

# THE INFLUENCE OF THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT ON THE 1688 ROMANIAN BIBLE. THE RENDITION OF PARTICIPLES IN MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

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**ABSTRACT** The 1688 Version of the Bible represents a key moment in the development of the Romanian ecclesiastical language. To this day the Orthodox translation of the Bible currently in use, as well as the Romanian Orthodox service books, mirrors the structures of the Cantacuzino Bible. This paper attempts to track some of these structures back to the Greek original of the Bible. Matthew's Gospel makes for an excellent source of samples suitable, through both their variety and great frequency, for a study of this nature. Presented here are some provisional results of this analysis.

**KEYWORDS** the Bible of Bucharest (1688), the New Testament of Bălgrad (1648), translation, participle

## 1. Preliminaries

Participles are extremely common in Classical Greek as well as in neo-testamentary Greek. Their grammatical and lexical flexibility accounts for their use in various constructions and clauses<sup>1</sup>. A participle (P) is often used in association with a finite verb (V), complementing the meaning of the latter, thus forming a participial cluster (C). A participial cluster (C) usually contains one P (C1), e.g. the well-known type *ἀποκριθείς εἶπεν*<sup>2</sup>, but one should expect to find a much wider range of

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<sup>1</sup> “That the Greeks were *φιλομέτοχοι* is a common saying...” (Gildersleeve 1888: 139).

<sup>2</sup> This participle is used in a narrative formula occurring very frequently in the Greek New Testament. See Gildersleeve 1888: 153, in reference to participial occurrences in the Gk: “Surely the formula *ἀποκριθείς εἶπε* for the synoptics and *ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπε* for John is a compendium of the whole situation”.

examples, given the large inventory of verbs as well as the occurrence of clusters containing more than one P (C2, C3, and C4). There are also instances of participles used either attributively, i.e. modifying a noun or a pronoun and falling usually within the article-noun group, or as a substantive, i.e. without an expressed noun. In both the 1688 Bible of Bucharest (BB) and the 1648 New Testament of Bălgrad (NTB) Greek participles are rendered in various ways: as a substantive (S), as a gerund (G), as a P, as a secondary clause (sC) and even as a main clause (mC). A descriptive analysis of the structures used in the BB to translate the Greek participle could give an insight into the style of both Romanian versions of the New Testament (henceforth *mnt*; when used in relation to an example, it shows their agreement), and subsequently identify lines of development of Biblical Romanian, which in the 17<sup>th</sup> century was still in its early stages.

This paper undertakes such an analysis of the two aforementioned Romanian versions of the New Testament. It focuses on Matthew's Gospel (MG), since its Greek text (Gk) provides a wide range of syntactical and lexical structures relevant to the topic. Their linguistic analysis is purely descriptive, revealing conclusions based on a large inventory of examples. This could be a preliminary attempt at describing the syntax of the Romanian New Testament and, in a wider perspective, a modest contribution to the history of literary Romanian.

The main objective of my analysis is to identify the solutions adopted by the *mnt* in dealing with Greek participles, for, given the idiomatic differences between the Romanian and the Greek usage of non-finite verbs, a wider range of renditions of Greek participles is to be expected in both Romanian versions.

The well-known derivation of the BB from the NTB is of great help to our understanding of the translations adopted by the BB, and for this reason both versions are cited in parallel (the BB is always the first).

The following preliminary conclusions will need to be checked against a similar analysis of the rest of the *mnt*. The variety of renderings in both Romanian versions, as well as the difficult classification of an unexpectedly wide range of linguistic data have meant that the inventory of examples analysed is rather large. The method used in selecting these

reflects both their variety and their frequency. Many of the Greek participles used without an article occur in narrative *formulae*, hence a classification by semantic areas appears to be satisfactory. This seems to be reinforced by the diversity of renderings in the *mt*, which can in turn be grouped in two categories: phrases and clauses (secondary and even main). Greek participles with article, on the other hand, tend to be translated much more precisely, and so the two versions share a substantial amount of identical renderings. The presence or absence of the article has also proved a useful criterion in my effort to systematise the examples selected.

## 2. Greek participles without article

### 2.1. Participle rendered through a Gerund

Most of the following examples illustrate stock narrative *formulae* extending over several semantic areas.

#### 2.1.1. Walking/ sitting

1. ἕως ἔλθῶν ἔστη ἐπάνω, 2.9: pînă viind au stătut deasupra | pînă veni de stătu deasupra
2. ἔλθῶν κατῳκησεν, 2.23: venind sălășlui | veni de se sălășlui
3. ἡ ... ἔλθοῦσα προσεύκει ... λέγουσα, 15.25: ea viind, să închina ... grăind | ea veni și să închină grăind
4. ἔλθόντες ... ἐπελάθοντο, 16.5: viind ... uitară | cînd veniră ... uitară
5. ἔλθόντες ... ἔδωκαν, 27.33-34: venind ... deaderă | veniră ... deaderă
6. ἔλθόντες ... ἀπήγγειλαν, 28.11: mergînd ... deaderă știre | mearseră ... deaderă de știre
7. ἔλθόντες ἔκλεψαν, 28.13: viind ... au furat | au venit ... și ... au furat
8. ἰδὼν ... ἐρχομένους ... εἶπεν, 3.7: văzînd ... viind ... zise | deaca văzură ... viind ... zise
9. ἴδωσι ... ἐρχόμενον, 16.28; 24.30: vor vedea ... viind *mt*
10. προσελθόντες ... εἶπον, 13.27: viind ... zisără | veniră ..., zisără
11. προσελθόντες ... εἶπον, 15.12; apropiindu-se (-să NTB) ... zisără *mt*
12. προσελθόντες ... εἶπον, 17.19; 26.73: apropiindu-se ... ziseră | să apropiară ... și zisără
13. προσελθὼν ... εἶπεν, 18.21; 21.30: apropiindu-se ..., zise | să apropiie ..., zise

14. προσελθὼν ... εἶπεν, 19.16: apropiindu-să, zise *mi*
15. προσελθὼν ... εἶπεν, 21.28: mergînd ... zise *mi*
16. προσελθὼν ... εἶπεν, 25.22, 24: venind ... zise | veni ... zise
17. προσελθόντες ... ἤγειραν ... λέγοντες, 8.25: apropiindu-se ... deșteptară ... zicînd | să apropiiară ... deșteptară ... zicînd
18. καὶ προσελθόντες ... ἦραν, 14.12: Și apropiindu-se (-să) ... luară *mi*
19. προσελθόντες ... πειράζοντες ἐπηρώτησαν, 16.1: apropiindu-să ... ispitind, rugară *mi*
20. προσελθὼν ... προσήνεγκεν ... λέγων, 25.20: mergînd ... aduse ... zicînd | mearse ... aducînd ... zicînd
21. πολλῶν προσελθόντων ψευδομαρτύρων ... προσελθόντες, 26.60: multe mărturii mincenoase viind ... viind | veniră mărturii multe minciunoase ... venind
22. προσελθοῦσαι ... ἐκράτησαν, 28.9: apropiindu-se apucară | veniră, cuprinsă

The examples illustrating the semantic area of walking/ sitting are extremely numerous, over one hundred in Gk. The following verbs feature: ἔρχεσθαι, προσέρχεσθαι (a se apropia, veni, merge), ἐξέρχεσθαι (a ieși), εἰσέρχεσθαι (a întra), ἀπέρχεσθαι (a merge, ieși), προέρχεσθαι (a merge) și πορεύεσθαι (a merge, a se duce). The next most frequent are a few compounds of βαίνειν: ἀναβαίνειν, ἐμβαίνειν, ἐπιβαίνειν, καταβαίνειν, μεταβαίνειν (a sui, a întra, a veni, a se pogori), ἀφεῖναι (a lăsa), περιπατεῖν (a îmbla), and, finally, there are some verbs, such as στρέφειν, ἐπιστρέφειν (a se întoarce), ἀποδημεῖν (a merge departe), ἐπανάγειν (a se înturna), ἀναβιβάζειν (a se sui, a trage), with only one or two occurrences, along which a few verbs of staying can also be mentioned: ἰστάναι, κάθεσθαι, καθεύδειν (a sta, a șede, dormi).

It is worth noting that the same verb in Gk can have different translations. Ἔρχεσθαι and its compounds, for example, have three different translation, listed here in order of frequency:

- a) *a se apropia* (11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 22);
- b) *a veni* (1-10, 16, 21);
- c) *a merge* (15, 20).

The use of *a merge* appears to be a novelty in the NTB since for the examples quoted both versions offer the same rendering.

The translation of C1 (P plus V): The BB invariably applies the solution G plus V (GV), translating literally and keeping the same word order. The NTB employs various strategies, as follows:

- a) GV/ VG (9, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21);
- b) V, V (two finite verbs in parataxis), in 5, 6, 10, 13, 16, 22;
- c) V+V (two finite verbs coordinated by conjunction) in 3, 7, 12;
- d) VsV/ sVV (two finite verbs of which one is subordinate) in 1, 2, 4, 8, 19, 20.

In no. 21 a Greek absolute participle followed by another P has been assimilated to a C1.

The phrase *πῖνᾶ viind* (1) is also worth noting, as the Romanian G does not usually take a preposition. Among the selected examples there are two other similar instances: *deaca viind* (257) and *deaca trecînd* (267). The origin of this type of structure which changes V into a G lies in the BB.

- 23. οἱ δὲ ἐξελεθόντες ἀπῆλθον<sup>3</sup>, 8.32: iară ei, deaca ieșiră, mearseră *mt*
- 24. ἐξελεθὼν... εἶδε, 14.14, 26.71: ieșind ... văzu *mt*
- 25. ἐξελεθοῦσα ... ἐκραύγασεν ... λέγουσα, 15.22: ieși ... strigă ... grăind *mt*
- 26. ἐξελεθὼν ... εἶδεν ... ἐσπῶτας, 20.3: ieșind ... văzu ... stînd *mt*
- 27. ἐξελεθὼν ... εὗρεν ... ἐσπῶτας, 20.6: ieșind ... află ... stînd *mt*
- 28. ἐξελεθὼν ... ἐποίησεν, 20.5: ieșind ... făcu | ieși ... feace
- 29. ἐξελεθοῦσαι ... ἔδραμον, 28.8: ieșind ... alergară | ieșiră curînd

All occurrences of this participle are invariably translated as ‘a ieși’.

It is worth emphasising that the two Romanian versions are in agreement here. The consistency of the NTB is probably down to the formulaic usage of this participle in the Gk as well to its occurring exclusively in the aorist tense, which is also the tense of the main verb. The literal translation offered by the NTB has been then re-used as such by the BB, which favoured the structure GV.

- 30. εἰσελεθὼν ἐκράτησε, 9.25: întrînd o au apucat | întră și o prinse
- 31. εἰσελεθὼν ... εἶδον, 22.11: întrînd ... văzu | intră ... văzu
- 32. εἰσελεθὼν ... ἐκάθητο, 26.58: întrînd ... șădea *mt*
- 33. ἀπελεθὼν ... ὤρυξεν, 25.18: mergînd ... săpă | mearse ... săpă

<sup>3</sup> Here the article has the value of a pronoun.

