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## WRITTEN LANGUAGES IN MOLDAVIA DURING THE REIGN OF PETER RAREȘ (1527–1538, 1541–1546)\*

**Abstract.** The language of the Moldavian books and chancery documents written during the reign of Peter Rareș (1527–1538, 1541–1546) shows an unneglectable variability depending on the purpose, addressee and format of the texts. Using all kinds of preserved texts from this period, we have tried to describe this variability focusing on the texts written in the Cyrillic script. These texts are evaluated according to three criteria: spelling, morphosyntax and vocabulary. The most prestigious variety was the Trinovitan (Târnovo) variety of Middle Church Slavonic. Its shape in the texts, belonging to the common Church Slavonic legacy, shows the lowest impact of the Moldavian linguistic environment. The original Church Slavonic bookish texts composed in Moldavia (Macarie’s Chronicle, Enkomion to St John the New, colophons and inscriptions) show a variable proportion of Moldavian spelling and morphosyntactic markers. The chancery documents can be characterised by blending of Church Slavonic and Ruthenian (Ukrainian-based) elements. Except the Ruthenian-based documents addressed to Poland, the chancery documents are basically Church Slavonic shaped with Ruthenian infiltrations on the level of some fixed formulas, function words and few lexical items. Moreover, Slavonic letters sent to Transylvania show tiny Wallachian Slavonic influence, manifested by forms of Serbian chancery origin. Monastery charters combine CS-shaped Ruthenian formulas with Trinovitan Church Slavonic formulas, partly shared with colophons and inscriptions. Thus, the Moldavian written legacy shares common elements both with the Wallachian milieu (e.g. Romanian Cyrillic spelling of proper names, Romanian impact on morphosyntax, specific terminology etc.) as well as with a broader Ruthenian area (mainly the eastern part of the Polish-Lithuanian Union).

**Keywords:** Peter Rareș, Macarie of Roman, Romanian Slavonic, Moldavia, Church Slavonic, Ruthenian, Old Romanian, Middle Bulgarian, Ukrainian

The written legacy of Slavonic culture of the Moldavian Principality<sup>1</sup> is claimed not just by Romanians and philologists from the Republic of Moldova, but also by neighbouring Slavonic philologies. Church Slavonic (further: CS)

\* This text was created as a part of the research programme Strategy AV 21 “Anatomy of European Society, History, Tradition, Culture, Identity” (<https://strategie.avcr.cz/en/programy/anatomie-evropske-spolecnosti>) of the Czech Academy of Sciences.

<sup>1</sup> The official Slavonic name was **МОЛДАВСКАЯ ЗЕМЛЯ** appearing both in the documents and historiography. Macarie’s Chronicle mentions also the names **МОЛДОВАХІА** (2<sup>nd</sup> redaction, cetera: II, 480r) and

manuscripts, copied in Moldavian monasteries, represent an important part of the common Church Slavonic legacy. The Moldavian Slavonic Letters have preserved numerous texts of South Slavonic origin that could have been otherwise lost. Due to the specific history of the Moldavian territory, still divided among three modern countries, and an exceptional quality of Moldavian CS manuscripts, the medieval and early modern books from Moldavia are spread among various manuscript collections of the world. The identification of the Moldavian manuscripts in non-Romanian collections is still going on. This process is made more difficult by the fact that Moldavian books served as a model for neighbouring CS areas<sup>2</sup>, especially the Orthodox communities of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Hungary, Wallachia, and Transylvania. In the traditional Bulgarian philological approach, the Moldavian CS legacy is treated as Middle Bulgarian<sup>3</sup> and stands as one of the sources for the reconstruction of the CS used in Bulgaria of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Especially the older Moldavian Slavonic chancery texts are traditionally treated by the Ukrainian philological tradition as a source of data on the historical Ukrainian

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in the 3<sup>rd</sup> redaction (cetera: III, 266r) also *земля Молдава*. In the documents issued by Peter Rareș's Chancery, we see the following variants in other languages. In Latin, we read *terra Moldaviae, regnum Moldaviae, terra moldaviensis*. *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării-românești*, vol. I, ed. A. VERESS, București 1929, no. 31. *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, vol. XV, part 1, *Acte și scrisori din arhivele orașelor ardelenene (Bistrița, Brașov, Sibiu) 1358–1600*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, București 1911, p. 294, 334. In German, we read *Mulda* or *Molda*, which is likewise the German name of the town of *Baia*. Ed. A. VERESS, *Documente...*, no. 26; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 447. In the documents sent to Poland, the land may be called *ziemia moldawska*, but also *Valachia*, eventually *Wołochy*. *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor: Urmare la colecțiunea lui Euxodiu de Hurmuzachi Supliment 2*, vol. I, 1510–1600: *documente din arhive și biblioteci polone*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, I. BOGDAN, București 1893, p. 107, 147, 139. The Slavonic (Ruthenian) term *Болдохъ* for 'Moldavia' is found in a 16<sup>th</sup> century (1552) text composed on the territory of current Ukraine. *Словник української мови XVI – першої половини XVII ст.*, vol. IV, ed. Д. Гринчишин, Львів 1997, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> A. А. Турилов, *Межславянские культурные связи эпохи средневековья и источниковедение истории и культуры Славян*, Москва 2012, p. 648–656.

<sup>3</sup> Thus e.g. in A. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Книжнина на български език в Молдова и Влахия*, [in:] *История на българската средновековна литература*, ed. ЕАДЕМ, София 2008, p. 683; Д. МИРЧЕВА, *Редакции*, [in:] *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия*, vol. III, ed. Л. ГРАШЕВА, София 2003, p. 454. In both Bulgarian and Romanian philological traditions, the written legacy of Moldavia and Wallachia are considered to form part of one whole. L. DJAMO-DIACONIȚĂ, *Limba textelor slavo-române*, [in:] P. OLTEANU et al., *Slava veche și slavona românească*, București 1975, p. 264: "Romanian redaction based on Middle Bulgarian with Moldavian, Wallachian and Transylvanian subtypes"; M. MITU, *Slavona românească. Studii și texte*, București 2002, p. 16–21, considers that Romanian Slavonic as one whole is not a variety of Middle Bulgarian CS, although it was originally based on it, but it is a separate CS "redaction". For more details on the concept of "Romanian Slavonic" see V. KNOLL, *The "Romanian Slavonic language" and lexicography*, [in:] *Old Church Slavonic Heritage in Slavonic and Other Languages*, ed. I. JANYŠKOVÁ et al., Praha 2021, p. 307–309. The East Slavonic philological traditions strictly divide the Wallachian and Moldavian written traditions, focusing on the latter one, see e.g. A. А. Турилов, *Межславянские...*, p. 648–649.

phonology and dialectology<sup>4</sup>. The most important outcome of this approach is the lexicographic elaboration of the Moldavian chancery language by Ukrainian scholars<sup>5</sup>.

For an analysis of the language situation in Moldavia, we have chosen the period of reign of voivode Peter Rareș (1527–1538 and 1541–1546). The caesura between the two periods of his reign, filled by a dramatic escape of the ruler from the land occupied by Ottoman troops, his emigration and his recovery of the throne, is reflected not just by the most important original Slavonic work of the époque, the Chronicle by bishop Macarie of Roman, but also in documents and inscriptions<sup>6</sup>. The personality of Peter Rareș entered the CS literature also as the model ruler in the work *The Great Petition* (*Большая Челобитная*) by Ivan Peresvetov<sup>7</sup>.

The texts of the second quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century are not thus intensively studied as those of the Moldavian 15<sup>th</sup> century, renown for the great names of bookman Gavriil Uric and voivode Stephen the Great (father of Peter Rareș). Nevertheless, the texts of our target period already show a stabilised shape of both chancery and internal bookish language and thus serve as a good example of the *classical*

<sup>4</sup> The article from 1993 *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (<http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages%5CM%5CO%5CMoldaviancharters.htm> [10 V 2022]) says the Moldavian charters were written in Middle Ukrainian, which shows the influence of Middle Bulgarian and Romanian Slavonic spelling, they are important sources for the history of the Ukrainian language. The latter thought is repeated by V.V. Nimčuk adding that Old Ukrainian literary language was for a long time the official language of the Moldavian Principality. В.В. НІМЧУК, *Молдавські Грамоти*, [in:] *Енциклопедія історії України*, vol. VII, *Mi-O*, ed. В.А. СМОЛІЙ et al., Київ 2010, online: [http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Moldavski\\_hramoty](http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Moldavski_hramoty) [10 V 2022]. S. Perepelycja considered the Moldavian charters of the 14<sup>th</sup> – mid-16<sup>th</sup> centuries represented a source for the research on the phonetic system of the Ukrainian nationality and the history of the Bucovinian dialect. С. ПЕРЕПЕЛИЦЯ, *Відображення українського вокалізму в молдавських грамотах XIV – сер. XVI століть*, НВЧНУ.СФ 496–497, 2010, p. 40. В. Тумоцько specifies that the Old Ukrainian Literary language was official in the Moldavian Principality between 1360 and 1653. Б. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви природного водного доквілля в українсько-молдавських грамотах XIV–XV століть*, УМ 2, 2018, p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> *Словник староукраїнської мови XIV–XV ст.*, vol. I–II, ed. Л.Л. ГУМЕЦЬКА, Київ 1977–1978 (cetera: SSUM). *Словник української мови XVI – першої половини XVII ст.*, vol. I–XVII, Львів 1994–2017 (cetera: SUM XVI). SUM XVI, vol. I, p. 46 also cites the collection of the Moldavian charters, covering also the period of our concern, among its sources.

<sup>6</sup> Macarie II 473r–481v, Peter Rareș's chrysobull to the monastery Bistrița (*Молдова ын епока феудализмулуи волумул*, vol. I, *Документе славо-молдовенець*. (Вякул XV – ынтьюл пэтрар ал вякулуй XVII), ed. Л.В. ЧЕРЕПИН, КИШИНЭУ 1961, p. 50–52), undated inscription in the *Humor Tetraevangelion* (MNIR 11 341, 1473, 6v, E. LINȚA, L. DJAMO-DIAȘONIȚĂ, O. STOICOVICI, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române din București*, București 1981, p. 95–96). A Polish version of the story can be found in the letter by Peter Rareș to king Sigismund the Old from ca 1541 (*Documente privitoare la istoria României culese din arhivele polone. Secolul al XVI-lea*, ed. I. CORFUS, București 1979, p. 39–41).

<sup>7</sup> *Сочинения Ивана Семеновича Пересветова*, ed. М.Д. КАГАН-ТАРКОВСКИЙ, Я.С. ЛУРЬЕ, [in:] *Библиотека литературы Древней Руси*, vol. IX, Санкт Петербург 2006–2022, online: <http://lib.pushkinskiydom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=5115> [10 V 2022].

form of Moldavian written Slavonic varieties. Written (Cyrillic) Romanian, aside from being regularly represented by proper names in Slavonic documents, had already entered the bookish sphere of Moldavia likely at the very beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century by the text of the Hurmuzaki Psalter<sup>8</sup>.

### Spoken languages

Before we touch the complicated question of the spoken languages in Moldavia of the second quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, let us present the extension of this state. The borders of Moldavia of that time were described by Transylvanian diplomat Georg von Reicherstorffer<sup>9</sup> working for king Ferdinand of Habsburg in 1541<sup>10</sup>. According to his book, the eastern border of Moldavia was formed by the river Nistru/Dniester (*Nester*, in Slavonic documents ДНИСТРУЪ) with the towns Chotyn (*Chotjna*, ХОТНѢ) and Bilhorod (*Feijerwar*, БѢЛЫН ГРАДЪ). In the Northwest, Moldavia bordered with *Russia* (i.e. Polish-administered Ruthenian voivodeship), whose closest town was Sniatyn (*Snatijna*, СНАТНѢ, in Pocutia). The western borders were formed by the Carpathians (*Alpes Transsylvani*). The southern neighbour of Moldavia was Wallachia (*Valachia*)<sup>11</sup>. A map of Moldavia from 1587<sup>12</sup> shows the border river *Myscouo fluvius* (corresponding to the river Milcov) incorrectly putting the town of Adjud (*Aczud*) on it. On the map *Polonia et Ungaria XV Geographia Universalis* from 1540<sup>13</sup>, the territory between Bilhorod (*Byalgrod*) and Chilia (*Kylia*, КЕЛІА), which were administered by Ottomans since 1484, is called *Bessarabia*<sup>14</sup>. The area between the rivers Siret (*Seretus*, СѢРѢ) and Bârlad (*Barlach*, БАРЛАДЪ) are called here *Valachia Magna*, likely by mistake. The same map shows *Mystono fluvius* (now Milcov), without specifying its border character. The region of Pocutia (*districtus Pokucie*) was considered by Peter Rareș to be a part of

<sup>8</sup> *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki I. Studiu filologic, studiu lingvistic și ediție*, ed. I. GHEȚIE, M. TEODORESCU, București 2005. Online facsimile: <https://medievalia.com.ro/manuscrise/item/ms-rom-3077> [12 V 2022].

<sup>9</sup> For details on this personality see F. TEUTSCH, *Reicherstorffer, Georg*, [in:] *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 27, Leipzig 1888, p. 678–679, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd11980025X.html#adbcontent> [12 V 2022]. He stayed in Moldavia during his missions in 1527 and 1534. *Călători străini despre țările române*, vol. I, ed. M. HOLBAN, București 1968, p. 181–184.

<sup>10</sup> G. A REICHERSTORFF, *Moldaviae quae olim Daciae pars chorographia*, Viennae 1541.

<sup>11</sup> Macarie I 157г ЗАГОРСКАА ЗЕМЛѢ.

<sup>12</sup> *16<sup>th</sup> Century, Moldova*. 1587. University of Minnesota Libraries, James Ford Bell Library, umedia.lib.umn.edu/item/p16022coll251:2919 [12 V 2022].

<sup>13</sup> S. MUNSTER, *Geographia universalis, vetus et nova, complectens Claudii Ptolemaei Alexandrini enarrationis libros VIII*, Basileae 1540.

<sup>14</sup> In the Treaty between Stephen the Great and king John Albert of Poland from 1499, the term БАСАРАБСКАА ЗЕМЛѢ is still denoting Wallachia. I. BOGDAN, *Documentele lui Ștefan cel Mare*, vol. II, București 1913, p. 423.

Moldavia as it was temporarily held by his predecessors<sup>15</sup>. Voivode Peter occupied the territory from December 1530 until his defeat by Poles in August 1531<sup>16</sup>. Since 1489<sup>17</sup>, Moldavia had also possessed two fiefs in Transylvania, namely the towns Ciceu (ЧИЧЕВЬ, *Chicho/Chyco*, Pol. *Cziczew*) in current Bistrița-Năsăud county and Cetatea de Baltă (КИКИЛВАРА ИЖЕ ИМЕНУЕТ СЯ БАЛТЖ, *Kykel(l)ewar/Kykellw*, Pol. *Baltha*)<sup>18</sup> in current Alba county. For help with pacification of supporters of king Ferdinand of Habsburg in Transylvania, voivode Peter obtained in 1529 further fiefs from king John Szápolyai (І́ѠАНЫ́ КРА́)<sup>19</sup>: the Saxon town Bistrița (БИСТРИЦА, БИСТРИЦА, БИСТРЕЦА, БЫСТРИЧЬСКИИ ГРАДЪ, Lat. *Bistricia*, Ger. *Nesen*), the nearby Rodna (РОДНА, Lat. *Rodna*, Ger. *Rodnaw*), renown for its golden mines<sup>20</sup>, and Unguraș (БОЛОУАНЪШЪ, Lat. *Belwanyws/Balwanus/Balwanyos*)<sup>21</sup>. Following the Ottoman intervention in Moldavia in Summer and Autumn 1538, the empire annexed Tighina (ТИГИНА), a market harbour on Nistru, and took control over the river up to Soroca (СОРОКА, today's Republic of Moldova)<sup>22</sup>. Moldavia itself was divided into districts called волостъ. The documents mention also an administratively separated Lower Country, whose delimitation was apparently different from the one described in the moment of its establishment in 1435<sup>23</sup>. While in that time, just the basin of the Bârlad (БРЪЛА) River was administratively distinguished (with the centre in the town of Bârlad), in the second quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, also the bishopric seat of Roman was considered to be part of the Lower Country<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Peter Rareș's claims on Pocutia are explained in his letter to king Sigismund of Old (крь Жигмунтъ) from the 21<sup>st</sup> February 1531: *nobis est vera et legitima terra ipsa possessionaria [...] pro certo scimus illam terram Pokucie pertinere Moldaviam* 'for us it is a trully and legitimately possessed land [...] we know for certain that the land of Pocutia belongs to Moldavia' (*Documente privitoare la istoria românilor...*, vol. I..., p. 23). Similar words are used in the letter from 1537 to king Ferdinand: *vna porciuncula terra nomine Pokwchia, que ab antiquis fuit membrum Moldawiense* 'one small portion of land named Pocutia, which has been part of Moldavia since the old times'. *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, vol. II, part 1, 1451–1575, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, București 1891, p. 169.

<sup>16</sup> In the description of Peter's war for Pocutia, Macarie the Chronicler (Macarie II, 472rv) calls the region отъчьское достояніе 'father's legacy'.

<sup>17</sup> *Istoria României în date*, ed. D. C. GIURESCU, București 2003, p. 84.

<sup>18</sup> See Putna Annals I 453v, cf. *Славяно-молдавские летописи XV–XVI вв.*, ed. Ф. А. ГРЕКУЛ, Москва 1976, p. 64; ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 48.

<sup>19</sup> *Istoria României...*, p. 62, Macarie II, 469r–471r.

<sup>20</sup> G. À REYCHERSDORFF, *Chorographia Transylvaniae, quae Dacia olim appellata, aliarum prouinciarum & regionum succinta descriptio & explicatio*, Viennae 1550, 11.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. letters by Peter Rareș to Bistrița from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> July 1529, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, vol. XV, part 1..., p. 325–326.

<sup>22</sup> *Istoria României...*, p. 94.

<sup>23</sup> In the letter by voivode Iliăș to king Vladislaus III of Poland issued on the 1<sup>st</sup> September 1435. See *Documente moldovenești înainte de Ștefan cel Mare*, vol. II, ed. M. COSTĂCHESCU, București 1932, p. 682.

<sup>24</sup> Macarie II 472v прѣстоль дольняа чаети землѣ 'throne of the Lower part of the country'. Colophon of the Neamț Psalter from 1529 ѿ долинен митрополи ѿ Руманова тръга 'from the Lower metropolia of Roman'. The most detailed description of the division of Lower/Upper Moldavia was

In our period, the administrative separation of the Lower Country is attested by the existence of a separate high official called *vornic*<sup>25</sup>.

The ethnic and religious situation (*religionum & nationum genera*) of Moldavia during the reign of Peter Rareș is described by the already mentioned Georg von Reicherstorffer<sup>26</sup>. The main nationality of Moldavia is called by him *populus Moldavicus*. Further ethnical groups comprise Ruthenians/East Slavs (*Rutheni*), Poles (*Sarmati*), Serbs (*Rasciani*), Armenians (*Armenii*), Bulgarians (*Bulgeri*), Tatars (*Tarthari*) and Saxons (*Saxones*). Reicherstorffer underlines the ruling freedom of confession. According to him<sup>27</sup>, Ruthenians lived around Moldavian borders<sup>28</sup> (*eos Moldaviae confines constituentes*) and their language was similar to the Polish one (*sermonē à Polonico parum discrepantem proferunt*). An important ethnic group of Moldavia were Tatars, who possessed 500 homesteads (*sessiones*) and formed an important part of the Moldavian army. In the contemporary Moldavian texts, the ethnic structure of the Moldavian society is practically not reflected except for random mention of Gypsies (*цигане, Egyptii*)<sup>29</sup>. Once we found a possible mention of an East Slavonic character of a village<sup>30</sup>. Just the scribe of the *Jerusalem Tetraevangelion* from 1546 confessed his East Slavonic origin<sup>31</sup>. Nevertheless, the syntactical discrepancies of most preserved colophons<sup>32</sup> do not allow us to suppose the Slavonic origin of the copyists. Names and performance of the chancery scribes also speak in favour of their Romanian background, which can be supported by a strict following of the fixed formulas. The ascription of some names attested in the documents to an ethnic East Slav is problematic<sup>33</sup>. In the

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given much later by Dimitrie CANTEMIR (1673–1723) in his *Descriptio Moldaviae*. He included most of today's Republic of Moldova as well as the districts of Iași and Putna to the Lower Country.

<sup>25</sup> 534 *Documente istorice slavo-române din Țara-Românească și Moldova privitoare la legăturile cu Ardealul 1346–1603*, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, București 1931, p. 539.

<sup>26</sup> G. À REYCHERSDORFF, *Chorographia...*, p. 12.

<sup>27</sup> G. À REYCHERSDORFF, *Chorographia...*, p. 14.

<sup>28</sup> A more exact information on the spread of the East Slav (*Ruś*) population was provided much later in the *History of the Moldavian and Wallachian land in Polish verses (Historia polskimi rytymami o wołoskiej ziemi i moltanskiej, verses 233–236)* by great logofăt Miron Costin (1633–1691). M. COSTIN, *Istorie în versuri polone despre Moldova și Țara românească (1684)*, ed. P.P. PANAITESCU, București 1929, p. 428.

<sup>29</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 541; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 305.

<sup>30</sup> *Ispisoace și zapise (Documente slavo-române)*, vol. I, part 1, ed. G. GHIBĂNESCU, Iași 1906, p. 76 *село ѿ Рѣчи що са теперъ зовѣтъ Захорѣнїи* 'the village of East Slavs (or the village of Ruși) that is now called Zahoreani/Zahorjani'.

<sup>31</sup> The Jerusalem Patriarchal Library Abraam 2, 1546, 257г *Михай дїѣ ꙗсакъ* 'scribe Mihăil, Ruthenian'.

<sup>32</sup> These include not just the case confusion, which could be considered as a balkanism common to Bulgarian, Macedonian and East Štokavian, but especially the gender confusion, which points to a non-Slavonic language speaker.

<sup>33</sup> We could speculate about the East Slav origin of Ivanco (*Ивѣко* and not Ioan), the scribe of the Jerusalem Tetraevangelion from 1532 (Jerusalem Patriarchal Library, Slavonic 2, 325r) or a scribe of the same name mentioned in a charter by Peter Rareș from 1528 (*Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. I, p. 40).

treaty between voivode Peter Rareș and king Sigismund the Old from 1539, there is mention that the original version was written in Ruthenian<sup>34</sup>.

Antun Vrančić in ca 1538<sup>35</sup> stated both Moldavians (*Moldavi, Dani, Bogdani*) and Wallachians (*Transalpini, Draguli*) called themselves *Romani*, otherwise named *Valacchi*<sup>36</sup>. Vrančić<sup>37</sup> pointed out that the language was considered of “Roman” origin<sup>38</sup>, but enriched with Hungarian (*Hungarice*) and Slavonic (*Illirice*), which was caused by language contact with various Slavonic nations. Another ethnical group, not mentioned by these authors, inhabiting southern Moldavia, were Hungarians. The extension of their settlement can be traced in the letter by Roman Catholic bishop Michael of Milcov from the 18<sup>th</sup> February 1518<sup>39</sup>, who convoked a synod in the church of Totruș (Тотрош, Lat. *Tatros*) listing the Catholic churches of Moldavia<sup>40</sup>.

In the Latin documents issued by Moldavian chancery in the second quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, we found twice the word *vulgo* introducing a term in a vernacular language: once it concerns a Hungarian word (*tria vasa vegeticum, vulgo berbenche*)<sup>41</sup>, once a Slavonic one (*hasta vulgo copia*)<sup>42</sup>.

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In the charter from 1531, there is a Ukrainian form of a female name Olenca (ОЛЕНКА). T. BĂLAN, *Documente bucovinene*, vol. I, (1507–1653), Cernăuți 1933, p. 32. A certain Scripcu (gen. sg. ПАНА СКРИПКА), was member the voivodal council during the first reign of voivode Peter. The personalities linked with the territories, which Miron Costin described in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century as being inhabited by East Slavs do not show they would be of Slavonic origin. The reason may be also social: the documents mention mostly boyars and landlords.

<sup>34</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, I. BOGDAN, *Documente...*, Sup. 2, vol. I, p. 122 (1539): *foedus ex ruthena lingua in polonam conversum*.

<sup>35</sup> A. WRANCIUS Sibenicensis Dalmata, *Expeditionis Solymani in Moldaviam et Transsylvaniam libri duo. De situ Transsylvanicae, Moldaviae et Transalpiniae liber tertius*, ed. C. EPERJESSY, Budapest 1944, p. 33.

<sup>36</sup> Peter Rareș in his Latin letter to Bistrița (19 July 1546) calls Romanians in Transylvania *Walaci* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 453). In a letter from 22 March 1532, he calls himself as “voievoda Valachorum” (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 51).

<sup>37</sup> A. WRANCIUS, *Expeditionis...*, p. 38.

<sup>38</sup> “interrogantes quempiam, an sciret Valacchice, Scisne, inquit, Romane?” ‘Asking anyone, if he knows Romanian, they say “Știi românește?”’. A German letter by voivode Alexander Lăpușneanu from 1561 says “dye Moldener nennen zu yer Sprachen, wallachysch”. ‘The Moldavians call their language “Wallachian/Romanian”’. Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 570.

<sup>39</sup> Ed. M. COSTĂCHESCU, *Documente...*, p. 487–489.

<sup>40</sup> More exact information about the Hungarian settlement in Moldavia in the Early Modern Ages can be found in G.I. NĂSTASE, *Ungurii din Moldova la 1646 după „Codex Bandinus”*, ABas 4, 1935, p. 401.

<sup>41</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 328 ‘three barrels, called in vernacular tongue *berbenche*’. See *berbence* ‘Fäßchen; Tönnchen’ in *Erdélyi Magyar Szótörténeti Tár*, vol. I, ed. A.T. SZABÓ, Bukarest 1975, p. 806–807, Romanian *bărbântă* ‘wooden vessel made of staves, in which milk and cheese are mainly stored’. Here and further, we use <https://dexonline.ro/> [10 V 2022] as the source of the Romanian equivalents. Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 328.

<sup>42</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 433 ‘lance, in vernacular *копие*’. The Slavonic word is attested already in OCS. Here and further, saying a word is attested in OCS (*копие*), we mean its presence in the database *Gorazd: The Old Church Slavonic Digital Hub*, <http://gorazd.org/gulliver/> [10 V 2022].

## Types of texts

The texts written in Moldavia in the second quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century represent a variable group both from genre and language point of view. The most prestigious of them are the manuscript books written in Church Slavonic. There is a significant number of authorised (signed and dated by the scribe) manuscripts from this period. Within the huge plenty of Moldavian unauthorised manuscripts, spread in the world collections<sup>43</sup>, there are surely further ones, which will be ascribed to this period in the future<sup>44</sup>. As we plan to focus on this issue on another place, we will limit ourselves just to a simple overview:

Year	Text	Scribe (scr.) and/or donator (don.)	Place of origin (in), donation (for) or storage (from)	Shelf number
1520s–1540s	<i>Miscellany</i>		From Dobrovăț	Library of the Romanian Academy, ms. sl. 541 <sup>45</sup>
1525–1545	<i>Barlaam and Josaphat</i>			Monastery of Dragomirna 147 <sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Most systematically, the work on the reconstruction of the manuscript legacy of this period was undertaken by É. TURDEANU, *Études de littérature roumaine et d'écrits slaves et grecs des principautés roumaines*, Leiden 1985, p. 191–196. In this study, twelve manuscripts are listed. Some more details on some manuscripts were provided in E. TURDEANU, *Oameni și cărți de altădată*, București 1997, p. 298–309. R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrise de origine românească din colecții străine. Repertoriu*, București 1986, mentions seventeen manuscripts from these period in collections out of Romania. V. PELIN, *Manuscrise românești din secolele XIII–XIX în colecții străine (Rusia, Ucraina, Bielorusia). Catalog*, Chișinău 2017, made a revision of Constantinescu's findings listing thirteen manuscripts in the collections of the former USSR. We do not aim to make an extant bibliography of each manuscript on this place.

<sup>44</sup> As the following list shows, the authorized manuscripts comprise mainly the ones containing biblical texts (Tetraevangelion, Apostolos, Psalter). The composition and decoration of the luxury copies of these texts, mostly donated to a religious establishment were sponsored by the most influential (both religiously and secularly) personalities of the country.

<sup>45</sup> P.P. PANAITESCU, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române și slave din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, vol. II, București 2003, p. 387–389; I.R. MİRCEA, *Répertoire des manuscrits slaves en Roumanie. Auteurs byzantines et slaves*, Sofia 2005, p. 237; К. ИВАНОВА, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavonica*, София 2008, p. 126.

<sup>46</sup> I. IUFU, V. BRĂTULESCU, *Manuscrise slavo-române din Moldova. Fondul Mănăstirii Dragomirna*, Iași 2012, p. 129–130.



Year	Text	Scribe (scr.) and/or donator (don.)	Place of origin (in), donation (for) or storage (from)	Shelf number
1527	<i>Euchologion</i>		From Bisericani	Library of the Romanian Academy, ms. sl. 237 <sup>47</sup>
1528	<i>Apostolos</i> (Пракеꙋоꙋ)	Scr. monk Evloghie (монаха ѿвлогѣа)	For the monastery of Sălăgeni <sup>48</sup>	Library of the Romanian Academy, ms. sl. 21 <sup>49</sup>
1529	<i>Typikon</i> (Типѣи)	Scr. monk Evloghie		Monastery of Dragomirna 136 (1902/813) <sup>50</sup>
1529	<i>Psalter</i> (Псалтирь)	Scr. hieromonk Ioan <sup>51</sup> of Neamț Don. bishop Dorotei of Roman <sup>52</sup>	In Neamț (ѿ немечскѣ ѿбитъ ели)	Russian State Library col. 218, no. 203 <sup>53</sup>
1529	<i>Tetraevangelion</i> (Тетраевѣль)	Scr. hieromonk Macarie <sup>54</sup> Don. Barbovski <sup>55</sup> , pârcălab of Suceava	In Putna (въ Пустини), for the church in Suceava	Monastery of Rila 9 (1/11a) <sup>56</sup>

<sup>47</sup> А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Славянскія и русскія рукописи румынскихъ библиотекъ*, С. Петербург 1905, p. 380–382; P.P. PANAITESCU, *Manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei RPR*, vol. I, București 1959, p. 337–338.

<sup>48</sup> мѣнасти сѣлъцѣаской.

<sup>49</sup> А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Славянскія...*, p. 122–126; P.P. PANAITESCU, *Manuscrisele...*, vol. I, p. 32–34; É. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 191–192; IDEM, *Oameni...*, p. 263–266.

<sup>50</sup> I. IUFU, V. BRĂTULESCU, *Manuscrite...*, p. 121–122.

<sup>51</sup> Иеромонахъ Іоанн.

<sup>52</sup> епископъ Доротеѣи ѿ двлнен митрополи.

<sup>53</sup> R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrite...*, no. 587; В. ОВЧИННИКОВА-ПЕЛИН, *Каталогул жєнерал ал манускриселор молдовенешть пѣстрате ын УРСС. Колекция библиотечий мѣнѣстирий Нол-Нямц (сек. XIV–XIX)*, Кишинэу 1989, p. 116–118; V. PELIN, *Manuscrite...*, p. 100–101.

<sup>54</sup> иеромонаха Макарія.

<sup>55</sup> жѣпа Барѣвскои.

<sup>56</sup> Е. СПРОСТРАНОВЪ, *Описъ на ржкописите въ библиотека на Рилския манастирь*, София 1902, p. 14–15; É. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 192–193; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrite...*, no. 16; Б.Н. РАЙКОВ et al., *Славянски ржкописи в Рилския манастир*, vol. I, София 1986, p. 36–37; M.M. SZÉKELY, *Manuscrite răzlețite din scriptoriul și biblioteca Mănăstirii Putna*, APu 3.1, 2007, p. 153–180. A. PASCAL, *Din istoria scrierii de carte în Mănăstirea Putna în secolele XV–XVI*, APu 7, 2012, p. 73.

