# WORDS EXPRESSING ETERNITY IN THE NOVEL VARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT

### MARIA STANCIU ISTRATE<sup>1</sup>

Abstract. The author aims to offer an analysis of the words used to denote eternity in the popular novel *Varlaam and Josaphat*, which was translated from Slavonic to Romanian by Udrişte Năsturel in the mid-17th century. The terms analysed are: *vecuitor, vecui, veacinic, preveacinic, preneclătinat, neputred, nevechitor, nesfărâmat, fără-de-moarte, fără-sfârşenie, pururea fiitor, pururea-trăitor, trăitor, stătător,* and *împreună-pururea-fiitor*. Most of these terms were formed by imitating the internal structure of the Slavonic terms they translated. The current Romanian vocabulary retains only *veacinic*, in its literary variant veșnic. The other words did not survive the passing of time. Some of the terms do not appear in Romanian lexicographic works and seem to be personal lexical creations of Udrişte Năsturel.

**Keywords:** Varlaam and Josaphat, Romanian manuscripts, Old Romanian, Slavonic, loan translation, lexical borrowing, veac, veşnic.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Varlaam and Josaphat is one of the most successful medieval religious novels. Created over a thousand years ago, the novel had an astonishing circulation for several centuries. It was translated from Greek, Slavonic and Latin into most European vernacular languages. In the Romanian Lands, the writing circulated initially in the Slavonic language. The oldest Slavonic manuscripts date to the 15th century. The first Romanian translation appeared two centuries later, in 1648, during a period when writings with religious themes dominated Romanian cultural life. The translation was based on a Slavonic version. The translator, Udrişte Năsturel from the village of Fierești, a locality in southern Wallachia, was the second chancellor of ruler Matei Basarab and had already gained recognition among scholars through prestigious translations. He was also involved in the printing of significant books, thus playing a role in the religious life of the era.

The novel has enjoyed a constant interest, evidenced by the numerous manuscript copies in which it circulated, the fact that it was translated multiple times, and its impact on other cultural domains. Most manuscript copies are based on Udrişte Năsturel's translation, considered to be the most valuable expression of this ascetic novel in the Romanian language.

DOI: 10.59277/RRL.2023.4.06

RRL, **LXVIII**, 4, p. 431–445, București, 2023

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "lorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti" Institute of Linguistics" of the Romanian Academy, maria.istrate10@gmail.com.

The original translation has been lost. The oldest preserved copy is found in manuscript  $588^2$  at the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest (BAR). The manuscript, dated approximately to 1670 (Stanciu Istrate 2013: 50–51), is bilingual, presenting the Romanian and Slavonic versions of the novel in parallel columns.

The era in which Năsturel translated *Varlaam and Josaphat* into Romanian is marked by scholars' desire to differentiate artistic language from spoken language. His translation exhibits manneristic syntactic structures that deviate from the norm, as I have discussed in previous research (Stanciu Istrate 2011: 86–94). Similar syntactic constructions have been encountered in other literal Romanian translations, beginning with the 16th century. This is a result of the influence exerted by the Slavonic, Hungarian, or Latin originals (Frâncu 1997: 172). In turn, Slavonic, for which such constructions were just as unfamiliar as they were for Romanian, had adopted them from Greek, a language where syntactic displacement was a frequently used stylistic-syntactic procedure (Frâncu 1983: 321–335).

The Slavonic influence is also evident at the lexical level, where a series of words calqued after Slavonic models has been recorded. The current research focusses on one set of such terms, namely words that denote eternity. In a previous study, I have analyzed words that describe the ephemeral (Stanciu Istrate 2012: 317–323). As will be seen in the quotes analyzed below, the two semantic fields – that of eternity and that of the ephemeral – appear in the same contexts: Varlaam's intention to demonstrate to Josaphat the superiority of Christianity over faith in idols. It can be observed that terms denoting eternity are used when Varlaam describes Christianity, whereas the descriptions of faith in idols are characterized by words from the semantic field of the ephemeral. Many of the words that fall into these semantic fields are now considered archaisms. However, their study reveals important aspects of the history of the Romanian literary language. As will be seen in the current research, some terms represent unique lexical creations by Udrişte Năsturel. At the same time, there are also words that appear in other writings of the era with a similar meaning as in Udrişte Năsturel's translation or with some semantic differences.

