GRAMMATICAL CHANGES
IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ROMANIAN
TRANSLATION OF THE SLAVONIC *AKATHISTOS HYMN*[1]

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Abstract. The present research is dedicated to the translation of the *Akathistos Hymn* conserved in Rom MS 1348 in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest. The text of the *Akathistos Hymn* is written on two parallel columns, with the Romanian version on the right side and its Slavonic equivalent on the left. This translation is placed in the larger tradition of the 17th-century Romanian versions of the *Akathistos Hymn* and is compared with the previous attempts from Bisericani Monastery in order to underline the grammatical choices that were made by the translator of MS 1348.

Keywords: *Akathistos Hymn*, bilingual manuscripts, diachronic language contact, syntactic changes, Romanian translations from Slavonic.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper, we will be analysing Rom MS 1348 preserved in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest (henceforth BAR), a seventeenth-century bilingual manuscript of the *Akathistos Hymn*, which contains the Slavonic version on the left side of each page, accompanied by the Romanian translation on the right side[5]. The focus of our analysis will be the morphosyntactic features of the Romanian text as compared to the morphosyntactic features of the Slavonic text, particularly from the point of view of linguistic contact, as defined by Nikolaos Lavidas in his work (Lavidas 2022), inquiring whether the more peculiar grammatical constructions were triggered exclusively by the Slavonic text or also by other previous Romanian translations.

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[5] Its edition was one of the concrete targets of the AKATHYMN project, alongside the edition of other seventeenth-century Romanian translations of the *Akathistos Hymn* For MS 1348, two of the authors – Emanuela Timotin and Mihail-George Hâncu – worked on the final touches of the edited version of this bilingual manuscript at the time of writing the present paper. For this edition, see Timotin *et al.* 2024.

The *Akathistos Hymn* (henceforth AH) is one of the most influential liturgical pieces dedicated to the Mother of God[6]. It is a poem which follows strict prosodical rules. It contains 24 stanzas, whose initials form an alphabetical acrostic in Greek. The poem has 12 long stanzas (named *oikoi*) comprising 18 verses, and twelve short stanzas (named *kontakia*) comprising six verses; a long stanza is always followed by a short one[7]. The long stanzas conclude with the refrain "Hail, Bride Unwedded"; the short ones – with the refrain "Hallelujah". Each long stanza comprises a series of twelve salutations addressed to the Virgin, listed before the refrain; each salutation verse begins with the verb Χαῖρε, hence their name of *chairetismoi*.

In the following, we will first concentrate on the passages that were highly standardized in Greek and Slavonic and on their rendering in the Romanian translation, which, as shall be seen, shows more variation than one would come to expect. In the second part of our study, we will also discuss a number of constructions that may be perceived as atypical in the context of what is known about old Romanian syntax.

This research aims to bring certain innovations in this field from at least three points of view. First of all, it is important to note that although this manuscript has been known and described by Romanian philologists for many decades (Mihăilă 1972: 312), the bilingual text of the AH has not been edited. Even the Slavonic-Romanian lexicon that is copied close to the AH and that – to a certain extent – represented its bid to fame among Romanian philologists was only edited in very recent times, within the confines of a different project, *The First Romanian Bilingual Dictionaries (17ᵗʰ Century). Digitally Annotated and Aligned Corpus (eRomLex)*, which was organised between 2020 and 2022[8].

Secondly, it should be noted that a considerable number of Romanian linguists who studied old Romanian texts in comparison to their sources showed a predisposition

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[6] The poem was very likely composed in the fifth century (Peltomaa 2011; Toniolo 2017) and was included in the liturgy of the Byzantine Church not before the ninth century (Toniolo 2017: 5). Since late thirteenth/early fourteenth century, the AH has been the source of the iconographic theme known as the 'Akathistos cycle' (Constantinides 1983; Pätzold 1989; Spatharakis 2005; Dobrynina 2017: 330-331).

[7] In the manuscript, the stanzas are counted as *first kontakion* (which corresponds to the *prooimion* of the hymn), *first oikos, second kontakion, second oikos*, etc., leading to a total of 13 *kontakia* and 12 *oikoi*. We have, however, decided to follow Ermanno Toniolo's style of counting the stanzas of the AH (Toniolo 2017: 54-65) – as a result, the stanzas starting from the first *oikos* will simply be counted as stanzas 1 to 24, rendered in the present article and in the upcoming edition as {1}, {2}, … {24}, with the *prooimion* (which was not included by Toniolo in this recounting of the hymn's stanzas) being given the sign {P}. The verse numbers of each stanza are written between square brackets, meaning that, for example, the first verse of the first stanza will be referred to as {1} [1]. For the sake of clarity, we have made a departure from Toniolo's notation of the verses in the long stanzas, since he opted to count the 12 *chairetismoi* separately from the first 5 verses and the refrain, meaning that there were two sets of verses 1-6 in his edition. In the present article and the upcoming edition, we will count the 18 verses together, meaning that verses 1 to 12 of the *chairetismoi* in Toniolo's edition will be referred to as verses [6] to [17], while the refrain will be verse [18] instead of (the second) verse 6 in Toniolo's text.

[8] See Crețu 1900; Strungaru 1966; Seche 1966: 6-7; Mihăilă 1973: 161-162; Mareș 2010; Gînsac – Ungureanu 2018 and mainly http://www.scriptadacoromanica.ro/bin/view/eRomLex/.

to focus more on lexical issues[9] and less on morphosyntactic traits[10]. Aside from this tendency, it should be underlined that it was an even rarer event that the Romanian text should be compared not only with its source, but also with other previous Romanian translations (which is, in many cases, a consequence of the relative lack of editions for these texts).

I. A UNIQUE MANUSCRIPT WITHIN THE SLAVONIC AND ROMANIAN TRADITIONS OF THE AH

a) The Composition of BAR Rom MS 1348

The manuscript[11] was composed in Wallachia by logothete Mihaiu, who was the son of a deacon named Oprea: Пи́ мѣ́ генарі́е, д҃ни ѳ лѣ́ ҂зрча· ши а҃ скри́ е михаю ло́, снъ опрѣ д҃іако въ д҃ни ію шебаа́ вшево́ а́химетро́ли́ Ѳедосіе (f. 111ᵛ)[12].

It opens with a Slavo-Romanian glossary (f. 1–84), followed by the bilingual AH (f. 85ʳ–104ᵛ) and the *katabasiai* from the service of the *Akathistos* (f. 104ᵛ–106ᵛ). 1683 is the *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the bilingual version of the AH (Hâncu 2022: 21). Although both its place of origin and its current location are Wallachia, the manuscript has travelled in between. A note on the current first folio attests that at some point it belonged to Chrysanthus Notaras, the Patriarch of Jerusalem. He signed the inscription as a hierodeacon in Jerusalem, thereby dating it before his election as patriarch in 1708. From his collection the manuscript entered the library of the Constantinopolitan Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre. It was acquired by the Library of the Romanian Academy in 1952.

The AH of MS 1348 contains the Slavonic version on the left side of each page, accompanied by the Romanian translation on the right side. The arrangement of text, with Slavonic text on the left and Romanian text on the right, is well attested in the (religious) literature produced in Wallachia in the second half of the 17ᵗʰ century. Other contemporary manuscripts produced in the same region have a similar textual disposition: the oldest Romanian manuscript of *Barlaam and Josaphat* (Stanciu-Istrate 2013), a manuscript of religious polemics copied by Vlad Grămăticul (Timotin – Timotin 2002), the bilingual dictionaries (Slavo-Romanian), which translate Pamvo Berinda's Slavo-Russian Dictionary (Kiev, 1627)[13], etc.

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[9] See for example Zdrenghea 1958; Mazilu 2020: 26-27); Timotin 2013a, 2013b, 2016; Timotin – Dragomirescu 2022: (328-330); Hâncu 2022; Istrate 2023.

[10] See however Timotin – Nedelcu 2015; Camară 2021; Burlacu 2021; Hâncu 2022; Timotin – Dragomirescu 2022: 317-328.

[11] For a detailed description of the manuscript, see Crețu 1900: 46-47; Ștrempel – Moisil – Stoianovici 1967: 589; Ștrempel 1978: 297; Timotin – Olar 2022: 67; Hâncu 2022: 21-22 and mainly Hâncu 2023.

[12] "Written on the 9ᵗʰ day of January, in the year 7191 (1683). And I, Mihaiu the logothete, son of Oprea the deacon, wrote this in the days of the voivode Șerban and of the metropolitan Theodosie". All translations from Slavonic are our own.

[13] See n. 8 above.

To our knowledge, despite its formal resemblance to other contemporary manuscripts produced in Wallachia, the AH preserved in BAR Rom MS 1348 is unique, by its structure, in the Slavonic and Romanian cultures. There are other Romanian texts of the AH, which are prior to BAR Rom MS 1348 and which are both manuscript (BAR Rom MSS 170, 540) and printed (Uniev [Ukraine], 1673) (see below, I.b). Still, none of them preserves the full Slavonic text. Their Slavonic parts consist of small fragments including the title, the liturgical indications, sometimes passages of the AH[14].

b) The Slavonic and Romanian MS 1348 in the Context of the Slavonic and Romanian Traditions of the Marian Poem

The Slavonic and Romanian texts of the AH preserved in BAR Rom MS 1348 are part of larger textual traditions of the Marian poem. The Slavonic tradition of the AH goes back to the 11th century (Momina 1985: 134). Mihail-George Hâncu has established the connection of the Slavonic text of MS 1348 with other Slavonic recensions of the AH (Hâncu 2024), in an article which focused on manuscripts which had not been studied by previous researches on the Slavonic tradition (e.g. Momina 1985).

