REJOICE, O, FULL OF GIFTS! A TRANSLATION THEORY ANALYSIS OF *ΚΕΧΑΡΙΤΩΜΕΝΗ*

OCTAVIAN GORDON[1]

Abstract. In the present study I tried to analyse the New Testament *hapax legomenon «κεχαριτωμένη»* (*Lk.* 1: 28) not only from the perspective of its manuscript transmission within the frame of the biblical literature or from a hermeneutical point of view, but also from the perspective of its liturgical integration and use in the Eastern Church. The starting point of my research was the simultaneous existence in the liturgical Romanian current practice of at least three different equivalents of gr. *κεχαριτωμένη*: *plină de dar* (litt. 'full of grace'), *plină de daruri* (litt. 'full of gifts') and *plină de har* (litt. 'full of grace'). My investigation showed that, since the beginning of the Romanian literature, i.e. from the 16th century onwards, there are more than a dozen of more or less functional Romanian equivalents of this mariological epithet.

Keywords: κεχαριτωμένη, Church language, biblical text, liturgical text, confessional language.

1. ARGUMENT

1.1. The greeting ('the salutation')[2] addressed by Archangel Gabriel to Virgin Mary, recorded by the Greek biblical and liturgical literature as *Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη* (Lk. 1:28) – known in the Latin world as *Ave, [Maria,] gratia plena* –, knows, in the current Romanian liturgical literature, several versions, the best-known of which are: (1) *Bucură-te, cea plină de har!* 'Rejoice, o, full of grace!'; (2) *Bucură-te, cea plină de dar!* 'Rejoice, o, full of gift!';

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[2] I showed in my article (Gordon 2012: 105−106) that the formula *χαῖρε* ('Rejoice!') is a greeting specific to the hellenophone Antiquity, not an urge to (the state of) joy.

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(3) *Bucură-te, cea plină de daruri* 'Rejoice, o, full of gifts!'[3]. In the present article, I aim to analyse the evolution of this well-known liturgical phrase, trying to elucidate the circumstances that favoured the apparition of this lexical (idiomatic) variety.

The idea of the present paper came out of the mere observation, within the Orthodox worship, of the difference between the phrases *Bucură-te, cea plină de dar!* and *Bucură-te, cea plină de daruri!*, as well as of my remark and wonder at the liturgical coexistence of these two phrases. Within the philological biblical research, my analysis was recently preceded by two investigations of the same phrase, with its various Romanian versions.

A popularisation article written by Răzvan Perşa (2011), published on his personal blog, in which the author signals an issue of text criticism related to the mentioned biblical verse, and also proposes a 'translation theory' analysis. Noticing the mismatch between the phrase *plină de dar* (and the version *plină de har*) and the Greek participle *κεχαριτωμένη*, as well as their dependence on the Latin original *gratia plena*, Răzvan Perşa argues for the translation of the New Testament hapax *κεχαριτωμένη* by the phrase *gifted with grace*, adding a theological doctrinal comment.

In a much ampler and better documented elaboration (Conţac 2011), Emanuel Conţac made public the outcomes of his doctoral research, dedicating approximately 16 pages to the *κεχαριτωμένη* participle in Lk. 1:28, showing not only the varieties of the most important Romanian versions, but also adding a series of examples from the non-biblical Greek literature of the different valences of the verb *χαριτοῦν*.

1.2. Therefore, based on this recent research in the field of biblical-philological research, which, in places, I will analyse, comment on, complete and correct, I propose my own analysis of the mariological epithet in question, both from the point of view of the biblical text evolution, as well as from the point of view of the presence of this biblical sequence in the liturgical literature. My hypothesis was that a correct translation theory analysis of a biblical text can only be done taking into account the possible liturgical reception of the respective text. I shall see in my analysis and especially in the conclusion, if this hypothesis can be demonstrated or not.

2. THE VERSE IN LK. 1:28 FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM

For the verse in Lk. 1:28, there are two manuscript traditions (Metzger 1994: 108): the first, represented by an important number of manuscripts, as well as patristic texts, presents a shorter text: *Χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη· ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ* ('Rejoice, o, *κεχαριτωμένη*; the Lord is with you'), without the sequence *εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν* ('blessed are you among women'). This sequence, which recent Western criticism considers an addition, is found in the Byzantine tradition (*textus receptus*), being attested by important codices, such as Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Epraemi rescriptus, Codex Bezae, the *Protoevangelium of James* (11:1), most probably written in the second half of the 2nd century, and also several

[3] I shall render the literal translation of the Romanian versions only on the first occurrences in my text, between brackets.

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Church Fathers and writers. In addition to these, there are the Latin versions, which, with small fluctuations, attest the long version of the verse Lk. 1:28: *(H)ave, gratia plena, Dominus tecum. Benedicta tu in mulieribus* (Gordon 2012: 98−99).

