# Proper names in marginal notes to a 17ᵗʰ century Romanian translation of the Old Testament (ms. no. 4389 B.A.R.)

Ana-Maria Gînsac, Mădălina Ungureanu⋆

*Department of Interdisciplinary Research in Social Sciences and Humanities, "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Bd. Carol I 11, 700506 Iași, Romania*

**Abstract**

Translating proper names in earlier Romanian versions of the Bible raised different challenges. Some of them were solved in the main text, some other in marginal notes. Such notes are to be found in the second complete translation of the Old Testament into Romanian, kept in the manuscript no. 4389 from the Romanian Academy Library and dated in the second half of the 17ᵗʰ century. The marginal notes from this old Romanian translation refer to the relation of the text with its Slavonic source, in terms of correcting the translation errors, with the secondary sources (in Latin, Romanian, and Greek), pointing to some denomination models different from the main source, and with the linguistic norm of the translated text, in terms of grammatical and lexical adaptations to the system and vocabulary of Romanian. This article explores the strategies related to the translation into Romanian of biblical names based on their treatment in the marginal notes of the mentioned text; it also aims at clarifying, as far as possible, the sources and how the translator relates to them.

## 1. Introduction

The first complete Romanian translations of the Old Testament and the first Romanian printed version of the Bible turn the 17ᵗʰ century into a favourable cultural period, both from the point of view of the book production, as the Romanian culture was thus connected to the European one, and from the point of view of the method used in translation, as the first Romanian translations of the Bible have several sources. Therefore, far from being faithful translations of a single source, they point to the translators' effort to capitalise on as many sources as possible, in order to obtain a better translation both in terms of clarity, and from a canonical point of view. At the time, each biblical version was based on previous texts and multiple sources (Andriescu, 1988, p. 14–17). Nicolae Spătarul Milescu (1636–1708), in the foreword of the first complete Romanian translation of the Old Testament (MS.45, *Cuvîntu înnainte cătră cititori*, p. 456ʳ–457ᵛ, which recalls precisely Milescu's foreword from his lost manuscript), used as a main source of its translation a Greek text (SEPT.), but equally relied on a Slavonic text (OSTR.)[1] and some unidentified Latin sources. The reviewer of Milescu's translation, in the absence of its main source, uses a different Greek text (SEPT.1653); moreover, for parallel places from different parts of the biblical canon, he takes the marginal references from the Slavonic source. The translator of the version within MS.4389 uses, in addition to the main source (OSTR.), a Latin unidentified text and Milescu's translation (*Cuvînt înainte cătră cetitor* [Foreword], p. 1–2)[2].

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⋆Email addresses: *anamaria.gansac@gmail.com* (AMG), *madandronic@gmail.com* (MU).

[1]As regards the Slavonic translation of the Bible, see Thomson (1998).

[2]Andriescu (1988, p. 15, 17) talks about the similarities between *Palia de la Orăștie* (PO), 1582, and the later Romanian versions of the Bible: "Such formal similarities with *Palia de la Orăștie* prove—if evidence were still needed—that the Romanian translators of religious texts from the second half of the 17ᵗʰ century, just like their forefathers from the first half and the previous century, would base their translations on all existing texts". He considers a context from *Fac*, 3, 8: "Dumnezeu îmblă în rai la răcoare după amiadzădzi" [God walks in the garden in the cool of the day] (PO), "Și auziră glasul Domnului Dumnedzău

## 1.1. On the second complete translation of the Old Testament into Romanian

MS.4389 from the Romanian Academy Library[3] contains the Romanian translation of the Old Testament based on the Slavonic text of the *Ostrog Bible*, 1581 (OSTR.): "Iar totuşi mai mult ne-am ţinut de izvodul cel slovenesc şi de care am umblat mai aproape de dînsul" [And yet, we held on to the Slavonic source, and worked closely on it] (*Cuvînt înainte cătră cetitor* [Foreword], p. 2). As secondary sources, the translator used a Latin version, *Biblia ad vetustissima exemplaria castigata*, printed in Antwerp (1565), or a later edition (Andriescu, 1988, p. 14), and the unrevised translation carried out by Nicolae Milescu, used for the comparison with the Greek text (Ursu, 2003, p. 41). As regards the weight in translation of these sources, Cândea (1979, p. 132) argues that "the translation is the Romanian copy of this model [i.e. OSTR.], with some influences from the manuscript of Milescu", a criterion that translators "sometimes overlooked". The manuscript, discovered in 1915 (Cândea, 1979, p. 107, note 5), was first attributed to a clergyman, Daniil Panoneanul, for the first time in 1916 by Al. T. Dumitrescu (Ursu, 2003, p. 30). Ursu (2003) later resumed the discussions, and presented a series of well-founded arguments in this regard. It is again Ursu (2003, p. 38) who dates the translation during 1665 and 1672, and the copying of the text (he argues that the manuscript is an autograph) during 1673 and 1679. Cândea (1979, p. 131) suggests the same date for the translation. The text of the manuscript was recently published in interpretative transcription accompanied by the facsimile in the series MLD (1988–2015).

The relationship between the first complete Romanian translations of the Old Testament is clear: Nicolae Milescu carried out from Greek the first translation, which was not preserved. This translation was used by Daniil Panoneanul (if we are to accept the paternity suggested by Ursu, 2003) as a source for the version from MS.4389[4]. The revised version of Milescu's translation kept in MS.45 (Ursu, 2003, p. 441 argues that the reviewer was Dosoftei, the Metropolitan of Moldavia, hypothesis yet to be fully explored) was revised and printed in the first complete Bible in Romanian, printed in 1688 (see MLD).