MS 1348 is part of an already flourishing Romanian tradition of the AH. A first translation of the Marian poem was executed in Moldova, in Bisericani Monastery (Neamț department) (Costinescu 1974; Dima 2009; Timotin – Mutalâp 2021) in the first half of the 17th century. Two manuscripts illustrating this translation are prior to MS 1348: one was written between 1633 and 1648 (BAR Rom MS 540), another one dates to the middle of the 17th century (BAR Rom MS 170) (Mutalâp 2021)[15]. A second Romanian translation was published by Dosoftei, the metropolitan of Moldova, in Uniev (Ukraine) in 1673 (CRV 66; BRV I: 215; Dima 2024)[16]. A third Romanian translation was printed in Bucharest, when Teodosie was archbishop of Wallachia, in 1679–1683, probably in 1681 (CRV 81 A; Corfus 1945: 499; Poenaru 1973: 23)[17].

The present analysis will show that Mihaiu, the scribe of MS 1348, was aware of the first Romanian translation, which he reproduces faithfully sometimes. In other situations, his text is completely different from the first translation. Under the circumstances, we will consider MS 1348 as new translation, highly dependent on the first Romanian translation of the AH.

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[14] Through this way of combining Slavonic and Romanian texts these three manuscripts and Dosoftei's book resemble a large number of manuscripts and books produced by Romanians and which are known simply as 'Romanian'.

[15] A third manuscript illustrating the same translation, equally executed in Moldova (Museum of Oltenia, Craiova, Rom MS I 529), is posterior to MS 1348 and it is therefore not taken into account in the present research. For this manuscript, see Mutalâp 2023.

[16] The edition of Dosoftei's text has been done by Cristina-Ioana Dima within the AKATHYMN project (Dima 2024).

[17] For this book, of which only one copy has survived, and the period in which it was printed, see Chițulescu 2015–2016, 2021. For its description see also Timotin 2021. The edition of Teodosie's text is currently prepared by Emanuela Timotin within the AKATHYMN project.

c) Scribal Strategies for Producing Mirroring Texts

Mihaiu, the scribe of the manuscript, was very keen to produce a bilingual manuscript where the Slavonic text and the Romanian translation mirror each other as regards the display of the text. Obviously, the two versions of the AH did not have the same dimensions, therefore his act of writing was never mechanic. Mihaiu used a series of scribal strategies to maintain the balance between the two versions of the text. Whenever one version was longer than the other, he displayed the material in a way in which he gained more space for the longer version: he wrote the liturgical indications only in Slavonic (sometimes leaving one or more blank lines on the Romanian column or, as was the case with the *Canon*'s title on f. 87ʳ, writing the last word of the indication from the Slavonic half in the empty space on the Romanian half, image 1), or he left more space between the words of the Slavonic version (image 2). These scribal options suggest that he was copying the two parallel texts simultaneously.
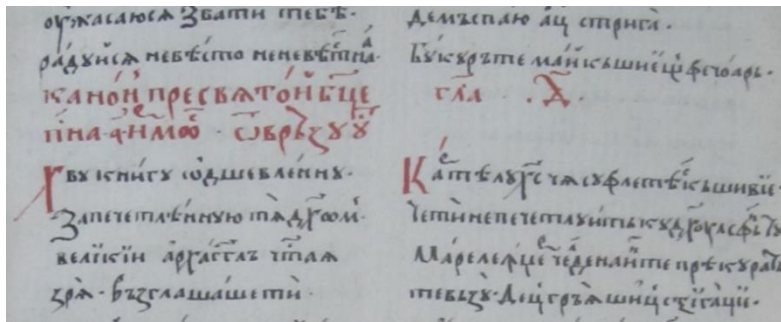

Image 1: Disposition of the Slavonic liturgical indications
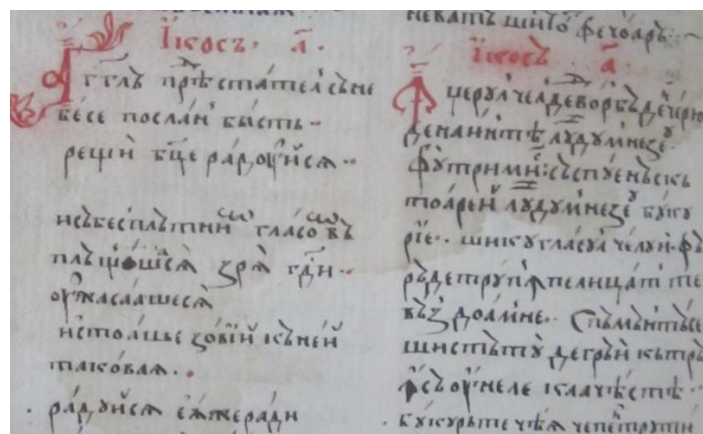in the Romanian column (MS 1348)

Image 2: arrangement of the Slavonic text, to mirror
the Romanian one (MS 1348)

The Slavonic text is mostly limited on the left side, with few exceptions: sometimes, the same liturgical indication, in Slavonic, is written both in the Slavonic, and in the Romanian columns (f. 86ᵛ: слава и нънѣй глас) (image 3), which is consistent with other contemporary Romanian versions of the AH, which always keep the liturgical indications in Slavonic. It bears however mentioning that these indications are occasionally incomplete, as is the case in the example on f. 86ᵛ, where it is mentioned that the following song would have a tone, but not *which* tone. In another situation, Mihaiu wrote the Romanian verb *bucură-te* 'rejoice' on the left column of f. 90ᵛ (i.e. in the Slavonic column) and then he corrected it by putting it into brackets (image 4). His error is another proof that that he was copying the Slavonic and the Romanian texts simultaneously.
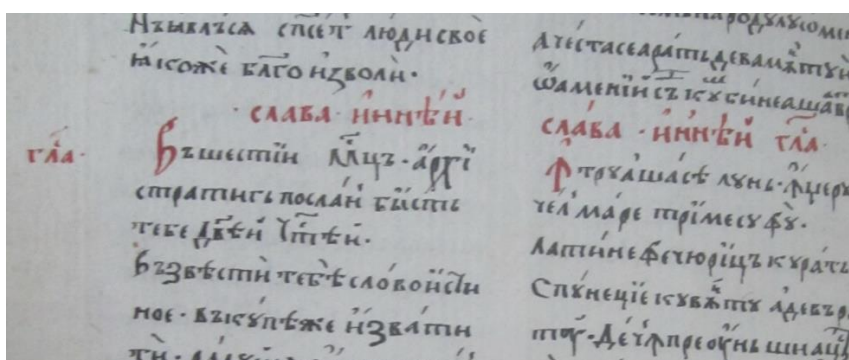

Image 3: Slavonic liturgical directions both on the left (Slavonic) side,
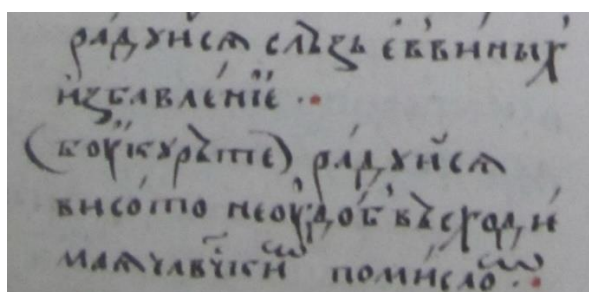and on the right (Romanian) side (MS 1348)

Image 4: Correction within brackets (MS 1348)

The Slavonic text was carefully read after it was written down, and a hand, maybe Mihaiu's, corrected some errors: the word горо was added between lines with another kind of ink (f. 88ʳ). Similarly, on f. 93ᵛ, the ы in съликотвъыть is corrected in the margin with ю. On the same folio, in stanza {8}, a further marginal addition was made by the same hand and ink which made the corrections – at the end of the second line of this stanza, one word and the first syllable of the next word were added (тоѧ по), then followed, on the left margin of the page, by the remainder of the incomplete word and the last two missing words from the stanza: поѧѣдовѫ̑

за́ри та́ко. Nevertheless, despite the clear concern for double-checking the Slavonic text for missing words, it is noticeable that stanza {5} is short by one line from the *chairetismoi*, namely line (16).