34. *ρίψας ... ἀπελθὼν ... ἀπήγξατο*, 27.5: aruncînd ... mergînd să spînzură | aruncînd ... mearse ... și să spînzură
35. *προελθὼν ... προσευχόμενος καὶ λέγων*, 26.39: mergînd ... rugîndu-Se (-Să NTB) și zicînd
36. *πορευθέντες ἐξετάσατε ἀκριβῶς*, 2.8: ducîndu-vă, cercetați cu deadins | duceți-vă, iscodiți cu de-adîns
37. *πορευθέντες δὲ μάθετε*, 9.13: ce mergînd învățați | meargeți de învățați
38. *πορευθεὶς ... βάλε ἄγκιστρον*, 17.27: ducîndu-te ... aruncă undița | pasă ... aruncă undița
39. *πορευθέντες ... ἦγαγον*, 21.6-7: mergînd ... adusără | mearseră ... și adusără
40. *πορευθέντες ... συμβούλιον ἔλαβον*, 22.15: mergînd ... făcură sfat | mearsără ... făcînd sfat
41. *πορευθεὶς ... ἤργασατο*, 25.16: mergînd ... au lucrat | merse ... lucră
42. *οἱ δὲ πορευθέντες ἠσφαλίσαντο ... σφραγίσαντες*, 27.66: iară ei mearseră și întăriră pecitluind | iară ei mearseră și pecetluiră sămnînd
43. *πορευθεῖσαι ταχὺ εἴπατε*, 28.7: curînd mergînd ziceți | curînd meargeți, ziceți
44. *πορευθέντες ... μαθητεύσατε βαπτίζοντες*, 28.19: mergînd învățați ... botezînd | meargeți de învățați ... botezînd
45. *ἀναβαίνων ... παρέλαβεν*, 20.17: suind ... luo *mt*
46. *ἐμβὰς ... διεπάρασε καὶ ἦλθεν*, 9.1: întrînd ... au trecut și au venit | întră ... trecu și vine
47. *ἔρχεται ... ἐπιβεβηκῶς*, 21.5: vine ... șazînd *mt*
48. *καταβάς ... περιπάτησεν*, 14.29: pogorîndu-se ... au umblat | să pogori ... de îmbla
49. *καταβάς ... καὶ προσελθὼν ... ἀπεκύλισε*, 28.2: pogorînd ..., viînd, prăvăli | pogorînd ... și venînd ... prăvăli *mt*
50. *μεταβάς ... ἦλθεν ... καὶ ἀναβάς ... ἐκάθετο*, 15.29: mutîndu-se ... veni ... și suindu-se ... ședea | mearse ... veni ... și să sui ... de ședea
51. *ἀφεις ... ἦλθεν*, 13.36: lăsînd ... veni | lăsă și veni
52. *ἀφεις ... πάλιν παρελθὼν ... προσηύξατο ... εἰπὼν*, 26.44: lăsînd ... iară mearse de Să rugă ... zicînd *mt*
53. *ἀφέντες ... ἀπῆλθον*, 22.22: lăsînd ... să duseră (-sără NTB) *mt*
54. *ἀφέντες τὸ πλοῖον*, 4.22: lăsînd cinul | lăsară corabia
55. *περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν*, 14.25: îmblînd pre mare *mt*
56. *βλέποντας ... λαλοῦντας ... περιπατοῦντας ... βλέποντας*, 15.31: văzînd ... grăînd ... îmblînd ... văzînd *mt*
57. *στραφέντες ῥήξωσιν*, 7.6: întorcîndu-se rumpe-vor | întorcîndu-să să nu rumpă

58. ἐπιστραφεῖς καὶ ἰδὼν ... εἶπε, 9.22: întorcându-Se și văzându-o ... zise | Să  
întoarse și o văzu, zise
59. ἀποδημῶν ἐκάλεισεν, 25.14: mergînd departe chemă (cheamă NTB) *mt*
60. ἐπανάγων ... ἐπείνασεν, 21.18: înturnîndu-Se (turnînd NTB) ... flămînzii
61. ἀναβιβάσαντες ... καὶ καθίσαντες συνέλεξαν, 13.48: suindu-l ... și șazînd  
aleaseră | trasără-l ... și șazură de aleasără
62. (τὸ βδέλυγμα) ἔστος, 24.15: (scîrba | cea grozăvie NTB) ... stînd *mt*
63. εὕρισκει αὐτοὺς καθεύδοντας, 26.40: află pre ei dormind *mt*
64. ὄψεσθε ... καθήμενον ... καὶ ἐρχόμενον, 26.64: veți vedea ... șazînd ... și viind  
*mt*
65. καθήμενοι ἐτήρουν, 27.36: șazînd păziia *mt*
66. ἦν καθήμενα, 27.61: era ... șazînd *mt*

In Gk, the P is usually in the aorist tense, far less frequently in the present tense – with the exception of *ἔρχεσθαι*: 8, 9 –, and only once in the perfect tense: 47. As the Romanian G does not allow for any distinction of tense, number or gender, these are lost in translation, e.g. 25 and 29, where all the participles in Gk are rendered invariably with *ieșind*. Conversely, the same Greek P can be found rendered by different synonyms in the *mt* as in 6 and 7, where *ἐλθόντες* is rendered as *mergînd* and then *viind*.

The BB clearly opts for the use of the G in rendering the P, which the NTB translates as a V. There are some noticeable differences between the BB and the NTB, as are differences between solutions adopted inside the same translation: in ex. 15 and 16 a double contrast can be noticed: a lexical one: *a merge* vs. *a veni*, and a morphological one: G vs. V. The BB and NTB are generally consistent with their respective choice when translating not only *ἔρχεσθαι* and its compounds, but other verbs of movement as well: the BB uses GV, while NTB adopts varied solutions:

- a) GV/ VG: 32, 40, 44, 47, 53, 57, 59, etc.;
- b) V, V: 31, 32, 33, 36, 38, 41, 43, 46, 50;
- c) V+V: 30, 39, 51;
- d) VVs/ VsV: 37, 50.

Example 50 presents two C1 linked by a coordinating conjunction, which explains why it has been listed both under b) and under d) above.

The structure used by the NTB and re-used literally by the BB, is PV + PV, but NTB innovates: V, V + VsV. For a more detailed analysis of the solutions adopted by the NTB see *infra*, 4.1.

Identical solutions of translation are rare. Even when the same structure is being used, the BB makes lexical changes, e.g. 42 (on which see further details under *Conclusion*), or 54.

These features explain the individual style of the BB and reveal that the principle which guided the translators was that of a literal rendering. Thus, of all the examples of this kind in MG, more than a half are G in the BB, which correspond to a subordinate clause in the NTB.

### 2.1.2. Speaking

67. *ἐφάνη ... λέγων*, 1.20: să arătă ... grăind *mt*  
 68. *παρεγέροντο ... λέγοντες*, 2.2: au venit ... zicînd | veniră ... zicînd  
 69. *προσῆλθον ... λέγοντες*, 13.36; 14.15; 24.3: să apropiară ... grăind *mt*  
 70. *προσῆλθον ... λέγοντες*, 24.3: apropiară-să ... zicînd *mt*  
 71. *ιδόντες ... περιπατοῦντα ἐταράχθησαν λέγοντες*, 14.26: văzînd ... îmblînd ...  
 să spăteară zicînd *mt*  
 72. *ἡ ... ἐλθοῦσα προσεκύνει ... λέγουσα*, 15.25: ea viînd, să închina ... grăind |  
 ea veni și să închină grăind  
 73. *προσλαβόμενος ... ἔρξατο ... λέγων*, 16.22: apucîndu-L ... începu ... zicînd |  
 (și-)L apucă ... începu ... zicînd  
 74. *ἐντείλατο ... λέγων*, 17.9: porunci ... zicînd *mt*  
 75. *φωνή ... λέγουσα*, 17.5: glas ... grăind *mt*  
 76. *πεσὼν ... προσεκύνει ... λέγων*, 18.26: căzînd ... să închina ... zicînd | plecîndu-să  
 ... ruga ... zicînd  
 77. *πεσὼν ... παρεκάλει ... λέγων*, 18.29: căzînd ... ruga ... grăind | căzu ... ruga ...  
 grăind  
 78. *κρατήσας ... ἔπνιγεν λέγων*, 18.28: prinzînd ... îl sugruma zicînd | (și-)l  
 prinse de-l sugruma grăind  
 79. *ἀφεις ... πάλιν παρελθὼν ... προσηύξατο ... εἰπὼν*, 26.44: lăsînd ... iară  
 mearse de Să rugă ... zicînd *mt*  
 80. *ἔκραξαν λέγοντες*, 20.31: striga zicînd<sup>4</sup> *mt*  
 81. *οἱ ... ἔκραζον λέγοντες*, 27.23: ei ... striga zicînd *mt*

<sup>4</sup> In line with these examples cf. also Mt. 21.15: *τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς κρᾶζόντας ... καὶ λέγοντας, κορῖνι (porobocii NTB) strigînd ... și zicînd mt*, which is probably the only exemple of a P with article rendered through G.

82. ἀποκριθεὶς ... εἶπε(ν), 3.15; 4.4, 13.37, 14.28, 16.2; 21.29, 30; 25.12; 26.23:  
răspunzînd ... zise | răspunse ... zise
83. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, 12.39: iară el răspunse, zise lor *mt*
84. ὁ ... ἀποκριθεὶς ... εἶπεν, 15.3: El răspunzînd zise *mt*
85. ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ... εἶπεν ... λέγων, 22.1: răspunzînd Iisus ... zise ...  
zicînd *mt*
86. ὁ ... ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν, 24.2: Iisus zise *mt*
87. προσκαλεσάμενος, 15.10: chemînd | chemă
88. προσκαλεσάμενος, 15.32: chemînd *mt*
89. προσκαλεσάμενος ... ἔστησεν αὐτό, 18.2: chemînd ..., îl puse | chemă și-l  
puse
90. προσκαλεσάμενος ... λέγει, 18.32: chemînd ... zise | chemă ... zise
91. βλέποντας ... λαλοῦντας ... περιπατοῦντας ... βλέποντας, 15.31: văzînd ...  
grăînd ... îmblînd ... văzînd *mt*
92. ὥφθη ... συλλαλοῦντες, 17.3: să arătă ... grăînd *mt*
93. ἐλάλησεν ... λέγων, 23.1-2: grăi ... zicînd *mt*

This is an area of comparable frequency to the previous one, with over one hundred occurrences in the MG. The verbs represented are: λέγειν (a zice, a grăi), ἀποκρίνεσθαι (a răspunde), προσκαλεῖσθαι (a chema) și (συλ)λαλεῖν (a grăi). Most examples contain the present P of λέγειν or λαλεῖν. Less numerous are the examples with the aorist P of ἀποκρίνεσθαι or παρακαλεῖσθαι. Sometimes, the P modifies a verb from the same semantic area (77, 79, 80-86, 90).

This selection of examples offers a much more homogenous image than the previous one in at least two respects.

Firstly, the formulaic style is strongly associated with this semantic area, much more than it was the case in the previous section: over a quarter of the occurrences in the MG are represented by the formula ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπε, which seems to encourage the repetitiveness *tale quale* in the BB. This is confirmed by the examples 82-86. Secondly, G occurs now much more frequently in the NTB, which explains the high number of renderings shared by the two translations.

