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

Dr. Marian CIUCĂ
"Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iaşi
marian.ciuca@yahoo.com

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[1]. 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 *ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν*[2], but one should expect to find a much wider range of

[1] "That the Greeks were *φιλομέτοχοι* is a common saying..." (Gildersleeve 1888: 139).

[2] 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 *ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπε* for the synoptics and *ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπε* for John is a compendium of the whole situation".

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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 *rnt*; when used in relation to an example, it shows their agreement), and subsequently identify lines of development of Biblical Romanian, which in the 17th 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 *rnt* 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 *rnt*. 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

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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 *rnt*, 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 ἐλθὼν ἔστη ἐπάνω*, 2.9: pînă viind au stătut deasupra | pînă veni de stătu deasupra
2. *ἐλθὼν κατῴκησεν*, 2.23: venind sălăşlui | veni de se sălăşlui
3. *ἡ ... ἐλθοῦσα προσεκύνει ... λέγουσα*, 15.25: ea viind, să închina ... grăind | ea veni şi să închină grăind
4. *ἐλθόντες ... ἐπελάθοντο*, 16.5: viind ... uitară | cînd veniră ... uitară
5. *ἐλθόντες ... ἔδωκαν*, 27.33-34: venind ... deaderă | veniră ... deaderă
6. *ἐλθόντες ... ἀπήγγειλαν*, 28.11: mergînd ... deaderă ştire | mearseră ... deaderă de ştire
7. *ἐλθόντες ἔκλεψαν*, 28.13: viind ... au furat | au venit ... şi ... 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 *rnt*
10. *προσελθόντες ... εἶπον*, 13.27: viind ... zisără| veniră ..., zisără
11. *προσελθόντες ... εἶπον*, 15.12; apropiindu-se (-să NTB) ... zisără *rnt*
12. *προσελθόντες ... εἶπον*, 17.19; 26.73: apropiindu-se ... ziseră | să apropiiară ... şi zisără
13. *προσελθὼν ... εἶπεν*, 18.21; 21.30: apropiindu-se ..., zise | să apropiie ..., zise

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14. *προσελθὼν ... εἶπεν*, 19.16: apropiindu-să, zise *rnt*
15. *προσελθὼν ... εἶπεν*, 21.28: mergînd ... zise *rnt*
16. *προσελθὼν ... εἶπεν*, 25.22, 24: venind ... zise | veni ... zise
17. *προσελθόντες ... ἤγειραν ... λέγοντες*, 8.25: apropiindu-se ... deşteptară ... zicînd | să apropiiară ... deşteptară ... zicînd
18. *καὶ προσελθόντες ... ἦραν*, 14.12: Şi apropiindu-se (-să) ... luară *rnt*
19. *προσελθόντες ... πειράζοντες ἐπηρώτησαν*, 16.1: apropiindu-să ... ispitind, rugară *rnt*
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, cuprinsără

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 ieşi), *εἰσέρχεσθαι* (a întra), *ἀπέρχεσθαι* (a merge, ieşi), *προέρχεσθαι* (a merge) şi *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 pogorî), *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: *ἱστάναι*, *κάθεσθαι*, *καθεύδειν* (a sta, a şedea, dormi).

It is worth noting that the same verb in Gk can have different translations. *Ἔρχεσθαι* and its compunds, 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.

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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 *pînă 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 ἐξελθόντες ἀπῆλθον* [3], 8.32: iară ei, deaca ieşiră, mearseră *rnt*
24. *ἐξελθὼν... εἶδε*, 14.14, 26.71: ieşind ... văzu *rnt*
25. *ἐξελθοῦσα ... ἐκραύγασεν ... λέγουσα*, 15.22: ieşi ... strigă ... grăind *rnt*
26. *ἐξελθὼν ... εἶδεν ... ἑστῶτας*, 20.3: ieşind ... văzu ... stînd *rnt*
27. *ἐξελθὼν ... εὗρεν ... ἑστῶτας*, 20.6: ieşind ... află ... stînd *rnt*
28. *ἐξελθὼν ... ἐποίησεν*, 20.5: ieşind ... făcu | ieşi ... feace
29. *ἐξελθοῦσαι ... ἔδραμον*, 28.8: ieşind ... alergară | ieşiră curînd

All occurrences of this participle are invariably translated as 'a ieşi'.

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. *εἰσελθὼν ἐκράτησε*, 9.25: întrînd o au apucat | întră şi o prinse
31. *εἰσελθὼν ... εἶδον*, 22.11: întrînd ... văzu | intră ... văzu
32. *εἰσελθὼν ... ἐκάθητο*, 26.58: întrînd ... şădea *rnt*
33. *ἀπελθὼν ... ὤρυξεν*, 25.18: mergînd ... săpă | mearse ... săpă

[3] Here the article has the value of a pronoun.

