The Antim Ivireanul *Psalter* (1710), the National *Psalter* of Romanians

Călin POPESCU

Dans la dernière édition de la Bible, les Psaumes ont la même forme qui se trouve dans toutes les éditions bibliques importantes, jusqu'à celle de 1795. Une étude qu'on cite souvent établit que le „Psautier national" a paru en 1703, en Buzău. Mais une correction s'impose, concernant la datation et la localisation de la prototype. On doit mettre hors de cause le Psautier roumaine de 1703, une édition fictive, composé de deux autres. Donc, le prototype est l'édition prochaine, publiée à Tîrgovişte, en 1710, par Antim Ivireanul. Elle se détache de les versions antérieures, son texte est fidèle l'original grecque et la qualité de son langage s'impose. Cette version a profité aussi de l'introduction du service religieux en roumain. A l'égard du l'auteur, nous avons des temoignages que Antim etait aussi traducteur et que ses touches finissaient les texts liturgiques importantes.

Mots-clés: Antim Ivireanul, Damaschin Voinescu (le Savant), Psautier, langage biblique et liturgique, vielle langue litérraire.

I. The innovative edition

The poetic diction of the *Book of Psalms*, even in the last BOR[1] *Bible* (2014, reprint of the 2008 edition), has an intriguing archaic flavour. Hence, the first question that arises in an inquiry concerning the evolution of this text in Romanian language is this: „Since when the current version has existed?" By following back the thread of filiations, it can be found in the 1914 *Bible* of the Holy Synod, as well as in all other important biblical editions, up to the Blaj *Bible* (1795). The scientific literature frequently refers to an investigation (seen as a landmark of the field)[2] that ascertains its prototype version issued in 1703 at Buzău. This is important, because the text in question is the oldest one of our literature. No matter how well performed for their time, all previous editions had, in fact, an audience limited in time – now being unintelligible and unserviceable –, while this one remained intact – excepting some minor retouching –, for as much as three centuries, up to the present day. Therefore, it was called the *national* or the *liner Psalter* [3], and the

[1] Initialism for the Romanian Orthodox Church (*Biserica Ortodoxă Română*).
[2] Roman, *Filiaţii.*
[3] See, for instance, Chindriş, *Vulgata*, p. LXXIII, or Mihoc, *Antim*, p. 112.

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remark that the respective investigation scientifically assumes[4] deserves its numerous quotations. Nevertheless, we will argue below that it must be amended with regards to the dating and localisation, and this will cast a different light on the prototype version and will also require a new evaluation of the book.

The edition referred to by the 1974 investigation is the Romanian *Psalter* of Buzău[5], whose unique copy, belonging to the Academy Library, received the shelf mark CRV 139 A. In the same year 1703, a *Psalter* with the ritual in Romanian, but with the Psalms in Slavonic[6] was issued at Buzău, by the bishop Damaschin – and its shelf mark is CRV 138A. Some researchers even went so far as to ascribe special meaning to the fact that this Slavonic edition was openly assumed by the hierarch, while the Romanian one appeared unsigned[7]. Alexandra Roman only analyzes the text itself and rises incidentally the question about a possible paternity of Bishop Mitrofan[8] – without taking into account other variants, such as the one of Bishop Damaschin, preferred by Barbu Teodorescu (who, based on this premise, draws additional inferences[9]).

A bibliographical rectification: the Romanian *Psalter* of 1703 never existed

Those who consult the book today find, however, that it doesn't have the shelf mark CRV 139A anymore – but CRV 139A+480. Indeed, on taking a closer look, it can be noticed that the title page has a slightly different hue from the rest of the book and, as the the marks of the restoration work show, it also used to have other dimensions – a few millimetres less. On the other hand, the name of the proofreader, published on the last page, Grigorie Rîmniceanu, many times simply referred to as such, should have been sufficient for changing the dating; but even a prelate like Gabriel Cocora didn't make the connection to the ecclesiastic history, although he noted the fact that, out of the 15 books that were issued in Buzău between 1691 and 1703, only one didn't mention that it was printed „prin osîrdia şi prin nevoinţa iubitorului de osteneli Mitrofan, episcopul Buzăului" [=by the diligence and endeavour of the toil lover Mitrofan, the Bishop of Buzău] – it mentioned instead, uncommonly: „cu osteneala smeritului între ierodiaconi Grigorie Râmniceanul" [=with the efforts of the humble among hierodeans, Grigorie Râmniceanul][10]. The surname of 'Rîmniceanul' alludes to the second half of the century and to the area of Rîmnic, where numerous typographists had this honorific title – which could save them from confusion with other monks and

[4] Namely, that „the 25 editions printed in the three Romanian Principalities during the period 1710-1791 reproduce, all of them, an *identical* Romanian translation of David's Psalms" – Roman, *Filiaţii*, p. 233.

[5] BRV, vol. I, p. 540.

[6] BRV, vol. IV, p. 29.

[7] Teodorescu, *Damaschin*, p. 635.

[8] Roman, *Filiaţii,* p. 242.

[9] Teodorescu, *Damaschin*, p. 637. If Damaschin reprinted his *Psalter* at Rîmnic, it would mean that even an *Apostol* [=Apostolos, Book of the Apostles] of 1725, of which it is not known the place of publication, must have been a reprinting of his, as well.

[10] Cocora, *Tip. Buzău*, nr. 3-4. p. 288.

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typographists of the same name[11]. Yet there was, as a matter of fact, a confusion of this kind, between two clergymen of identical name and title, both living in the same period, in the same place[12]. On this matter, a controversy lingers,[13], but most researchers consider that our character, hierodean Grigorie Rîmniceanul, was born in 1763 in Vîlcea, he worked under the bishops Chesarie and Filaret at Rîmnic – from 1780 on as proofreader, then becoming also chief steward of the Bishopric –, and he was to become, eventually, during 1823-1828, bishop of Argeş[14].

It has to be mentioned that, somewhere during 1974-1976[15], bibliologist Livia Bacâru attached with a clip to the inner cover of the unique copy CRV 139 A, belonging to the Academy Library, a note in which she pointed out that from the Romanian Buzău *Psalter* of 1703 (CRV 139A) only the first page has been preserved, while the rest underneath is simply the later text of the Rîmnic *Psalter* of 1784 (CRV 480). During the digitizing process undertaken in the 2000s, the note was included in the library catalogue file of the volume – whence the new and composite shelf mark.