Interestingly enough, the same applies to the group of examples following the type ἀποκριθεὶς... εἶπε, under 82-86, for which the NTB offers both solutions of translation: the usual structure V, V (*răspunse ...*, *zise*, under 82, 83) as well as the standard GV structure (*răspunzînd... zise*).

The only exception is no. 86, probably a haplography in the NTB of the type *Iisus* <*răspunse*,> *ζῆσε*, mechanically copied in the BB.

The examples containing the verb *προσκαλεῖσθαι* under 87-90 illustrate both the agreement and the usual divergent treatment: G in the BB and V in the NTB.

The distribution of the two renderings *a grai* and *a zise* does not appear to be governed by any criterion. Most often the BB follows the NTB: 67, 68, etc., but occasionally becomes independent, e.g. 78.

### 2.1.3. Various other actions

94. *κελεύσας ... λαβὼν ... ἀναβλέψας ... εὐλόγησεν ... κλάσας ἔδωκεν*, 14.19: poruncind ... luînd ... căutînd la ceriu ... binecuvîntă ... frîngînd deade | porunci ... luo ... căută în ceriu ... deade har ...frîmse ... deade
95. *ἰδόντες ... περιπατοῦντα ... λέγοντες*, 14.26: vâzînd ... îmblînd ... zicînd *mt*
96. *βλέπων ... ἀρξαμένος ... λέγων*, 14.30: vâzînd ... începînd ... zicînd *mt*
97. *ἰδόντες ... διεσάφησαν*, 18.31: vâzînd ... spusără *mt*
98. *ἰδόντες ... θαύμασαν λέγοντες*, 21.20: vâzînd ... să mirară grînd *mt*
99. *ἰδὼν*, 3.7: vâzînd | deaca vâzură
100. *ἰδόντες ... ἠγανάκτησαν*, 26.8: vâzînd ... să mîniară (mirară NTB) *mt*
101. *ἰδὼν ... λαβὼν ... ἀπενίψατο ... λέγων*, 27.24: vâzînd ... luînd ... spălă-ș (-și NTB) ... zicînd (zi- NTB) *mt*
102. *θεωροῦσαι*, 27.55: privînd *mt*
103. *ἀκούσας*, 2.3: auzînd *mt*
104. *οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπορεύθησαν*, 2.9: iară ei, ascultînd pre împăratul mearseră | iară ei ascultară pre craiu și mearseră
105. *ἀκούσαντες οἱ ὄχλοι*, 14.13: auzînd gloatele | auziră dihaniia
106. *ἀκούσαντες*, 15.12: auzînd | deaca auziră
107. *ἀκούσαντες*, 17.6; 22.34; 27.47: auzînd *mt*
108. *ἀκούσας ... ἀπῆλθεν λυπούμενος*, 19.22: auzînd ... să duse întristat *mt*
109. *καθήμενοι ... ἀκούσαντες ... ἔκραξαν λέγοντες*, 20.30: șăzînd ..., auzînd ... strigară zicînd | șăzînd ... auziră ... și strigară zicînd
110. *ἀκούσαντες θαύμασαν*, 22.22: auzînd să mirară *mt*
111. *ἀκούσαντες ... ἐξεπλήσσοντο*, 22.33: auzînd ... să mirară | cînd auziră ... să mirară
112. *μεθερμηνευόμενον*, 1.23: tălmăcîndu-se | să spune
113. *διδάσκων ... καὶ κηρύσσων ... καὶ θεραπεύων*, 4.23: învătînd ... și propoveduînd (povestuînd NTB) ... și vindecînd *mt*
114. *ψευδόμενοι*, 5.11: miîtînd *mt*

115. *προσελθόντες ... πειράζοντες ἐπηρώτησαν*, 16.1: apropiindu-să ... ispitind, rugară *mt*
116. *προσῆλθον ... πειράζοντες αὐτὸν καὶ λέγοντες*, 19.3: să apropiară ... ispitindu-L pre El și zicînd Lui (Lui *om.* NTB) *mt*
117. *ἐμπαίζοντες*, 27.41: bătîndu-și joc | batgiocurind
118. *γνοὺς ... εἶπεν*, 16.8: conoscînd ... zise | știu ... și zise
119. *γνοὺς ... εἶπεν*, 22.18; 26.10: conoscînd ... zise | înțelegînd ... zise
120. *γνοὺς ... εἶπεν*, 26.10: știind ... zise *mt*
121. *μὴ εἰδότες*, 22.29: neștiind | pentru că nu știți
122. *κλαίουσα*, 2.18: plîngînd | plîngea
123. *συνεχομένους*, 4.24: cuprinși fiind | cuprinși
124. *πόλις ... κειμένη*, 5.14: cetatea zăcînd | cetatea pusă
125. *μεριμνῶν*, 6.27: grijind | cu cîștiga
126. *εἶδε ... βεβλημένην καὶ πυριέσσουσαν*, 8.14: văzu ... zăcînd și înfierbîntată | văzu ... zăcînd ... de friguri
127. *βασανιζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων*, 14.24: învâlindu-se (-să NTB) de valuri | de unde
128. *στυγνάζων*, 16.3: posomorîndu-să | nuoros
129. *σπλαγχνισθεῖς*, 18.27: milostivindu-se | feace-i-să milă
130. *σπλαγχνισθεῖς ... ἤψατο*, 20.34: milostivindu-Se ... atinse | facîndu-I-Să milă ... atinse
131. *ὀργισθεῖς ... παρέδωκεν*, 18.34: mîniindu-se ... deade | să mînie ... și(-) deade
132. *ὁ ... μεταμεληθεῖς ἀπῆλθεν*, 21.29: căindu-se, mearse | să gîndi și mearse
133. *μεταμεληθεῖς*, 27.3: căindu-se | căi-se
134. *ἀμελήσαντες*, 22.5: lenevind | nu vrură
135. *φοβηθεῖς ... ἔκρουσα*, 25.25: temîndu-mă, ... ascunșu *mt*
136. *λυπούμενοι*, 26.22: întristîndu-să | să întristară
137. *δίκαιος ὢν καὶ μὴ θέλων ... ἐβουλήθη*, 1.19: fiind drept și nevrînd ... vru | fiind drept și nu vru ... vru
138. *θέλων ... ἀποκτεῖναι*, 14.5: vrînd să ucigă *mt*
139. *ἔχοντες*, 15.30: avînd *mt*
140. *μὴ ἔχων*, 22.12, 25: neavînd *mt*
141. *Ματθαῖον λεγόμενον*, 9.9: Mattheiu chemîndu-l | de-l chema Mattheiu
142. *πεσόντες προσεκύνησαν*, 2.11: căzînd să închinară | și căzură de să închinară
143. *πεσῶν ... προσεκύνει ... λέγων*, 18.26: căzînd... să închina ... zicînd | plecîndu-să ... ruga ... zicînd
144. *πεσῶν ... παρεκάλει ... λέγων*, 18.29: căzînd... ruga ... grăind | căzu ... ruga ... grăind
145. *ἔλαβεν ... καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν*, 15.36: luînd ... dînd laudă, frînse (-îm- NTB) *mt*

146. λαβὼν ... καὶ εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν, 26.26: luînd ... și blagoslovind frînse |  
luo ... și blagoslovind frîmse
147. λαβὼν ... καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν ... λέγων, 26.27: luînd ... și  
blagoslovind, deade zicînd | luînd ... și deade har, deade ... zicînd
148. χρηματισθέντες, 2.12: luînd răspuns | luară răspuns
149. χρηματισθεῖς ... κατ' ὄναρ, 2.22: luînd știre în vis | luo știre în somn
150. βαπτισθεῖς, 3.16: botezîndu-se | deaca să boteză
151. πορευθέντες ... μαθητεύσατε βαπτίζοντες, 28.19: mergînd ... învățați ...  
botezînd | meargeți de învățați... botezînd
152. νηστεύσας ... ὕστερον ἐπέινασε, 4.2: postind ... apoi flămînzî | deaca posti ...  
apoi flămînzî
153. νηστεύοντες, 6.16: postind<sup>5</sup> (-du-să NTB) *mt*
154. ἐκτείνας ... λέγων, 8.3: tinzînd ... zicînd *mt*
155. ἐκτείνας, 14.31: tinzînd | tinse
156. γήμας, 22.25: însurîndu-se | să însură
157. προσῆλθεν ... προσκυνούσα καὶ αἰτοῦσα, 20.20: să apropie ... închinîndu-se  
(-să NTB) și cerșind (ceind NTB) *mt*
158. προελθὼν ... προσευχόμενος καὶ λέγων, 26.39: mergînd ... rugîndu-Se (-Să  
NTB) și zicînd *mt*
159. ἐπιθεῖς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς, 19.15: puindu-și pre (spre NTB) ei mînile
160. ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον, 26.30: laudînd ieșiră | cîntînd laudă ... ieșiră
161. ἐξομολογούμενοι, 3.6: isproveduindu-și *mt*
162. πλέξαντες ... γονυπετήσαντες ... λέγοντες, 27.29: împletind ...  
îngenunchind ... zicînd | împletită ... îngenunchind ... zicînd
163. δεινῶς βασανιζόμενος, 8.6: rău muncindu-se | iute să chinuiaște
164. λαβὼν ... ἔσπειρεν, 13.31: luîndu-l ... l-au sămănat | (carele-)l ia ... (și-)l  
samăna
165. λαβοῦσα ... ἐνέκρουσεν, 13.33: luîndu-l ... îl ascunse | carele ia ... de-l  
acoperi
166. κελεύσας ... λαβὼν ... κλάσας ἔδωκεν, 14.19: poruncind ... luînd ... frîngînd  
deade | porunci ... luo ... frîmse ... deade
167. λαβόντες, 21.35, 39: prinzînd | prinsă
168. συμβούλιον ... λαβόντες, 27.7: sfat făcînd (ținînd NTB) *mt*
169. συμβούλιον ... λαβόντες, 28.12: sfat făcînd *mt*
170. ἰδὼν ... λαβὼν ... ἀπενίψατο ... λέγων, 27.24: văzînd ... luînd ... spălă-ș (-și  
NTB) ... zicînd (zi- NTB) *mt*
171. δραμών ... καὶ λαβὼν ... πλήσας τε ... καὶ περιθεῖς ... ἐπόθιζεν, 27.48:  
alergă ... și luînd ... împlîndu-l ... și puindu-l ... Îl adăpa | alergă ... și luînd ...  
(și-)l împlu ... (și-)l puse ... (și-)l deade să bea

<sup>5</sup> See, however, no.292, where the same P is rendered through a sC.

