND PROPAGANDA: TRANSFER AND RECEPTION OF RUSSIAN RELIGIOUS ART IN THE BALKANS AND THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN (16TH TO EARLY 20TH CENTURY)

Dragoș Gh. Năstăsoiu, Ferenc Mihaly, Lorand Kiss
Monumente Medievale de pe Valea Târnavelor,
Bucharest, Editura ACS, 2018.



A well-documented guidebook of the medieval monuments of the Târnave Valley, with over 700 unique images – aerial, interior and exterior photos, details of the mural painting, maps of the monuments and several tourist routes, accompanied by documented texts authored by specialists in medieval art history and restoration. Fifteen of the most representative medieval cultural landmarks of the area are presented: the reformed (Calvinist) church in the village of Alma, the evangelical (Lutheran) churches in the villages Aţel, Băgaciu, Biertan, Brateiu, Curciu, Dârlos, Ighişu Nou, Mălâncrav, Moşna, Nemşa, Richiş, and Şmig, as well as the main religious and civil buildings in the cities of Mediaş and Sighişoara. Architecture, sculpture, and medieval wall paintings are equally presented, as well as objects with artistic and historical value (polyptych altars, furniture, liturgical inventory, etc.). The *Art Conservation Support Association* uses the funds obtained by marketing this guide for editorial and cultural projects dedicated to the conservation and promotion of the Romanian cultural heritage.

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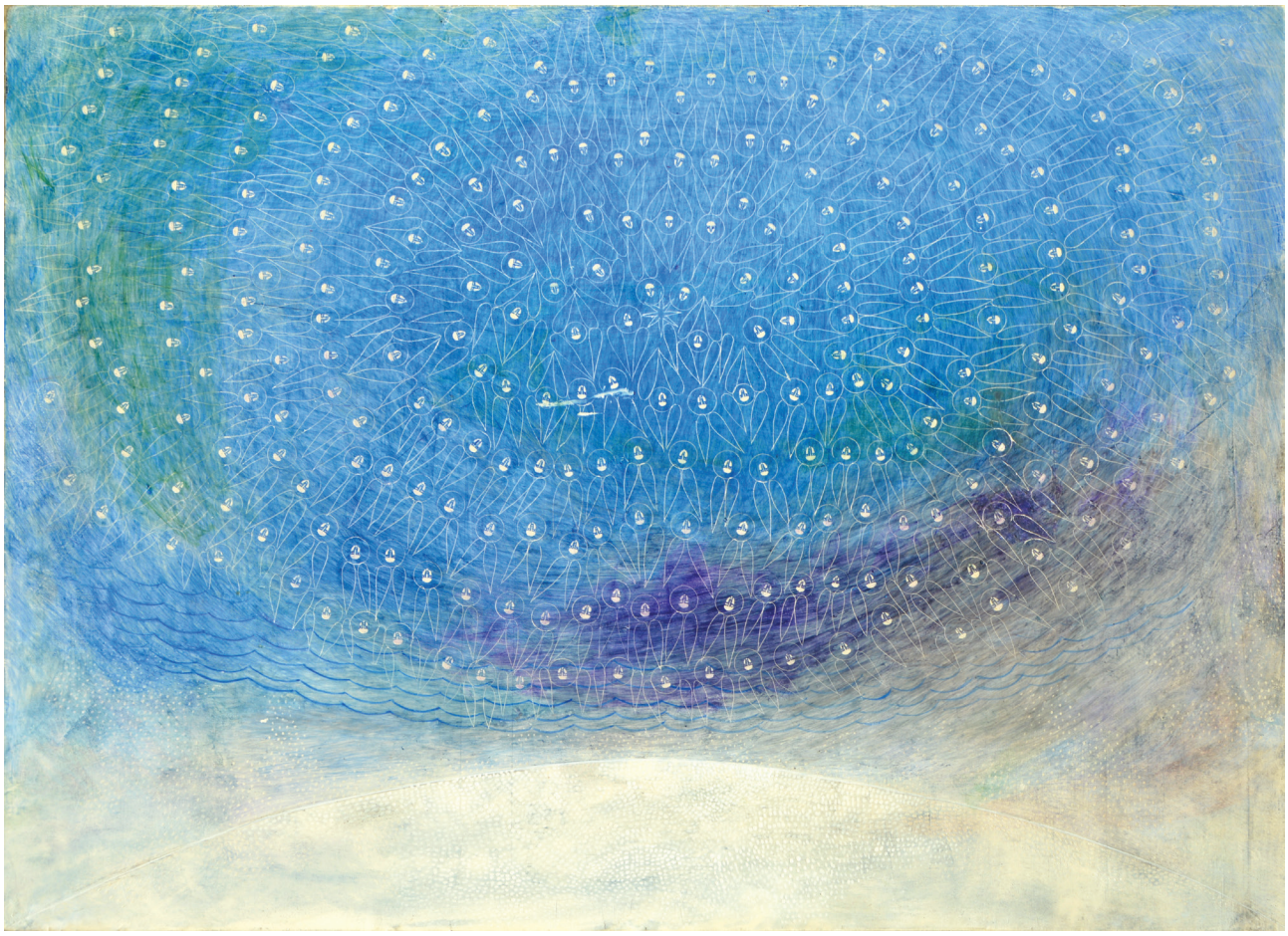
Natalya Rusetska Exhibition