Year	Text	Scribe (scr.) and/or donator (don.)	Place of origin (in), donation (for) or storage (from)	Shelf number
1530	<i>Psalter</i> (Ψαλτήριον)	Scr. hieromonk Macarie <sup>57</sup>	In Dobrovăț	Russian State Library coll. 209, no. 786 <sup>58</sup>
1530	<i>Tetraevangelion</i>	Scr. hierodeacon Teodosie <sup>59</sup>		State Historical Museum in Moscow, <i>Ščuk.</i> 302 <sup>60</sup>
1530	<i>Menaion for February</i> (Мѣнѣ Феврѣдѣ)	Scr. hieromonk Ștefan <sup>61</sup> , Don. hegumen Siluan <sup>62</sup>	In Putna (монастирѣ пѣтноу)	Russian State Library coll. 310, no. 79 <sup>63</sup>
1531	<i>Tetraevangelion</i>	Scr. Antonie Bosianul	For church of Orhei, from Vorniceni	Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences 13.1.2 <sup>64</sup>
1532	<i>Liturgy</i> (Лѣтѣрѣгѣ)	Scr. Spiridon of Putna <sup>65</sup> Don. hegumen Siluan <sup>66</sup>	In Putna	Smolensk State Museum-Monument 9927 <sup>67</sup>
1532	<i>Tetraevangelion</i>	Ivanco deacon <sup>68</sup> of Frățânești	In Frățânești? (Фръцѣнѣ)	Jerusalem Patriarchate Library, Slavonic 2 <sup>69</sup>

<sup>57</sup> ѿ ѿромона ѿ Мѣкаріе Добровецкын.

<sup>58</sup> D. MIOS, *Manuscripte slavo-române în biblioteci din străinătate*, SMIM 7, 1974, p. 278; V. PELIN, *Manuscrise...*, p. 102.

<sup>59</sup> еродѣаконъ Феодосіе.

<sup>60</sup> А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Опись старинныхъ славянскихъ и русскихъ рукописей собранія П.И. Шукина*, vol. II, Санктпетербургъ 1897, p. 3–4; Ё. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 193; V. PELIN, *Manuscrise...*, p. 101.

<sup>61</sup> та ѿромона ѿ Стефа.

<sup>62</sup> архїмѣдритѣ къ нѣгѣмѣ силѣ.

<sup>63</sup> Ё. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 193; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrise...*, no. 621; M.M. SZÉKELY, *Manuscrise...*, p. 171–172; A. PASCAL, *Din istoria...*, p. 73; V. PELIN, *Manuscrise...*, p. 102–103. Online facsimile: <https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/310/f-310-79/> [10 V 2022].

<sup>64</sup> Ё. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 193; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrise...*, no. 350.

<sup>65</sup> мѣна ѿспиридѣ.

<sup>66</sup> Силѣанѣу нѣроуменѣу.

<sup>67</sup> О.П. БУГАЕВА, *Рукописи Смоленского областного краеведческого музея*, ТОДЛ 15, 1958, p. 425; A. PASCAL, *Din istoria...*, p. 69; V. PELIN, *Manuscrise...*, p. 103–104.

<sup>68</sup> нѣвако дѣпакѣ.

<sup>69</sup> Н.Ф. КРАСНОСЕЛЬЦЕВ, *Славянские рукописи Патриаршей библиотеки в Иерусалиме*, Казань 1889, p. 8–9; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrise...*, no. 44; Ё. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 194–195; IDEM, *Oameni...*, p. 276–281. Online: <https://www.loc.gov/item/00271073513-jo/> [10 V 2022].

Year	Text	Scribe (scr.) and/or donator (don.)	Place of origin (in), donation (for) or storage (from)	Shelf number
1533	<i>Miscellany</i>			Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences 13.3.25 <sup>70</sup>
1533	<i>Typikon</i> (Ќко црѣковноѣ)	Hieromonk Ion (ієромона́ Іѡ)	In Neamț (Ѡ НѢКМЕСКОѠ ѠБИТѢ)	Lost <sup>71</sup>
1534	<i>Tetraevangelion</i> (Тѣтроеванѣѣ)	Don. voivode Peter Rareș <sup>72</sup>	For monastery Xeropotamou <sup>73</sup>	Austrian National Library, cod. slav. 2 <sup>74</sup>
1535	<i>Tetraevangelion</i> (Тѣтроеванѣѣ)	Don. logofăt Toma <sup>75</sup>	For monastery Dobrovăț <sup>76</sup>	Russian National Library, Pogod. 22 <sup>77</sup>
1535	<i>Tetraevangelion</i>	Don. vistiernic Sima	For monastery Dobrovăț	Treasury of the monastery of Rila <sup>78</sup>
1535–1545	<i>Hagiographic Collection</i>			Monastery of Sucevița 22 <sup>79</sup>

<sup>70</sup> R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrite...*, no. 366.

<sup>71</sup> А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Изъ славянскихъ рукописей. Тексты и заметки*, Санктъ Петербургъ 1898, p. 58; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrite...*, no. 783.

<sup>72</sup> Пѣтръ воевода.

<sup>73</sup> монасти́ ѡропотамскѣ ѠБИТѢ.

<sup>74</sup> А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Описание южнославянских и русских рукописей заграничных библиотек*, vol. I, Вена, Берлин, Дрезден, Лейпциг, Мюнхен, Прага, Люблина, Петербургъ 1921, p. 16–17; I. BOGDAN, *Scrieri alese*, București 1968, p. 503–504; G. BIRKPELLNER, *Glagolitische und Kyrillische Handschriften in Österreich*, Wien 1975, p. 89; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrite...*, no. 7; G. BULUȚĂ, *Manuscrite miniatе și ornate românești în colecții din Austria*, București 1990, p. 38–39; E. TURDEANU, *Oameni...*, p. 298–301. Facsimile online: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC14248898> [10 V 2022].

<sup>75</sup> па́ Тома логѡфѣ.

<sup>76</sup> Довровѣѣ.

<sup>77</sup> К. ИВАНОВА, *Български, сръбски и молдо-влахийски кирилски ръкописи в сбирката на М.П. Погодин*, София 1981, p. 82–84; E. TURDEANU, *Oameni...*, p. 268–271.

<sup>78</sup> É. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 195; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrite...*, no. 15; E. TURDEANU, *Oameni...*, p. 276–281. The manuscript is not mentioned in the Rila catalogues.

<sup>79</sup> O. MITRIC, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române din Biblioteca Mănăstirii Sucevița*, Suceava 1999, p. 77–78; I.R. MIRCEA, *Répertoire...*, p. 239.

Year	Text	Scribe (scr.) and/or donator (don.)	Place of origin (in, donation (for) or storage (from))	Shelf number
1537	Twelve books of the Old Testament (Паліа)	Scr. monk Ioan (иѡнѧ ѡѡани)	In Bistrița <sup>80</sup> , for Tăzlău monastery <sup>81</sup>	Russian State Library, coll. 256, no. 29 <sup>82</sup>
1538	<i>Panegyrikon</i> (Събѡрниѣ)			Croatian Historical Museum in Zagreb, 72 <sup>83</sup>
1538	<i>Panegyrikon</i>			Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade, coll. of Grujić 253 <sup>84</sup>
1540	<i>Apostolos</i> (Праксе)	Don. hieromonk Paisie <sup>85</sup> , the hegumen of the Humor monastery for the memory of great logofăt Toader Bubuioğ	In Humor (Хоморекѧ мѡнастира)	Science Library of the Ivan Franko National University in Lviv, 1.A.4 <sup>86</sup>
Ca 1540	<i>Psalter</i>			State Historical Museum in Moscow, Uvar. 499 <sup>87</sup>
1541	<i>Apostolos</i>		In Suceava	Russian State Library, coll. 247, no. 5 <sup>88</sup>

<sup>80</sup> ѡ мѡнастира бѣстрици.

<sup>81</sup> мѡнастироу тѧлѡскому.

<sup>82</sup> Ё. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 196–197; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrise...*, no. 604; E. TURDEANU, *Oameni...*, p. 281–286. Online: <https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/256/f-256-29/> [10 V 2022].

<sup>83</sup> В. МОШИН, *Бирилски рукописи Повијесног музеја Хрватске и Копитареве збирке*, Београд 1971, p. 88–95.

<sup>84</sup> Bogdanović 1982, 49 (no. 521); R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrise...*, no. 359.

<sup>85</sup> єрѡмѣ ієромѡнѧ паисіє.

<sup>86</sup> С. РОМАНСКИ, *Влахобългарски рѡкописи въ Львовската университетска библиотека*, ПСБКД 22, 1910–1911, 71, 7–8, p. 590–592; Ё. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 197; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrise...*, no. 830.

<sup>87</sup> ЛЕОНИДЪ, *Систематическое описание славяно-россійскихъ рукописей собранія графа Уварова*, part 1, Москва 1893, p. 11; М.В. ЩЕПКИНА et al., *Описание пергаменных рукописей Государственного исторического музея. Часть 2: Рукописи болгарские, сербские, молдавские*, АЕ за 1965 год, Москва 1966, p. 305–306; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrise...*, no. 672; V. PELIN, *Manuscrise...*, p. 107–108.

<sup>88</sup> R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrise...*, no. 599.

Year	Text	Scribe (scr.) and/or donator (don.)	Place of origin (in, donation (for) or storage (from))	Shelf number
1542	<i>Tetraevangelion</i> (Тетраевѣль)	Scr. Mihail <sup>89</sup> , Don. vistiernic Baloș <sup>90</sup> and logofăt Toader Baloșevici <sup>91</sup>	For St Michael and Gabriel church of Suceava (Гвчѣ)	Russian State Library, coll. 98, no. 78 <sup>92</sup>
1543	<i>Pentikostarion</i> (Петодесѣтчникъ)	Scr. Crăciun (Крѣчиѣ), Don. Teodosie, bishop of Rădăuți <sup>93</sup>		State Historical Museum in Moscow, Uvar. 391 <sup>94</sup>
1543	<i>Tetraevangelion</i> (Тетроѣвъль)	Don. Iiaș and Constantin, sons of Peter Rareș and Lady Elena, wife of the voivode	Maybe for the church of St Demetrius in Suceava	The treasury of St Sepulchre in Jerusalem <sup>95</sup>
1544	<i>Apostolos</i> (Праѣѣвъль)	Scr. priest Eremie of Bădeuți <sup>96</sup> , Don. Teodosie, bishop of Rădăuți <sup>97</sup>	Church of St Nicholas of the bishopric of Rădăuți	Monastery of Sucevița 8 <sup>98</sup>
Ca 1544	<i>Tetraevangelion</i>	Scr. Ioan	From Sucevița and Jerusalem	Russian State Library, coll. 344, no. 231 <sup>99</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Михайла писара.

<sup>90</sup> Балавша вистѣрника.

<sup>91</sup> Тоадѣ Балошеви логѣѣ.

<sup>92</sup> D. MIOS, *Materiale românești din arhive străine*, SMIM 6, 1973, p. 336–337; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrise...*, no. 483; V. PELIN, *Manuscrise...*, p. 108–109; T.V. АНИСИМОВА, Ю.С. БЕЛЯКИН, *Каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг из собрания Е.Е. Егорова*, vol. I, Москва 2018, p. 214–216. Online facsimile: <https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/98/f98-78/> [10 V 2022].

<sup>93</sup> Феодосіе епископ Радѣвскій.

<sup>94</sup> ЛЕОНИДЪ, *Систематическое описание...*, part 2, p. 117; М.В. ЩЕПКИНА et al., *Описание...*, p. 303; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrise...*, no. 738; V. PELIN, *Manuscrise...*, p. 109–110 says it is currently situated in the monastery of Slatina.

<sup>95</sup> N. IORGA, *Doua evangheliare ale fiilor lui Petre Rareș*, BCMI 27, april–iunie, 1934, p. 87–90; É. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 198–199; IDEM, *Oameni...*, p. 301–305.

<sup>96</sup> ꙗꙗ Ереміѣ ꙗꙗ Бѣвци.

<sup>97</sup> Феѣсіе еѣпъ Радѣвскій.

<sup>98</sup> O. MITRIC, *Catalogul...*, p. 44–48.

<sup>99</sup> É. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 194–195; V. PELIN, *Manuscrise...*, p. 111–112.

Year	Text	Scribe (scr.) and/or donator (don.)	Place of origin (in), donation (for) or storage (from)	Shelf number
1545	<i>Tetraevangelion</i>	Don. voivode Peter Rareș	For monastery Căpriana	Lost <sup>100</sup>
1545	<i>Tetraevangelion</i> (Тетрo-εβaγγeλiα)	Scr. Priest Gavriil Melentiescul <sup>101</sup>		Private <sup>102</sup>
1545	<i>Psaltikon</i>	Scr. hieromonk Andonie		M. Eminescu Central University Library in Iași <sup>103</sup>
1545	<i>Tetraevangelion</i>	Don. Peter Rareș and his family	From monastery Căpriana	Lost <sup>104</sup>
1546	<i>Tetraevangelion</i> (Тетрoεβaγγeλiα)	Scr. Mihail <sup>105</sup>	In Suceava	Jerusalem Patriarchate Library, Abraam 2 <sup>106</sup>

There are further three manuscripts mentioned by Constantinescu that we did not list above and whose identification causes some problems. The manuscript *Tetraevangelion* (State Historical Museum in Moscow, Ščuk. 303, 1539)<sup>107</sup> was considered by Turdeanu<sup>108</sup> to be written in Moldavia, while Bogdan<sup>109</sup> and Pelin<sup>110</sup> suppose the manuscript was from Transylvania. The *Psalter*, cited by Constantinescu<sup>111</sup> to have the shelf number Russian State Library coll 98, no. 37 (ca 1546), does not correspond to the mentioned catalogue item in the newest catalogue<sup>112</sup>. The *Tetraevangelion* from Odessa (dated 1541)<sup>113</sup> that is supposed to be in the Vernadsky

<sup>100</sup> А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Из истории славянской письменности в Молдавии и Валахии XV–XVII вв.*, s.l. 1906, p. LXII–LXV; É. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 199; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrite...*, no. 751; E. TURDEANU, *Oameni...*, p. 305–309.

<sup>101</sup> ⲡⲟ Ⲅaⲅⲱⲣⲓⲓ Ⲙeⲗeⲛⲧⲓⲉⲥⲕⲱ.

<sup>102</sup> P. MIHAIL, Z. MIHAIL, *Manuscrite slave în colecții din Moldova (II)*, RSlA 19, 1980, p. 278–281.

<sup>103</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, *Manuscrite...*, p. 172.

<sup>104</sup> А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Из истории...*, p. LXIII–LXV, 21–23; É. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 199; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrite...*, no. 751.

<sup>105</sup> Ⲙⲓⲕⲏⲓⲏ Ⲕⲓⲓⲁ ⲣⲱⲥⲁⲕⲱ.

<sup>106</sup> E. TURDEANU, *Oameni...*, p. 309–317. Online facsimile: <https://www.loc.gov/item/00271073677-jo/> [10 V 2022].

<sup>107</sup> А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Опись старинных...*, p. 4–5; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrite...*, no. 672.

<sup>108</sup> É. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 197.

<sup>109</sup> D.P. BOGDAN, *Paleografia romano-slavă: tratat și album*, București 1978, p. 120.

<sup>110</sup> V. PELIN, *Manuscrite...*, p. 106–107.

<sup>111</sup> R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrite...*, no. 478.

<sup>112</sup> Т.В. АНИСИМОВА, Ю.С. БЕЛЯКИН, *Каталог...*, p. 113–114.

<sup>113</sup> R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrite...*, no. 807.

National Library of Ukraine is missing in the newest catalogue<sup>114</sup>. Apart from the main texts of the manuscripts, which belong to the common CS legacy<sup>115</sup>, most of the mentioned manuscripts also contain a colophon, which can be considered an original work of the copyist. The colophon may indicate the level of his active knowledge of CS. Nevertheless, in most cases, it is pretty short and made up of fixed formulas. From the Moldavian CS legacy of the period of Peter Rareș, we also have to mention three further texts that were preserved in later manuscripts. The most important is the Chronicle by bishop Macarie of Roman († 1558)<sup>116</sup>. The first version of this Chronicle (Macarie I), covering the period after the death of voivode Stephen the Great, was ordered by voivode Peter and great logofăt Toader Bubuiog likely in 1529<sup>117</sup>. This part is written in a sober reportage style referring both about Moldavian and foreign events. After his return on the throne in 1541, voivode Peter Rareș asked Macarie to write a continuation (Macarie II)<sup>118</sup>, which rhetorically described Peter's escape from Moldavia after the Ottoman intervention in September 1538 and his regaining of sultan's favour and finally the throne.

<sup>114</sup> Л. ГНАТЕНКО et al., *Слов'янська кирилична рукописна книга XVI ст. з фондів Інституту рукопису Національної бібліотеки України імені В.І. Вернадського*, Київ 2010.

<sup>115</sup> The *Miscellany* from 1533 contains the Passion and Liturgy of the Moldavian patron St John the New of Suceava (А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Из истории славянской проповеди въ Молдавию. Неизвестное произведения Григория Цамблака*, Санктпетербургъ 1906, p. XXII), the texts staying at the beginning of the Moldavian Slavonic literature no matter the debated identity of its authorship, out of Romania mostly ascribed to Gregory Tsamblak. For details of the discussion see А.А. ТУРИЛОВ, *Иоанн Новъй, Сочавский*, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, vol. XXIV, Москва 2011, p. 459–463, online: <http://www.pravenc.ru/text/471404.html> [10 V 2022]. The *Typikon* from 1533 was supposed to contain the *Прѣпѣла* 'Undersongs' by Filotei, a former logofăt of voivode Mircea the Old, which is the introductory work of the original CS literature in Wallachia.

<sup>116</sup> On his life see e.g. M. PĂCURARIU, *Istoria bisericii ortodoxe române*, vol. I, Iași 2004, p. 423. Macarie entered the office of the bishop of Roman (Lower Country) in 1531 and he was temporarily deposed during the reign of Peter's son Iliăș Rareș.

<sup>117</sup> Preserved on ff. 154–168 in the *Miscellany* (*Книга молебниѣ*), State Historical Museum in Moscow, Bars. 1411 from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. On the manuscript see *Славяно-молдавские...*, p. 19–20; А.Д. ПАСКАЛЬ, *Славяно-молдавские рукописи XV–XVII вв. в собраниях Государственного Исторического Музея (Москва)*, [in:] *Академическая археография в России XVIII–XXI веков (Тихомировские чтения 2016 года: К 60-летию Археографической комиссии РАН)*, Москва 2017, p. 154. The text of Macarie I was not published separately, just in reading variants in the editions by I. BOGDAN and P.P. PANAITESCU, *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV–XVI*, București 1959, p. 77–90 and *Славяно-молдавские...*, p. 125–138, based on the final (3<sup>rd</sup>) redaction of the text.

<sup>118</sup> Preserved within The *Поčajiv Miscellany* (Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Počajiv 47 (116) from 1558–1561. On the contents of the manuscript see I. BOGDAN, *Scrieri alese...*, p. 273–288; *Славяно-молдавские...*, p. 16–17; V. PELIN, *Manuscrise...*, p. 118–121. It was separately published within the 1<sup>st</sup> Moldavian historiographic corpus edited by I. BOGDAN, *Vechile cronice moldovenesci până la Urechiiă*, Bucuresci 1891, p. 149–162. Later, it was published as reading variants under the editions of the 3<sup>rd</sup> redaction: I. BOGDAN, *Letopisețul lui Azarie*, București 1909, p. 96–11; *Cronicile slavo-române...*, p. 77–90 and *Славяно-молдавские...*, p. 125–138.

The second original CS text is the Enkomion to St John the New<sup>119</sup>, written in 1534. It is actually a reworked Passion of St John the New of Suceava. The third later preserved text is a letter likely from ca 1531–1536, now probably lost, but published by Jacimirskij<sup>120</sup>. It is a recommendation letter written by hegumen Teodosie of Neamț to bishop Macarie of Roman about hieromonk Ioil, a candidate for the position of hegumen of Voroneț. In modern words, the letter contains Ioil's CV with a bibliography of copied manuscripts and list of monasteries, where he worked, providing interesting details on the career management of a 16<sup>th</sup> century CS scribe.

An unneglectable part of the Moldavian CS legacy is represented by inscriptions. From the examined period, we have mainly two types of them: the ktetor inscriptions and the tombstone inscriptions. From the five published ktetor inscriptions, one was made on behalf of great logofăt Toader Bubuiog<sup>121</sup> and four on behalf of the voivode (during his first reign):

- 1530 St Nicholas church in Pobrata<sup>122</sup>,
- 1532 Annunciation Church in Moldovița<sup>123</sup>,
- 1532 Dormition Church in Baia<sup>124</sup>,
- 1534 St Demetrius church in Suceava<sup>125</sup>.

We are aware about eight tombstone inscriptions dated into this period that are mostly also linked to great logofăt Toader (Тоддѣрь великѣй логѡфѣтъ)<sup>126</sup> and the voivode<sup>127</sup>. Further dated inscriptions are linked to other personal-

<sup>119</sup> Похвалное еѣиѣ и славному великоунику юѡанну новому. Preserved in the Menaion for April (Russian State Library, coll. 310, no. 81, 1467) in a copy done in 1574. For the manuscript see V. PELIN, *Manuscrite...*, p. 55–56. Full edition was done by in А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Из исторіи славянской проповѣди...*, p. 87–95.

<sup>120</sup> А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Мелкіе тексты и замѣтки по старинной славянской и русской литературѣ*, ИОРЯС 5.4, 1900, p. 1237–1239. The text was included in the *Miscellany of hagiographic and apocryphal texts* from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century that belonged to the collection of Teofil Gepețchi and was previously situated in Moldovița.

<sup>121</sup> It is placed in the Dormition church in Humor. *Die Inschriften aus der Bukovina. Beiträge zur Quellenkunde der Landes- und Kirchengeschichte*, vol. I, *Steininschriften*, ed. E.A. KOZAK, Wien 1903, p. 28–29. During the interregnum (reign of Stephen Lăcustă) in 1538, great vistiernic Matiaș (Матіашъ великѣ вистѣрнѣи) let also make a ktetor inscription in the church of Holy Spirit Descent in Horodniceni. *Inscripții din bisericile României*, ed. N. IORGA, București 1905, p. 64.

<sup>122</sup> *Inscripții din bisericile...*, p. 56.

<sup>123</sup> *Die Inschriften...*, p. 187–188.

<sup>124</sup> *Inscripții din bisericile...*, p. 63.

<sup>125</sup> *Die Inschriften...*, p. 138.

<sup>126</sup> Dormition church in Humor: tomb of Maria, wife of Toader logofăt from 1527 (*Die Inschriften...*, p. 33) and the tomb of Toader logofăt from 1539 (*Die Inschriften...*, p. 34).

<sup>127</sup> In Putna, there are tombs of Maria, wife of Peter Rareș, died in 1529 (*Die Inschriften...*, p. 91) and of voivode Stephen the Young from 1527 (*Die Inschriften...*, p. 91). In St Demetrius Church in



ities<sup>128</sup>. In the Zographou Monastery (Изѡграфѣ), there is a short donation inscription by voivode Peter from 1533<sup>129</sup>.

The most numerous group of original Moldavian texts are the chancery documents. In these documents, the character of the language depends on the addressee of the document. The largest group of Slavonic documents is represented by charters issued by the internal chancery to secular individuals or families (mostly boyars)<sup>130</sup>. The chancery of the first reign of voivode Peter Rareș was led by the already mentioned great logofăt Toader Bubuiog (in office 1525–1537). He was a son-in-law of Ion Tăutu, the great logofăt of Stephen the Great, under whose leadership he began his chancery career as a simple scribe<sup>131</sup>. The thoroughly signed internal chancery documents allow to reconstruct Toader's team that included: Dumitru Popovici (Дѡмитръ Поповиѣ), Petrea Popovici (Петръ Поповиѣ), Gheorghie (Гѡургиѣ), Grigorie Bogza/Bogzovici (Григоріѣ Богза), Ion Margire (Іѡ Маржирѣ), Cârstea Burlovici (Кръстѣ Бѡрловиѣ), Toma Cățeleana (Тѡма Кѡцѣлѣновиѣ), Cozma Cățeleanovici (Кѡзма Кѡцѣлѣновиѣ), Lazor Golâi (Лазѡ Голъи) and later also Vasilie Buzdugan (Василіѣ Бѡздѡгѡ) and Ion Florescul (Іѡ Флорѣскѡ). The chancery of the second reign of voivode Peter was led by Mateiaș (Матіѡ логѡфѣ, in office 1541–1548), previously great vistiernic<sup>132</sup>. His team included the already mentioned Vasilie Buzdugan, Toma Florescul (Тѡма Флорѣскѡ), Luca Popovici (Лѡка Поповиѣ), Mihăilă Borra (Михѡлѣ Борра), Dumitru Văscanovici (Дѡмитръ Вѣскановиѣ) and others. Several of the above mentioned names indicate one of the recruitment strategies of the internal chancery: at least some of the scribes used to be recruited from priest families, which provided the CS education to their (male)

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Suceava, there is the tomb of Peter's son Bogdan from 1540 (*Die Inschriften...*, p. 91). In St Nicholas Church in Pobrata, there is the tomb of voivode Peter Rareș (*Inscripții din bisericile...*, p. 56).

<sup>128</sup> In St Demetrius Church in Suceava, there is the tomb of a pârcălab of Chotyn (1541) and of great vistiernic Toma (1543). See *Die Inschriften...*, p. 140. In the church of Zăhărești, there is a tombstone inscription of Marena, wife of pârcălab Hărovici of Chotyn. See *Die Inschriften...*, p. 213–214. In St George church in Hârlău, there was (now in the Museum of National Art of Romania, MNAR 4367) a tombstone inscription of a painter called Gheorghie. See *Inscripțiile medievale și din epoca modernă a României*, vol. I, *Orașul București (1395–1800)*, ed. A. ELIAN, București 1965, p. 506.

<sup>129</sup> Й. ИВАНОВЪ, *Български старини изъ Македония*, София 1931, p. 241.

<sup>130</sup> In our study, we work with 57 of such documents. As the planned volume V of *Documenta Romaniae Historica, series A*, which is supposed to cover this period, has not been issued yet, we use the editions in the following sources: T. BĂLAN, *Documente bucovinene*, vol. I...; vol. II, (1519–1662), Cernăuți 1934; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I; *Молдова ын епока феудализмулу волумул*, vol. II, *Документе славо-молдовенець. Вякуриле XV–XVI*, ed. Л.В. ЧЕРЕПИН et al., Кишинэу 1978; *Surte și izvoade (Documente slavo-române)*, ed. G. GHIBĂNESCU, vol. I, Iași 1906; vol. II, Iași 1906; vol. VII, Iași 1912; vol. IX, (*Documente Basarabene*), Iași 1914; vol. XVIII, Iași 1927; vol. XIX, Iași 1927; vol. XXI, Iași 1929; vol. XXIV, Iași 1930; M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente inedite de la Petru Rareș*, RI 8.7–8, 1997, p. 503–515.

<sup>131</sup> N. STOICESCU, *Dicționar al marilor dregători din Țara românească și Moldova. Sec. XIV–XVII*, București 1971, p. 330.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 314.

members. It is worth mentioning that the scribes signing themselves as *Popovici/Попови* ‘priest’s son’ (in one case even *Калѣгерѣ* ‘monk’s son’)<sup>133</sup> dominate among the authors of the CS based monastery charters, even if they were perfectly competent in composing also linguistically different secular charters to boyars. The internal chancery letters we are working with were mostly issued in Lower Moldavia (Bârlad/Брълѣ, Hârlău/Хрълѣ, Vaslui/Васлѣи, Huși/Хѣ), eventually in Iași (Іѣ) and Suceava (Сѣчава).

A specific group of documents issued by the internal chancery and signed by the voivode, is addressed to the religious establishments. We work with nine documents sent to the monastery of Neamț (*Нѣмѣ*)<sup>134</sup>, Moldovița (*Молдавица*)<sup>135</sup>, Bistrița (*Бистрица*)<sup>136</sup>, Putna (*Пѣтна*)<sup>137</sup> and the bishopric of Rădăuți (*Радѣвце*)<sup>138</sup>. The scribes of these letters are mostly the same as the previous ones. A different corpus of very variable ad hoc contents (political, judicial, business) is represented by the communication with Transylvanian towns. This corpus linguistically and stylistically differs from the highly formulaic internal chancery documents. Among the 105 published documents<sup>139</sup> addressed to Bistrița in Transylvania, we found 79 documents issued in Latin mostly by the voivode, but also by his wife Ecaterina and various officials, 18 in German, from which just five from 1540 were issued by voivode. Five German letters were issued by the town councils of Suceava, Baia, Bistrița and Rodna. Eight letters were issued by Moldavian officials in Slavonic: one by pârcălab Dan (*Дѣ пѣръкѣлѣ*) of Câmpulung<sup>140</sup> two by Mățiaș vistiernic (future logofăt)<sup>141</sup>, two by Huru (*Хѣрѣ великѣи двѣни*), great vornic of the Lower Country<sup>142</sup>, one by Mihul hatman (*Михѣ хѣтманѣ*)<sup>143</sup> and two by Toma logofăt (*Тѣма логофѣ*)<sup>144</sup>. One letter to Bistrița in Transylvania was issued by a hegumen of Moldovița<sup>145</sup>.

<sup>133</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 56.

<sup>134</sup> 15 March 1527. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124–125.

<sup>135</sup> 1534 (T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 16–17), 17 September 1545 (*Surete...*, vol. I, p. 375–377), 27 May 1546 (T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 44–45), 27 May 1546 (*Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58–59). The last letter concerns the donation of the skete of Sălăgeni, established by the above mentioned copist Evloghie, ex-great vistiernic, to Moldovița.

<sup>136</sup> 1546 (*Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 50–52, 55–56). The first letter includes an original narration of Peter Rareș’s anabasis.

<sup>137</sup> 11 April 1546 (*Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 93–95).

<sup>138</sup> 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1529 (T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 29–31).

<sup>139</sup> *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, vol. II, part 1, Bucuresci 1891; part 3, Bucuresci 1892; part 4, Bucuresci 1894; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1; ed. A. VERESS, *Documente...*

<sup>140</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 525.

<sup>141</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 536, 537.

<sup>142</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 538, 539.

<sup>143</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 539–540.

<sup>144</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 540–542.

<sup>145</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 531.

In contrast to the above mentioned internal documents, these letters were issued in Upper Country (Suceava, Cămpulung/Долгополе/Дългополе). Eleven letters were sent to Brașov (Брашѣ, Брашѣ) and signed by the voivode. Eight of them are in Latin, three in Slavonic<sup>146</sup>. Most of the Latin letters are linked to military activities of voivode Peter in 1529. The letters to king Ferdinand I of Habsburg<sup>147</sup> or his representatives were sent in Latin or German, the communication with his rival John Szápolyai<sup>148</sup> and his officials was issued in Latin. The communication with king Sigismund the Old of Poland was led both in Latin and Polish<sup>149</sup>. A Peace Treaty with king Sigismund from 1526 was written in Slavonic<sup>150</sup>. Another Slavonic letter was sent in 1531 by great vistiernic Glăvan (Глава) to the burghers of Lviv (Ливѣ)<sup>151</sup>. There is one preserved (and published) original of a petition by Peter Rareș written in Ottoman Turkish from ca 1530/1531<sup>152</sup>.

### Moldavian Trinovitan Standard

Before the evaluation of the variability of written varieties of Moldavia in the examined period, we will shortly focus on the description of the standard variety<sup>153</sup>. The top position of the written variety structure was occupied by Church Slavonic of the biblical-liturgical corpus. The variety used in Moldavia, influencing also neighbouring areas (Wallachia, Orthodox communities in Hungary, Poland and Lithuania), was the bookish language patterned on the standard variety of the Late period of the Second Bulgarian Empire (Trinovitan, or Tărnovo CS)<sup>154</sup>. This variety was adapted by the Moldavian milieu in the first decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>155</sup> and its model texts were elaborated mainly by the school of Gavriil

<sup>146</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518–520.

<sup>147</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1.

<sup>148</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 363.

<sup>149</sup> Ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, I. BOGDAN, *Documente...*, *Sup.* 2, vol. I.