I consider it noteworthy that the long version of the verse was sometimes accepted in the Byzantine hymnography, too, which can be relevant to both biblical textual criticism, and the aspects concerning translation theory, which I am dealing with in the present article.

Apart from the details related to the end of the verse, in the second part of his exposition, Răzvan Perşa, listing the main Romanian editions of the biblical text and graphically underlining the modifications suffered from an edition to another, rightly notices the following: (1) all the Romanian versions[4] attest the second manuscript tradition, 'the enlarged'; (2) the Romanian versions rather follow the structure of the Latin original than of the Greek one, as *plină de dar / har* cannot be a translation of the participle *κεχαριτωμένη*,, but rather of the phrase *gratia plena*. The Latin phrase itself cannot be a translation of *plena*, but rather a loan from Jn. 1:14 (*πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας*, about God's Word, the equivalent of the Vulgata phrase *plenum gratiae et veritatis*[5]) and from Acts 6:8, (*Στέφανος δὲ πλήρης χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως*, the equivalent of the Latin *Stephanus autem plenus gratia et fortitudine*). For the origin of the Latin phrase and for its awkward competitor, the participle *gratificata*, see Gordon (2002: 101−104).

3. THE VERB *ΧΑΡΙΤΟΩ* IN THE HOLY SCRIPTURE

3.1. As Emanuel Conțac (2011: 209) remarked, it cannot be stated that the verb *χαριτόω* is a rare verb, the mentioned author showing by examples the multitude of the occurrences of this verb in the Greek literature, also as a perfect participle, as well as the semantic diversity of *χαριτόω*, in its different uses. However, as long as *κεχαριτωμένη* in Lk. 1:28 is related to the special semantics of the Gr. *Χάρις* in a biblical context, I am firstly interested in the biblical uses of *χαριτόω*, the inheritance of a biblical meaning, related to the non-biblical Greek literature or not.

3.2. In the New Testament[6], *χαριτόω* appears only once, in Eph. 1:6: *εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, ἐν ᾗ ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ*, a verse which Bartolomeu Anania (2001) translates by *to the praise of the glory of His grace, by which He gifted us in the Beloved.* The Vulgata equivalent of *ἐχαρίτωσεν* is *gratificavit*, 'figura etymologica' being maintained in Jerome's translation, too: *in laudem gloriae gratiae suae in qua gratificavit nos in dilecto*. From the point of view of the relationship between

[4] Apart from one recent edition (NT Iaşi 2002), elaborated in the Roman-Catholic environment, which uses the critical edition of Nestle-Aland for reference. Also, it is remarkable that a part of the editions published in the neoprotestant world in the second half of the 20th century print 'the addition' in italics (*vide infra*).

[5] The use of the adjective *plenus* sometimes with the Ablative and at other times with the Genitive is nothing special, the competition of the two cases being attested ever since classical Latin.

[6] I do not refer to the Apocryphal *Gospels*, where *κεχαριτωμένη* appears, also pointing directly to Virgin Mary.

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χάριτος and *ἐχαρίτωσεν*, the verse does not pose understanding problems: God – the subject of the verb – poured out His grace onto man; the action expressed by *χαριτόω* is the 'giving' of grace, which is God's grace.

3.3. For the Old Testament, I have two occurrences of χαριτόω[7], both in the perfect participle form.

3.3.1. Κεχαριτωμένῳ *in Sir. 18:17*

Next I render the versions that I consulted for this verse:

− LXX: οὐκ ἰδοὺ λόγος ὑπὲρ δόμα ἀγαθόν καὶ ἀμφότερα παρὰ ἀνδρὶ *κεχαριτωμένῳ.*

− VUL: nonne ecce verbum super datum bonum et utraque cum homine *iustificato*.

− Ms. 45: Nu-i, iată, cuvântul decât darea bună? Şi amândoao – la omul *plin de har*.

− Ms. 4389: Dară au nu iaste cuvântul mai bun decât darea cea bună? Ce amândoaoă sânt la omul *cel mulţemitoriu* 'thankful'.

− B. 1688: Iată, nu iaste mai bun cuvântul decât darea cea bună? Şi amândoao – la omul *cel plin de dar*.

− Vulgata 1760−1761: Au nu, iată, cuvântul preste darea bună? Ci amândoao cu omul le *îndreptează* 'justifies'.

− Micu 1795: Au nu easte mai bun cuvântul decât darea cea bună? Şi amândoao sânt la omul *cel plin de dar*.

−Şaguna 1856−1858: Au nu iaste cuvântul mai bun decât darea cea bună? Şi amândoao sânt la omul *cel plin de dar*.

− B. 1914: Au nu iaste cuvântul mai bun decât darea cea bună? Şi amândoao sânt la omul *cel plin de dar*.

− Radu-Gal. 1938: Şi dacă cuvântul este mai de preţ decât darul cel de preţ, omul *cu mâna darnică* ['the man *with a generous hand*'] să le adune laolaltă.