　　　　The manuscript is perfectly neat and clean, which proves once again that it was not the translator's first attempt of rendering the Slavonic text in Romanian. Obviously, Mihaiu copied the Slavonic text and the Romanian text which had been previously translated. His manuscript is not a deluxe one, as other Greek manuscripts of the AH produced in 17th-c. Wallachia (Olar 2014, 2017; Cotovanu 2024; Olar 2024s), but it was carefully executed. Mihaiu used red ink quite often, to write the first words of the title in Slavonic, the liturgical indications (in Slavonic or in Romanian), or many initials (image 5). In the final part of the manuscript, he skipped the first letter of the first word of some Romanian phrases, almost certainly because he wanted to write them in red ink. He never did it, for reasons which remain unknown (image 6), so the manuscript, from this point of view, is unfinished. The *katabasiai* from the service of the *Akathistos*, initially written in both languages, but for the last few folios, only in Romanian, with space left for the Slavonic version (f. 104ᵛ–106ᵛ).
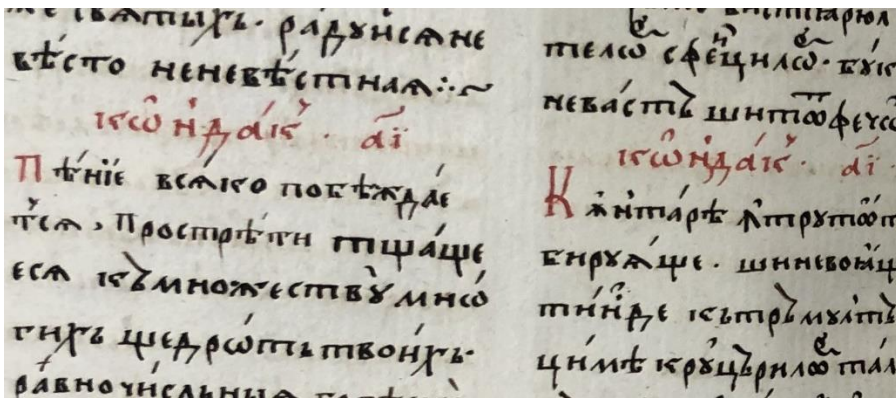

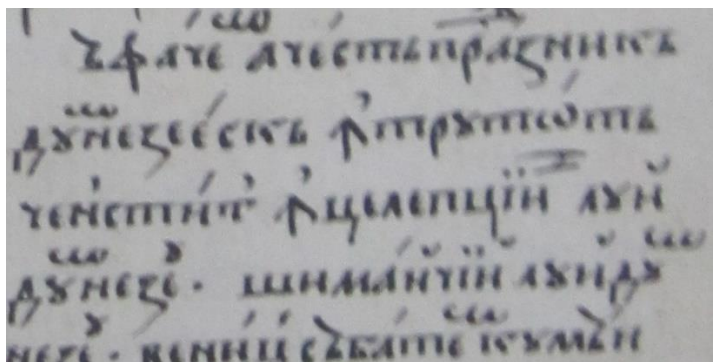Image 5: Use of red ink in Slavonic and Romanian text (MS 1348)

Image 6: Omitted initial letter, first line (MS 1348)

Bearing in mind all these details about MS, we will conceive the two texts – the Slavonic and the Romanian ones – as two texts which mirror each other, but also as texts which mirror respectively the Slavonic and the Romanian traditions of the AH. In the following we will proceed with this analysis and inquire to what extent the Romanian text relies both on the Slavonic text placed in close proximity and on the previous translation of the *Akathistos Hymn* in Romanian, dating to the first half of the 17th century[18].

II. TRANSLATING PATTERNS: A VARIETY OF SYNTACTIC OPTIONS

a) Refrain of the long stanzas

One of the structural features of the AH is the presence of two refrains, one for the long (uneven) stanzas, another one for the short (even) ones. The translator of MS 1348 seems to not have been aware of the prosodical rules of the kontakion or at least he did not intend to follow them. The refrains in this manuscript are very variable.

For the long stanzas, the Greek refrain is: Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε[19] 'Hail, bride unwedded', which was constantly rendered in Slavonic as Ра́дуйса неве́сто неневе́стнаа (MS 1348). Meanwhile, on only one occasion did the translator of MS 1348 try to replicate the structure of the source, namely by using the verb *Bucură-te* 'rejoice' in the imperative second person singular, followed by a noun in the vocative, *nevastă* 'bride, wife'[20], modified by an adjective derived from it, *nenevestită* (1a)[21]. This option is a perfect calque of the Slavonic text, which, in turn, was a calque of the Greek verse.

In all the other situations, the translator used other type of phrases: the centre of the phrase remains the verb *rejoice*, but the verb is followed by two vocatives in coordination. The adjective disappears, and the second noun is accompanied by the adverbial clitic *tot* 'yet; still' (1b, c). This type of phrase displays lexical variation with respect to the selection of nouns in the vocative: in most situations they are *nevastă* 'bride/wife' and *fecioară* 'virgin' (1b), in a couple of situations they are *maică* 'mother' and *fecioară* 'virgin' (1c).

(1) Gr.: Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε
'Hail, bride unwedded'
Sl.: Ра́дуйса неве́сто неневе́стнаа (MS 1348, all long stanzas, [18])

(a) Rom.: *Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită!* (MS 1348, {3} [18])
'Rejoice, bride/wife unwedded'.
(b) Rom.: Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară! (MS 1348, {1, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19} [18])
'Rejoice, bride/wife and still virgin!'
c) Rom.: Bucură-te, maică și tot fecioară! (MS 1348, {21, 23} [18])
'Rejoice, mother and still virgin!'

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[18] Cristina-Ioana Dima (2009: 84) argued that MS 1348 included a new translation of the AH, different from the one executed in Bisericani Monastery in the first half of the 17th c. and from Dosoftei's.

[19] For the Greek text of the AH, we have used the edition in Toniolo 2017.

[20] In Romanian, *nevastă* is used with the meaning 'bride' in the 16th c.; it acquired the meaning 'wife' only in the 17th c. (DLR, s.v.).

[21] The word appears in DLR: it is considered 'unusual' and explained as 'who is not married, unmarried'. No example is quoted.

The refrain of the long stanzas displays therefore an important variation: the same Slavonic phrase is translated in three different ways. While displaying such a diversity of choices despite translating the same Slavonic passage, MS 1348's translator might have been inspired by the first Romanian translation of the *Akathistos Hymn* (see Ib above). The comparison between MS 1348 and other previous Romanian AH (MSS 540 and 170) shows that the manuscripts produced in Bisericani Monastery in the first half of the 17th century also displayed strong variation in this respect. The most important feature of the manuscripts produced in Bisericani is that they include double readings (Timotin – Mutalâp 2021; Timotin – Olar 2022; Timotin 2023). The doublets can be words, phrases or sentences. They are not written in margins, but introduced in the proper text. The second reading is distinguished from the previous one by the figure '2'. The two manuscripts produced in Bisericani include two refrains in the long stanzas of the AH: 'Hail, unwedded wife!' and 'Hail, wife and still virgin!'[22].

(2) (a)   Bucură-te,   nevastă   nenevestită! 2
           rejoice.IMP.2SG=CL.REFL.2SG   wife.VOC   NE-wedded.ADJ.VOC
           bucură-te,   nevastă   și   tot   fecioară!
           rejoice.IMP.2SG=CL.REFL.2SG   wife.VOC   and   still   virgin.VOC
           'Hail, unwedded wife/bride! 2 Hail, wife/bride and still virgin!'

                                                                         (MS 540, long stanzas [18])

   (b)   Bucură-te,   nevastă nenevestită!   2 și tot
          rejoice.IMP.2SG=CL.REFL.2SG wife.VOC NE-wedded.ADJ.VOC and still
          fecioară (MS 170, long stanzas [18])
          virgin.VOC
          'Hail, unwedded wife/bride! 2 and still virgin!'

The differences are presented in more detail in table 1:[23]

Refrain (verse 18), stanza	Greek	Sl MS 1348	Rom MS 540 (with double translations)	Rom MS 170 (with double translations)	Rom MS 1348
1	Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε	Ра́дꙋйса невѣ́сто ненев́ѣстнаа̀	Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită 2 **Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!**	**Bucură-te,** nevastă nenevestită 2 **nevastă și tot ficioară!**	**Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!**

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[22] In MS 170, the scribe does no longer consider necessary to write the whole refrain, he notes down only its last, modified part; for this trait of his work; see Timotin 2023: 1084-1085.

[23] In all the tables, we used bold text for fragments that are similar across multiple manuscripts.

Refrain (verse 18), stanza	Greek	Sl MS 1348	Rom MS 540 (with double translations)	Rom MS 170 (with double translations)	Rom MS 1348
3	Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε	Радᴕ́са невѣ̂то неневѣстна	**Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită** 2 Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!	**Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită** 2 nevastă și tot ficioară!	**Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită!**
5	Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε	Ра́дᴕ́йса невѣсто неневѣстнаа	Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită 2 **Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!**	**Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită!** 2 **nevastă și tot ficioară!**	**Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!**
7	Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε	Ра́дᴕ́йса невѣ́сто неневѣ́стнаа	Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită 2 **Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!**	**Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită** 2 **nevastă și tot ficioară!**	**Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!**
9	Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε	Ра́дᴕ́йса невѣ́сто неневѣ́стнаа	Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită 2 **Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!**	**Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită!** 2 **nevastă și tot ficioară!**	**Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!**
11	Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε	Ра́дᴕ́йса, невѣ́сто неневѣ́стнаа	Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită 2 **Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!**	**Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită** 2 **nevastă și tot ficioară!**	**Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!**
13	Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε	Ра́дᴕ́йса невѣ́сто неневѣ́ст̈наа	Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită **2** **Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!**	**Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită** 2 **nevastă și tot ficioară!**	**Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!**
15	Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε	Ра́дᴕ́йса невѣ́сто неневѣ́стнаа	Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită 2 **Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!**	**Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită** 2 **nevastă și tot ficioară!**	**Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!**

Refrain (verse 18), stanza	Greek	Sl MS 1348	Rom MS 540 (with double translations)	Rom MS 170 (with double translations)	Rom MS 1348
17	Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε	Ра́дȣйсѧ· нєвѣ́сто нєнєвѣ́стнаа	Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită 2 **Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!**	**Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită 2 nevastă și tot ficioară!**	**Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!**
19	Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε	Ра́дȣйсѧ нєвѣ́сто нєнєвѣ́стнаа	Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită 2 **Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!**	**Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită 2 nevastă și tot fecioară!**	**Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!**
21	Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε	Ра́дȣйсѧ нєвѣ́сто нєнєвѣ́стнаа	Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită! 2 Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!	Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită! 2 nevastă și tot fecioară!	Bucură-te, maică și tot fecioară!
23	Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε	Ра́дȣйсѧ, нєвѣ́сто нєнєвѣ́стнаа	Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită! 2 Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!	Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită! 2 nevastă și tot fecioară!	Bucură-te, maică și tot fecioară!