<sup>150</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725–728.

<sup>151</sup> *Исторические связи народов СССР и Румынии в XV-начале XVIII в. Документы и материалы в трех томах*, vol. I, 1408–1632, ed. Я.С. ГРОСУЛ et al., Москва 1965, no. 36.

<sup>152</sup> *Documente turcești privind istoria României*, vol. I, 1455–1774, ed. M.A. МЕНМЕД, București 1976, p. 16–17.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. В.М. ЖИВОВ, *История языка русской письменности*, vol. I, Москва 2017, p. 212–213.

<sup>154</sup> The most detailed description of this variety, based on the language of the texts of patriarch Euthymius of Tărnovo can be found in И. ХАРАЛАМПИЕВ, *Езикът и езиковата реформа на Евтимий Търновски*, София 1990.

<sup>155</sup> This is linked with the recognition of the Moldavian metropolia by Constantinople patriarchate (1401), being a fruit of the political-cultural activity of voivode Alexander the Good and, according to many scholars, the activity of Gregory Tsamblak, eventually other bookmen of Bulgarian origin. Cf. П. БОЙЧЕВА, *Традициите на Търновска книжовна школа и делото на Гавриил Урик*, [in:] *Търновска книжовна школа*, vol. II, ed. П. РУСЕВ et al., Велико Търново 1980, p. 180; I. IUFU, *Manuscrise slavo-române din mănăstirile românești*, București 2016, p. 101. The oldest dated text

Uric in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>156</sup>. Our description of the shape of this variety in the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century will be based on four manuscripts – three Tetraevangelia<sup>157</sup> and the Twelve Books of Old Testament from 1537 (further OT). For comparison, we will also refer to Peter Rareš's Tetraevangelion from 1534<sup>158</sup>, which is untypically written in Resavian<sup>159</sup>, surely because of the addressee of the book (an Athos monastery). The Resavian variety of this text represents the subtype, which A.-M. Totomanova calls the Bulgarian one<sup>160</sup>, whose model texts are represented by the activity of Vladislav Gramatik (active in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>161</sup>. In our description, we will first focus on the graphematic system<sup>162</sup> and later on the morphologic features. We will suppose the reader is familiar with the “School” Old Church Slavonic Spelling and Grammar<sup>163</sup>.

The primary feature of the Trinovitan CS is the use of two juses<sup>164</sup>: Ѡ and ѡ. In contrast to that, the Resavian CS does not use them at all. The distribution of juses corresponds to the etymological places except the following cases:

- Ѡ is written behind originally soft ρ, л, н, ч, с, which has direct impact on the grammatical forms<sup>165</sup>,

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from Moldavia, fully written in Trinovitan CS is the charter from 7 January 1407 written by Gárd on behalf of metropolitan Iosif and the voivode. *Documenta Romaniae Historica. A. Moldova*, vol. I, (1384–1448), ed. C. СНОДАРУ et al., București 1975, p. 29.

<sup>156</sup> There is an extant literature on his activity. The clearest overview of his legacy with bibliography and manuscript samples was provided by А.Д. ПАСКАЛЬ, *О рукописном наследии молдавского книжника Гавриила Урика из монастыря Нямац*, [in:] *Istorie și cultură. In honorem academician Andrei Eșanu*, ed. C. MANOLACHE, Chișinău 2018, p. 343–375.

<sup>157</sup> Jerusalem Patriarchal Library, Slavonic 2, from 1532 (cetera: BPI); Russian State Library, coll. 98, no. 78, from 1542 (cetera: RGB); and Jerusalem Patriarchal Library, Slavonic Abraam 2, from 1546 (cetera: Abraam).

<sup>158</sup> Austrian National Library, cod. slav. 2 (cetera: ÖNB).

<sup>159</sup> However, the colophon follows the Trinovitan norm.

<sup>160</sup> А. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Правопис, ресавски*, [in:] *Старобългарска литература. Енциклопедичен речник*, ed. Д. ПЕТКАНОВА, София 1992, p. 352–353.

<sup>161</sup> Сф. Б. ХРИСТОВА, *Опис на ръкописите на Владислав Граматик*, Велико Търново 1996.

<sup>162</sup> Developing the scheme presented in V. KNOLL, *Čirkevní slovanština v pozdním středověku*, Praha 2019, p. 273.

<sup>163</sup> We allow us to remind that the scribe of the 16<sup>th</sup> century did not have such grammar on his disposal, which is evident, but still *ex silentio* supposed in some scholar publications. The scribe actually did not have any grammar at hand, but he was fully oriented on the available model texts.

<sup>164</sup> Graphemes originally designed for Common Slavonic nasal vowels.

<sup>165</sup> Matthew pericope (зач., cetera: per.) 9: BPI RGB Abraam сътворѡа vs. ÖNB сътворѡу ‘I will do’, per. 11 BPI RGB Abraam гѡа vs. ÖNB гѡю ‘I say’, per. 3 BPI поклонѡ сѡ – RGB Abraam поклѡнѡ сѡ vs. ÖNB поклѡнѡ сѡ ‘I will bow’, per. 4 BPI RGB Abraam плачѡщи сѡ vs. ÖNB плачѡщи сѡ ‘weeping’, per. 9 BPI RGB Abraam вѣсѡ – вѣсѡ vs. ÖNB всѡ – вѣсѡ (accusative singular and plural) ‘all’. We prefer the orientation per pericopes as they are marked in all Middle CS Gospel manuscripts.

- **л** is written in the adverb **вънлѣтрѣ**<sup>166</sup> and in the active present participle forms of the verb **имѣти**<sup>167</sup>,
- **ж** is written in the word stems behind **ж**, **ш** (actually in few concrete words)<sup>168</sup> and in the conjunction **иж**<sup>169</sup>,
- the variation of **л/ж** behind **ц**, **ж**, **ш**, **щ** in word endings must not always follow the etymology, which multiplies the interpretation of some passages<sup>170</sup>,
- **л** is preferred in the initial position except the pronouns<sup>171</sup>,
- there is a non-etymological variation of **л/ж** behind vowels, which is notable especially in plural forms (of feminine adjectives and ja-stems). In singular, there is a tendency to prefer **ж** (nonetymologically in genitive, etymologically in accusative and instrumental singular)<sup>172</sup>.
- Combination of juses, used as the ending of accusative singular of feminine adjective is **-жл**. This ending may spread also to nominative and accusative plural of feminine forms of present active participles, where it may compete with **-лл**. The latter ending is otherwise typical for nominative and accusative plural of the soft feminine declension of adjectives<sup>173</sup>.

<sup>166</sup> Matthew per. 22, thus in BPI RGB Abraam **вънлѣтрѣ(же)** vs. ÖNB **въноуѣтрѣ** ‘inside’.

<sup>167</sup> Mathew per. 2 BPI **имѣши** – RGB **имѣши** – Abraam **имѣши** vs. ÖNB **имѣши** ‘having’.

<sup>168</sup> Per. 10 BPI RGB Abraam **жѣжѣшии** vs. ÖNB **жѣжѣшии** ‘those who hunger’, OT f. 43v **пошѣдѣе** ‘she felt sorry’. The only CS word having \*šę in the word stem (OCS **шлатати сѧ** ‘to rebel’) is missing in the examined sources.

<sup>169</sup> Spelling BPI 3v RGB 6v Abraam 7г **иж** vs. ÖNB 3v **иѣ** ‘but’.

<sup>170</sup> Matthew per. 4 BPI **душа** – RGB Abraam **душа** vs. ÖNB **душоу** ‘soul’ (accusative singular in Greek), per. 3 BPI Abraam **видѣшаж** – RGB **видѣша** vs. ÖNB **видѣше** ‘the saw’, per. 9 BPI RGB acc. pl. **мръжж** – Abraam **мръжж** vs. ÖNB **мръжжѣ** ‘nets’, per. 18 BPI RGB Abraam genitive singular **пищж** vs. ÖNB **пищѣ** ‘meal’, per. 18 BPI genitive singular **одежж** – RGB **одежж** – Abraam **одежж** vs. ÖNB **одежжѣ** ‘raiment’, per. 18 BPI RGB Abraam accusative plural **птица** vs. ÖNB **птице** ‘fowls’, per. 18 BPI **въ житница** – RGB **въ житница** – Abraam **въ житницаж** vs. ÖNB **въ житницю** ‘into barns’ (plural in Greek).

<sup>171</sup> Matthew per. 8 BPI RGB Abraam **лзыкъ** vs. ÖNB **езыкъ** ‘land; nation’, per. 40 BPI **въ лзылиши** – RGB **въ лзылиши** – Abraam **въ лзылиши** vs. ÖNB **въ оузылиши** ‘in the prison’, 73 BPI **лдицж** – RGB Abraam **лдицж** – ÖNB **оудицѣ** ‘a hook’, per. 2 BPI **ѡпоустити ж** – RGB **ѡпоустити ѣж** – Abraam **псѣтити ж** – ÖNB **поустити ю** ‘to put her away’.

<sup>172</sup> Foreword, originally nom. pl. BPI 4г **змиж** – RGB 7г **змиа** – Abraam 7v **змиа** vs. ÖNB 4г **змиѣ** ‘snakes’, Matthew per. 2 BPI Abraam **мжжѣ ѣж** – RGB **мжжѣ ѣж** vs. ÖNB **моуѣжж ѣе** ‘her husband’, per. 2 accusative plural BPI **люди своа** – RGB **люди своа** – Abraam **люди своа** vs. ÖNB **люди своѣ** ‘his people’, per. 3 accusative plural BPI **въсѣа архіерѣж и книжники люскыж** – RGB **въсѣа архіерѣа и книжники люскыа** – Abraam **въсѣа архіерѣа и книжники люскыа** vs. ÖNB **въсѣа архіерѣе и книжники люскыѣ** ‘all the chief priests and scribes’, per. 4 BPI Abraam **поаѣтѣ** – RGB **поаѣтѣ** vs. ÖNB **поѣтѣ** ‘he took’, per. 10 BPI RGB Abraam **ѡ галиѣж** vs. ÖNB **ѡ галиѣѣ** ‘from Galilee’.

<sup>173</sup> Matthew per. 14 accusative singular feminine BPI **дрѡуѣжжѣ** – RGB **дрѡуѣжжѣ** – Abraam **дрѡуѣжжѣ** vs. ÖNB **дрѡуѣуѣю** ‘the other one’, per. 4 accusative plural BPI **въсѣа дѣкти сѣщжжѣ** – RGB **дѣкти**

The secondary traits of the Trinovitan CS contrasting with the (ideal) Resavian norm are the jer vocalisation and the reflexes of \*ja/\*je. The o-vocalisation (\*ŭ > o) appears just in the suffix -оѣ<sup>174</sup>, while the e-vocalisation (\*ĭ > e) appear in the suffixes -ѣцѣ<sup>175</sup>, -енѣ<sup>176</sup> and in many word stems<sup>177</sup>. In a few cases, one can see differences in vocalisations among the texts<sup>178</sup>. In the reflexes of \*ja/\*je, the common feature of the Trinovitan and Resavian spelling is the regular appearance of ѣ<sup>179</sup> and the variation of е/ѣ<sup>180</sup> in the initial position and the use of simple а/ѣ in the postvocalic position<sup>181</sup>. The most visible difference is the appearance of ѣ/ѣ in Resavian behind the н, л. In these positions, the Resavian ѣ/ѣ correspond to the Trinovitan ѣ/ѣ<sup>182</sup>. The clusters \*rja/\*sja are spelled рѣ/сѣ in Trinovitan, but ра/са in Resavian<sup>183</sup>.

The following elements are virtually common to different Middle CS varieties. The use of jers<sup>184</sup> generally follows the jer distribution rule. According to this rule, the letter ѣ is written in the interior of a stress unit<sup>185</sup> (thus both in the

вѣса сѣщѣа – Abraam вѣса дѣти сѣщѣа vs. ÖNB вѣсѣ дѣти соуѣе ‘all the children that were’, per. 9 accusative plural BPI вѣса̀ волаѣщѣа – RGB вѣса̀ вѣлаѣщѣа – Abraam вѣса̀ вѣлаѣщѣа vs. ÖNB вѣсѣ̀ болеѣе ‘all sick people’, per. 15 accusative plural BPI каѣнаѣщѣа – RGB каѣнаѣщѣа – Abraam каѣнаѣщѣа vs. ÖNB каѣнаѣе ‘them that curse you’, per. 37 BPI домаѣнаѣа – RGB домаѣнаѣа – Abraam домаѣнаѣа vs. ÖNB домаѣнаѣе ‘them of his household’.

<sup>174</sup> Matthew per. 43 BPI кро̀тоѣкѣ – RGB Abraam кро̀тоѣкѣ vs. ÖNB кро̀тоѣкѣ ‘meek’.

<sup>175</sup> Matthew per. 2 BPI прѣ̀вѣ̀неѣцѣ – RGB прѣ̀вѣ̀неѣцѣ – Abraam прѣ̀вѣ̀неѣцѣ vs. ÖNB прѣ̀вѣ̀неѣцѣ ‘firstborn son’.

<sup>176</sup> Matthew per. 55 BPI по̀вѣ̀неѣ – RGB Abraam по̀вѣ̀неѣ vs. ÖNB по̀до̀вѣ̀неѣ ‘similar’.

<sup>177</sup> Matthew per. 3 BPI вѣ̀ ѣ̀рѣ̀мѣ – RGB вѣ̀сѣ̀ ѣ̀рѣ̀мѣ – Abraam вѣ̀ ѣ̀рѣ̀салиѣ vs. ÖNB вѣ̀сѣ̀ ѣ̀рѣ̀мѣ ‘all Jerusalem’, per. 3 BPI RGB мѣ̀нѣ̀ши – Abraam мѣ̀нѣ̀ши vs. ÖNB мѣ̀нѣ̀ши ‘minor’, per. 3 BPI шѣ̀ше – RGB Abraam шѣ̀ше vs. ÖNB шѣ̀ше ‘go; having gone’, per. 16 BPI RGB днѣ̀ – Abraam днѣ̀ vs. ÖNB днѣ̀ ‘today’, but per. 16 RGB дѣ̀ри – Abraam дѣ̀ри – ÖNB дѣ̀ри ‘door’.

<sup>178</sup> Matthew per. 4 BPI вѣ̀пѣ – RGB ÖNB вѣ̀пѣ vs. Abraam вѣ̀пѣ ‘mourning’, per. 40 BPI ÖNB чѣ̀сѣ vs. RGB Abraam чѣ̀сѣ ‘why, what’, per. 4 BPI оу̀мѣ̀рѣшѣ – RGB оу̀мѣ̀рѣшѣ – Abraam оу̀мѣ̀рѣшѣ vs. ÖNB оу̀мѣ̀рѣшѣ ‘when he was dead’.

<sup>179</sup> Matthew per. 3 BPI ÖNB ѣ̀ко – RGB Abraam ѣ̀ко, per. 44 BPI ѣ̀сти – RGB Abraam ÖNB ѣ̀сти ‘to eat’.

<sup>180</sup> Matthew per. 3 BPI ѐгѣ – Abraam ѐгѣ vs. RGB ÖNB ѐгѣ ‘when’, per. 3 BPI RGB ѐ vs. ÖNB ѣ̀ ‘he is’, per. 5 BPI RGB ÖNB ѐ – Abraam ѐсть ‘he is’.

<sup>181</sup> Generally, the distribution of ѣ in the Resavian manuscripts may be very variable in the initial and postvocalic positions, especially in the texts written on the Serbian territory.

<sup>182</sup> Preface BPI 4v RGB 7v Abraam 8r глѣ̀тѣса̀ занѣ vs. ÖNB 4v глѣ̀тѣсе, занѣ ‘it is said due’, BPI 4v ѡста̀влѣнѣ – RGB 7v ѡста̀влѣнѣ – Abraam 8r ѡста̀влѣнѣ vs. ÖNB 4v ѡста̀влѣнѣ ‘remission’, Matthew per. 6 BPI ѣ̀нѣ – RGB ѣ̀нѣ – Abraam ѣ̀нѣ vs. ÖNB ѣ̀на, per. 16 BPI ѡста̀влѣѣмѣ – RGB ѡста̀влѣѣмѣ – Abraam ѡста̀влѣѣмѣ vs. ÖNB ѡста̀влѣѣмѣ ‘we forgive’.

<sup>183</sup> Matthew per. 3 BPI Abraam цѣ̀рѣ – RGB цѣ̀рѣ vs. ÖNB цѣ̀ра ‘of emperor’, per. 12 BPI RGB Abraam вѣ̀сѣ̀кѣ vs. ÖNB вѣ̀сѣ̀кѣ ‘everybody’.

<sup>184</sup> Graphemes originally denoting Common Slavonic reduced vowels.

<sup>185</sup> The concept of a *word* was not exactly defined in this time. From the spelling (and even more clearly from the early prints), it is clear that scribes distinguished (not very exactly) rather stress units, i.e. the word plus proclitics and enclitics.

word stems and in the prefixes and prepositions), in the monosyllabic pronouns сѣ/тѣ<sup>186</sup> and the word бѣ ‘God’<sup>187</sup>. The intentional exception of this rule usually comprises the cluster -чѣ-<sup>188</sup>. Some scribes may occasionally write ѣ also in the рѣ/лѣ clusters at the word end<sup>189</sup>. At the end of a stress unit, but sometimes also in front of a suffix<sup>190</sup>, the letter ѣ is used<sup>191</sup>. In the final position it may be replaced by the above-writing of the final consonant. The jer is not written in the weak positions<sup>192</sup>, but it remained in prefixes<sup>193</sup> including the *pseudoprefix* in the word вѣсѣ<sup>194</sup>. The jer distribution rule is theoretically applicable also in the Resavian norm. However, especially in the word stems, as shown by ÖNB, this rule is not followed<sup>195</sup>. The letter с<sup>196</sup> as well as the specifically Greek letters are, more or less, regularly used<sup>197</sup>. Further typical spellings are изыти ‘to leave’<sup>198</sup>, гдѣ ‘where’<sup>199</sup> and сѣмо ‘hither’<sup>200</sup>. The distribution of u- (у/ѡ)<sup>201</sup> and o-allographs (о, о, ѡ)<sup>202</sup> might be very individual and rather random. The letter ѡ may appear in the stem

<sup>186</sup> Thus e.g. in Matthew per. 2 and 5 in BPI and ÖNB, cf. Abraam сѣ/тѣ, RGB сѣ/тѣ.

<sup>187</sup> Thus in Matthew per. 2 in BPI, RGB, Abraam, but in ÖNB бѣ.

<sup>188</sup> Matthew per. 56 BPI вѣс чѣстнѣ – RGB вѣсчѣстєнѣ – Abraam вѣсчѣстєнѣ – ÖNB вѣс чѣстнѣ, but ОТ 10гѣ нѣс чѣстнѣ ‘from honourfull’.

<sup>189</sup> Matthew per. 7 RGB Abraam прѣстѣѣплѣ vs. BPI прѣстѣѣплѣ – ÖNB прѣстоѣплѣ ‘having come to’.

<sup>190</sup> Matthew per. 2 BPI ÖNB рожѣство – RGB рожѣство – Abraam рожѣствѣ ‘birth’, 112 BPI RGB Abraam мнѣжѣство – ÖNB мнѣжѣство ‘plenty’, per. 23 BPI прѣчѣствѣвахѣ – RGB прорѣчѣствѣвахѣ – Abraam прѣрѣчѣствѣвахѣ – ÖNB прѣрѣчѣствѣвахѣ ‘we prophesied’.

<sup>191</sup> The use and the quality of jer in front of a suffix is likely the most variable trait of the Moldavian Trinovitan CS. There are scribes (not the ones of the examined manuscripts), who follow the jer distribution rule very thoroughly and do not write ѣ except of the very end of a stress unit.

<sup>192</sup> But see the occasional differences: Matthew per. 4 BPI вѣ сѣмѣ – RGB Abraam вѣ сѣмѣ – ÖNB вѣ сѣмѣ ‘in a dream’.

<sup>193</sup> But see the occasional differences: Matthew per. 3 BPI сѣмѣтѣсѣ – RGB Abraam сѣмѣтѣсѣ vs. ÖNB сѣмоѣтѣсѣ ‘he was troubled’.

<sup>194</sup> E.g. Matthew per. 2 BPI ÖNB вѣсѣ – RGB Abraam вѣсѣ ‘all’. But see the occasional differences: Matthew per. 4 вѣ вѣсѣ vs. RGB вѣ вѣсѣ – Abraam вѣ вѣсѣ – ÖNB вѣ вѣсѣ ‘in all’.

<sup>195</sup> 14 BPI вѣ лѣжѣ – RGB Abraam вѣ лѣжѣ vs. ÖNB вѣ лѣжѣ ‘untruly’.

<sup>196</sup> Matthew per. 10 BPI мнѣзи – RGB Abraam мнѣзи – ÖNB мнѣзи ‘multitudes’, per. 3 BPI Abraam сѣмѣ – RGB ÖNB сѣмѣ ‘much’.

<sup>197</sup> Matthew per. 3 BPI вѣ вѣлѣемѣ – RGB вѣ вѣлѣемѣ – Abraam вѣ вѣлѣемѣ – ÖNB вѣ вѣлѣемѣ ‘in Bethlehen’, per. 3 BPI сѣмирѣж – ÖNB сѣмирѣж vs. RGB сѣмирѣж – Abraam сѣмирѣж ‘myrrh’, per. 4 BPI єгѣпѣтѣ – RGB єгѣпѣтѣ – Abraam єгѣпѣтѣ vs. ÖNB єгѣпѣтѣ ‘Egypt’.

<sup>198</sup> Matthew per. 3 BPI изѣдетѣ – RGB Abraam изѣдетѣ – ÖNB изѣдетѣ ‘he shall come’.

<sup>199</sup> Matthew per. 3 BPI Abraam гдѣ – RGB ÖNB гдѣ.

<sup>200</sup> Matthew per. 28 BPI сѣмѣ – RGB Abraam ÖNB сѣмѣ.

<sup>201</sup> Matthew per. 4 BPI до смѣртѣи – RGB Abraam до смѣртѣи vs. ÖNB до оѣсмѣртѣи ‘until the death’.

<sup>202</sup> Matthew per. 3 BPI ѡ ѡтрѣчатѣ – Abraam ѡ ѡтрѣчатѣ vs. RGB ѡ ѡтрѣчатѣ – ÖNB ѡ ѡтрѣчатѣ ‘about the child’, per. 3 BPI иѣдѣшѣ – ÖNB иѣдѣшѣ vs. RGB Abraam иѣдѣшѣ ‘they were going’, per. 4 BPI мнѣгѣ vs. RGB мнѣгѣ vs. Abraam мнѣгѣ – ÖNB мнѣгѣ ‘great’, per. 3 BPI вѣдѣхѣмѣ вѣ vs. Abraam вѣдѣхѣмѣ вѣ – RGB ÖNB вѣдѣхѣмѣ вѣ ‘for we have seen’.

пророк- 'prophet'<sup>203</sup>. The popular Middle CS manuscript (i.e. not printed) spelling feature are special o-allographs in different forms of the word око 'eye'<sup>204</sup>.

The presence of rich and variable diacritics is one of the main features of Middle CS. The most regularly diacritics are psila of various shapes ('), oxia ('), varia ('), iso (") and kendema ("), which is typically used in monosyllables except prepositions<sup>205</sup>. Nevertheless, the position of these diacritic signs as<sup>206</sup> well as their combining with other types, especially kamora (') and okovavy (")<sup>207</sup>, is far from being regularised<sup>208</sup>. A certain role is also played by a different level of consistency in using the diacritics, in particular in combination with above-written letters and jer-apostroph (').

The morphological specifics of the language attested in the above mentioned Moldavian books of the second quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century can be divided into two main groups: the specifics linked to the spelling features and those that are not linked to them. The aspect, which influences the flexion most, are the juses. We have mentioned above several aspects, which are variable and may cause confusion or homonymy of the forms. This may be revealed e.g. in the transcription to another spelling type<sup>209</sup>. The ja-stems ending in л, н, р show a regular paradigm different from that of the "School" OCS Grammar manifested in the nom. sg. with -ѣ and acc. sg. with -а (homonymous with nominative and accusative plural)<sup>210</sup>. An analogous situation rules in the paradigm of the pronoun въѣѣ 'all', where въѣѣ is nominative singular feminine and nominative and accusative plural neuter<sup>211</sup> and въѣѣа is accusative singular feminine as well as nominative plural feminine and accusative plural masculine and feminine.

<sup>203</sup> Matthew per. 4 BPI прѣрѣкѣ vs. RGB Abraam прѣрѣкѣ – ÖNB прѣрѣкомъ 'by the prophet'.

<sup>204</sup> Matthew per. 14 BPI ѣкѣ – RGB Abraam ÖNB ѣко 'eye', per. 33 BPI ѣчи – RGB Abraam ÖNB ѣчи 'eyes'.

<sup>205</sup> Preface BPI 4r RGB 7r Abraam 7v ÖNB 4r въ 'you', BPI 4v RGB 7v ÖNB 5r двѣ vs. Abraam 8r двѣ 'two'.

<sup>206</sup> Matthew per. 4 BPI рѣкѣ ти vs. RGB Abraam рѣкѣ ти – ÖNB рѣкоу ти 'I will tell you', per. 10 BPI Abraam солъ земли – ÖNB солъ земли vs. RGB солъ земли 'salt of the earth'.

<sup>207</sup> Such name of this diacritic sign is mentioned by И.В. Ягичъ, *Рассуждения южнославянской и русской старины о церковнославянскомъ языкѣ*, Санкт-Петербургъ 1896, p. 795.

<sup>208</sup> BPI 4v ѣдѣ vs. RGB 7v ѣдѣ vs. Abraam 8r ÖNB 4v ѣдѣ 'when', BPI 4r сѣрѣѣ – RGB 7v сѣрѣѣ – Abraam 7v сѣрѣѣ – ÖNB 4v сѣрѣѣ 'that is', per. 4 BPI ѣ двѣю лѣтъ vs. Abraam ѣ двѣю лѣтъ – RGB ѣ двѣю лѣтъ vs. ÖNB ѣ двѣю лѣтоу 'from two years'.

<sup>209</sup> E.g. the forms дѣш 'soul(s)' and мрѣжж 'net(s)', въ на 'in her/them' can be thus interpreted as gen. and acc. sg. and nom. and acc. pl., глѣ, сѣтворѣа can be both indicative 'I say, I do' and active present participle 'saying, doing'. Cf. also Matthew per. 6 BPI ѣ галилѣѣ – RGB Abraam ѣ галилѣѣ vs. ÖNB ѣ галилѣѣ 'from Galilee', per. 8 BPI въ галилѣѣ – RGB Abraam въ галилѣѣ vs. ÖNB въ галилѣю 'to Galilee'.

<sup>210</sup> Matthew per. 11 BPI RGB Abraam земли vs. ÖNB земля 'land', per. 4 BPI RGB Abraam въ земли vs. ÖNB въ земли 'to the land'.

<sup>211</sup> Matthew per. 5 BPI въѣѣ страна – RGB въѣѣ страна – Abraam въѣѣ страна vs. ÖNB въѣѣ страна 'all the region', 7 BPI RGB Abraam въѣѣ црѣвѣа vs. ÖNB въѣѣ црѣвѣа 'all kingdoms', 9 BPI въѣѣа галилѣѣ – RGB Abraam въѣѣа галилѣѣ vs. ÖNB въѣѣа галилѣю 'all Galilee'.



From the perspective of the morphological features not linked with the spelling, the language of the core corpus of the Moldavian Trinovitan CS shows a coexistence of older (archaic) and younger forms<sup>212</sup>. From the noun forms, we must point out the younger form of the nominative plural of jo-stems on *-iŕ*<sup>213</sup> and various forms of the genitive plural of jo-stems, ja-stems and i-stems<sup>214</sup>. In the ja-stems of the type *милостыни* ‘alms’, both archaic and younger forms can be observed<sup>215</sup>. In the adjective flexion (including the participles and pronouns), the archaic flexion is characterised by vowel clusters (type *-аго*, *-ыиць*), while the already usual forms include just one vowel (type *-аго*, *-ыць*)<sup>216</sup>. The typical adjective endings are genitive singular of masculine/neuter *-аго/-ѣго*<sup>217</sup>, dative singular *-омѣ*<sup>218</sup> and further ones, as e.g. *-ыць/иць*<sup>219</sup> and *-ымы/имы*<sup>220</sup>. From the younger pronoun flexion, we may mention the replacement of the original accusative singular masculine and accusative plural of all masculine and feminine of the personal pronoun of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person by an originally genitive form<sup>221</sup>.

In the verb flexion, the most prominent younger feature is the ending *-мы* in the 1<sup>st</sup> plural present indicative of the athematic verbs<sup>222</sup>. Similarly as in case of adjectives, also imperfect conjugation knows both archaic forms with vowel clusters and shorter younger forms<sup>223</sup>. The variation of older and younger

<sup>212</sup> Besides them, the Trinovitan texts contain further morphological forms, which were typical for the original works of Late Second Bulgarian Empire authors and translators. These forms, which may be called substandard, did not enter the biblical-liturgical corpus, but as we will see later, they survived in other genres of the Moldavian Slavonic Letters.

<sup>213</sup> Preface RGB 6v *мѣжѣ* – Abraam 7r *мѣжѣ* – ÖNB 3v *моужѣ* vs. BPI 3v *мѣжѣ* ‘men’, nominative plural: RGB 7r Abraam 7v *ѡбычае наши* – ÖNB 4r *ѡбычае наши* vs. BPI 4r *ѡбычѣн на*, accusative plural: RGB 7r Abraam 7r *ѡбычаѡ наша* vs. BPI 4r *ѡбычаж нѣж* vs. ÖNB 4r *ѡбычае наше* ‘our habits’.

<sup>214</sup> Matthew per. 7 BPI ÖNB *днѣ* vs. RGB Abraam *днѣ* ‘of days’, per. 95 BPI *костѣи* vs. RGB *кѡстѣи* – Abraam *кѡстѣи* vs. ÖNB *кѡсти* ‘of bones’, per. 28 BPI *стадо свиный* vs. ÖNB *стадо свиные* ‘herd of swine’ (adjective in RGB Abraam), per. 58 BPI RGB Abraam *мѣжѣ* – ÖNB *моужѣ* ‘of men’, but per. 75 BPI *свѣтѣль* – RGB Abraam ÖNB *свѣтѣль* ‘of witnesses’.

<sup>215</sup> Matthew per. 16 BPI *мѣтынѣ* vs. RGB *милостыни* – Abraam *мѣтыни* – ÖNB *мѣтыни* ‘alms’.

<sup>216</sup> Except the nominative singular masculine, where the reduction of the type *-ыи* > *-ы* is substandard. Matthew per. 3 BPI *юудѣискѣ* – RGB *юудѣискыи* vs. Abraam *юудѣискѣ* – ÖNB *юудѣискѣ* ‘of the Jews’. The spelling *-ы* is a common abbreviation of *-ыи*.

<sup>217</sup> Matthew per. 14 BPI *великаго* – RGB ÖNB *великаго* vs. Abraam *великаго* ‘of a great one’, 15 BPI *искрънѣго* – RGB *искрънѣго* Abraam *искрънѣго* – ÖNB *искрънѣго* ‘of a sincere one’, per. 15 BPI *хотѣща* – RGB Abraam *хотѣщаго* – ÖNB *хотѣщаго* ‘of as willing one’.

<sup>218</sup> Matthew per. 46 BPI *слѣпомоу* – RGB ÖNB *слѣпомоу* – Abraam *слѣпомѣ* ‘to the blind one’, per. 80 BPI *послѣднемоу* – RGB *послѣднемоу* – Abraam *послѣднемѣ* – ÖNB *послѣднемоу* ‘to the last one’, per. 15 BPI *просѣщомоу* – RGB *просѣщомоу* – Abraam *просѣщомѣ* – ÖNB *просѣщомоу* ‘to the asking one’.

<sup>219</sup> Matthew per. 11 BPI Abraam ÖNB *малѣ* vs. RGB *малыи* ‘of small ones’.

<sup>220</sup> Preface BPI 4v *евреискѣ языкѣ* – RGB 7v *евреискѣ языкѣ* – ÖNB 5r *евреискыи языкѣ* – Abraam 8r *евреискѣ гласѣ* ‘in Hebrew language’.