The words from ms. rom. 588 will be compared with their Slavonic equivalents. To trace the vitality and reception of the Romanian terms under investigation, I will refer to another version which has been preserved in ms. rom. 3339³ at BAR. This manuscript was copied by the scribe Fota (Ştrempel 1959: 71) in 1675. Unlike ms. rom. 588, Fota's copy contains only the Romanian text. Fota also integrated Udrişte Năsturel's marginal notes within the narrative structure. Furthermore, the scribe replaced some terms that he probably felt were unusual and adapted the text to the spoken language.

In order to make the Romanian text easier to understand, I will present in parallel the corresponding quotations from the English edition of the hagiography published by G. R. Woodward and H. Mattingly in 1914 and reprinted in 1937 (Woodward and Mattingly 1937). In spite of the fact that the English version was translated directly from the Greek, but the Romanian from the Slavonic translation from the Greek, the two versions, Romanian and English, are remarkable similar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Manuscript edited by Stanciu Istrate 2013: 86–325. For the description of the manuscript, see also \$trempel 1978: 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Manuscript edited by Năsturel 1904: 3–298. For the description of the manuscript, see also Ştrempel 1987: 92.

# 2. VECUITOR "eternal"

|     | Rom. Ms. 588   |  | Rom. Ms. 3339   | Woodward and<br>Mattingly 1937  |
|-----|--|--|---|---|
| (1) | Romanian<br>recension Dea-ţi Domnul vecuitoarele în locul vremeştilor şî în locul putredelor, neputredele şî nevechitoarele (283 <sup>r-v</sup> );   | Slavonic recension  Даждь ти ть въ връменных мъсто въчнам, въ тахниых мъсто нетанам и нешбетшающам;  | De-ţi Domnul în locul cestor trecătoare şi în locul cestor putrede, ceale netrecătoare și neputrede și nevechitoare   | The Lord give thee the eternal for the temporal, the things that are incorruptible and wax not old for the corruptible (577)  |
| (2) | Câtă nebunie şî nechipzuială iaste a mai voi şî a mai iubi pre ceale putrede şî trecătoare, neputincioase şî de nemic, decât pre ceale neputrede şî vecuitoare şî fărăde-moarte şî fărăde-moarte şî cu această vremească îndulcire a se lipsi de îndulcirea acelor netrecătoare bunătăți (200°); | колика без8міа и несъмысатьства, изволити паче и любити та та та немощтна и ни въ что свща, нежели нета та на и безконечнаа и сим времейным насла деніем лишитиса насла деніа what и ва та на пасла деніа what и ва та насла деніа what непреходащих багъ. | Câtă blestemăție sau, mai vârtos să-ț zic, câtă nebunie și nechibzuială iaste a mai voi și a mai iubi, ceale putrede și trecătoare, neputincioase și de nimic, decât pre ceale neputrede și văcuitoare și fără de moarte și fără sfârșenie și cu acestă îndulcire trecătoare a se lipsi de îndulcirea celor netrecătoare bunătăți (164° - | what folly and madness it is to choose the corruptible and perishable, the weak things of no worth, rather than the incorruptible and everlasting, the imperishable and endless, and, by the temporal enjoyment of these things, to forfeit the eternal fruition of the happiness to come (363) |
| (3) | Cu bucurie amu<br>bucură-te șî cu<br>veselie întru<br>Hristos veseleaște-<br>te, că ai schimbat<br>ceaste pământești șî<br>putrezitoare, pre   | радостію оубо рад8исм и еже w Xp <sup>c</sup> t & веселієм веселисм. тако земными и тл кющими изм филл еси   | 165 <sup>r</sup> );<br>Şi te bucură cu<br>bucurie şi te<br>veseleaşte cu<br>veselie în<br>Hristos, că ai<br>schimbat ceaste<br>pământești și  | Rejoice, therefore, with great joy, and make merry with the gladness that is in Christ, because thou hast exchanged the   |