And indeed, the contents are similar to the Rîmnic edition of 1784 (proofread for sure by Grigorie Rîmniceanul), but the rectification made must be carried through to the end: from this derives that the 139A edition, presented by *Bibliografia Românească Veche* [=Romanian Old Bibliography], was a fictitious one, since the only copy, on whose basis it was pointed out, is composed out of the title page in Romanian of the **Slavonic** Buzău *Psalter* of 1703 (138 A), which is identical in detail, and, within the same cover binding, where people from the church of Temereşti-Timiş (whence the volume has been taken) inserted it – probably, for the current liturgical use, being more intelligible to them –, the text of a *Psalter* in Romanian language (as matter of fact, it is possible that the printing equipments in Buzău and Rîmnic would have had a sort of compatibility, as the formats of the *Psalters* were so similar). For the future, the corrected shelf mark of the book ought, therefore, to be: CRV *138A*+480.

The prototype and its first reprinting

[11] See Sacerdoţeanu, *Tip. Rîmnic*, p. 322-349. In fact, there is found another hieromonk Grigorie, proofreader of the *Service of St. Nicodim*, in 1767 (see BRV, vol. II, p. 175-176).

[12] We also see in Sacerdoţeanu, *Tip. Rîmnic*, p. 344-345, how the two proofreaders, both „Rîmniceanul", one hierodeacon, the other hieromonk, intersect – however, the hierodeacon begins his activity with the 1781 *Cazanii* [=Sermons].

[13] Alexandru, *Grigorie*, p. 624.

[14] Cf. Păcurariu, *IBR*, vol. III, p. 59-60, Şerbănescu, *Episcopi*, p. 606-607 and Sacerdoţeanu, *Tip. Rîmnic*, p. 297.

[15] The specialist was wont to compare to each other the old books, being an „author of handicraft notes and copy-specific features"– see *Bacâru*, p. 8-9, 18. Between 1974 and 1976, she was researcher at Central State Library, Department of Special Collections (Romanian Old Books and Romanian Rare Books). Although she retired in 1976, and passed away in 1999, her handwritten comment in pencil, had, in 2009, sufficient authority to be included in the catalogue file of the volume, by her colleague Rodica Popescu. The remark was made, however, after the publication of the Alexandra Roman's paper.

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Consequently, it remains that the prototype of the 'liner' *Psalter* should be considered the next edition, in chronological order: which is this one is the one printed in Tîrgovişte, by Antim Ivireanul, in 1710. By running through its text we find an edition which, indeed, moves away from the preceding version, the one included in the 1688 Bible, that Antim had reprinted in 1694, including its misprints[16]. This was a new version, „acum într-acest chip tipărită" [=now in this manner printed], as the title-page mentions [17], which Damaschin Voinescu (surnamed 'the Scholar') was to republish, at Rîmnic, in 1725, with the explanatory note: „acum într-acest chip a doao oară tipărită" [=now in this manner for the second time printed][18] – statement that remained obscure until today. It was alleged, without much evidence, that 'second time' means either after an unknown edition which would have been issued in Rîmnic in 1724[19], or, otherwise, after the Buzău edition of 1703[20] – about which we have shown it never existed. The similarity with the version printed by the Metropolitan Antim in 1710 is very great, excepting some slight retouches – usually one or two words changed in each psalm. In the historical context of the Oltenia province occupied by Austrians, when the printing activity was looked askance at by the catholic government, the explanatory note on the title page was supposed to show that the text was harmless from the proselytist point of view, given that it was already printed and in the liturgical everyday use[21].

In order to illustrate the sort of improvements brought about by the 1710 (and 1725) edition in comparision with the 1688 (1694) edition, we will give some examples – in the main, it is the question of eliminating archaisms and replacement the simple perfect tense, the way Antim proceeded with other biblical passages as well[22] – maybe those would have been the differences felt, in Transylvania, between the language of Şerban's 1668 *Bible* and the language of church services, attributed to Damaschin [23]. The improvements Damaschin brought in the 1725

[16] Roman, *Filiaţii,* p. 238.

[17] BRV, vol. IV, p. 37.

[18] BRV, vol. IV. p. 225.

[19] Teodorescu, *Circulaţia*, p. 184

[20] Teodorescu, *Damaschin*, p. 634.

[21] Like he was to say about the *Minee* [=*Menaia*, Monthly Service Book]: „*Sunt libri Ecclesiastici antiquissimi, asueti in ritu nostro Orientali*" – Letter to Tige, from 22th of November 1725 – Dobrescu, *Ist. austr.*, p. 164. The idea of those who claim, however, that the first edition referred to by the 1725 edition would have been issued in 1724, can be gainsaid even on the ground that 15 years was the average time to elapse between two different editions notified as such by the printers of those times in Rîmnic (see Sacerdoţeanu, *Tip. Rîm.*, p. 306).

[22] Mainly by replacing the simple perfect tense with the compound perfect tense, „as in the most widespread Romanian idiom" – cf. Mihoc, *Antim*, p. 115-116.

[23] „*Cea mai mare parte a cărţilor bisericeşti s-au tălmăcit de Damaschin, episcopul Rîmnicului, cu stil şi graiu foarte luminat*" [=The most part of the church books were rendered by Damaschin, the bishop of Râmnic, with very clear vernacular and style], Radu Tempea, *Cuvîntare înainte* la *Gramatica Românească* [=Foreword to the Romanian Grammar], Sibiu, 1797 (BRV, vol. II, p. 396). While, with regards to the 1688 *Bible*, Samuil Micu said: *„Acea tălmăcire mai pre multe locuri neplăcută urechilor auzitorilor iaste, şi foarte cu nevoie de înţeles, ba pre altele locuri tocma fără de*

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edition – consisting mainly of well-chosen synonyms, sometimes even following suggestions from previous editions – do not result in constituting a new corpus of the *Psalms*. So this one will remain, for the most part, unchanged until today – as can be seen in the third column, containing the present text of the *Psalter*.

Ps. 5, 3-5:

1688 (1694)	*1710 şi 1725, text identic*	*2014*
Dimeneaţa asculta-vei glasul mieu; Dimeneaţa dvori-voiu Ţie şi mă vei vedea. Că nu Dumnezău vrînd fărădeleagea eşti tu; Nu va nemernici lîngă Tine cel ce vicleneaşte, nici vor rămînea cei fără de leage în preajma ochilor Tăi. Urâş pre toţi ceia ce fac fărădeleagea.	Dimineaţa vei auzi glasul mieu. Dimineaţa voiu sta înaintea Ta şi mă vei vedea; că Dumnezeu ce nu voieşti fărădeleagea, tu eşti. Nu va lăcui lîngă tine cel ce vicleneaşte, nici vor petreace călcătorii de leage în preajma ochilor tăi. Urît-ai pre toţi cei ce lucrează fărădeleagea.	Dimineaţa vei auzi glasul meu; dimineaţa voi sta înaintea Ta şi mă vei vedea. Că Tu eşti Dumnezeu, Care nu voieşti fărădelegea, nici nu va locui lîngă Tine cel cel vicleneşte. Nu vor sta călcătorii de lege în preajma ochilor Tăi. Urît-ai pe toţi cei ce lucrează fărădelege.