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34. *ῥίψας ... ἀπελθὼν ... ἀπήγξατο*, 27.5: aruncînd ... mergînd să spînzură | aruncînd ... mearse ... şi să spînzură
35. *προελθὼν ... προσευχόμενος καὶ λέγων*, 26.39: mergînd ... rugîndu-Se (-Să NTB) şi zicînd
36. *πορευθέντες ἐξετάσατε ἀκριβῶς*, 2.8: ducîndu-vă, cercetaţi cu deadins | duceţi-vă, iscodiţi cu de-adins
37. *πορευθέντες δὲ μάθετε*, 9.13: ce mergînd învăţaţi | meargeţi de învăţaţi
38. *πορευθεὶς ... βάλε ἄγκιστρον*, 17.27: ducîndu-te ... aruncă undiţa | pasă ... aruncă undiţa
39. *πορευθέντες ... ἤγαγον*, 21.6-7: mergînd ... adusără | mearseră ... şi adusără
40. *πορευθέντες ... συμβούλιον ἔλαβον*, 22.15: mergînd ... făcură sfat | mearsără ... făcînd sfat
41. *πορευθεὶς ... ἠργάσατο*, 25.16: mergînd ... au lucrat | merse ... lucră
42. *οἱ δὲ πορευθέντες ἠσφαλίσαντο ... σφραγίσαντες*, 27.66: iară ei mearseră şi întăriră pecitluind |iară ei mearseră şi pecetluiră sămnînd
43. *πορευθεῖσαι ταχὺ εἴπατε*, 28.7: curînd mergînd ziceţ | curînd meargeţi, ziceţi
44. *πορευθέντες ... μαθητεύσατε βαπτίζοντες*, 28.19: mergînd învăţaţi ... botezînd | meargeţi de învăţaţi ... botezînd
45. *ἀναβαίνων ... παρέλαβεν*, 20.17: suind ... luo *rnt*
46. *ἐμβὰς ... διεπάρασε καὶ ἦλθεν*, 9.1: întrînd ... au trecut şi au venit | întră ... trecu şi vine
47. *ἔρχεται ... ἐπιβεβηκὼς*, 21.5: vine ... şăzînd *rnt*
48. *καταβὰς ... περιεπάτησεν*, 14.29: pogorîndu-se ... au umblat | să pogorî ... de îmbla
49. *καταβὰς ... καὶ προσελθὼν ... ἀπεκύλισε*, 28.2: pogorînd ..., viind, prăvăli | pogorînd ... şi venind ... prăvăli *rnt*
50. *μεταβὰς ... ἦλθεν ... καὶ ἀναβὰς ... ἐκάθετο*, 15.29: mutîndu-se ... veni ... şi suindu-se ... şedea | mearse ... veni ... şi să sui ... de şedea
51. *ἀφεὶς ... ἦλθεν*, 13.36: lăsînd ... veni | lăsă şi veni
52. *ἀφεὶς ... πάλιν παρελθὼν ... προσηύξατο ... εἰπὼν*, 26.44: lăsînd ... iară mearse de Să rugă ... zicînd *rnt*
53. *ἀφέντες ... ἀπῆλθον*, 22.22: lăsînd ... să duseră (-ră NTB) *rnt*
54. *ἀφέντες τὸ πλοῖον*, 4.22: lăsînd cinul | lăsară corabia
55. *περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν*, 14.25: îmblînd pre mare *rnt*
56. *βλέποντας ... λαλοῦντας ... περιπατοῦντας ... βλέποντας*, 15.31: văzînd ... grăind ... îmblînd ... văzînd *rnt*
57. *στραφέντες ῥήξωσιν*, 7.6: întorcîndu-se rumpe-vor | întorcîndu-să să nu rumpă

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58. *ἐπιστραφεὶς καὶ ἰδὼν ... εἶπε*, 9.22: întorcîndu-Se şi văzîndu-o ... zise | Să întoarse şi o văzu, zise
59. *ἀποδημῶν ἐκάλεσεν*, 25.14: mergînd departe chemă (cheamă NTB) *rnt*
60. *ἐπανάγων ... ἐπείνασεν*, 21.18: înturnîndu-Se (turnînd NTB) ... flămînzi
61. *ἀναβιβάσαντες ... καὶ καθίσαντες συνέλεξαν*, 13.48: suindu-l ... şi şăzînd aleaseră | trasără-l ... şi şăzură de aleasără
62. (*τὸ βδέλυγμα*) *ἑστὸς*, 24.15: (scîrba | cea grozăvie NTB) ... stînd *rnt*
63. *εὑρίσκει αὐτοὺς καθεύδοντας*, 26.40: află pre ei dormind *rnt*
64. *ὄψεσθε ... καθήμενον ... καὶ ἐρχόμενον*, 26.64: veţi vedea ... şăzînd ... şi viind *rnt*
65. *καθήμενοι ἐτήρουν*, 27.36: şăzînd păziia *rnt*
66. *ἦν καθήμεναι*, 27.61: era ... şăzînd *rnt*

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 *ieşind*. Conversely, the same Greek P can be found rendered by different synonyms in the *rnt* 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.

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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 *rnt*
68. *παρεγένοντο ... λέγοντες*, 2.2: au venit ... zicînd | veniră ... zicînd
69. *προσῆλθον ... λέγοντες*, 13.36; 14.15; 24.3: să apropiară ... grăind *rnt*
70. *προσῆλθον ... λέγοντες*, 24.3: apropiară-să ... zicînd *rnt*
71. *ἰδόντες ... περιπατοῦντα ἐταράχθησαν λέγοντες*, 14.26: văzînd ... îmblînd ... să spăreară zicînd *rnt*
72. *ἡ ... ἐλθοῦσα προσεκύνει ... λέγουσα*, 15.25: ea viind, să închina ... grăind | ea veni şi să închină grăind
73. *προσλαβόμενος ... ἤρξατο ... λέγων*, 16.22: apucîndu-L ... începu ... zicînd | (şi-)L apucă ... începu ... zicînd
74. *ἐντείλατο ... λέγων*, 17.9: porunci ... zicînd *rnt*
75. *φωνὴ ... λέγουσα*, 17.5: glas ... grăind *rnt*
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 | (şi-)l prinse de-l sugruma grăind
79. *ἀφεὶς ... πάλιν παρελθὼν ... προσηύξατο ... εἰπών*, 26.44: lăsînd ... iară mearse de Să rugă ... zicînd *rnt*
80. *ἔκραξαν λέγοντες*, 20.31: striga zicînd[4] *rnt*
81. *οἱ ... ἔκραζον λέγοντες*, 27.23: ei ... striga zicînd *rnt*

[4] In line with these examples *cf.* also Mt. 21.15: *τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς κράζοντας ... καὶ λέγοντας*, *copiii* (*porobocii* NTB) strigînd ... şi zicînd *rnt*, which is probably the only exemple of a P with article rendered through G.

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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 *rnt*
84. *ὁ ... ἀποκριθεὶς ... εἶπεν*, 15.3: El răspunzînd zise *rnt*
85. *ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ... εἶπεν ... λέγων*, 22.1: răspunzînd Iisus ... zise ... zicînd *rnt*
86. *ὁ ... ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν*, 24.2: Iisus zise *rnt*
87. *προσκαλεσάμενος*, 15.10: chemînd | chemă
88. *προσκαλεσάμενος*, 15.32: chemînd *rnt*
89. *προσκαλεσάμενος ... ἔστησεν αὐτό*, 18.2: chemînd ..., îl puse | chemă şi-l puse
90. *προσκαλεσάμενος ... λέγει*, 18.32: chemînd ... zise | chemă ... zise
91. *βλέποντας ... λαλοῦντας ... περιπατοῦντας ... βλέποντας*, 15.31: văzînd ... grăind ... îmblînd ... văzînd *rnt*
92. *ὥφθη ... συλλαλοῦντες*, 17.3: să arătă ... grăind *rnt*
93. *ἐλάλησεν ... λέγων*, 23.1-2: grăi ... zicînd *rnt*

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) şi (*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*).