|     | ceale <b>vecuitoare</b> şî <b>neputrede</b> (289°);   | вѣчнам же и<br>нетлѣнна   | putrezitoare<br>pre ceale<br>vecuitoare și<br>neputrede<br>(272°);  | earthly and<br>corruptible for the<br>eternal and<br>incorruptible<br>(595)   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|
| (4) | nu păntru ceaste<br>vremenice șî<br>trecătoare să caz<br>den dulceața celor<br>vecuitoare șî<br>neputrede (141 <sup>r</sup> ) | да не сихъ ради<br>време <sup>й</sup> ныхъ и<br>мимотек8щихъ,<br>Шпъд8<br>наслажденіа<br>въчныхъ и<br>нетлъ <sup>й</sup> ныхъ | nu cumva pentru ceaste trecătoare și până la o vreame eu să caz den dulceața celor vecuitoare și neputrede (107 <sup>r-v</sup> );                                     | lest, by means of<br>these transitory<br>and fleeting things,<br>I lose the<br>enjoyment of the<br>eternal and<br>incorruptible (237) |
| (5) | Că văzutele sânt în vreame scurtă, iară nevăzutele sânt vecuitoare (286°);  | ВИДИМЫ <sup>Х</sup> НЪ<br>НЕВИДИМЫ <sup>Х</sup><br>ВИДИМАЖБО<br>ВРЪМЕННА,<br>НЕВИДИМАЖЖЕ<br>ВЪЧНА                             | Că ceale văzute<br>sânt în vreame<br>scurtă, iară ceale<br>nevăzute sânt<br>veacinice<br>(269°);  | for the things which<br>are seen are<br>temporal; but the<br>things which are<br>not seen are <b>eternal</b><br>(585)                 |
| (6) | Şî acmu, iubitoriule<br>de bine, Stăpâne<br>preaîndurătoriu,<br>priimeaște-mă în<br>sălașele tale ceale<br>vecuitoare (290°); | инпѣ баголюбче<br>вл <sup>а</sup> ко все<br>щедры∫,<br>прйимима въ<br>вѣчнаа твоа села  | Ce acum,<br>bunule Stăpâne<br>și iubitoare de<br>oameni, cela ce<br>ești prea<br>îndurător,<br>priimeaște-mă<br>în sălașele tale<br>ceale <b>veacinice</b><br>(273°); | And now, thou lover of good, all-merciful Master, receive me into thine everlasting habitations (595)                                 |

In all the examples above, the adjective *vecuitoarele*, which has been converted into a noun, corresponds with the Slavonic adjective **brund** "aeternus" (Miklosich 1862–1865, s. v.), also used with nominal value. *Vecuitor* appears in Romanian texts as early as the 16th century. The first attestation is in the *Voroneţ Codex*<sup>4</sup>: "Cu toată bunrătatea, cel ce au chiematu voi întru *vecuitoare* a lui slavă de Hristos" (CV, 82°). From an etymological point of view, *vecuitor* is an internal derivation with the suffix *-tor* from the verb *a vecui* "to endure eternally." Like its synonym *veacinic* (Stanciu Istrate 2021: 48), it seems that *vecuitor* was initially used only in connection with the divinity. This is the way in which it has been used by Moldavian Metropolitan Dosoftei in the hagiographic collection *Viaţa şi petrecerea* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The *Voronet Codex* was discovered at the Voronet Monastery and is one of the earliest surviving attestations to Romanian writings. It is preserved at the Romanian Academy Library under the shelfmark ms. rom. 448. Based on watermarks, it has been dated to the period 1563–1583.