− B. 1968 sqq.[8]: Au nu este mai bun cuvântul decât darea cea bună? Şi amândouă sânt la omul *cel darnic* 'generous'.

− Anania 2001: Priveşte: nu e mai bună vorba decât o dare bună?: şi una, şi alta sunt la omul *darnic*.

− LXX-NEC 4/II 2007: Iată, nu este oare mai presus o vorbă [bună] decât un dar bogat? Bărbatul *darnic* le îmbină însă pe amândouă.

Among the Romanian versions of this verse, the oldest equivalent of the Gr. *κεχαριτωμένῳ* belongs to Nicolae Milescu Spătarul, kept in a revised form in Ms. 45 of the Romanian Academic Library. About this manuscript, containing the Old Testament, I now know, following the demonstration given by N. A. Ursu (1988−1989), that it served as the basis of Şerban's Bible for the Old Testament: the Greceanu brothers are not the translators of the Bucharest Bible, as it used to be said until recently, but only the revisers of Milescu's translation and of the Bucharest edition. It is quite unlikely that the original form, translated by Milescu Spătarul, should have been *plin de har*, as it is known that

[7] The second occurrence to which I will make reference, the one in *Psalms*, is only found in Symmachus' version, kept in Origen's *Hexapla* (Conţac 2011: 203).

[8] By B. 1968 sqq., I indicate all the Orthodox Romanian Synodal Bible editions following B. 1968.

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Milescu's translation was revised by an anonymous Moldavian: in all probabilities, Metropolitan Dosoftei. But, as I have demonstrated (Gordon 2012: 117−118), Dosoftei tried to introduce the term *har* in the church books that he edited, replacing the older *dar*, as the equivalent of the Gr. *χάρις*, but this initiative was not accepted by posterity.

Therefore, it can be assumed that the first Romanian equivalent of *κεχαριτωμένῳ* is the phrase *plin de dar*, also adopted by Şerban's Bible, from a version of Milescu's translation not yet revised by the 'anonymous' Moldavian Dosoftei. Also, the equivalent phrase proposed for *κεχαριτωμένῳ* involves a loan and adaptation of the corresponding phrase in verse Lk. 1:28, *plină de dar*. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that the Latin equivalent of *κεχαριτωμένῳ* in the book of *The Wisdom of Sirach* is *iustificato*, not *gratia pleno*.

As for the version in Ms. 4389 (*cel mulţemitoriu*), in all probabilities, it is related to Sl. *blagodatna* in the Ostrog Bible (1581), the Sl. verb *blago-dariti* ('to thank'), being itself transferred from the Gr. *εὐ-χαριστέω*[9]. Therefore, it can be assumed that, in the Slavonic translation, a contamination (confusion?) was made between *εὐχαριστέω* and *χαριτόω,* also transmitted to Romanian, as it can be seen in Daniil Andrei Panoneanul's version, the supposed author of the translation kept in Ms. 4389.

Even more isolated from the phrase *plin de dar* is the translation of Vulgata: *Ci amândoao cu omul le îndreptează*. Here it is clear that the translator did not understand *iustificato* as a perfect participle in agreement with *homine*, but the future imperative of the verb *iustificare*, a homonym of the respective participle form.

Once the phrase *plin de dar* in the 1688 Bible was launched[10], it was adopted as such by the following editions until the beginning of the 20th century, especially because, as I shall see bellow (under 5. and 6.), the corresponding phrase in Lk. 1:28 – *plină de dar* – was going to be present and extensively supported in the liturgical space, too.

Vasile Radu and Gala Galaction's version (1938) proposes a completely new meaning in the Romanian space for *κεχαριτωμένῳ*: [the man] *cu mâna darnică*, then adopted, without a careful reference to the original Greek (or Latin) text, by the most representative of the following editions (B. 1968, Anania 2001, LXX/NEC 4/II 2007[11]), through the equivalent *darnic* (*generous*). Moreover, Eugen Munteanu, the author of the translation in LXX/NEC 4/II 2007, notes on the verse in question: 'Here I have one of the most psychologically refined observations of the book: politeness, generosity and good will are attributes of wisdom, while rudeness characterises stupidity. Anyway, unconditioned generosity itself urges us to follow the divine example (*cf.* Jas. 1:5: "Cel ce dă tuturor fără deosebire şi fără mustrare")'. Also, Emanuel Conţac (2011: 203), categorizing the meanings of *κεχαριτωμένος* in Greek literature, creates the category: 'the moral quality of a person' (*amabil* 'kind', *generos* 'generous', *darnic* 'charitable', *plăcut* 'pleasant'). I have not researched under what influence or for what reasons Radu-Gal. 1938 confers

[9] I thank Ana Stoykova and Florentina Geller, specialists in Slavonic philology, who have helped me understand the dependence of *blagodariti* on the Greek original.

[10] The concept of 'advanced term' or 'advanced phrase' belongs to Adrian Marinescu from the University in München, with whom I had an *ad hoc* conversation.