Table 1: Stable refrain of long stanzas in the Greek and Slavonic AH, variable refrain
in the Romanian first translation of the AH (MSS 540, 170) and in the Romanian MS 1348

This table shows that the translator of MS 1348 definitely used the first Romanian translation of the AH, present in MSS 540 and 170. Still, he has not fully accepted it. He considered unsuitable the translation which replicated the original most closely and which was also the first option in the previous translation (*Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită!*) (1a, 2a-b)[24]. On the contrary, he used extensively the second option of the first translation (*Bucură-te, nevastă și tot fecioară!*) (1b, 2a-b). In the final stanzas of the AH, however, he chose a third type, which did not depend on the first translation and which emphasised better the paradox of the Virgin's maternity (*Bucură-te, maică și tot fecioară!*) (1c).

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[24] The refrain 'Hail, bride/wife unwedded' (*Bucură-te, nevastă nenevestită!*) is used without other variations by both Dosoftei (Dima 2024) and Teodosie (Timotin et al. 2024).

b) Refrain of the short stanzas

This refrain of the short stanzas is even more variable. In Greek, it is Ἀλληλούϊα, which is consistently rendered in the Slavonic text of MS 1348 as аллилꙋ́їа (with minimal orthographic differences, mostly consisting in abbreviations and superscript letters). The same word is used in the Romanian text in four stanzas (3a).

In other five situations, the word is rendered by a phrase, the centre of which is the noun *cântarea* 'song', followed by a genitive modifier (3b, c) or by two nominal modifiers in coordination (3d, e). A phrase whose centre is the verb *praise* in subjunctive is used twice: its complements are a direct object (3f) or three coordinated direct objects (3g):

(3) Gr.: Ἀλληλούϊα
Sl.: аллилꙋ́їа (MS 1348, all short stanzas, verse 6)
(a) Rom.: Aliluia! (MS 1348, {4, 8, 22, 24} [6])
'Hallelujah!'
(b) *cântarea Părintelui* (MS 1348, {18, 20} [6])
'the song to the Father'
(c) *cântarea Tatălui* (MS 1348, {12} [6]);
'the song to the Father'
d) *cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului* (MS 1348, {14, 16} [6])
'the song to the Father and of the Son';
(e) *cântarea Tatălui și a Fiiului* (MS 1348, {10} [6]);
'the song to the Father and the Son'
f) *Să lăudăm pre adevărul Dumnezeu!* (MS 1348, {6} [6])
'let us praise the true God'
(g) *să lăudăm pre Tatăl și pre Fiiul și Duhul Svânt* (MS 1348, {2} [6])
'let us praise the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit'.

Unlike MS 1348, the manuscripts produced in Bisericani Monastery, which contain the first Romanian translation of the AH, are not at all variable as regards this refrain. They include one refrain:

(4) cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt (MSS 540, 170, short stanzas, verse 6)
'the song to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit'

Refrain (= verse 6), stanza	Gr.	Slavonic (MS 1348)	Romanian MS 540 (with double translations)	Romanian MS 170 (with double translations)	Romanian MS 1348
2	Ἀλληλούϊα	аллилꙋ́їа	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	să lăudăm pre Tatăl și pre Fiiul și Duhul Svânt!

Refrain (= verse 6), stanza	Gr.	Slavonic (MS 1348)	Romanian MS 540 (with double translations)	Romanian MS 170 (with double translations)	Romanian MS 1348
4	Ἀλληλούϊα	алилл꙼ꙋїа	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	Aliluia!
6	Ἀλληλούϊα	аллил꙼ꙋїа	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	Să lăudăm pre adevărul Dumnezeu!
8	Ἀλληλούϊα	аллил꙼ꙋїа	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	Aliluia!
10	Ἀλληλούϊα	ал꙼ꙋїа	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	cântarea Tatălui și a Fiiului
12	Ἀλληλούϊα	аллил꙼ꙋїа	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	cântarea Tatălui
14	Ἀλληλούϊα	аллил꙼ꙋїа	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului
16	Ἀλληλούϊα	аллил꙼ꙋїа	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului
18	Ἀλληλούϊα	аллуꙋл꙼ꙋїа	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	cântarea Părintelui
20	Ἀλληλούϊα	аллил꙼ꙋїа	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	cântarea Părintelui

Refrain (= verse 6), stanza	Gr.	Slavonic (MS 1348)	Romanian MS 540 (with double translations)	Romanian MS 170 (with double translations)	Romanian MS 1348
22	Ἀλληλούϊα	аллилѹ́їа	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	Aliluia
24	Ἀλληλούϊα	аллилѹ́їа	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	cântarea Părintelui și a Fiiului și a Duhului Svânt	Aliluia

Table 2: Stable refrain of short stanzas in the Greek and Slavonic *AH*, in the first Romanian translation of the AH (MSS 540, 170), variable refrain in the Romanian *AH* (MS 1348)

The table shows that the translator of MS 1348 did not follow the pattern of MSS 540 and 170. The last manuscripts translated "Hallelujah" as a Christian praise of God (4). MS 1348 follows closely the Slavonic original several times (3a). In all the other situations it presents new translations[25].

c) The *Chairetismoi* in the Romanian AH (MS 1348)

Each of the twelve long stanzas of the Greek AH includes twelve verses which are a direct praise of the Virgin. Each verse begins with the verb Χαῖρε, hence their name *chairetismoi*. Their syntactic structure in Greek will have been dictated by the metrical structure of the verses and by the euphonical needs of the composition. Thus, it is possible to identify parallels within each pair of verses, which will sometimes contain internal rhymes. For instance, in {3} (8-9), Χαῖρε, τῶν θαυμάτων Χριστοῦ τὸ προοίμιον/ Χαῖρε, τῶν δογμάτων αὐτοῦ τὸ κεφάλαιον or (14-15): Χαῖρε, τὸ φῶς ἀρρήτως γεννήσασα/ Χαῖρε τὸ πῶς μηδένα διδάξασα, where identical morphological endings create this euphonical effect.

The Slavonic text is unlikely to have maintained the metrical structure of the Greek text, given that the number of syllables varied considerably; this, instead, was compensated for by maintaining the syntactic structure of the individual verses, which meant that some internal rhymes could be conserved to some extent (due to the use of parallel morphological forms).

MS 1348 follows the Slavonic source in one major respect: the verb *bucura* 'rejoice', always in imperative form (*bucură-te*), is always placed in the first position in the *chairetismoi*. We identified four construction types in the *chairetismoi*.

c.1. In many cases, the verb *bucura* 'rejoice' is followed by a noun in the vocative. The noun in the vocative (*izbăvirea, capul, stâlpul*) is followed by a possessive structure. Since the *chairetismoi* are often a succession of metaphors related to the Virgin, the head

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[25] The refrain 'Hallelujah' (*Aliluia*) is used without other variations by both Dosoftei (Dima 2024) and Teodosie (Timotin et al. 2024).

nouns in the vocative are not proper names, generic names or honorifics, as it was often the case in old Romanian (e.g. SOR 2016: 618-627). These translations follow the Slavonic text, which also includes a noun in the vocative case and a possessive modifier (which may be expressed by a noun – either accompanied by a determiner or bare – in the genitive case or in the dative case).

(5)   Χαῖρε, τῶν δακρύων τῆς Εὔας ἡ λύτρωσις
         {1} [9] Ра́дꙋйсѧ слъзь е҆ввиныⷯ и҆збавле́нїе (f. 90ᵛ)
         Bucură-te, izbăvirea lacrămelor strămoaşii noastre Evei!
(6)   Χαῖρε, τῶν δογμάτων αὐτοῦ τὸ κεφάλαιον.
         {3} [9] Ра́дꙋйсѧ повеле́нїемь е҆г�҆о̀ гла́во (f. 91ᵛ)
         Bucură-te, capul învăţăturilor lui!
(7)   Χαῖρε, τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὁ ἀσάλευτος πύργος
         {23} [12] Ра́дꙋйсѧ, непоколъ́ввимый цр҃кви сто́лпе (f. 100ʳ)
         Bucură-te, stâlpul besearicii cel neclătit!

In example (5), the Slavonic text follows the exact word order from the original Greek text, with only one morphological change taking place in the rendering of the possessive genitive τῆς Εὔας through a possessive adjective derived from the proper name Е҆вва, which thereby ends up agreeing with слъзь in case and number. This word order is not conserved in MS 1348, which not only opts to place the equivalent of λύτρωσις/ и҆збавле́нїе at the beginning of the invocation, but also adds the explanatory structure *strămoaşii noastre* 'our ancestor'. The Slavonic text in example (6) once again follows the word order from the original Greek, although the possessive genitive plural is replaced by a possessive dative plural, both of which are determined by a personal pronoun in the genitive singular. The Romanian translation moves the noun at the beginning of the invocation.

Example (7) illustrates the situation where the vocative is followed by an adjective (*cel neclătit*) and a noun in the genitive case (*besearecii*). More importantly, it illustrates one of the rare cases where the Slavonic text does not follow the Greek text's word order, as the genitive form цр҃кви is placed between the adjective непоколъ́ввимый and the vocative noun сто́лпе. The Romanian text nevertheless does not follow the Slavonic word order, opting to reverse it.

c2. In many cases, the vocative noun is followed by nominal or adjectival modifiers and by a relative clause.

