

THE TRANSLATION OF THE TEACHINGS OF NEAGOE BASARAB TO HIS SON THEODOSIE

Andreea Gabriela IVAȘCU (ANDREI)*

Abstract: *The Romanian version of the work *The Teachings of Neagoe Basarab to His Son Theodosie* illustrates the features of the literary language from the mid-seventeenth century. Specialists have had strong doubts in identifying a translator. For this, it is necessary to analyze the text, correlated with the translations of the respective period which had well-known translators. This can lead, with a high degree of certainty, to the identification of the linguistic features with individual circumscription.*

Keywords: *translation, version, correlation, lecturer, context.*

1. Although correctly included in Udriste Nasturel's area of activity in Targoviste, during Matei Basarab's reign, the translation of *The Teachings of Neagoe Basarab to His Son Theodosie* was not long attributed to a certain translator, so that the features of the Romanian literary language from the first half of the seventeenth century could be added to those specific to a certain cultural personality.

2. Referring to the date when this work was translated, Dan Horia Mazilu affirms: "In addition, now there is a date -1635-when we suppose the translation into Romanian was completed, which we believe it is true" (Mazilu, 1974, p.274).

It was assumed that the translation had been made by Udriste Nasturel, taking into account its exemplary character. This, however, involved a lot of experience in the translation work into Romanian.

As to those whose translations have been preserved, most of them being manuscripts, there could be mentioned Mihail Moxa (*Universal Chronicle*, Govora, 1620, *The Codex of Govora*, 1640), the hieromonk Silvestru (the first variant of the *New Testament from Balgrad*, which was later printed in 1648, *Evanghelia învățătoare*, Govora, 1642), and Daniil Andrean Panoneanu (*The Old Testament*– ms. 4389, *The Legal Guidebook of Târgoviște*, 1652)...

It is true that the age of the translations with laic content into Romanian, which were not designed to printing, except *The Legal Guidebook of Targoviste*, started, as Nicolae Iorga mentioned, after 1641, when Matei Basarab desired to affirm his descendancy from the great family of Bessarabia, so that many Romanians could be aware of the exceptional work of his illustrious predecessor (cf. Stoicescu, 1982: 207).

Another reason is that the ruler was aware of the aggression of the Calvin proselytism in Romanian (he knew the episode with the Metropolitan Varlaam who had found *The Calvinian Catechism* in the vast library of Udriste Nasturel and printed in Targoviste *The Answer against Calvinian Catechism*), which made him discard many of his abstentions that kept him in the sphere of the Slavonic, considered one of the sacred languages.

* University of Pitesti, andreea.andrei33@gmail.com

It was also considered that the message of the *Teachings* which was translated into Romanian could refer to Mateias, Udriste Nasturel's son, who, adopted by Lady Elena, the boyar's sister, would inherit the throne of Matei Basarab.

Regardless of these considerations, there should be mentioned that in 1635 when the *Teachings* were translated, Udriste Nasturel was considered an elite exponent of the so-called sacred languages, such as: the Old Greek, Slavonic and Latin. His activities in this direction were well known: "Or, at this time, Udriște Năsturel experienced a plenary Slavonic period: he wrote Slavonic lyrics and prefaces, also translated from Latin into Slavonic the ascetic writing *De immitatio Christi*, practically, all these activities kept him busy most of the time" (Mazilu, 1974 : 274).

Specialists were tempted to assign the translation of Neagoe Basarab's masterpiece to Udriste Nasturel, but they could not ignore the lack of evidence. Even though the second chancellor in Fieraresti was Matei Basarab's counselor and the coordinator of the entire cultural life in the court, he was probably designated as a translator, the alternative being that of someone from his entourage.