## 1.2. Marginal notes in the first Romanian translations of the Bible

The first translations of the Bible into Romanian contain various marginal notes aimed at correcting or explaining some text passages. These marginal indications referring to form or content were added to the textual version representing the main text. They are usually called "glosses" (Ţepelea, 1963, p. 274; Şesan, 2002, p. 59; Gafton, 2005, p. 197) or "marginal notes" (Ursu, 2003, p. 32). In this study we consider the two terms to be synonymous, and we do not distinguish between the explanatory notes, which refer to content ("the gloss is a perfected form of accomplishment of the text in the target language. Forms and structures that are inherent to it focus on a content in the source language in order to render clearly that particular content [...]", Gafton, 2005, p. 44) and the other types of notes (biblical references, liturgical indications, etc.). After all, the role of the marginal notes is to somehow complete the text, to render it comprehensible to the reader, and to guide and optimize its reception. This strategy of writing notes in the margins turned thus useful in explaining, translating, or substituting some terms (cultural, doctrinal, regional, etc.) and unclear words or fragments, as well as in solving problems related to the form of the message (spelling errors, additions, word order, etc.). Also, the marginal notes often contain equivalents from the various sources used in translation.

The typology of the marginal notes in the first centuries of Romanian writing depends on the specificity of each text, the translator's purpose, or the translator's view of the act of translation, the sources used or the intended reader. Roques (1908, p. xliii) identified in *Palia de la Orăştie* (PO), the first Romanian translation of the *Genesis* and the *Exodus*, various types of notes or glosses, that he classified as

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îmblîndu în grădină în desară" [And they heard the sound of the Lord walking in the garden in the evening] (MS.45), "Şi auziră glasul Domnului Dumnezeu umblînd în raiu în desearî" (MS.4389, which marginally glosses *în deseară* [in the evening] by *amiază* [midday]). Andriescu (1988) considers this gloss to be a hasty borrowing of the word in PO; in fact, this is explained by the reproduction of the lection from OSTR. (въ полȣ дне), while the text uses the one from MS.45; cf. *post meridiem* (VULG.).

[3] See the description of the manuscript in Ştrempel (1987, p. 438–439).

[4] As Milescu's original translation was not preserved, we use for comparison its revised version within MS.45.

follows: "a) les unes sont des explications de mots et doivent appartenir en propre au traducteur roumain; b) d'autres sont destinées à faire connaître ou à expliquer des mots hébreux; c) quelques-unes enfin sont de véritables commentaires du texte". According to Ţepelea (1963, p. 281–282), in *Noul Testament de la Bălgrad* [The New Testament from Alba Iulia] (1648), the first complete translation of the New Testament in Romanian, the "glosses" provide information on the sources and the level of translator's education; they are important in establishing the date when some neologisms entered the language, as well as in determining the position of some terms in Romanian at the time. The marginal notes from this text were studied from the point of view of synonymy and synonymic series by Şesan (2002, p. 59). Catană-Spenchiu (2013) provides a systematisation of the glosses in *Biblia lui Samuil Micu* [The Bible translated by Samuil Micu] (1795). Since the notes constitute an important component of the texts dating back to the old periods of Romanian writing, they generated a quite rich literature (see Gafton, 2012, p. 329, note 282; Soare, 2015, p. 3, note 4; Merlo, 2018, p. 658).

Developed on a rich inventory of examples selected from Romanian biblical texts dating back to the 16th century and based on the principle of the "full understanding of the text" in the target language, the typology of Gafton (2005, p. 196–268) contains two types of "glosses", according to the functions they fulfil in text: (a) glosses referring to the form of the text (biblical references, typical indications, references to sources); (b) glosses that refer to the content (omitted fragments, translation versions, synonyms, clarifications by pointing to the person/ place referred to in the text, explanation of short fragments, contraction or expansion of meaning, etc.).

N. A. Ursu discussed the marginal notes to the first Romanian translations of the Old Testament. The philologist considers them in arguing Dosoftei's paternity over the revision of Nicolae Milescu's translation (Ursu, 2003, p. 443–445) and Daniil Panoneanu's paternity over the translation from ms.4389 (Ursu, 2003, p. 91–96). In an attempt to systematise the marginal notes from ms.45, Gînsac (2013) identifies morphological and lexical notes (explanations of the terminology; explanations of the calques; synonyms solving diatopic differences between the translation and the reviewed version; synonyms providing translation solutions). Ungureanu (2015) provides a typology of the notes in two biblical books of ms.45; the marginal notes in this manuscript were later explained in MILESCU. Also, Gînsac (2012b) discusses some of the glosses referring to the names in the two manuscripts.

What strikes about the marginal notes in the first Romanian translations of the Old Testament is their systematic, programmatic nature. On the one hand, this impression is given by the existence of a coherent marking system of the various types of notes and, on the other, by the explanations provided in the forewords of the two manuscripts. The comparison between them indicates both common features and individual particularities. Some notes from ms.45 refer to the differences between the Greek sources used by the translator and by the reviewer, or focus on correcting some translation or writing/ copying errors. On the other hand, the author of the version from ms.4389 marks in the margins the differences between its sources; being a clergyman (Cândea, 1979, p. 129), he also draws attention to the moral significance of some fragments. As regards the notes dealing with biblical names, Gînsac (2012a, p. 225–226) equally notices a few differences between the two manuscripts: "compared to ms.45, which is characterised by an extreme literal approach of the *Septuagint* (we may remark in glosses the almost exclusively formal amendments to the names), ms.4389 compiles sources, which is reflected in the marginal notes by translation solutions taken from various sources, and quite frequent substitutions of the names from the text with Romanian denominative practices".