sfinților<sup>5</sup> – The Life and Celebration of the Saints: "Unul iaste Dumnădzău văcuitoriu demaintea începăturilor" (DVS, nov. 163°). Later, it appeared in contexts where it was no longer exclusively related to God, having acquired the meaning "that lasts, that exists for a very long time or for a long time." According to the most important dictionary of the Romanian language (DLR), the first attestation of this usage occurs in the novel Aethiopica<sup>6</sup> (see DLR, s. v. vecuitor). Here, vecuitor is preceded by the adverb "pururea": "Făgăduiesc cu chizeșluire pace statornică și etiopeanilor, și perșilor și prietișug pururea vecuitor" (ms. rom. 355, 64°–65°).

## 3.VECUI "live for a long time"

The root *vecui*, from which the word *vecuitor* derived, is considered in DLR to be an internal derivative from *veac* with the suffix *-ui*. The oldest known attestation of the meaning "to last forever" of the word "vecui" is found in Dosoftei's *Psalter* in verse<sup>7</sup> ("Mila dumnezeiască / Cu noi *să văcuiască*"). In the novel translated by Năsturel, *vecui* appears only with the meaning "to live for a long time":

|     | Rom. Ms. 588  |   | Rom. Ms. 3339   | Woodward and<br>Mattingly1937  |
|-----|---|---|---|--|
| (7) | Romanian recension  Şî aşa fiind el întru toată negrija şî mâncând şî veselindu-se fără teamăt şî părându-i că va tot vecui întracea împărăție, numai ce se sculă oroșanii fără de veaste asupră-i și-l dezbrăca de haina împărătească (118 <sup>r</sup> ); | Slavonic recension и тако с8щ8 ем8 въсѣм бе³ печали питающ8см бесельщ8см безбоазни и непщ8ющ8 вѣчновати прсно въ том црствій () | Deci așa fiind el în toată negrija și mâncând și veselindu-se fără teamăt și părându-i că tot va lăcui într-acea împărăție, numai ce se scula cetățeanii fără de veaste asupră-i de-l dezbrăca de haina cea împărătească (90°). | Then suddenly, while he was living with never a care in rioting and wantonness, without fear, and alway supposing that his reign would only terminate with his life, they would rise up against him, strip him bare of his royal robes (201) |

Dosoftei worked for over 20 years to create this monumental collection, using several foreign sources in the process. It was published in four volumes, printed between 1682 and 1686.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The novel *Aethiopica*, written by Heliodorus of Emesa, is one of the best-known love novels of classical Greek literature. It was translated into Romanian in the second half of the 18th century. The oldest copy of the translation is preserved in ms. rom. 355 from 1773.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Dosoftei consulted several sources for this *Psalter*, which was printed in Uniev in 1673. The most important model was the *Psalter* in verse by the Polish poet Jan Kochanowski (1579).

(8) Că de n-ară lua peirea şî treacearea pre frumusețile ceștii lumi, ce ară vecui împreună cu stăpânii lor, nici așa nu se-ară cădea a mai voi şî a mai iubi acealea, decât darurile şî bunătățile lu Hristos, care sânt mai presus de mintea (199°).

ибо аще не бы Wia<sup>m</sup> погибе<sup>A</sup> и мимо теченіе краснаа мира сего но бы вѣчнова съ вл<sup>а</sup>ками своими (...) Că de n-ar lua periciunea și treacerea pre frumusetile cestii lumi, ceia ce ar văcui denpreună cu stăpânii lor, nici așa nu se-ar cădea a mai voi și a mai iubi pre acealea, decât darurile si bunătățile lui Hristos, care sânt mai desupra de minte (164<sup>r-v</sup>)

Even if the pleasures of the present world were not evanescent and fleeting, but were to **endure for ever** with their owners, not even thus should any man choose them before the gifts of Christ, and the good things that pass man's understanding (361, 363).