172. οἱ ... λαβόντες ... ἐποίησαν, 28.15: ei ... luînd ... făcură *mt*
173. παραλαβών, 26.37: luînd *mt*
174. παραλαβόντες, 27.27: luînd | dusără-L
175. προσλαβόμενος ... ἔρξατο ... λέγων, 16.22: apucîndu-L ... începu ... zicînd | (și-)L apucă ... începu ... zicînd
176. εἶ ... θερίζων ... καὶ συνάγων, 25.24: ești ... secerînd ... și adunînd | ești ... seaceri ... și aduni
177. συναχθέντες, 28.12: adunîndu-se | să adunară
178. μήποτε συλλέγοντες ... ἐκριζώσητε, 13.29: să nu cumva, zmulgînd ... să zmulgeți
179. ἐγερθεῖς, 1.24: sculîndu-se (-să NTB) *mt*
180. ἐγερθεῖς παράλαβε τὸ παιδίον, 2.13: sculîndu-te ia coconul | scoală și ia coconul
181. ἐγερθεῖς, 2.14, 21: sculîndu-se | să sculă
182. ἐγερθεῖς ἄρόν σου τὴν κλίνην, 9.6: sculîndu-te, ridică-ți patul | scoală-te de-ți ia patul tău
183. πέμψας, 2.8: trimițînd | trimese
184. πέμψας, 22.7: trimițînd | mină
185. ἀποστείλας ἀνεῖλε, 2.16: trimițînd, au ucis | trimise de pierdu
186. βαλοῦσα, 26.12: puind | vârsînd
187. διμερίσαντο ... βάλλοντες κληρον, 27.35: împărțiră ... aruncînd sorți *mt*
188. εἰς κλίβανον βαλόμενον, 6.30: în cuptoriu aruncîndu-se | să în coptoriu aruncă
189. κρατήσας ... ἔδησεν, 14.3: prinzînd ... au legat | prinsease ... de legase
190. κρατήσας ... ἔπνιγεν λέγων, 18.28: prinzînd ... îl sugruma zicînd | (și-)l prinse de-l sugruma grăind
191. καταλιπὼν ... ἐλθὼν κατώκησεν, 4.13: lăsînd ... veni și lăcui | lăsă ... veni și lăcui
192. καταλιπὼν ... ἀπῆλθε, 16.4: lăsînd ... Să duse *mt*
193. καταλιπὼν ... ἐξῆλθεν, 21.17: lăsînd ... ieși | lăsă, mearse afară
194. δῆσαντες ... ἐκβάλετε, 22.13: legîndu-i ... luați-l și-l aruncați (-ți NTB) *mt*
195. δῆσαντες, 27.2: legînd | legat
196. ἀπολύσας, 15.39: slobozînd | lăsă
197. κλείσας τὴν θύραν σου, 6.6: închizînd ușa ta *mt*
198. εὕρων ... ἐκρυψεν, 13.44: aflîndu-o ... ascunse | o află și o acopere
199. βλέπων ... ἀρξαμένος ... λέγων, 14.30: văzînd ... începînd ... zicînd *mt*
200. προσῆλθεν ... καὶ ἀψάμενος ... εἶπεν, 17.7: apropiîndu-Se ... Să atinse și zise | apropie-Să și Să atinse și zise
201. τρώγοντες καὶ πίνοντες, 24.38: mîncînd și bînd | mînce și bea
202. ἐκτείνας ... ἀπέσπασεν ... καὶ πατάξας ... ἀφεῖλεν, 26.51: tinzînd ... scoase ... și lovînd ... tăie *mt*
203. λέγων ... παραδούς, 27.4: zicînd ... vînzînd *mt*

204. *ρίψας ... ἀπελθὼν ... ἀπήγγξατο*, 27.5: aruncînd ... mergînd să spînzură | aruncînd ... mearse ... și să spînzură  
 205. *φραγελλώσας*, 27.26: izbindu-L *mt*  
 206. *ἐκδύσαντες*, 27.28: dezbrăcînd | (și-)L dezbrăcară  
 207. *τηροῦντες ... ἰδόντες ... λέγοντες*, 27.54: străjuind ... văzînd ... zicînd *mt*  
 208. *προσκλίσας*, 27.60: prăvălînd | prăvăliră  
 209. *οἱ δὲ πορευθέντες ἠσφάλισαντο ... σφραγίσαντες*, 27.66: iară ei mearseră și întăriră pecitluind | iară ei mearseră și pecetluiră sămnînd

This selection is not the easiest to systematise, as it covers unrelated semantic areas attested in varying degrees of frequency. For the purpose of this research, an attempt is being made at grouping them as follows:

a) The first half, arranged according to the well-known category of *verba dicendi-sentiendi* contains the following groups: seeing (94-102), hearing (103-111), intellectual activities *lato sensu* (112-121), states and acts of will (122-141) and religious actions (142-163).

b) The second half contains a single group with various participles arranged by frequency (164-209).

The occurrence of various participial clusters<sup>6</sup> C2, C3, C4 in different groups of this section, complicated further my attempts at a systematic analysis of the examples above.

The examples selected illustrate some features of Biblical Romanian *in statu nascendi*. Firstly, it becomes apparent that the BB differs from the NTB by opting exclusively for the G, which makes its renderings very literal; the examples 180-185 are highly relevant in this respect, as is the agreement with the NTB in 79, i.e. in a place where the NTB had adopted the G solution. In the NTB, on the other hand, sometimes a hesitation between G and V is noticeable, e.g. in the difference between 130 and 129, and between 138 and 137.

In one instance the BB innovates in a rather unusual manner: at no. 200 the Gk has the structure V+GV which the NTB turns into a standard V + V + V, whilst the BB opts for GV + V.

Examples 95-103, 107-108, and 113-120, attest the *mt* consensus. The same applies for 168-170 and 172-173: the consensus occurs exclusively when the NTB opts for G. Interestingly, whilst *ἀναβλέπειν* is

<sup>6</sup> More details about participial clusters can be found *infra*, under 4.1.

translated by *a căuta*: 94, βλέπειν is rendered by *a vede*: 96, and so is the aorist ἰδών/ -όντες: 99, 100, etc., whereas θεωρεῖν by *a privi*: 102.

Nos. 103-111 illustrate the formula containing the participle ἀκούσαντες, which is rendered differently in the BB than in the NTB: whenever the NTB opts for GV, the BB follows in, e.g.: 103, 107, 108, 110, 113, 114, 115, etc.

Sometimes the BB shows consistency where the NTB had used synonyms, e.g. 118-119, where *știu* and *înțelegînd* in the NTB are rendered by *conoscînd* in the BB; sometimes, the BB follows faithfully the NTB e.g. 120.

It is worth noting that the NTB does not hesitate to explore more subtle solutions, as in 121, 126 or 127.

A technical verb such as εὐλογεῖν is rendered by *a blagoslovi*, in no. 146, *mt*. The verb εὐχαριστεῖν, on the other hand, is translated differently under 147: *blagoslovînd* in the BB, but *deade har* in the NTB, a phrase similar to *dînd laudă* in 145, which translates the same verb in Gk.

#### 2.1.4. The participle absolute

210. ὀψίας ... γενομένης, 8.16: deaca să făcu (feace NTB) sară *mt*  
 211. ὀψίας ... γενομένης, 14.15, 23: fiind sara *mt* 23: -ră *mt*  
 212. ὀψίας ... γενομένης, 26.20: fiind sară (-ra NTB) *mt*  
 213. ὀψίας ... γενομένης, 16.2: făcîndu-să sară | cîndu-i sara  
 214. ὀψίας ... γενομένης, 20.8: făcîndu-se seară | fiind sara  
 215. ὀψίας ... γενομένης, 27.57: fiind în desară *mt*  
 216. πρωίας γενομένης, 27.1: fiind dimineața (demî- NTB) *mt*  
 217. γενεσίσις ... γενομένοις, 14.6: nașteri făcîndu-se | sosînd zuaa nașterii  
 218. τοῦ ... Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος, 2.1: Iisus născîndu-să | deaca născu Iisus  
 219. ἀναχωρησάντων ... αὐτῶν, 2.13: ducîndu-să ei | deaca să întoarsără ei  
 220. ἐλθόντων, 17.14: mergînd ei *mt*  
 221. ἐλθόντων ... αὐτῶν, 17.24: venînd ei *mt*  
 222. εἰσελθόντος αὐτου, 21.10: întrînd El *mt*  
 223. αὐτῶν ... ἐξερχομένων, 9.32: ieșînd ei | ei deaca ieșîră  
 224. πολλῶν προσελθόντων ψευδομαρτύρων, 26.60: multe mărturii mincenoase  
 vîind | venîră mărturii multe minciunoase  
 225. ἐκπορευομένων αὐτῶν, 20.29: ieșînd ei *mt*  
 226. πορευθεῖς ... ἠργάσατο, 25.16: mergînd ... au lucrat | merse ... lucră  
 227. πορευομένων ... αὐτῶν, 28.11: mergînd eale *mt*  
 228. ἀναβάντων αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, 14.32: întrînd ei in corabie *mt*

229. καταβαινόντων αὐτῶν ... λέγων, 17.9: pogoîndu-se (-să NTB) ei ... zicînd *mt*
230. καθίσαντος αὐτοῦ, 5.1: șázînd El | deacã șázû
231. καθημένου ... αὐτοῦ, 24.3; 27.19: șázînd El *mt*
232. ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ ἀνακειμένου, 9.10: fu El șázînd în casã | (și-)i fu de mearse
233. συνεγμένων ... τῶν Φαρισαίων, 22.41: fiind adunați fariseii *mt*
234. συνηγμένων ... αὐτῶν, 27.17: adunîndu-se (-să NTB) ei *mt*
235. εἰπόντος δὲ, 17.26: zise Petâr (Pătru NTB) Lui *mt*
236. ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος, 17.5:26.47: încã grăind El *mt*
237. ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν, 26.21: mîncînd ei *mt*
238. ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν, 26.26: cinînd ei *mt*
239. μνηστευθείσης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, 1.18: logodindu-se maica Lui | fiind logodită muma Lui
240. αὐτοῦ ἐνθυμηθέντος, 1.20: cugetînd el *mt*
241. σοῦ ... ποιούντος, 6.3: tu făcînd milostenie *mt*
242. ἐκβληθέντος τοῦ δαιμονίου, 9.33: scoțîndu-se dracul | fu scos dracul
243. παντὸς ἀκούοντος ... καὶ μὴ συνιέντος, 13.19: tot cel ce (cine NTB) aude ... și nu înțeleage *mt*
244. γενομένης ... θλίψεως, 13.21: făcîndu-să strînsoare | scornindu-să fugă
245. μὴ ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ ἀποδοῦναι, 18.25: neavînd el să-i dea | cînd n-are avea de unde plăti
246. χρονίζοντος ... τοῦ νυμφίου, 25.5: zăbovind ginerile | zăbăvind mirele

The participle absolute is an important narrative structure centred on the P. Since in the *mt* it is most frequently rendered by G, it is presented under this heading, e.g. 211-218, etc. The construction is well represented in Gk with approx. 70 occurrences, from which 37 have been selected. Of these, the group 210-218 represents a recurrent formula of the narrative: a chronological reference. The BB renders these examples through G, with the exception of 210, where the solution adopted by the NTB is preferred. G is in fact by far the best represented rendering in the NTB as well, which offers only 8 examples of a subordinate clause.

Nearly three quarters of the examples selected, 27, are in agreement. In the other examples the differences are both lexical: 214, 244, 217, 246, and syntactical, e.g. 213, 218, 219, 223, 224, 242, etc.