Like Christian life as a whole, liturgical art also needs continuous renewal. It is wrong to believe that icons or mural paintings can replicate those of the glory times of the liturgical art of Christianity, ignoring the ecclesial, spiritual and cultural climate of those times. This can be noticed in the works of iconographers who are content to paint ordinary, common copies of prestigious iconic prototypes, such as the monumental Orant of the St. Sofia in Kiev (11th century). Although their duplication of the prototype may sometimes reach 'perfection', the morphologies of these copies are devoid of energy, like lifeless masks, even though they are considered to be expressions of a so-called 'neo-Byzantine style'. I believe that the young Natalya Rusetska, born in an Orthodox country with a decisive contribution to the enrichment of the artistic heritage of ecumenical Orthodoxy, sensed the best way to rekindle the horizon of iconography. Her works remind me of Nikola Sarić, but also of what Ioan Popa does with the small group of iconographers. They play the role of openings – both traditional and daring – in the inexhaustible horizon of viewing the Mysteries of the Faith. If I were to prove what I said, I would refer to the manner in which the artist wishes to represent the 'multitude of the heavenly host' (cf. Luke 2:13) or the star of Bethlehem (cf. Matthew 2:2 and 2:9). These constant elements of the icon of the Birth of the Lord are treated from a perspective that can be related to the great discoveries of the new physics, among which gravitational dynamics and quantum electrodynamics. Priest Ioan Bizău

For more than 10 years, in Nowica (Poland) more than 140 painters belonging to different Christian confessions, reunited by the belief that the icon is not just a common heritage, but also a valid way to expressing faith, dedicated their creation to the Nowa Ikona motto and started searching for new forms of expressing the message of the Gospel. Not because the old forms would not be enough, nor from the desire to stand out at any cost, but rather because the integration in the great iconographic tradition means that each generation of icon painters must see God. Representative for this group of artists, Natalya Rusetska, graduate of the National Academy of Arts from Liov, exhibited at *Museikon* between June 7-July 14, 2019 some of the works through which she distinguished herself back home, in Liov and Kiev, but also in New York, Chatham-Massachusetts (USA), Druskininkai (Lit.), Lourdes (Fr.) and Marburg (Germ.). Ana Dumitran, Museikon

At the beginning of the 19th century, a strange phenomenon occurred in the evolution of the Romanian painting. A series of icon painters and muralists, trained in the monastic schools around Bucharest, started timidly experimenting with technical and plastic expression genres and processes inspired by the Western art, eventually operating simultaneously as church painters and authors of portraits from reality, or even painters of nature. As an effect of a duplication per se, the symbolic and abstract vision of the Medieval religious art interfered in the painters' works with the naturalistic vision, specific to the modern painting,





1) *Sky*; 2018; levkas, egg, tempera; 30 x 40 cm. 2) *Christmas star*; 2017; levkas, egg, tempera; diam. 40 cm.

thus synthesizing them in an original plastic expression.