A rather important part of the notes from the 17th century Romanian biblical manuscripts is made up of various references to proper names. The translation of biblical names from Greek or Slavonic into Romanian was a difficult task. The Greek sources (SEPT., SEPT.1653) themselves contained numerous inconsistencies regarding the inclusion in the Greek flexion of Semite names, or the translation of descriptive names. These difficulties are added the fact that, being translated for the first time into Romanian, biblical names needed to be adapted to the Romanian script (Cyrillic), morphology, and semantics (see Ana-Maria Gînsac, in MILESCU, p. CCXCI–CCCXXV). Building upon these premises, we aim to discuss the

first attempts of translating into Romanian the biblical names, based on their treatment in the marginal notes to ms.4389; we also aim to clarify, as much as possible, the precise Latin source of this translation and the way in which the translator makes use of the sources.

### 1.3. The marginal notes in ms.4389

Generally, the marginal notes are the result of comparisons between different languages, sources, dialectal versions, between dialectal and supra-regional variants, etc., depending on the text type, the translator's erudition and purpose, and the target audience. In the foreword to ms.4389, the translator insists on the reasons determining him to undertake the translation of Old Testament (the absence of this text in Romanian, unlike other cultures, the need for a Romanian version, the limits of Milescu's translation) and on the sources he uses. The use of several sources is accounted for by the desire to provide a text as intelligible as possible; it is the method that the translator finds in order to overcome the fact that he does not fully master any of the cultural languages (a similar idea is met in the foreword to *Îndreptarea legii*; see Ursu, 2003, p. 128). It seems that the translator also wishes to modernise the "traditional" biblical text (based on the Slavonic tradition), as, on the one hand, he adopts the technique of parallel sources and, on the other, he appeals to the strategy of marginal notes of verses and biblical references: "văzînd cum că alte limbi toate de la o vreame încoace scriu cartea legii vechi noao cu stihuri pre margine, pentr-aceaea și noi toată cartea aceasta o am scris cu stihuri la toate capetele, și cuvintele care sînt și într-alt loc grăite semnate iarăși la margine, precum iaste la latini, pentru aflarea mai lesne a fiecărui lucru și cuvînt" [seeing that other languages, for some time now, have been writing the book of the Old and the New Law with verses on the margin, we have done the same here, and added verses to all its ends, and the words that have been uttered somewhere else are marked on the margin, just like the Latins do, in order to understand everything easier] (*Cuvînt înainte cătră cetitor* [Foreword], f. 1ᵛ). Anyway, the purpose is to obtain a coherent and functional text, adapted to the user's needs. And the scenes that may seem inconsistent to the user, or, better said, in disagreement with the traditional aspect of the text, are accounted for, as the translator says, by the sources: "Deci, o, iubite cetitoriu, cetind cartea aceasta, și ce vei afla într-însa *nu bine tălmăcit după pricepînța ta* [s.n.], să nu dăfaimi îndată și numaidecît pînă nu vei alătura izvoadele cîte treale de pre care am izvodit noi și am prepus, adecă cel slovenesc și cel lătinesc și cel ellinesc, de pre care au fost prepus cel mai denainte rumânesc" [Therefore, beloved reader, if you are reading this book and you learn from it that is *not clearly explained to your understanding*, do not besmear until you have put together all the sources we used, i.e. the Slavonic, the Latin and the Greek one, on which the Romanian text was built] (*ibid.*).

Similary to ms.45, ms.4389 uses a coherent marking system of the various types of marginal notes. Thus, biblical references are indicated by an oblique line between two dots; personal observations are usually framed between braces; the glossed words or phrases are marked both in the text and in the margin by: (a) special graphic signs called "sile" [˘] and other signs: [↓], [+]; b) phrases explaining the sources: оу̑ лат. or оу̑ латин҃. [in the Latin source], оу̑ сла҃в̑. й гре҃к̑. [in the Slavonic and Greek source], оу̑ слав. [in the Slavonic source]. Ursu (2003, p. 32–33) considers that most of the notes date back from the very first version of the translation, when the text was copied from draft documents to the "elegantly written" current manuscript. Other notes, characterised by a freer writing technique and which summarise some fragments in the text were probably added later by the same hand.

> The significance of the signs "sile" (˘), as they are called in ms.45, is decoded in *Cuvîntu înnainte cătră cititori* [Foreword] (they are a contribution of the reviewer): "Iar unde vei vedea acesta ⁓ deasupra unui cuvînt, cîte vor fi înlăuntru și afară silele aceastea, acela sau e cuvînt de îndoire, de zice sau așa, sau așa, sau el s-au aflat într-un izvod într-un chip, și într-alt izvod într-alt chip și fără bănuială sînt așa" [And where you will see these signs⁓ above a word, inside and on the margins, you'll know the word is doubtful, it says either this, or that, or it had a form in one of the sources, and a different form in another source, and they are undoubtedly like this] (457ʳ). But the use of the signs is not specific only to the studied manuscripts; they also occur, with the same function

of recording versions, in other texts, for instance, in the Slavonic-Romanian lexicons written in Walachia in the second half of the 17ᵗʰ century. In the foreword to ms.4389, the system used to signal the marginal notations is partially explained; the explanations refer to introducing verses and marginal references following the Latin model (*Cuvînt înainte cătră cetitor*, 1ᵛ).