[11] The last was also adopted by Emanuel Conţac (2011: 203).

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κεχαριτωμένῳ the meaning of 'charitable', 'generous', as this is not my immediate objective, but I do not see how *κεχαριτωμένος*, as a participle-adjective, could have this *active* meaning, since the participle form itself is *passive*[12]. This meaning of 'charitable' cannot be – in my opinion – the equivalent of *κεχαριτωμένῳ*.

Christian Wagner (1999: 324) argues for the meaning of 'sich charmant / liebenswürdig / taktvoll erweisen' of the verb *χαριτόω* from the context in Sir. 18:17[13]. Wagner argues for his opinion signalling the opposition between *κεχαριτωμένῳ* and *μωρός* from the next verse[14], in a play on words with *ἀχαρίστως*, an adverb which the German author interprets as *ohne etwas Gutes zu tun*. It seems strange that Wagner, although at a few lines' distance, states the theological character of the verb in question and of the context in which it is used[15], proposes a meaning distinct from any relationship with the theological aspects linked to *χαριτόω* and *χάρις*[16].

3.3.2. Κεχαριτωμένου *in Ps. 17:26 (Symmachos' version)*

In the footsteps left in the Romanian research by Emanuel Conţac, I have found a second Old-Testament biblical occurrence of the perfect participle of the verb *χαριτόω*, namely Symmachos' version of Ps. 17:26: *μετὰ ὁσίου ὁσιωθήσῃ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ κεχαριτωμένου χαριτωθήσῃ*[17]. Emanuel Conţac (2011: 203) places this occurrence of *κεχαριτωμένος* in the same semantic category of 'a person's moral qualities' and proposes the translation: 'With the pious man, You will act piously and with *the kind man*, You will act kindly' (Cu omul pios Te vei purta cu pietate şi cu *omul amabil* te vei purta cu amabilitate). However, my Colleague's analysis does not reveal the reasons why the meaning of this *κεχαριτωμένου* and of the accompanying verb would be connected to the idea of 'kindness'.

3.4. Χαριτόω in the New Testament. In the New Testament, apart from Lk. 1:28, *χαριτόω* occurs only once, in the *Epistle to Ephesians* (1,6): *εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, ἐν ᾗ ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ*, in Vulgata *ἐχαρίτωσεν* being rendered by *gratificavit*. In the traditional (Orthodox) Romanian biblical versions, the fragment is translated by: *Spre lauda slavei darului Său, cu care ne-au dăruit pre noi a cel iubit* (B. 1914), with small variations[18]. Emanuel Conţac (2011: 207−208), although he talks about the correlation that Calvin makes between Lk. 1:28 and Eph. 1:6, he does not include this biblical occurrence of *χαριτόω* in the category 'God, as the agent of the action expressed by the verb *charitoun*' in the semantic classification that he makes.

[12] The actual form is middle-passive (by no means active!), but the context – more precisely, the absence of a possible determiner in the Accusative case – does not leave room for interpretation in favour of the middle value.

[13] Wagner also shows that the verb must be considered in a theological context, as, unlike its use in the Judeo-Christian writings, it rarely appears in the lay literature.

[14] Sir. 18:18: μωρὸς ἀχαρίστως ὀνειδιεῖ καὶ δόσις βασκάνου ἐκτήκει ὀφθαλμούς.

[15] 'Man wird also durchaus hinter *χαριτοῦν* einen theologischen Bezugsrahmen vermuten dürfen' (1999: 324).

[16] The same author underlines, at the same time, that in Lk. 1:28, the context also imposes a different meaning than the one in Sir. 18:17, namely *Begnadete*.

[17] Instead of μετὰ τοῦ κεχαριτωμένου χαριτωθήσῃ, the other Greek versions have the sequence μετὰ ἀνδρὸς ἀθῴου ἀθῷος ἔσῃ (with the innocent man You will be innocent).

[18] I have chosen the version B. 1914 because, in my opinion, it is the most representative Romanian version in the Orthodox space.

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4. THE ROMANIAN BIBLICAL VERSIONS[19] OF THE VERSE LK. 1:28

4.1. In the Romanian biblical versions, *Κεχαριτωμένη* in Lk. 1:28 was assimilated to a series of phrases, most of which translate or adopt the translation of the Latin phrase *gratia plena*: *cea*[20] *plină de dar* (B. 1688, Vulgata 1760−1761, Micu 1795, NT 1818, Filotei 1854, Şaguna 1856−1858, B. 1914, Radu-Gal. 1938), with the version *cea plină de har* (Iaşi 1874, B. 1968, B. 1988, Anania 2001, NT Iaşi 2002). It is noteworthy that the phrase *plină de har* appears for the first time in a neoprotestant version and much later, almost a century after the Orthodox versions. In the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th, in the neoprotestant environments there also appear other attempts of bringing the translation closer to the Greek original: *cea înhăruită* 'the engraced' (B. Iaşi 1871), *cea dăruită* 'the gifted one' (NT Nitz. 1897, B. 1911) or *căreia ţi s'a făcut mare har* 'the one to which great grace was given' (Corn. 1921, Corn. 1931). But the oldest versions have two renderings which were not adopted in any way in the subsequent biblical versions: *bucurată* 'rejoiced' (Tetraev. Coresi 1560−1561), after a Slavonic original (see *infra*), respectively *în dar îndrăgită* 'endeared by gift' (NT 1648), after the Latin original of Beza's edition, namely *gratis dilecta* (Gordon 2012: 122−123).