The creations of young Ukrainian artist Natalya Rusetska (b. 1984), exhibited at Museikon, highlight a similar transition process, yet an inverted one. Looking at her paintings, we discover that the reflexes earned as a contemporary plastician through training completed in a higher education institution for the Arts and through the connections she formed and kept with the manifestation environment of the current arts translated consciously in an attitude and vision specific to the creators of religious imagery. With innocence and sensibility, she carves out a path through the thicket put to sleep by the centuries, towards the ancient spirit of the icon, spirit she re-awakens freshly like from an afternoon rest. Ioan Abrudan 'Lucian Blaga' University, Sibiu

They are very similar to a game of theological ideas, these works of Natalya Rusetska, but up-close, they reveal incomprehensible secrets of the Beginning, and act as a voice of the world to come. When contemplating them, one partakes to the Word that has begotten everything. Her subjects, the colors she uses, and her passion for the detail welcomes the viewer in an *illo tempore* when „the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters" (Genesis, chap. 1). The presence of Byzantine hieratic elements, the novel compositional constructions, the working technique, and the artist's vision present the contemporary man with a "new icon", an icon updated to the spiritual needs of this century. Dumitrița Filip, Museikon

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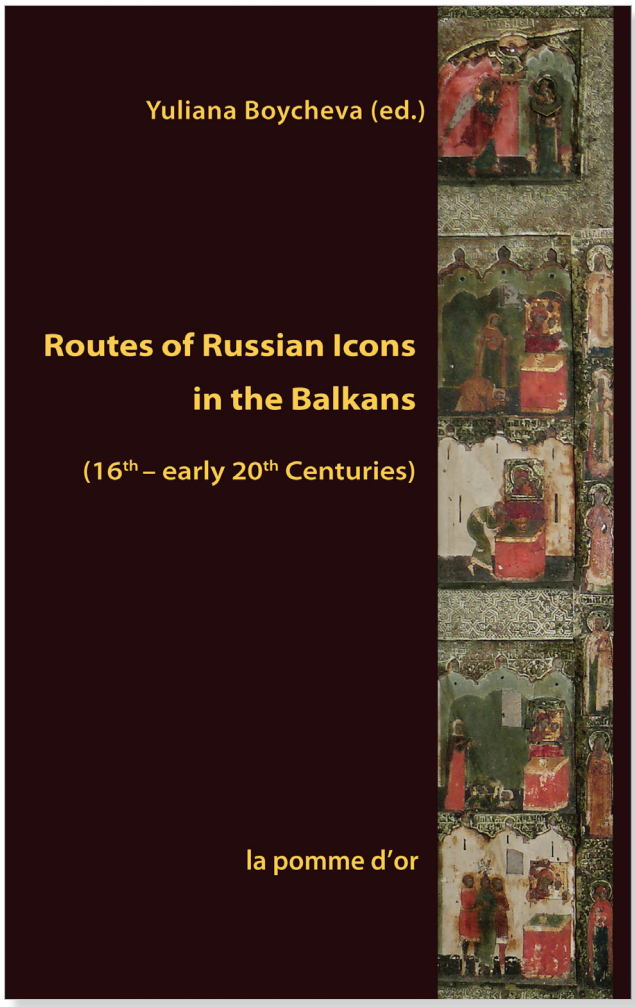

Routes of Russian Icons in the Balkans (16th- 20th Centuries)
edited by Yuliana Boycheva
Seyssel, La Pomme d'or, 2016

This volume investigates the transnational phenomenon of cultural transfer of Russian icons to the Balkans in its various aspects and marks a fresh approach with the following aims: to trace the paths along which these icons were brought to the Balkans and the Mediterranean; to explore the identity of those who ordered, donated, or used them; to analyze the dynamics and the various motivating factors (religious, political, ideological) of this process during its various historical phases; to inquire into the reception of these cultural objects and the influence they had on the visual culture of the host societies. The research interest of the contributors focuses on the reconstruction of "paths" and "channels" of the dissemination of Russian icons in Greece and the wider Balkan region during the long period from 16th to the early 20th Centuries. They study the iconographic repertoire of Russian icons that arrived in the Balkans and identify the predominant iconographic types and themes preffered by donors, patrons, and recipients. They analyze the various forms and the social aspects of the reception of Russian icons by the different local communities, and examine the symbolic and ideological dimensions of the use of Russian icons. In this way, the contributions of the volume attempt to transcend the disciplinary and national boundaries of the history of Russian icons and their methodological and theoretical limitations in order to study for the first time this mass movement of objects of art and piety as a particular case of cultural transfer in the European periphery (p. 26-27).