<sup>221</sup> Matthew per. 3 RGB *пославѣ и* – Abraam *пославѣ ихѣ* – ÖNB *пославѣ ихѣ* vs. RGB *пославѣ ѡ* ‘having sent them’.

<sup>222</sup> 19 BPI *ѣмы* – RGB ÖNB Abraam *ѣмы* ‘we eat’, 85 BPI Abraam *не вѣмы* – RGB *не вѣмы* – ÖNB *не вѣни* ‘we do not know’.

<sup>223</sup> Matthew per. 4 BPI *нехотѣашѣ* – RGB *не хотѣашѣ* vs. Abraam ÖNB *не хотѣашѣ* ‘they did not want’.

forms can be observed also in the aorist stems<sup>224</sup>, in active past participle of the 4<sup>th</sup> conjugation<sup>225</sup> or in other cases<sup>226</sup>.

### Spelling variation

Having explained how the standard variety looked, we can proceed to the spelling variation. If we omit Peter Rareș's Tetraevangelion, which is written in Resavian CS, we can distinguish five elements in Moldavian Cyrillic texts:

- Moldavian-Trinovitan CS
- Romanian
- Ruthenian
- Wallachian-South Slavonic
- Polish

Generally, we can characterise the texts from the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century as follows:

Division criterion	Types of texts	Characterization
Romanian texts with *a > /ə/ (ѡ, ѡ, а).	Romanian proper names in documents and colophons.	Trinovitan CS spelling + specific spelling solutions.
Trinovitan CS texts with the preference of *q > /ə/ (ѡ, eventually ѡ) and simple past tenses (aorist, imperfect).	Shared CS texts. Original CS bookish texts (Macarie's Chronicle, Enkomiion to St John the New). Colophons and inscriptions. Correspondence among monasteries.	Trinovitan CS. The shared and original CS texts are mainly distinguished by the spelling variations and syntactical discrepancies in the latter ones.
Texts switching formulas with *q > /ə/ or /u/ and using simple past tenses or l-preterite.	Charters for religious establishments.	Patterned on CS with interference of Ruthenian in some formulas and <i>dispositio</i> .

<sup>224</sup> Matthew per. 3 ВРІ рѣкѡша – RGB рѣкѡша vs. Abraam рѣкѡша – ÖNB рѣше 'they said'.

<sup>225</sup> Matthew per. 8 ВРІ ѡстаѡлѡ – RGB ѡстаѡлѡ – Abraam ÖNB ѡстаѡлѡ 'having left', per. 109 ВРІ бѣнѡвѣ 108 – RGB Abraam ÖNB бѣнѡвѣ 'having blessed' (there is a difference in the division of the pericopes 108 and 109).

<sup>226</sup> Matthew per. 4 ВРІ искѡщѡи дѡшѡ ѡтрѡчѡте – ÖNB искѡщѡи дѡшѡ ѡтрѡче vs. RGB ищѡщѡи дѡшѡ ѡтрѡчѡ – Abraam ищѡщѡи дѡшѡ ѡтрѡчѡте 'which sought the young child's life'.

Division criterion	Types of texts	Characterization
Secular chancery texts with the preference of *ǫ > /u/ (оу, ѝ) and l-preterite.	Letters sent to Transylvania.	Primarily patterned on CS with stronger interference of Ruthenian, eventually Wallachian-South Slavonic.
	Charters to boyars.	Alternation of CS and Ruthenian formulas.
	Treaty with Poland and Glăvan's Letter.	Ruthenian with CS and Polish penetrations.

To this overview, it can be added that the intitulation of the ruler, *ꙗꙋ Пѣтрꙋъ воєвода бѣжѣю млѣтїю гпѣрь земли мѡлдавскои*<sup>227</sup> remains in this official form in otherwise Trinovitan-spelled texts as colophons, inscriptions and letters for monasteries. In monastery charters, the оу instead of \*ǫ appear in formulas shared with the secular internal charters. In colophons, there may be ж/оу variation<sup>228</sup>. In secular chancery texts, random Trinovitan formulas may appear (e.g. in the invocation in the Treaty with Poland). The letter by hegumen of Moldovița to the town of Bistrița shows a hybrid character.

There are two main spelling features, which are common to all types of Moldavian texts. The first one is the spelling of ы/и as /i/. This causes the possibility of the variation of ы/и especially in the Trinovitan CS texts<sup>229</sup>. In the secular chancery texts, the appearance of ы is marginal (typically in the word мы 'we' or even 'of me'), Romanian proper names lack it<sup>230</sup>. This feature is common for Romanian Slavonic texts in general. This is supported by the fact that Slavonic languages not distinguishing \*y/\*i surround the Romanian speaking territory. The same trait can be found in the Moldavian Polish letters written in Latin script.

<sup>227</sup> 'John Peter voivode, by Grace of God lord of Moldavian Land'. Thus e.g. on the St Demetrius inscription in Suceava. *Die Inschriften...*, p. 138.

<sup>228</sup> Thus бѣжѣ in the colophon of the Apostolos from 1528. Colophon of the Old Testament from 1537: плати сїю книгоу рѣкомаа '(he) payed this book called...' Similarly, there is a variation in a charter for Bistrița бждѣтъ/бѣдѣтъ. Cf. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 56.

<sup>229</sup> ВРІ 4г заповѣдїи – RGB 7v Abraam 8r заповѣди vs. ÖNB 4v заповѣды 'commands'. To this example, we must add that in some Resavian manuscripts, there might be a tendency to write ы in the word end, but и in the word interior. Cf. Љ. ШТАВЪЛАНИН-ЂОРЂЕВИЋ et al., *Опис ћирилских рукописа Народне библиотеке Србије*, vol. I, Београд 1986, p. 40, 288, 293.

<sup>230</sup> Hurmuzaki Psalter contains ы in the CS loanwords (e.g. 23r поустыня 'deserted place') and randomly in few non-Slavonic words for /i/. Cf. *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki...*, p. 30–31.

The second and a more important common feature of Slavonic texts from Moldavia is the pronunciation of **ѣ/ѧ** as /ja/, which makes it interchangeable also with **а/ѧ**. The traces of this feature can marginally appear even in the biblical corpus<sup>231</sup>; they are more frequent in the original texts of all types<sup>232</sup>. Behind originally palatalized sibilants, we can randomly find the spelling **а** in the secular documents. This trait is typical for the East Slavonic milieu<sup>233</sup>. Behind vowels, the usual Trinovitan spelling of /ja/ is **ѧ**, but in the original texts, we may see more variation<sup>234</sup>. A morphological consequence of this variation is the ending confusion in the ja-stems ending in **ѧ**, **р**, **н**<sup>235</sup>, eventually the preference of the ending **-ѣ** in the genitive and accusative singular jo-stems following the Trinovitan norm<sup>236</sup>. An analogical situation rules in the Romanian spelling: **ѣ/ѧ** for /ea/<sup>237</sup> behind consonants, **ѧ/ѧ**

<sup>231</sup> Matthew per. 12 BPI Abraam ѡрѡде vs. RGB ѡрѡде vs. ÖNB ѡрѡде ‘thou fool’, Macarie I 162v II 466v **пѣнѣ** и **пожѣгалъ** ‘plundering and burning’.

<sup>232</sup> Theodosie’s Enkomion e.g. 200r **ѡ вѣра** ‘about the faith’, 201r **кѣтѡва** ‘oatch’, 203r **вѣнѣтрѡ** ‘inside’. M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 507 (internal chancery) **прѣдошѣ** **прѡ** ‘they came in front’, **дѣти/дѣти** ‘children’, p. 513 **за два стѧ** ‘for 200’; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 **по животѧ** ‘after the life’. Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726 (Treaty with Poland): **до землѣ** ‘to the lands’, **ѡ землѣ** ‘from the lands’. Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 518 (correspondence with Transylvania) **ѡ мѡста** ‘from the town’, p. 540 **камо еѣ дѡла**, **гдѣ еѣ дѡла** ‘where she is gone’, p. 538 **прѡже** ‘before’.

<sup>233</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510 and *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 64 **прѣдоша** ‘they came’, *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. I, p. 51 **чѡ наши** ‘of our children’.

<sup>234</sup> Colophon of the Apostolos from 1528: **книга зовемаѧ** ‘the book called’. Macarie I 165v **вѣспрѣѧти** – II 469v **вѣспрѣѧти** ‘to take’. Theodosie’s Enkomion 200v **ѡвѣѧтъ** **вѡвъ** ‘he was taken’. Transylvanian correspondence, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 518 **прѣѧтели** ‘to the friends’, p. 539 **прѧѧтелию** ‘to the friend’. Treaty with Poland, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725 **прѧѧтели** ‘to the freinds’, **непрѧѧтели** ‘to the enemies’, internal chancery: M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508 **боѧре** ‘boyars’, p. 511 **боѧ** ‘of boyars’, p. 511 **дѣѧк** ‘scribe’; *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. II, p. 267 **боѧрѡ** ‘to boyars’.

<sup>235</sup> Matthew per. 16 nominative singular BPI **вѡла** **тѡѡ** vs. RGB Abraam **вѡлѣ** **тѡѡ** vs. ÖNB **вѡла** **тѡѡ**. Theodosie’s Enkomion 203v accusative singular **мѣнѣ** ‘alms’. Macarie I genitive singular 157r **изъ загорскыѧ землѣ** ‘from Wallachia’, accusative singular 158r **пѣнѣнѧти землѣ** ‘to plunder the land’, 159r **пѡлѣстѣнскѧ землѣ** ‘Palestinian land’, 156v (II 460v) **вѣсѣ** **сѡвѡ** **сѡлѡ** ‘all his power’. Treaty with Poland, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725 **землѧ наша** ‘our land’. Correspondence with Transylvania, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 538 **ѡчѣнѣл** **вѡлѣ** ‘he made a decision’. Internal chancery, *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 240 **пѣнѣнѣшѣ** **нашѣ** **землѣ** ‘they plundered our land’.

<sup>236</sup> Also in the Treaty with Poland, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726 **гѡспѡдарѣ** ‘lord’, **цѡрѣ** ‘sultan’, where we could expect the ending **-ѧ**, which is characteristic for the Ruthenian spelling of Poland and Lithuania. Cf. genitive singular in the internal documents, *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. I, p. 55; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 184 **спѧѧѧ** ‘spătăr’.

<sup>237</sup> Internal chancery, *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 144 **Нѣга** ‘Neaga’, p. 127 **Кѣстѣ** ‘Cârstea’, p. 184 **Ѥреѣнѣл** ‘Urecheanul’; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94 **Фѡфѡрѧни** ‘Foforeanii’; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 129 **Дѣлѣнѣни** ‘Deleanii’. Cf. *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki...*, p. 27–30.

behind vowels<sup>238</sup>. In contrast to Trinovitan CS, the Romanian cluster *-oa/-wa-* does not denote two syllables /oja/, but a diphthong /oa/<sup>239</sup>, that can still be spelled with a single *o*<sup>240</sup>. The variation of *ѣ/а/а*, which originated in the fusion of the East Bulgarian and East Slavonic spelling of CS<sup>241</sup> is a typical Moldavian marker.

The characteristic variation of the Trinovitan CS texts, from both Moldavia and Wallachia, is *ж/ъ /ə/*, which is a reading inherited from the Second Bulgarian Empire texts. Also this feature can be marginally found in the shared biblical corpus<sup>242</sup>. It is more frequent in the original Trinovitan CS texts<sup>243</sup> and it may appear in some letters addressed to Transylvania, concretely the letter by hegumen of Moldovița<sup>244</sup> and the letter by pârcălab Dan of Câmpulung<sup>245</sup>. The Romanian spelling prefers *ъ* for both /ə/ and /i/<sup>246</sup> in the non-initial position. The spelling *ж* may appear rather at the word end<sup>247</sup>. The letter *ъ* can variate with *а* in Romanian words and create confusion of etymological \*ra and \*rŭ<sup>248</sup>.

<sup>238</sup> Internal chancery, M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510 Раа 'Raia', p. 508 Збіта 'Zbiarra'; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 47 Матеіа 'Mateiaș'. The same solution is shown in the Hurmuzaki Psalter. *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki...*, p. 29, 33.

<sup>239</sup> Internal chancery, M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 511 Тоадера 'of Toader'; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55 Скрьдоаса 'Scârdoasa'.

<sup>240</sup> T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16 Пстнишора 'Putnișoara'.

<sup>241</sup> See the following scheme:

CS pronunciation	ѣ	а
East Bulgarian	/ja/	/e/
Galician-Volhynian	/i/	/ja/
Moldavian	/ja/	/ja/

<sup>242</sup> Matthew per. 16 ВРІ мѣѣж vs. RGB Abraam мѣвдѣ – ÖNB мѣвѣу 'reward'. We did not find this phenomenon in Macarie's Chronicle.

<sup>243</sup> A monastery charter, *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 375 ѿкѣдѣ 'from where'.

<sup>244</sup> Letter by hegumen of Moldovița, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 531 нж 'but', аще въсхоциѣ 'if they want', ѿ кѣдѣ 'from where'. Cf. letter by logofăt Toma, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 541 досѣ 'until now'.

<sup>245</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 535 сѣ 'they are', вѣдѣ 'it will be'.

<sup>246</sup> Internal documents, *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 160 пана Тѣлпи 'of Sir Tâmpa', p. 161 Михѣилѣ 'Mihăilă'; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16 сѣлѣ 'sălaș, dwelling', p. 159 Ромѣнескѣль 'Românescul, the Romanian', Дрѣгѣшѣ 'to Drăguș'; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98 Мѣриѣ 'Maria, Mary', but *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 376 Пѣтрашка 'of Pătrășcu'.

<sup>247</sup> Internal documents, *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 72 Кѣприварѣ 'Căprioară', Мѣгдѣлинѣ 'Măgdălină', but p. 71 Кѣприварѣ, *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 214 Лопатѣ 'Lopată, shovel'. The Hurmuzaki Psalter generally uses *ъ*, while the letter *ж* is very marginal. *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki...*, p. 30.

<sup>248</sup> *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 160 Кѣрка 'of Cârç', пана Хѣрѣвора 'of Sir Hrăbor', cf. *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki...*, p. 34.

The use of the letter *s* is common for Trinovitan CS, where it is used consequently both in the word initial and in paradigm, and for Moldavian Romanian, where it denotes /dz/<sup>249</sup> and it can be sometimes varied with *ʒ*<sup>250</sup>. In the Slavonic words of the documents, the letter *s* appears in two cases: lexicalized in the dat. sg. *слѣсѣ* 'to the servant'<sup>251</sup> and *пннѣси* 'money'<sup>252</sup> and randomly in other words from \**z* according to the preference of individual scribes<sup>253</sup>.

In the secular chancery texts, whose main common feature is the preference of \**q* > /u/, we can find the combination of Church Slavonic, Ruthenian and eventually other types of spelling. Particularly in the highly formulaic internal chancery documents, the use of elements of different origin is almost fixed.

	Internal chancery		Transylvanian correspondence	Treaty with Poland
	CS elements	Ruthenian elements		
*tj	Absent in formulas	ч regularly in <i>чтѣчи</i> 'reading', Once <i>к</i> <sup>254</sup>	ц, once <i>ч</i> <sup>255</sup> , randomly <i>к</i> in future auxiliary	Regularly <i>ч</i> <sup>256</sup> , but <i>ц</i> in the derivations of <i>мѡ</i> <sup>ѣ</sup> 'power' <sup>257</sup>
*dj	<i>жд</i> regularly in <i>потвѣрждѣнїѣ</i> 'confirmation'	<i>ж</i> regularly in <i>межи</i> 'between', <i>непонѣжѣ</i> <sup>ѣ</sup> 'unforced' <sup>258</sup>	Only <i>жд</i>	Once <i>примежнїани</i> <sup>259</sup>

<sup>249</sup> Mentions of postelnic Sturdza, e.g. ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 542 *Стѣрѣѣ*; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278 *Стѣрѣѣ*. Cf. other proper names, also *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 271 *ѡкѣ* *Знжи* 'towards Dzija'; *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 345 *Хамза* 'Hamdza'.

<sup>250</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 127 *блѣндѣ* 'mild', *блѣнѣїни*, *блѣнѣ* 'milds'; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 37 *Стѣрѣѣ* 'of Sturdza'.

<sup>251</sup> Thus in M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508, 513, 520; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 17; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 215, but cf. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 259 *слѣсѣ*.

<sup>252</sup> Thus in M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508, 513 and ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 519 vs. *пннѣси* in ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 533; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 275 and *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 161.

<sup>253</sup> *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 56 *ѡ наше землї* 'in our land', p. 55 *вѣ знаменїи* 'by the sign', *кѣ запѣ* 'westwards'.

<sup>254</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 240 *рѣѣки* vs. M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510 *рѣѣчи*.

<sup>255</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 537 *хѡчѣ* 'I want'.

<sup>256</sup> *чтѣчи* 'reading', *знѣнїи* 'knowing', *хѡчѣмо* 'we want', *мѡчи* 'to be able', *помѡчи* 'to help', *дѣднїѣ* 'to the heirs'.

<sup>257</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725 *мѡ*<sup>ѣ</sup> 'power', *мѡцно* 'strongly', *наймѡцнѣйшѡмѣ* 'to the most powerful'.

<sup>258</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 513 and *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 93 *нннїи* *непонѣжѣ*<sup>ѣ</sup> 'forced by anybody'; *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 344 and *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 39 *непонѣжѣни* vs. *Surete...*, vol. XXIV, p. 147 *непонѣжѣна*; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 130 and *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 19 *непонѣжѣѣ*. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 259, 269; *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 159 *межи*.

<sup>259</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725.

	Internal chancery		Transylvanian correspondence	Treaty with Poland
	CS elements	Ruthenian elements		
*ě	Usually ѣ/ѧ	и regularly in <i>сѡвн</i> <sup>260</sup> and dat. sg. Of a-stems, randomly <i>ѣ</i> <sup>261</sup>	ѣ, и, <i>ѣ</i> <sup>262</sup>	
*vŭ(-)	Dominant as prefix <i>вѣ</i> <sup>263</sup>	оу regularly in <i>оу, сѡн</i> , sometimes in <i>ѡнѡк</i> <sup>264</sup>	оу/вѣ <sup>265</sup>	оу, вѣ, вѣ <sup>266</sup>
*-lŭ <sup>-267</sup>	лѣ, Randomly replacing <i>о</i>	о <i>л</i> regularly in the stem <i>полн</i> <sup>-268</sup>	Only лѣ	Not attested

<sup>260</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 513; *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 161; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 204; *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58 (monastery charter) *сѡвн* vs. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 269 *сѣѣѣ* 'to himself'. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 275 *нѣ хотѣ* 'he did not want'. T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 *ѡ оуѣи стѡрѡѡ* 'from all sides', p. 30 *оуѣи вѡлѣрѡѡ* 'of all boyars', p. 32 *дѣтѣ и* 'to their children'. *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98 *гдѣ вѡли сѣдѡли* 'where they were settled'. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 192 *лѣстѣ* 'space'.

<sup>261</sup> *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 26 *вѣрѣѡтѣ* 'they trust'.

<sup>262</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 518 *повѣдаѡѡ* 'they say', p. 538 *пѣнѣзи* vs. p. 518 and 541 *ѡ сѣда напѣѣ* 'from now on', p. 537 *дѣтѣ* 'to the children', p. 538 *пѡѡли* 'they fled'. Treaty with Poland: *сѣсѣдѣнѣи* 'neighbouring', *вѣчнѣи* vs. *вѣчнѣи* 'eternal', *из вѣка* 'from way back', *рѣчи* 'matters', *пѡхѣти* 'to go' vs. *пѣдѡкѡѣ* 'ancestors', *пѡвѣдати* 'to say', *ѣхѣти* 'to go', *пѣхѣти* 'to come'.

<sup>263</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 513 *вѣсѡмѣ* 'to all', *вѣзрѣитѣ* '(who) will look on', p. 513 *сѣ вѣсѣѣ* 'with all', *вѣсѣѣѣ рѡдѣѣ* 'to all family', *вѣсѣѣѣ хотѣра* 'of the whole border'.

<sup>264</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508 and *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 39 *сѣн* 'all'. M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508 *ѣ рѣкѣ* – *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 344 *оу рѡѣки* 'in hands'. T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 26 *оуноѡѡкѡѣ* – *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278 *ѡнѣчатѡѡ* vs. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 40 *вѣнѣчатѡѡ* 'to grandsons'. T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 30 *ѣзѡл* 'he took'. *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 20 *ѣ нашѣи ѣ молѡдавскѡи зѣмѣи*; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 375 *оу нашѣи зѣмѣи ѣ молѡдавскѡи* 'in our Moldavian land'.

<sup>265</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 518 *оуѣи* 'to all', p. 520 *оузѡли* 'they took' – p. 538 *ѣзѡл* 'he took' vs. *вѣзѡтѣѣ* 'to take', p. 520 and 539 *сѣн*, p. 539 *ѣ рѡкѣ* 'in hands', p. 520 *вѣ Дѡлѣѡпѡли* 'in Câmpulung' vs. p. 537 *ѣ Оуѡчѡвѣѣ* 'in Suceava', p. 537 *ѣ нѡ зѣмѣи* 'to our land'.

<sup>266</sup> *Оуѣрѣитѣ* 'he will see', *сѣн* 'all', *оу нашѣи зѣмѣи* 'in our land', *оуѡчѣнѣитѣ* 'to do' vs. *вѣсѣѣѣ* 'of all', *вѣсѣи* 'to all', *вѣдѣлатѣи* – *вѣчѣнѣитѣ* 'to do'.

<sup>267</sup> In the colophon of the *Apostolos* from 1528, there is the secondary adaptation of -о*л*- to -лѣ- in *вѣ лѣѣѣѣѣ* 'for the prayer'.

<sup>268</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508 *полнѣѡ зѡплатѣѣѣ* and *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 39 *полнѡи зѡплатѣѣѣ* 'full payment'. *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 159 and *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 25 and *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 203 *исполнѡ* vs. *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 26 *испѡлѣнѡ*. *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 25 *ѣ жѡлѣтѣи* 'Hungarian gulden'. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 47 *зѡ долѡѡѣѣ* 'for the debt'.

	Internal chancery		Transylvanian correspondence	Treaty with Poland
	CS elements	Ruthenian elements		
-rŭ-/rĭ-	Randomly рѣ <sup>269</sup>	на вѣрѣ <sup>270</sup>	Only рѣ	дѣржати 'to hold'
*-ār-/-āl-	Randomly ра/ла <sup>271</sup>	Regularly in сторо-на <sup>272</sup>	Only -ра- <sup>273</sup>	рѣ, ра <sup>274</sup>
*-er-	Regularly рѣ	Randomly in natural phenomena <sup>275</sup>	ѡ сѣда на рѣ <sup>276</sup> , прѣлѣ <sup>277</sup>	Only in перѣ, but прѣдковѣ
*e-	Always in the word ѣди <sup>278</sup>	Once вѣри <sup>279</sup>	Only ε- (in εди <sup>280</sup> )	Once <sup>280</sup> ѡдно
Pa/po	ра <sup>281</sup>	рѣ-	Not attested	рѣ-/ра <sup>282</sup>

As we have seen from the table above, the Treaty with Poland shows an impact of lexicalized Polonisms, while the Serbian impact on the spelling level is seen just in a random appearing of κ on the place of \*tj<sup>283</sup>. In total, the Moldavian documents show four different reflexes of \*tj. An interesting phenomenon appearing

<sup>269</sup> Молдова ын епока..., vol. II, p. 275 братѣа которѣи дръжали 'brothers who possessed'.

<sup>270</sup> Молдова ын епока..., vol. II, p. 259.

<sup>271</sup> Молдова ын епока..., vol. I, p. 55 влатани 'of marshes'; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16 здравіе 'health'.

<sup>272</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508 ѡ инші сторѣ 'from other sides'; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 20 and *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 129 по вѣкѣ сторони 'on both sides'. *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55 дорѣга 'path'.

<sup>273</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 536 на еиѣ странѣ 'on one side'.

<sup>274</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725 крѣлкѣ 'of the king' vs. p. 726 кралю 'to the king', p. 727 врѣтити сѣ 'to return'. The lexeme здрави 'health' in Glăvan's Letter could also be a Bohemism.

<sup>275</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210 вѣрѣги 'shores'; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 214 оу вѣрѣсти 'near the birch'.

<sup>276</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 541.

<sup>277</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 538.

<sup>278</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510 εдино мѣкто 'a place', p. 513 εди закѣ 'a law'; Молдова ын епока..., vol. II, p. 278 εдно село 'a village', εдного лотра 'a rogue'.

<sup>279</sup> Молдова ын епока..., vol. I, p. 55 вѣри 'lake' vs. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124 сѣ вѣрѣкани 'with small lakes'.

<sup>280</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727.

<sup>281</sup> T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 разоумѣли есмы 'we have understood'.

<sup>282</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726 дорѣзѣмѣ 'he will understand' vs. вѣхно разѣмѣли 'we would understand'. Cf. ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 108 на tim rozboiu 'during this robbery'.

<sup>283</sup> For details on this spelling see В. Поломац, *Језик повеља и писама Српске деспотовине*, Крагујевац 2016, p. 103–108.



in the secular chancery documents is the variation of of o/ʒ, which can be of different origins:

- Ukrainian \*o > ʒ before an originally reduced vowel in the next syllable<sup>284</sup> is attested in the Treaty with Poland<sup>285</sup>, e.g. *коруко* ‘how much’, *врудоу мочи* ‘we will be able’, *покс* ‘peace’ (can be also from Polish *pokój*).
- *Balkanic* variation of o/oʒ in the unstressed syllable:
  - \*o > ʒ: randomly in *даемш* ‘we give’<sup>286</sup>, *вѣдомш* ‘known’<sup>287</sup>, *оставши*<sup>288</sup> ‘remaining’, *полшвина*<sup>289</sup> ‘half’, *мншастн* ‘monastery’<sup>290</sup>,
  - \*u > o: regularly in the formula *вживали* ‘they used’, randomly in *вѣрѣни* ‘it will confirm’<sup>291</sup>, *шочатомь* ‘to grandsons’<sup>292</sup> – *шшкоче* ‘grandsons’<sup>293</sup>, *пасико* ‘clearing’<sup>294</sup>, *до крѣницо* ‘to the source’<sup>295</sup>.

Just in the Treaty with Poland, we find the typical Ruthenian spelling of o from \*e behind hardened soft sibilants<sup>296</sup>.

Finally, we will mention specific spelling solutions denoting (Moldavian) Romanian specific phonemes:

- /dʒ/ is spelled as ж or џ<sup>297</sup>,

<sup>284</sup> Ю. ШЕВЕЛЬОВ, *Исторична фонологія української мови*, Харків 2002, p. 559. A similar phenomenon is \*e > \*u, which attested in the lexeme *зануоужє* ‘because’ forming part of the formula of the internal chancery. Cf. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 131; *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 379.

<sup>285</sup> And ones in latter by great vornic Huru, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539 *пѣли* ‘you send’.

<sup>286</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539.

<sup>287</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 192.

<sup>288</sup> *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 344, 345.

<sup>289</sup> *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 345.

<sup>290</sup> Colophon in the *Apostolos* from 1528.

<sup>291</sup> Colophon in the *Apostolos* from 1528.

<sup>292</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 203.

<sup>293</sup> *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 26.

<sup>294</sup> *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 65.

<sup>295</sup> *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55.

<sup>296</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726 and Glăvan’s Letter: *пришол до нас* ‘he came to us’.

<sup>297</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278 *пан Жсржа* ‘of Sir George’, *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 50 *Мошецин* vs. p. 51 *Можецин*, p. 52 *Можецин* ‘Mogești’. *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58 *Сѣлѣжани* ‘Sălăjani’; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55 *Ноцѣ* ‘Nogea’, *Роциноаса* ‘Ruginoasa’. Colophon of the *Apostolos* from 1528: *сѣлѣжаскоѣ* ‘of Sălăjeni’. In the Hurmuzaki Psalter, the phoneme /dʒ/ is spelled џ, while the letter ж is used only in the words of Slavonic origin. Although /dʒ/ is now generally missing in most Moldavian dialects, its shift to /ʒ/ is apparently of late date. The letter џ was still used in Dosoftei’s prints in the 1670s and 1680s.

- /r/ may be spelled as рр<sup>298</sup>.

In proper names in the documents and colophons, there is no occasion to use р. This letter is used in Hurmuzaki Psalter for /in/-/im/, eventually /i/ or a nasal element<sup>299</sup>. The clusters /ir/, /il/ are generally spelled according to the CS rules as рѣ/лѣ<sup>300</sup> with few exceptions<sup>301</sup>.

A more complicated question is the transcription of Romanian names into the Latin alphabet in the documents issued by the Moldavian chancery in Latin and German. The few appearing Moldavian toponyms show the following spelling:

- /s/ as ss (*penes Brassoviam*), z (*Thomza, Iazwaros*), s (*Thomsam, Dragsan*)<sup>302</sup>,
- /ts/ as ch (*Namch, Bistrichie*)<sup>303</sup>,
- /tʃ/ as sch (*Soschavie*)<sup>304</sup>, cz (*Socza, Soczaviae*)<sup>305</sup>, ch (*Danchul, ex arce nostra swchawiesi, de Chochavia, ex arce shochawiensi, zwochawiensi*)<sup>306</sup>, in Polish cz (*w Soczawy*) and sch (*Voloschi*)<sup>307</sup>, in German cz (*Soczawa*)<sup>308</sup>.

In the documents issued in Polish, there are sometimes words showing *h* on the place of \*g: *hospodar*<sup>309</sup> ‘ruler of Moldavia’, *hospodarstwo*<sup>310</sup> ‘ruler’s dignity’, *Thehinye*<sup>311</sup> ‘town Tighina’, *pohybel* ‘death, ruin’<sup>312</sup> and *wherska*<sup>313</sup> ‘Hungarian’.

<sup>298</sup> *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 64 Ррѣоуѣан – p. 65 Ррѣоуѣкнѣх ‘Räusenî’, M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 511 and *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 266 Зѣітарн ‘of (Sir) Zbiarra’ vs. *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 18 пана Зѣітарѣ. *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 345 Миѣѣилѣ Борра – *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 216 Миѣѣилѣ Борра ‘Mihăilă Borra’. A similar variation can be found in the Hurmuzaki Psalter. *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki...*, p. 33. This phenomenon is still active in Moldavian dialects, cf. *Атласул лингвистик молдовенеск*, vol. I, part I, ed. P. Улдер, В. Комарницки, Кишинэу 1968, map 36.

<sup>299</sup> *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki...*, p. 28.

<sup>300</sup> These clusters appear mostly in the words of Slavonic origin. Cf. Hurmuzaki Psalter, 32г вѣртѣѣ ‘vartos; strong’, 42в жѣртѣѣ ‘jartvâ; sacrifice’, 13г свѣрѣшеѣкѣ ‘they improved’, 110в стѣѣпѣѣ vs. 50в стѣѣпѣѣ ‘(the) pillar’.

<sup>301</sup> Macarie I 167г на рѣѣѣ Бѣѣрѣѣ ‘on the river Bârsa’.

<sup>302</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 339, 342, 345, 370; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 91.

<sup>303</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 350, 345.

<sup>304</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 435.

<sup>305</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 292, 297.

<sup>306</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 350, 376, 400; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 132, 216.

<sup>307</sup> Ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 45, 85.

<sup>308</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 298.

<sup>309</sup> Both ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, I. BOGDAN, *Documente... Sup. 2*, vol. I, p. 139; ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 84.

<sup>310</sup> Ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 59.

<sup>311</sup> Ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 47.

<sup>312</sup> Both ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, I. BOGDAN, *Documente...*, *Sup. 2*, vol. I, p. 139.

<sup>313</sup> Ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 84. This seems to be rather a Bohemism.

In the Cyrillic texts, the reflex of \*g is generally spelled *г*, while in the Slavonic toponyms *х*<sup>314</sup>, but maybe also *г*<sup>315</sup>.

## Morphology and morphosyntax

The morphological and morphosyntactic variation in Moldavian Slavonic texts reveals the impact of different written and spoken languages. In the following overview, we will mention the forms, which are different from the ones that are usual in the standard variety (Middle Church Slavonic).