In most situations, this new relative phrase modifies a noun in the vocative and is sometimes placed in the immediate proximity of the vocative noun (8-10). The relative phrase is often formed by subject (relative pronoun) + copula verb[26] + predicative complement

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[26] It should be noted that the Romanian version is not consistent with respect to person agreement in the verb form when the subject is realized by a relative pronoun attached to an antecedent and agreement should be made in 3rd person singular or plural: in (8), the verb is in the 3rd person singular, whereas in (9) and (10), the copula is in the 2nd person singular. In examples (9)-(10), agreement is made with the subject of the matrix verb (*bucură-te*), which is in the imperative 2nd person singular, not with the relative pronound *care*.

(9-10); note that the predicative complement is split between the matrix and the subordinate relative phrase (*odraslă (...) de viță neveștejită*).

(8)   Χαῖρε, βάθος δυσθεώρητον καὶ Ἀγγέλων ὀφθαλμοῖς
         {1} [11] Ра́нйса глꙋби́но неоу́дѻꙁрїма· а́гглъскима· ѻ҆чи́ма· (f. 90ᵛ–91ʳ)
         Bucură-te, adâncu ce nu-i lesne văzut nici de ochi îngerești!

(9)   Χαῖρε, βλαστοῦ ἀμαράντου κλῆμα
         {5} [6] Ра́дꙋйса ѿрасли неоувѣдаемїа лоꙁо (f. 92ᵛ)
         Bucură-te, odraslă ce ești de viță neveștejită!

(10)   Χαῖρε, αὐλὴ λογικῶν προβάτων
         {7} [7]Ра́дꙋйса дворе· слове́сны́ ѻ҆вець (f. 93ʳ)
         Bucură-te, curte ce ești a oilo*r* cuvântețe!

In example (8), the relative clause renders a compound noun неоу́дѻꙁрїма, itself made up of the negative prefix не-, the adverb оу́дѻбъ "easily" and the adjective ꙁрїма "visible", which corresponds to the Greek lexeme δυσθεώρητον, formed of the prefix δυσ- "badly" or "hardly" and the adjective θεώρητον "visible". Except for this rephrasing, the Romanian text is essentially faithful to the Slavonic text on a syntactic level (rendering the dative а́гглъскима ѻ҆чи́ма as a prepositional phrase indicating the agent of the passive verb used within the relative clause).

The same cannot be said for example (9), which illustrates a relatively frequent mistake that the translator in MS 1348 makes: the Slavonic text, following the Greek source, places the possessive phrase (made up of a noun, ѿрасли, and an adjective, неоувѣдаемїа, both in the genitive case) in front of the vocative noun it modifies. In the Romanian translation, however, ѿрасли is interpreted as a vocative, whereas the feminine adjective is instead paired with лоꙁо. It is possible to explain the interpretation of отрасли as a vocative on a morphological level, given that declension of отрасль has a considerable number of syncretic case forms (and thus the genitive form could also be interpreted as a dative, a locative or a vocative singular). On the other hand, this morphological and syntactic reinterpretation of the Slavonic text collapses due to the fact that лоꙁо is unambiguously a vocative form, and therefore could not agree with the preceding adjective (which, itself, is a genitive singular form). In other words, the Romanian translation reverses the possessor and the possessed object, which may show that the translator's knowledge of morphology was imprecise or that, in that case, he was hasty in assuming the word order in the Slavonic text was closer to the more natural order that he had used in other renderings of possessive phrases.

There are also several situations when the relative does not modify the noun in the vocative, but of one of its modifiers:

(11)   Χαῖρε, ἀστέρος ἀδύτου Μῆτερ
         {9} [6] Ра́дꙋйса ꙁвѣꙁды̀ неꙁаходи́мыа ма́ти (f. 94ʳ)
         Bucură-te, maica stealei ceiia ce nu apune!

In example (11), the Romanian translation reflects the syntactic relations from the Slavonic text, although, once again, the word order is changed so as to place the vocative right after the imperative verb.

c3. In many cases, the vocative noun disappears, and its place is taken over by a feminine vocative pronoun: *ceaea* 'that (one, see below)'. This pronoun refers to the name of the Virgin and it is followed by a relative clause headed by the relative pronoun *ce* 'who; which'. Sometimes, the relative phrase is formed by subject + copula verb + predicative complement (14):

(12)   Χαῖρε, δι'ἧς ἡ χαρὰ ἐκλάμψει
         {1} [6] Ра́дȣйса є́же ра́ди ра́дость въсїа́етъ (f. 90ᵛ)
         Bucură-te, ceaea ce pentru tine au strălucit bucurie!

(13)   Χαῖρε, δι'ἧς ἡ ἀρὰ ἐκλείψει
         {1} [7] Ра́дȣйса є́же ра́ди кле́тва иꙁче́снетъ (f. 90ᵛ)
         Bucură-te, ceaea ce pentru tine s-au stins blestemul!

(14)   Χαῖρε, παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἐξίλασμα
         {5} [15] Ра́дȣйса въсего мі́ра ѡц҄ъщє́нїє (f. 92ᵛ)
         Bucură-te, ceaea ce ești curățirea a toată lumea!

In examples (12) and (13), this pronoun + relative clause phrase renders the combination of relative pronoun + postposition in Slavonic (which, in turn, rendered the Greek δι'ἧς), meaning "for whom". The vocative pronoun in the Romanian text ultimately expresses what is only implied in the Greek and Slavonic texts, namely "Rejoice, [you] for whom…". This pronoun (Rom. *ceaea*) is inferred both by the imperative Ра́дȣйса and by the relative pronoun ἧς /є́же, which would give us good reasons to describe the Romanian translation as more explicit, albeit at the price of whatever musicality the hymn may have had (assuming melodicity ever was the translator's aim).

Conversely, in example (14), it is difficult to argue that the pronoun + the relative clause was grammatically inferred in the Slavonic and Greek texts. Here, the Romanian text spells out what was simply an implicit metaphor.

c.4 In the majority of cases, the verb *bucură-te* is followed by a causal clause[27], beginning with *că* 'because'. In a limited number of situations, its use reflects the Slavonic text, which uses the conjunction ꙗко, the counterpart to the Greek conjunction ὅτι:

(15)   Χαῖρε, ὅτι ὑπάρχεις Βασιλέως καθέδρα
         {1} [12] Ра́дȣйса ꙗко є́си цр҄евȣ съда́лище (f. 90ᵛ)
         Bucură-te, că ești *scaunul* împăratului, lui Hristos!

(16)   Χαῖρε, ὅτι βαστάζεις τὸν βαστάζοντα πάντα
         {1} [13] Ра́дȣйса ꙗко носѣши носѧщаго въсѧ (f. 90ᵛ)
         Bucură-te, că ai purtat pre cela ce poartă toată lumea!

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[27] In our analysis, we have interpreted the *că*-sentence as a causal. Another possible intepretation would be of prepositional phrase, as the verb *a se bucura* is frequently followed by a prepositional complement introduced by the preposition *de* 'of' (*a se bucura de* 'rejoice of').

(17)   Χαῖρε, ὅτι λειμῶνα τῆς τρυφῆς ἀναθάλλεις
          {5} [12] Ра́дꙋйсѧ ꙗко ра́й пищны́и процѣ̈та́еши (f. 92ᵛ)
          Bucură-te, că tu ai înflorit hrana raiului!

It is worth mentioning that both the Greek and the Slavonic texts are consistent in using this sort of causal subordinate only in pairs of verses from the *chairetismoi* in four stanzas of the AH: such is the case in {1} [12-13], {5} [12-13], {17} [10-11] and {21} [10-11]. This syntactic parallelism within the pairs is almost certainly by design, as highlighted in Toniolo's metrical scheme of the Greek AH, where the 13 lines of each group of *chairetismoi* were structured in couplets that had the same meters (with the exception of the final line). Judging by the meter used, it is noticeable that the causal clauses are limited to the longer couplets, as verses [10-11] have 16 syllables, while verses [12-13] had 14 syllables. At the very least, it must be assumed that the use of causal clauses in the Greek text was done in precise doses and with a degree of intentionality. This meter likely did not carry over as is to the Slavonic text (even if only due to the greater variation in terms of syllable numbers[28]), but, as noted in previous examples, the Slavonic translation strove to maintain the word order and syntactic structure from the Greek source, meaning that it can be regarded as a fairly loyal mirror from a grammatical point of view (which, as we noted earlier, has some consequences in the euphonical internal rhymes being preserved to an extent, thanks to the morphological endings). The Slavonic AH, while not a perfect copy of its source, is programmatic in its intent to follow the Greek text.

If we assume the intentionality of this syntactic pattern in Greek and Slavonic, then it becomes necessary to point out that the Romanian text features far more uses of causal clauses introduced by the conjunction *că* in the absence of a direct correspondent in the Slavonic text:

(18)   {1} [14] Ра́дꙋисѧ ѕвѣ́здо ꙗвлѣ́ющи́ слн́це (f. 91ʳ)
          Bucură-te, că tu ești steaua ceaea ce-ai arătat soarele!
(19)   {1} [15] Ра́дꙋсѧ ꙋтро́бо бж҃твенаго въплъще́ні́е (f. 91ʳ)
          Bucură-te, că tu ești zgăul…
(20)   {3} [11] Ра́доуисѧ мо́сте пꙋ́еводѧ́й ѿ землѧ̀ на нб҃о (f. 91ᵛ)
          Bucură-te, că tu ești podul cela ce sui…
(21)   {3} [13] Ра́дꙋйсѧ въсꙋ̈̀ мнѡ́го плаче́нїй стрꙋ́пе (f. 92ʳ)
          Bucură-te, că tu ești multă plângere și rane dracilor

(22)   {17} [8] Ра́дꙋйсѧ лю́бомꙋ́дыѧ немꙋ́дыѧ ꙗвлѧ́ющаа (f. 97ᵛ)
          Bucură-te, că ai arătat filosofii neînțelepți!