Comparing the Romanian version with the Slavonic redaction, it can be observed that *vecui* corresponds with въчновати in Slavonic, rendered by Miklosich with the Latin phrase "aeternum esse" (Miklosich 1862–1865, s. v. въчновати). In the examples cited above, въчновати appears with the general meaning of "to live". In the first example, the duration is expressed by the adverb пр<sup>с</sup>но "semper" (Miklosich 1862–1865, s. v. присьно). This has been rendered in Romanian as the adverb *tot* "continuously". It is noteworthy that in the first quotation, Fota replaces *vecui*, which he likely perceived as too elevated, with *lăcui*, meaning "to live".

Certainly, Romanian *vecui* must have initially meant "to endure eternally", although the attestations we have are more recent than those for the meaning "to live long". The oldest evidence I found for the latter meaning is in Coresi's *Tâlcul evangheliilor*<sup>8</sup> (*The meaning of the Gospels*): "ştim că noi în ceastă lume nu *văm văcui*, ce văm muri şi văm mearge den ceastă lume în ceaia alaltă" (CC¹, 153¹). The attestation of *vecuitor* with the meaning "eternal" in the *Voroneţ Codex* suggests that the term "vecui", from which it was derived, must have been used by Romanian translators in the 16<sup>th</sup> century with the sense of "to endure eternally".

At the same time, the Romanian verb "vecui" does not seem to have been an independent internal lexical creation. It was rather formed based on the model offered by the Slavonic verb в таповати, and it followed the fate of many linguistic calques in old Romanian, which reached the periphery of the vocabulary. The semantic evolution of *vecui* and *vecuitor* is not internal but closely connected with that of the Slavonic verb в таповати.

The comparison with the Slavonic version also shows Năsturel's preference for translating sl. Btuln "aeternus" (Miklosich 1862–1865, s. v.) with *vecuitor* instead of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> *Tâlcul evangheliilor (The meaning of the Gospels)*, also called *Cazania I (the First Homily)*, is a collection of sermons intended for reading in church on Sundays during the liturgy. It was printed between the years 1567–1568 by deacon Coresi in an unknown location in Transylvania.

veacinic, as he does in other contexts. In a previous article (Stanciu Istrate 2021: 45–48), I observed that in the novel translated by Udrişte Năsturel, there are other equivalents of the Slavonic term ετνικ, in addition to the adjective veacinic. These include the noun veac "eternity" in the genitive case (the phrase viața veacului "eternal life" is a translation of the sl. живо втиль () and the adjectival phrase de veac (mântuire de veac "eternal salvation" is a translation of the sl. cũcenie ετνικο). The conclusion I reached was that the presence of various ways of translating the sl. veacinic in the text analysed indicates a transition from translating it either periphrastically (de veac) or by a noun in the genitive case (veacului), to simply borrowing the Slavonic term, veacinic. This term came to be used not only to denote a characteristic of the Divine, but also of those ordained by God (Stanciu Istrate 2021: 49).

### 4. VEACINIC "eternal"

Unlike the word *vecuitoarele*, for which I have recorded six occurrences, *veacinicele* appears only once, which reinforces my conclusion that this term was perceived as an exclusive attribute of God.