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The only exception is no. 86, probably a haplography in the NTB of the type *Iisus <răspunse,> zise*, 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 grăi* and *a zice* 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: văzînd ... îmblînd ... zicînd *rnt*
96. *βλέπων ... ἀρξαμένος ... λέγων*, 14.30: văzînd ... începînd ... zicînd *rnt*
97. *ἰδόντες ... διεσάφησαν*, 18.31: văzînd ... spusără *rnt*
98. *ἰδόντες ... ἐθαύμασαν λέγοντες*, 21.20: văzînd ... să mirară grăind *rnt*
99. *ἰδὼν*, 3.7: văzînd | deaca văzură
100. *ἰδόντες ... ἠγανάκτησαν*, 26.8: văzînd ... să mîniară (mirară NTB) *rnt*
101. *ἰδὼν ... λαβὼν ... ἀπενίψατο ... λέγων*, 27.24: văzînd ... luînd ... spălă-ş (-şi NTB) ... zîcînd (zi- NTB) *rnt*
102. *θεωροῦσαι*, 27.55: privind *rnt*
103. *ἀκούσας*, 2.3: auzind *rnt*
104. *οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπορεύθησαν*, 2.9: iară ei, ascultînd pre împăratul mearseră | iară ei ascultară pre craiu şi mearseră
105. *ἀκούσαντες οἱ ὄχλοι*, 14.13: auzind gloatele | auziră dihaniia
106. *ἀκούσαντες*, 15.12: auzind | deaca auziră
107. *ἀκούσαντες*, 17.6; 22.34; 27.47: auzind *rnt*
108. *ἀκούσας ... ἀπῆλθεν λυπούμενος*, 19.22: auzind ... să duse întristat *rnt*
109. *καθήμενοι ... ἀκούσαντες ... ἔκραξαν λέγοντες*, 20.30: şăzînd ..., auzind ... strigară zicînd | şăzînd ... auziră ... şi strigară zicînd
110. *ἀκούσαντες ἐθαύμασαν*, 22.22: auzind să mirară *rnt*
111. *ἀκούσαντες ... ἐξεπλήσσοντο*, 22.33: auzind ... să mirară | cînd auziră ... să mirară
112. *μεθερμηνευόμενον*, 1.23: tălmăcindu-se | să spune
113. *διδάσκων ... καὶ κηρύσσων ... καὶ θεραπεύων*, 4.23: învăţînd ... şi propoveduind (povestuind NTB) ... şi vindecînd *rnt*
114. *ψευδόμενοι*, 5.11: minţind *rnt*

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

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146. *λαβὼν ... καὶ εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν*, 26.26: luînd ... şi blagoslovind frînse | luo ... şi blagoslovind frîmse
147. *λαβὼν ... καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν ... λέγων*, 26.27: luînd ... şi blagoslovind, deade zicînd | luînd ... şi deade har, deade ... zicînd
148. *χρηματισθέντες*, 2.12: luînd răspuns | luară răspuns
149. *χρηματισθεὶς ... κατ' ὄναρ*, 2.22: luînd ştire în vis | luo ştire în somn
150. *βαπτισθεὶς*, 3.16: botezîndu-se | deaca să botează
151. *πορευθέντες ... μαθητεύσατε βαπτίζοντες*, 28.19: mergînd ... învăţaţi ... botezînd | meargeţi de învăţaţi... botezînd
152. *νηστεύσας ... ὕστερον ἐπείνασε*, 4.2: postind ... apoi flămînzi | deaca posti ... apoi flămînzi
153. *νηστεύοντες*, 6.16: postind[5] (-du-să NTB) *rnt*
154. *ἐκτείνας ... λέγων*, 8.3: tinzînd ... zicînd *rnt*
155. *ἐκτείνας*, 14.31: tinzînd | tinse
156. *γήμας*, 22.25: însurîndu-se | să însură
157. *προσῆλθεν ... προσκυνοῦσα καὶ αἰτοῦσα*, 20.20: să apropie ... închinîndu-se (-să NTB) şi cerşind (ceind NTB) *rnt*
158. *προελθὼν ... προσευχόμενος καὶ λέγων*, 26.39: mergînd ... rugîndu-Se (-Să NTB) şi zicînd *rnt*
159. *ἐπιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς*, 19.15: puindu-Şi pre (spre NTB) ei mînile
160. *ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον*, 26.30: lăudînd ieşiră | cîntînd laudă ... ieşiră
161. *ἐξομολογούμενοι*, 3.6: ispoveduindu-şi *rnt*
162. *πλέξαντες ... γονυπετήσαντες ... λέγοντες*, 27.29: împletind ... îngenunchind ... zicînd | împletită ... îngenunchind ... zicînd
163. *δεινῶς βασανιζόμενος*, 8.6: rău muncindu-se | iute să chinuiaşte
164. *λαβὼν ... ἔσπειρεν*, 13.31: luîndu-l ... l-au sămănat | (carele-)l ia ... (şi-)l samănă
165. *λαβοῦσα ... ἐνέκρυψεν*, 13.33: luîndu-l ... îl ascunse | carele ia ... de-l acopere
166. *κελεύσας ... λαβὼν ... κλάσας ἔδωκεν*, 14.19: poruncind ... luînd ... frîngînd deade | porunci ... luo ... frîmse ... deade
167. *λαβόντες*, 21.35, 39: prinzînd | prinsără
168. *συμβούλιον ... λαβόντες*, 27.7: sfat făcînd (ţinînd NTB) *rnt*
169. *συμβούλιον ... λαβόντες*, 28.12: sfat făcînd *rnt*
170. *ἰδὼν ... λαβὼν ... ἀπενίψατο ... λέγων*, 27.24: văzînd ... luînd ... spălă-ş (-şi NTB) ... zîcînd (zi- NTB) *rnt*
171. *δραμὼν ... καὶ λαβὼν ... πλήσας τε ... καὶ περιθεὶς ... ἐπόθιζεν*, 27.48: alergă ... şi luînd ... împlîndu-l ... şi puindu-l ... Îl adăpa | alergă ... şi luînd ... (şi-)l împlu ... (şi-)l puse ... (şi-)I deade să bea

[5] See, however, no.292, where the same P is rendered through a sC.