4.2. Concerning the disjunction *dar-har* as the equivalent of the Gr. *χάρις*, in my previous article (Gordon 2012: 113−122), following a minute research referring both to the Greek original, and the Slavonic intermediary, I had reached the conclusion that the second term is a neologism of the 17th century in the ecclesiastic environment, promoted by Dosoftei (either as *har*, or as *ghar*), but not received by the posterity of church writings, because, shortly after Dosoftei, the terminology promoted by Antim Ivireanul establishes itself. Then I stated that this attempt of Dosoftei's to replace *dar* by *har* is 'an isolated linguistic fact' (Gordon 2012: 121), a statement which I must correct, following the discovery of other traces of this Graecism in the written church language at the end of the 17th century. However, the survival of the older term *dar* – which rendered, through the Sl. darъ, several Greek terms: *χάρις* = 'grace'; *δῶρον* = 'gift', 'present', *χάρισμα* = 'gift', 'charisma', *δωρεά* = 'gift', 'reward', *δῶσις* = 'the act of giving', 'giving' (Miklosich 1865: darъ; Meyer 1935: darъ) –, at the cost of abandoning the neologism *har*, remains, for the traditional liturgical space, a certainty for the 18th-19th centuries and the first half of the 20th. Only as late as the end of the 19th century, under the influence of protestant theology, the term *har* reappears in the academic discourse, but in worship books it appears only as late as the second half of the 20th century.

4.3. The replacement of *dar* by *har* in the Orthodox worship books was not complete, but, in the space of biblical literature, starting with B. 1968, the replacement was exhaustively operated and therefore led to the change of the phrase *plină de dar* in Lk. 1:28

[19] By 'Romanian biblical version' I mean an autonomous biblical corpus, not integrated in the traditional church worship, such as the Bible, the New Testament or *The Four Gospels*. To make a distinction, bellow (under 5. and 6.) I am going to talk about the functional biblical versions of the Orthodox worship (*Gospel Book*, *Apostle*, *Prophetologion*), respectively the reception of the verse Lk. 1:28 in the Byzantine hymnography.

[20] The sequence *ceea ce eşti* 'the one who are' also appears as the demonstrative article *cea* 'the one'.

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into *plină de har*. Of course, at least in the case of the phrase *plină de dar*, the replacement was an internal 'amendment' procedure, without referring to the Greek original, because, as I have seen, this phrase, either as *plină de har*, or as *plină de dar*, faithfully renders the Latin phrase *gratia plena*, not the Gr. *κεχαριτωμένη*.

4.4. I have also shown that the translation by *endowed with grace*, which Emanuel Conțac (2011: 212) proposes as 'acceptable to all Christian confessions' has a confessional hermeneutical character and is close to a neoprotestant charitology, incompatible with an Eastern charitology (Gordon 2012: 127−130). Unanimous acceptability from the confessional point of view is therefore not possible for such a phrase.

5. LK. 1:28 IN THE BIBLICAL VERSIONS USED IN THE ORTHODOX WORSIP

5.1. In this section, I am trying to make a shift in my analysis from the biblical editions of the verse in question to the worship books with Byzantine hymnographic compositions. As it is well-known, biblical texts have functioned in a liturgical context since the first decades of Christianity. Biblical corpora had not been made yet, let alone canonised, when Old and New Testament fragments were read in Christian worship. This practice acquired new dimensions in Byzantium, which led to the establishment of special corpora of biblical texts that were read in worship, along with the composition of a typikon and the development of a church calendar.

5.2. In the Roman space, the best known such corpora were the *Lectionaries*, and, in the Byzantine space, *The Gospel Book*, *The Apostle* and *The Psalter*. What is specific to these biblical corpora is the ordering of the pericopes read according to the church calendar and typikon, and not in the order known from the biblical books[21]. Of course, not all the fragments in the *Gospels* are found in *The Gospel Book* and not all the fragments in *The Acts of the Apostles* or the Epistles are found in *The Apostle*. To the four mentioned liturgical collections, I add two more: (1) *The Sermon Book* (*Kazanija*), important because it often quotes from the text of the Gospel pericope text which it refers to; and (2) *The Prophetologion*, a collection of biblical texts – mainly from the Old Testament, which are read out during Vespers.