|     | Rom. Ms. 588  |   | Rom. Ms. 3339   | Woodward and Mattingly 1937   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|
| (9) | Romanian recension  Iară al doilea loc, plin fiind de întunearec șî de scârbă șî de dureare, diiavulului iaste gătit șî îngerilor lui, în care loc aruncați vor fi carii cu faptele sale ș-au tocmit loruș aceastea lăcuite, carii decât neputredele șî veacinicele, mai iubitu-ș-au lucrurile ceștii vieți (125°). | Slavonic recension въторое же мъсто плъно сы тъмы и скръби и бользни дїавол8 оуготовано и аггелом его, вънегоже въвръжени б8д8 иже дѣлы своими исходотаивше себъ сїа иже паче нетлѣйныхъ и вѣчныхъ възлюбища с8щаа житїа сего | Iară al doilea loc iaste plin de întunearec și de scârbă și de dureare gătită diavolului și îngerilor lui, în care vor fi aruncați ceia ce ș-au gătit cu ale lor fapte aceaste lăcașuri, carii ș-au mai iubit lucrurile ceștii vieți, decât ceale neputrede și veacinice (95°). | But the other place is full of darkness and tribulation and pain, prepared for the devil and his angels, wherein also shall be cast they who by evil deeds have deserved it, who have bartered the <b>incorruptible</b> and <b>eternal</b> for the present world, and have made themselves fuel for eternal fire (211). |

## 5. PREVEACINIC "eternal"

|      | Rom. Ms. 588  |   | Rom. Ms. 3339  | Woodward<br>and Mattingly<br>1937   |
|------|---|---|--|---|
| (10) | Romanian recension Chemă dară cuvântul acela preveacinicele și preneclătinatele 'lucruri ce sânt', iară pre viiața și hrana și mincinoasa bogăție și cinstea ceștii lumi, chemăle 'lucruri ce nu sânt' (6 <sup>v</sup> ). | Slavonic recension нарече оубо слово who превъчнам и недвижимам свщам житё же и пищв и ложное бога <sup>т</sup> ство и славв мира сего нарече несвщаа | Şi chiemă cuvântul acela preaveacinicele și preaneclătinatele 'lucruri ce sânt', iară pre viiața și pre hrana și pre bogățiia cea mincinoasă și cinstea (slava) ceștii lumi chiemă-le 'lucruri ce nu sânt' (9°). | Now that saying meant by 'things that are' the things eternal and fixed, but by 'things that are not' earthly life, luxury, the prosperity that deceives (21) |

In this quote, the prefix pre- in the structure of preveacinicele has been mistaken for the preposition pre. This resulted in the inappropriate use of the preposition pre before the inanimate direct objects prescribed by the verb a chema ("to call"): pre viiața (ms. rom. 588), pre viața și pre hrana și pre bogățiia (ms. rom. 3339). În the Slavonic redaction, preveacinicele corresponds with noestynam. Therefore, the Romanian prefix precorresponds with the Slavonic prefix npe- (a variant of npt-). In the Slavonic redaction, the prefix пре- appears only in the structure of the adjective прев цимам, which represents the feminine plural form of the Slavonic прывычых, "qui fuit ante omne aevum, aeternus" (Miklosich 1862-1865, s. v.). Similar to the Latin prefix prae- from which it probably originates, the Slavonic prefix not had the role of amplifying or intensifying the meaning of the word, indicating the absolute superlative degree (Vaillant 1964: 137; Olteanu 1975: 78; FCLR II: 197). Whereas the variant preveacinic can thus be explained through the original Slavonic, the presence of the preposition pre before the words viata, hrana and bogăția is most likely a scribal error, which persisted in later copies. In DLR, only the form preavecinic appears, which is closer to the Slavonic etymon. Its first attestation dates back to 1639 (see DLR, s. v. preavecinic). This variant also appears in Fota's copy.

# 6. PRENECLĂTINAT

The word *preneclătinatele* from the previous quote does not appear in the DLR. It is in coordination with *preveacinicile* and means the same, both terms have been used to translate the Slavonic word недвижимам "immotus" (Miklosich 1862–1865, s. v.

медвижимъ). The prefix *pre*-intensifies the meaning of *neclătinat*. The variant *preaneclătinat* with *prea* instead of *pre* can be observed in ms. rom. 3339.

#### 7. NEPUTRED

Neputred appears in the contexts (1), (2), (3), and (4) coordinated with vecuitor and nevechitor. In its semantic structure, it combines the meaning of "that which does not putrefy or age" with the nuance of eternity and perpetuity. Therefore, its meaning is "that which never putrefies, eternal, everlasting". In all the examples cited, it is used to render the Slavonic term NETATHENTA "incorruptibilis" (Miklosich 1862–1865, s. v.).