Examples 201-216 illustrate several variant translations in both versions, involving the variation *a fi/ a se face* or the presence/ the absence of the article with the S: *sarã/ sara*. Example no. 217 illustrates

the absolute dative in the MG.<sup>7</sup> Once again, the elegant solution adopted by the NTB contrasts with the awkward renderings of the BB.

## 2.2. Participle translated by a noun/ participle/ adjective

247. δαιμονιζομένους, 8.16: îndrăciț (-ți) *mt*  
 248. δαιμονιζόμενον, 9.33: îndrăcit *mt*  
 249. ἀπολελυμένην, 19.9: lăsată de altul *mt*  
 250. θηλαζόντων, 21.16: sugătorilor *mt*  
 251. εὐλογημένος, 21.9: blagoslovit *mt*  
 252. εὐλογημένος, 23.39: blagoslovit | lăudat  
 253. ἀνακειμένων, 22.10: de oaspeți *mt*  
 254. πεινῶντα ... ἢ διψῶντα, 25.37, 44: flămînd ... sau sătos *mt*  
 255. ἀσθενοῦντα, 25.39: bolnav | beteag

This is an important section which shows the innovative spirit of the NTB. In all examples, the Greek P has been rendered by S: 253, by participial substantives: 247, 248, by *nomen agentis*: 250, or, lastly, by adjectives: 254, 255.

The majority of the examples attest the consensus *mt*, with the exception of 252 and 255. If 255 illustrates a lexical change in the BB, in 252 another difference between the BB and the NTB becomes apparent in the preference for Latin-based renderings.<sup>8</sup>

Some of the solutions adopted in this section occur also in the section discussing the participle with article (see *infra*, 3.). Thus, for *bolnav*, v. also 295, 296, and for *blagosloviți*, v. 316.

## 2.3. Participle without article, rendered through a clause

256. ὅπως καὶ γὰρ ἔλθὼν προσκυνήσω αὐτῷ, 2.8: ca să viiu și eu să mă închin Lui *mt*  
 257. ἔλθόντι αὐτῷ, 8.28: deacă viind | dacă veni  
 258. ἐλθόντες συνανέκειντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ, 9.10: veniră de șazură cu Iisus *mt*  
 259. καὶ ἔλθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, 9.23: și deaca veni Iisus *mt*  
 260. ἐλθόντα ... προσέφθασεν, 17.25: cînd intră ... mai nainte-l (-nte NTB) apucă (întrebă NTB) *mt*

<sup>7</sup> Other possible examples under 8.5: εἰσελθόντι τῷ Ἰησοῦ, întrînd Iisus ..., *mt* or 8.23: ἐμβάντι αὐτῷ ... ἐκολούθησαν αὐτῷ, *mt*, or, lastly, 9.27: παραγόντι ἐκέϊθεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ *mt*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *supra*, the notes on 145-147.

261. ἀπελούντες συλλέξωμεν, 13.28: să mergem să le plevim *mt*
262. ἀπελούν ... ἔβαλεν, 18.30: (ce-)l duse de-l băgă<sup>9</sup> *mt*
263. ἀπελούν ἐκρουσα, 25.25: mers și ascunșu *mt*
264. προσῆλθον αὐτῷ διδάσκοντι, 21.23: când învâța, mearseră cătră El *mt*
265. ἀφείς ... παρελθὼν ... προσήξατο ... εἰπὼν, 26.44: lăsînd ... mearse de Să rugă ... zicînd *mt*
266. πορευθέντες ἀπαγγείλατε, 11.4: meargeți de spuneți *mt*
267. διαπεράσαντες, 14.34: deaca trecînd | deaca trecură
268. λέγοντες, 22.23: carii zicea *mt*
269. λεγόμενον Γεθσημανί, 26.36: ce să zice Ghethsimani | care să chiamă Ghetsimani
270. λεγόμενον, 27.16: de-l chema *mt*
271. λεγόμενον, 27.17: ce să zice *mt*
272. λεγόμενον ... λεγόμενος, 27.33: ce să cheamă ... ce să zice *mt*
273. εἰρηκότος, 26.75: cela ce-i zisease *mt*
274. φωνὴ βοῶντος, 3.3: glasul celui ce strigă | glasul strigătorului
275. ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους, 9.36: iară deaca văzu năroadele *mt*
276. ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, 7.29: ca cum avea putere | ca cela ce are putere
277. βοσκομένη, 8.30: de păștea *mt*
278. καὶ ἀναστὰς ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, 9.9: și să sculă de mearse după El *mt*
279. ἀνθρώπῳ σπειράντι, 13.24: omului celui ce samănă sămînță *mt*
280. ζητοῦντι, 13.45: carele caută *mt*
281. ὁμοία ... σαγήνη βληθείση ... καὶ ... συναγαγούση, 13.47: aseamenea ... cu năvodul aruncat ... și ... au adunat | aseamenea ... năvodului aruncat ... carele adună
282. λυπηθεῖς (... ἐκέλευσεν), 14.9: să întrestă (-tri- BB) *mt*
283. λαβόντες ... ἐγόγγυζον, 20.11: deaca-i luară, răpștiră *mt*
284. στάς ... ἐφώνησεν, 20.32: stătu ... chemă *mt*
285. ποιῶντι, 21.43: carii vor face *mt*
286. τεθυμένα, 22.4: sînt junghiate | sînt omorîte
287. ἐκχυνόμενον, 23.35: carele s-au vărsat *mt*
288. δούς ... εἶπεν, 26.26: da ... și zise | deade ... și zise
289. δραμών, 27.48: alergă *mt*
290. εἰ ἔρχεται ... σώσων, 27.49: au veni-va ... să-L mîntuiască *mt*
291. ἠκολούθησαν ... διακονοῦσαι, 27.55: au mersu ... să slujască | mearseră ... slujindu-I
292. νηστεύων, 6.17: când postești<sup>10</sup> *mt*.

<sup>9</sup> The translation of ἀπέρχεσθαι is unusual.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. νηστεύσας ... ὑστερον ἐπέινασε, 4.2: postînd ... apoi flămînzii | deaca posti ... apoi flămînzii.

The examples gathered in this section, although they represent the same actions as in the previous sections, differ from those by translating P with a clause, usually sC. Occasionally, however, P is rendered through a mC: 256, 261, 263, 282, 284, 286, 288, 289.

There is nothing new in the translation of a P with a clause in the NTB, but the fact that BB is now (generally) agreeing with the NTB is new. On one occasion only, 274, the BB expands the *nomen agentis* used by the NTB into a relative clause. In a few other cases, the BB operates lexical adjustments to the text of the NTB: 260, 269, 286, or syntactical, e.g. 276, 281, 288, and 291.

It is worth noting that the BB uses the solutions adopted by the NTB even in situations in which the initial preference had been for another solution: *supra*, in the ex. 141, *Ματθαῖον λεγόμενον*, the BB has *Mattheiu chemîndu-l*, whereas the NTB has *de-l chema Matteiu*. Nevertheless, in this section there are four occurrences in which the same P is rendered by a clause in both versions: 269-272. Only very rarely a clause in the BB corresponds to a G in the NTB: 291.

The NTB often translates a Greek P with a temporal clause introduced through *deaca/ dacă*; a quarter of the examples selected illustrate this type, e.g. 259, 275, etc. The BB uses all of these renderings, but on two instances changes (inadvertently?) V into G: 257 and 267. Several examples attest renderings by a mC: 258, 261, 263, 281, 284, 288 and 289.

### 3. Participle with article

#### 3.1. Rendered by (adjectival article with) P/ S

293. *καλέσαι τοὺς κεκλημένους*, 22.3: să cheame pre cei chemați | să chiiame chemații

294. *οἱ ... κεκλημένοι*, 22.8: chemații *mt*

295. *τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας*, 8.16; 14.35: bolnavii *mt*

296. *οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες*, 9.12: bolnavilor *mt*

297. *οἱ ἰσχύοντες*, 9.12: sănătoșilor *mt*

298. *τὸ περρισεῦον*, 14.20: prisoseala | rămășițe;

299. *τὸ περρισεῦον*, 15.37: prisosala | ce rămasăřă

300. *τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν*, 24.47: avuția (-ția NTB) *mt*

301. τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, 25.14: averile | bunătatea
302. ἀφείς ... πορευθεὶς ζητεῖ τὸ πλανώμενον, 18.12: caută pre cea rătăcită<sup>11</sup> | va mearge de va căuta pre cea rătăcită
303. τοῖς ... μὴ πεπλανημένοις, 18.13: de ceale ... nerătăcite *mt*
304. τῶν πωλούντων τὰς περιστεράς, 21.12: vânzătorilor de porumbi *mt*
305. διὰ ... τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς, 24.22: pentru cei aleși (-și NTB) *mt*
306. τὸ ... γεννηθὲν, 1.20: cel născut | ce e ... a să naște
307. οἱ δὲ βόσκοντες ἔφυγον, 8.33: iară păstorii fugiră *mt*
308. τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα, 10.6; 15.24: oile ceale perite *mt*
309. οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι, 11.28: toți cei osteniți (usteniți NTB) și împovărați *mt*
310. τὸ ἐφειλόμενον, 18.30: datoria (deatorii NTB) *mt*
311. οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, 21.42: ziditorii *mt*
312. τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους, 23.37: pre cei trimeși | trimeși
313. διὰ ... τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς, 24.22: pentru cei aleși (-și NTB) *mt*
314. μετὰ τῶν μεθουσίων, 24.49: cu bețivii *mt*
315. οἱ εὐλογημένοι, 25.34: blagosloviții *mt*
316. τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην, 25.34: cea (carea e NTB) gătită voao *mt*
317. τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, 26.63: pre Dumnezeu (–ău NTB) cel viu *mt*
318. τοῦ τετιμημένου, 27.9: celui prețuit *mt*
319. οἱ τηροῦντες, 28.4: străjarii *mt*

The most important feature of this section is the faithfulness showed by the BB to the solutions adopted by the NTB almost without exception.

Many examples show a preference in the BB for using the demonstrative (adjectival) article: 293, 302, 303, 305, 306, 308, 309, 313, 316, and 318. More than half of these examples are in consensus, which means that the BB follows in the NTB: 302, 303, 305, 308, 309, 313, 316, 317, and 318. As a matter of fact, the BB often adopts in this section the majority of the solutions found in the NTB, be those expressed through P or through S.

The P is used in many examples: 293, 294, 302, 303, 305, 308, 309, 312, 313, 315, 318, and so is the S: 295, 296, 297, 298, 300, 301, 304, 307, 310, 311, 314, and 319. Occasionally, the NTB would hesitate and use variants, whereas the BB makes consistent use of the same rendition, 298 vs 299, 300 vs 301.

<sup>11</sup> The translation of *πορευθεὶς* is omitted in the BB, probably through haplography.

A special mention needs to be made about 306, where the NTB has a periphrastic form of future, more logically perhaps; the BB, on the other hand, offers a literal rendition of the aorist passive participle.