From the noun morphology, we will start with the use of the morpheme *-ов-*, which is limited to the *u*-stems in the standard variety<sup>316</sup>. In many Slavonic languages, this formant started soon to spread to masculine *o*-stems, eventually *jo*-stems. In South Slavonic languages, this was more typical for monosyllables<sup>317</sup>. In Ukrainian, there has not been any limitation of the number of syllabs, but the formant has appeared in fewer flexion cases. The examined texts show the following picture:

- Dative singular (substandard CS in monosyllables and Ukrainian): Macarie I 155r (II 459r) Theodosie's Enkomion 203v *ѣви* 'to God'<sup>318</sup>, Treaty with Poland: *кралєви* 'to the king', *приаѣлєви* 'to the friend', *царєви* 'to the sultan', Glăvan's Letter *приаѣлєви* 'to the friend'.
- Nominative plural (substandard CS in monosyllables, Ukrainian and Polish): Macarie I 159v (II 463v) *ѡгровє* 'Hungarians', II 478r *вєплєвє* 'mournings'. Internal documents: *плємєнниковє* 'nephews'<sup>319</sup>, *ѡнѡковє* 'grandchildren'<sup>320</sup>,

<sup>314</sup> *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 76 *Загорѣнїи* ('Zagorjani'); ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 519 *Хрѣлаѡ* 'Hârlău' vs. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124 *съ грьлами* 'with sources' (both from *gŭrdlo*-). In Moldavian dialects, there are loanwords, where \*g is reflected as /x/, e.g. *hrīb* 'bolete' (spread to Transylvania and Muntenia), *hulub* 'pigeon', *hulubiță* 'pigeon hen'. Cf. N. MIHAL, *Dictionar de regionalisme de uz școlar*, București 2007. H. ТИКТИН et al., *Rumänisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. II, Wiesbaden 2003, p. 341, 344.

<sup>315</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94 *Дорогѡнскїи* 'of Dorohoi'.

<sup>316</sup> Matthew, per. 1 BPI *родѡвє* – *рѡдѡвь*, RGB Abraam *рѡдѡвє* – *рѡдѡвь*, ÖNB *рѡдѡвє* – *рѡдѡвь* nominative and genitive plural 'generations'. In OCS, this lexeme mostly shows *o*-stem forms, in some cases also *u*-stem ones (e.g. in *Codex Suprasliensis* and *Codex Assemanius*).

<sup>317</sup> E.g. in the substandard CS forms in the Slavonic translation of the Chronicle of Constantine Manasses: nominative singular *градъ*, nominative plural *градовє*, dative plural *градѡвѡмъ*, accusative plural *градовы*, locative plural *градѡвоухъ*. See *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses. Traducere mediobulgară*, ed. I. BOGDAN, București 1922, p. 259–260.

<sup>318</sup> Cf. Matthew, per. 7 BPI RGB ÖNB *ѣоу* – Abraam *ѣѡ*.

<sup>319</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 507; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 39; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 127, 140.

<sup>320</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 507; *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 159.

ШКОВЕ 'uncles'<sup>321</sup>, ПРЪКАЛАБОВЕ 'mayors'<sup>322</sup>. Treaty with Poland: ПРЕДКОВЕ 'ancestors', ПАНОВЕ 'sirs'.

- Genitive plural (substandard CS in monosyllables and Ukrainian) Macarie I 157v (II 461v) § МОСТѢ 'by bridges', I 164v (II 468v) ѿ ТРЪДѢ 'from sufferings', I 165r 167v (471v) ѿ ГРАДѢ 'from the towns' vs. 469r ОТЪ ГРАДЬ. Internal documents: ДЪДѢ 'of grandfathers, ancestors'<sup>323</sup>, БОЯРѢ 'of boyars'<sup>324</sup>, ШРИКѢ 'of privileges'<sup>325</sup>, ПРЕДКОВЪ 'of ancestors'<sup>326</sup>. Treaty with Poland: ПАНѢ 'of sirs', НЕПРИАТЕЛѢ 'of enemies', ѿ СТАРОСТѢ 'from regional chiefs' (masculine a-stem), Colophon of the Jerusalem Tetraevangelion from 1532: ПИСЦѢ 'of scribes'.
- Accusative plural (substandard CS ending): Macarie I 159v (II 464r) ГРАДѢ vs. I 167v (471r) ГРАТѢ 'towns', II 476v ВРЪГѢ 'shores'. Internal documents *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 93 ВОЛОВИ 'oxes'<sup>327</sup>, СЕЛОВЕ<sup>328</sup> 'villages' (neuter!).

A striking Ukrainian feature of the internal documents is the spread of the ending -и to dative and locative singular of a-stems (instead or besides the usual -ѣ), appearing both in common<sup>329</sup> and proper names<sup>330</sup>. In one document, we found the Romanian -еи for dative singular in a-stem proper names<sup>331</sup>. An analogical phenomenon is the ending -и in the genitive singular of ja-stems<sup>332</sup>, which, however,

<sup>321</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 507.

<sup>322</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124.

<sup>323</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 50.

<sup>324</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 267.

<sup>325</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98.

<sup>326</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124.

<sup>327</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 93.

<sup>328</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 130; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55.

<sup>329</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 127; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98 сестри – *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 40 сестры 'to the sister'. *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98 дочки – *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 39 дочки 'to the daughter'; *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 159 жени его 'to his wife'; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 65 хота тои пасици 'border of the clearing' (possessive dative). Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 520 оу дръжави 'in the region'.

<sup>330</sup> Dative: T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 сестри их Феџци 'to their sister Fedca'; *Surete...*, vol. XXIV, p. 148 Мъринки 'to Mărinca'; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 32 проџа... сестра их Настџи и Васоџтки и Шленки 'he sold to their sister Nastuia, Vasutca and Olenca'. *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 345 на Ларги 'on Larga'; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 37 на Нистри – *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98 на Днистри vs. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124 на Днистрѣ 'on Nistru'.

<sup>331</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 381 потвърџдили есмы Мъринкеи..., Мъринени, ... и Катринени 'we have confirmed to Mărinca, Mărina and Catrina'.

<sup>332</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210 ѿ крџнициѣ 'from the source' vs. до крџници 'to the source'. T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 44 ѿ Молдавици 'from Moldovița'; M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 269 ѿ пџетини 'from the deserted place'.

can be considered a possessive dative in CS expressions<sup>333</sup>. A phenomenon, linked to the variation in both Middle CS and Ukrainian dialects<sup>334</sup>, is the variation of the originally i-stem ending *-їи/-єи*<sup>335</sup>, which might have spread to further declensions. In the original CS-based texts, we can find, similarly as in the biblical corpus, both younger<sup>336</sup> and archaic forms<sup>337</sup>. The assimilation of *-їи* > *-и* can be considered to be substandard<sup>338</sup>.

The creation of the dat. pl. *-им* in different declensions, representing a simple adding of *м* to the nominative plural is very rare<sup>339</sup>. This phenomenon is typical rather for Wallachian Slavonic<sup>340</sup>. Another feature known from different Romanian Slavonic texts, randomly appearing in different Slavonic dialects, is the spread of the ending *-χ* to the genitive plural of noun declension. In the Moldavian chancery texts we examined, this is a marginal phenomenon<sup>341</sup>. A more interesting

<sup>333</sup> T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 35 *ѡ прѣстѣль дѣци и бѣци Мѡриа* 'from the very-pure Virgin and Mother-of-God Mary' vs. *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 375 *хра̃мъ благовѣщеніе прѣстѣки дѣци бѣци мѡрин* 'temple of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mother-of-God Mary'.

<sup>334</sup> The ending *-їи* is typical for the Galician-Bucovinian dialect, while the Podolian may use *-єи*. *Атлас української мови*, vol. II, *Волинь, Наддністрянщина, Закарпаття и суміжні землі*, ed. Я.В. ЗАКРЕВСЬКА, Київ 1988, maps 197–200.

<sup>335</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508 *ѡ наши дѣтїи* vs. p. 511 *ѡ дѣтєї* and T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 *ѡ дѣтєи* vs. *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 56 *ѡ дѣти наши*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725 *дѣтєй, дѣтїй* 'from (our) children'. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124 and colophon of Logofăt Toma's Tetraevangelion from 1545 *родитєлен* vs. colophon of the Tetraevangelion from 1542 *родитєлїи*.

<sup>336</sup> In Theodosie's Enkomion, the forms *црїє* 'kings' (200v, 202r, 203r) and once *родитєлїє* 'parents' (203r) are used as both nominative and accusative plural. There is also the new jo-stem locative plural ending in 202r *въ мѡжє* 'among men', cf. Macarie II 476r *на врьзєхъ конєхъ* 'on quick horses'.

<sup>337</sup> There may be also hyperarchaisms like in *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 204 *више писанадо* 'of above written' and *исплѣнѣаашє* 'he was completing' in Theodosie's Enkomion (201r).

<sup>338</sup> Macarie I 155r *ѡ вѣїи посѡблєни* 'about God's support', *ѡ наказани* 'about the punishment', 155v *по прѣтєчени лѣтоу* 'after a year', 156r *ѡ сѣмирєни* 'about the reconciliation'.

<sup>339</sup> *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. I, p. 40 and *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 127 *дѣтїи* vs. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 212 *дѣтєї* 'to children'; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 17 *слѡгїи* 'to servants'; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 518 *прїятєлїи* 'to the friends'. Another curious form is 200v *гѡдє* 'of reptiles' in Theodosie's Enkomion using a jo-stem ending for an o-stem noun. The same case is represented by the form *въ храворєтєй* 'among brave deeds' in Macarie II 476r.

<sup>340</sup> Another Wallachian Slavonic form is the Štokavian instrumental singular curiously placed in the otherwise Ruthenian Treaty with Poland: *ѡ сїи наши книгѡ* 'with this our letter' that appeared there as a petrified formula. The Wallachian mediation of this form is supported by the use of the typical Wallachian Slavonic lexeme *книга* 'letter'. Cf. ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 421 (1510s) *сѣ книгѡ* 'with the letter'. Nevertheless, in the contemporary Wallachian Slavonic, the usual form was the common case.

<sup>341</sup> Treaty with Poland: *до землє* 'to the lands', *ѡ землѡ* 'from the lands'; *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. I, p. 55 *ѡ вѣсѣє странѡ* 'from all side'; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 30 *ѡ Рѡдоѡцє* vs. *ѡ Рѡдоѡцєї* 'from Rădăuți', p. 41 *ѡ Іасѡ* 'from Iași'; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 254, *повїи Ррѡдоусѣкнє* 'up from Răuseni'.

variation can be found in the locative singular of Romanian pluralia tantum proper names. This is the form where we found the typical substandard CS locative plural ending *-oχ* alternating with other variants, thus ‘in Iași’ as § *Иасѡ*<sup>342</sup>, § *Иѧсе*<sup>343</sup>, but ‘in Huși’ as § *Хѡѡ*<sup>344</sup>, оу *Хоуѧи*<sup>345</sup>, § *Хѡсе*<sup>346</sup>, оу *Хоуѧа*<sup>347</sup>, or without any ending § *Хѡ*<sup>348</sup>, or Romanized § *Хѡ*<sup>349</sup>. A curious ending is for is на *Илпѡ*<sup>350</sup>. From the original CS texts, we found the locative plural *-oχ* in Theodosie’s Enkomion<sup>351</sup>. Further, it can be read in Glăvan’s Letter in a syntactically random form *мѡшчанѡ* ‘burghers’ and in a Polish letter issued in Moldavia<sup>352</sup>.

With these examples, we step directly into the issue of declension of Romanian nouns (mostly proper names) in the Moldavian Slavonic chancery texts. The treatment of these nouns can be divided into four main groups: assignment to a Slavonic declension, no declension, Romanian endings and combination of the previous strategies. The first approach is seen in the form § *Хрѡловѣ* ‘in Hârlău’<sup>353</sup>. The second one is preferred in the form оу *Брѡлѡ*<sup>354</sup>. The Romance *culme* ‘peak’ (feminine in Romanian), testified by the forms *до кѡлми*, *на кѡлми*<sup>355</sup>, can be motivated by both Romanian genitive-dative *culmi* and the Ukrainian-based endings discussed above. In the word *megiaș* ‘neighbouring landlord’, the scribe had doubts on the instrumental singular<sup>356</sup>. The forms § *Васлѡи*<sup>357</sup> § *Васлѡю* ‘in Vaslui’<sup>358</sup>, ѡ *Врѡхѡю* ‘in Orhei’<sup>359</sup> (neuters in Romanian) can be considered nominative-accusative

<sup>342</sup> T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 36; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 56.

<sup>343</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 254; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 77.

<sup>344</sup> Macarie I 157v (II 461v); *Молдова ын эпока...*, vol. II, p. 272, 276; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 37; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 95; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 18; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 125, 131, 142, 221; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 359; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 61.

<sup>345</sup> *Молдова ын эпока...*, vol. I, p. 52. Cf. also *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 129 по вѣкѣ стѡрѡни ‘on both sides’.

<sup>346</sup> *Молдова ын эпока...*, vol. I, p. 56; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 45; *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 161; *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 346; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 95; *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 59; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 204, 212, 217.

<sup>347</sup> T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27.

<sup>348</sup> *Молдова ын эпока...*, vol. II, p. 270.

<sup>349</sup> *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 72.

<sup>350</sup> *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 21.

<sup>351</sup> 201r вѣ ѡникоѡ ‘among martyrs’.

<sup>352</sup> o *Thurkoch* ‘about Turks’. Ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 47. In (Middle) Polish of the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, this was likely an originally dialectal (Lesser Polish) ending, marginally used besides the more frequent *-iech*. Z. KLEMENSIEWICZ, *Historia języka polskiego*, Warszawa 1999, p. 298–299.

<sup>353</sup> Macarie II 467r, T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 30 vs. *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 377 вѣ Хѡрѡловѣ.

<sup>354</sup> T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 42; *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 342; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 130; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 241. In *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 211, there is § *Брѡлѡдѣ* and in *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 119 на *Брѡлѡдѣ* ‘on the river of Bârlad’.

<sup>355</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210.

<sup>356</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 183 съ *межнѡшии*, *межнѡшиини* ‘with neighbouring landlords’.

<sup>357</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 128.

<sup>358</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 185. Cf. Macarie I 157v нѡ *Васлѡта* ‘under Vaslui’.

<sup>359</sup> *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 20.

Romanian forms, less probably Ukrainian forms, attested on the territory of historical Moldavia<sup>360</sup>. The Romanian names of persons mostly appear in nominative, genitive<sup>361</sup> and dative<sup>362</sup>. The most interesting are the combined forms of longer names, e.g.:

Current spelling	Nom.	Dat.
Pașco Răzlog(u) <sup>363</sup>	Пашко Ръзлогѹ	ПъшкѸ Ръзлогѹ, Пашкови Ръзлоги
Petrea Breareș(u) <sup>364</sup>	Петрѣк Бѣрешоѹ	Петри БѣрешѸ
Popa (priest) Gavril Secară <sup>365</sup>	попа ГавриѠ Секаръ	попѸ ГаврилѸ СекарѸ
Sima Marcovici <sup>366</sup>	Сима МарковиѠ	Сими Марковичю

A curious example of a Romanian ending are the forms used as subject of the sentences дочкѣ 'daughter'<sup>367</sup> and старостѣ Текѹчскѣи 'staroste of (the district of) Tecuci'<sup>368</sup>. The definite forms are attested by влѣндѸ – влѣнѹиин 'meek(s)'<sup>369</sup>. In singular, the forms with the Romanian article -и<sup>370</sup> are declined as Slavonic o-stems in singular<sup>371</sup>. In plural, the documents show the variation of possessive form with the Slavonic dative plural -ѹ or more rarely -и and Romanian genitive-dative -лѹ<sup>372</sup>. The singular possessivity may be expressed by a possessive

<sup>360</sup> *Атлас української мови...*, map 182 у місяці/у місяцю 'in the month'

<sup>361</sup> E.g. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 55 пана Петра Кръковича, пана Хръбора, пана Пѣтрашка; *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 160 пана Стѹрзи, Петри Кръка, пана Тѣмпи, пана Хръбора, пана Борчѣ; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278 пѠ Жѹрка Болѣ.

<sup>362</sup> A curious calque is ѹ привиліи томѸ СтефанѸ 'de privil(eg)ie lui Ștefan; from privilege of Stephen'. M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 513.

<sup>363</sup> *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 344.

<sup>364</sup> *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 344.

<sup>365</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 203.

<sup>366</sup> *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 71.

<sup>367</sup> *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 65.

<sup>368</sup> *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55.

<sup>369</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 127.

<sup>370</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184 ВрѣкѹнѸ 'Urecheanul'; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 32 Михоѹль 'Mihul'.

<sup>371</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 55 НѣрѸла 'of Neagul'; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 32, Попѣскоѹла 'of Popescul', Иноѹ Тоѹркоѹлѹ 'to Ion Turcul; to John the Turk'.

<sup>372</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184 хотара медеѹиѹ, медеѹиѹлѸ 'border of Medești'; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 21 Ѹ Ѹетіѣ Малѹрелѹ 'in the mouth of Malure'; *Surete...*, vol. XII, p. 94 Петриканіи, Петриканилѹ 'Petricanii'; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 64, Ѹ хотѠ хлапѣѹиѣ 'on the border of Hlăpești'; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 231 на илѣѸ ХорѹдничанилѸ 'called Horodniceani'; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 381 сѣлѠ на илѣ Кривѣѹиѣ 'village called Crivești'; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278 ѹ корѣнію Пъѹѣѹиѣ 'from the family of Pățești'.

adjective<sup>373</sup>. An indirect impact of Romanian can be seen in the spread of feminine endings and agreement to other genders. The classical example is the noun *монастиѣ*<sup>374</sup> ‘monastery’ and the neuter jo-stems<sup>375</sup> with the frequently appearing noun *привиліѣ* ‘privilege’<sup>376</sup>. The Romanian background in the declension is reflected in the following types of syntactic discrepancies, which can be found in all original texts:

- Common case<sup>377</sup>, causing the confusion of subject and object<sup>378</sup>, of position and direction<sup>379</sup> and the expression of possessivity by juxtaposition<sup>380</sup>.

<sup>373</sup> E.g. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 144 *снѣ манчѣлѣ* ‘son of Manciuil’.

<sup>374</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 56 *новостъзданненіи монастыри* ‘of the newly established monastery’ and T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 35 *сѣѣни монастыри* ‘of the holy monastery’ is treated as feminine. *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58 *кѣ сѣѣни монастыри* shows an i-stem ending or it reflects a confusion of dative and locative.

<sup>375</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278 *ѡ коренію* ‘from the family’. The form can be considered a common case based on accusative singular of a-stems. In T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16, there are forms *до веръшиѣ* ‘to the source’, *ѡ веръшиѣ* ‘from the source’, *на веръшиѣ* ‘on the source’. At least the last one might be treated as singular feminine. *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 26 *въ нѣка вѣмѣ* ‘in some time’, Colophon of the Tetraevangelion of logofăt Toma from 1535 *въ задѣшїѣ своѣ* ‘for the saving of the soul’. *Die Inschriften...*, p. 29 common case *подрѣжїѣ* ‘wife’. The interference with jo-stems can be observed in the form *помощїемъ* ‘with the help’ on the ktetor inscription in Humor. *Die Inschriften...*, p. 29.

<sup>376</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 99 nominative singular *таѣ привилїѣ* ‘this privilege’; M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 513 genitive singular *ѡ привилїи*; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 accusative plural *привилїи кривїи* ‘false privileges’ and *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 212 *нѣкїи привилїи* ‘some privileges’; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 instrumental plural *съ ѣдними кривїими привилїами* ‘with some false privileges’.

<sup>377</sup> Common case as nominative: Macarie I 159v *и зѣмѣѣ срѣмова плѣнїи* ‘and they plundered the land of Sirmia’, 158v *сѣбрѣ минѣжѣство персь, и сїѣл велика* ‘he gathered plenty of Persians (Ottomans), a great power’, 165v *послѣ прѣвїи ѡ велїмѣ свої* ‘he set the first ones of his noblemen’, Macarie II 481r *съ царскїими сановници* ‘with sultan’s officials’. Monastery documents: T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16 *ѡуцїѣ поток* ‘from the mouth of the brook’; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 125 *ѡ прчстаѣ вгонтѣрѣ* ‘of the very-pure Mother-of-God’; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 26 *къ племениковѣ* ‘to the nephews’. Internal secular documents: M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510 *ѡ татарїи* ‘from Tatars’, p. 513 *половина село и половина ѡ стѣ* ‘half of the village and half of the pond’. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 259; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 216 *ѡ тогѣ селициѣ* ‘from this settlement’; *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 345 *ѡ оуцїѣ сторони* ‘from all sides’ – *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210 *по вѣѣ сторони береги* ‘on both sides of the shore’. *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55 *до дорога* ‘up to the path’. Correspondence with Transylvania: ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 531 *радї нѣкїи дълги* ‘because of some debts’, p. 538 *прѣде сего вѣмѣ* ‘before this time’, p. 542 *ѡ Бистрицкїи гра* ‘from the town of Bistrița’, p. 539 *ѡ проклетїи Турци* ‘from damned Turks’, p. 536 *вѣни моїи твоѣ мѣтѣ* ‘we are supplicating your Grace’. Treaty with Poland *с нашии пановѣ* ‘with our lords’. Common case as acc. (in (j)a stems) in internal documents: *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55 *ѡ кръницѣ* ‘from the source’ vs. *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 20 *съ кръница* ‘with the source’.

<sup>378</sup> Colophon of Putna Menaion from 1530: *исписѣ сїѣ книга ... стѣѣѣ* ‘Stephen wrote this book’.

<sup>379</sup> Macarie I 159v *и вѣскѣчи на ѣговѣѣ лѣвѣтѣ* ‘he jumped on his place’, 157v *нападѣѣ ... на зѣмїи мѣдѣвѣтѣ* ‘they attacked the land of Moldavia’. Theodosie’s Enkomion 202r *прїидѣ прѣѣ ігѣмонѣ* ‘he came in front of the ruler’. Internal documents: *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 269 ‘in our Moldavian land’; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 *вила оу роуки* ‘it was in hands’; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 39 *на нем вѣзрїт* ‘he looks on him’.

<sup>380</sup> This is a typical construction in the colophons and ktetor inscriptions showing the names of the monastery, e.g. K. ИВАНОВА, *Български...*, p. 84 *храѣ съшїєтвїѣ стѣѣѣ дѣѣ* ‘church of the descent of



- Random lack of gender agreement<sup>381</sup>.
- Random lack of case agreement<sup>382</sup>.
- Higher frequency of possessive dative<sup>383</sup>.

In the declension of adjectives and possessive pronouns, the interference of Ukrainian<sup>384</sup> (eventually substandard CS) forms are random. All texts use the ending *-аго* of genitive singular masculine<sup>385</sup> of hard declension with the exception of the Treaty with Poland<sup>386</sup>. The correspondence with Transylvania can randomly show the Štokavian *-га*, used in Wallachian Slavonic<sup>387</sup>. The ending *-ои* of the locative singular feminine or in a possessive form of the hard declension is rather used in fixed forms with Ruthenian background<sup>388</sup>. In Theodosie's Enkomion, we find the ending *-ом*<sup>389</sup> of the locative singular existing both in substandard CS<sup>390</sup> and East Slavonic<sup>391</sup>. The non-Slavonic background of the writers is testified by

Holy Spirit'; *Die Inschriften...*, p. 187 *хра̑ в ѿмѣкѣ бл҃говѣщенїе̑* 'church of the Annunciation'; *Die Inschriften...*, p. 29 *хра̑ въ ѿмѣкѣ чїноѣ ѡспенїе̑* 'church of the honourful Dormition'.

<sup>381</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 59; *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. II, p. 260; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 28 *на бошше крѣпостѣ* 'for a better confirmation' (part of the fixed formula); *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 192 *на тоѣ мѣсто* 'on this place'. Colophon of Putna Menaion from 1530: *книга рѣкомыи* 'book called'. The masculine form of the adjective in the colophon of the Neamț Psalter from 1529 *ѿ Немечскѣ ѡвнѣбли* 'from the monastery of Neamț' can be motivated by the fact that feminine *i*-stems may be confused with masculines.

<sup>382</sup> Colophon of the Apostolos 1528 *наше даданїе* 'our donation' (object of the sentence); colophon of the Neamț Psalter from 1529 *ѡбжевна книжѣ сѣа* 'this divide book'; colophon of Putna Menaion from 1530 *даде ѿ сѣмѣ монастирѣ пѣтною* 'he gave it to the holy monastery of Putna'; colophon of Tetraevangelion from 1542 *въ ѿмѣкѣ ... трѣцѣ єдиносѣщїнѣкѣ* 'in the name of the Trinity of one substance' (the fusion of gen. and acc. of the adjective is caused by the homography of both forms in the Trinovitan spelling of the noun). Internal documents: *Surete...*, vol. XXIV, p. 148 *хотѣ тои четвърѣтои чѣ* 'border of the quarter'; *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. I, p. 39 *полнои заплаѣ* 'full payment', p. 55 *по старини своими хотарини* 'according to the traditional borders'. Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539 *ѡ вашѣ земли* 'to your land'. Treaty with Poland *с которою сторои* 'from which side', *ѡ Молдавскѣи землю* 'to Moldavia'. Glăvan's Letter is full of such syntactical discrepancies as e.g. *ѡ наше катастѣи* 'in our register' (expected loc. sg.).

<sup>383</sup> E.g. T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16 *врѣкѣ великомѣ дѣлѣ* 'top of a high mountain'.

<sup>384</sup> Cf. M.A. ЖОВТОВБЮХ, *Исторична граматика української мови*, Київ 1980, p. 173–174.

<sup>385</sup> I.e. also in the dispositio of the internal chancery documents: *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. I, p. 40 *праваго и питомаго ѡрика* 'rightful and own privilege'.

<sup>386</sup> *Найяснѣйшого* 'of the serene highness', *рускогѣ* 'Ruthenian', *литовскогѣ* 'Lithuanian', *прѣскогѣ* 'Prussian'.

<sup>387</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518 *по вашѣгѣ чѣлѣкѣ* 'through your man'. Cf. V. KNOLL, *Written Languages in Wallachia during the Reign of Neagoe Basarab (1512–1521)*, SCer 11, 2021, p. 247.

<sup>388</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 375 *ѡу нашиѣ земли ѡ молдавскѣи* 'in our Moldavian land'; К. ИВАНОВА, *Български...*, p. 84 *гѣрѣкѣ земли мѣдѣскѣ* 'lord of the Moldavian land'; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 32 *ѡу волости черновскѣи* 'in the district of Černivci'; M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508 *по ихѣ доброй воли* vs. S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 513 *по своѣи доброй воли* 'following their good will'. In possessive constructions, this may also be classified as dative, e.g. Macarie I 159г *къ прѣдѣлѣ ѡгѣрѣскѣи зѣлїи* 'to the borders of the Hungarian land'; colophon of the Rila Tetraevangelion from 1529 *въ Пѣтнои* 'in Putna'.

<sup>389</sup> 201г *въ морскѣи плаванїи* 'during the sea sailing'.

<sup>390</sup> See in the Trojan Story (14<sup>th</sup> century Bulgaria): *на бѣломѣ ѡбручѣкѣ* 'on the white veil'; *на бѣломѣ фарижи* 'on the white horse'. *Cyrlomethodiana Corpus*, [https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc\\_165](https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc_165) [10 V 2022].

<sup>391</sup> Cf. M.A. ЖОВТОВБЮХ, *Исторична...*, p. 173.

the variation of hard and weak endings in the soft declension<sup>392</sup> and the confusion of accusative and instrumental singular in the hard feminine declension<sup>393</sup>. In the pronoun declension, I would underline the use of dative of personal pronoun in the role of a possessive pronoun in the internal documents. This trait is most regularly used in the fixed form (borrowed from the Wallachian chancery) 'my/your lordship', used in the monastery and Transylvanian documents<sup>394</sup>. The form denoting the possessive 'her' is the same as the Romanian one<sup>395</sup>. In Macarie's Chronicle, there is once the possessive pronoun of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person *ѣгоуѣ*<sup>396</sup>. In a document<sup>397</sup> we found the form *сѣ ѣгоуѣ*. The forms *ѣго* and *ѣ* appear in the accusative as usual also in the post-classical CS<sup>398</sup>. The typical Ruthenian feature of the Moldavian documents is the presence of reduplicated forms of the demonstrative pronoun *сѣ*<sup>399</sup> and *то*<sup>400</sup>. Another frequent word of pronoun origin is *ѣо*, used as relative pronoun and conjunction<sup>401</sup>. Other specific pronominal forms are *каждоуѣ*

<sup>392</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94 *на нижнѣю* 'to the lower one'; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 129 *вишнаа/нижнаа чѣ* 'upper/lower part' vs. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 216 *нижнѣа чѣ* 'lower part'; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 259 *третѣю чѣ* 'one third', *ниѣни части* 'of the lower part', *третѣи части* 'of the third part', *вышнѣю част* 'upper part'.

<sup>393</sup> *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 17 *правоу ѣнинѣ* 'rightful heritage'; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 17 *полноу залатѣ* 'full payment'; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 203 *по доброу волю* 'following the good will'; *Surete...*, vol. XXIV, p. 147 *договороуноу тѣкмеж* 'voluntary agreement'; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 140 *сѣ марторѣю* 'with the testimony'. Analogically, there is a confusion of dative and locative in T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 42 *по нашѣмоу животѣ* 'after our life'.

<sup>394</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 93 *гѣвоу ми дадѣ* 'I, my lordship, gave'; M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510 *братѣ гѣва ми* 'brother of my lordship'; *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58 *ѣ гѣтѣа мы* 'by my lordship'. Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 542 *до гѣѣ ти* 'to your lordship', p. 518 *гѣво ми* 'my lordship', *гѣѣ вы* 'your lordship'. A similar, not fixed construction can be found also on p. 538 *сѣ дѣтѣ ми* 'with my kid'.

<sup>395</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 536 *за ѣи матѣ* 'for her mother'; *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 336 *сестѣра ѣи* 'her daughter'; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 204 *ѣ ѣи роуа* 'from her family', *ѣ ѣи смѣрти* 'from her death', but *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 212 *дѣтѣѣ ѣго* 'to his children'.

<sup>396</sup> Macarie I 159v *на ѣгоуѣ лѣбетѣ* 'on his place'.

<sup>397</sup> *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 64.

<sup>398</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278.

<sup>399</sup> *жаловали ѣсми ѣго* 'we provided him'; colophon of the Rila Tetraevangelion from 1529 *дадѣ ѣ* 'he gave it'; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98 *жаловали ѣсми ѣ* 'we provided them'; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 536 *мы ѣ послали* 'we sent them'.

<sup>400</sup> E.g. ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 520.

<sup>401</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725 *тоуѣ* 'the same', M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 511; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 26; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 519, 538 *тоуѣ* nominative plural masculine 'these', p. 531 nominative singular feminine *тоуѣ* 'this'.

<sup>401</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518 *Книгѣ ѣо ни ѣсте ... доуѣстѣли* 'the letter that you sent us'. Here we see also the Wallachian Slavonic pronoun *ни* 'us' of Bulgarian origin, cf. p. 261 (1510s), p. 518 *повѣдаюуѣ ѣо ѣмаѣмо* 'they say that we have', p. 538 *пѣнкѣзи ѣо ми ѣзѣ* 'money that he took me'. T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 26 *пѣкин Иванко ѣо ѣѣ писѣ* 'an Ivanco, who was a scribe'; M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 513 *испрѣвилѣѣ ѣо ѣмаѣ* 'privilege that

‘to everybody’, *жадного* ‘none’ in the Treaty with Poland vs. *ниеднѣ* ‘none’<sup>402</sup>, *ничто* vs. *нищо* ‘nothing’<sup>403</sup>, *ѿ ниши* ‘from other ones’<sup>404</sup>, *боѿ кого* ‘anybody’<sup>405</sup>.