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172. *οἱ ... λαβόντες ... ἐποίησαν*, 28.15: ei ... luînd ... făcură *rnt*
173. *παραλαβὼν*, 26.37: luînd *rnt*
174. *παραλαβόντες*, 27.27: luînd | dusără-L
175. *προσλαβόμενος ... ἔρξατο ... λέγων*, 16.22: apucîndu-L ... începu ... zicînd | (şi-)L apucă ... începu ... zicînd
176. *εἶ ... θερίζων ... καὶ συνάγων*, 25.24: eşti ... secerînd ... şi adunînd | eşti ... seaceri ... şi aduni
177. *συναχθέντες*, 28.12: adunîndu-se | să adunară
178. *μήποτε συλλέγοντες ... ἐκριζώσητε*, 13.29: să nu cumva, zmulgînd ... să zmulgeţi
179. *ἐγερθεὶς*, 1.24: sculîndu-se (-să NTB) *rnt*
180. *ἐγερθεὶς παράλαβε τὸ παιδίον*, 2.13: sculîndu-te ia coconul | scoală şi ia coconul
181. *ἐγερθεὶς*, *2.14*, 21: sculîndu-se | să sculă
182. *ἐγερθεὶς ἆρόν σου τὴν κλίνην*, 9.6: sculîndu-te, ridică-ţi patul | scoală-te de-ţi ia patul tău
183. *πέμψας*, 2.8: trimiţînd | trimease
184. *πέμψας*, 22.7: trimiţînd | mînă
185. *ἀποστείλας ἀνεῖλε*, 2.16: trimiţînd, au ucis | trimise de pierdu
186. *βαλοῦσα*, 26.12: puind | vărsînd
187. *διεμερίσαντο ... βάλλοντες κλῆρον*, 27.35: împărţiră ... aruncînd sorţi *rnt*
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 | (şi-)l prinse de-l sugruma grăind
191. *καταλιπὼν ... ἐλθὼν κατῴκησεν*, 4.13: lăsînd ... veni şi lăcui | lăsă ... veni şi lăcui
192. *καταλιπὼν ... ἀπῆλθε*, 16.4: lăsînd ... Să duse *rnt*
193. *καταλιπὼν ... ἐξῆλθεν*, 21.17: lăsînd ... ieşi | lăsă, mearse afară
194. *δήσαντες ... ἐκβάλετε*, 22.13: legîndu-i ... luaţi-l şi-l aruncaţ (-ţi NTB) *rnt*
195. *δήσαντες*, 27.2: legînd | legat
196. *ἀπολύσας*, 15.39: slobozind | lăsă
197. *κλείσας τὴν θύραν σου*, 6.6: închizînd uşa ta *rnt*
198. *εὕρων ... ἔκρυψεν*, 13.44: aflîndu-o ... ascunse | o află şi o acopere
199. *βλέπων ... ἀρξαμένος ... λέγων*, 14.30: văzînd ... începînd ... zicînd *rnt*
200. *προσῆλθεν ... καὶ ἁψάμενος ... εἶπεν*, 17.7: apropiindu-Se ... Să atinse şi zise | apropie-Să şi Să atinse şi zise
201. *τρόγοντες καὶ πίνοντες*, 24.38: mîncînd şi bînd | mînca şi bea
202. *ἐκτείνας ... ἀπέσπασεν ... καὶ πατάξας ... ἀφεῖλεν*, 26.51: tinzînd ... scoase ... şi lovind ... tăie *rnt*
203. *λέγων ... παραδοὺς*, 27.4: zicînd ... vînzînd *rnt*

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204. *ῥίψας ... ἀπελθὼν ... ἀπήγξατο*, 27.5: aruncînd ... mergînd să spînzură | aruncînd ... mearse ... şi să spînzură
205. *φραγελλώσας*, 27.26: izbindu-L *rnt*
206. *ἐκδύσαντες*, 27.28: dezbrăcînd | (şi-)L dezbrăcară
207. *τηροῦντες ... ἰδόντες ... λέγοντες*, 27.54: străjuind ... văzînd ... zicînd *rnt*
208. *προσκυλίσας*, 27.60: prăvălind | prăvăliră
209. *οἱ δὲ πορευθέντες ἠσφαλίσαντο ... σφραγίσαντες*, 27.66: iară ei mearseră şi întăriră pecitluind | iară ei mearseră şi 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[6] 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 *rnt* consensus. The same applies for 168-170 and 172-173: the consensus occurs exclusively when the NTB opts for G. Interestingly, whilst *ἀναβλέπειν* is

[6] More details about participial clusters can be found *infra*, under **4.1.**

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translated by *a căuta*: 94, *βλέπειν* is rendered by *a vedea*: 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 *ştiu* and *înţelegînd* 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, *rnt*. The verb *εὐχαριστεῖν*, on the other hand, is translated differently under 147: *blagoslovind* 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 *rnt*
211. *ὀψίας ... γενομένης*, 14.15, 23: fiind sara *rnt* 23: -ră *rnt*
212. *ὀψίας ... γενομένης*, 26.20: fiind sară (-ra NTB) *rnt*
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 *rnt*
216. *πρωΐας γενομένης*, 27.1: fiind dimineaţa (demî- NTB) *rnt*
217. *γενεσίοις ... γενομένοις*, 14.6: naşteri făcîndu-se | sosind zuoa naşterii
218. *τοῦ ...'Ιησοῦ 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 *rnt*
221. *ἐλθόντων ... αὐτῶν*, 17.24: venind ei *rnt*
222. *εἰσελθόντος αὐτου*, 21.10: întrînd El *rnt*
223. *αὐτῶν ... ἐξερχομένων*, 9.32: ieşind ei | ei deaca ieşiră
224. *πολλῶν προσελθόντων ψευδομαρτύρων*, 26.60: multe mărturii mincenoase viind | veniră mărturii multe minciunoase
225. *ἐκπορευομένων αὐτῶν*, 20.29: ieşind ei *rnt*
226. *πορευθεὶς ... ἠργάσατο*, 25.16: mergînd ... au lucrat | merse ... lucră
227. *πορευομένων ... αὐτῶν*, 28.11: mergînd eale *rnt*
228. *ἀναβάντων αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον*, 14.32: întrînd ei in corabie *rnt*

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229. *καταβαινόντων αὐτῶν ... λέγων*, 17.9: pogorîndu-se (-să NTB) ei ... zicînd *rnt*
230. *καθίσαντος αὐτοῦ*, 5.1: şăzînd El | deacă şăzu
231. *καθημένου ... αὐτοῦ*, 24.3; 27.19: şăzînd El *rnt*
232. *ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ ἀνακειμένου*, 9.10: fu El şăzînd în casă | (şi-)i fu de mearse
233. *συνεγμένων ... τῶν Φαρισαίων*, 22.41: fiind adunaţi fariseii *rnt*
234. *συνηγμένων ... αὐτῶν*, 27.17: adunîndu-se (-să NTB) ei *rnt*
235. *εἰπόντος δὲ*, 17.26: zise Petăr (Pătru NTB) Lui *rnt*
236. *ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος*, 17.5:26.47: încă grăind El *rnt*
237. *ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν*, 26.21: mîncînd ei *rnt*
238. *ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν*,26.26: cinînd ei *rnt*
239. *μνηστευθείσης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ*, 1.18: logodindu-se maica Lui | fiind logodită muma Lui
240. *αὐτοῦ ἐνθυμηθέντος*, 1.20: cugetînd el *rnt*
241. *σοῦ ... ποιοῦντος*, 6.3: tu făcînd milostenie *rnt*
242. *ἐκβληθέντος τοῦ δαιμονίου*, 9.33: scoţîndu-se dracul | fu scos dracul
243. *παντὸς ἀκούοντος ... καὶ μὴ συνιέντος*, 13.19: tot cel ce (cine NTB) aude ... şi nu înţeleage *rnt*
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 *rnt* 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: *sară*/ *sara*. Example no. 217 illustrates