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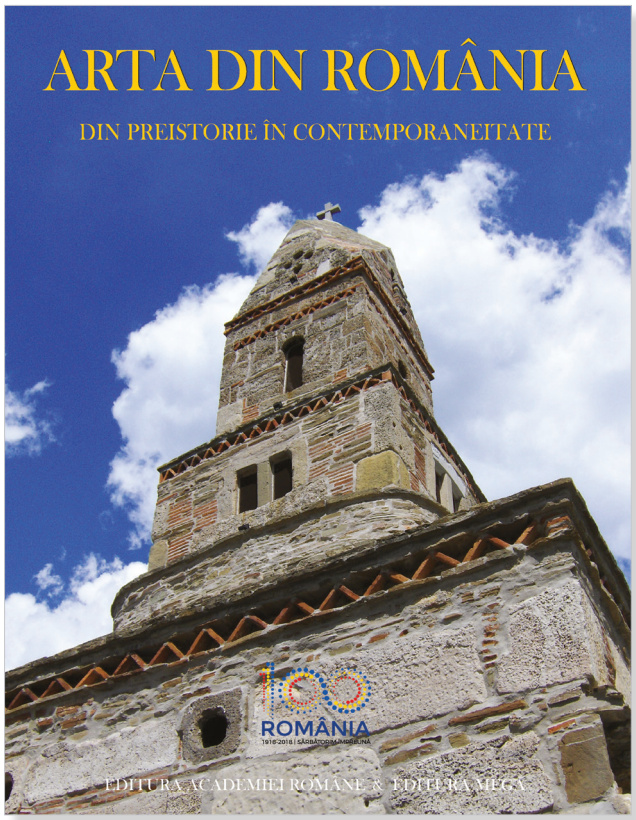



Arta din România. Din preistorie în contemporaneitate, dir. acad. Răzvan Theodorescu, acad. Marius Porumb, 2 vols. Bucharest / Cluj-Napoca, EAR / Editura Mega, 2018.
comenzi@edituramega.ro

Primul volum al sintezei Arta din România. Din preistorie în contemporaneitate *debutează cu prezentarea artei populare din România, element definitoriu pentru identitatea națională, prin arhitectura vernaculară și așezările românilor, ocupațiile tradiționale. manifestările artistice, obiceiuri și port popular, pictura și sculptura, ornamentica, toate reprezentând un valoros tezaur național. Arta preistorică, arta antică în epoca Daciei libere și arta Daciei romane sunt tot atâtea elemente care aparțin Patrimoniului cultural și Tezaurului artistic al României. Volumul continuă cu prezentarea epocii bizantine, a medievalului timpuriu, a artei romanice din Transilvania, cu începutul arhitecturii de zid în Țara Românească și Moldova, evoluția în secolele următoare a arhitecturii, sculpturii, a picturii murale, sunt prezentate icoanele și altarele poliptice, miniatura cărților manuscrise, xilogravura vechilor tipărituri ori artele decorative reprezentate de orfevrărie și broderia liturgică, care se ridică la valoroase realizări, recunoscute pe plan european. Secolele* XVI-XVII *sunt, pentru ambianța artistică din România, o frecventă interacțiune cu lumea europeană a Renașterii, iar spre sfârșitul epocii artistice se fac tot mai simțite în Țările Române semnele ce anunță noile curente europene ale epocii moderne. Volumul al doilea al sintezei înfățișează arhitectura, sculptura, pictura, grafica, artele decorative în epoca premodernă a secolului al* XVIII*-lea, dominată de Baroc și începuturile Clasicismului, evoluția artelor continuând în epoca modernă a secolului al* XIX*-lea, mișcarea artistică din cele trei provincii românești fiind în deplină consonanță și adesea în directă legătură cu marile centre culturale europene. Secolul al* XX*-lea și începutul secolului* XXI*, cu realizările artistice de importanță majoră, cu realizările excepționale ale epocii contemporane, încheie demersul închinat Centenarului.*