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[28] Nevertheless, the Slavonic translation does strive to match the Greek original in terms of the positioning of the accents within the verse. Gove 1988: 71 observes in his analysis of metrical correspondences in the *prooimion*, stanzas {1} and {24} and the *chairetismoi* of stanza {2} that "a very high proportion of lines in the translation is found to have the same number of accents as the corresponding lines of the original", although there was "no metrical adaptation".

The frequency of the construction types in the *charetismoi* is presented synthetically in table 3.

Pattern/ Stanza	*Bucură-te* + noun in the vocative	*Bucură-te* + noun in the vocative + relative clause	*Bucură-te* + pronoun in the vocative (*ceea*) + relative clause	*Bucură-te* + adjunct clause headed by *că*	Number of *chairetismoi*/ Stanza
1	1	1	4	6	12
3	1	3	3	5	12
5	1	3	1	6	11
7	1	1	6	4	12
9	2	1	1	8	12
11	5	4	2	1	12
13	3	3	1	5	12
15	5	3	3	1	12
17	2	2	-	8	12
19	5	-	1	6	12
21	3	3	-	6	12
23	7	2	2	1	12
	36	26	24	57	143

Table 3: The distribution of the syntactic construction types over the *chairetismoi* of the AH in MS 1348

What is noticeable is that the translation in Romanian modifies the Slavonic syntax so that there are more sentences than in the Slavonic text; in fact, we can view the enrichment of the phrasal structure. The differences are the following: in (1) we could notice a noun in the vocative followed by other phrasal (non-sentential) constituents; in (2), a noun in the vocative followed by sentential constituents; in (3), a pronoun in the vocative modified by sentential constituents; in (4), a causal adjunct. The causal adjunct introduced by *că* 'because', only on certain occasions translating the Slavonic text, is very prominent in the Romanian text.

As can be noted in table 3, the Romanian text features far more examples of causal clauses in the *chairetismoi* compared to the Slavonic and the Greek texts. In fact, this structure is used in almost a third of the *chairetismoi* of the Romanian version of the AH, and not just in eight paired verses. It is equally noticeable that, quantity aside, the distribution of these causal clauses is more irregular than in the Slavonic model, since they are no longer limited to couplets. Even in {1}, which has an even number of causal clauses, only 4 of them are paired together, while the remaining two are not paralleled by their counterparts in their respective couplets:

(23) {1} [8] Bucură-te, **că** tu ești scularea lui Adam celui căzut! (f. 90ᵛ)

[9] Bucură-te, izbăvirea lacrămelor strămoașii noastre Evei! (f. 90ᵛ)

[10] Bucură-te, **că** tu ești nălțimea aceaea ce nu e lesne suită nici de gânduri omenești! (f. 90ᵛ)

[11] Bucură-te, adâncu ce nu-i lesne văzut // nici de ochi îngerești! (f. 90ᵛ-91ʳ)

The fact that the Romanian translator does not conserve this pattern is understandable from a metric point of view, as both the source text and the result were rather removed from the meter of the Greek original. From a syntactic point of view, it is apparent that the Romanian translation was not concerned with mimicking the text it rendered, but with producing a result that would be explicit to its reader, especially in the presence of the Slavonic original at its side. Thus, the overwhelming number of causal clauses and relative clauses can be attributed to the morphological limitations of Romanian (especially with regard to participial constructions, among others) and to the translator's own intention to clarify the text.

The comparison between MS 1348 and a previous translation of the AH confirms this tendency of creating *chairetismoi* with more elaborate constructions from a syntactic point of view – be it through the addition of relative clauses or causal clauses phrases, including more sentences. In the following, we compare the two first long stanzas in MS 540, a manuscript with double translation, and in MS 1348.

The comparison of the first long stanza in the two manuscripts (table 4) shows that in four cases (verses 8, 10, 14 and 15), the translator of MS 1348 has chosen the second translation present in MS 540, which included the causal clause with *că*. In all these four situations, the causal clause relies on a copula verb (*a fi* 'to be') (see also ex. 9, 10, 14 above). This means that the translator's purpose was not to modify the meaning of the phrase, but only to use a larger, more complex phrase.

Stanza 1	MS 540 (with double translations)	MS 1348
v. 6	**Bucură-te, ceaea ce pentru tine au strălucit bucuriia!**	**Bucură-te, ceaea ce pentru tine au strălucit bucurie!**
v. 7	**Bucură-te, ceaea ce pentru tine s-au stins blăstemul!**	**Bucură-te, ceaea ce pentru tine s-au stins blestemul!**

Stanza 1	MS 540 (with double translations)	MS 1348
v. 8	Bucură-te, strigarea lui Adam celui căzut 2 **bucură-te, că tu ești scularea lui Adam celui căzut!**	**Bucură-te, că tu ești scularea lui Adam celui căzut!**
v. 9	**Bucură-te, izbăvirea lacrămilor strămoașe\<i\> noastre Evei** 2. bucură-te, că tu ești izbăvirea lacrămilor strămoașe\<i\> noastră Evei!	**Bucură-te, izbăvirea lacrămelor strămoașii noastre Evei!**
v. 10	Bucură-te, înălțime ce nu e lesne suită, nici de gândure omenești 2 **bucură-te, că tu ești înălțimea ceaea ce nu e lesne suită nici de gândure omenești!**	**Bucură-te, că tu ești nălțimea aceaea ce nu e lesne suită nici de gânduri omenești!**
v. 11	**Bucură-te, adâncu ce nu e lesne vădzut nici de ochi îngerești!** 2 bucură-te că tu ești adâncul cela ce nu e lesne vădzut nici de ochi îngerești.	**Bucură-te, adâncu ce nu-i lesne văzut nici de ochi îngerești!**
v. 12	Bucură-te, că ești scaunul împăratului 2 **bucură-te, că tu ești scaunul împăratului, lui Hristos!**	**Bucură-te, că ești scaunul împăratului, lui Hristos!**
v. 13	Bucură-te, că ai purtat pre cela ce poartă toate câte-s 2 **bucură-te că tu ai purtat pre cela ce poartă toată lumea!**	**Bucură-te, că ai purtat pre cela ce poartă toată lumea!**
v. 14	Bucură-te, steaua ceaea ce-ai arătat soarele 2 **bucură-te că tu ești steaua ceaea ce-ai arătat soarele cela ce n-apune nici dănuoară!**	**Bucură-te, că tu ești steaua ceaea ce-ai arătat soarele cela ce nu apune nici dănioară!**
v. 15	Bucură-te, zgăul împeliţării lui Dumnedzău 2 **bucură-te, că tu ești zgăul cela ce dintr-îns se-au împeliţat Dumnedzău!**	**Bucură-te, că tu ești zgăul cela ci dentr-însa s-au împeliţat Dumnezeu!**
v. 16	**Bucură-te ceaea ce pentru tine s-au înnoit** facerea 2 **lumea!**	**Bucură-te, ceaea ce pentru tine s-au înnoit toată lumea!**
v. 17	**Bucură-te, ceaea ce pentru tine ne închinăm făcătorului, lui Hristos!**	**Bucură-te, ceaea ce pentru tine ne-nchinăm Făcătoriului, lui Hristos!**

Table 4: The *Chairetismoi* in the first long stanza (stanza 1) (MSS 540 and 1348)

The comparison between the second long stanza and MS 1348 (table 5) gives a more complicated view of the translator's options. First of all, these verses show that at least in three cases (verses 6, 15 and maybe 17) the translator appears to have made a new translation, since we have found no such substantially different variants in the Slavonic manuscripts from the BAR[29]. In all these situations, he used phrases where the verb *rejoice* was followed by a subordinate clause: a causal adjunct (verse 6) or a phrase including the pronoun in the vocative and a relative clause (verses 15, 17). In most cases though, the translator relied on the previous translation (verses 7-11, 13, 16).

Stanza 3	MS 540 (with double translations)	MS 1348
v. 6	Bucură-te, svatul ascunderii ceii negrăite 2 bucură-te că tu ești svatul!	Bucură-te, că tu ești bucuriia ascunderii cei negrăite!
v. 7	**Bucură-te, credința celora ce se roagă întru tăceare** 2 bucură-te, că tu ești credința celora ce se roagă întru tăceare!	**Bucură-te, credința celora ci să roagă întru credință cu tăceare!**
v. 8	Bucură-te, începerea minunilor lui Hristos 2 **Bucură-te, că tu ești începerea minunilor lui Hristos!**	**Bucură-te, că tu ești începerea minunilor lui Hristos!**
v. 9	**Bucură-te, capul învățăturilor lui** 2. bucură-te, că tu ești capul învățăturilor lui!	**Bucură-te, capul învățăturilor lui!**
v. 10	**Bucură-te, scara cerului ceaea ce pri-nsă au pogorât Dumnedzău** 2 bucură-te că tu ești scara cerului ceaea ce pri-nsă au pogorât Dumnedzău!	**Bucură-te, scara cerului ceaea ce pre însă au pogorât Dumnezeu!**
v. 11	Bucură-te, pod ce treci oamenii de pre pământ în cer 2 **bucură-te, că tu ești podul cela ce sui oamenii de pre pământ în cer!**	**Bucură-te, că tu ești podul cela ce sui oamenii dupre pământ în ceriu!**
v. 12	Bucură-te, multă cuvântare minunată a îngerilor 2 Bucură-te, că tu ești cuvântarea îngerilor ceaea ce-i mult minunată!	Bucură-te, cuvântarea îngerilor ceaea ce-i mult minunată!