Ps. 51:

1688 (1694)	*1710/1725*	*2014*
Ce te făluieşti întru răutate, cel tare? (…) Pentru aceaea Dumnezău te va surpa desăvîrşit, să te zmulgă şi să te râdice de la lăcaşul tău şi înrădăcinarea ta de la pămîntul celor vii. Vedea-vor direpţii şi să vor spăimînta, şi spre el vor rîde, şi vor zice:	Ce te făleaşti întru răutate/răotate, puternice? (…) Pentru aceasta Dumnezeu te va sfîrăîma pînă în sfîrşit: smulge-te-va, şi te va muta de la lăcaşul tău, şi rădăcina ta din pămîntul celor vii. Vedea-vor drepţii, şi să vor teame, şi de dînsul vor rîde şi vor zice. Iată omul, carele n-au pus pre Dumnezeu ajutoriul luiş: Ce/ci au nădăjduit spre mulţimea	Ce te făleşti întru răutate, puternice? (…) Pentru aceasta Dumnezeu te va doborî pînă în sfîrşit, te va smulge şi te va muta din locaşul tău şi rădăcina ta din pămîntul celor vii. Vedea-vor drepţii şi se vor teme şi de el vor rîde şi vor zice: „Iată

înţeles iaste" [=That rendering in some many places is unpleasant to the ears of the hearers and very uneasy to understand], BRV, vol. II, p. 380.

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„Iată om care n-au pus pre Dumnezău ajutoriul lui, Ce nedejdui pre mulţimea avuţiei lui şi să întări spre deşărtăciunea lui”. Şi eu, ca un maslin prea rodit în casa lui Dumnezău; nădejduiiu pre mila lui Dumnezău, în veac şi în veacul veacului. Mărturisi-mă-voiu Ţie în veac, căci ai făcut; şi voiu îngădui numele Tău, căci iaste bun înaintea celor curaţi ai Tăi.

bogăţiei sale, şi s-au întărit întru dăşărtăciunea/deşărtăciunea sa. Iară eu ca un maslin roditoriu în casa lui Dumnezez: nădăjduit-am spre mila lui Dumnezeu, în veac şi în veacul veacului. Mărturisi-mă-voiu Ţie în veac, că ai făcut; şi voi aştepta numele Tău, că e bun înaintea cuvioşilor tăi.

omul care nu şi-a pus pe Dumnezeu ajutorul lui, ci a nădăjduit în mulţimea bogăţiei sale şi s-a întărit întru deşertăciunea sa”. Dar eu, ca un măslin roditor în casa lui Dumnezeu, am nădăjduit în mila lui Dumnezeu, în veac şi în veacul veacului. Slăvi-Te-voi în veac că ai făcut aceasta şi voi aştepta numele Tău, că bun este înaintea cuvioşilor Tăi.

Ps. 145, 5-9:

1688 (1694)

Fericit căruia Dumnezeul lui Iacov e ajutoriu lui, nădejdea lui pre Domnul Dumnezeul lui, pre Acela ce au făcut ceriul şi pământul, marea şi toate ce-s întru dînsele, Pre Acela ce păzeşte adevărul în veac, făcînd judecată celor ce să năpăstuiesc, dînd hrană celor flămînzi. Domnul dezleagă pre cei ce-s în obeade, Domnul înţelepţeaşte orbii. Domnul îndireptează pre cei dărîmaţ. Domnul iubeaşte pre cei direpţi. Domnul păzeaşte pre cei prişleţi, pre sărac şi pre văduo va ajutori, şi calea

1710 şi 1725, text identic

Fericit căruia Dumnezeul lui Iacov e ajutorul lui, nădeajdea lui spre Domnul Dumnezeul lui. Spre cel ce au făcut ceriul, şi pământul, marea, şi toate cele ce-s într-însele. Spre cel ce păzeaşte adevărul în veac; spre cel ce face judecată celor năpăstuiţi, spre cel ce dă hrană celor flămînzi. Domnul dezleagă pre cei ferecaţi în obezi, Domnul înţelepţeaşte orbii. Domnul ridică pe cei surpaţi; Domnul iubeşte pe cei drepţi. Domnul păzeşte pe cei nemernici; pre săracul şi pe văduva va primi, şi calea păcătoşilor va piarde.

2014

Fericit cel ce are ajutor pe Dumnezeul lui Iacov, nădejdea lui, în Domnul Dumnezeul lui, Cel ce a făcut cerul şi pământul, marea şi toate cele din ele; Cel ce păzeşte adevărul în veac; Cel ce face judecată celor năpăstuiţi; Cel ce dă hrană celor flămînzi. Domnul dezleagă pe cei ferecaţi în obezi; Domnul îndreaptă pe cei gîrboviţi, Domnul înţelepţeşte orbii, Domnul iubeşte pe cei drepţi, Domnul păzeşte pe cei străini; pe orfani şi pe văduvă va sprijini

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păcătoşilor va stinge.

şi calea păcătoşilor o va pierde.

I have made the comparisions between the 1710 edition and that of 1688, as the latter was, although, the closest to it – the differences from the earlier versions, the Bălgrad *Psalter* (1651) or the Dosoftei's *Psaltirea de-nţăles* [=the Understandable Psalter] (1680) are even more obvious. On the other hand, the *Antimian/Damaschinian* edition took the latters into account as well: I have stressed below the words from these two earlier versions which appear, in the same form or adapted, in the next editions, without being found in the *Psalms* of the 1688 *Bible*.

Ps 51:

1651

Ce te lauzi în răutate, **putearnice**?
(…)
Derept aceea Dumnezău răsipi-te-va în veaci, lua-te-va şi te va smulge de sălaşul tău şi te va dezrădăcina den pământul viilor.

Vedea-vor direpţii (aceasta) şi să vor **teame** şi de el rîde-vor (zicînd): Iată omul carele nu puse pre Dumnezău tărie şie, ce să încredea în mulţimea bogăţiilor sale; s-au întărit în deşertăciunea sa. Iar eu voiu fi ca un maslin înfrunzit în casa lui Dumnezeu; nedejduiiu în mila lui Dumnezeu în veac şi în vecii de veac. Ispovedi-mă-voiu Ţie în veac, că ai făcut (**aceasta**) şi voiu **aştepta** numele Tău, că-i bun înaintea milostivnicilor Tăi

1680

Ce te lauz cu răul **putiarnicule**.
(…)
Drept **aciasta**, Dumnezău omorîte-va în **sfîrşit**, rumpete-va şi mutateva dela sălaşul tău, şi **rădăcina** ta din ţara viilor.