In order to surpass the sphere of probability, some evidence had to be found. From the philological point of view, a comparative study could be made between the text of the *Teachings* and the other translations which had a secure paternity. This would be quite simple, if the autographs of the translators were preserved. But, they came to us through manuscript variants, copied by different writers (sometimes a codex contained more manuscripts, made by one or more scribes). In laic texts, more than in those with dogmatic content, the scribes intervened in the texts (sometimes in the texts of the previous copies). These inconveniences were evoked: "A comparative study on the stylistical and statistical basis of the two texts would be able to positively solve this issue. But, (...) both Romanian versions were preserved in later versions, in which the interferences of the writers introduced changes to the archetype texts" (Mazilu, 1974: 270).

2. Such a comparison, despite its degree of probability, must nevertheless be done, taking into account the identities and similarities at different levels of the language. In order to compare the texts in an attempt to establish the paternity of the translations, it is important to establish from the beginning what and what they are compared to, so that only those variants characterized by a high degree of certainty should be subject to a contrastive linguistic examination.

So far, the research has outlined two directions. One is represented by Dan Horia Mazilu, who tries to compare the text of the *Teachings* with that of the ascetic novel *The Life of Saints Varlaam and Joasaf*, to prove that the unique translation made by Udriste Nasturel was performed - the former in 1635 and the latter, towards the end of his life, in 1649.

The second direction is represented by N.A. Ursu who introduced the greatest translator of the age, not mentioned by Dan Horia Mazilu, namely Daniil Andrean Panoneanul, who had certainly translated *The Old Testament* (ms. 4389) and *The Legal Guidebook of Targoviste* (1652).

2.1. The fact that *The Life of Saints Varlaam and Joasaf* was translated by Udriște Năsturel is argued by Dan Horia Mazilu through an excerpt from Fota the Scholar, the writer of the manuscript no. 588 : "*Această sfântă carte a preacuvioșilor părinților noștri, a*

lui Varlaam și a lui Ioasaf scos-o-au întâiu Udriște al doilea logofăt dupre ellinește, slovenește și rumânește” (cf, Mazilu, 1974 : 229). The information circulated in other manuscripts as well : ”Iar apoi, un Udriște logofăt al doilea s-au scos după elinie pă slovenie, iar după slovenie pă rumânie” (Ibidem : 231).

Al. Piru, in *Old Romanian Literature*, took for granted this statement, considering that after Udriște Năsturel’s death there remained a Slavonic and a Romanian text, both circulating in manuscripts cf. Piru, 1970 : 100-104). But, comparing the so-called Slavonic manuscript of Udriște Năsturel with the Slavonic versions that circulated earlier in the Slavonic world, it was noticed that this was not a new translation, but a mostly identical recopy (cf. Mazilu, 1974: 247).

Even if the translation was made after the Slavonic text (it seems that the chancellor was not so familiar with the Ancient Greek), Fota the Scholar mentioned both languages considered as sacred such as Greek and Slavonic, in order to have the dogmatic coverage of the Orthodoxy. However, in other manuscripts (ms.2470), for example, the fundamental books, the direction and the author of the retroversion are clearly indicated: ”de în limba slovenească întoarsă fu pre rumânească de mult păcătosul robul lui Hristos Udriște Năsturel de Fierești, al doilea logofăt” (Mazilu, 1974 : 250).

N.A. Ursu reconsiders the problem starting from the wide range of information received from the scribes and taking into account that there is no record given by Udriște that he himself was the one who performed this translation.

Instead, being more concerned about the idea of establishing the Slavonic versions after which the translation could be made, Dan Horia Mazilu paid less interest to the comparison of those excerpts from *Saints Varlaam and Joasaf’s Lives* with those also encountered in *The Teachings*, in this respect, only a passage from *The Parable of the Nightingale* was compared and, after that, he drew the conclusion that “ Under such conditions of the quasi-similarity of the originals it is very difficult to specify the identity of the translators” (Ibidem : 274). Though, he emphasized the special qualities of the personality who had made an exceptional translation of the *Teachings*.