Among the graphic signs that mark the various types of marginal notes in ms.4389, some are specialised (the ones indicating biblical references, synthetic commentaries); the arrows and the sign "sile" are alternatively used to indicate either the comparison of various sources, dialects, and idioms; for example, in order to suggest the word *ii* for *dășărturi*, to mark the meaning of 'part of the abdomen in animals' (*Lev*, 3, 4), an arrow is used, but further down, in 3, 10, the same explanation is marked by "sile".

As regards the content of marginal notes from ms.4389, Andriescu (1988, p. 16–17) noticed that most of them are Romanian synonyms for the words in the text, or forms suggested by comparing the sources. They meet the author's intention to facilitate the comprehension of the text, and, we would add, of the biblical text understood as a complex system, a juxtaposition of variants, and not as the result of just one source. The translator seems, on the one hand, to preserve the tradition of the source in the text, innovating on the margin, and, on the other, to innovate directly in the text and relegate the traditional element, "turned into explanation", to the margin.

## 2. Proper names in the marginal notes of ms.4389

Most of the names written on the margin in ms.4389 are place names, to which are sometimes added their ethnonymic derivatives; a smaller part represents the notes referring to names of persons, names of planets, and names of time units. According to their role in relation to the text itself, the marginal notes containing names can be classified as follows: annotations brought to the text in agreement with the main source; annotations brought to the text in agreement with a secondary source; emendations to the text in relation to the linguistic norm; explanatory annotations brought to the text according to the Romanian denomination system; explanation of the text through encyclopædic comments.

### 2.1. Annotations brought to the text in agreement with the main source (OSTR.)

This type of notes refers to the repetition in the margin of some names or fragments of names that are unreadable in the text, by: (a) correcting the name modified in the text until it becomes illegible, rendering it fully on the margin; (b) correcting the name in the text by writing in the margin the misspelled letters or syllables in the text:

(a)

| Verse | Text | Margin |
|---|---|---|
| 1*Paral*, 8, 2 | *Naguil* | *Naguil* |
| 1*Paral*, 27, 20 | *Ozai* | *Ozai* |

(b)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Is.Nav*, 15, 7 | "împotriva apropierii *Domínului*" | *D*, cf. Домин҇ (OSTR.) |
| 2*Ezdr*, 8, 42 | *Seméia* | Corrects the letter *m*, wrongly written in the text (cf. ms.45 *Sameaas*, OSTR. Омéïа, VULG. *Semei*); marked by an arrow. |

### 2.2. Annotations brought to the text in agreement with a secondary source (VULG. or MS.45)

These notes are the most numerous and they result from comparing the sources. This inventory of versions made by the translator is explained by his care to provide, as far as possible, a complete, irreproachable text,

congruent with all sources (see *supra*). In some cases, the annotation by reference to a secondary source may have an explanatory role. Thus, if the main source (OSTR.) contains an opaque name, rendered as such in the text, the note reproduces in Romanian the denomination from a secondary source (VULG. or MS.45). In other cases, the denominational versions noted marginally, though still opaque, were perhaps better known through long term use than those in the text, which again assigns the notes an explanatory role.

*2.2.1.* On the one hand, there are annotations that explicitly mention their source. Some notes refer to the transparent names (a), others to the opaque ones (b):

(a)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | *Amos*, 9, 7 | *Vothra*, cf. во́дра (OSTR.) | оу҆ гре҇к. *Groapă* [pit], cf. MS.45; βόθρου (SEPT.), βόθρος 'pit' MURAOKA, *s.v.*; оу҆ ла́т. *Cyrene* [Latin letters] |
| (2) | *3Reg*, 9, 13 | "pămîntul *Havúlului*", cf. хав8ль (OSTR.), "Terram *chabul*" (VULG.) | оу҆ гре҇к. *hotarului* [of the border], cf. *Hotar* (MS.45), ὅριον (SEPT.) |
| (3) | *Iez*, 25, 13 | "vor cădea goniţi de la *Theman*" [from Theman they shall fall], cf. деман́ъ (OSTR.), MS.45 | оу҆ ла́т. *Austru*, cf. "faciam eam desertam ab *Austro*"; |