OUR TRANSLATION (page 14):

The first volume of the synthesis *Art in Romania. From prehistory to contemporaneity* makes its debut by presenting the folk art in Romania, defining element for the national identity, through the Romanians' vernacular architecture and settlements, their traditional occupations, artistic manifestations, customs and folk attire, painting and sculpture, decorations, all of them representing a valuable national thesaurus. The prehistorical art, the ancient Dacian art and the art of Roman Dacia are just as many elements belonging to Romania's cultural Heritage and artistic Thesaurus. The volume continues with the presentation of the Byzantine age, the early Middle Ages, the Romanesque art in Transylvania, with the beginning of the fortified church architecture in Wallachia and Moldavia, the evolution of the architecture, sculpture, mural painting in the following centuries, it presents the polyptych icons and altars, the miniature of the manuscripts, the woodcut of the old printings or the ornamental arts represented by liturgical silver work and embroidery, which amounts for valuable achievements, renowned at an European level. The 16th-17th centuries are for the artistic ambience in Romania a frequent interaction with the European world of Renaissance and, at the end of the artistic era, the signs ushering in the new European currents of the modern era are making their presence felt more and more in the Romanian Principalities. The second volume of the synthesis depicts the architecture, sculpture, painting, graphics and ornamental arts in the pre-modern era of the 18th century, dominated by Baroque and the beginning of the Classicism, the evolution of the arts continuing in the modern era of the 19th century, the artistic movement from the three Romanian provinces being in full harmony and often in direct connection with the great European cultural centers. The 20th century and the beginning of the 21st one, with major artistic achievements, with exceptional achievements of the contemporary era, close our endeavor dedicated to the Centenary.

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Ana Dumitran
Colecția Mușat: o geografie spirituală a icoanei pe sticlă transilvănene,
Bucharest, DAR Development Publishing, 2018.

Unul dintre „locurile comune" ale literaturii științifice dedicate icoanelor pe sticlă este enumerarea printre modelele folosite de iconari a ilustrației de carte, a stampelor volante, cu cele mai diverse origini, a antimiselor, icoanelor pe lemn și a așa-ziselor icoane pictate pe sticlă și pe oglindă în Austria, Boemia, Moravia sau Slovacia. Componente esențiale ale geografiei spirituale, ele mărturisesc despre călătoria pentru aducerea lor la îndemâna iconarului, de longevitatea unora dintre ele, de redescoperirea lor după decenii sau chiar secole de uitare, de interferențe ale stilurilor și modurilor de exprimare artistică și – câteodată – de interferarea credințelor, de acceptare a părerii „celuilalt" ca parte a unui crez comun. Tot acest circuit se suprapune peste vechile rute comerciale din centrul și sud-estul Europei, pe care au fost transportate, alături de mărfurile obișnuite, toate cele necesare activității unui pictor de icoane, de la ingredientele pentru prepararea grundurilor și a culorilor, la noutățile reprezentate de hârtia argintată și aurită și de la gravuri la faima unor icoane miraculoase, care se îmbiau la a fi reproduse în spații atât de îndepărtate încât până acolo li se uita numele (p. XXXII, XXXII).

OUR TRANSLATION:

One of the "common places" of the scientific surveys dedicated to glass-painted icons is the enumeration of the models used by the authors, namely, the book illustrations, the plates of various origins, the palls, the wooden icons and the so-called glass-painted icons from the Austrian, Bohemian, Moravian, or Slovakian workshops. As core components of this spiritual geography, the icons tell the story of their journey, their longevity, their rediscovery, after decades, or even centuries of oblivion, the interference of their artistic styles and – sometimes – the interference of the beliefs of the acceptance of the "Other's opinion", as part of a common Creed. This whole circuit overlaps the former commercial routes from the centre and south-eastern Europe, which enabled the transportation of ordinary merchandise and of all the elements required by the activity of an icon painter – ranging from the ingredients needed to mix primers and colours, to the silver and gold leaf, and from engravings to the fame of some miraculous icons that demanded to be copied in places so remote that even their names were forgotten. (p. XXXII, XXXII).