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[29] Similarly, we did not find any mention of these three verses in Maria Momina's study on the Slavonic AH, where she identified 31 redactions based on 8 variation points. For a detailed analysis on how (and whether) the Slavonic manuscripts of the AH from the BAR fit neatly into one of these 31 redactions, see Hâncu 2023.

Stanza 3	MS 540 (with double translations)	MS 1348
v. 13	Bucură-te, multă plângere și bube dracilor 2 **Bucură-te, că tu ești multă plângere și rane dracilor!**	**Bucură-te, că tu ești multă plângere și rane dracilor!**
v. 14	Bucură-te, ceaea ce-ai născut lumina cea negrăită!	Bucură-te, ceaea ci ești de ai născut lumina cea negrăită!
v. 15	Bucură-te, că tu nici de la unul n-ai luat învățătură!	Bucură-te, ceaea ce cum ai născut pre nimea n-ai învățat!
v. 16	**Bucură-te, că ai întrecut cu-nțelepciunea pre cei preaînțelepți** 2 Bucură-te, că tu ai covârșit cu-nțelepciunea pre cei preaînțelepți!	**Bucură-te, că ai întrecut cu înțelepciunea pre cei preaînțelepți!**
v. 17	Bucură-te, că luminedzi gândurele celor credincioși 2 bucură-te că tu luminedzi gândurele celor credincioși!	Bucură-te, ceea ce luminezi cugetul creștinilor!

Table 5. The *Chairetismoi* in the second long stanza (= stanza 3) (MSS 540 and 1348)

In the first of the divergent verses, {3} [6], MS 1348 follows the syntactic structure of 540, but replaces *svatul* ('the counsel') with *bucuriia* ('the joy'). Both translations are based on a mistranslation of the Slavonic text: Ра́дꙋйсѧ съвѣ́та неизрече́ннаго та́йно̀ 'Rejoice, initiate of the ineffable counsel!', as both assume that the adjective неизрече́ннаго modifies the noun та́йно (despite one being a masculine genitive and the other being a feminine vocative), while съвѣ́та is interpreted as a vocative despite being a genitive. None of the Slavonic manuscripts that we have consulted provides any textual reasoning for the use of the word *bucuriia* in 1348, nor does it appear among Momina's variation points (which were based on fluctuations in the Greek manuscript tradition). At best, one might assume that the translator interpreted съвѣ́тъ 'counsel' as свѣ́тъ 'light' and associated it with joy – unless he simply made a *figura etymologica* with the imperative verb.

In verse {3} [12], the Slavonic counterpart is Ра́доуйсѧ аг҃лѡмъ многослове́щꙗ тѧ̀ чю́дѡ 'Rejoice, wonder which is greatly renowned to angels', where the invocation is the addressed to the vocative чю́дѡ 'wonder', modified by the compound adjective многослове́щꙗ (which is a calque of the Greek πολυθρύλλητον), whereas the noun аг҃лѡмъ is a dative plural form. A slightly unusual variation compared to other BAR Slavonic manuscripts is the presence of the accusative form of the second person singular pronoun тѧ̀, which we have not found anywhere else, and which is not rendered in the translation. Compared to the Slavonic text, both Romanian translations reverse the morphosyntactic relations between these lexemes, turning the second half of the compound adjective into a noun (*cuvântare* 'speech') and the noun into an adjective (*minunată* 'wonderful'). The first

half of the compound adjective is rendered separately in both translations, although its categorial status changes between them: in MS 1348 and the second option of MS 540, it is rendered as the adverb *mult* ('much'), which modifies *minunată*, while in the first option of MS 540, it functions as an adjective in agreement with *cuvântare*, modifying it alongside *minunată*. As a result, instead of it being 'a wonder which is very spoken of (=renowned)', it ends up being something along the lines of "a speech which is the most wonderful", which is a more liberal take on the Slavonic text.

The key difference between MS 1348 and the second option in MS 540 is that the latter includes the invocation within a causal clause (*că tu ești*, 'for you are'), whereas the other one respects the *syntactic* structure of the Slavonic text in very broad lines (if we do not consider the aforementioned shifts in semantic weight). The presence of the expressed subject *tu* in MS 540 is highly unlikely to be a rendering of the pronoun тѧ̀, even if one were to assume that the Bisericani translators had used a manuscript with this same peculiarity: as we have seen before, these causal clauses identifying the Virgin with what will have been the metaphorical invocations in the Greek and Slavonic texts were quite frequent in these Romanian translations and most often did not require the expressed presence of a counterpart second person pronoun in the Slavonic text.

Verse {3} [14] appears to simply be an example of the translator from MS 1348 extending the phrasing from his model by adding a relative clause with the verb *a fi* 'to be'. It bears, however, mentioning that the Slavonic text is Рáдꙋйсѧ ꙗже свѣ́ть неи́речéно рожьши́, itself a rendition of the Greek Χαῖρε, τὸ φῶς ἀῤῥήτος γεννήσασα – here, the Slavonic text adds a relative pronoun, ꙗже, which acts as the subject of the past participle рожьши́, whose Greek counterpart did not have an expressed subject. As a result, one may argue that the Romanian translations follow the Slavonic text by consistently using the relative pronoun, although it is important to underline that the relative clause with an indicative past verb also acts as a means to render the past participle from Slavonic. Conversely, it is possible that the additional relative clause with the verb 'to be' (which does not appear in any form in Slavonic or Greek) from MS 1348 was actually intended to render the relative pronoun from the Slavonic text, while the subordinate clause introduced by *de* corresponds to the past participle.

As for verse {3} [15], which offers a rather spectacular divergence between the translation in MS 540 and MS 1348, it is possible that one of the reasons may have ultimately stemmed from the original Greek text's use of a nominalization via the definite article:

(24) {3} [15] Χαῖρε, τὸ πῶς μηδένα διδάξασα
          Рáдꙋйсѧ ᲂ҆же кáко нѝ е҆ди́ного наꙋчи́вши·
          Bucură-te, ceaea ce cum ai născut pre nimea n-ai învățat! (f. 92ʳ)
     540   Bucură-te, că tu nici de la unul n-ai luat învățătură!

The Greek text may be translated, somewhat literally, as "Rejoice, for you did not teach the *how* [sc. you gave birth] to anyone" – here, the article is used to nominalize an interrogative adverb, πῶς. The structure is preserved to some extent in Slavonic, through the use of a relative pronoun in the neuter singular form, ᲂ҆же, and the exact equivalent of the interrogative adverb, кáко. The relative pronoun is likely intended to function as the immediate direct object of the past participle form наꙋчи́вши, and not just as a makeshift

equivalent of the Greek definite article (which, as we saw in {2}, was not required *per se*). Finally, μηδένα / ни є҆ди́ного is the second accusative in a double accusative construction ("to teach *someone* something"). While the Greek form is unambiguously an accusative singular, the Slavonic form may also be interpreted as a genitive singular form (which is a natural result of the syncretism between accusative and genitive in masculine animate nominal forms).

The translation in MS 1348 is consistent with the previously established intent to clarify the condensed phrasing of the Slavonic text. Thus, the pronominal construction *ceaea ce* is not the equivalent of the Slavonic relative pronoun є҆же, but the often-used relative pronoun from the Romanian translation of the *chairetismoi*. The equivalent of the interrogative adverb, *cum*, having the same morphological function, does not receive any definite article (which Romanian does have, albeit in a postpositional form, theoretically allowing for a possible *cum-ul* lit. 'how.the.DEF'), but it does instead receive an extension in the shape of its implied verbal predicate, *ai născut* 'you gave birth'. The translation then follows the Slavonic text, with the past participle being rendered as an indicative past compound form[30]. Conversely, the translation in MS 540 does not have the extension containing the verb implied by the interrogative adverb – in fact, it does not have the interrogative adverb at all. One may assume that є҆же ка́ко (which is highly unlikely to have had a vastly different reading in other manuscripts that the translator of MS 540 had access to) was interpreted in the same vein as ꙗ҆ко (which is etymologically related to ка́ко), i.e. as a causal conjunction. Secondly and most importantly, ни є҆ди́ного was interpreted as a genitive singular (thus indicating who the learning originates *from*, although one would have to ask questions about the absence of the preposition отъ) instead of the second accusative in the double accusative construction, and thus the verb наоу̑чи́вши was reinterpreted as 'to learn' instead of 'to teach'[31]. Thus, the translation in MS 1348 turns out to be more accurate, and its clarifying extensions demonstrate that the translator had a better understanding of the relatively terse Slavonic form than the translator of MS 540 did.

All this data shows that the use of larger phrases, with more sentences, was a conscious and repeated option of the translator of MS 1348. The use of the circumstantial clause with *că*, independent of the Slavonic text, appears not only in *chairetismoi*, but also in other fragments of the text:

(25) Τὸ παράδοξόν σου τῆς φωνῆς δυσπαράδεκτόν μου τῇ ψυχῇ φαίνεται
      {2} [1-5] Пресла́вное тѝ гла́са не оу̑до́бь прїѧ́тно дш҃и мое́й ꙗ҆вла́ѣютсѧ
      Preaslăvitul al tău gla*s* arată-să, **că** nu-i lesne priimit sufletului mieu (f. 91ʳ)

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[30] One may argue that the past participle is, in fact, rendered as a *relative clause* containing the indicative past form. This is, to date, one of the preferred means of translating participial clauses from ancient languages into Romanian.