(b)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (4) | *3Reg*, 4, 9 | "feciorul *lui Dacar*" [the son of Dacar], cf. сн҃ъ дакар (OSTR.), "fiiul *lui Dacar*" (MS.45) | оу҆ лати҇н. *Vendacar*, cf. *Bendecar* |
| (5) | *2Paral*, 36, 20 | "împăratul *mideanilor*", cf. ми́д̇скаго (OSTR.), *midilor* (MS.45) | оу҆ ла҇т. *persilor*, cf. "rex *Persarum*" |
| (6) | *Neem*, 4, 2 | "putearea lui *Somoron*" [the army of Somoron], cf. сомо́ро҇н (OSTR.), MS.45 | оу҆ ла҇т. *samariteanilor*, cf. *Samaritanorum* |
| (7) | *Isa*, 23, 12 | "fata *Siónului*" [the daughter of Sion], cf. сїо́на (OSTR.), MS.45 | оу҆ ла҇т. *Sidónului*, cf. "filia *Sidonis*" |
| (8) | *1Mac*, 14, 27 | *Asaramel*, cf. *Asaramel* (VULG.), *Saramel* (MS.45) | оу҆ сла҇в. *Ierusalim*, cf. і̇ер҇сли́ме (OSTR.) |
| (9) | *2Mac*, 6, 1 | "un bătrîn oarecarele *athinean*" [a certain old man from Athens], cf. а̂дінеенина (OSTR.), *athineu* (MS.45) | оу҆ ла҇т. *Antiohiiá*, cf. "rex senem quemdam *Antiochenum*" |
| (10) | *2Mac*, 6, 2 | "*Diia* şi Olimbiia" [Zeus and Olympian, i.e. Olympian Zeus], cf. дїа и̂ о̂лимъбїю (OSTR.), "*Dia* cerescului" [Zeus the heavenly] (MS.45) | оу҆ ла҇т. *Iovis* [written in Latin letters], cf. "*Iovis* Olimpii" |
| (11) | *1Mac*, 12, 7 (cf. 12, 20) | "au fost trimease cărţi… de *Dárie*" [letters were sent… by Darius], cf. ѿ да́рїа (OSTR.), "de la *Dárie*" [from Darius] (MS.45) | оу҆ ла҇т. *Arie*, cf. "ab *Ario*" (VULG.1592, 1603, 1645), but "a *Dario*" (VULG.1565, 1587). |

*2.2.2.* On the other hand, there are annotations that do not mention explicitly the source of the lection in the marginal notes which may be: (a) a transparent name; (b) an opaque name:

(a)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | 1*Reg*, 12, 10 | "am slujit... *lui Astaroth*" [I served to Astaroth], cf. а҆стародомъ (OSTR.), *Astaroth* (VULG.) | *Desișurilor*, cf. "și am slujit... *Desișurilor*" (MS.45), τοῖς ἄλσεσιν [to the forests] (SEPT.) |
| (2) | *Zah*, 14, 4 | "Muntele *Eleónului*" [Mount Eleon], cf. е҆леónстеи (OSTR.), "măgura *Eleon*", with the gloss *maslinilor* (MS.45) | *Măslinilor* [of Olives], cf. τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν (SEPT.), "Mons *olivarum*" (VULG.) |
| (3) | *Is.Nav*, 13, 21 | "toate cetățile *Misórului*" [all the towns of Misor], cf. гра́ды мисо́ровы (OSTR.), *lui Misor* (MS.45) | *Cîmpurilor* [of the plateau], cf. "urbes *campestres*" (VULG.) |
| (4) | 1*Reg*, 9, 12–13 ș.u. | "în *Váma*" [in Vama], cf. въ вамѣ (OSTR.), (MS.45) | *Înălțime*, cf. *excelso* (VULG.) |
| (5) | *Isa*, 19, 18 | "cetatea *Asedécului*" [the town of Asedec], cf. а҆се́дескъ (OSTR.), "cetate *Asedec*" (MS.45) | *Soarelui*, cf. "Civitas *solis*" (VULG.); |

(b)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (6) | *Isa*, 18, 1 | "de ceaea parte de Marea *Mírei*" [beyond the Sea of Mira], cf. рѣки мн҃рьски (OSTR.) | *Ethiópiei*, cf. "rîurile *Ethíopíei*" (MS.45), "trans flumina *Ætiopiæ*" (VULG.) |
| (7) | *Iez*, 30, 14 și 16 | "cetatea *Diósului*" [the town of Dios], cf. дио́сѣ гра́дѣ (OSTR.), *Diospólis* (MS.45) | |
| (8) | *Iez*, 30, 17 | "Tinerii *Cetății Soarelui*" [the young men of the City of Sun], cf. солньча гра́да (OSTR.), MS.45 | *Iliopolii*, cf. "Juvenes *Heliopoleos*" (VULG.) |
| (9) | *Dan*, 10, 4 | "rîul cel mare care iaste *Edechélul*" [the great river Edechel], cf. е҆декéль (OSTR.), *Dechel* (MS.45) | |
| (10) | *Naum*, 3, 9 | *Fúdul*, cf. ꚕȣ́дъ (OSTR.), *Fud* (MS.45) | *Africa*, cf. *Aphrica* (VULG.) |
| (11) | 1*Paral*, 2, 9 | *Oáram*, written Ѡꙗра́ᵐ, cf. о҆ꙗра́мъ (OSTR.) | marked marginally and in the text by [↙] above ѡ and [+] above the first а, the correction *a*, cf. ὁ ἀράμ (SEPT.), *Aram* (MS.45) |
| (12) | 1*Paral*, 2, 10 | Ѡꙗра́ᵐ | marked marginally and in the text by [↙] above the letter ѡ and [+] above the first а, the correction *a*, cf. а҆ра́м (OSTR.), ὁ ἀράμ (SEPT.), *Aram* (MS.45). |