2.2. As far as the translator of *Patriarch Nifon’s Life* is concerned, most of the researchers indicated Udriște Năsturel, the chancellor. It is certain that, as a counselor and relative of Matei Basarab, the boyar recorded, in terms of the ruler’s preferences and money, every cultural event that put into circulation the fundamental books of the time. The positions that he had were as a moral author, adviser and contributor of the translator or the author of the interpretation” (Ibidem: 279).

Again, the problem of a comparative study to emphasize the similitudes of the grammatical structures, of vocabulary units, less of the graphemic configuration, was raised, this being done according to the writer’s personality. But, according to a hierarchy of arguments, the direct statements in the prefaces are found, in a larger, if not absolute proportion, in the techniques of argumentation.

Thus, in the preface to ms. 2462 (BAR, 1961), it is affirmed : ”Această svântă cărtice (...) muncit-am de o am scris eu mult păcătosul și dentru monahi mai mic decât toț Nicolae dentru svânta mănăstire Brâncovenii, însă scoasă după izvodul părintelui Ananiei ieromonah, starețul meu, talmăcindu-se de sfinția sa dentru limbă slovenească pre limbă românească” (Ibidem : 280). It is said that the abbot Anania translated *Patriarch Nifon’s*

Life in 1635, under the guidance of the same tireless Udriste Nasturel. Certain linguistic features of the text may be specific to him in case he had done the revision of the translation.

2.3. The surprising fact in the studies of the authors, translators and typographers of Matei Basarab's epoch is that for a long time there was no discussion about another outstanding cultural personality called Daniil Andrean Panoneanu, mentioned mainly in the studies on the history of Romanian law, because he translated the *Legal Guidance* in 1652.

As an ecclesiastical person, he was for a very short period of time the Metropolitan of Ardeal in Balgrad, then Bishop of Fagaras Country and the first in the Episcopate of Strehaiia. Originally from Ardeal, a Bishop in Oltenia and a Slavic teacher in Targoviste, he spent most part of his life (the periods of creation and meditation) at Babele Hermitage, the Soveja Metropolitan Monastery, in Moldavia.

He is attributed, with a high degree of certainty, the translation of *the Old Testament* (ms.4389), that, although it had been completed before the publication of *The Bible of Bucharest* in 1688, more than a century ago (1665-1672), it was not taken into consideration by Serban Cantacuzino's team.

It is known that, for the first part of *the Bible of Bucharest*, Dosoftei, The Metropolitan of Moldavia had sent Mitrofan to Bucharest, also named by Nicolae Iorga "Coresi of the Moldovians", with the version of *The Old Testament* translated by Nicolae Micescu Spataru, revised and corrected by Dosoftei himself. This inevitably contained many Moldovian terms that, despite Radu and Serban Greceanu diorators, they remained largely in the text. Therefore, it be said about *the Bible of Bucharest* that it represented a decisive factor in the process of unifying the norms of the Romanian literary language. Instead, as regards the text ms.4389 (*The Old Testament* translated by Daniil Panoneanu) it was stated: "The literary language in this text follows the southern Muntenian literary norms, and it is closest to the modern literary language" (Arvinte,2004 : II). Since Udriste Nasturel had died in 1658, the text ms. 4389 had not been supervised by him, so it bears the translators' linguistic marks, all the more so since the manuscript is an autograph.

The translation of the work *Legal Guidebook* made in 1652 is also attributed to Daniil Andrean Panoneanu. In this respect, N.A Ursu performed an elaborate linguistic research: "I compared the language of the respective translations with the language of Daniil in *Legal Guidebook*, as well as with the language of other translators from Muntenia and Oltenia at that time, and the results are totally surprising." (Ursu, 2003 : 28-29). Obviously, these findings allowed him to extend Panoneanu's translation'area to other works, including *The Teachings of Neagoe Basarab to His Son Theodosie*.