Vedia-vor direpţii şi **tiame**-s-or şi de dînsul rîde-vor şi vor zîce: Iaca omul, care n-au pus pre Dumnăzău agiutoriu şie, ce nedejdiuit-au pre mulţîmia **bogăţiiei** sale, şi s-au răzîmat pre deşertăciunia sa. Iar eu ca maslinul ***rodit*** în casa lui Dumnăzău, nedejdiuiiu spre mila lui Dumnăzău în veac şi în veac de veac.

Mărturisimă-voi ţie în veac că feceşti, şi răbdu numele tău, că cei bine denaintia **cuvioşilor** tăi

Ps. 145, 5-9:

1651

Fericitu-i acela ce-i Dumnezeul lui Iacov agiutoriu lui, şi cui-i nădeajdea în Domnul Dumneuăul său:

Cela ce-au făcut ceriul şi pământul,

1680

Fericitui, căruia Dumnăzăul lui Iacov, agiutoriu lui, nediajdia lui, pre domnul Dumăezăul său

Care fiace ceiul, şi pământul, maria,

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marea şi toate ce-s întru eale; Carele-ş păzeaşte adevărul în veac, Cela ce face giudeţ obidiţilor, acela ce dă hrană flămînzilor; Domnul dezleagă prinşii. Domnul luminează orbii, Domnul rădică căzuţii, Domnul iubeaşte derepţii. Domnul păzeaşte nimearnicii, săracul şi vădua socoteaşte-i; şi calea păcătoşilor ***piarde-o-va***.

şi toate ce-s întrînse. Carele păziaşte adevărătatia în veac, care face giudeţ asupriţilor, care dă hrană, flămînziţolor.

Domnul dezleagî **ferecaţii**, Domnul ***înţălepţeazî*** orbii, Domnul **rădicî *surupaţii***, Domnul iubiaşte direpţii. Domnul feriaşte nemeriţii, săracul, şi vădova sprijeniva, şi calia păcătoşilor ***va piarde***.

We think there is no need to prove anymore the detachment that the 1710 edition achieves from the previous texts – it was demonstrated, in fact, clearly enough, indirectly, by the investigations of Alexandra Roman[24], and of others, too[25]. On the contrary, it would be to say to what extent the 1710 version remains, yet, tributary to that of 1688, as an intermediary stage, whose innovative gesture was to be accomplished by the 1725 edition, that finished off some of its expressive forms. While, for instance, 1688 edition uses (in Ps. 5,1 or Ps. 142,1 the verbal phrase 'bagă în urechi' [=put into ears], 1710 edition changes it only to another loan translation, 'ia în urechi'[=take into ears] (as in 1651 edition), and only in 1725 the verb 'ascultă' [=listen] is finally chosen (following the 1680 edition). Likewise, in Ps. 1, 1, 'n-a mers' from 1688 is preserved in 1710, being changed to 'n-a umblat' in 1725 etc.

II. The mechanism of standardisation

While we are at it, we will have to discuss the factors that have given such longevity to the text and, eventually, the question of the authorship of this revision.

Among the reasons that made a „standard" out of the 1710 edition could be mentioned, in the first place, those suggested by Barbu Teodorescu as relates to the authority of Damaschinian texts: „their scientific importance, because they reproduce accurately the greek text", „their wide spreading across the whole country, throughout the XVIIIth century", and „their valour acquired by the Romanian language employed"[26]. We will try to provide here some further explanations.

Reliance on *Septuagint*

The religious texts of those times had already witnessed a turning point regarding the traductological approach, by conforming to the scientific spirit of humanism: it had become important *why* a translation was made and *how* its source

[24] Roman, *Filiaţii* and Roman, *Unif. lb.*

[25] Gianina Picioruş points out places where there is made not an adaptation only, but a new translation – as in Ps. 7, 13-14. Even though she speaks about the presence of the *Psalms* in the *Didaches*, she analyses, in fact, the 1710 version, to which the preacher appealed – Picioruş, *Didahii*, p. 42.

[26] *Ibidem*, p. 642.

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was chosen[27]. Ever since Dosoftei, we see the tendency of the translators to call upon the „Great Church", laying stress on the use of Greek sources[28], while the Slavonic sources were not always made mention of[29]. Given that the Hellenism was the cultural option favoured even by the political context, in situations where the picking up of the original sources required the tearing away from the Slavonic variants, the improvement was easily defended – like Antim did, in the preface of the 1706 *Molitvelnic* [=The Priest's Prayer Book][30], and others, too[31]. Being translated from the primary sources, the new versions also brought together the conditions required for remaining unchanged for a longer time, while received by the public. As for the receiving, certainly, there could have been no other time more adequate than that of the Romanian-Hellenic bilingualism of the educated classes[32].

The good circulation of the books

The spreading of Antim's *Psalter* went along with the boom that the art of printing (after it seemed to have died in the first half of the XVIIth century[33]) witnessed in those times, particularly due to Antim, who, on his turn, formed students[34], spread beyond the boundaries of Wallachia[35]. In fact, all the prelate did was connected with the printing[36], the art in which his skill was perfect, as the testimonies of the time agree[37], and as can be seen today, by his achievements: beautiful books, with elegant letters, of various sizes, and pages of different formats (the 1710 *Psalter* was in point of fact, issued in a peculiar format, pocket

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[27] Cîndea, *Milescu*, p. 30.

[28] Iorga, *Ist. Bis.*, vol. I, p. 409.

[29] Lapedatu, p. 6-7.

[30] „*Însă să ştii şi aciasta, că de vei cerceta pre amăruntulu rînduialele şi tălmăcire acestui Molitvelnicu, şi de vei potrivi cu niscare izvoade sloveneşti, veri de unde ar fi typărite, şi nu să va potrivi, să nu te pripeşti îndată a defăima, căci noi amu urmatu Molitvelnicului grecescu*" [=But you should also know this, that if you search in detail the rituals and rendering of this *Molitvelnic*, and if you compare it with some Slavonic sources, no matter where printed, do not be in a hurry to label, because we have followed the Greek *Molitvelnic*] – note at the end of Antim's Tîrgovişte *Molitvelnic* of 1713 (BRV, vol. I, p. 551).

[31] „Au tălmăcit şi au îndreptat drept de pe cel grecesc *Penticostariu*, ca să nu se facă sminteală rînduielii greceşti şi zăticneală limbii româneşti" [=They have rendered and corrected strictly by the Greek *Penticostarion*, so as not to impair the Greek ritual and not to hamper the Romanian language]– addition of Lavrentie the hieromonk, the proofreader of the 1743 *Penticostarion* [=Book of Easter Hymns] printed by Bishop Climent at Rîmnic (BRV, vol. II., p. 74).