The form in the text often corresponds to the Slavonic source (OSTR.) and MS.45, and the marginal annotations were taken from the *Vulgate*. The switch between text and glosses is rather frequent in MS.4389. If the text adopts the lection from the Latin source, the note records the Slavonic lection, or vice versa. For instance:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Iez*, 20, 46 | "dumbrava cea mai mare *Agheva*" [the great forest Agheva], cf. а҆гѐва (OSTR.) | *despre miazăzi* [in the south], cf. *ad meridiani* (VULG.) |
| *Iez*, 20, 47 | "dumbrăvii *de la amiazăzi*" [the forest in the south], cf. "saltui *meridiano*" (VULG.) | *Aghévei* [of Agheva], cf. доу҆брáвѣ а҆гѐвовѣ (OSTR.). |

An example that points out the amendment of the main source required by its own inconsistency is that of the name *Oaram* (2.2.2., b, 11–12). The name is transliterated in the text according to the Slavonic source (11), and marginally annotated according to MS.45 and the Greek source. The form of the name in the text no longer reflects in (12) the main source (OSTR. а҆рáм), but the form within the previous verse; this error is marginally corrected in accordance with all sources.

Sometimes, the note may reproduce an indication from the main source: "Și den sămînța ta să nu dai să slujască *domnului* Idolului și să nu apurci numele celui sfînt" (*Lev*, 18, 2; cf. *Lev*, 20, 2 and 3), glossed *lui Moloh*, marked by four downward-facing arrows; cf. кнѧ́зю (и҆дол҄8), in margin мол҄ох8 (OSTR.), and "ut consecretur idolo *Moloh*" (VULG.).

However, the notes can also reproduce a mistake, by taking an erroneous lection from an available source. For example, the name *Galatia* (1*Mac*, 8, 2: "Și auzi de războaiele lor și de bărbăția cea bună care au făcut în *Galátia*"), which is transcribed following галáпехъ (OSTR.) or *Galatia* (VULG.), is glossed by *Franța* [France], probably under the influence of MS.45; the lection τοῖς γαλάταις (SEPT.)  is rendered in this manuscript by *franțozi* [French], perhaps "based on the reasoning *galatean* = (*gal*) = *franțoz*" (Cândea, 1979, p. 222–223).

In the next example, strangely enough, although VULG.  contains a transparent name, this is not translated in margin, but simply reproduced in Latin alphabet:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Dan*, 11, 16 | "va sta pre pămînt *Gaveir*" [he shall stand in the land of Gaveir], cf. гавеи́рь (OSTR.), *Savir* (MS.45), τοῦ σαβείρ (SEPT.) | *inclita*, left untranslated and written in Latin letters, according to "terra *inclyta*" (VULG.), cf. *inclitus* 'glorious, famous'. |

In the following context, the secondary source is used for an explanatory note: "Iar aceștia-s feciorii lui Sevegon: Aié și Onan; acesta Onan iaste care l-au aflat *Iamín* în pustie, cînd păștea boii tătîne-său, lui Sevegon" (*Fac*, 36, 24); the word *Iamín* is glossed as "Iamin se înțealege «ape calde»" [Iamin means 'warm waters'], following *aquas calidas* from VULG.. Although the editors of the MLD series interpreted this word as an appellative, it is obvious that the translator understood it as a proper name, writing it in capital letters, a form that is also supported by the one in MS.45: "acesta iaste Onan, carele au aflat pre *Iamin* întru pustiiu" (cf. SEPT. ὃς εὗρε τὸν ἰαμείν). See also the example in 1*Paral*, 22, 9: "se va chiema numele lui *Solomon*"; the name is explained as "*Solomon* se înțeleage ʺîmpăcareʺ" [*Solomon* means 'reconciliation'], and the lection is suggested by "*pacificus* vocabitur" (VULG.).

The phrase *acei de alt neam*, from the examples below, clearly represents the translation of инопле-меньникъ 'foreigner, belonging to another tribe' from the Slavonic source:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1*Reg*, 6, 10 | *acei de alt neam*, cf. и҆ноплемѣ́нницы (OSTR.) | *filistimleanii*, cf. *cei striini de feal* (MS.45) |
| *Avd*, 19 | *filistimleanilor*, cf. *Philisthiim* (VULG.) | *celor de alt neam*, cf. и҆ноплемеи́ники (OSTR.), *cei de alt feal* (MS.45) |
| *Iez*, 25, 15 | *cei de alt neam*, cf. и҆ноплемѣ́нницы (OSTR.) | *palestineanii*, cf. *Palæsthini* (VULG.) |
| *Iez*, 25, 16 | *celor de alt neam*, cf. и҆ноплемеи́ники (OSTR.) | *palistini*, cf. *Palæsthinos* (VULG.) |
| *Fac*, 26, 14 | *filistimleanii*, cf. филисти́мове (OSTR.) | *palestineanii*, cf. *Palæsthini* (VULG.). |

The note *filistimleanii* sends back to previous verses in the text, where this ethnonym exists as such (*Jud*, 14, 4; *1Reg*, 6, 17 etc.); the note *palestineanii* is taken from VULG..