The attestations of *neputred* date back to the 16th century, and can be seen in the second *Homily* by Coresi<sup>9</sup>: "la judecată da-va noao frâmseațea lui ceaia *neputreda*" (CC<sup>2</sup>, 175). In the 17th century, the term *neputred* was further attested in Eustratie Logofătul's *Pravila aleasă*<sup>10</sup>: "Ceale *neputrede* și curate dintru ceale putrede și spurcate" (EPrav., 140), and in *Evanghelie învățătoare* (the *Gospel with Commentary*) from Govora<sup>11</sup>: "se vor vedea pe eiș întru trupure lăudate și *neputrede*, fără-de-moarte" (EGov., 87). The DLR considers *neputred* to be an internal derivative. I am of the opinion that the model provided by Slavonic **Netatinhal** played a role in its formation. It can therefore be suggested that *neputred* (< *ne-+ putred*) is a loan translation after Slavonic **Netatinhal** (< **Ne-+ Tatinhal**).

### 8. NEVECHITOR

In the text analyzed, the word *nevechitor* appears only once, coordinated with *neputred* (see (1) above). It is not recorded in Romanian dictionaries. Probably it was a creation of Udrişte Năsturel, just like *preneclătinat*, analyzed before. In the copy in ms. rom. 3339, the scribe Fota adds a third word to the terms *neputred* and *nevechitor*: *netrecător* ("imperishable" or "immortal"). The second of these terms, *nevechitor*, corresponds with мембетшающам in the Slavonic version, which is absent from Miklosich's Lexicon. The base word from which it was formed could be related to derivatives of the Slavonic verbs обетъщавати, обетъщати "veterascere" (Miklosich 1862–1865, s. v.). This indicates that once again, we are dealing with a loan translation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Evanghelie cu învățătură (Gospel with Commentary), also called Cazania a doua (the Second Homily), was printed by Deacon Coresi in Brașov in 1581. The text contains commentaries on the Gospel pericopes read on Sundays and is based on the Slavonic version of the Homily printed in Zabludov in 1569.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Pravila aleasă is the oldest Romanian translation from modern Greek of the *Nomocanon* of Manuel Malaxos (1562 or 1563). It was carried out by Eustratie the Logothete before 1632.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Evanghelia învățătoare (Gospel with Commentary) was translated into Romanian from a Slavonic version and was printed in Govora in 1642.

# 9. NESFĂRÂMAT "indestructible"

The DLR records *nesfărâmat* in the archaic sense of "indestructible," with an attestation found in the 1776 *Minei*, so later than the text under investigation here. Like *nevechitor* and *neputred*, analyzed before, this derivative with the prefix *ne*- is not just a word that negates the base from which it was formed; its formation was influenced by the pattern offered by the Slavonic μεραβρωμακωμά:

|      | Rom. Ms. 588  |  | Rom. Ms. 3339  | Woodward and<br>Mattingly 1937  |
|------|---|--|--|---|
|      | Romanian recension  | Slavonic recension   |  |   |
| (11) | Dară nu veri mai cinsti sufletul, decât trupul şî viiaţa de veaci, decât umbra morţii şî ceale nesfărâmate, decât ceale trecătoare? (200°). | непочтеши ли Аха паче плъти и жи <sup>3</sup> ни въчным паче съни съмръ <sup>т</sup> ным и нера <sup>3</sup> р8шаемым паче мимотек8щім | Dară nu-ți vei cinsti mai bine sufletul decât trupul și viiața de veaci decât umbra morții și ceale mai nesfărâmate mai tare decât ceale trecătoare? (165°). | Wilt thou not prefer () the spirit to the flesh, eternal life to the shadow of death, the <b>indestructible</b> to the fleeting? (363). |

## 10. FĂRĂ-DE-MOARTE and FĂRĂ-SFÂRŞENIE

These two compound words with the preposition fără appear under copulative coordination in quote (2) and represent loan translations after the Slavonic compounds вестьморьшная and везконечная respectively (see the Slavonic redaction). Like all the terms analysed here, they are alternative ways of expressing what is eternal.