[32] Cf. Iorga, *Ist. lit*., p. 461,489-490. In Brîncoveanu's time, „the knowledge of the Greek language becomes more general", then, after the installation of the first Fanariote ruler, the language is „better and better and more generally known".

[33] Ştrempel, *Rusia tip*., p. 16-17.

[34] Del Chiaro, p. 27.

[35] Iorga, *Ist. lit.*, p. 467.

[36] Ghenadie, *Condica Sfîntă*, p. 115. „With regards to the merits of Antim, we say that this prelate was inseparable from the printing works. In Snagov he had a printing works, likewise in Rîmnic and then at the Metropolitanate of Ungro-Wallachia".

[37] Del Chiaro, p. 142: „He was endowed with rare talents", „he raised the art of printing to perfection".

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size, handy and economic[38]), for which he was accused even of „whithcraft"[39]. The circulation of Antimian printings of Tîrgovişte was not confined to Wallachia. Beside the copy belonging to the Academy Library, acquired in 1960, and the other one, first known of (that reached far eastward, to the V.I. Lenin Library in Moscow, of which our Library has a photocopy), the 1710 *Psalter* was also recorded beyond the mountains, in Apoldu de Jos[40] – and, nowadays, some Tîrgovişte printings can be found at the Sebeş Museum, (collected from the surrounding region – the villages on the Secaşelor Plateau and the Sebeş Valley), including a copy of the Antimian *Psalter*[41].

The plain and churched language

Alexandra Roman also asserts that the „prestige" of the prototype-version is due to the „supple and natural" language[42]. Indeed, by simple men like Antim[43], the language spoken by the people and fashioned by the ecclesiastical milieu[44] was for the first time introduced in printed book[45].

Yet another decisive aspect must be taken into account in order to understand the compelling authority of the Antimian *Psalter* of 1710. In those times, the *Psalms* was not anymore a mere book of personal worship, as Lapedatu thinks[46] (though Antim added, in 1684, for the first time, the hymns and prayers between the cathismas), but it entered a more general liturgical circuit – it being, in fact the only biblical book used in all services and ceremonials of the Church.[47]

And it is noteworthy the fact that the year in which the prototype-edition was issued is the same in which, as „it is commonly known" („e de obşte ştiut")[48], for the first time services were officiated in Romanian language, and „the Romanian reading began entering the churches, from time to time" („a început a intra, din vreme în vreme, citirea românească prin biserici"). In the example above, of the Psalm 145, some small differences from the text of the last *Bible* edition can be noticed. But, not uncommonly, churches still use the old form of the Psalm,

[38] Molin, *Antim*, p. 827. Antim was a „thrifty publisher" who knew how to offer an incentive to the rich, turning them into „publishers founders".

[39] Del Chiaro, p. 142; Iorga, *Ist. lit*., p. 472.

[40] Iorga, Nicolae, *Scrisori şi inscripţii ardelene şi maramureşene*, vol. II, Socec, Bucureşti, 1906, p. 40, *apud* Teodorescu, *Psaltirea*, p. 518. Iorga holds that the respective volume was published in 1709, but Teodorescu corrects him.

[41] I have'n seen it, but it is pointed out on the institution's website, and it was catalogued by Eva Mîrza.

[42] Roman, *Filiaţii*, p. 241.

[43] Teodorescu, *Damaschin*, p. 628. See also the self-presentation, even though made with humility, by Antim, in *Opere*, p.6.

[44] Mihoc, *Antim*, p. 115

[45] Teodorescu considers this assertion of Iorga mainly with regards to Damaschin. Teodorescu, *Damaschin*, p. 643

[46] Lapedatu, p. 6.

[47] Tit Simedrea, *Evanghelia*, p. 1112.

[48] Nifon, *Tipic*, p. VIII. Del Chiaro, too, remarks, in the *Revolutions of Wallachia* (1718), that „in some churches the service is officiated in the Wallachian language" and „this innovation was introduced of late" – Del Chiaro, p. 51.

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perfectly intelligible now, having lasted in the liturgical books since the 1713 *Psaltichia* [=Psaltic Music Manual] of Filothei Sfetagoreţul.

As, ever since 1650, in the left lecterns of the churches, Romanian chants were performed, the Psalms that were more often used in the service could have been circulated in loose handwritten leaves, meant to the psalm-readers[49]. But at the end of the 1710 edition, the Psalms of *Polyeleos* were still reproduced in Slavonic, „înadins" [=purposely], „pentru darea îndemîna cîntării" [=for the handiness of the chanting][50]. However, in only a matter of a few years, by establishing the obligatory character of officiating in Romanian[51] and due to the development of psaltic music (which was encouraged by the voivod[52]), the Romanian version were about to pass into classic status, in the form of that date. The more so as in the following period there were not to arise new elites of the stature of those who produced the established version[53].

III. The Antim's „seal"

Certainly, there has to be raised the question of whether or not the author of a revision so successful and long lasting could have been someone else but Antim Ivireanul. The question, which may seem rethorical, is not quite a simple one to answer.

When it comes to the authorship of the translations of that period, things cannot be thoroughly elucidated, and the specialists' opinions vary. Each one of the notable personalities of the time is referred to as translator, and credited, separately, by researchers with as much as possible: apparently, each one would have translated everything. The books of the time usually don't mention the authors of the translations and revisions, but instead, by habit[54], they inform of the sponsor and, more discretely, of the typographic proofreader – the 'diortositor'. „Silinţa" [=the effort] of the printing, „osteneala diortosirii" [=the pain of proofreading], or „îndreptarea cuvintelor româneşti" [=the correction of Romanian words] still doesn't mean 'translation'[55]. On the other hand, we find in the Antimian service books (*Psalter* of 1694 and of 1710, *Molitvelnic* of 1706 and 1713, and the 1715 *Ceaslov* [=Book of Hours][56] – which includes psalms and other

[49] Barbu Bucur, *Monumente I*, p. 1070; Barbu Bucur, *Monumente II*, p. 493.

[50] BRV, vol. IV, p. 38.

[51] As we find out from the *Octoih mic* [=Litlle *Octoechos*, Lectern Hymn Book], handwritten by the psalm-reader Moldavschi in 1738, „recently", the Romanian service had became compulsory, so the demand for liturgical books also increased abruptly – Barbu Bucur, *Monumente I*, p. 1071.

[52] Barbu Bucur, *Învăţămîntul*, p. 488.

[53] Iorga, *Ist. lit.*, p. 489: „The period 1730-1780 is much less important than the one preceding it".