As for the person who translated them, as it was shown, he had most of the times been identified with Udriste Nasturel, relying especially on the exemplary character of the translation, in accordance with the boyar's requirements.

But, at the same time, the texts from *The Old Testament*, preserved in the manuscript 4389, as well as the one in *Legal Guidebook*, were also considered very good translations, being representative for the literary language of the time. These writings were considered of great extent and very important from the theological, social and judicial point of view.

Many arguments were also displayed regarding the identification of Daniil Andrean Panoneanu with the translator of *the Teachings*.

2.1.1. Among the few formal arguments that granted the paternity of the translation of this text to Udriste Nasturel, the one mentioned by P.S. Nasturel refers to the existence of a marginal correction, found both on the Slavonic manuscript in Sofia and in the text of *the Teachings*, a reference to *Isaiah, glava 45*. The grapheme 5 found in the correction of the respective reference resembled the inscription on the fresco of the monarch church in Harlau, where the name of Udriste was specified. This text could be composed by Udriste, but he is unlikely to have executed it in the fresco.

Instead, relying on the same argument and following the marginal references in the text ms.4389 as well as the numbering of the verses, N.A.Ursu notices that they are made in underlined Arabic figures. Nevertheless, this graphic feature also appears in the references to various biblical works, and they are also made marginally in the Romanian translation of *the Teachings of Neagoe Basarab to His Son Theodosie*.

As it was shown, the translation of *the Old Testament* was carried out, starting from 1665, after Udriste Nasturel's death that occurred in 1658.

2.1.2. At the same time, the textual similarities in *the Old Testament* (ms.4389), translated by Daniil Panoneanu, as well as the passages cited from it and inserted in the text of *the Teachings* were also evoked. These excerpts were translated in *the Teachings* in 1635, and, in *the Old Testament*, later on, after two decades, but the similarities have been preserved, which clearly indicates a common translator.

That is why, in the *Teachings*, one can read: *De toate câte am zis muierei tale să se păzească. Și ce să face în vie să nu mănânce și vin să nu bea, nici ce va fi spurcat să nu mănânce...* (f. 150^v) ; *În Vechiul Testament : De toate de câte am zis muierei să se păzească. Și nimic din ce se va naște den vie să nu mănânce...* (f. 119^v) (apud Ursu, 2003 : 79).

In the study cited above, there are also other eight examples characterized by such similarities which plead for a common translator, who can only be Daniil Andrean Panoneanu.

2.1.3. Thus, a thorough linguistic approach should highlight certain morphological, syntactical and lexical features of the text from *Legal Guidebook*, which was known at the time, and that from *the Teachings*.

Because the scribes who made the manuscripts have exceeded the time of the translations, sometimes for long periods of time, the distinctive features are hardly identified at the level of the norms of literary language at that time (in fact, the system of norms is actually revealed by the specialists depending on the features found in the texts).

In the text *Legal Guidebook*, several phonisms are recorded, regardless of their parts of speech. Metaphones: *puteare, mesereare, petreace, seamnele, ureache, creade, va aleage ; besearică, sfreadel* (IL : 310, 311, 312, 316, 319). Very rarely in *the Teachings*, the phenomenon is often found in the other texts of the age: *teamere, va înceape* (EÎ : 200) ; *bisearecă* (PG : 205, 207, 209...). The soft vibration of *r* : *judecătoriau, tâlhariu, datoriu, ucigătoriau* (IL : 310, 311) ; *ziditoriu, ceriu, făcătoriau, datoriu* (INB : 1, 2) ; *judecătoriau, batjocuritoriu* (EÎ : 100) ; *cetitoriu, călcătoriau, mușcătoriau* (CU : 49, 64, 69) ; iotacizarea verbelor : *să ascunză, să crează, să nu te vâz, să-l arză* (IL : 310, 311, 321), *să aprinză, nu pociu* (INB : 103, 154), *să auză, vâz* (CU : 104,119)...