### 3.2. Clause (secondary or main)

320. ὁ ἐρχόμενος, 21.9, 23.39: cel ce vine *mt*
321. οἱ ἐξερχόμενοι, 7.13: carii întră *mt*
322. τὸ εἰσερχόμενον ... τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον, 15.11: ce întră ... ce iase *mt*
323. οὐδὲ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἀφίετε, 23.14 (13): nici pre ceia ce întră ū lăsați  
| nece ceia ce vor să între nu-i lăsați
324. οἱ παραπορευόμενοι, 27.39: ceia ce trecea *mt*
325. εἶπε τοῖς ἀκολουθοῦσιν, 8.10: zise celor ce mergea *mt*
326. οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι, 19.28: carii ați venit după Mine *mt*
327. οἱ προάγοντες ... καὶ οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες, 21.9: care mergea înainte (-te-I NTB) și carii mergea denapoi
328. ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα, 7.13: calea carea duce | calea cea ... duce
329. τοῖς βαστάσασιν, 20.12: carii am purtat *mt*
330. οἱ ἐστῶτες, 26.73: ceia ce sta *mt*
331. τινες τῶν ὧδε ἐστῶτων, 16.28: de carii stau acicea *mt*
332. διὰ ... τοὺς συνακακισμένους, 14.9: pentru cei ce ședea cu el *mt*
333. τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐστηκότων, 27.47: ce sta acoloa *mt*
334. τῶν κεκοιμημένων, 27.52: carii era adormiți *mt*
335. ἐν τῷ καθημένῳ, 23.22: pre Cela ce șade *mt*
336. ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός, 1.16: carele să cheamă Hristos *mt*
337. οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι ... ὁ ποιῶν, 7.21: nu tot cine-M (Mi NTB) va zice mie ... ce cela ce (ce va NTB) face *mt*
338. οἱ λέγοντες, 22.23: carii zicea
339. οἱ λέγοντες, 23.16: carii ziceți
340. τοῦ λεγομένου, 26.3: carele îl (-le-I NTB) chema *mt*
341. οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ λαλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα ... τὸ λαλοῦν, 10.20: că nu veți fi voi grăind, ce Duhul ... cel ce grăiaște | că nu veți fi voi grăind, ce Duhul ... va grăi
342. τὸν λεγόμενον, 27.22: ce să zice *mt*
343. ὁ κακολογῶν, 15.4: cela ce grăiaște de rău | cela ce va grăi rău
344. ἰδόντες ... τὰ γενόμενα ... διεσάφησαν ... τα γενόμενα, 18.31: văzînd ceale ce s-au făcut (acestea ce fură NTB) ... spusără ... ceale ce (carele NTB) fură
345. ὁ ... ἀκούων καὶ συνιείς, 13.23: carele aude ... și înțeleage *mt*
346. πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα, 9.36: oi ce n-au păstoriu *mt*
347. ὁ ἔχων ὠτα, 11.15; 13.43: cela (cine) ce are urechi *mt*

348. *ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχοῦσαις*, 24.19: celor ce au în pînțece | greoaielor
349. *τῷ ἔχοντι*, 25.28: celuia ce are *mt*
350. *τῷ ἔχοντι*, 25.29: la (*om. NTB*) ... cela ce are *mt*
351. *τοῦ ... μὴ ἔχοντος*, 25.29: de la (*om. NTB*) cela ce n-are *mt*
352. *τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ σπείροντος*, 13.18: pilda sămănătorului *mt*
353. *τὸ ἐσπαρμένον*, 13.19: ce e sămănat *mt*
354. *ὁ σπαρεῖς*, 13.19: cea ce s-au sămănat | sămănătura
355. *ὁ σπαρεῖς*, 13.20, 23: cea ce s-au sămănat | sămînța
356. *ὁ ... σπαρεῖς*, 13.22: cea (*om. NTB*) ce-i sămănată *mt*
357. *ὁ σπείρων*, 13.37: cela ce samănă (*săm- NTB*) *mt*
358. *ὁ σπείρας αὐτὰ*, 13.39: cela ce au sămănat pre eale | ce le sămănă pre eale
359. *οἱ τὰ δίδραγμα λαμβάνοντες*, 17.24: cei ce lua didrahmele (-hmă NTB) *mt*
360. *ὁ λαβὼν ... ἤργασατο*, 25.16: cel ce au luat ... au lucrat | cel ce luo ... lucră
361. *ὁ ... λαβὼν ... ὤρυξεν*, 25.18: cela ce au luat ... săpă | cela ce luo ... săpă
362. *ὁ ... λαβὼν προσήνεγκεν*, 25.20: cel ce au luat ... aduse | cel ce luo ... aducînd
363. *οἱ ... κρατήσαντες*, 26.57: ei prinzînd | ei prinsără
364. *ὁ καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτόν*, 10.4: carele și vîndu pre El *mt*
365. *ὁ παραδιδούς αὐτόν*, 26.25: cela ce-L vindea pre El *mt*
366. *ὁ ... παραδιδούς αὐτόν*, 26.48: cela ce vîndu pre El *mt*
367. *ὁ παραδιδούς*, 27.3: cela ce-L vînduse *mt*
368. *τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι*, 5.40: celui ce va să<sup>12</sup> pîrască cu tine | cine va vrea să să pîrască cu tine
369. *τῶν πιπτόντων*, 15.27: cealea ce cad *mt*
370. *ὁ πεσὼν*, 21.44: cel ce va cădea *mt*
371. *ὁ ἀγιάσας*, 23.17: carea sfințeaste (*sv- NTB*) *mt*
372. *τὸ ἀγιάζον*, 23.19: carele sfințeaste *mt*
373. *ὁ δεχόμενος προφήτην*, 10.41: cela ce pîrimeaste prorocul *mt*
374. *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεννόντων τὸ σῶμα ... μὴ δυναμένον*, 10.28: de ceia ce omoară (-or BB) trupul ... nu ... pot *mt*
375. *τῶν φονευσάντων*, 23.31: celora ce au (ce-au NTB) omoarît *mt*
376. *ἡ ἀποκτείνουσα ... καὶ λιθοβαλοῦσα*, 23.37: carele omoarîș ... și cu pietri uciseș *mt*
377. *αἱ γενομένα*, 11.21: care fură *mt*
378. *τὰ γενομένα*, 27.54: cealea ce fură<sup>13</sup> *mt*

<sup>12</sup> Probably *să* <*să*>, with the accidental omission of one of the forms, by haplography.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *infra*, ex. 415: *ιδόντες ... τὰ γενομένα ... διεσάφησαν ... τα γενομένα*, 18.31: văzînd ceale ce s-au făcut (*avestea ce fură NTB*) ... spusără ... ceale ce (*carele NTB*) fură *mt*.

379. *καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀκούων ... καὶ μὴ ποιῶν*, 7.26: *și tot (omul add. NTB) carele aude ... și nu ... face mt*
380. *τὸν ἀναβάντα πρῶτον ἰχθὺν ἄρον ... ἀνοίξας ... εὐρήσεις ... λαβῶν*, 17.27: *care pește va iași (!) întîiu, rîdică-l ... deșchizînd ... vei afla ... luînd | care pește vei scoate întîi, adu-l ... deșchide ... vei afla ... ia*
381. *πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος*, 5.22: *tot cel ce urgiseaște | varecine să mînie*
382. *ὁ τεχθεὶς*, 2.2: *cel ce s-au născut | carele au născut*
383. *τοῦ φαινόμενου ἀστήρος*, 2.7: *ceii ce s-au arătat stea | în carea s-au arătat steaoa*
384. *μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες*, 5.6: *fericiți (ferice de NTB) ceia ce flămînzesc și însetoșază mt*
385. *πᾶς ὁ αἰτῶν ... καὶ ὁ ζητῶν ... καὶ τῷ κρούοντι*, 7.8: *tot cel (cine NTB) ce ceare ... cel ce (cine NTB) cearcă (caută NTB) ... celui ce bate mt*
386. *ὁ εὐρών τὴν ψυχὴν ... ὁ ἀπολέσας*, 10.39: *cela ce au aflat (va afla NTB) ... cela ce-ș va piarde mt*
387. *τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ*, 18.6: *carii cred întru Mine mt*
388. *ὁ κτίσας*, 19.4: *Cel ce au făcut | Făcătorul*
389. *ἐν τῷ κατοικοῦντι αὐτόν*, 23.21: *pre Cela (în Acela NTB) ce lăcuiaste întru ea mt*
390. *ὁ ... ὑπομείνας*, 24.13: *cela ce va răbda mt*
391. *ὁ ἀναγινώσκων*, 24.15: *cela ce (cine) ceteaște mt*
392. *τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον*, 25.41: *carele e gătit mt*
393. *ὁ ἐμβάψας*, 26.23: *cela ce-au întinsu | cela ce întinge*
394. *τὸ ... ἐκχυνόμενον*, 26.28: *ce să varsă | ce să va vărsa*
395. *ὁ καταλύων ... καὶ ... οἰκοδομῶν*, 27.40: *cela ce surpă ... și ... zideaște | cela ce spărgeai ... și ... zidiiai*
396. *πώλησον σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα*, 19.21: *vinde tot ce ai mt*
397. *τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ*, 28.1: *cei ce lumina | carea să lumina*

This section consists of a selection of P with article rendered mostly by a clause. The nearly complete consensus *mt* is again worth mentioning, and even more so in a section represented by over one hundred examples.

The usual rendering in the *mt* is the relative clause. There are only two exceptions in the NTB, when the rendition is through S: 348, *nomen agentis*: 388.

There are changes which the BB operates, correcting the tense of the V in Gk: 337 (the second P), 341 (the second P), 343.

Sometimes the BB uses previously modified solutions: in this respect nos. 330 and 331 are in contrast with no. 62. Another innovation

of the BB is the changing of a *nomen agentis* in the NTB into a relative clause in 348 and 388. A similar type of change in the BB can also be seen in 354, 355, and even in 363, where the G is used.

Occasionally, the NTB uses two synonyms to render the same Greek verb, which are accepted by the BB, e.g. 325, 3268, and 327. The opposite can be seen in 374, 375, 376, where *a omori* renders both ἀποκτείνειν and φονεύειν.

362 is unusual: the Gk has the structure PV which is rendered by the NTB as VG; the BB, on the other hand, changes the original structure into sVmV.

#### 4. Conclusion

The participial constructions are rendered in the BB as follows: P without article are translated by G, whereas P with article are translated, as in the NTB, through a sV. The NTB, however, prefers the translation by verbs coordinated either by a conjunction or paratactically. Lastly, the existence of various solutions to translate the same Greek P could indicate the translators' concern with the current verse to the detriment of a unity of expression across the whole text.

Certain types of error in the BB would hint at a less polished, at times, rushed, translation. If so, then this would come in support of what has been already inferred by Căndea 1969: 362-367.