[54] Antim, *Opere*, p. 369. In the dedication Sevastos Kyminitis' *Eortologhion*, printed in Greek at Snagov in 1701, Antim mentioned that there is „obiceiu să se închine la o persoană mai însemnată sau bisericească sau politică spre recomandarea şi apărarea cărţii" [=a custom to be dedicated to a person of prominence, eiher religious or political, for the recommendation and defence of the book].

[55] Ţepelea, *Mineie*, p. 260.

[56] Vasile Mihoc notices that in this *Ceaslov* „the psalms appear in a form in fact identical to those in the present-day Romanian Psalter" – Mihoc, *Antim*, p.115.

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biblical passages, as well), a continuous polishing process[57], a silent improvement of the prayers' texts from an edition to another[58]. We can say that in the case of Antim the humanist spirit was not so scientific as to be concerned with the acknowledging of the merits of authors[59], all typographic activity being subordinated by him to the spiritual interests[60].

Damaschin translates, Antim rootes traditions

Concerning the 1706 *Molitvelnic*, there seems to be a consensus that the translation belongs to Antim[61] – although even here it was said that it was made on the basis of a previous endeavour of Dosoftei[62]. Nicolae Iorga is, however, of opinion that Damaschin the Scholar was the author of the service books printed by Antim[63], unwilling to see anything new at this 1706 edition[64]. Truth to tell, we don't have explicit testimonies that Antim effectively concerned himself with their translation, despite the fact that many researchers consider that this aspect of his work goes without saying. The most important testimony, itself to some extent subject to interpretation, is given by the printing worker Mihail Iştvanovici, in the preface of the above mentioned Moltivelnic: „Ci din dumnezeiasca rîvnă ai fostu pornit, ca şi aciasta folositoare de suflete carte ce să numeşte Molitvelnic, la lumină în limba noastră rumânească să o scoţi pentru folosulu de obşte"[=But, by the divine zeal you was moved so that even this useful for the souls book which is called Molitvelnic, in our Romanian language to bring to light, for the common benefit[65]. (A little more specific is the note of Anton-Marie del Chiaro, yet it refers to the translation by the Metropolitan of the *Philosophical Parables*, issued in 1713[66] – and even here there are some doubts[67].) Others are convinced of the fact that Antim dealt only with choosing and selecting the texts for printing[68],

[57] Mazilu, *Antim*, p. 182.

[58] Either because he „mastered better and better the Romanian language as the time passed" (Mihoc, *Antim*, p. 115), or because it was his style: „perfectionist" and not interested in literary hoarding – Picioruş, *Didahii*, p. 90-92.

[59] Barbu Bucur, *Monumente II*, p. 489. Antim doesn't mention the author and the translator of *Floarea darurilor* [=Flower of gifts], but only the voivod, the metropolitan and the sponsor.

[60] See the note 91.

[61] Faifer, *Dicţionar, p*. 43. See also Mihoc, *Antim*, p 110.

[62] Mazilu, *Antim*, p. 177-178.

[63] Iorga, *Ist. Bis.*, vol. II, p. 101: „The three Romanian books that Antim publishes at his expense in 1712 and 1713 have, of course, no other author, although we don't understand how Damaschin, now bishop of Rîmnic, accepted that his works be taken under other's name, like when a mere scholar". In fact, as Sebastian Barbu Bucur also notices, this custom of humility was reserved to simple monks, not to bishops as well (Barbu Bucur, *Monumente II*, p. 484). But Iorga describes Damaschin as an „industrious translator of books not signed by him" (Iorga, *Ist. lit.*, p.464).

[64] See the note 87.

[65] BRV, vol. I, p. 542.

[66] Del Chiaro, p. 27. See also BRV, vol. I, p. 487-489.

[67] Ştrempel, *Antim*, p. 299. Gabriel Ştrempel considers that the statement of the sponsor, „Am pus nevoinţă de s-au tălmăcit această carte"[= I've put effort for this book to be rendered], would eliminate Antim's contribution.

[68] Mihoc, *Antim*, p. 110.

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personally assuming the responsibility for the task of Romanianing the services, for which he had the tacit endorsement from the voivod[69]. Around Antim there were not few translators[70], the same as, in Buzău, for the 1698 *Mineie* [=Menaia, Monthly Service Books] credited to Bishop Mitrofan, other labourers worked, while the hierarch was but the chief printer[71]. Those who concerned themselves with Filothei Sfetagoreţul are persuaded he was not only the translator of the entire *Catavasier* [=Book of Hymns], as well as of other lectern books[72], especially that the psalm reader directly[73] declares he busied himself with the translation of the chants. But the most important translator of that period should be deemed, probably, Damaschin, who, in his turn, says explicitly he has rendered service books[74]. Even though he maintains he began this work only in 1715[75], we see he was active as far back as 1688, as a member of the team who worked the *Bible*[76], while his defenders assert he started the translations yet in the time of Teodosie[77], that is, before 1708. While at Buzău he published, in fact, the 1704 *Apostol* [=Book of the Apostles], and, previously, he had translated other books as well, without signing[78].

The Metropolitan Teodosie „had grouped in Tîrgovişteа all men of science and of merit, and with them he started translating of the service books"[79], but still, these collective contributions it has been tried to be put in a certain order – Mitrofan

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[69] Mazilu, *Antim*, p. 180.

[70] Besides the Greceanu brothers, the monk Filotei, the unknown Cozma, the clerk Vlad, the Polish Alexandru the Scholar and Daniil of Cîmpulung – Iorga, *Ist. lit. sec. XVIII*, p. 434-435.

[71] BRV, vol. I, p. 368.

[72] Barbu Bucur, *Monumente II*, p. 490.

[73] „*Pentru aceasta şi eu smeritul, văzînd cum că în fieştecare zi în sfintele lui Hristos Biserici, adecă să cîntă Catavasiile Sărbătorile celor stăpîneşti şi ale Maicii lui Dumnezeu, iar să înţeleg foarte de puţintei, cît numai viersul sînt ascultînd, iar nu şi înţelesu celor ce se cîntă, tălmăcit-am după puţina mea putere pre a noastră de ţară şi de obşte limbă, toate Catavasiile, cu Troparele şi cu Condacele şi cu Hvalitele ale fieşte-căruia praznic Stăpînesc, cu rînduiala Utrănelor şi a cîte trele liturghiile şi cu irmoasele cele veselitoare şi cu Paraclisul Precistei şi cu toate trebuincioasele cîntări, ce să cîntă preste tot anul*" [=This is why I, too, the humble, seeing that in every day in the holy churches of Christ there are chanted the Katavasias of the festivals of the Lord and of the Mother of God, but they are understood by very few, so the people are just listening to the melody and not the meaning of what is chanted, I've rendered according to my little ability into our language of the country and common, all the Katavasias, with the Troparia and Kondakia and with the Hvalites of each lordly festival, with the ritual of the Matins, and of all three Liturgies, and with the gladdening irmoses, and with the Paraclysis of the Holy Virgin and with all the necessary chants which are sung over the course of the year] – Barbu Bucur, *Psaltichia*, p. 164.