### 2.3. Emendations to the text in relation to the linguistic norm

Such notes record Romanian morphological or regional variants. For example, the masculine personal names ending in −*a* in nominative−accusative (*Sisara*, *Iuda*) form the oblique cases with enclitic article (e.g. *Sisarei*, *Iudei*), and this is the linguistic norm of the text. However, the article precedes occasionally the oblique form, and this deviation from the norm in the main text is corrected through a gloss:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Jud*, 5, 30 | "prada *lui Sisar*" [the prey of Sisar] | *Sisárei*, cf. MS.45 |
| *2Paral*, 25, 12 | "feciorii *lui Iúda*" [the sons of Judah] | *Iúdei*, cf. MS.45. |

With few exceptions, both the text and the marginal exegetic commentaries record the genitive-dative form with the article placed at the end, for example: "ieşi stricăciune pre fruntea *Oziei* împărat" (*2Paral*, 26, 19), "trimease Senaherim să împute *Ezéchiei*" (*2Paral*, 32, 9), "Cartea 2 iar a vrăjmaşilor *Iudei*" (*1Ezdr*, 4, 12), "Rugăciunea *Ezechiei* pentru cartea lui Senaherim" (*Isa*, 37, 16). But corrections in the text give sometimes rise to hybrid genitive-dative forms such as "feciorii *lui Iúdei*" (*Dan*, 1, 6). The forms *Sisárei* and *Iúdei* could have been taken also from MS.45, where, although prevailing, the forms in which the article is placed at the end alternate with the ones where the article is placed in front; see also the discussion about the oblique forms of some masculine names in Arvinte (1994, p. 7; 1991, p. 17), Ana-Maria Gînsac (MILESCU, p. CCCX).

In the case of the mixed name from *Num*, 32, 41 ("Şi mearse Iair, feciorul Manásiei, şi luoă hodăile lor şi le puse numele: *Hodăile lui Iair*"), the translator takes the lection *odăile lui Iair* from MS.45 (cf. SEPT. ἐπαύλεις ἰάειρ; ἔπαυλις is used with the meaning 'temporary headquarters', cf. MURAOKA, s.v., but also has the general meaning 'house in the countryside') together with its regional phonetics *hodăile* (for locating the prothesis of *h*, see Gheţie, 1978, p. 157–158). The note *satele* "the dwellings, the villages" corresponds to OSTR. (**сє́ла йâє́рова**) and it has the advantage of being less dialectally marked.

### 2.4. Explanatory annotations brought to the text according to the Romanian denomination system

The Romanian correspondents of some biblical place names are sometimes recorded in the notes, even if they do not relate to any of the sources, probably in order to facilitate an appropriate understanding of the text (e.g., *Ellada* – *Grecimea* or *Ţara Grecească*, *Ţara Ethiopiei* – *Ţara Harăpească*[5], *perşi* – *cazîlbaşi*, *iudei* – *ovrei*). More than Milescu, the translator of MS.4389 always seems to consider the reader (see the notes that are directly addressed to the reader) and the correct understanding of the text by the intended audience. To this purpose, some names of countries and peoples from the text are glossed on the margin through a Romanian denominative equivalent:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *1Mac*, 6, 5; *2Mac*, 9, 1 | *Persída*, cf. **въ пєрсúдⷹ** (OSTR.), *in Perside* (VULG.), *la Persida* (MS.45) | *Ţara Cazîlbăşască* |
| *Iez*, 38, 5 | *persii*, cf. *Persæ* (VULG.), *perse* (OSTR.), *Persi* (MS.45) | *cazîlbaşii* [Persians], from Turk. *kyzyl-baš* 'red head' (DLR, s.v.) |
| *1Mac*, 5, 53 | "Ţara *Iúdei*", cf. **зємлю їоу́динⷹ** (OSTR.), "terram *Iudam*" (VULG.), *Iúdei* (MS.45) | *ovreiască* |

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[5]About the names made up of *ţară* [country] and an adjectival determiner formed from the name of the inhabitants, see Arvinte (2008, p. 105–108).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Iez*, 27, 13 | *Elláda*, cf. ἑλλάδα | *Grecimea*, cf. *Ţara Grecească* (MS.45), *Græcia* (VULG.) |
| *Deut*, 2, 8 | "calea *Arádului*" [the road of Arad], cf. араꙏ̑скаго (OSTR.) | *Harăpească* [Arabian], cf. "calea *Arapcă*" [the road to Arabia] (MS.45), but "via *campestrem*" (VULG.) |
| *Fac*, 2, 13 | "Ţara *Ethipíei*", cf. зе́млю ѐѳио́пьск꙼ (OSTR.), "terram *Æthopiæ*" (VULG.), *Ethipíei* (MS.45) | *Harăpească* |

Other names are accounted for by the sources: "Ţara *Jidovească*" [The Country of the Jews] (1*Mac*, 11, 28), is explained by *Iúdei*, according to їꙋдє́ю (OSTR.), *Iudæam* (VULG.); "ţări *ale Iúdei*" [countries of Judah] (*Isa*, 36, 1) is translated according to "civitates *Iuda*" (VULG.) and explained by *jidoveşti* (cf. жидо́вски, OSTR.); "laturile *jidovéşti*" [the Jewish borders] (1*Reg*, 30, 14), is explained by *Iúdei* according to їꙋдє́искїа (OSTR.) and *Iudam* (VULG.); *Spániia* [Spain] (*Iez*, 30, 5), probably according to MS.45 (*spani*), is explained by *Aráviia* (ѓравїа, OSTR.); "domnul *ellinesc*" (*Dan*, 10, 20), according to ѐллинскь (OSTR.), is glossed by means of the adjective *grecesc*, according to "princeps *Græcorum*" (VULG.) or *grecilor* (MS.45); "Tharac, împăratul *murseanilor*" (*Isa*, 37, 9), according to мꙋ̀рскъ (OSTR.), is explained by the ethnonym *ethiopilor*, according to MS.45 (*ethiopilor*) and VULG. ("Tharaca rege *Æthopiæ*"). As a common practice in MS.4389, the names in the glosses are sometimes taken in the text without mentioning, in the margin, the form in the main source: *cazîlbaşi* for *perşi* (*Ier*, 25, 24; *Iez*, 30, 5), *jidovi* and *ovrei* (outdated and regional, cf. DLR, s.v.) for *iudei*. Replacing a place name results in substituting also the corresponding ethnonym; thus, *Elada* and *elin* are explained by *Grecime* and *grec*, and *Persida* and *persii* are glossed as *Ţara Cazîbăşască* and *cazîlbaşi*.