Summary / Table des matières

STUDIES / ÉTUDES

Alexandra Kostarelli, *The Dedicatory Inscription of Saint George Church at Akraifnion, Boeotia (1311). Notes after the Completion of the Conservation Works* 9

Ioan Ovidiu Abrudan, *The Pious Saint Paraskevi Church in Răşinari* 25

Ioana Ursu, *Perceiving Religious Mysticism in the Key of Political Repression: The 'Burning Bush' Group* 51

RECORDS / ARCHIVES

The Musical Instruments in the Early Vernacular Translations of the Psalms (Collective Research) 67

Old Greek Section 68
Church Slavonic Section 71
Latin Section 72
French Section 74
Italian Section 98
Middle English Section 100
Czech Section 106
Hungarian Section 114
Romanian Section 120
Bibliographical Abbreviations 136

HERITAGE / PATRIMOINE

Iuliana Damian, *Broderies de tradition byzantine en Roumanie du XVe au XVIIe siècle. Autour de l'Étendard d'Étienne le Grand* 151

Aurora Petronela Luca, *When Masonry Destroyed Romanian Wooden Churches: Socioeconomics, Politics, Ideology, and Culture in the Heritage of Alba County* 153

ECHOES / ÉCHOS

The 'Museikon Workshops' (III), MOZAIKON, May 31-June 5, 2019 179

Latest publications / Actualité éditoriale 180

A ottocento anni dal colloquio di Bergamo 1218-2018. Un dibattito agli inizi della storia valdese (convegno) 181

Bogdan Ilieș, Vladimir Obradovici, *Fragments from the Painted Decoration of the Wooden Church of Crivina de Sus (Timiș County) Found during the 2019 Restoration Works* 183

Latest publications / Actualité éditoriale 188

The RICONTRANS project: ERC Consolidator Grant 2018 189

Natalya Rusetska Exhibition 190

Latest publications / Actualité éditoriale 192

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STUDIES / ÉTUDES :

Alexandra Kostarelli, *The Dedicatory Inscription of Saint George Church at Akraifnion, Boeotia (1311). Notes after the Completion of the Conservation Works* ... 9 — Ioan Ovidiu Abrudan, *The Pious Saint Paraskevi Church in Rășinari* ... 25 — Ioana Ursu, *Perceiving Religious Mysticism in the Key of Political Repression: The 'Burning Bush' Group* ... 51.

RECORDS / ARCHIVES :

The Musical Instruments in the Early Vernacular Translations of the Psalms (Collective Research) ... 67 (Old Greek Section ... 68 — Church Slavonic Section ... 71 — Latin Section ... 72 — French Section ... 74 — Italian Section ... 98 — Middle English Section ... 100 — Czech Section ... 106 — Hungarian Section ... 114 — Romanian Section ... 120 — Bibliographical Abbreviations ... 136).

HERITAGE / PATRIMOINE :

Iuliana Damian, *Broderies de tradition byzantine en Roumanie du XVe au XVIIe siècle. Autour de l'Étendard d'Étienne le Grand* ... 151 — Aurora Petronela Luca, *When Masonry Destroyed Romanian Wooden Churches: Socioeconomics, Politics, Ideology, and Culture in the Heritage of Alba County* ... 153.

ECHOES / ÉCHOS :

The 'Museikon Workshops' (III), MOZAIKON, May 31-June 5, 2019 ... 179 — *Latest publications / Actualité éditoriale* ... 180 — *A ottocento anni dal colloquio di Bergamo 1218-2018. Un dibattito agli inizi della storia valdese* (convegno) ... 181 — Bogdan Ilieș, Vladimir Obradovici, F*ragments from the Painted Decoration of the Wooden Church of Crivina de Sus (Timiș County) Found during the 2019 Restoration Works* ... 183 — *Latest publications / Actualité éditoriale* ... 188 — *The RICONTRANS Project: ERC Consolidator Grant 2018* ... 189 — *Natalya Rusetska Exhibition* ... 190 — *Latest publications / Actualité éditoriale* ... 192.

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