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the absolute dative in the MG.[7] 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: îndrăciţ (-ţi) *rnt*
248. *δαιμονιζόμενον*, 9.33: îndrăcit *rnt*
249. *ἀπολελυμένην*, 19.9: lăsată de altul *rnt*
250. *θηλαζόντων*, 21.16: sugătorilor *rnt*
251. *εὐλογημένος*, 21.9: blagoslovit *rnt*
252. *εὐλογημένος*, 23.39: blagoslovit | lăudat
253. *ἀνακειμένων*, 22.10: de oaspeţi *rnt*
254. *πεινῶντα ... ἢ διψῶντα*, 25.37, 44: flămînd ... sau săros *rnt*
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 *rnt*, 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.[8]

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 *blagosloviţi*, v. 316.

2.3. Participle without article, rendered through a clause

256. *ὅπως κἀγὼ ἐλθὼν προσκυνήσω αὐτῷ*, 2.8: ca să viiu şi eu să mă închin Lui *rnt*
257. *ἐλθόντι αὐτῷ*, 8.28: deacă viind | dacă veni
258. *ἐλθόντες συνανέκειντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ*, 9.10: veniră de şăzură cu Iisus *rnt*
259. *καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, 9.23: şi deaca veni Iisus *rnt*
260. *ἐλθόντα ... προέφθασεν*, 17.25: cînd întră ... mai nainte-l (-nte NTB) apucă (întrebă NTB) *rnt*

[7] Other possible examples under 8.5: *εἰσελθόντι τῷ Ἰησοῦ*, întrînd Iisus ..., *rnt* or 8.23: *ἐμβάντι αὐτῷ ... ἐκολούθησαν αὐτῷ*, *rnt*, or, lastly, 9.27: *παραγόντι ἐκεῖθεν τῷ Ἰησου rnt.*

[8] *Cf. supra*, the notes on 145-147.

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261. *ἀπελθόντες συλλέξωμεν*, 13.28: să mergem să le plevim *rnt*
262. *ἀπελθὼν ... ἔβαλεν*, 18.30: (ce-)l duse de-l bătă[9] *rnt*
263. *ἀπελθὼν ἔκρυψα*, 25.25: merş şi ascunşu *rnt*
264. *προσῆλθον αὐτῷ διδάσκοντι*, 21.23: cînd învăţa, mearseră către El *rnt*
265. *ἀφεὶς ... παρελθὼν ... προσηύξατο ... εἰπὼν*, 26.44: lăsînd ... mearse de Să rugă ... zicînd *rnt*
266. *πορευθέντες ἀπαγγείλατε*, 11.4: meargeţi de spuneţi *rnt*
267. *διαπεράσαντες*, 14.34: deaca trecînd | deaca trecură
268. *λέγοντες*, 22.23: carii zicea *rnt*
269. *λεγόμενον Γεθσημανί*, 26.36: ce să zice Ghethsimani | care să chiamă Ghetsimani
270. *λεγόμενον*, 27.16: de-l chema *rnt*
271. *λεγόμενον*, 27.17: ce să zice *rnt*
272. *λεγόμενον ... λεγόμενος*, 27.33: ce să cheamă ... ce să zice *rnt*
273. *εἰρηκότος*, 26.75: cela ce-i zisease *rnt*
274. *φωνὴ βοῶντος*, 3.3: glasul celui ce strigă | glasul strigătoriului
275. *ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους*, 9.36: iară deaca văzu năroadele *rnt*
276. *ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων*, 7.29: ca cum avea putere | ca cela ce are putere
277. *βοσκομένη*, 8.30: de păştea *rnt*
278. *καὶ ἀναστὰς ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ*, 9.9: şi să sculă de mearse după El *rnt*
279. *ἀνθρώπῳ σπειράντι*, 13.24: omului celui ce samănă sămînţă *rnt*
280. *ζητοῦντι*, 13.45: carele caută *rnt*
281. *ὁμοία ... σαγήνῃ βληθείσῃ ... καὶ ... συναγαγούσῃ*, 13.47: aseamenea ... cu năvodul aruncat ... şi ... au adunat | aseamenea ... năvodului aruncat ... carele adună
282. *λυπηθεὶς*(*... ἐκέλευσεν*), 14.9: să întrestă (-tri- BB) *rnt*
283. *λαβόντες ... ἐγόγγυζον*, 20.11: deaca-i luară, răpştiră *rnt*
284. *στὰς ... ἐφώνησεν*, 20.32: stătu ... chemă *rnt*
285. *ποιοῦντι*, 21.43: carii vor face *rnt*
286. *τεθυμένα*, 22.4: sînt junghiate | sînt omorîte
287. *ἐκχυνόμενον*, 23.35: carele s-au vărsat *rnt*
288. *δοὺς ... εἶπεν*, 26.26: da ... şi zise | deade ... şi zise
289. *δραμὼν*, 27.48: alergă *rnt*
290. *εἰ ἔρχεται ... σώσων*, 27.49: au veni-va ... să-L mîntuiască *rnt*
291. *ἠκολούθησαν ... διακονοῦσαι*, 27.55: au mersu ... să slujască | mearseră ... slujindu-I
292. *νηστεύων*, 6.17: cînd posteşti[10] *rnt*.

[9] The translation of *ἀπέρχεσθαι* is unusual.

[10] *Cf. νηστεύσας ... ὕστερον ἐπείνασε*, 4.2: postind ... apoi flămînzi | deaca posti ... apoi flămînzi.