The verb forms show the largest differences among the various types of texts. In the correspondence with Transylvania, we may find the confusion of the 1<sup>st</sup> singular and plural of the present tense as we know it from Wallachian Slavonic<sup>406</sup>. In the same corpus as well as the Treaty with Poland, we find the 1<sup>st</sup> plural ending *-ю* in the present tense and conditional<sup>407</sup>. The 1<sup>st</sup> plural of the verb *быти* (usually as auxiliary) shows the CS form *есмы/есми* in the Treaty with Poland and in the internal chancery documents<sup>408</sup>, while the correspondence with Transylvania uses *(ε)слю*<sup>409</sup>. In the same corpus, we find also other forms of the same verb without the initial *ε*-<sup>410</sup>. The verb *имѣти* (actually *имати*) ‘to have (to)’ is spelled according to the 3<sup>rd</sup> (je) conjugation in the secular chancery documents<sup>411</sup>. In the Treaty with Poland, the Ruthenian forms without the initial unstressed *и*- are preferred<sup>412</sup>. Internal secular documents and the Treaty with Poland contain indeclinable participle forms<sup>413</sup>.

he had’; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 275 *села цю на Кѣли* ‘villages that are on Cula’; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94 *гладѣ, цю естѣ ѿ долини* ‘mud that is in the valley’.

<sup>402</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 536.

<sup>403</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531, 540.

<sup>404</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508.

<sup>405</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 269.

<sup>406</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 541 *моли* ‘I ask’ – *не знаю* ‘I do not know’. Cf. V. KNOLL, *Written Languages...*, p. 248.

<sup>407</sup> Treaty with Poland: *сѣбѣємо* ‘we promise’, *выхю развѣкли* ‘we would understand’. Transylvanian correspondence, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518 *мы слышию* ‘we hear’, p. 537 *даємо знати* ‘we inform’. This is the form normal in the contemporary Lithuanian chancery and some original Ruthenian texts as the Peresopnycja Tetraevangelion. *Пересопницьке евангеліє 1556–1561. Дослідження. Транслітерованний текст. Словопоказчик*, ed. І.П. ЧЕПІГА, Київ 2001, p. 44. The current Galician-Bucovinian dialects have both *-м* and *-мо*. *Атлас української мови...*, map 241. The same forms are typical for Wallachian Slavonic due to Štokavian impact, cf. ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 560 (1510s) *ми знаю* ‘we know’.

<sup>408</sup> Treaty with Poland: *есмы ѿновили* ‘we renewed’, *сѣбили есмы* ‘we promised’. Internal document, *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278 *есми емѣ дали* ‘we gave him’. Peresopnycja Tetraevangelion uses both *есмы/есмо*. *Пересопницьке евангеліє...*, p. 426–429.

<sup>409</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 519 *ако слю божили* ‘as we swore’. In a Polish letter issued in Moldavia, we found the form “*izesmo posla... zadzierzeli*” ‘that we retained the envoy’. Ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 108.

<sup>410</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518 *знали слю ѿе стѣ говорили* ‘we knew that you said’, *снѣ дови землю* ‘I conquered the land’.

<sup>411</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> singular: T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 45 *имаѣ*; 1<sup>st</sup> plural ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518 *имаємо*; 3<sup>rd</sup> plural *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278 *имаю*; l-participle: *Surete...*, vol. XXIV, p. 147 *има*; M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510 *имали*.

<sup>412</sup> Indicative: 3<sup>rd</sup> singular *маѣ*, *имаѣ*; 1<sup>st</sup> plural *мы маємо*; 3<sup>rd</sup> plural *маю*, *имаю*. Conditional: 3<sup>rd</sup> singular *бы маѣ*.

<sup>413</sup> Regularly in the formula *чтѣчи* ‘reading’, otherwise M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510 and *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 183 *рѣкѣчи* ‘saying’; Treaty with Poland *маючи* ‘having’, T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 *мы видѣвши* ‘having seen’.

The use of past tenses clearly divides the Trinovitan CS based texts using simple past tenses (aorist and imperfect)<sup>414</sup> and the secular chancery documents using I-preterite with the auxiliary **вѣти**. In Glăvan's Letter, there is the compound form **видилѣсмо** 'we saw'<sup>415</sup>. The specifics of the charters addressed to monasteries are the endings of the 1<sup>st</sup> plural aorist **-хмо** coexisting with the standard CS **-хѣ**<sup>416</sup>. In internal documents, we also found two examples of pluperfect<sup>417</sup>. The future tense is created following the CS norms<sup>418</sup> in most texts. In the Treaty with Poland, the verb **мѣти**<sup>419</sup>, corresponding to CS **имѣти** can be considered as future auxiliary<sup>420</sup>. This contrasts with the correspondence with Transylvania, showing an extraordinary variability of future tense constructions independent on the aspect:

- **имѣ** + infinitive<sup>421</sup>,
- **вѣдѣ** + infinitive<sup>422</sup>,
- **кю** + infinitive<sup>423</sup>.

<sup>414</sup> But see the form in a letter to Braşov in ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518 **вѣ знасте** 'you knew'.

<sup>415</sup> Cf. the same construction in the *Peresopnycja Tetraevanglion, Пересопницьке евангеліє...*, p. 46.

<sup>416</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 55 **дадохмо** 'we gave', **помиловахмо** 'we deigned'; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 93 **сѣтворихмо** vs. *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58 **сѣтворихѣ** 'we did'. The same phenomenon exists in Wallachian Slavonic, cf. ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 262 (1510s) **ѣчинилмо** 'we did'.

<sup>417</sup> T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 30 **цю вѣ ѣздѣ** 'what he had taken'; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98 **гдѣ вили сидили** 'where they had been seated'.

<sup>418</sup> **вѣдѣ** is used just for 'I will be'. For perfective verbs, the present forms are used, otherwise the **имѣти/хотѣти** + infinitive are used. E.g. Matthew per. 10, ВРІ **поміловани вѣжѣть** – RGB **поміловани вѣдѣжѣ** – Abraam **поміловани вѣдѣжѣ** – ÖNB **поміловани боудѣжѣ** 'they will be shown mercy', per. 79 ВРІ **имѣти имѣши скрѣвице на нѣси** – RGB Abraam ÖNB **имѣти имѣши скрѣвице на нѣси** 'you will have treasure in heaven', per. 80 ВРІ **хѣщѣ же ѣ сѣмоу послѣднемоу дѣти** – RGB **хѣщѣ же сѣмоу послѣднемоу дѣти** – Abraam **хѣщѣ же сѣмѣ послѣднемѣ дѣти** – ÖNB **хѣщѣ же сѣмѣ послѣднемоу дѣти** 'I want to give the one who was hired last'.

<sup>419</sup> Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 435–436.

<sup>420</sup> **мы маємо дати** 'we shall give'. The use of the auxiliary \***имѣти** is attested already in Galician documents and in the Moldavian external documents since 1400. В. РУСАНІВСЬКИЙ, *Українські грамоти XV ст.*, Київ 1965, p. 18; *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 440–441.

<sup>421</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 537 **ѣ имѣ порозумит имѣ** 'how will you understand him'. This is the old East Slavonic auxiliary preserved in a contracted form in Ukrainian until now, e.g. *розумитиме* 'he will understand'. М.А. ЖОВТОВРЮХ, *Історична...*, p. 213–214.

<sup>422</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 520 **кѣда не вѣдѣте ѣ вратити** 'if you will not return them', **вѣдѣ ѣзѣти и наплѣнити** 'he will take and fill it in', **вѣдѣ сѣтворити** 'he will do'. This is an auxiliary typical for West Slavonic languages. In Ruthenian its spread since the late 14<sup>th</sup> century seems to be linked with the documents issued by Polish and later Lithuanian rulers, *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 143. Used in the *Peresopnycja Tetraevanglion, Пересопницьке евангеліє...*, p. 45.

<sup>423</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539 **цю ке вѣдѣ трѣба** 'what will be needed', p. 519 **ке дрѣжати** 'he will hold', p. 518 **не кю ѣи дадати никомѣ** 'I will not give it to anybody', **ке хѣкѣ работати** 'he will work'. The typical Serbian chancery form mediated through Wallachian Slavonic, cf. *Documenta Romaniae Historica. В. Țara Românească*, vol. III, (1526–1535), ed. D. MIOS, Bucu-reşti 1975 (cetera: DRH B 3), p. 90 **ке вѣти** 'it will be'.

## Vocabulary

The large variability of the languages in contact is significantly manifested in the vocabulary. The typical Moldavian Slavonic vocabulary is concentrated in the internal chancery documents, where the specific terms are constantly repeated. Many lexemes in the original Moldavian Slavonic texts (except biblical CS and chancery terms) are occasionalisms of very various origin. In the following short overview, we will deal with some samples of the vocabulary combining the criteria of part of speech, thematic group and source text.

We will start with the administrative terms. The ruler is called *гѣрь* (*господарь*) ‘lord’<sup>424</sup> with the title *воевода* ‘voivode’<sup>425</sup>. This contrasts with the addressing *гѣво* (*ми*) (*господство*)<sup>426</sup> ‘(my) lordship’, borrowed via the Wallachian chancery language<sup>427</sup>

<sup>424</sup> Attested in the East Slavonic milieu since the 11<sup>th</sup> century in the meaning of ‘owner’, since the 14<sup>th</sup> century as ‘ruler’ (Polish king). *Словарь древнерусского языка (XI–XIV вв.)*, vol. II, Москва 1989–2016, p. 366; *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 254–256. In Latin documents *dominus*, e.g. in ed. A. VERESS, *Documente...*, no. 31. In German *Herr*, see ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 447. In Polish *hospodar*, distinguished from *gospodarz* ‘landowner’. Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, I. BOGDAN, *Documente...*, *Sup.* 2, vol. I, p. 139. Cf. *Słownik staropolski*, vol. II, ed. S. URBAŃCZYK, Wrocław–Kraków–Warszawa, p. 467. *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/53481> [10 V 2022] and <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/54758> [10 V 2022]. In the Polish context, *hospodar* is used for both rulers of Moldavia and Wallachia, exceptionally of other territories (Poland, Muscovy). Further, if the term is mentioned in *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, we mark it simply as *Middle Polish*.

<sup>425</sup> Both terms in e.g. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 50 and in the Treaty with Poland. In Latin documents mostly *wayvoda* (e.g. ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 294, spelled *waywoda* by G. A REICHERSTORE, *Moldaviae...*), rarely *veywoda* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.2, p. 23). In German *Vaivod* (ed. A. VERESS, *Documente...*, no. 26), *Wayd* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 437), *Woyd* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 332–333). In Polish documents *woyewoda* (e.g. ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 39). Cf. *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. X, p. 279–281. In the meaning of a ‘head of a region’ already in OCS. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the title was used as the title of the ruler of Wallachia, head of Transylvania and head of an administrative unit in Poland (Latin *palatinus*). Earlier, it was likely used as the title of a head of an administrative unit in Bulgaria and Bosnia. Т. ПОПОВ, *Влияние на българската държавна традиция върху институциите на Дунавските княжества (XIV–XVII в.)*, ГСУИФ 103, 2018, p. 37–39. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЋ, *Рјечник из књижевних старина српских*, vol. I, Београд 1863, p. 150–152. Romanian *vo(i)evod* with variants.

<sup>426</sup> This expression regularly appears in the segment listing the members of the voivodal council. In the monastery charters, it is used generally as self-addressing of the ruler, inorganically combined with 1<sup>st</sup> plural (less in 1<sup>st</sup> singular) verb forms. In the Wallachian context, this expression is used as the self-addressing of the ruler in all types of documents, see e.g. the document DRH B 3, p. 100 (1528). In Moldavian Latin documents, the self-addressing is the 1<sup>st</sup> plural (as it is usual also in the Slavonic documents), one may find just an equivalent of *гѣво ви*: *Dominaciones Vestras*. Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 294.

<sup>427</sup> Previously used by Serbian rulers not holding the title of king or tsar, e.g. prince Lazar, Љ. СТОЈАНОВИЋ, *Старе српске повеље и писма. Књига I. Дубровник и суседи његови. Други део*, Београд 1934, p. 120.

or even *цѣстѣіе* ‘dignity of a ruler’<sup>428</sup>. Ruler’s wife is called *госпож(а)*<sup>429</sup>. The title *цѣрь* means ‘Ottoman sultan’ in the Treaty with Poland<sup>430</sup>, while in Macarie’s Chronicle, it may denote both Ottoman sultan or the Moldavian ruler. *Крѣ* (eventually *крѣ*) means ‘Polish king’ (Sigismund the Old) in the Treaty with Poland, but ‘Hungarian king’<sup>431</sup> in the correspondence with Transylvania. Macarie uses both meanings. The Polish king may be addressed as *его милость* ‘his Grace’<sup>432</sup>.

The title of a boyar (*воѣри*)<sup>433</sup> is *па*<sup>434</sup>. Out of the internal chancery documents, there is also the form *жѣпань*<sup>435</sup>, while his wife is *кнѣгиня*<sup>436</sup>, in the Treaty with Poland *паннѣ*<sup>437</sup>. The following officials<sup>438</sup> have the same name as in Wallachia<sup>439</sup>:

<sup>428</sup> OCS. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 51. Cf. in Polish documents *hospodarstwo*. Ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 59. Cf. Middle Polish, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/54760> [10 V 2022].

<sup>429</sup> OCS, the same title used in Wallachia. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 51, Treaty with Poland. Cf. the Latin signature of voivode Peter’s wife *Katharina Despoth coniunx Magnifici domini*. Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 393.

<sup>430</sup> OCS. Thus also in Macarie II 474r, otherwise also *самодръжѣць* (Macarie I 161v). Voivode Peter’s suzerain Süleyman the Magnificent used the title *ВЕЛКІЕ ЦѢ И СИЛНЕ ГОСПОДѢ. Љ. СТОЈАНОВИѢ, Старе српске...*, p. 401–404. In Latin documents issued in Moldavia: *Imperator* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 401; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 91), *Caesar* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 240). In German *Herr der Kezer, Kaiserliche Maiestät* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 390), in Polish *cesarz* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, I. BOGDAN, *Documente...*, *Sup. 2*, vol. I, p. 62) or even *czarъ* (ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 59). The title of *сѣтѣ/сѣтѣ* ‘sultan’ (Љ. СТОЈАНОВИѢ, *Старе српске...*, p. 401–404) is used as the title of a Tatar ruler by Macarie I 157v.

<sup>431</sup> OCS. Ed. G. G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 518. In a Moldavian German letter *Kunig Hans*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 329. Cf. Romanian *crai*.

<sup>432</sup> In a Polish letter *Waszmość*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, I. BOGDAN, *Documente...*, *Sup. 2*, vol. I, p. 62.

<sup>433</sup> OCS. Macarie II 477r *старѣишина*. In Latin *boyaro* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 350), *boiero* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 428). Polish *szlachta* used in this meaning in ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, I. BOGDAN, *Documente...*, *Sup. 2*, vol. I, p. 139. Cf. Romanian *boier*.

<sup>434</sup> *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 125, Polish *pan*, cf. Middle Polish, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/81494> [10 V 2022]. In German *Her*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 293. Cf. Romanian *pan* ‘title given to great Romanian boyars’.

<sup>435</sup> Ed. G. G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 539; *Die Inschriften...*, p. 29 (inscription in Humor), colophon of the Rila Tetraevangelion from 1529. This is the usual term in Wallachian Slavonic, cf. OCS ‘district administrator’.

<sup>436</sup> Thus in *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 39. Variants: *кнѣгиня* (*Die Inschriften...*, p. 140), *кнѣгиня* (*Surete...*, vol. I, p. 230). Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 479–480; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar*, [in:] *Ispisoace și zapise (Documente slavo-române)*, vol. III, part 2, (1663–1675), Iași 1912, p. 27 ‘doamna, jupâneasă. Romanian *cneaghină* ‘wife or daughter of a *cneaz* or a *tsar*’.

<sup>437</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 123.

<sup>438</sup> By Macarie II, 481r called *санѣвници*. In Latin *officiales*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 336.

<sup>439</sup> The list repeating in each internal chancery document can be found e.g. in M. M. SZÉKELY, S. S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508 and in the Treaty with Poland, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DEN-

ДВОРНІЇ<sup>440</sup> ‘general judge of the Lower or Upper Moldavia’, ПОРТА<sup>440</sup> ‘supreme commander and head of Suceava administration’, СПАТА<sup>441</sup> ‘sword-bearer’, ПОСТЕЛНИЇ<sup>442</sup> ‘court judge’, ЛОГОФЕ<sup>443</sup> ‘head of chancery’, КОМНІ<sup>444</sup> ‘head of stables’, ДІІА<sup>445</sup> ‘scribe’, ВАТА/ВАТА<sup>446</sup> ‘head of a group of courtiers; head of local administration’, МЕДЕНИ-ЧА<sup>447</sup> ‘personal servant of the voivode’. Specific Moldavian derivations ВИСТЪРНИЇ

SUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 728. Cf. V. KNOLL, *Written Languages...*, p. 250–251. For the definitions of the officials see e.g. M. COSTIN, *Istorie în versuri...*, p. 439–444 and *Istoria României...*, p. 823–844.

<sup>440</sup> Latin “castellanus zuchaviensis, necnon capitaneus supremus gencium” (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 350) or “castellanus Castrî Swithavienis, supremus campiductor regni Moldaviae” (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 91). Polish “marszałek ziemie wołoskiej”, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 139. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 198; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 45; *Dicționarul elementelor românești din documente slavo-române 1374–1600*, ed. G. BOLOCAN, București 1981, p. 190–191; Romanian *portar*. The Wallachian *portar* had a different responsibility, corresponding to Moldavian ШІА<sup>441</sup> ‘official responsible for the reception of foreign envoys’, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 542, cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 496; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 67; *Dicționarul...*, p. 250; Romanian *ușar*.

<sup>441</sup> Spelling variant: СПЪТА<sup>441</sup>, *Ispisaoce...*, vol. I.1, p. 61. Latin *supremus armiger*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 91. Cf. Т. ПОПОВ, *Влияние...*, p. 431; SSUM, vol. II, p. 372; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 57; *Dicționarul...*, p. 219; Romanian *spătar*.

<sup>442</sup> Also ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 542. In Latin documents *postylnic*, *supremus cubiculariorum magister* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 375), *cubiculariorum magister* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 91). Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 432; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 45; *Dicționarul...*, p. 191–192; Romanian *postelnic*.

<sup>443</sup> Also К. ИВАНОВА, *Български...*, p. 84; *Die Inschriften...*, p. 140. In Macarie I 154v *словоположникъ*. In Latin *secretarius* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 370), *literatus* (p. 383), *cancellarius* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 91). Cf. Т. ПОПОВ, *Влияние...*, p. 53–56; SSUM, vol. I, p. 555; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 31; *Dicționarul...*, p. 126; Romanian *logofăt*.

<sup>444</sup> Latin *chomyz* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 428). Cf. Т. ПОПОВ, *Влияние...*, p. 59–61; SSUM, vol. I, p. 492; *SUM XVI*, vol. XIV, p. 211; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 27; *Dicționarul...*, p. 126; Romanian *comis*.

<sup>445</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 203. Otherwise ПИСА, Т. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 29; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94. In Latin *notarius*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 428. In a German document *Dyack*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 355. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 301; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 14; *Dicționarul...*, p. 67–68, Romanian *diac*; *LBG*, vol. II, p. 361 *διάκος* ‘Diakon’.

<sup>446</sup> Т. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 32; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94 mentions *vătaf* of Dorohoi. A lexeme spread as Carpathism, whose various meanings are treated in *Общекарпатский диалектологический атлас*, vol. VII, Белград–Нови Сад 2003, no. 688, map 10. Cf. *SUM XVI*, vol. III, p. 185 ‘head of local administration’; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 5; *Dicționarul...*, p. 257–258 ‘chef de groupe d’hommes de cour’; Romanian *vătaf*.

<sup>447</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 542. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 582; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 32; *Dicționarul...*, p. 139–140; Romanian *medelnicer*, linked to *medelnița* ‘a washbasin’, Middle Hungarian *medence* (*Erdélyi...*, vol. VIII, p. 266–267), see МЕДНИЦА ‘copper receptacle’, *Словарь русского языка XI–XVII вв.*, выпуск 9, Москва 1982, p. 61.

‘treasurer’<sup>448</sup>, his office *вистѣ*<sup>449</sup> and his assistant *вистѣрничѣ*<sup>450</sup>, *столничелъ*<sup>451</sup>. A specific term is *чашниѣ*<sup>452</sup> ‘cup-bearer, responsible for vineyards’. The heads of administration and defence of a town or district are called *паркала*<sup>453</sup> or *староста*<sup>454</sup>. Two Latin documents use the term *camerarius* for a town representative<sup>455</sup>. Two terms of Hungarian origin, *прѣкъла*<sup>456</sup> ‘burger, member of the town council’ and

<sup>448</sup> Thus in M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 511, 513; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 267; *Die Inschriften...*, p. 140. Spelling variants *вистѣрнѣ* (T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27), *вистѣрнѣ* (*Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 19). In Latin documents *wyster* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 297), *wyztetek seu thesaurarius* (p. 358), *wyztternik* (p. 383), *theoloneator* (p. 297, 433). In a German document called *Fystrernnyk* (p. 332–333) or *Mayttner*, eventually *Grossmeyttner* (p. 298). Corresponding to Wallachian *vistier*. Cf. Т. ПОПОВ, *Влияние...*, p. 58–59; *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 176; *SUM XVI*, vol. IV, p. 73; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 6; *Dicționarul...*, p. 261–262; Romanian *vistiernic*.

<sup>449</sup> T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 37. Cf. *LBG*, vol. II, p. 275 βεστιάριον ‘Schatzkammer’.

<sup>450</sup> *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 64–65. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 260; Romanian *visternicel*.

<sup>451</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 214. Cf. G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 158; *Dicționarul...*, p. 223; Romanian *stolnicel*.

<sup>452</sup> Spelling variant *чѣшнѣ*, T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 30. In Latin *supremus magister agazonum*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.2, p. 91. Cf. Old Czech *čiešník*, *Vokabulář webový*, <http://vokabular.ujc.cas.cz> [10 V 2022]; *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 533; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 72; *Dicționarul...*, p. 37–38; Romanian *ceașnic*. Further, a lexeme denoted as *Old Czech* is such that is present in the database <http://vokabular.ujc.cas.cz> [10 V 2022].

<sup>453</sup> Thus M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508. Spelling variants *прѣкъла* in M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 611 and *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 20 and *пракала* in *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 212. Thus are regularly called the representatives of Chotyn, Cetatea de Baltă (both T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 26), Neamț and Roman (*Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 159). In Latin documents, this official is called *castellanus* in case of Ciceu (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 306), Chotyn (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 342), Neamț (p. 350). In one Latin document, the Hungarian name *porcolab* is used without specification (p. 336). On p. 328, there is *Castellanus Cotnar et Porkolab*. The Hungarian term *Porkolab* is also used in German documents (p. 337, 346) for the representatives of Ciceu and Giurgea. In a Polish document (ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 59), there is the term *burkulab choczynski*. Cf. *Erdélyi...*, vol. X, p. 828 *porkoláb* ‘Burgvogt’; *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 127; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 40 ‘părcălab, sin. staroste’; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 40; *Dicționarul...*, p. 179; Romanian *părcălab* (and variants).

<sup>454</sup> Representatives of Putna (*Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278) and Tecuci (*Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55). In the Treaty with Poland, such term is used for the representatives of Chotyn, Černivci, but also towns on the Polish territory (Kamjaneč, Halyč). In a Polish document from 1540 (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, I. BOGDAN, *Documente...*, *Sup.* 2, vol. I, p. 145), the term *starosta* is used for representatives of Neamț and Roman. Cf. Old Czech ‘commander; representative; administrator’; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VIII, p. 418 *starosta* ‘praefectus regius’; *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 381–382; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 58 ‘prefectus’; *Dicționarul...*, p. 220 ‘commandant d’une forteresse’; Romanian *staroste*.

<sup>455</sup> of Trotuș and Rodna, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 360, 369.

<sup>456</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 520, spelling variation *nâră* (p. 518). It corresponds to the Latin term *iuratus* in ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 294, and to the German *Purger* (p. 293) related to the burghers of Baia. Cf. *Erdélyi...*, vol. X, p. 787 *polgár* ‘Mitglied des Stadtrates, Bürgergeschworener’; *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 269; *Dicționarul...*, p. 181; Romanian *pârgar*.



вирѣѣ<sup>457</sup> ‘judge, mayor’, appear only in the correspondence with Transylvania. The letter term has the Slavonic synonym сѣцѣ<sup>458</sup> (indirect object) in the letters addressed to Brașov and once even гѣирѣ<sup>459</sup>.

A part of the Common Slavonic names<sup>460</sup> of the family members (кѣрениѣ<sup>461</sup>), the following East Slavonic terms are used: дѣчка<sup>462</sup> ‘daughter’, прѣщѣрѣ<sup>463</sup> ‘descendant’, плѣмени ‘cousin; nephew’<sup>464</sup>, плѣменица ‘cousin; niece’<sup>465</sup>, братани ‘brother’s son, nephew’<sup>466</sup> and сѣстрѣичѣ ‘sister’s son, nephew’<sup>467</sup>. The lexemes ѣнѣ ‘grandson’<sup>468</sup>, ѣнѣ ‘uncle’<sup>469</sup>, тѣтка ‘aunt’<sup>470</sup> are phonologically adapted to Ruthenian. The striking Romanisms are непѣ ‘nephew’<sup>471</sup>, непѣ(а)та ‘nephew; granddaughter’<sup>472</sup>. Curiously enough, the latter terms were generally not used in the Slavonic documents of Wallachia<sup>473</sup>. A confusion of the meaning of the Romanian *nepot* can be observed on the tomb of voivode Stephen the Young<sup>474</sup> build by his uncle Peter Rareș, who calls on the inscription his nephew Stephen вѣнѣкѣ своѣмѣ.

<sup>457</sup> Thus in ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531, with spelling variants вѣрѣѣл (indirect object, p. 520, 538), вѣрѣѣ (p. 542) and вѣрѣѣн (indirect object, p. 537). Related to the representatives of Brașov and Bistrița in Transylvania. In a German letter referred as *Rychter* ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 292. Cf. *Erdélyi...*, vol. I, p. 904 *bíró* ‘Stadtrichter’; *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 97 вѣрѣѣ; *SUM XVI*, vol. II, p. 84 вѣрѣѣ; *Dicționarul...*, p. 17 ‘maire’; Romanian *birău*.

<sup>458</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 519–520. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 400 соѣѣѣѣ. It corresponds to the Latin *iudex* in case of Bistrița, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 294.

<sup>459</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539.

<sup>460</sup> ѣѣѣѣ ‘father’, вѣѣ ‘brother’, сѣѣѣѣ ‘sister’, сѣѣѣ ‘son’, жѣѣѣ ‘wife’. All terms have been attested since OCS.

<sup>461</sup> *Молдова ѣн ѣпока...*, vol. I, p. 278, cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 496 кѣрениѣ ‘píd’.

<sup>462</sup> *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 336; *Молдова ѣн ѣпока...*, vol. II, p. 266. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 323; *SUM XVI*, vol. VIII, p. 192; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 16. In *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 216, there is the expression дѣѣѣѣ дѣѣѣѣ ‘daughter’s daughter, granddaughter’.

<sup>463</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 225 (only in Moldavian context); G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 46–47 ‘răsnepot’.

<sup>464</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 507; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 216. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 152; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 42 ‘nepot, semîntenie, văr primar, rudă’.

<sup>465</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XXIV, p. 148; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 216. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 152; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 42 ‘vară primară, semîntenie, nepoată’.

<sup>466</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 140; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 99. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 119; *SUM XVI*, vol. III, p. 50–51; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 4 ‘nepot de frate’.

<sup>467</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 99. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 341; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 55 ‘sororius’.

<sup>468</sup> Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 478; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 65.

<sup>469</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 507. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 473 ѣѣѣѣ; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 64 ѣѣѣѣ.

<sup>470</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 140. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 430 тѣѣѣѣ; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 63.

<sup>471</sup> *Молдова ѣн ѣпока...*, vol. I, p. 39; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 41–42 (exclusive to Moldavian context); G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 3 ‘filius fratris’.

<sup>472</sup> T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 32. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 41 (exclusive to Moldavian context).

<sup>473</sup> *Dicționarul...*, p. 155. Its equivalent in Wallachian Slavonic was ѣнѣѣѣѣ, see e.g. DRH B 3, p. 1.

<sup>474</sup> *Die Inschriften...*, p. 92.

Among further terms denoting persons, we can distinguish:

- Church Slavonic terms originated by derivation

Compound nouns:

Theodosie's Enkomion: 201r **добрѣненавистѣи** 'good hater'<sup>475</sup>, 203r **васносказатель** 'fable-teller, fabulist'<sup>476</sup>. Not found in CS dictionaries: 203r **прѣдродителіе** 'ancestors', **кѣзношівецъ** 'swindle sewer'.

Macarie I 166v **пѣрѣжници** 'subjects'<sup>477</sup>, II 477r **прѣвохранителіе** 'main defensors', II 473v **прѣвоборѣ**<sup>478</sup>, II 473r **доброповѣдни** 'glorious winner; winner for a good matter'<sup>479</sup>.

Deadjective nouns (Theodosie's Enkomion): 200r **стѣжателъ** 'a person doing effort'<sup>480</sup>, 201v **привѣщникъ** 'participant'<sup>481</sup>.

Deverbative noun: **вѣдокъ** 'expert'<sup>482</sup>.

- Lexemes borrowed via the Ruthenian environment: **лотр** 'rogue'<sup>483</sup>, **щѣдни** 'descendant'<sup>484</sup>, **цига** 'Gypsy'<sup>485</sup>, **подданный** 'subject'<sup>486</sup>, **парсѣна** 'person'<sup>487</sup>, **мѣшчанѣ** 'burghers' (syntactically random form)<sup>488</sup>.

<sup>475</sup> Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 266 adjective **добрѣненавистѣнь** 'μισόκαλος'; *LSJ*, p. 1137 'hating the good'.

<sup>476</sup> П. РУСЕВ, А. ДАВИДОВ, *Григорий Цамблак в Румѣния и в старата румѣнска литература*, София 1966, p. 142.

<sup>477</sup> *Словарь русскогo...*, 16, p. 52.

<sup>478</sup> *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 383 'πρόμαχος'; *LSJ*, p. 1489 'champion'.

<sup>479</sup> *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 267 'καλλίνικος'; *LSJ*, p. 868 'gloriously triumphant'.

<sup>480</sup> *Словарь русскогo...*, 28, p. 230 'a person gathering property; owner'.

<sup>481</sup> *Словарь русскогo...*, 19, p. 237.

<sup>482</sup> Macarie I 163v. Cf. *Словарь русскогo...*, 2, p. 46 (Hamartolos' Chronicle).

<sup>483</sup> *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. II, p. 278. In Polish plural *lotrri*, ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 60. Middle Polish *lotr* 'latro; nequissimus homo', *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/63069> [10 V 2022]; *Dicționarul...*, p. 127–128 'brigand, voleur' (also in documents issued in Wallachia); Old Czech *lotr*, Romanian *lotru*.

<sup>484</sup> Macarie I 163r. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 409 (сѣ)щѣдокъ.

<sup>485</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 541. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 526 (exclusive for Moldavian milieu); Middle Polish *cygan*, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/47047> [10 V 2022], thus in a Moldavian Polish document, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 318. In Wallachian Slavonic **щѣниѣ**, DRH B 3, p. 51 (1526).

<sup>486</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725 (Treaty with Poland), Latin *subditus*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 318 *subditus*. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 164–165; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 43; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VI, p. 236 *poddany* 'subditus', Old Czech *poddaný*.

<sup>487</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725 (Treaty with Poland). Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 127–129; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VI, p. 236 *personal/parsuna* 'persona'.

<sup>488</sup> Glăvan's Letter. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 630 **мѣщанинъ**; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 33 'orașan, târgoveț'; Middle Polish *mieszczanin* 'civis', <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/66485> [10 V 2022]; Old Czech *měščánin*, *měščán*.

- Romanian Slavonic lexemes (common with Wallachian Slavonic): *межѣтѣ*<sup>489</sup> ‘neighbouring landlord’<sup>489</sup>, *прѣбѣши* ‘(political) emigrants’<sup>490</sup>.
- Grecisms<sup>491</sup>: *маистрѣ* ‘master’<sup>492</sup>, *зѣграфѣ* ‘painter’<sup>493</sup>.
- Hungarisms: *шокодѣмѣ* ‘annual fair’<sup>494</sup>, *содѣмѣ* ‘guarantor’<sup>495</sup>.