[74] Because „valahii noştri stau ca boii"[=our Wallachians stand like oxen] in the church, the *Menaia* being in Slavonic – Dobrescu, *Ist. austr.* , p. 164- 165. He aided himself, however, by the work of Dosoftei, *Viaţa şi petreacerea svinţilor* [=Life and Conduit of Saints], and even by the Buzău *Menaia* edition – Ţepelea, *Mineie*, p. 240-241

[75] Dobrescu, *Ist. austr*., p. 165.

[76] Ghenadie, *Condica sfîntă*, p. 13.

[77] Regleanu, *Damaschin*, p. 446

[78] Iorga, *Ist. Bis.*, vol. II, p. 100. Among these books, the Buzău *Octoechos* (1700).

[79] Ghenadie, *Condica sfîntă*, p. 92

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being considered as the representative of the Slavonic party, Damaschin the one of the Greek one, and Antim, the genius[80] that had the gift of finalizing the important texts. In support of remark of Ghenadie, which could seem a mere praise to Antim, reasons can be provided. For instance, the *Creed*, translated, in Wallachia, as early as the end of the XVIIth century, then recited ofically (though in a new form) for the first time by Teodosie, and then put up-to-date by Damaschin on his appointment (but incompletely), has remained, in the integral formula, official and definitive, from Antim[81]. The same was with the prayer *Our Father*, different from the version of the 1688 Şerban *Bible* [82] and with the *Gospel* in general, in regards to which Antim „rootes a tradition"[83] and „commited to us a basis and guide for all future editions"[84], bringing about „a decisive turning point", which all previous translations only „made room for"[85]. The same, with the other important texts of the Old Testament, the *Paremias*[86], as well as with the form of the prayers in *Molitvelnic*, established by the Antimian editions, though with „borrowings" and „influences" from Dosoftei's *Molitvelnic de'nţăles* [=Understandable Priest's Prayer Book][87] and, last but not least, with the text of the *Liturgy*, which existed, in

[80] *Ibidem*, p. 100.

[81] *Ibidem*, p. 94. After Metropolitan Ştefan of Ungro-Wallachia translated for the first time the Symbol of Faith (that the hierarchs, on their installation, recited previously in Slavonic), but without uttering it in the church, his succesor, Metropolitan Teodosie, uttered, on his appointment (1688), a free translation of the Greek idioms of the Symbol (among other things, approximating 'fiinţă' [=essence] to be 'fire' [nature]), and his formula was repeated by his successors and by the bishops of Transylvania ordained in Wallachia, until, on the installation of Damaschin the Scholar as bishop of Buzău (1703) we find another version, the current one, but limited to the first article of the Creed only. It is only since the ordination of Antim at Rîmnic that the first translation of the Creed is preserved – in the current form, and officially recited in the Church. Antim only alters 'Părintele' instead of 'Tatăl' and translates 'de la' instead of 'din': 'născut *de la* Părinte, născut mai înainte de toţi vecii' and '*de la* Dumnezeu adevărat', instead of 'din Dumnezeu adevărat'. He also says but 'prin care toate *sînt făcute*', instead of 's-au făcut', '*s-au omenit*', instead of 's-a făcut om', '*supt* Pilat din Pont' instead of 'în zilele…', '*iar va veni*', instead of 'iarăşi va să vină', '*pre cei vii şi pre cei morţi*', instead of 'viii şi morţii', „nu *are sfîrşit*", instead of 'nu va avea…' But in the 1715 *Catavasier* of Tîrgovişte, Antim bequeathes us the current form of the Creed.

[82] Mihoc, *Antim*, p. 113, 115. In fact, in *Our Father* of 1703 we read 'şi ne lasă nouă datoriile noastre cum lăsăm şi noi datornicilor noştri', and 'să nu ne duci pe noi în bîntuială' – phrases that could be found in 1688 as well. But in the 1715 Ceaslov, we already see the current form, with the alteration 'pîinea noastră cea de-a pururea', that Antim had tried to the 1688 edition, where already 'de toate zilele' existed.

[83] Mihoc, *Antim*, p. 114.

[84] Tit Simedrea, *Evanghelia*, p. 1117.

[85] *Ibidem*, p. 1111.

[86] Bettered in the 1705 *Antologhion* [=Antology] – Mihoc, *Antim*, p. 115.

[87] Mazilu, *Antim*, p. 180. Iorga alleges that „the 1706 *Molitvelnic* sticks to the old aspect of the prayer books for priests" (Iorga, *Ist. Bis.*, vol. II, p. 100) – maybe because it did not fit his idea of 'the translator of Antim': a book of him is published at Rîmnic, while Damaschin could have published it himself, at Buzău. In fact, there is a progress from the 1706 *Molitvelnic* edition of Rîmnic to that of Tîrgovişte in 1712. However, the differences between the 1706 edition and that of Dosoftei are much more evident: 'Şi Ţie slavă înălţăm/*trimitem*', 'şi în vecii vecilor/şi în *veci de veci*'), 'robul lui Dumnezeu/*şerbul* lui Dumnezeu' etc.

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a poetically well wrought form, from the same Dosoftei, but was finalized by the Antim's revision only[88].

The case of the *Psalter* only completes the whole picture of Antimian work: here as well, the Metropolitan undertook the final revision, „rooting a tradition", probably by virtue of the sense that he, although a foreigner, mastered a superior Romanian language[89] – even though in 1694 maybe it was not still the case[90], in 1710 for sure it was, and we can give as proof the superb *Didahiile* [=the *Didaches*], preached beginning in 1709.

Certainly, all the merits of Antim would remain intact even though it would be proven that its role was only to stimulate and to do justice to the ability of others. A text of Antim published as an introduction to the Greek „Eortologion" (1701, by Sevastos Kyminitis), shows his openness to the contributions of contemporaries[91]. Even without translating anything, just by identification and use of the proper texts, his contribution to the progress of the literary language was major. But the priority issue with respect of Damaschin in rendering the ecclesiastical texts remains open.