The NTB on the other hand tends to be more creative, firstly by not restricting the translation of a P to a G; it also shows much more care in preserving the idiomaticity of the target-language. Lastly, there are a couple of examples when the NTB favours Latin-derived words over their Slavonic equivalent: *a blagoslovi* is relevant from this point of view.<sup>14</sup>

##### 4.1. Participial clusters

The translation of the participle can also be followed in the rendering of the participial clusters C2, C3 and C4, analysed below:

1) C2 are the most frequent in Gk: the examples listed below are quoted by the number allocated to them in sections 2 and 3, in which

<sup>14</sup> See the discussion of nos. 145-147 as well as no. 252.

there are well over 50 occurrences of C2 with various word-order patterns in Gk. There are three such patterns as follows:

Ex.	Gk	BB	NTB	Ex.	Gk	BB	NTB
3.	PVP	GVG	V+VG	108.	PVP	GVPrt	<i>mt</i>
8.	PPV	GGV	VsGV	115	PPV	GGV	<i>mt</i>
17.	PVP	GGV	V,VG	116	VPP	VGG	<i>mt</i>
19.	PPV	GGV	<i>mt</i>	126	VPP	VGG	VGSbs
20.	PVP	GVG	VGG	137	PPV	GGV	GV,V
34.	PPV	GGV	GV+V	143	PVP	GVG	GVG
42	PVP	V+VG	V+VG	144	PVP	GVG	V,VG
44	PVP	GVG	VVsG	145	PPV	GGV	V+GV
49.	P+PV	G,GV	G+GV	146	PPV	GGV	V+GV
58.	PPV	GGV	V+V,V	151	PVP	GVG	VVsG
61.	PPV	GGV	V+VVs	157	VPP	VGG	<i>mt</i>
64	VPP	VGG	<i>mt</i>	175	PVP	GVG	V,VG
72	PVP	GVG	V+VG	176	VPP	VGG	V,V+V
73	PVP	GVG	V,VG	190	PVP	GVG	VVsG
76	PVP	GVG	GVG	191	PPV	GV+V	V,V+V
77.	PVP	GVG	V,VG	201	VPP	VGG	V,V+V
78	PVP	GVG	VVsG	203	PVP	GVG	GVG
85	PVP	GVG	<i>mt</i>	204	PPV	GGV	GV+V
98.	PVP	GVG	<i>mt</i>	209	PVP	V+VG	V+VG
379	PP	V+V	<i>mt</i>	384	PP	V+V	<i>mt</i>

a) The first pattern is PVP in Gk, with 51 occurrences. The BB usually offers a literal translation, GVG (3, 20, 44, 72, 73, 76, etc.), but not always: 17 (innovation), 42, 108, 209. The last three examples are inspired by the NTB where several solutions are being used:

- i. literal, GVG: 76, 85, 98, etc.;
- ii. V+VG: 3, 42, 72, etc.;
- iii. V, VG (two finite verbs in parataxis): 17, 73, 77, etc.;
- iv. VsVG (the second finite verb is subordinated to the first one): 44;
- v. VGG: 20.

b) The second pattern is PPV in Gk, illustrated by 12 examples and rendered by GGV in the BB with one exception, no. 191, probably under the influence of the NTB, which has V, V+V. The NTB uses the following:

- i. VsGV: 8, 145, 146;
- ii. GGV (in agreement): 19, 115;
- iii. VVV: 58, 61, 91, see details in the table;
- iv. GVVV: 34, 137, 204.

c) The third pattern is VPP in Gk; there are six occurrences, rendered by VGG in the BB, and variously in the NTB, as follows:

- i. VGG: 64, 116, 157;
- ii. V, V +V: 176, 201;
- iii. VGsC: 126.

2) C3, with 18 occurrences in the current selection of examples, 14 of which are in agreement.

Ex.	Gk	BB	NTB	Ex.	Gk	BB	NTB
ex.				ex.			
35	PPP	GGG	<i>mt</i>	147	PPVP	GGVG	GV,VG
52	PPVP	GVV <sub>s</sub> G	<i>mt</i>	162	PPP	GGG	PrtGG
71.	PPVP	GGVG	<i>mt</i>				
79	PPVP	GVV <sub>s</sub> G	<i>mt</i>	170	PPVP	GGVG	<i>mt</i>
95	PPP	GGG	<i>mt</i>	199	PPP	GGG	<i>mt</i>
96.	PPP	GGG	<i>mt</i>	207	PPP	GGG	<i>mt</i>
101	PPVP	GGVG	<i>mt</i>	265	PPVP	GVV <sub>s</sub> G	<i>mt</i>
109	PPVP	GGVG	GV,VG				
113	PPP	GGG	<i>mt</i>				
166	PPP <sub>V</sub>	GGGV	V,V,V,V				

a) The pattern PPP occurs nine times, and is rendered eight times by GGG, and once by V, V, V (the NTB influence). The NTB generally uses the same pattern, with the exception of 162, which is rendered by PGG.

b) the pattern PPVP occurs eight times, mostly in agreement, with the NTB as a model:

- i. GVVG: 52, 79, 265;
- ii. GGVG: 71, 101, 109, 170.

The BB uses most solutions offered by the NTB with only one exception: in example no. 166, the NTB has V, V, V, V, while the BB opts for GGGV. Only one example of C3 is different from the patterns

mentioned above: no. 379, which has the pattern PVPVP in Gk, rendered with VVGVG in the BB, but VV, VV, V in the NTB.

3) C4 has three occurrences as follows:

Ex.	Gk	BB	NTB
56	PPPP	GGGG	<i>mnt</i>
94	PPVPV	GGVGV	V,V,V,V,V
171	PPPPV	VGGGV	V+GV+V+V

If the first example is translated in agreement, the other two are typical of the choices in favour with their respective translators: while the G is almost inexistent in the NTB, it is used in the BB in seven out of eight cases.

Despite the existence of stereotypical, repetitive narratives in Gk, the *mnt* do not necessarily follow suit in this respect: the same verb is rendered differently and the same noun has two equivalents in the *mnt*, etc. The formulaic variation, both lexical and syntactical, in the *mnt* indicates either the translators' intention to avoid monotony, or their focus on a given line without correlating it to other identical contexts.

Examples 164-175 seem to illustrate an incipient awareness of the synonymy in Greek on the part of the *mnt* translators: whilst 164-174 translate λαμβάνειν and παραλαμβάνειν identically with *a lua*, no. 175 renders προσλαμβάνειν by *a apuca*. One may suppose that the innovation belongs to the NTB which offers different renderings in 174 as well; these, however, are not followed by the BB. The same applies to ex. 184 where the NTB innovates: *mîñă*, although the same verb is translated with *a trimite*. At the other extreme, no. 178 attests the translation of two different Greek verbs with the same one in Romanian: συλλέγειν and ἐκρίζου̃ν are both rendered with *a zmulge* in the *mnt*. Lastly, example no. 200 is worth mentioning for the exclusive use the BB makes of the G: the finite verb προσῆλθεν is rendered by *apropiindu-se*. The same applies to the three examples already mentioned, in which the BB modifies the solutions offered by the NTB, replacing V with G: *pîñă vîind* (1), *deacă vîind* (2), and *deaca trecînd* (3).

## 5. Excursus

Lastly, it may not be without interest to see the main tendencies of the BB and the NTB, respectively, reflected in forms belonging to finite verb paradigms. The following three additions to the main analysis focus, therefore, on what I regard as important criteria to differentiate the BB from the NTB:

1. the use of the present perfect vs. aorist;
2. the use of the reflexive form with passive meaning (henceforth *rpa*) vs the passive form (henceforth *pa*), and
3. the rendering of a stereotype formula introducing a quotation from the Old Testament.

### 5.1. Perfect vs. aorist

398. *ἐγέννησε*, 1.2 *pass*: au născut | născu; Vulg.: *gemit*  
 399. *ἐγεννήθη*, 1.16: S-au născut | născu; Vulg.: *natus est*  
 400. *ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει*, 5.45: căci răsare pre soarele Său | că face să răsară soarele Său; Vulg.: *oriri facit*  
 401. *ἐποίησεν ὡς προσέταξεν αὐτῷ*, 1.24: au făcut cum au poruncit lui | făcu cumu-i porunci lui  
 402. *ὤπέδειξεν ὕμῖν*, 3.7: v-au arătat voao | vă arătă voao  
 403. *ἔλαβε*, 8.17: au luat | luă  
 404. *ἐκράτησε τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς*, 9.25: o au apucat de mână | o prinse de mîna ei  
 405. *ἡ ... ὠψοθεῖσα*, 11.23: ceea ce te-ai înălțat | ce te înălțași  
 406. *μετενόησαν*, 12.41: căci s-au pocăit | că ei se pocăiră  
 407. *ἦλθεν*, 12.42: că au venit | că veni  
 408. *ἐντείλατο λέγων*, 15.4: au poruncit grăind | porunci grăind  
 409. *ἐξέβαλε*, 21.12: le-au răsturnat | le răsturnă  
 410. *ἐποίησε*, 21.31: au făcut | feace  
 411. *ἐνύσταξαν ... ἐκάθευδον*, 25.5: au adormitat ... dormiia | adurmitară ... adurmiră, Vulg., Beza: *dormierunt*.  
 412. *ἔστησαν αὐτῷ*, 26.15: au pus lui | deaderă lui  
 413. *σὺ εἶπας*, 26.25: tu ai zis | tu ziseși  
 414. *ἠκολούθησαν*, 27.55: au mersu | mearseră  
 415. *τὰ γενόμενα*, 28.11: ceale ce s-au făcut | toate cîte fură  
 416. *ἡ γένεσις ... οὕτως ἦν*, 1.18: nașterea ... așa era | nașterea ... așa fu;

Vulg.: *sic erat*, Beza: *ita fuit*

417. ἐκάλεισε ... παρέδωκεν, 25.14: chemă ... deade | chiamă ... dă; Vulg., Beza: *vocavit ... tradidit*

418. ὁ ἐλατόμησεν ἐν τῇ πέτρῳ, 27.60: l-au cioplit în piatră | carele tăiase din piatră; Vulg.: *quod exciderat in petra*

These examples show clearly the BB's distaste for the aorist (simple past). The nos. 398, 399, and 400 offer a further contrast between the reflexive voice with a passive meaning and the active voice. If the NTB seems to innovate in this point (v. the Vulg. *ad loc.*, likely to be the source of the NTB), the example no. 400 shows the strong preference the BB has for a literal translation.

It can also be noted that the *ῥπα* replaces in the BB the *πα* used by the NTB (on which see more in the next section). An example *sui generis* is no. 415, τὰ γενόμενα.

It is clear that the NTB adopts sometimes solutions from the Beza edition, both the Vulgate translation (called by Beza *vetus* and printed in italics) and Beza's own translation (called by him *nova*, and accompanied by marginal notes).