The next group comprises the terms related to administration, business and human settlements. Here, we will distinguish two main types of lexemes:

- Lexemes also attested in the Wallachian milieu: *хотѣ* ‘domain border’<sup>496</sup>, *книга* ‘letter’<sup>497</sup>, *хрисовѣ* ‘chrysobull’<sup>498</sup>, *катасты* ‘register’<sup>499</sup>, *мархѣ* ‘charge’;

<sup>489</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 272; M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 584; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 32; *Dicționarul...*, p. 140 ‘voisin’; Romanian *megiaș*. Linked to *Erdélyi...*, vol. IX, p. 200 *mezsgye* ‘Grenzrain’, Ruthenian *межа* ‘border between two plots of land’ (not used in Moldavia).

<sup>490</sup> Macarie 160r. Cf. *Словарь русского...*, 19, p. 91 ‘fugitive slave’, *Dicționarul...*, p. 193 ‘errant’; Romanian *pribeag*.

<sup>491</sup> *Inscriptiile medievale...*, p. 506.

<sup>492</sup> *LBG*, vol. V, p. 959 *μα(γ)ιστωρ* ‘Meister, Auseher, Lehrer’; *Dicționarul...*, p. 132 ‘moulinier’, Romanian *maistor*.

<sup>493</sup> SSUM, vol. I, p. 406 *зѣграфѣ*; *LBG*, vol. III, p. 646 *ζωγραφεύς, ζωγράφος*; *Dicționarul...*, p. 270 ‘peintre d’église ou d’icônes’; Romanian *zugrav*. Also in Wallachian Slavonic.

<sup>494</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 538. Cf. *Erdélyi...*, vol. XI, p. 853 *sokadalom* ‘Jahrmarkt’.

<sup>495</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 541. Cf. *Erdélyi...*, vol. XII, p. 186–187 *szavatos* ‘Garant’; Moldavian Romanian *sodăș*.

<sup>496</sup> Practically in all internal chancery documents, e.g. *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 513–514; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 68; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви докільля в українсько-молдавських грамотах XIV–XV століть (дисертація)*, Київ 2019, p. 166–167; *Dicționarul...*, p. 105 ‘frontière; borne’; *Erdélyi...*, vol. IV, p. 1175 *határ* ‘Grenzlinie’; Romanian *hotar*. Spread in the Central Europe as Carpathism, see *Общецарпатский...*, vol. VII, no. 721, map 37 Macarie’s equivalent is *прѣдѣла* (I 159r, OCS).

<sup>497</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 518. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЙ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 457 ‘literae’. In the colophons, we find the usual meaning ‘book’. The usual Moldavian Slavonic word for ‘letter’ is *лицѣ*.

<sup>498</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 520. Cf. *хрисовѣ* in DRH В 3, p. 70 (1527/1528); Ъ. ДАНИЧИЙ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 430; А. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамоти на българските царе*, София 2005, p. 398. Exceptional in the Moldavian context. Its closest equivalent is *привиліє*.

<sup>499</sup> Glăvan’s Letter. In Polish plural *katastyki*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 145. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 471 ‘register’; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 26; *Dicționarul...*, p. 32 ‘registre; livre de compte’; Middle Polish *katastyka* ‘probably measurement register and plans of land plots and borders’, <https://sprxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/57096> [10 V 2022]; Ъ. ДАНИЧИЙ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 442 *катастыкѣ* ‘tabulae’; *LBG*, vol. IV, p. 797 *κατάστιχον* ‘Verzeichnis, Inventarm Register, Liste’; Romanian *catastif*.

merchandise<sup>500</sup>, *аспри* ‘small mints’<sup>501</sup>, *селище* ‘settlement; village’<sup>502</sup>, *граднище* ‘little hill’<sup>503</sup>, *стлѣпъ/столпъ* ‘border mark’<sup>504</sup>, *temelye* ‘base’ (within a German text)<sup>505</sup>.

- Moldavian terms shared with Ruthenian of that time: *рада* ‘council’<sup>506</sup>, *листъ* ‘letter, document’<sup>507</sup>, *волостъ* ‘district, county’<sup>508</sup>, *привиліе* ‘privilege’<sup>509</sup>, *скарб* ‘budget’<sup>510</sup>,

<sup>500</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 536. Cf. *Erdélyi...*, vol. VIII, p. 170–178 *marha*; Romanian *marfă*. Exceptional in the Moldavian context, the usual equivalent is *товѣ*.

<sup>501</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 93. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 81 *аспръ*; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 2; *Dicționarul...*, p. 7 ‘petite monnaie d’argent’; LBP 2, 217 *ăспров* ‘Silbermünze’; Romanian *aspru*, plural *aspri*. Exceptional in Moldavia.

<sup>502</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 266. Cf. OCS; *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 333–334; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 109 *селище* (neuter) – *селища* (feminine); G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 55; *Dicționarul...*, p. 213–214 ‘emplacement d’un village; village’; Romanian *siliște*.

<sup>503</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 259 ‘small hill’; *Dicționarul...*, p. 213–214 ‘colline, tertre; vestiges d’une cite antique’; Romanian *grădiște*.

<sup>504</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184. Cf. OCS ‘column, pillar; tower’; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 58 *стѣ(л)п*; *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 389 ‘border mark’; *Dicționarul...*, p. 221 ‘pillar, borne’; Romanian *stâlp*.

<sup>505</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 447. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 236 ‘foundation, base’; *LBG*, vol. IV, p. 670 *θεμέλιον, θεμέλι* ‘Fundament’, Romanian *temelie*.

<sup>506</sup> T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27. In a German *Roth*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 298. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 284; Middle Polish and Old Czech *rada*, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/6148> [10 V 2022]. The Treaty of Poland knows the construction (instrumental plural) *радными паны*.

<sup>507</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531. Latin *lit(t)er(a)e*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 336. Polish *lysth*, ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 59. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 547; Middle Polish and Old Czech *list* ‘litterae, epistola’, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/62121> [10 V 2022]. A similar Latin term is *chirographum* ‘charter’ (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 428), cf. J.F. NIERMEYER, C. VAN KIEFT, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon minus*, Leiden–Boston 2002, p. 231.

<sup>508</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 203. In a Moldavian Polish document, there is *we wlosczy haliczkiey* ‘in the district of Halyč’, ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 59. Cf. *Словарь русскогo...*, 3, p. 9 from the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries in East Slavonic context ‘a region under one sovereignty’ *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 192 ‘district within the Polish kingdom or Lithuania’.

<sup>509</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510, 513; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 212; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 72. Cf. Old Czech *privilej*; Middle Polish *przywilej*, *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 234–235; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 47 ‘privilegium’; Romanian *privilie*.

<sup>510</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727; ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 58 *skarб*. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 348; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VIII, p. 216–217 ‘res pretiosae; ista rebus pretiosior asservandis; fiscus regis’.

мыто 'toll'<sup>511</sup>, товѧ 'merchandise'<sup>512</sup>, мѧсто 'town'<sup>513</sup>, мли 'mill'<sup>514</sup>, дорога 'path, way'<sup>515</sup>, сѧножѧ 'haymaking; place for haymaking'<sup>516</sup>, шплѧ 'fence'<sup>517</sup>.

- Specific Moldavian terms: ѡри 'inherited property; charter confirming the inherited land property'<sup>518</sup> испривиліѧ 'charter, document'<sup>519</sup>, выкѡпленіѧ 'purchased land property'<sup>520</sup>, видивіѡ 'young horse'<sup>521</sup>, прикоуѡтѧ 'hamlet'<sup>522</sup>, стѡпа 'fulling mill'<sup>523</sup>.

The detailed descriptions of the domains in the charters provide a rich vocabulary related to the landscape and nature:

<sup>511</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727; Glăvan's Letter. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 626; Middle Polish *myto* 'salarium; vectigal; teloneum', <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/68040> [10 V 2022]; Old Czech *mýto*; Romanian *mită*. OCS 'gift, bribe; wage, gain'.

<sup>512</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 541. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 433; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. IX, p. 174–175 *towar* 'eam quae veneunt emunturque'.

<sup>513</sup> Related to Brașov. Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 519. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 628; Middle Polish *miasto* 'civitas, urbs', <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/66115> [10 V 2022].

<sup>514</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94; DISR 541. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 602; G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 34; Middle Polish *młyn* 'mola', <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/67113> [10 V 2022]; Old Czech *mlýn*.

<sup>515</sup> *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55, besides *нѡ* e.g. in *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 318–319; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 157; G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 16 'drum'.

<sup>516</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 203. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 412 (previously in Galician documents); Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 118.

<sup>517</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184. Cf. *Гістарычны слоўнік беларускай мовы*, vol. XXII, Мінск 2002, p. 256.

<sup>518</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 148. Cf. *Erdélyi...*, vol. X, p. 219–222 *örök* 'ewig, immer gültig; vom Sohn zu Sohn erbend; Erbschaft, Besitztum' SSUM, vol. II, p. 482; G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 66; *Dicționarul...*, p. 248; Romanian *uric*.

<sup>519</sup> *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 76 *изпривилію*; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 37 *испривиліѧ коупежное* 'charter confirming a purchase'; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 203 *ѡрика испривиліѧ* 'charter confirming inherited property' (object of the sentence). Originally two words 'from privilege', but frequently treated as one word by chancery scribes, cf. G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 25.

<sup>520</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 230. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 217; *SUM XVI*, vol. V, p. 197 (as a legal term exclusive for Moldavia), otherwise in Ruthenian general for 'purchase' as in Polish *wykupienie*, see *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. X, p. 489–490.

<sup>521</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 541. Cf. Romanian *bidiviu*.

<sup>522</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 55. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, 241 (just in Moldavian context); G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 47 'cătun'; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 110–111; Romanian *pricut*.

<sup>523</sup> SSUM, vol. II, p. 396 (exclusive for Moldavia); *Гістарычны слоўнік...*, vol. XXXIII, p. 19 'wooden or metal vessel, in which is something beaten', in this meaning also in *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VIII, p. 441 *stępa* and standard Ukrainian, *Словник української мови*, Київ 1970–1980, <http://sum.in.ua/s/stupa> [10 V 2022]. For meanings of this lexeme related to 'mill' see Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 102–103.

- Attested in OCS: *ꙗꙗѣ потока* 'brook mouth'<sup>524</sup>, *поле* 'field'<sup>525</sup>.
- Variants of the lexemes attested in OCS: *пꙗꙗѣнна* 'deserted place'<sup>526</sup>, *ꙗꙗѣро*<sup>527</sup> – instrumental plural *ꙗꙗѣрами* 'lake'<sup>528</sup>, *дꙗ* 'oak'<sup>529</sup> – *дꙗꙗѣрова* 'oak wood'<sup>530</sup>, *ꙗꙗѣ* 'shore'<sup>531</sup>.
- General Slavonic: *долина* 'valley'<sup>532</sup>, *ꙗꙗѣ* 'hill'<sup>533</sup>, *ꙗꙗѣ* 'ford'<sup>534</sup>, *ꙗꙗѣми* 'through marshes'<sup>535</sup>.
- Specific terms appearing in both Wallachian and Moldavian documents: *ꙗꙗѣꙗѣ* 'upper watercourse'<sup>536</sup>, *дꙗ* 'hill'<sup>537</sup>, *ꙗꙗѣ* 'highland, plateau'<sup>538</sup>, *ꙗꙗѣ*

<sup>524</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16. G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 45 *ꙗꙗѣ* 'torrens'; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 144.

<sup>525</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184. G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 44 'campus'.

<sup>526</sup> *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 20; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 21 *пꙗꙗѣ*. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 217; G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 51 'desertus'; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 121; Romanian *pustie*.

<sup>527</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 55. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 77; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 138; Romanian *iazar*.

<sup>528</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124.

<sup>529</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 330; G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 17 'quercus'; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 183.

<sup>530</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210. OCS *ꙗꙗѣрова*. SSUM, vol. I, p. 329 *ꙗꙗѣрова/ꙗꙗѣрова*; G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 17 'nemus'; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 205–206; Romanian *dumbravă*.

<sup>531</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210. East Slavonic variant of OCS *ꙗꙗѣꙗѣ*. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 92–93; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 115.

<sup>532</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 259. G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 16 'vallis'; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 91; Romanian *dolină*.

<sup>533</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94; Macarie 3, 261r. Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 80 *ꙗꙗѣ* 'rocky mountain'.

<sup>534</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 130. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 124; G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 4 'vadum'; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 161; Romanian *brod, brud*.

<sup>535</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 55. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 99 *ꙗꙗѣ*; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 150; Romanian *baltă*.

<sup>536</sup> T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 71; G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 69 *ꙗꙗѣꙗѣ* 'vrchoviště potoku'; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 99 *ꙗꙗѣꙗѣ*; *Dicţionarul...*, p. 158–159 'origine, source'; Romanian *obârşie*; Ъ. ДАНИЧИЙ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 192 *ꙗꙗѣꙗѣ/ꙗꙗѣꙗѣ* 'collis'.

<sup>537</sup> T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94. Also spelled *ꙗꙗѣ* (*Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210), or even *ꙗꙗѣ* (*Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55), which might have been derived from the ins. sg. *ꙗꙗѣ*. Cf. in the Treaty of Poland (727), *ꙗꙗѣ* means 'matter'. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 337; Ъ. ДАНИЧИЙ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 327 'mons'. G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 14 *ꙗꙗѣ* 'collis, mons'; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 82 mentions the presence of the lexeme *ꙗꙗѣ* in the Galician, Hutsul and Boiko dialects; Romanian *deal*.

<sup>538</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94; DERS 268. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 384–385 *ꙗꙗѣꙗѣ*; G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 22 *ꙗꙗѣꙗѣ*; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 89–90 *ꙗꙗѣꙗѣ*; *Dicţionarul...*, p. 158–159 'plaine située sur une hauteur'; Romanian *zăpodie*.

‘swamp, marsh’<sup>539</sup>, писк(ѡл) ‘top of the hill’<sup>540</sup>, съ грьлами ‘with branches of the watercourse’<sup>541</sup>, ѡбрѣжіе ‘hilly area’<sup>542</sup>, маткѡ ‘riverbed’<sup>543</sup>, пьръѡ ‘brook’<sup>544</sup>, до лакѡ ‘lake’<sup>545</sup>, къ планинѡ ‘to the mountains’<sup>546</sup>.

- Specific for Moldavian documents: крѣница ‘source’<sup>547</sup>, лѣ ‘wood, forest’<sup>548</sup>, топлица ‘hot water source’<sup>549</sup>, ста ‘pond; weir’<sup>550</sup>, могила ‘tumulus’<sup>551</sup>, пасика ‘clearing’<sup>552</sup>, вѣреть ‘elm’<sup>553</sup>, кѡлме ‘peak’<sup>554</sup>, ѡбчина ‘highland’<sup>555</sup>.

<sup>539</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 244; G. ГНИВĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 12; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 151; *Dicționarul...*, p. 93–94 ‘boue, motte de terre’; Romanian *glod*.

<sup>540</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 216; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 148–149; G. ГНИВĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 41; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 81; *Dicționarul...*, p. 175–176 ‘pic d’une montagne, cime’; Romanian *pisc*.

<sup>541</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 268 грьла; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 141; Standard Ukrainian *гирло* ‘mouth of the river’; *Dicționarul...*, p. 92 ‘petit cours d’eau; bras d’une rivière’; Romanian *gârlă*.

<sup>542</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 127. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 71; *Dicționarul...*, p. 160 ‘colline, talus, pente, versant, flanc de coteau’; Romanian *obreja*.

<sup>543</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 185. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 581; G. ГНИВĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 32 ‘matca ape’; *Dicționarul...*, p. 134 ‘lit (d’une riviere)’; Romanian *matcă*.

<sup>544</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 375. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 279 ‘proper name of a rivulet’; *Dicționarul...*, p. 182 ‘ruisseau’; Romanian *pârâu*.

<sup>545</sup> *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55. This is the form behind the preposition до ‘up to’, it seems to be genitive plural. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 537 лак; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 137–138 лакъ; *Dicționarul...*, p. 120–121 ‘lac’; Romanian *lac*.

<sup>546</sup> Macarie II 475v. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 150; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 120–121 ‘mountain pasture’; Ukrainian *полонина*; Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 309–310 ‘mons’.

<sup>547</sup> М.М. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 259. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 519; G. ГНИВĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 536 крѣниця; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 146 крѣниця/кѣрниця.

<sup>548</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 266. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 563; G. ГНИВĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 31 ‘nemus’.

<sup>549</sup> Т. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 35, 44. Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 149 теплица, attested in Hutsul and Galician dialects.

<sup>550</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 20. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 377–378; G. ГНИВĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 57 ‘palus’; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 139.

<sup>551</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 604; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 88–89; *Dicționarul...*, p. 147–148 ‘butte, tertre, monticule’.

<sup>552</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 203; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 65. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 128; G. ГНИВĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 41 ‘apiarium’; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 126.

<sup>553</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 93; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 185–186.

<sup>554</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 527 коѡлма ‘mountain pass’; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 81; *Dicționarul...*, p. 60 ‘cime, sommet’.

<sup>555</sup> Т. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 71; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 90 provides equivalents from Galician and Hutsul dialects; *Dicționarul...*, p. 158 ‘crête d’une montagne ou d’une colline, entre deux sommets’; Romanian *obcină*.

The curious names of religious persons and establishments comprise *игѹмѣ* 'hegumen, head of a monastery'<sup>556</sup>, *игѹмена* 'head of a small monastic community'<sup>557</sup>, *игѹменство* 'office of a monastic superior function'<sup>558</sup>, *проигѹмѣ* 'former hegumen'<sup>559</sup>, *молѣбни* 'a person praying on behalf of somebody else'<sup>560</sup>, *свѣщенноинокъ* 'hieromonk; monk-priest'<sup>561</sup>, *калѣгѣ* 'monk'<sup>562</sup>, *архимандритъ* 'hegumen of a large monastery'<sup>563</sup>, *епѣкпъ* 'bishop'<sup>564</sup>, *митрополи* 'metropolitan bishop, head of the local church'<sup>565</sup>, *ѣвискъ* 'Roman Catholic bishop'<sup>566</sup>. The deminutives of 'monastery' are *монастири*, *монастирѣ*<sup>567</sup>.

Let us mention some abstract terms not included in the biblical CS.

- Specific Church Slavonic terms (original CS texts): *здѣшїе* 'salvation of the soul; office in the memory of a defunct person'<sup>568</sup>, *рѣторство* 'rhetoricity'<sup>569</sup>, *окроченїе* 'surrounding'<sup>570</sup>, *порекло* 'nickname'<sup>571</sup>, *сторица* 'hundred'<sup>572</sup>, *крѣвопролитїе* 'bloodshed'<sup>573</sup>, *скѣдство* 'need'<sup>574</sup>, *трѣвь* 'call'<sup>575</sup>, *блѣгохваленїе* 'good appraisal'<sup>576</sup>.

<sup>556</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124; *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58. In OCS; Romanian *egumen, igumen*; G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, p. 601 ἡγουμενος.

<sup>557</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58.

<sup>558</sup> Macarie I 163v. Cf. *Словарь русскогo...*, 6, p. 85; Romanian *igumenie*; G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic...*, p. 601 ἡγουμενεia.

<sup>559</sup> Colophon of the Liturgy from 1532. Cf. *Словарь русскогo...*, 20, p. 137; Romanian *proegumen/ proigumen*; LBG, vol. VI, p. 1394 προηγουμενος 'Exabt'.

<sup>560</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 30. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 538; *Словарь русскогo...*, 9, p. 241; Romanian *molebnic* 'title held by the officiating clergy'.

<sup>561</sup> Macarie I 154v. Cf. *Словарь русскогo...*, 23, p. 233.

<sup>562</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 147; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98; *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58. In OCS; Romanian *călugăr*; LBG, vol. IV, p. 749 καλόγερος 'Mönch'.

<sup>563</sup> Colophon of Putna Menaion from 1530. Cf. *Словарь русскогo...*, 1, p. 52; Romanian *arhimandrit*. E.A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Romani and Byzantine Periods*, New York 1900, p. 258 ἀρχιμανδριτης 'archimandrite, the chief of one or more monasteries'.

<sup>564</sup> Colophon of the Apostolos from 1528. In OCS; Romanian *episcop*; G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic...*, p. 532 ἐπίσκοπος.

<sup>565</sup> Macarie I 163v; colophon of the Apostolos from 1528. Cf. OCS; *Словарь русскогo...*, 9, p. 180; Romanian *mitropolit*. G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic...*, p. 554 μητροπολιτης.

<sup>566</sup> Macarie I 166r. Cf. SUM XVI, vol. II, p. 86 вискъпъ.

<sup>567</sup> Both *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58. Cf. *Словарь русскогo...*, 9, p. 258 монастырѣкъ, монастырѣць; LBG, vol. V, p. 1037 μοναστηρίδιον, μοναστηρίτζιον.

<sup>568</sup> K. ИВАНОВА, *Български...*, p. 84; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 50; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124; *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58. Cf. *Словарь русскогo...*, 12, p. 347.

<sup>569</sup> Macarie I 154r. Cf. LSJ, p. 1569 ῥητορεία 'oratory'.

<sup>570</sup> Macarie I 156v. *Словарь русскогo...*, 5, p. 347.

<sup>571</sup> Macarie II 480v. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 369; Ъ. ДАНИЧИТЬ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 369 'cognomen'; Romanian *poreclă*.

<sup>572</sup> Colophon of the Neamț Psalter from 1529. *Словарь русскогo...*, 28, p. 95.

<sup>573</sup> Macarie I 155v. *Словарь русскогo...*, 8, p. 65.

<sup>574</sup> Macarie I 154v. *Словарь русскогo...*, 25, p. 40.

<sup>575</sup> Theodosie's Enkomion 201r. *Словарь русскогo...*, 30, p. 194 трѣвь.

<sup>576</sup> Theodosie's Enkomion 202r. *Syriillomethodiana: Григорий Цамблак, Похвално слово за Врѣбница*, [https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc\\_101](https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc_101) [10 V 2022]. *Словарь русскогo...*, 1, p. 227.



- Specific Romanian Slavonic terms (internal chancery and communication with Transylvania): **ХИТЛѢНСТВО** ‘betrayal, perfidy’<sup>577</sup>, **МАРТОРІА** ‘testimony’<sup>578</sup>, **ТЬКМІЕ** ‘agreement’<sup>579</sup>, **ДАТОРІЕ** ‘debt’<sup>580</sup>, **ПОХТА** ‘willingness’<sup>581</sup>, **ФОЛО** ‘profit’<sup>582</sup>, **ВЪКАТА** ‘piece’<sup>583</sup>, **КОЛА** ‘gave’<sup>584</sup>, **ГЛАВА** ‘beginning or end’<sup>585</sup>.
- Specific Ruthenian terms (mostly in the Treaty with Poland): **БРАТЕНІЕ** ‘fraternising, agreement’<sup>586</sup>, **ЕДНАНІЕ** ‘agreement’<sup>587</sup>, **ШКОДА** ‘damage’<sup>588</sup>, **ПОТРЕБИЗНА** ‘need’<sup>589</sup>, **ВТИСК** ‘pressure, compulsion’<sup>590</sup>, **НАТИСК** ‘oppression, pressure’<sup>591</sup>,

<sup>577</sup> T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 with two spelling variants **ХИТЛѢНСТВО**, **ХИКЛѢНСТВО**; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 728 **ХИТЛѢНСТВО**. Cf. *Erdélyi...*, vol. V, p. 177 *hitlenség* ‘Treulosigkeit, Untreue’; *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 507; Romanian *hitlenie* (*viclenie*). Contemporary attestation in Wallachia: DRH B 3, p. 92 (1528).

<sup>578</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 253; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 140. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 578; G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 32; *Dicționarul...*, p. 138–139 ‘témoignage’ (in Wallachia, the form *мартуріа* is preferred); Rom. *mărturie*; *LSJ* *μαρτυρία*.

<sup>579</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 435 **ТОКМѢЖ(А)**; G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 62 **ТОКМѢЖ**; Romanian *tocmeală*. Cf. in contemporary Wallachian Slavonic **ТАКМѢЖ**, DRH B 3, p. 124 (1540).

<sup>580</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531. Rom. *datorie*. Not found in contemporary Wallachian Slavonic (equivalent: **ДЛЪ**, e.g. DRH B 3, p. 29 (1526)).

<sup>581</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 541; *Dicționarul...*, p. 186 ‘désir, plaisir’; Romanian *pohtă* > *poftă*. Not found in Wallachian Slavonic.

<sup>582</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 541; *Dicționarul...*, p. 82 ‘gain, avantage’ (attested both in Wallachia and Moldavia); Romanian *folos*.

<sup>583</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 130; *Dicționarul...*, p. 24–25 ‘morceau’; Romanian *bucată*.

<sup>584</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 50 ‘don, présent’; Romanian *colac*; *SUM XVI*, vol. XIV, p. 172–173 ‘plaited bread’ and Middle Polish *kołacz*, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/58415> [10 V 2022] ‘torta, placenta, maza’.

<sup>585</sup> *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55 **ВЪ ГЛАВО ПОЛѢ** ‘to the end of the field’. A calque from Romanian *cap* ‘beginning or end’. Found only here.

<sup>586</sup> T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27. Cf. *SUM XVI*, vol. III, p. 53.

<sup>587</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 728. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 345; Middle Polish *jednanie*, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/55864> [10 V 2022].

<sup>588</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. *SUM XVI*, vol. II, p. 559–560. Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 536, 541 use its CS (and South Slavonic and Wallachian Slavonic) equivalent **ПАРЪБА**.

<sup>589</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. *Гістарычны слоўнік...*, vol. XXVII, p. 322; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VI, p. 498 *potrzebiza*.

<sup>590</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. *Гістарычны слоўнік...*, vol. XXXV, p. 268–269 **ЎТИСКЪ/ВТИСКЪ**; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. IX, p. 293 *ucisk* ‘actus cogendi’.

<sup>591</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 27; Middle Polish *nacisk*, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/63624> [10 V 2022].

НАГАБАНІЕ ‘oppression’<sup>592</sup>, ВЧИНѢ ‘deed’<sup>593</sup>, ЛАСКА ‘grace’<sup>594</sup>, ДОВѢ ‘argument, evidence’<sup>595</sup>, ЗАЧЕПКА ‘conflict’<sup>596</sup>, ОЧИНЗНА ‘inherited territory’<sup>597</sup>, СПРАВЕДЛИВОСТ ‘justice’<sup>598</sup>, НИЗГОДА ‘discrepancy’<sup>599</sup>, ЖАЛОБА ‘complaint, lawsuit’<sup>600</sup>.

- Specific South Slavonic: НАРѢКА ‘request’<sup>601</sup>.

From the adjectives, we will mention just a few specific terms. In the description of the documents, there is an opposition between ПРАВЫИ ‘rightful’ and ПИТОМЫИ ‘own’<sup>602</sup> on one hand and КРИВЫИ ‘false, invalid’<sup>603</sup> and СКАЖЕНЫИ ‘damaged, invalid’<sup>604</sup> on the other hand. There are several terms denoting ‘above mentioned’: ВИШЕРЕЧЕНЫИ<sup>605</sup>, ПРЕДРЕЧЕННЫИ<sup>606</sup>, ВИШЕПИСАНЫИ<sup>607</sup>. Among addressing adjectives,

<sup>592</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. *Гістарычны слоўнік...*, vol. XVIII, p. 345; Middle Polish *nagabanie* ‘inquietatio, interpellatio, vexatio’, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/63999> [10 V 2022].

<sup>593</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *Гістарычны слоўнік...*, vol. XXXV, p. 349 *вчинкъ/вчинокъ*; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. IX, p. 301–303 ‘factum, facinus; malefactum’.

<sup>594</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 539; Middle Polish *łaska* ‘gratia, benevolentia’, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/62777> [10 V 2022].

<sup>595</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SUM XVI*, vol. VIII, p. 75; Middle Polish *dowód* ‘argumentum, documentum, probatio’, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/49607> [10 V 2022].

<sup>596</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SUM XVI*, vol. XI, p. 47; Middle Polish *zaczepka*.

<sup>597</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 111 *очинзна*; Middle Polish *o(j)czyzna* ‘patrimonium, patria’.

<sup>598</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 373; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VIII, p. 366–368 *sprawiedliwość*.

<sup>599</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *Гістарычны слоўнік...*, vol. XX, p. 109 *незгода*; Middle Polish *niezgodą* ‘dissenatio, discrepantia, adversitas’.

<sup>600</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 353; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. XI, p. 543–544 *żaloba* ‘accusatio’.

<sup>601</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 542. *Речник српскохрватскога књижевног језика*, <https://www.srpskirecnik.com/stranica/3/612> [10 V 2022].

<sup>602</sup> Both e.g. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 40. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 149–150, 222.

<sup>603</sup> T. BĀLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27. Cf. in a similar meaning *Гістарычны слоўнік...*, vol. XVI, p. 138; Middle Polish *krzywý* ‘pravus’, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/60461#znaczenie-9> [10 V 2022]; Old Czech *křivý*.

<sup>604</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 192. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 347; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VIII, p. 226–229 *skazony* ‘violatus; non observatus; abrogatus’.

<sup>605</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 225.

<sup>606</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 40. In *OCS, SSUM*, vol. II, p. 226–227.

<sup>607</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 48. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 223.

we will show *найпачнѣйшій* ‘the brightest’<sup>608</sup>, *вѣлможнѣи* ‘powerful’<sup>609</sup>, *чѣтно* *ѡрождѣннѣи* ‘honourfully born; noble’<sup>610</sup>. Interesting South Slavonisms in the Transylvanian correspondence are *врѣдѣ* ‘precious’<sup>611</sup>, *сѣгашнѣи* ‘current’<sup>612</sup>. A curious CS adjective is *сѣлнѣи* ‘great, strong’<sup>613</sup>. Ruthenian adverbs from the chancery documents include *пожиточно* ‘usefully’<sup>614</sup>, *звѣлащѣ* ‘especially’<sup>615</sup>, *потѣемно* ‘secretly’<sup>616</sup>, *досѣ* ‘enough’<sup>617</sup>.

The richness of Macarie’s and Theodosie’s CS adjectives and adverbs possessing more than two stems can be basically divided into two groups:

- Lexemes appearing in the Chronicle by Constantine Manasses (Mainly in Macarie II): *256r* *грьддоумень* ‘proud-minded’<sup>618</sup>, *длѣгоногы* ‘long-legged’<sup>619</sup>, *звѣровидѣнѣ* ‘beast-looking’<sup>620</sup>, *земнородѣнѣ* ‘local’<sup>621</sup>, *злокъзненѣ* ‘malicious’<sup>622</sup>, *злопроходѣнѣ* ‘bad-winged’<sup>623</sup>, *крѣпконирѣнѣ* ‘having firm towers’<sup>624</sup>, *лъвопаростѣнѣ* ‘furious as a lion’<sup>625</sup>, *младдородѣнѣ* ‘young-born’<sup>626</sup>, *многдорѣвѣнѣ* ‘having

<sup>608</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. SSUM, vol. II, p. 17; Middle Polish *najjasniejszy*, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/55693#znaczenie-22> [10 V 2022].

<sup>609</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 542. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 162–163; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. X, p. 23 *wielmożny* ‘illustis, nobilis, gloriosus’; Old Czech *velmožný*.

<sup>610</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 542. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 482–483; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. IX, p. 435 *urodzony* ‘nobili loco natus’.

<sup>611</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 541. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 163 ‘dignus; qui valet’.

<sup>612</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 520. Cf. *Речник на българския език*, <https://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/сегашен/> [10 V 2022].

<sup>613</sup> Macarie I 155v. *Словарь русского...*, 5, p. 372.

<sup>614</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. *Гістарычны слоўнік...*, vol. XXV, p. 389; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VI, p. 565 *pożyteczno*.

<sup>615</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. SUM XVI, vol. XI, p. 114. *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. XI, p. 511–512 ‘prasertim, imprimis’.

<sup>616</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 208; Middle Polish *potajemnie*, Old Czech *potajemně*.