The relative and interrogative pronoun *care* presents gender and number and the Nominative and Accusative forms (*care, carea, carii, carele*) in all the texts of the epoch. For example, the conjunction *deaca*, the preposition *cătră* and the possessive pronoun *mieu* etc. are also used.

The connector *drept aceea* has only different phonemes: *drept aceeaia* (IL : 311, 312, 313, 314...), *drept aceia* (INB : 2,5,7,100...); *dreptu aceeaia* (PG : 209, 211, 213...). It is thus confirmed Dan Horia Mazilu's observation that the action of the scribes and the dissemination in successive issues accomplished an integrating rather than an individualistic role.

In such a situation, N.A.Ursu resorted to a contextualized lexical analysis, thus managing to capture the identity of the translator, at least of those three fundamental texts: *The Old Testament* (ms. 4389), *Legal Guidebook* and *The Teachings of Neagoe Basarab to His Son Theodosie*.

Since Daniil Andrean Panoneanu originated from Ardeal, as it was shown, there are 54 lexical units from the north and south-west of Wallachia and 118 from the *Old Testament* (ms. 4389) which are assembled into a glossary at the beginning. Most of them are found in both texts: *afunda, apleca, băsău, beteag, betejală, cășuță, cioboată, gubav...*

There are more in the *Old Testament*, probably because this is Panoneanu's autograph manuscript which was not touched by the intervention of another scribe.

Some regional lexical units are thus considered peculiarities and they are found in the *Legal Guidebook* and in the other texts, too.

2.1.4. A more individualized power has those linguistic peculiarities (for example, the lexical units and expressions belonging to the northern and south-west areas) which are found in the *Legal Guidebook* and the *Old Testament* (ms.4389), and, to a greater extent, in the *Teachings*, too.

The examples are much more:

adeverință, meaning *dovadă, încredințare, adevăr* : *adeverința nu lasă a cununa pre cei căte cu doauo nunte* (IL : 699) ; *voi spune adeverința ta cu gura mea* (VT : f. 285^o) ; *iar adeverința o ai împărțitu tuturor oamenilor* ; *Că Hristos iaste judecătoriu și dreptatea și adeverința* ; *ar vrea cineva să știe adeverit și să cunoască* ; *de voru înaintea mea drept și sufletele lor în adeverință* ; *au umblat înaintea Ta cu dreptatea și cu adeverința* ; *Jură-se domnului lui David cu adeverință* ; *am umblat cu adeverință înaintea Ta* ; *mulți pizmași de-ai adeverinței să apropiia* ; *să duse sufletul cătră adeverința cea curată...* (INB : 7, 10, 35, 36, 43, 63, 71, 83...);

adinstineși (pronume de întărire : *tu însuși / însăși*) : *ca să nu pentru lenea sau vreo răpire ceva, să te înșeli adinstineși* (IL : 415) ; *iară ei ziseră adinseși* (VT, f. 21^o) ; *boierilor nu le fu aceasta pre voie, ce zicea adinseși* ; *și hainele lor le împărțiră ei, adinseși* (INB : 80, 104)...

împotrivă, împotrivit, a se împotrivi, meaning *egal, a se considera egal* : *a lega și a dezlega împotriva numărului păcatelor* (IL : 557) ; *împotriva anilor să se socotească mai mult* (VT : f.58^o) ; *Și unul ca acesta se împotrivește cu Iuda vânzătorul* ; *voi nu vă potriviți lor și să vă bateți* ; *că doar să potrivescu puterii Tale celei mari* ; *ce s-au potrivit să fie mai puternici decât tine* ; *Împotrivirea cuvintelor rădică toată răutatea* ; *ca să fie și el potrivnic Dumnezeului nostru ...*(INB : 86, 212, 213,261, 266...);

a înfolosi, meaning *a (se) ajuta : cu rugă doară se-ar putea ceva înfolosi* (IL : 258) ; *iară cel înțelept știe în ce se va înfolosi* (VT : f.324^v) ; *au avut alt sfat bun și pre noi mult ne-au înfolosit* (INB : 202) ;