5.3. An attempt to list all the places where the verse in Lk. 1:28 appears in these collections of biblical fragments, in one form or another would be a huge workload and not absolutely necessary for the purposes of this article. This kind of undertaking could be carried out for each category of liturgical books, possibly also according to the original underlying each edition. In this chapter, I aim to highlight only some[22] of the occurrences of

[21] *The Psalter* was also integrated in worship, divided into the so-called 'kathismata', but these succeed each other in the numerical order of the *Psalms* in the Bible.

[22] The criteria according to which I have chosen the versions that I have consulted are the following: 1) their age; 2) their impact on other editions [as it results from the descriptions given by modern philologists, see Bianu-Hodoș 1903; Cartojan 1980, Gheție−Mareș 1985, Gheție 1997]; 3) the approximate period of the changes in the Orthodox *Bible* editions (as here I am talking about worship books in the Orthodox space); 4) accessibility to the respective editions.

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the verse Lk. 1:28 in the biblical worship collections to track if there is a communication between these versions and the *Bible* or *New Testament* versions. I propose the same perspective for the next chapter, too, *Κεχαριτωμένη in Byzantine hymnography* (see *infra*, under 6.).

5.4. Among *Kazanias* (*Collections of Homilies*) and *Gospel Books*[23], the equivalent of the Gr. *Κεχαριτωμένη* (through a Slavonic intermediary, of course) is, until the turn of the 17th century, the phrase *ceea ce eşti cu bun dar dăruită* 'the one who are gifted with a good gift' (Govora 1642, Varlaam 1643, Dealu 1644, Bucureşti 1682, Bălgrad 1699), also existing as '[you are truly] *dăruită*'[24]. As far as the epithet *bun* 'good' in the phrase *bun dar* is concerned, it recalls the equivalence between the Gr. *χάρις* and *darul cel bun* 'the good gift' that I also find in the *Horologion* from Sibiu (1696): *Şi Gavriile spune de binele darului celui bun* (Gr. *καὶ Γαβριὴλ τὴν χάριν εὐαγγελίζεται*). This coincidence may be an indicator that, in worship, unlike the Bible translations, this mariological expression based on the verse in Lk 1:28 was in use. The presence of the phrase *bun dar / darul cel bun* clearly shows that the Slavonic original of the phrase was not *obradovannaa* (Gordon 2012: 124-5), but the term *blagodatnaia*. The most likely hypothesis is that also in the Slavonic literature, the same dissociation between the biblical text and the liturgical text occurs (see details *infra*, under 6.). The fact that today, the Slavonic versions of the Bible have adopted the term *blagodatnaia*, and not *obradovannaa* in Lk. 1:28, shows the prevalence in time of the liturgical text over the biblical versions.

5.5. On the contrary, in the case of the Romanian versions, I notice that the phrase proposed, in the biblical literature, for the first time[25] by B. 1688 (see *supra*, under 4.1.), namely *plină de dar*, was going to establish itself in the liturgical space, too. Thus, all the *Gospel Books*, starting with the bilingual edition of the Hellenic-Wallachian Gospel of 1693, adopt the phrase *plină de dar* from the edition of Şerban's Bible. Therefore, I can state that Gospel Books, starting with the end of the 17th century, is the tribune from which this Romanian biblical phrase, *plină de dar*, was going to be transmitted to the common Orthodox believer[26] from the pulpit at each feast of the Annunciation. I consider that to be particularly significant, as, until relatively recently, the word of the Scripture was accessible to the common man only within the worship, owning a personal Bible being rare before the 19th century.

5.6. Regarding the introduction of the phrase *plină de har* in Gospel Books, it appears together with *The Gospel* of 1964, that is four years before the phrase *plină de dar* was replaced by *plină de har* in the Orthodox Bibles. Of course, I mainly refer to the

[23] I have chosen to group together these two different collections, as *Kazanias* practically adopt liturgical formulae present in the *Gospel*.

[24] 'Rejoice, *dăruită* (o, gifted)' also appears in Dosoftei 1683: 138r-139r, in chants 8 and 9 of *The Annunciation Canon*.

[25] This 'first time' must, however, be considered with a grain of salt, as long as the problem of the *Bucharest Bible* sources regarding the New Testament has not been clarified yet. Also see *supra* (under 3.3.1.2.) – the comment on the phrase *plin de har* in Ms. 45.

[26] I do not know what *Gospel Books* were used in the Greek-catholic worship in the 17th-18th centuries, but I have all the reasons to believe that they are the same as for the Orthodox space.

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replacement of the term *dar* by *har*, not of the whole phrase[27]. In all the editions consulted (1964, 1983, 2010), where the phrase *plină de har* appears, there is also the word *har* in the following verse: *ai aflat har* 'you have found grace'.