<sup>617</sup> *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 65. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 322; Middle Polish *dosyć* ‘satis’, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/49420#znaczenie-1> [10 V 2022].

<sup>618</sup> Macarie II 472v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 260 ‘σοβαρόφρων’.

<sup>619</sup> Macarie II 474v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 264 ‘πτηνόπους’.

<sup>620</sup> Macarie II 474r. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 278 ‘θηριώδης’.

<sup>621</sup> Macarie II 475v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 282 ‘γηγενής’.

<sup>622</sup> Macarie II 478r. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 284 ‘κακομήχανος’.

<sup>623</sup> Macarie II 476r. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 284 ‘δύσβατος’.

<sup>624</sup> Macarie II 474v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 306 ‘καρτερότειχος’.

<sup>625</sup> Macarie II 476v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 310 ‘λεοντόθυμος’.

<sup>626</sup> Macarie II 477v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 315 ‘νεογένης’.

many trees<sup>627</sup>, *МНОГОКЪЗНЕНЬ* ‘very cunning’<sup>628</sup>, *МНОГОМЖТЕНЬ* ‘turbulent’<sup>629</sup>, *ОСТРОВРЪХЪ* ‘having sharp peak’<sup>630</sup>, *СВЕРЪПОДЫХАНЕНЬ* ‘furiously blowing’<sup>631</sup>, *СТАРОРОДЕНЬ* ‘old’<sup>632</sup>, *ТВРЪДОНЫРЕНЬ* ‘having firm towers’<sup>633</sup>, *ТВРЪДДОСТЪБНЕНЬ* ‘having hard walls’<sup>634</sup>, *ТАЖКОГЛАСЕНЬ* ‘having deep voice’<sup>635</sup>, *ТАЖКОРОУАН* ‘heavy roaring’<sup>636</sup>, *ТАЖКОУМЕНЬ* ‘heavy-minded’<sup>637</sup>, *ХОУДОПЕРЪ* ‘bad-feathered’<sup>638</sup>.

- Lexemes missing in this source: *ЛЮБОТРУДНЪ* ‘diligently’<sup>639</sup>, *ЗЛАТОПЛЕТЕНЬ* ‘gold-knitted’<sup>640</sup>, *ПРЪНОВЪСПОМИНАЕМЪ* ‘always recorded’<sup>641</sup>, *ЇТОПОЧИВЕНЬ* ‘defuncted as a Saint’<sup>642</sup>, *ХРИСТОИМЕНИТЬ* ‘Christian’<sup>643</sup>, *КРАТЪКОРИЗЕНЬ* ‘having short shirt’<sup>644</sup>, *ЧАСТОВЪЗДЫХАТЕЛЕНЬ* ‘often sighing’<sup>645</sup>, *ЧЛОВЪККОЛЮБЕЗЕНЬ* ‘loving the humans’<sup>646</sup>, *СКОТΟΥМЕНЬ* ‘smart as cattle, stupid’<sup>647</sup>, *БЪГОМЖЖЕНЬ* ‘brave in the name of God’<sup>648</sup>, *МНОГОСЛОВИМЪ* и *МНОГОИМУВИТЕНЬ* ‘very famous and having much property, rich’<sup>649</sup>.

The specific verbs of the Moldavian Slavonic texts can be divided into the following groups:

<sup>627</sup> Macarie II 476v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 414 ‘πολύξυλος’.

<sup>628</sup> Macarie II 473v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 316 ‘πολυμήχανος’.

<sup>629</sup> Macarie II 474v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 316 ‘πολυτάραχος’.

<sup>630</sup> Macarie II 475v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 347.

<sup>631</sup> Macarie II 474r. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 284 ‘ἀγριόπνοος’.

<sup>632</sup> Macarie II 476r. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 316 ‘πρεσβυγένης’.

<sup>633</sup> Macarie II 480v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 434 ‘ὄχυρόπυργος’.

<sup>634</sup> Macarie II 474v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 428 ‘εὐπυργος’.

<sup>635</sup> Macarie II 477r. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 434 ‘βαρύδουπος’.

<sup>636</sup> Macarie II 474r. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 434 ‘βαρύβρομος’.

<sup>637</sup> Macarie II 474rv. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 278 ‘βαρύφρων’.

<sup>638</sup> Macarie II 474v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 446 ‘ἀπαλόπτερυξ’.

<sup>639</sup> Macarie I 154r. *Словарь русского...*, 8, p. 66. Cf. *LSJ*, p. 1938 φιλοπόνως.

<sup>640</sup> Macarie I 155r. F. MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum*, Vindobonae 1862–1865, p. 227 ‘ex auro plexus’. Cf. *LBG*, vol. VIII, p. 2023 χρυσόπλεκτος.

<sup>641</sup> Macarie I 155r. *Словарь русского...*, 20, p. 19. Cf. *LSJ*, p. 26 ἀειμνημόνευτος.

<sup>642</sup> Macarie I 164v. K. ИВАНОВА, *Български...*, p. 84 *Їтопочивши*. Here about people, which did not become Saint, showing respect to them. *Словарь русского...*, 23, p. 215.

<sup>643</sup> Macarie I 167r. И. И. СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка по письменным памятникам*, vol. III, *Санктпетербургъ* 1912, p. 1405.

<sup>644</sup> Macarie II 474v. Not found in CS dictionaries.

<sup>645</sup> Macarie II 475r. Not found in CS dictionaries.

<sup>646</sup> Macarie II 480r. F. MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon...*, p. 1119 ‘homines amando’.

<sup>647</sup> Macarie II 476r *Словарь русского...*, 23, p. 12. Cf. *LBG*, vol. IV, p. 891 κτηνόφρων.

<sup>648</sup> Theodosie’s Enkomion 200r. Not found in CS dictionaries.

<sup>649</sup> Theodosie’s Enkomion 202r. The expression was present already in the original Passion of St John the new, see П. РУСЕВ, А. ДАВИДОВ, *Григорий Цамблак...*, p. 162–163. Cf. πολύλογος και πολυχρήματος. Cf. *LSJ*, p. 1439, 1446.

- Verbs of non-Slavonic origin shared with Romanian: *посокоитити* 'to note; to remark'<sup>650</sup>, *кѣлтовати* 'to spend'<sup>651</sup>.
- Moldavian Slavonic adaptations missing in Romanian: *вживати* 'to use'<sup>652</sup>, *встла(ви)ти* 'to remain'<sup>653</sup>.
- Verbs of Slavonic origin shared with Romanian: *шпирати* 'to retain'<sup>654</sup>, *тѣкмити/токмити* 'to agree, to establish'<sup>655</sup>, *торговати* 'to trade'<sup>656</sup>, *хотарити* 'to form border; to border'<sup>657</sup>, *мартѣрисити/мартѣрисати* 'to testify'<sup>658</sup>, *доби(ва)ти* 'to achieve; to conquer'<sup>659</sup>, *ра(з)сипати* 'to destroy'<sup>660</sup>, *неволисати сѧ* 'to make effort'<sup>661</sup>, *валовати* 'to assail'<sup>662</sup>.

<sup>650</sup> *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55. Romanian *a socoti*. The verb *сокоитити* is attested in the Wallachian Slavonic context, see ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 91, 125 (1480s).

<sup>651</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539; Romanian *a cheltui*. Cf. *Erdélyi...*, vol. VII, p. 336 *költ* 'ausgeber'. Attested in Wallachia, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 51 (1430s/1440s).

<sup>652</sup> Partv of the regular formula, e.g. M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 466–467, otherwise in Ruthenian *оуживати/вживати*; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 69 'incolere, reviviscere'.

<sup>653</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 47. Maybe a misspelling from *вставити* (OCS).

<sup>654</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531. Cf. G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 70 'claudere'. In contemporary Wallachian Slavonic usually corresponds to *здръжжати* (e.g. DRH B 3, p. 10 from 1526) or *запрѣтити* ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 338 (1535/1545). In older Wallachian documents *шпрѣти*, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 385. Romanian *a opri*.

<sup>655</sup> Present in all types of chancery documents. *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 93; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 52; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518, 531. In Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727 *пѣтокмити*. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 212, 435, 412; cf. G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 45–46 *пѣтокмити* 'aequi parare'. Romanian *a (se) (in)tocmi*. In Wallachian Slavonic *оутѣкмити/оутокмити* (DRH B 3, p. 30, 1526), *оутакмити* (DRH B 3, p. 65, 1527).

<sup>656</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 438; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 62 'mercarî'. In Wallachia *тѣрговати*, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 227 (1510s); Romanian *a târgui*.

<sup>657</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 514; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 68; *Erdélyi...*, vol. IV, p. 1189 *határoz* 'begrenzen, abmarken, Grenze abzeichnen'; Wallachian Slavonic *хотарисати*, DRH B 3, p. 74 (1527); Romanian *a hotări* 'to decide; to establish limits'.

<sup>658</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 183, 240. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 578; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 32 *мартѣрисати*; in Wallachia *мартѣрисати*, DRH B 4, p. 25 (1536). Romanian *a mărturisi*.

<sup>659</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98; Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 311; *SUM XVI*, vol. VIII, p. 67–68; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 15 'a câștiga, a răpune'. In contemporary Wallachian Slavonic *дѣстигиѣти* (DRH B 3, p. 81, 1538), in older documents *добити* 'to conquer', ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 144 (1477/1481); Romanian *a dobândi*.

<sup>660</sup> Colophon of the *Apostolos* 1528; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 540. In this meaning *Словарь русскогo...*, 22, p. 77; Romanian *a risipi*.

<sup>661</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 540. Attested in Wallachian Slavonic, e.g. ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 211 (1508/1510). Not found in dictionaries. Romanian *a se nevoi*.

<sup>662</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 520. Cf. *SUM XVI*, vol. III, p. 171; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 4; Romanian *a învăli*.

- Ruthenian verbs: тѣгати 'to sue'<sup>663</sup>, жаловати 'to complain'<sup>664</sup>, жадати 'to request'<sup>665</sup>, изнайти/изнаходити 'to find'<sup>666</sup>, лишити 'to leave'<sup>667</sup>, вожити 'to swear'<sup>668</sup>, пригодити сѧ 'to happen'<sup>669</sup>, норовити 'to urge'<sup>670</sup>, дііаковати 'to thank'<sup>671</sup>, порѣшити 'to break (law)'<sup>672</sup>, прислѣхати 'to belong'<sup>673</sup>, разѣрити 'to destroy'<sup>674</sup>, весѣдати/всадити 'to settle'<sup>675</sup>, загѣвити 'to loose'<sup>676</sup>, заховати 'to retain'<sup>677</sup>, слѣбовати/слѣвити 'to promise'<sup>678</sup>, вѣплѣдити 'to expel'<sup>679</sup>, мѣшкати

<sup>663</sup> Молдова ын епока..., vol. II, p. 276; T. BĀLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 26; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 531. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 455; G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 63 'a se pârî; protendere'.

<sup>664</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 354; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. XI, p. 553 'coram iudice accusare'.

<sup>665</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 352. *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. XI, p. 562–565 'rogare, quaerere'.

<sup>666</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 204, 241; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98; Молдова ын епока..., vol. II, p. 275; Macarie I 158r йснахѣдѣ 'having found out'. SSUM, vol. I, p. 402–403 (и)знайти.

<sup>667</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 520, 538. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 552–553; G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 31 'a lăsa'.

<sup>668</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 519, 525. Cf. G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 3 'a jură'; *Словарь русского...*, 1, p. 274.

<sup>669</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 728. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 236–237. The same document also contains the (O)CS equivalent прилѣчити сѧ.

<sup>670</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 520. Cf. *Словник української мови...*, <http://sum.in.ua/s/norovyty> [10 V 2022].

<sup>671</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 539. SSUM, vol. I, p. 343 дяковати; Middle Polish *dziękować* 'gratias agere', <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/50943> [10 V 2022]; Old Czech *děkovati*.

<sup>672</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 513; colophon of the Apostolos from 1528. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 199; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VI, p. 412 poruszyć '(praecepta) violare'; Old Czech *porušiti*.

<sup>673</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58; Молдова ын епока..., vol. I, p. 52. SSUM, vol. II, p. 246; G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 48.

<sup>674</sup> Молдова ын епока..., vol. I, p. 52. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 287–288 разорити; G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 52 разорити 'a strica'.

<sup>675</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510 весѣдати; Молдова ын епока..., vol. II, p. 269 всадити. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 92, 93 осадити/осѣсти; *Словник української мови...*, <http://sum.in.ua/s/osidaty> [10 V 2022], <http://sum.in.ua/s/osadzhuvaty> [10 V 2022]; *osidatu/osicim/osadimul/osadzhatu/osadzhuvati*.

<sup>676</sup> T. BĀLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 30. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 374; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. XI, p. 78–79 zgubić 'perdere, delere'.

<sup>677</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 388; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. XI, p. 53–54 zachować 'retinere'; Old Czech *zachovati*.

<sup>678</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 359–360; Middle Polish *slubować*; Old Czech *slibovati*.

<sup>679</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726. SSUM, vol. I, p. 209; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. X, p. 518 wypędzić 'expellere'; Old Czech *vypuditi*.

‘to waver’<sup>680</sup>, *Дорозѣмѣти* ‘to find out’<sup>681</sup>, *вернѣти сѧ – вѣрѣти* ‘to return’<sup>682</sup>, *выйти* ‘to go out’<sup>683</sup>, *притисноути* ‘to force’<sup>684</sup>, *зламати* ‘to break’<sup>685</sup>, *приказити* ‘to foil, to frustrate’<sup>686</sup>.

- Church Slavonic verbs with a prefix: *прѣтрьколити сѧ* ‘to turn around’<sup>687</sup>, *прѣдвѣспомѣнѣти* ‘to mention before’<sup>688</sup>, *прѣхуѣити* ‘to blaspheme in advance’<sup>689</sup>, *поукрасити* ‘to ornate’<sup>690</sup>, *промѣнити (промежи собою)* ‘to exchange’<sup>691</sup>.
- Church Slavonic verbs enlarged with an adjective/adverb stem: *вѣдословити* (usual CS *владословити*) ‘to say crazy things’<sup>692</sup>, *длъгословствовати* ‘to speak longly’<sup>693</sup>, *малодѣшъствовати* ‘to show fear’<sup>694</sup>.

The Moldavian Slavonic texts include a large variety of function words of different origin. In the internal chancery documents and the Treaty with Poland, there is an important layer of Ruthenian prepositions: ѿ<sup>695</sup>, very typically appearing

<sup>680</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726. Cf. HSBM 18, 30, thus Ukr., Pol. *mieszkać*, ES XVII, *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. IV, p. 242 *mieszkać* ‘morari’; Old Czech *meškati* (primary meaning is ‘to waiver’).

<sup>681</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 320.

<sup>682</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726, 727. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 165 *вернѣти*; SUM XVI, vol. V, p. 18 *вѣрѣти сѧ*; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. X, p. 324–325 *wrócić* ‘reverti’. T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 shows the (O)CS (eventually Czech) equivalent *вратити*.

<sup>683</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 216; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. X, p. 474 *wyjé* ‘exire’. See the (O)CS, eventually South Slavonic equivalents in the Transylvanian correspondence: ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 540 *излазити*, p. 540 *излѣзти*.

<sup>684</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *Гістарычны слоўнік...*, vol. XXIX, p. 30–31; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VII, p. 243 *przycisnąć* ‘alicui rei obligare’; Old Czech *přítisknutí*.

<sup>685</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. SSUM, vol. I, p. 399; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. XI, p. 389 *zlamać* ‘frangere’; Old Czech *zlámati*.

<sup>686</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VII, p. 134 *przekazić* ‘praecludere; impedire’; Old Czech *překaziti*.

<sup>687</sup> Macarie II 472v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 390. Not found in CS dictionaries. Bulgarian *търколя се* ‘to wriggle’, *Речник на българския език*, <https://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/търколям/> [10 V 2022].

<sup>688</sup> Macarie I 163v. Cf. *Словарь русского...*, 18, p. 183.

<sup>689</sup> Theodosie’s Enkomion 203r. Not found in CS dictionaries.

<sup>690</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 51 (monastery charter). Not found in CS dictionaries.

<sup>691</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 119. Cf. *Словарь русского...*, 20, p. 167.

<sup>692</sup> Theodosie’s Enkomion 203r. Cf. *Словарь русского...*, 1, p. 250.

<sup>693</sup> Macarie I 154v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 264 ‘μακρηγορεῖν’.

<sup>694</sup> Macarie I 155r. Cf. *Словарь русского...*, 9, p. 16–17.

<sup>695</sup> E.g. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278 ѿ *наши ѿ молдавскон земли* – *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 212 ѿ *нашени молдавскон земли* ‘in our Moldavian land’. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 130 оу *Брълѧ* ‘in Bârlad’.

before toponyms, *подди* ‘close to; along’<sup>696</sup>, *межи* ‘between’<sup>697</sup>, *черѣ* ‘through’<sup>698</sup>, *до* ‘to’ in the position meaning<sup>699</sup>. In the Treaty with Poland, there are also specific Ruthenian-Polish forms *къ* ‘to, for, towards’<sup>700</sup>, *зъ* ‘with’<sup>701</sup>, *водде* and *поддѣг* ‘according to’<sup>702</sup>. An exceptionally interesting type of prepositions, appearing especially in the internal documents, are the compound prepositions. The regularly used ones are *промежи* ‘between’<sup>703</sup> and *ѡкъ* ‘towards’<sup>704</sup>. The prepositions *ѡ срѣ* ‘from the centre of’<sup>705</sup>, *ѡпрѣ ѡ* ‘except’<sup>706</sup>, *къ прѣтѣ* ‘against’<sup>707</sup> are occasionalisms, *въ на* ‘on’ seems to be a mistyping<sup>708</sup>. The variability of adverbs and conjunctions will be displayed in the following two tables:

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But compare *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184 *оу дрѣгѣи стѣлѣ* ‘up to the second border assign’, *ѡ едѣи вѣрѣстѣ* ‘to an elm’. The Ruthenian *ѡ* thus joins two different prepositions, \*vŭ ‘in, to’ and \*u ‘by, near’. Due to the North Bulgarian and Štokavian impact, we find a similar phenomenon in Wallachian Slavonic.

<sup>696</sup> In the Treaty with Poland as ‘according to’, Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727 *подди нас* ‘with us, near us’; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 65 *подди вѣкли* ‘along (the brook) Beala’; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184 *подди село* ‘along the village’, *подди потока* ‘along the brook’. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 166.

<sup>697</sup> *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. II, p. 269; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 71; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 728. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 583.

<sup>698</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210. In *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184, there is the CS equivalent *сквозѣ* (OCS *сквозѣ*).

<sup>699</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726 *пришѣ до на* ‘he came to us’; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531 *аор.: прѣидѣ до на* ‘he came to us’. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 267.

<sup>700</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726 *къ шкодѣ* ‘to the detriment’. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 525; Middle Polish *ku szkodzie*, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/60613> [10 V 2022].

<sup>701</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. The documents show the variation, e.g. *зъ войсками* ‘with the troops’, *съ Тѡурки* ‘with Turks’.

<sup>702</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 184; vol. II, p. 166.

<sup>703</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 119, 380.

<sup>704</sup> *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. II, p. 271 *ѡкъ Сижи* ‘to Zija’; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184 *ѡкъ Ѡничани* ‘towards Oniceni’; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 65 *ѡкъ Бръгъѡѡ* ‘towards Bârgăuani’; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16 *ѡкъ Молдова* ‘towards (the river) Moldova’; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 17, 20 *ѡкъ вѣстока* ‘eastwards’. Cf. G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 71 ‘de la, despre’. Cf. Romanian *de la, de către*.

<sup>705</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 204 *ѡ срѣ пасики* ‘from the centre of the clearing’. Cf. Romanian *dintru*.

<sup>706</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184 *прѣдали... панѣ Ялботи самѡноу ѡпрѣ ѡ его вратѣа* ‘they sold (it) just to Sir Albota, not to his brothers’.

<sup>707</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727 *къ прѣтѣ царѣви Тѣрецѡмѣ* ‘against Turkish sultan’.

<sup>708</sup> *Inscriptiï din bisericile...*, p. 56 *въ на четвѣртомъ лѣтѣ* ‘in the 4<sup>th</sup> year’.



## Adverbs

Meaning	CS	Ruthenian	Wallachian – South Slavonic
also	ТАКОЖДЕ <sup>709</sup>	ТАКО <sup>ж710</sup> , ТИ <sup>ж711</sup> combination: ТИ <sup>ж</sup> ТАКОЖ- ДЕ <sup>ре712</sup>	mixed type: ТАКОЖДЕ <sup>ре713</sup>
always	ВЪСЕГДА, ВЪИНЖ <sup>714</sup>	ЗАВЪКДЫ <sup>715</sup>	
then	ТОГДА <sup>716</sup>	ТОДИ <sup>717</sup> , ПА <sup>ж718</sup>	
together	ВЪКЪПЪ <sup>719</sup> , КЪПНО <sup>720</sup>		ЗАЕДНО <sup>721</sup>
very	СЪЛЮ <sup>722</sup>	ВЕЛИИ <sup>723</sup>	(ВЕЛИИ)

<sup>709</sup> T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 148, 538, Macarie I 167r.

<sup>710</sup> M. M. SZÉKELY, S. S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 259; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27; *Surete...*, vol. XXIV, p. 147; *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 159; *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 344; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 17; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 119; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 140; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 418; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 61.

<sup>711</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 93; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 140, 184; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 71; ed. G. G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 542, 538. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 425–426; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 61 ‘pariter’; *Slovník staropolski...*, vol. IX, p. 150–151 ‘et (etiam)’.

<sup>712</sup> *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 26.

<sup>713</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 203; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 215; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 65; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 32; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 240. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 418; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 61 ‘pariter’. The form used in the Serbian and contemporary Wallachian chancery was ТАКОЖЕ, Ъ. ДАНИЧИТЬ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 274; DRH B 3, p. 77 (1528) and 137 (1529).

<sup>714</sup> Matthew per. per 75, RGB 54v; per. 108, RGB 77r.

<sup>715</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 372.

<sup>716</sup> Macarie I 155r, 158rv, 163r, etc.

<sup>717</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 434  
ТОГДИ.

<sup>718</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 729. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 121.

<sup>719</sup> Macarie I 163r, II 464v; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 275.

<sup>720</sup> Macarie I 161v.

<sup>721</sup> Ed. G. G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 518; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727; SSUM, vol. I, p. 375; Ъ. ДАНИЧИТЬ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 370–371 ‘una’. In Wallachian Slavonic usually КЪПНО (even ѠКЪПНО, DRH B 3, p. 325, 1535), in some documents ЗАЕДНО, ed. G. G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 394 (1480s).

<sup>722</sup> Matthew, per. 3, RGB 12v.

<sup>723</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 163; Ъ. ДАНИЧИТЬ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 109 ‘valde’.

Meaning	CS	Ruthenian	Wallachian – South Slavonic
now	ннѣ <sup>724</sup>	тѣпѣ <sup>725</sup>	сѣдд <sup>726</sup>
back	вѣсплѣтъ <sup>727</sup>	назд <sup>728</sup>	
how much	колико <sup>729</sup>	коулако <sup>730</sup>	(колико)
where	гдѣ, камо <sup>731</sup>	гдѣ <sup>732</sup> , кѣдд <sup>733</sup>	

## Conjunctions

Meaning	CS	Ruthenian	Wallachian – South Slavonic
that	тако <sup>734</sup>	ѡ <sup>735</sup> , аж(ѣ) <sup>736</sup> , и <sup>737</sup>	ѣрѣ <sup>738</sup>

<sup>724</sup> Macarie I 159r.

<sup>725</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 535. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 428.

<sup>726</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518, 539, 540, 541. On the same place also ѡ сѣдд ‘from now’. Used in the Wallachian and Serbian chancery, cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЋ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 233; DRH B 3, p. 65 (1527).

<sup>727</sup> Macarie I 159v.

<sup>728</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 538. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 14.

<sup>729</sup> *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 21; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 204.

<sup>730</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 489.

<sup>731</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 540 (both words as direction).

<sup>732</sup> *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725 (position).

<sup>733</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 511 (position). *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 526 (direction).

<sup>734</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531; Macarie I 154v and *passim*.

<sup>735</sup> Included in the promulgario formula, e.g. M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 507. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 76.

<sup>736</sup> Glăvan’s Letter; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 240; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 разоуѣмѣли єєны ѡ бѣдѣ ‘we have understood that she was’.

<sup>737</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 425; Middle Polish, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/55374> [10 V 2022].

<sup>738</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518 (letter to Brașov). Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЋ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 523–524. In Wallachian Slavonic see e.g. DRH B 3, p. 244 (1533/1534).

Meaning	CS	Ruthenian	Wallachian – South Slavonic
in order to	да <sup>739</sup>	дбы <sup>740</sup> mixed: како аби <sup>741</sup> , да аби <sup>742</sup> , аби да <sup>743</sup>	како да <sup>744</sup>
or	или <sup>745</sup>	абѡ, лиѡ <sup>746</sup>	
when	егда <sup>747</sup>	коли <sup>748</sup>	къда <sup>749</sup>
until	дондеже <sup>750</sup>	д <sup>751</sup> , покѡда <sup>752</sup>	докле <sup>753</sup>
if	аще <sup>754</sup> , аще ли <sup>755</sup>	коли бы <sup>756</sup> , естли <sup>757</sup>	ако <sup>758</sup> , ако ли <sup>759</sup>

<sup>739</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 511; *Surete...*, vol. XXIV, p. 147; *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 159; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 60.

<sup>740</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 269; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 61; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 519, 539; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 63; Middle Polish and Old Czech *aby*, <https://spixvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/5182> [10 V 2022].

<sup>741</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 535, 538.

<sup>742</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 538.

<sup>743</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539.

<sup>744</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 513; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 540. In Wallachian see DRH B 3, p. 239 (1533).

<sup>745</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 269; Macarie II 476v.

<sup>746</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 63, 545.

<sup>747</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 50; Macarie I 157r.

<sup>748</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 538; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 487.

<sup>749</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 519 (letter to Brașov). Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 516, in Wallachian Slavonic see DRH B 3, p. 352 (1535).

<sup>750</sup> Macarie I 160r, II 476r.

<sup>751</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726.

<sup>752</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 140.

<sup>753</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 743 'quousque'. In Wallachian Slavonic e.g. DRH B 3, p. 361 (1535).

<sup>754</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531.

<sup>755</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 540; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98.

<sup>756</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726.

<sup>757</sup> Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726.

<sup>758</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 6. In Wallachian Slavonic e.g. DRH B 3, p. 15 (1526).

<sup>759</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539.

Meaning	CS	Ruthenian	Wallachian – South Slavonic
but	нж <sup>760</sup> , ѡбачѣ <sup>761</sup>	(али) <sup>762</sup>	(али)
because	понеж(ѣ) <sup>763</sup> , занѣжѣ <sup>764</sup>	тѡмѣ ѡ <sup>765</sup> , занѣжѣ <sup>766</sup>	(понежѣ)
as	како <sup>767</sup>	ѣк(ѡ) <sup>768</sup>	(како)
therefore	тѣмъжѣ <sup>769</sup>	прѡтѣ <sup>770</sup> ннѡ <sup>771</sup>	
yet	ѣще <sup>772</sup>	(ѣще)	ѣще <sup>773</sup>
And also	и, а <sup>774</sup>	та <sup>775</sup>	тѣре <sup>776</sup>

<sup>760</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531.

<sup>761</sup> Macarie I, p. 165r.

<sup>762</sup> In all types of chancery documents. M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 509; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 269; *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 337; *Surete...*, vol. XXIV, p. 147; *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 159; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 61; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 536, 541; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726. The conjunction али appears in the Moldavian chancery documents before any CS and South Slavic impact (since 1393), but within the Ruthenian context, it is exclusive to the Moldavian milieu. Other Ruthenian varieties use алѣ, also attested in Moldavian Slavonic, cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 68–69, 71.

<sup>763</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 272, 275; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 535, 539.

<sup>764</sup> *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 376 (monastery document).

<sup>765</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 519.

<sup>766</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 511.

<sup>767</sup> M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 511; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 535, 539.

<sup>768</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 192; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531, 535, 537, 541.

<sup>769</sup> *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 40.

<sup>770</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539; Glăvan's Letter.

<sup>771</sup> T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27; M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508.

<sup>772</sup> *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 140; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27.

<sup>773</sup> *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 159.

<sup>774</sup> Regular in all chancery documents.

<sup>775</sup> T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 30. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИТЬ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 414–415.

<sup>776</sup> Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 520.

### Written varieties in Moldavia

The variability of written Slavonic in Moldavia developed from the first decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century through the interaction of Ruthenian and the Trinovitan variety of Middle Church Slavonic. This base was being gradually enriched by the elements of Romanian vernacular and South Slavonic elements mediated through the Wallachian milieu. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, most of Moldavian texts were CS based or showed a strong CS influence. In the chancery documents (except the communication with Poland), the clearly Ruthenian elements mostly appeared in the shape of fixed formulas, few repeating lexemes and morphological forms and a set of function words spread among the CS-shaped forms, whose syntactic distribution was influenced by non-Slavonic origin of scribes. The most regular remnant of the Ruthenian base of the chancery language was the preference of the 1-preterite and /u/ reflex of \*ǫ in the secular chancery documents, which was supported by the Štokavian-based Wallachian impact in the letters addressed to Transylvanian towns. This contrasted with the use of simple past tenses (aorist and imperfect) and the reflex /ə/ (ѣ, eventually ѣ) for \*ǫ dominating in the rest of Moldavian production.

The most prestigious variety used in Moldavia was Trinovitan Church Slavonic, whose model form, minimally impacted by the complicated Moldavian language environment, was represented by texts of the biblical-liturgical corpus. These were the texts, thoroughly copied from their models patterned on the legacy of the Late Second Bulgarian Empire. Nevertheless, the Moldavian tradition might have further regularised some tiny orthographic details. The original bookish texts (preserved in manuscript books) comprising the historiographic (Macarie's Chronicle), hagiographic (Enkomion to St John the New) and small formulaic writings (colophons and inscriptions) tried to imitate the same models. In contrast to the shared corpus, the original texts contain more visible traces of Moldavian origin, especially the ѣ/ѣ/ѣ/ѣ variation and syntactical discrepancies, revealing the variable level of active knowledge of CS of the Romanian-speaking authors. From the examined period, we have one important Resavian book from Moldavia, dedicated to the monastery of Xeropotamou of Athos.

The internal chancery documents consist of CS-shaped formulas of Ruthenian origin, whose non-CS elements are concentrated mainly in the *dispositio*. The monastery charters are enriched with further Trinovitan CS formulas, similar or identical to those used in ktetor inscriptions and colophons. The most variable corpus comprises the correspondence with Transylvanian towns, which, despite its superficial CS shape, includes both Ruthenian and South Slavic elements. The Slavonic documents addressed to Poland (here represented mainly by the Treaty with Poland) are Ruthenian-based. On one hand, they show some similarities with the

contemporarily dominant Ruthenian variety – the Lithuanian chancery language (e.g. Polonisms, random \*ě > ɛ, \*u-/vŭ- > в-, *мати* ‘to have (to)’), untypical for the Ruthenian elements of the internal chancery. On the other hand, they also reflect the Moldavian linguistic reality: the typical spellings of the internal chancery (ѣ /ja/, variation of вѣ-/ѣ-, random \*ě > и) and the syntactical discrepancies.

The Moldavian milieu also shows the following important similarities with the Wallachian environment:

- The Trinovitan CS being the most prestigious language variety.
- The presence of similar syntactical discrepancies, linked to the Romanian background of scribes and writers.
- The Romanian spelling system of Romanian proper names.
- A part of specific administrative, legal and landscape terminology.
- Randomly appearing elements of the (originally) Serbian chancery language.

The 16<sup>th</sup> century brought the increase of language variability into international communication. During the reign of Peter Rareș, the official correspondence with Poland was submitted to a language shift, replacing the traditional Ruthenian with Polish (partly keeping also Latin). In the official communication with Hungary and Transylvanian towns, the Latin language remained the main medium, while in the correspondence among Moldavian and Transylvanian town councils or with concrete persons of (Transylvanian) Saxon origin, the (Early High) German was applied.

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