însetoșa, însetoșat, meaning *a-i fi sete : flămânzind, însetoșind* (IL: 792); *și însetoșară acolo noroadele de apă* (VT: f.33^f) ; *tu încai dă un păhar de apă rece celor însetoșați ; iar de va însetoșa, tu îl adapă* (INB : 243, 258) ;

mai in the archaic, *mai mult : mai decât toate să se socotească cătiirea păcatelor* (IL : 634) ; *el mai voi moarte cu cinste* (VT : f.452^v) ; *cu puținel oarece, l-ai mai micșorat decât îngerii ; și decât pre toți mai împunge pre ovrei* (INB : 11, 97) ;

strânsoare, meaning *avere, bogăție : cea ce ține une altele și strânsoarea striină, rămâne gol* (IL: 757) ; *puterea lui și strânsoarea ca au strâns* (VT : f. 177^v) ; *să fie avuția și strânsoarea voastră tot vie* (INB : 236) ;

uneleori, alteleori, meaning *uneori, alteori : uneleori lăsându-l, alteleori aoucându-l* (IL: 685) ; *sufletul bărbatului celui drept mai adevărat va spune* (VT : f. 329^v) ; *uneleori le da moșii, alteori avuție* (INB : 80) ;

cândai doară which means *poate: să faci vindecare spre dânșii, cândai doară vei putea să-i faci să te asculte* (IL : 314) ; *cândai doară mă va vedea* (VT : f.151^v) ; *cândai doară ne va erta și ne va lăsa vii ; voi merge în biserica lui Dumnezeu, cândai doară îmi voi dobândi acolo tămăduire ; aștepta Dumnezeu, cândai doară va zice Adam; cu multă blândețe îi zise, doară cândai s-ar învinovăți ia* (INB: 52, 64, 267) ;

cum am zice, cum ar zice : ceia ce să cheamă sghiti, cum ai zice tătarii; acelora trebuie, cum am zice, un loc de taină (IL: 762, 555) ; *cu puținel oarece l-ai mai micșorat decât îngerii, cum s-ar zice, după ce greși, judeci-l* (INB : 11-12) ;

cu totulș tot, de totul tot, meaning cu totul, integral : s-au oprit acestea cu totulș tot (IL : 222) ; *pomenirea voastră cu totul tot se va șterge* (VT : f.178^v) ; *ci să piiae de totul tot de pre pământu numele lui* (INB : 257) ;

cu tot deadinsul : și-l va înjura cu mânie și cu tot deadinsul (IL : 92) ; *strigară cătră Domnul cu tot de-adinsul* (VT : f425^f) ; *va întoarce cineva din păcatele sale cu pocăință și cu tot de-adinsul cătră Dumnezeu ; cu post și cu rugăciuni pentru dânseseși cu tot de-adinsul căuta ; și de aceasta încă vă învăț cu tot de-adinsul* (INB : 50, 74, 203) ;

deaca vreme ce (devreme ce) : deaca vreme ce sânt urmăritori adevărați lui Hristor se cheamă creștini (IL : 738) ; *deaca vreme ce ai făcut aceasta te voi blagoslovi* (VT : f.9^f) ; *deaca vreme ce zice Apostolul ; Deaca de vreme ce ai făcut așa și n-ai păzit poruncile mele ; Deaca vreme ce cerșuși la Mine aceasta, iată-ți dau ; să vie la tine deaca vreme ce vei umplea voia boiarilor tăi ; daca vreme ce nu țe-au fost frică, ce ai rădicat mâinile tale...* (INB: 17, 41, 42, 223, 232, 259) ;