6. *ΚΕΧΑΡΙΤΩΜΕΝΗ* IN THE BYZANTINE HYMNOGRAPHY

Apart from the biblical-liturgical corpora (*Gospels*, *The Apostle*), 'The Bible' also 'entered' the Byzantine hymnography itself, through themes, motifs, onomastic, formulae, phrases, terms. The reception of the Annunciation episode in hymnography is one of central importance to the Byzantine worship (Rogobete 2009), which makes the meeting between Archangel Gabriel and Virgin Mary to be present in the hymnography of the Feast in a very diverse and extensive way. Only the term *κεχαριτωμένη* (including in its oblique forms) appears in *The March Menaion*, on the Annunciation day (25th March) for no less than 36 times. But the echo of this moment in the history of Salvation through the Incarnation of the Logos is not only felt in the hymnography around the Feast of the Annunciation, but it is also liturgically heard on the days before and after this feast, as well as in many other liturgical contexts. Moreover, calling Virgin Mary *κεχαριτωμένη* becomes one of the best-known *names* of the Virgin in the Byzantine hymnography, most frequently met when she is addressed, along with *Θεοτόκε* ('God-Bearer'), *Νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε* ('Unwedded Virgin') etc., which makes this name to be found in countless troparia, verses, sticheiras, canon stanzas, prayers, throughout the church year.

Tracking the Romanian translation of the term *κεχαριτωμένη*,in various editions of worship books, as it appears in all the places in the Byzantine hymnography, would mean a huge workload, which would delay the publication of this article by years, turning it into a several-hundred page book. Therefore, I aim to analyse a few more representative occurrences – those that hold a central role in the Byzantine worship and which are generally very well-known to those who participate actively and regularly in the Orthodox worship, a part of them being sung not only by the choir or in the altar, but by the whole ecclesiastic community. The Byzantine texts featuring *κεχαριτωμένη*, which I have systematically researched, are the following: 1. the troparion, tone 5, in the service of the Lity (it appears in *Hieratika* and *Horologia*); *The Paraklesis* or *The Canon of Repentance* to the Mother of God – the second troparion (magalinarion) after Chant IX (it usually appears in *Horologia*); the troparion (ἀπολυτίκιον) of the Annunciation (it appears in the *Menaia for March*, on the 25th day, and in *Horologia*); the troparion (ἀπολυτίκιον) of the Presentation of the Lord (it appears in the *Menaia for February*, on the 2nd day, and in *Horologia*); the Resurrection hymn to the Theotokos [*The Angel cried out ...*] (it appears in *Pentecostaria*, in some *Horologia*, as well as in many psaltic music anthologies); the *Axion Estin* of Saint Basil the Great's Liturgy [*All of creation rejoices in you ...*] (it appears in *Hieratika* and in *The Octoechos*). It also appears in other texts in *Menaia*, *The Octoechos* and *Horologia*, which I have not analysed systematically, but which I am going to refer to when they interact with my excursion.

Regarding the Romanian equivalents of the Gr. *Κεχαριτωμένη* in the Romanian hymnography, I can state that, at the beginning of the Romanian church, biblical or liturgical literature, there is not a direct reference to this Greek term. The versions

[27] See *supra*, 4.3.

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underlying the translation are Slavonic (*obradovannaa* and *blagodatnaia*), and, at a given moment, in the 17th century, the phrase *plină de dar* was invented, after the Lat. *gratia plena*. The fact that Dosoftei's *Hieratikon* (1683) used the expression *de dragostea lui Dumnezău plină Marie* 'Mary, full of God's love' – where I recognise a sort of mixture of ideas between the phrase *în dar îndrăgită* in NT 1648 and the later attested phrase *plină de dar* – confirms my assumption (see *supra*, under 5.5) that it is not Şerban's Bible that first uses the phrase *plină de dar*, but it adopts a previous liturgical (or maybe biblical) version.

The dependence on the Sl. *Obradovannaa* is made visible in early equivalents like *preabucurată* or *încungiurată de bucurie* (*Ciasloveț* 'Horologion' 1696), phrases which I can also associate with *Bucură-te, bucurată* in Coresi's *Tetraevanghel* 'The Four Gospels' (see *supra*, 4.1.). However, these were not echoed by the subsequent Orthodox Church books.

Instead, the phrase *plină de dar* is spread along with the printing of the Târgovişte *Ceasoslov* 'Horologio') (1715) and becomes the standard ('canonized') phrase in the Romanian hymnography, both in *Horologia* (Târgovişte 1715, Rădăuți 1745, Bucureşti 1748, Iaşi 1797), and *Hieratika*, *Menaia*, *Pentecostaria* a.o. (Gordon 2012: 140−148).