## 5.2. Reflexive passive vs passive

419. μνηστευθείσης, 1.18: logodindu-se | fiind logodită

420. ἡ ἀξιόνη ... κεῖται, 3.10: săcurea zace | săcuria iaste pusă; Vulg., Beza: *posita est*

421. ἀνήχθη, 4.1: aduse-Să | dus fu

422. εἰ μὴ βληθῆναι, 5.13: fără numai a să lepăda | numai să fie lepădată

423. βληθῆ εἰς γέενναν, 5.29: să să bage în Gheena (*cf.* 5.22: matca focului - focului Gheenului) | să fie aruncat în focul Gheenni

424. σήμερον ὄντα καὶ αὔριον εἰς κλίβανον βαλλόμενον, 6.30: astăzi fiind și miine în cuptoriu aruncându-se | care iaste astăzi, iară miine să în coptoriu aruncă

425. ἐκβλεθέντος, 9.33: scoțindu-se | fu scos

426. σωθήσεται, 10.23: să va spăși | va fi spășit

427. τότε προσηνέχθη αὐτῷ, 12.22: atunci s-au adus Lui | atunci adusă ră Lui; Lat. *oblatus est ei*

428. τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδός, 7.14: necăjită e calea | calea îngustă iaste

429. πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται, 11.5: săracilor bine să vestește | surumanilor

- Evangheliia să propoveduiaște; Vulg.: *pauperes euangelizantur*, Beza: *pauperibus euangelizantur*<sup>15</sup>
430. ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, 11.25: Mărturisescu-Mă Ție | laudă Ție dau; Vulg.: *confitebor*, Beza: *confiteor*
431. ὁ παῖς μου, εἰς ὃν εὐδόκησεν, 12.18: Fiul Meu ... în Carele binevru | sluga mea ... în carele să odihni; Vulg.: *puer*, Beza: *seruus*<sup>16</sup>
432. εὐρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα, 1.18: află-se în pînțece avînd | află-să îngreuiată cf. 1.23: în pînțece va avea – va priimi în sine
433. ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν, 1.20: cel născut întru ea | că ce e întru ea a să naște
434. ὃ ἐστὶ μεθερμηνεύμενον, 1.23: carele iaste tălmăcindu-se | carele să spune
435. εὐνούχισθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ... εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοῦς, 19.12: s-au scopit de oameni ... s-au scopit pre înșiș | carii-s giugăniți de oameni ... să giugănesc înșiși pre sine; Vulg., Beza: *eunuchi qui castrati* (Vulg.: *facti*) *sunt ab hominibus ... se ipsos castrarunt*
436. ἐγενήθη, 21.42: să făcu în capul | făcută e în capul; Vulg., Beza: *factus est*
437. ἐγένετο αὕτη, 21.42: s-au făcut aceasta | iaste aceasta; Vulg., Beza: *factum est*
438. ὅπως δοξασθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, 6.2: ca să să mărească de către oameni | ca să-i laude oamenii; Vulg.: *ut honorificentur* (Beza: *gloriam consequantur*) *ab hominibus*

The BB most often avoids the use of *pa*, using instead the *rpa*. The NTB, on the other hand, prefers the *pa* in most instances with very few exceptions: 424, 429, and 432. The last one is also worth mentioning for the standard opposition between the BB and the NTB: if the BB translates it literally, as expected, the NTB innovates in the rendering of ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα by ‘îngreuiată’, probably in an attempt to avoid giving too graphic a description referring to the Holy Theotokos. The same applies, I think, to the second example listed under the same entry, 432: ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει, translated by ‘va priimi în sine’.

The literal translation favoured by the BB becomes apparent in every example, but even more so in those in which the original text is polysemantic and the selected meaning does not suit the context: 420, 428, and 429. The examples 429 and 431 are relevant in this respect, as the BB follows the literal principle without correlating it to the theological context, which is what the NTB does.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. OSB, Mt. 11.5: ‘the poor have the gospel preached to them’.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. OSB, Mt. 12.18: ‘My Servant’ etc.

Lastly, it is interesting to note that in no. 431 (quotation from Isaia, 42.1) *παῖς* is rendered in the BB by 'Fiul', although in Isaia *ad loc.* the BB translation runs 'Sluga Mea'.

Another manner of rendering the passive preferred by the NTB is the use of an intransitive verb. Occasionally, the NTB renders the original construction in the Gk into active voice: no. 427, 437, and 438. The NTB is visibly reliant on the Latin version, although sometimes prefers different solutions: 427, 438.

### 5.3. A formula introducing a quotation from the Old Testament

439. ἵνα πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν, 1.22: ca să să împle ce e zis (NTB ce zice); Beza: *quod ait*, Vulg.: *quod dictum est*
440. ἵνα πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν, 2.15: ca să să plinească (NTB împle) ce e zis
441. τότε ἐπληρώθη το ῥηθὲν, 2.17: atuncea să plini ceaca ce s-au grăit | atuncea să plini carea e zisă; Vulg.: *quod dictum est*
442. ὅπως πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν, 2. 23: ca să să împle ceaca ce s-au grăit | ca să să împle ce e zis; Lat. *quod dictum est*
443. ἵνα πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν, 4.14: ca să să împle ce s-au (NTB ce-au) zis
444. ὅπως πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν, 8.17: ca să să împle carea e (NTB carea-i) zisă; Lat. *quod dictum est*
445. ἵνα πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν, 12.17: ca să să împle ceaca ce s-au grăit | ca să să împle carea e zisă; Vulg.: *quod dictum est*, Beza: *erat*
446. ὅπως πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν, 13.35: ca să să împle ce e (NTB ce-i) zis; Vulg.: *quod dictum erat*, Beza: *fuit*
447. ἵνα πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν, 21.4: ca să să împle ce iaste zis *rnt*; Lat. *quod dictum est*
448. τότε ἐπληρώθη το ῥηθὲν, 27.9: atuncea să împlu ce s-au grăit | ce-au zis; Lat. *quod dictum est*
449. τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Κυρίου, 1.22: ce e zis de Domnul | ce zice Domnul; Beza: *quod ait D.*, Vulg.: *dictum est*
450. τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, 22.31: ce s-au zis de la Dumnezău | ce e zis de la Dumnezău
451. τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δανιήλ, 24.15: carea s-au grăit pren Daniil | carea e zisă de la Daniil; Lat. *quae dicta est*
452. οὗτος ... ἐστιν ὁ ῥηθεὶς, 3.3: acesta e cel ce s-au grăit | acesta-i de carea e zis; Lat. *de quo dictum est*
453. ἀναπληροῦνται αὐτοῖς ἡ προφητεία Ἡσαίου ἡ λέγουσα, 13.14: să împle preste ei prorocia Isaiei, carea zice *rnt*; Beza: *quae dicit*, Vulg.: *Dicens*

454. ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἐντείλατο λέγων, 15.4: că Dumnezău au poruncit (NTB porunci) grăind; Beza: *Deus mandavit dicens*; Vulg.: *Deus dixit*
455. ἐπροφήτευσεν ... λέγων, 15.7: au prorocit (NTB proroci) ... zicînd
456. ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, 5.21: s-au (NTB au fost) zis celor dentîiu; Vulg.: *dictum fuisse antiquis* (Beza: *a veteribus*)
457. ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, 5. 27: s-au zis (NTB fu zis) celor dentîiu, Vulg.: *dictum fuisse antiquis* (Beza *a veteribus*)
458. ἐρρέθη ὅτι, 5.31: s-au zis | (că)-i zis; Lat. *dictum est*
459. ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, 5.33: s-au (NTB fu) zis celor de demult; Vulg.: *dictum fuisse antiquis* (Beza: *a veteribus*)
460. ὅτι ἐρρέθη, 5.38: s-au zis | fu zis; Beza: *dictum fuisse*, Vulg.: *dictum est*
461. ὅτι ἐρρέθη, 5.43: s-au grăit | fu zis; Vulg.: *dictum est*, Beza: *dictum fuisse*
462. οὕτως γέγραπται, 2.5: așa iaste scris *mt*
463. γέγραπται, 4.4; 21.13; 26.31: scris iaste *mt*
464. γέγραπται, 4.6, 10: că scrisu-s-au | că scris iaste; Lat. *scriptum est*
465. πάλιν γέγραπται, 4.7: iară s-au scris | iară iaste scris; Lat. *scriptum est*
466. περὶ οὗ γέγραπται, 11.10: de carele s-au (NTB iaste) scris
467. καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ, 26.24: cum s-au scris de El | cumu-i scris de El
469. οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε, 21.16: nu aț cetit neciodinioară *mt*
470. οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε, 21.42: n-ați cetit niciodată *mt*
471. οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε τὸ ῥηθὲν, 22.31: au n-ați cetit ce s-au zis | ce e zis; Lat. *quod dictum est*

The formulaic nature of the phrases introducing quotations from the Old Testament, which is obvious in Gk, is kept in the Romanian versions as well. The variants in the *mt* are discussed below.

In the first formula, nos. 439-448, both versions render *πληροῦν* by ‘a împlea’, with one exception: 441 has ‘a plini’, in *mt*. The BB had used this verb two verses above, no. 440.

The first formula also contains the participle *ῥηθὲν*<sup>17</sup>, nos. 439-448, to which nos. 449-452 are added, translated by ‘zis(-ă)’, which the BB replaces with ‘a grăi’ in: 441, 442, 445, 449, 453, 454, 458, 459. The NTB, on the other hand, opts for ‘a grăi’ once, rendering *λέγων* in no. 451 rather unusually with a G, following probably Beza, *dicens*. The BB also adopts this solution. The same P occurs in 452, but is translated by

<sup>17</sup> This participle is attested only in *Matthew*, twelve times.

‘zicînd’, which the BB adopts, too. The masculine form appears in one occurrence only: *ῥηθείς*, no. 471.

This selection of examples is also representative for the differences in rendering the passive in both versions; the BB prefers the use of the *rpa* mostly in perfectum praesens: 441, 442, 443, 445, 450, 451, 452, and 471. Yet, the BB also illustrates occasionally the *pa*: 439, 440 (*mnt*), 444 (*mnt*), 446 and 447 (*mnt*), 449. The corresponding forms in the NTB are usually present passive: 440 (*mnt*), 441, 442, 444 (*mnt*), 445, 446 and 447 (*mnt*), 450, 451, 452, and 471. Finally, the NTB follows one or the other Latin translations.

The next P is *λέγων* (-ουσα), nos. 453-455; all occurrences are in consensus; 453 and 455 have ‘a zice’, whereas 454 has ‘a grăi’. Finally, the P is translated with the G in 454 and 455.

The next formula is centred on the form *ἐρρέθη*, nos. 456-461. The BB tends to ignore the recurrent nature of a narrative formula, as can be seen from the examples nos. 459, 460, and 461, whilst the NTB keeps a strict one-to-one distribution between original and translation. The *mnt* uses the verb ‘a zice’, with one exception: in 461 BB, prefers ‘a grăi’. The tenses used are as follows: the BB employs exclusively the perfectum praesens *rpa*, and the NTB the aorist passive, with one exception: in no. 456 there is ‘au fost zis’, which I regard as a perfect passive, influenced by the Lat.

The third formula contains the verb *γέγραπται*, nos. 462-467. The NTB has the present passive form of ‘a scrie’, whereas the BB uses the *perfectum praesens* in *rpa* four times; the first two examples are in consensus.

The last three examples contain the verb *ἀναγιγνώσκειν*, nos. 469-471; the translation of the adverb offers variants in 469 and 470, but, on the other hand, the translations are in consensus. 471 contrast the perfect in *rpa* in the BB with the prs *pa* in the NTB.

Finally, all occurrences of present in *pa* in the NTB in this section are an influence of the Latin translations found in the Beza edition of the New Testament. That explains the contrast with the BB, whose revisors translated literally the Greek aorist passive forms.

On the same line, it is worth mentioning that whenever the Latin has a perfect passive formed with the present tense of *esse*, the NTB translates it by a present tense, e.g. 6, 7, 8, whilst a passive formed with the perfect of *esse* is rendered by an aorist passive in the NTB, e.g. 2, 11, 12, partially 23, 24, 25.

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