vrentr-un: de se va afla arhiereul vrent-o pâră (IL : 16) ; *el acum va fi ascuns într-un munte sau ventr-un loc* (VT : f.151^v) ; *el acum să va fi ascunsu vre într-un munte sau vre într-un loc cu oștile lui* (INB : 89) ;

clicot, meaning *chiot, strigăt : nu este cădere de gard, nici clicot în ulițele lor* (VT : f. 295^f) ; *Și auzi Ilie gâlceavă și clicote și zise* (INB : 24) ;

lăspatoriță, meaning *parte, bucată: vițelul care l-au dăspicat în 2 lăspatorițe și trecea prentre lăspatorițele lui* (VT: f. 371^v) ; *numai să să dăspice copilul cestu viu în doauo lospaturițe și cel mortu așisderea* (INB: 39) ;

mișelie, meaning *lepră* : *să te păzești tu însuși de semnul mișăliei* (VT : f. 92^v) ; *căzu în boala care să cheamă mișălie* ; *și să va curăți de mișălie* ; *în baia botezului ți să va curăți mișălia dupre trup* (INB : 70, 71) ;

nimunii, instead of *nimănu* : *nici ai luat din mâinile nimunii nimic* (VT : f. 131^v) ; *pentru că nimunii, niciodată n-au împărțit* ; *nici în inima nimunii n-au sădit* ; *pân-atunci nimunii să nu dai boierie cu cinste* (INB : 87, 231) ;

pușcărie, the current meaning *loc de detenție* : *ți-l băgă în pușcărie, la paza pușcăriei, cu legături* (VT : f. 19^v) ; *nu-l putu cuprinde întunerecul pușcării* ; *deaca muri Adam, el merse în pușcăriile iadului* ; *iar te răscumpăr din pușcăriile iadului cu sângele meu* (INB : 253, 268).

3. The northern and south-western features (from Oltenia or Banat) are explained, besides Panoneanu's origin and missions, through the influence of the *Old Testament* translated by Nicolae Milescu Spataru, in the version corrected by Dosoftei. This had been brought to Bucharest by Mitrofan, and this is the reason why it is still preserved in the text of *Seban Cantacuzino's Bible* (1688). Nicolae Milescu's text had been known before Panoneanu's who used it to compare with the Greek version of the text.

These regionalisms, however, are found, to a less extent, in the *Teachings of Neagoe Basarab to His Son Theodosie*, that is why, it is considered a representative work for the literary Romanian language of the seventeenth century.

Bibliography

1. Acronyms

CU – Mihail Moxa, *Cronica universală* (Ediție G. Mihăilă), Editura Minerva, Bucuresti, 1989.

EÎ - *Evanghelie Învățătoare*, (Ediție Alin-Mihai Gherman), Editura Academiei, Bucuresti, 2011.

PG – *Pravila de la Govora* (Ediție P. Mateiescu), Editura Fortuna, Rm. Valcea.

IL - *Îndreptarea legii (1652)* (Ediție Andrei Rădulescu), Editura Academiei, Bucuresti, 1962.

VT – *Vechiul Testament* (ms. 4389) în *Monumenta Linguae Dacoromanorum*, Editura Universității „A.I.Cuza”, Iasi, 1988-1997.

INB – *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie. Versiunea românească*, (Ediție G.Mihăilă și D. Zamfirescu), Editura Roza Vânturilor, Bucuresti, 2010.

2. Studies

Arvinte, V., *Normele limbii literare în Biblia de la București* (1688), Editura Universității „A.I.Cuza”, Iasi, 2004.

Mazilu, D.,H., *Udriște Năsturel*, Editura Minerva, Bucuresti, 1974.

Piru, Al., *Literatura română veche*, Editura pentru Literatură, Bucuresti, 1961.

Stoicescu, N., *Matei Basarab*, Editura Militară, Bucuresti, 1982.

Ursu, N.A., *Contribuții la istoria culturii românești în secolul al XVIII-lea. Studii filologice*, Editura Cronica, Iasi, 2003.