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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 chemaţi | să chiiame chemaţii
294. *οἱ ... κεκλημένοι*, 22.8: chemaţii *rnt*
295. *τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας*, 8.16; 14.35: bolnavii *rnt*
296. *οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες*, 9.12: bolnavilor *rnt*
297. *οἱ ἰσχύοντες*, 9.12: sănătoşilor *rnt*
298. *τὸ περρισεῦον*, 14.20: prisoseala | rămăşiţe;
299. *τὸ περρισεῦον*, 15.37: prisosala | ce rămasără
300. *τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν*, 24.47: avuţia (-ţiia NTB) *rnt*

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301. *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα*, 25.14: averile | bunătatea
302. *ἀφεὶς ... πορευθεὶς ζητεῖ τὸ πλανώμενον*, 18.12: caută pre cea rătăcită[11] | va mearge de va căuta pre cea rătăcită
303. *τοῖς ... μὴ πεπλανημένοις*, 18.13: de ceale ... nerătăcite *rnt*
304. *τῶν πωλούντων τὰς περιστεράς*, 21.12: vînzătorilor de porumbi *rnt*
305. *διὰ ... τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς*, 24.22: pentru cei aleş (-şi NTB) *rnt*
306. *τὸ ... γεννηθὲν*, 1.20: cel născut | ce e ... a să naşte
307. *οἱ δὲ βόσκοντες ἔφυγον*, 8.33: iară păstorii fugiră *rnt*
308. *τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα*, 10.6; 15.24: oile ceale perite *rnt*
309. *οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι*, 11.28: toţi cei osteniţ (usteniţi NTB) şi împovăraţi *rnt*
310. *τὸ ἐφειλόμενον*, 18.30: datoria (deatoriia NTB) *rnt*
311. *οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες*, 21.42: ziditorii *rnt*
312. *τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους*, 23.37: pre cei trimeşi | trimeşii
313. *διὰ ... τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς*, 24.22: pentru cei aleş (-şi NTB)*rnt*
314. *μετὰ τῶν μεθυόντων*, 24.49: cu beţivii *rnt*
315. *οἱ εὐλογημένοι*, 25.34: blagosloviţii *rnt*
316. *τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην*, 25.34: cea (carea e NTB) gătită voao *rnt*
317. *τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος*, 26.63: pre Dumnezăul (-ău NTB) cel viu *rnt*
318. *τοῦ τετιμημένου*, 27.9: celui preţuit *rnt*
319. *οἱ τηροῦντες*, 28.4: străjarii *rnt*

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. Ocasionally, the NTB would hesitate and use variants, whereas the BB makes consistent use of the same rendition, 298 vs 299, 300 vs 301.

[11] The translation of *πορευθείς* is ommitted in the BB, probably through haplography.

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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, ofers a literal rendition of the aorist passive participle.

3.2. Clause (secondary or main)

320. *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, 21.9, 23.39: cel ce vine *rnt*
321. *οἱ ἐξερχόμενοι*, 7.13: carii întră *rnt*
322. *τὸ εἰσερχόμενον ... τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον*, 15.11: ce întră ... ce iase *rnt*
323. *οὐδὲ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἀφίετε*, 23.14 (13): nici pre ceia ce întră îi lăsaţi | nece ceia ce vor să între nu-i lăsaţi
324. *οἱ παραπορευόμενοι*, 27.39: ceia ce trecea *rnt*
325. *εἶπε τοῖς ἀκολουθοῦσιν*, 8.10: zise celor ce mergea *rnt*
326. *οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι*, 19.28: carii aţi venit după Mine *rnt*
327. *οἱ προάγοντες ... καὶ οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες*, 21.9: care mergea înainte (-te-I NTB) şi carii mergea denapoi
328. *ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα*, 7.13: calea carea duce | calea cea ... duce
329. *τοῖς βαστάσασιν*, 20.12: carii am purtat *rnt*
330. *οἱ ἑστῶτες*, 26.73: ceia ce sta *rnt*
331. *τινες τῶν ὧδε ἑστώτων*, 16.28: de carii stau acicea *rnt*
332. *διὰ ... τοὺς συνανακειμένους*, 14.9: pentru cei ce şedea cu el *rnt*
333. *τῶν ἐκεῖ ἑστηκότων*, 27.47: ce sta acolea *rnt*
334. *τῶν κεκοιμημένων*, 27.52: carii era adormiţi *rnt*
335. *ἐν τῷ καθημένῳ*, 23.22: pre Cela ce şade *rnt*
336. *ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός*, 1.16: carele să cheamă Hristos *rnt*
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 *rnt*
338. *οἱ λέγοντες*, 22.23: carii zicea
339. *οἱ λέγοντες*, 23.16: carii ziceţi
340. *τοῦ λεγομένου*, 26.3: carele îl (-le-l NTB) chema *rnt*
341. *οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ λαλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα ... τὸ λαλοῦν*, 10.20: că nu veţ fi voi grăind, ce Duhul ... cel ce grăiaşte | că nu veţi fi voi grăind, ce Duhul ... va grăi
342. *τὸν λεγόμενον*, 27.22: ce să zice *rnt*
343. *ὁ κακολογῶν*, 15.4: cela ce grăiaşte 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 ... şi înţeleage *rnt*
346. *πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα*, 9.36: oi ce n-au păstoriu *rnt*
347. *ὁ ἔχων ὦτα*, 11.15; 13.43: cela (cine) ce are urechi *rnt*