[31] Old Slavonic, like Romanian (and, albeit archaically, English), uses the same verb for "learning something (from someone)" and "teaching something (to someone)". This polysemy does not occur in Latin (which uses the pair *disco/doceo* for *learn/teach*) and, more relevantly to our case, Greek, which features the pair μανθάνω/διδάσκω. It is likely that this misinterpretation would have been prevented had the translator had access to the Greek text, which is unambiguous about the fact that *she* teaches nobody, as a result of its use of the feminine aorist participle of διδάσκω.

This phrase is particularly notable due to the difficulties it gave to the translator. First of all, the Greek text features an adjective that was nominalized through the use of the definite article, in a manner not dissimilar to the term used for Anaximander's famous τὸ ἄπειρον. The Slavonic text does not have the option of adding an article to create a noun, but otherwise makes the same morphological changes to the adjective in order to show its abstract sense (namely by using the neuter singular form). The fact that it is not in agreement with гласа is just as visible as it was in Greek, given that both гласа and τῆς φωνῆς are in the genitive case (and of different genders than the abstractified adjective – namely masculine and feminine respectively). The Slavonic text once again calques on an adjective starting with the prefix δυσ- by means of using не оудобь (lit. 'not easily') combined with an adjective that agrees with the noun that became abstract (παράδεκτόν/прїатно)[32]. What follows is one of the rare cases where the Slavonic text does not follow the word order of the Greek text, as the possessive pronoun is placed after the noun it modifies (which is the opposite of what happened with тꙗ гласа in the first part of the sentence).

The Romanian translation, on the other hand, misinterprets the nominalized adjective (*preaslăvitul*) as a prototypical adjective functioning as a modifier of *glas*, thus reversing the syntactic subordination between the two words. While it is possible to argue that he opted to simplify the complicated and abstract phrasing of the original text (lit. 'the incredible [character] of your voice'), the translator's previous problems with invocations formed of a nominative noun, a genitive noun, and an adjective modifying one of the two (which he interpreted as modifying the other one) may indicate that he found the case system of Slavonic problematic.

III. LESS USUAL SYNTACTIC FEATURES IN MS 1348

In the last part of our research, we will focus on other examples of word order and we will emphasize certain peculiar sentences with respect to their structure as compared to what was common to the 17th-century. language.

Word order is reproduced as such. However, note that in the previous translation, in MS 540, the word order is verb, followed by the subject phrase (made up of an adjectival modifier *mai marele*, preceding the noun) and a directional phrase *către tine* ('to you').

(26)   Въ шестїи мцъ архїстратигъ послан быстъ тебе
         Întru a șasea lună îngerul cel mare trimesu fu la tine (MS 1348, 86ʳ)
         A șeasea lună fu trimi*s* mai marele voievo*d* cătră tine (MS 540, 174ᵛ; MS 170, 195ʳ-195ᵛ).

The Romanian text from MS 1348 follows the exact word order of the Slavonic text, including placing the auxiliary verb after the passive participle. The translation from MS 540

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[32] While it can be argued that the Slavonic text imitates the Greek text by writing the equivalent of δυσπαράδεκτόν in a single word, the manuscript has visible spaces between the three components, which is why we have transcribed it as such. It bears, nevertheless, mentioning that the 1695 manuscript F.I.142 from the Russian National Library, which does not have *scriptio continua*, features the composite form неудобопрїꙗтелно, with a vowel connecting the negated adverb to the adjective.

and 170 has two noticeable features: first of all, Въ шестїи мцъ is translated without the preposition (whereas the translation in 1348 maintains it). Secondly, the verb is placed before the subject, and the order between the auxiliary and the participle is inverted. It might be worth mentioning that the dative pronoun is translated тєбє in either case with prepositional constructions, both indicating the direction (albeit not the same preposition in 1348 and 540/170), and not with a dative.

Other aspect to be noticed is verb scrambling, although in MS 540 we could not view this feature[33].

(27)   радуйса прно Дбо, прпбныхъ всѧ, радуйса похвало
        Bucură-te, ceaea ci ești pururea feciuriță! a tuturor preacuvioșilor, *bucură*-te, laudă! (MS 1348, f. 103ʳ)
        Bucură-te, ceaea ce ești pururea fecioară și tuturor preacuvioșilor laudă (MS 540, 201ᵛ; MS 170, 216ʳ)

This structure is somewhat unusual, as the imperative verb in the second half of this example is placed before the vocative of the invocation, but *after* the genitive modifier of the vocative. The translation in MS 1348 follows this word order, whereas the translation in 540 and 170 removes the imperative verb, instead combining the modifier + vocative construction with the previous *chairetismos*, using the copulative conjunction și to connect them. Nevertheless, the modifier remains in its position before the vocative.

The perfect compound auxiliary is placed initially, followed at distance by a present participle; other phrasal constituents are inserted between the auxiliary and the participle. In MS 540 the perfect compound is rendered as in current standard language (no verb scrambling context noticed).

(28)   ра́дуйса рбно ѡрошенное· е́же Гедеѡ̃ Дбо прѣ́жде видѣ̀
        Bucură-te, lână râurată, ce au Ghedeon mai nainte de demult văzut (MS 1348, 90ʳ)
        Bucură-te, lână ruorată, ceaea ce mainte, fecioară, o vădzu Ghedeon (MS 540, f. 180ᵛ; MS 170, 200ʳ)

The syntactic structure of the Slavonic verse is unusual: the invocation is addressed to the Virgin, who is referred to through two vocatives, namely рбно ѡрошенное ("bedewed fleece") and Дбо ("Virgin"). The relative clause introduced by the relative pronoun еже modifies the first of the two vocatives, which is reflected in the neuter form of the pronoun (in agreement with the noun рбно). What is, therefore, unusual about the syntactic structure of this verse is that the second vocative is inserted within this relative clause between its subject and the adverb modifying the verb at the end of the verse.

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[33] Scrambling phenomena were quite frequent in the 16th century. Verb forms admitted being split by different types of constituents, as in the following example excerpted from *Documente și însemnări* (1600), cited in SOR (2016: 572): *care ar fi înapoi rămas* lit. which AUX.COND.3SG be.INF behind remain.PPLE 'which has remained behind'. Moreover, the genitive constituent appearing on the first position in a nominal phrase was a common fact as well, as in the following example excerpted from *Fragmentul Teodorescu* (1570-1572), cited in SOR (2016: 573): *a duhului svântu dă-ne darurile* AL.FSG Holy-Spirit.-GEN.SG give.IMP.2SG=CL.DAT.1PL gifts 'give us the gifts of the Holy Spirit'.

The two Romanian translations differ in their renditions of this peculiar word order. In MS 1348, this order is essentially respected, with the exception of the second vocative noun, which is completely omitted. As for the verb, it is noticeable that the aorist видѣ is translated through a past compound, which, rather surprisingly, treats the auxiliary verb *au* as an enclitic, thus placing it right after the relative pronoun *ce* and at a considerable distance from the participle form *văzut*, which remains at the end of the sentence, as per the Slavonic model. In the Bisericani translation, the second vocative noun is preserved in its interpolated position, although it is equally noticeable that the word order is otherwise completely different to that of the Slavonic text[34]. Thus, the vocative *fecioară* now separates the adverb *mainte* from the verb it modifies, *vădzu* (further modified by the clitic accusative pronoun *o*). The subject, *Ghedeon*, is now placed at the end of the sentence. In the absence of the Slavonic text, it would be perfectly possible to interpret the vocative as being a part of the relative clause, possibly in conjunction with *o vădzu*, thus being translatable in English as "the one whom Gideon saw [sc. as] a virgin". It is not necessary to interpret the clitic accusative pronoun as a sign that the Bisericani translator also connected it to *fecioară*, but it is a possibility, given that the Romanian language can express the vocative of this noun as such, as an unarticled form which is syncretic with the nominative and the accusative, and not just by using the vocative ending -*o*, which was borrowed from Slavic languages.

CONCLUSIONS

The *Akathistos Hymn* is a text with a fixed metrical structure, built upon strict prosodical rules and around syntactic parallelisms, which provides us with a relatively clear image of the degree of liberty shown by the Slavonic and the Romanian translations, respectively. BAR Rom MS 1348 is the only bilingual manuscript written on two columns, which would lead one to believe that the translation was designed to be as loyal as possible. However, the translator made use of an already existing translation, while also making independent choices. Among them, one will have to note his freer interpretation of the refrains and of the parallel structures from the *chairetismoi*. One of the key traits of the translator's rephrasing of the Slavonic text consists in expanding the more condensed phrases and adding explanatory elements. While there are passages where he improves upon previous translations, it is equally noticeable that the translator has problems with the morphology of Slavonic, which leads to misinterpretations concerning which nouns agree with the adjectives or which nouns are in which case.

The presence of this AH in the same manuscript as the Slavonic-Romanian lexicon may lend some credibility to the assumption that this was a translation exercise and not the final product, intended for church use. Despite its departures from the fixed structure of the AH and its other imperfections, it was still perceived as being of enough value to Chrysanthus Notaras, who took it with him to Jerusalem, where he would later become its patriarch.

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[34] This is consistent in the other manuscripts we have consulted, thus discounting the possibility of a shift in manuscript traditions.

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