At the same time, I could state that, along with this process of liturgical establishment of the phrase *plină de dar*, a development of the phrase was taking place, facilitated by the polysemy of the word *dar* in Slavonic and Romanian – cumulating the meanings expressed in Greek by *χάρις*, *χάρισμα* a.o. – into *plină de daruri* (already in the Târgovişte *Ceasoslov [Horologion]*, together with the mother-phrase *plină de har*). It is a purely Romanian creation, without any correspondent in other languages, and the reasons of this phraseological development might (also) be prosodic, in the context of psaltic musical compositions. At least in one case, that of the Resurrection hymn to the Theotokos, tone 3, the phrase *plină de daruri* becomes canonised by establishment in the musical register. The phrases *plină de dar* and *plină de daruri* are alternatively found in the same psaltic music book, the Neamț *Anthology* (1840). The process is not new and must not surprise us, if I think about the establishment and perpetuation, for centuries on end, of some homeric phrases 'stuck' in the prosodic pattern of the dactylic hexametre.

Another noteworthy fact is the 'survival', towards the end of the 18th century, of the formula *ceea ce eşti cu dar dăruită* 'the one who are gifted with a gift', which I have also met before Antim's books, as *ceea ce eşti cu bun dar dăruită* (in *Sermon Books* and *Gospel Books*) or, simply, *dăruită* (Dosoftei). This phrase, *ceea ce eşti cu dar dăruită*, has been kept until today, in the second half of the 20th century, since the series of *Hieratika* printed starting with 1967 attest it, in an adjusted form: *ceea ce eşti cu har dăruită* 'the one who are gifted with grace', in a period when, in the Orthodox space, the term *dar* had started to be replaced by *har*. What is interesting is that a series of parallel *Hieratika*, published since 1973, under the aegis of the same Biblical and Mission Institute of The Romanian Orthodox Church, continue the tradition of the phrase *ceea ce eşti plină de dar*, which was used in worship in the 17th century, but not in hymnography, where mainly Slavonic texts were used. The presence of these phrases – whose source is, undoubtedly, the Sl. *blagodatnaia*, as an intermediary of the Gr. *Κεχαριτωμένη* – in the biblical literature used in worship could be the basis of some remnants of the hymnographic literature. Only this way can the presence of *ceea ce eşti cu dar dăruită* in *Mineiul lunii februarie* 'The February Menaion' from Râmnic (1779) be explained, in the *Ceaslov* 'Horologion' from Râmnic, and then the

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series of *Mineie ale lunii februarie* 'Menaia for February' from Buda (1806), Neamţu (1847), Bucureşti (1852), Sibiu (1853), Bucureşti (1893), Cernica (1929), in the *Triod* 'Triodion' of 1897 from Bucharest, reprinted in 1986, or even in the *Catavasier* 'The Katabasiae Book' of 2005, the same books extensively attesting the presence of the phrase *plină de dar* or even *plină de daruri*.

7. CONCLUSIONS

After this analysis, which does not claim to be exhaustive and invites to the investigation of other documents of the Romanian church literature, several conclusions can be drawn.

Confronting the equivalents, direct or through an intermediary (Slavonic or Latin), of the Greek participle *κεχαριτωμένη*, I notice a relative communication between hymnographic and biblical texts at the beginning of church literature, then a relative canonisation and dissemination of the expression *plină de dar*, with the prosodically explicable version *plină de daruri*, at the beginning of the 17th century, and beginning in the second half of the 19th century, an autonomization of the biblical version compared to the variety of liturgical versions.

Although in the Orthodox space, in the 20th century, I notice a visible tendency to amend according to the Greek original, the phrase *plină de dar* or *plină de har* remains a mark of the transfer from a Latin original. Both in biblical and liturgical texts, only the term *dar* was replaced by *har*, not the entire expression. However, in liturgical texts, and especially in hymnography, a series of old equivalents of the Gr. *κεχαριτωμένη*, mediated by the Sl. *obradovannaa* and *blagodatnaia* have been passed down to the most recent official editions of the Orthodox Church.

Strictly in the space of biblical literature, a unity of the Church language until the middle of the 19th century can be noticed. That is when the first (neo)protestant biblical printings appear.

However, the neological rediscovery of the term *har* in these printings is avoided until the second half of the 20th century, when I witness a programmatic, but not consistent replacement, of the old term *dar* by *har*, of course, leading to the replacement of the phrase *plină de dar* by *plină de har*. There was an attempt to adjust the terms also in the liturgical literature, but, some texts, known by a great number of those who frequent the Orthodox liturgical space and supported by a canonisation based on the metrical principles of the Byzantine prosody, maintained the old formulae, *plină de dar* and *plină de daruri*.

Strictly related to the analysed mariological expressions, I have already noticed an unexpected variety in the Romanian space, which strongly contrasts the uniqueness of the Gr. *κεχαριτωμένη*, no matter the Church literary genre in which it is used. At the same time, the liturgical functionality – deprived of linguistic scruples – of a mariological epithet, in its multiple forms, regardless of the (Slavonic or Latin) intermediary through which it got to be used in the Romanian church texts is remarkable. Also, it is noteworthy that the Orthodox literature is penetrated and liturgically permeated by a Western phrase (*gratia plena*), and conversely, that, although the translation uses its own pattern, the Roman and Greek-catholic spaces have biblically used until the 20th century a traditional terminology which today is perceived as Orthodox.

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