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[88] Mazilu, *Antim*, p. 178: „The Liturgy in Dosoftei's translation, poetry of indisputable quality, remained among the monument of the old Romanian writing. Sunday by Sunday, and whenever the Holy Liturgy is celebrated, Romanians listen to Antim, up to current times." The differences are, indeed, visible: 'Pre înşine şi unii pre-alalţ şi toată viaţa noastră lui Hristos Dumnezău pre samă să o dăm/*Pre noi înşine şi unul pe altul şi toată viaţa noastră lui Hristos Dumnezeu să o dăm*'; 'Prin îndurătăţile a Singur-Născutul Tău Fiiu, Cu carele blagoslovit eşti, împreună cu Preasvîntul şi bunul şi viaţă făcătoriul Tău Duh, acmu şi pururi şi în veci de veci/*Cu îndurările unuia născut Fiului Tău, cu carele împreună biue eşti cuvîntat, cu preasfîntul şi bunul şi de viaţă făcătoriul Tău Duh, acum şi pururea şi în veacii veacilor*'; 'Să-ndrăgim unii pre-alalţi, ca împreună de gînd să mărturisim/*Să iubim unul pre altul ca într-un gînd să mărturisim*'; 'Acel de biruire cîntec cîntînd, strigînd, chemînd şi grăind/*Cîntare de biruinţă cîntînd, strigînd, glas înălţînd şi grăind*'; 'svînta Anaforă/*sfînta jărtvă*'; 'despuitorule om iubitoriule/*stăpîne iubitorule de oameni*'; 'lung zîlit/*întru zile îndelungate*'; 'păciuită/*cu pace*', 'păvaţă şi feritori/*îndreptătoriu şi păzitoriu*'; 'rămăşiţa timpului vieţii noastre/*cealaltă vreme a vieţii noastre*'; 'creştineşti obîrşiile/*sfîrşit creştinesc*' etc. – cf. Dosoftei, *Liturghie* and the Antimian *Liturghier* [=Liturgy Book] of Tîrgovişte.

[89] See Mihoc, *Antim*, p. 114 – where two more arguments are provided: the good knowledge of the Scriptures, in the Greek original, and the knowledge of the Patristic interpretative tradition.

[90] Teodorescu, *Damaschin*, p. 634. „It is difficult to admit that Antim Ivireanul knew in 1694 so much Romanian, that he could translate the Psalter, which is, in the first place, a literary work." Nevertheless, in the light of recent discoveries regarding the period previously spent by Antim in Moldavia, this issue is not valid anymore.

[91] „Deci şi eu, pentru că nu am altă putere spre ajutorul aproapelui decît ocupaţiunea tipografiei, n-am lipsit şi nu voi lipsi vreodată ca să folosesc, după putinţa mea, pe fraţii în Hristos ai mei, tipărind deosebite cărţi de suflet folositoare şi mîntuitoare. De aceea, fiindcă am găsit şi această carte, (…) pe care cetind-o şi cunoscînd după judecata mea că este prea mult de trebuinţă şi folositoare (…) mai cu seamă că este compusă în limba uşoară şi uşoară de pricceput, am voit s-o tipăresc…" [=So even I, having no other power towards helping the neighbour, but the occupation of type setting, I haven't failed, and I won't fail to be useful to my brothers in Christ, by printing various books useful for the soul and saving. That is why, having found this book, too, (...), which, by reading it I realised that, in my judgement, it is exceengly necessary and useful (...), especially as it is drawn up in the easy language and it is easy to understand, I wanted to print it…] – Antim, *Opere*, p. 368. Likewise, we see how Antim insisted the son of the ruler Constantin Brîncoveanu give him to publish Plutarch's *The Parallel Lives*, translated into Greek – *Ibidem*, p. 372.

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The latter sometimes seems to reprint what Antim has already published, like in the case of the *Psalms* or the *Gospel* – although we see that his alterations are not always accepted[92] –, at other times he precedes Antim, as in the case of the *Creed*, or he creates independently of him, as he did with the 1704 *Apostolos*.

However, the biggest contribution to the spreading of the Antimian version of the *Psalter* was from the printing works in Rîmnic, where the second edition[93] of the prototype, the 1725 *Psalter*, now loaded with the authority of Damaschin, „dascălul cel mare" [=the big scholar][94] (whose disciples didn't dare to alter a single word written by him[95]), became a standard. The books of Rîmnic reached Moldavia[96] not only in Iaşi[97], but in the counties they were numbered in hundreds[98], while in Transylvania they reached easily[99], especially when the printing works of the ecclesiastical centre was the only Orthodox one in the Habsburg Empire[100] – so that, in its turn, *Psalter* Rîmnic became the prototype for those of Sibiu and Buda[101], and Samuil Micu was to include it, intact, in its 1795 *Bible*[102].

So it remains to be thoroughly considered, for the future, the question of the relationship between Antim and Damaschin, as well as between Tîrgovişte books and the other printings of Antim's time and of the next period, and, on the other hand, between the printings and the mansucript in circulation at that time, including those of Filothei. It also would be helpful to consider in detail the the spreading of the books of Tîrgovişte and Rîmnic in the country, on the basis of an investigation of their presence in the local libraries. As for the detailed differences between

[92] Tit Simedrea, *Evanghelia*, p. 1118. Damaschin writes 'întru început era cuvîntul', in his translation of Teofilact's *Tîlcuirea Evangheliilor* [=Gospel Interpretation]. But Lavrentie himself does not accept this innovation and leaves 'la început era cuvîntul' in the 1746 *Evanghelie* of Rîmnic. However, this *Evanghelie* could be named „Antim-Damaschin", and it has a richer form than that of 1697 – *Ibidem*, p. 1118.

[93] The fact that Damaschin publishes an Antimian edition as „the second one" gives rise to the supposition that he may have a say in the first edition, as Barbu Teodorescu believes, too (cf. Teodorescu, *Damaschin*, p. 634).

[94] BRV, vol. II, p. 92 – The comment of the proofreader Lavrentie the Hieromonk to the 1746 *Gospel*.

[95] See, for instance, the prefaces to the *Antologhion* of Rîmnic (1737), signed by the proofreader Lavrentie the Hieromonk, or the one to the *Triod* [=Lent Hymn Book] printed by Inochentie in 1731 (BRV, vol II., p. 52-53 and, respectively, 42-44).

[96] The area from whence he came to Wallachia, and with which he must have maintained tight connections (See Antim, *Scrisori* – the *Preface*, by Archim. Mihail Stanciu, p. 8). Even his language should have been understandable to the Wallachians and Moldavians, to the same extent.

[97] Teodorescu, *Circulaţia*, p. 170.

[98] Teodorescu, *Damaschin*, p. 642.

[99] Teodorescu, *Circulaţia*, p. 170, 184.

[100] Turdeanu, p. 186.

[101] Teodorescu, *Psaltirea*, p. 527.

[102] See also Chindriş, *Vulgata*, p. LXXIII.

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edition 1710 and 1725 or the subsequent ones, this will be the object of another paper*.

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* *The work of Călin Popescu was supported by Project SOP HRD - PERFORM /159/1.5/S/138963.*

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