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348. *ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις*, 24.19: celor ce au în pîntece | greoaielor
349. *τῷ ἔχοντι*, 25.28: celuia ce are *rnt*
350. *τῷ ἔχοντι*, 25.29: la *(om.* NTB) ... cela ce are *rnt*
351. *τοῦ ... μὴ ἔχοντος*, 25.29: de la *(om.* NTB) cela ce n-are *rnt*
352. *τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ σπείροντος*, 13.18: pilda sămănătoriului *rnt*
353. *τὸ ἐσπαρμένον*, 13.19: ce e sămănat *rnt*
354. *ὁ σπαρεὶς*, 13.19: cea ce s-au sămănat | sămănătura
355. *ὁ σπαρεὶς*, 13.20, 23: cea ce s-au sămănat | sămînţa
356. *ὁ ... σπαρεὶς*, 13.22: cea *(om.* NTB) ce-i sămănată *rnt*
357. *ὁ σπείρων*, 13.37: cela ce samănă (săm- NTB) *rnt*
358. *ὁ σπείρας αὐτὰ*, 13.39: cela ce au sămănat pre eale | ce le sămănă pre eale
359. *οἱ τὰ δίδραχμα λαμβάνοντες*, 17.24: cei ce lua didrahmele (-hmă NTB) *rnt*
360. *ὁ λαβὼν ... ἠργάσατο*, 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 αὐτὸν*, 10.4: carele şi vîndu pre El *rnt*
365. *ὁ παραδιδοὺς αὐτὸν*, 26.25: cela ce-L vindea pre El *rnt*
366. *ὁ ... παραδιδοὺς αὐτὸν*, 26.48: cela ce vîndu pre El *rnt*
367. *ὁ παραδιδοὺς*, 27.3: cela ce-L vînduse *rnt*
368. *τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι*, 5.40: celui ce va să[12] pîrască cu tine | cine va vrea să să pîrască cu tine
369. *τῶν πιπτόντων*, 15.27: cealea ce cad *rnt*
370. *ὁ πεσὼν*, 21.44: cel ce va căde *rnt*
371. *ὁ ἁγιάσας*, 23.17: carea sfinţeaşte (sv- NTB) *rnt*
372. *τὸ ἁγιάζον*, 23.19: carele sfinţeaşte *rnt*
373. *ὁ δεχόμενος προφήτην*, 10.41: cela ce priimeaşte prorocul *rnt*
374. *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεννόντων τὸ σῶμα ... μὴ δυναμένων*, 10.28: de ceia ce omoară (-or BB) trupul ... nu ... pot *rnt*
375. *τῶν φονευσάντων*, 23.31: celora ce au (ce-au NTB) omorît *rnt*
376. *ἡ ἀποκτείνουσα ... καὶ λιθοβαλοῦσα*, 23.37: carele omorîş ... şi cu pietri uciseş *rnt*
377. *αἱ γενομέναι*, 11.21: care fură *rnt*
378. *τὰ γενόμενα*, 27.54: cealea ce fură[13] *rnt*

[12] Probably *să* <*să*>, with the accidental ommission of one of the forms, by haplography.

[13] *Cf. infra*, ex. 415: *ἰδόντες ... τὰ γενόμενα ... διεσάφησαν ... τα γενόμενα*, 18.31: văzînd ceale ce s-au făcut (*acestea ce fură* NTB) ... spusără ... ceale ce (*carele* NTB) fură *rnt*.

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379. *καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀκούων ... καὶ μὴ ποιῶν*, 7.26: şi tot (omul *add.* NTB) carele aude ... şi nu ... face *rnt*
380. *τὸν ἀναβάντα πρῶτον ἰχθὺν ἆρον ... ἀνοίξας ... εὑρήσεις ... λαβὼν*, 17.27: care peaşte va iaşi (!) întîiu, rîdică-l ... deşchizînd ... vei afla ... luînd | care peaşte vei scoate întîi, adu-l ... deşchide ... vei afla ... ia
381. *πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος*, 5.22: tot cel ce urgiseaşte | varecine să mînie
382. *ὁ τεχθεὶς*, 2.2: cel ce s-au născut | carele au născut
383. *τοῦ φαινομένου ἀστήρος*, 2.7: ceii ce s-au arătat stea | în carea s-au arătat steaoa
384. *μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες*, 5.6: fericiţi (ferice de NTB) ceia ce flămînzesc şi însetoşază *rnt*
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 *rnt*
386. *ὁ εὑρὼν τὴν ψυχὴν ... ὁ ἀπολέσας*, 10.39: cela ce au aflat (va afla NTB) ... cela ce-ş va piarde *rnt*
387. *τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ*, 18.6: carii cred întru Mine *rnt*
388. *ὁ κτίσας*, 19.4: Cel ce au făcut | Făcătoriul
389. *ἐν τῷ κατοικοῦντι αὐτόν*, 23.21: pre Cela (în Acela NTB) ce lăcuiaşte întru ea *rnt*
390. *ὁ ... ὑπομείνας*, 24.13: cela ce va răbda *rnt*
391. *ὁ ἀναγινώσκων*, 24.15: cela ce (cine) ceteaşte *rnt*
392. *τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον*, 25.41: carele e gătit *rnt*
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 ... şi ... zideaşte | cela ce spărgeai ... şi ... zidiiai
396. *πώλησον σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα*, 19.21: vinde tot ce ai *rnt*
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 *rnt* is again worth mentioning, and even more so in a section represented by over one hundred examples.

The usual rendering in the *rnt* 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

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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 omorî* 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 Cândea 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.[14]

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

[14] See the discussion of nos. 145-147 as well as no. 252.

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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	*rnt*
8.	PPV	GGV	VsGV	**115**	PPV	GGV	*rnt*
17.	PVP	GGV	V,VG	**116**	VPP	VGG	*rnt*
19.	PPV	GGV	*rnt*	**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	*rnt*
64	VPP	VGG	*rnt*	**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	*rnt*	**204**	PPV	GGV	GV+V
98.	PVP	GVG	*rnt*	**209**	PVP	V+VG	V+VG
379	PP	V+V	*rnt*	**384**	PP	V+V	*rnt*

a) The first pattern is PVP in Gk, with 51 occurences. 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:

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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. ex.	**Gk**	**BB**	**NTB**	**Ex. ex.**	**Gk**	**BB**	**NTB**
35	PPP	GGG	*rnt*	**147**	PPVP	GGVG	GV,VG
52	PPVP	GVVsG	*rnt*	**162**	PPP	GGG	PrtGG
71.	PPVP	GGVG	*rnt*				
79	PPVP	GVVsG	*rnt*	**170**	PPVP	GGVG	*rnt*
95	PPP	GGG	*rnt*	**199**	PPP	GGG	*rnt*
96.	PPP	GGG	*rnt*	**207**	PPP	GGG	*rnt*
101	PPVP	GGVG	*rnt*	**265**	PPVP	GVVsG	*rnt*
109	PPVP	GGVG	GV,VG				
113	PPP	GGG	*rnt*				
166	PPPV	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

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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	*rnt*
94	PPPVPV	GGGVGV	V,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 *rnt* do not necessarily follow suit in this respect: the same verb is rendered differently and the same noun has two equivalents in the *rnt*, etc. The formulaic variation, both lexical and syntactical, in the *rnt* 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 *rnt* translators: whilst 164-174 translate *λαμβάνειν* and *παραλάμβανειν* identically with *a lua*, no. 175 renders *προσλάμβανειν* 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: *mînă*, 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 *ἐκριζοῦν* are both rendered with *a zmulge* in the *rnt*. Lastly, example no. 200 is worth mentioning for the exclusive use the BB makes of the G: the finite verb *προσῆλθεν* is rendered by *apropiîndu-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: *pînă viind* (1), *deacă viind* (2), and *deaca trecînd* (3).