The name is glossed sometimes by an indigenous term. See the example: "Şi se strînseră la împăratul Solomon tot năroudul lui Israil în luna lui *athanín* [in the month of *athanin*] la praznic, că aceasta iaste luna a şaptea" (3*Reg*, 8, 2), following ад̑аним (OSTR.), *Bethanim* (VULG.), "întru luna *thanin*, întru praznic, aceasta iaste luna a opta" (MS.45, through a copying error of ἀϑανείν from SEPT.); the name is glossed in margin as *septevrie* [September]; for further explanation regarding the month of Athanin in the Hebrew calendar, see SEPT.NEC, vol. 2, p. 477).

*2.5. Explanation of the text through encyclopædic comments*

Rarely encountered, this type of notes is intended to explain the cultural realities of the text. In the modern editions of the Bible in Romanian, such comments appear in footnotes, or juxtaposed to the name in the text (see, in this regard, ANANIA and SEPT.NEC):

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | *Jud*, 3, 8 | "împăratul *Mijlocului Rîului* şi al Siriei" [the king of the Middle of the River and of Syria], cf. цр҃ю сꙋ̀рск꙼ в̀ междорѣчїе (OSTR.), "împăratul *Mijlocul Rîului* Siriei" (MS.45) | *Mijlocul Rîurilor iaste întru apa Tígrului şi a Efrathului; cheamă-se şi Mesopotamie* [The land in the Middle of the Rivers is between Tigris and Euphrates; it is also called Mesopotamia], cf. "regis *Mesopotamiæ*" (VULG.) |
| (2) | *Is.Nav*, 18, 28 | "Ievusul, carea iaste *Ierusalimul* [Ievus, which is Jerusalem]" | *Vezi cum era numele Ierusalimului întîi* [See which was at first the name of Jerusalem]. |

In some instances (2), even if the note does not contain an explanation, the translator draws attention to a cultural aspect he considers important. Such notes are not inspired by the sources, and their expression is matching that from *Îndreptarea legii*, constituting thus an argument (Ursu, 2003, p. 91–96) in support of Daniil Panoneanu's paternity over the translation in MS.4389.

## 3. Conclusions

The second Romanian version of the Old Testament (MS.4389, Romanian Academy Library) from the 17<sup>th</sup> century raises several issues as regards the proper names translation. Some of them are solved in the text, while others are dealt with on its margin. The notes referring to the biblical onomastics concern: the relation of the text with the main source, as they correct text errors; the relation of the text with the secondary sources, as they signal denomination models different from the main source; the relation of the text with the linguistic norm of the translated text, since they contain grammatical or lexical variants, and updates according to the system and vocabulary of Romanian. The notes in MS.4389 most often result from the comparison of the sources; the main source is reflected in the text, and the secondary sources in the notes, or, on the contrary, the text reproduces a secondary source (usually following MS.45), and the notes reflect the main source (OSTR.).

When the precise sources are not mentioned, the notes referring to names can turn into important arguments in identifying them. Evidence in this regard is the name *Arie*, written on the margin towards *Darie* (1*Mac*, 12, 7; 12, 20), probably following the name ᴅᴀ́ρⲓⲁ from the main source. Comparing several editions of the *Vulgate* edited in Antwerp (VULG.1565, VULG.1587, VULG.1592, VULG.1603, VULG.1645) as possible secondary sources of the form in the text, we concluded that the Latin source is not (only) the 1565 edition of the *Vulgate* (cf. Cândea, 1979, p. 131; Andriescu, 1988, p. 14), which uses only the name *Darius*, but it could (also) be a later edition (we checked the 1592, 1603, 1645 editions), which contains the name *Arius* (see 2.2.1. b, 11).

The names of countries and peoples more frequently used (*Ellada – Grecimea*, *Țara Grecească*, *Țara Ethiopiei – Țara Harăpească*, *Persida – Țara Cazîlbășască*, *persi – cazîlbași*, *iudei – ovrei* etc.) are updated according to the denominative norm of the time, which indicates the translator's concern for the message clarity.

Unlike Nicolae Milescu, who follows closely to literalism the main source, the translator of the text in MS.4389 shows both a text-oriented translation approach, in order to obtain a translation that corresponds to the canons (he uses several sources), and a reader-oriented approach, as there are notes that draw the reader's attention to aspects considered to be important; as well, the translator tend to move away from the literalism and does not hesitate to rely on the previous Romanian version (MS.45) when this seems to be more fluent, even if he mentions the main source in the notes. Certainly, the lections mentioned in notes could also support the statement in the foreword regarding the translator's imperfect knowledge of biblical languages. We believe that the notes from MS.4389 are the expression of the translator's desire to obtain a complete text that remains at the same time canonical and comprehensible for the reader.

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