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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.: *genuit*
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. *ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν*, 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 mînă | o prinse de mîna ei
405. *ἡ ... ὑψωθεῖσα*, 11.23: ceea ce te-ai înălţat | ce te înălţaşi
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 ziseşi
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: naşterea ... aşa era | naşterea ... aşa fu;

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

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

418. *ὁ ἐλατόμησεν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ*, 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 *rpa* replaces in the BB the *pa* 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 ἀξίνη ... 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. *βληθῇ εἰς γέενναν*, 5.29: să să bage în Gheena (*cf.* 5.22: matca focului - focului Gheenului) | să fie aruncat în focul Gheennii

424. *σήμερον ὄντα καὶ αὔριον εἰς κλίβανον βαλλόμενον*, 6.30: astăz fiind şi mîine în cuptoriu aruncîndu-se | care iaste astăzi, iară mîine să în coptoriu aruncă

425. *ἐκβλεθέντος*, 9.33· scoţîndu-se | fu scos

426. *σωθήσεται*, 10.23: să va spăşi | va fi spăşit

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

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

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

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Evangheliia să propoveduiaşte; Vulg.: *pauperes euangelizantur*, Beza: *pauperibus euangelizatur*[15]

430. *ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι*, 11.25: Mărturisescu-Mă Ţie | laudă Ţie dau; Vulg.: *confitebor*, Beza: *confiteor*

431. *ὁ παῖς μου, εἰς ὃν εὐδόκησεν*, 12.18: Fiiul Mieu ... în Carele binevru | sluga mea ... în carele să odihni; Vulg.: *puer*, Beza: *seruus*[16]

432. *εὑρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα*, 1.18: află-se în pîntece avînd | află-să îngreuiată *cf.* 1.23: în pîntece va avea – va priimi în sine

433. *ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν*, 1.20: cel născut întru ea | că ce e întru ea a să naşte

434. *ὅ ἐστι μεθερμηνευόμενον*, 1.23: carele iaste tălmăcindu-se | carele să spune

435. *εὐνουχίσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ... εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς*, 19.12: s-au scopit de oameni ... s-au scopit pre înşişi | carii-s giugăniţi de oameni ... să giugănesc înşişi 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 ἕξει*, 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.

[15] *Cf.* OSB, Mt. 11.5: 'the poor have the gospel preached to them'.

[16] *Cf.* OSB, Mt. 12.18: 'My Servant' etc.

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Lastly, it is interesting to note that in no. 431 (quotation from Isaia, 42.1) *παῖς* is rendered in the BB by 'Fiiul', 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 πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν*, 1.22: ca să să împle ce e zis (NTB ce zice); Beza: *quod ait*, Vulg.: *quod dictum est*
440. *ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν*, 2.15: ca să să plinească (NTB împle) ce e zis
441. *τότε ἐπληρώθη το ῥηθὲν*, 2.17: atuncea să plini ceaea ce s-au grăit | atuncea să plini carea e zisă; Vulg.: *quod dictum est*
442. *ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν*, 2. 23: ca să să împle ceaea ce s-au grăit | ca să să împle ce e zis; Lat. *quod dictum est*
443. *ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν*, 4.14: ca să să împle ce s-au (NTB ce-au) zis
444. *ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθέν*, 8.17: ca să să împle carea e (NTB carea-i) zisă; Lat. *quod dictum est*
445. *ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν*, 12.17: ca să să împle ceaea ce s-au grăit | ca să să împle carea e zisă; Vulg.: *quod dictum est*, Beza: *erat*
446. *ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν*, 13.35: ca să să împle ce e (NTB ce-i) zis; Vulg.: *quod dictum erat*, Beza: *fuit*
447. *ἵνα πληρωθῇ 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 Dumnăzău | ce e zis de la Dumnedzău
451. *τὸ ῥηθέν διὰ Δανιὴλ*, 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. *ἀναπληροῦται αὐτοῖς ἡ προφητεία Ἡσαΐου ἡ λέγουσα*, 13.14: să împle preste ei prorocia Isaiei, carea zice *rnt*; Beza: *quae dicit*, Vulg.: *Dicens*

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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: aşa iaste scris *rnt*
463. *γέγραπται*, 4.4; 21.13; 26.31: scris iaste *rnt*
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 aţ cetit neciodinioară *rnt*
470. *οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε*, 21.42: n-aţi cetit niciodată *rnt*
471. *οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε τὸ ῥηθὲν*, 22.31: au n-aţi 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 *rnt* 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 *rnt*. The BB had used this verb two verses above, no. 440.

The first formula also contains the participle *ῥηθέν*[17], 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

[17] This participle is attested only in *Matthew*, twelve times.

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'zicînd', which the BB adopts, too. The masculine form appears in one occurence 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 *(rnt)*, 444 *(rnt)*, 446 and 447 *(rnt)*, 449. The corresponding forms in the NTB are usually present passive: 440 *(rnt)*, 441, 442, 444 *(rnt)*, 445, 446 and 447 *(rnt)*, 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 *rnt* 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 *ἀναγινώσκειν*, 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 occurences 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.

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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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BNT = *Iesv Christi D. Nouum Testamentum*, *Gr. & Lat*. Theodoro Beza interprete, Anno MDLXXX (s. l.).

Gk = *Novum Testamentum*, Textus Stephanici A. D. 1550 cum variis lectionibus... curante F. H. A. Scrivener, Cantabrigiae, 1887 [compared with *The Greek New Testament*, Fourth Revised Edition, edited by Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Bruce M. Metzger, United Bible Societies, Hendrickson Publishers, 2006].

NTB = *Noul Testament sau Împăcarea cu Leagea noao a lui Iisus Hristos Domnului nostru*, izvodit cu mare socotinţă, den izvod grecescu şi slavonescu pren limbă rumânească..., Bălgrad, 1648 [modern ed.: Editura Episcopiei Ortodoxe Române a Alba Iuliei, 1988].

NTBG = *The New Testament In The Original Greek Bzyantine Textform*. Compiled and arranged by M.A. Robinson and W.G. Pierpont. Massachusetts: Chilton Book Publishing, 2005.

OSB = *Orthodox Study Bible. Ancient Christianity Speaks to Today's World* (includes the New King James Version of the New Testament), Metropolitan Maximos, Michel Najim *et al.* (eds.), prepared under the auspices of the Academic Community of St. Athanasius Academy of Oxford Theology, Nashville – Dallas – Mexico-City: Thomas Nelson, 2008 [available on-line at http://www.thomasnelson.com/the-orthodox-study-bible.html].

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