### 11. PURUREA-FIITOR "everlasting"

The compound adjective *pururea-fiitor* corresponds both structurally and semantically to the Slavonic term nothers@haman meaning "perpetuus" (Miklosich, s.v. npuchno). The scribe Fota replaces it twice with *totdeauna-fiitor* and at other times with *totdeauna*, thus translating only the Slavonic adverb npuchno from the first part of the Slavonic compound:

|      | Rom.  | Ms. 588  | Rom. Ms. 3339   | Woodward<br>and Mattingly<br>1937  |
|------|---|--|---|--|
| (12) | Romanian<br>recension<br>că den bunul Tată,   | Slavonic<br>recension<br>ибо W блгаго wца  | Că den Tatăl cel  | for of the good  |
|      | bunul Fiiu se-au născut, den lumina nenăscută răsărit-au lumină <b>pururea-fiitoare</b> (163°). | блгъ сйъ родисм Ш<br>свѣта нерожде <sup>й</sup> на<br>въсїа свѣ <sup>m</sup><br>пр <sup>с</sup> нос8щны∩                               | bun Fiiul cel bun se-au născut; den lumina cea nenăscută răsărit-au lumină totdeauna- | Father is begotten the good Son, and of the unbegotten light shone       |
|      |   |  | fiitoare (124°).  | forth the everlasting light (275).                                       |
|      | Dumnezeu fiind fără începătură șî   | <b>Б</b> іть сы∩ бе³начале <sup>н</sup> и<br>пр <sup>с</sup> нос8щенъ  | Dumnezeu fără de începătură fiind și  | God without beginning and  |
|      | pururea-fiitor<br>(164 <sup>r</sup> ).  | , W  | totdeauna-fiitoriu (125 <sup>r</sup> ).   | without end<br>(275)   |
|      | a căruia<br>frumuseațe<br>nespusă iaste șî<br>putearea<br>nebiruită-i iaste șî                  | его <sup>ж</sup> доброта<br>неи <sup>3</sup> рече <sup>й</sup> наа и сила<br>непо <b>е ъ</b> димаа и слава<br>пр <sup>с</sup> нос8щнаа | a căruia frumuseațe iaste nespusă și putearea-i nebiruită și slava                    | Whose beauty<br>is unspeakable,<br>and power<br>invincible, and<br>glory |
|      | slava lui <b>pururea-</b><br><b>fiitoare</b> (181 <sup>v</sup> )                                |  | lui iaste <b>totdeauna</b> (142 <sup>v</sup> )  | everlasting (313)  |

# 12. PURUREA-TRĂITOR "everlasting"

Like pururea-fiitor, analyzed previously, pururea-trăitor is a loan translation after Slavonic присычосжитымь. The second part of the Slavonic compound сжитымь "essentiae" (Miklosich 1862–1865, s. v.) was translated as trăitor, perceived by Năsturel as synonymous with fiitor:

|      | Ms. rom. 588   |  | Ms. rom. 3339   | Woodward and<br>Mattingly 1937   |
|------|--|--|---|--|
| (13) | Romanian<br>recension<br>Această poruncă<br>să o știi a lu<br>Hristos,<br>împăratul nostru<br>șî Dumnezeu, | Slavonic<br>recension<br>сию заповѣ <sup>A</sup><br>вѣж <sup>A</sup> ь быти Ха<br>црм нашего и Бга<br>Шводмща нас W<br>си <sup>X</sup> таѣ <sup>N</sup> ныхъ и | Această poruncă<br>să o știi că iaste a<br>lui Hristos,<br>împăratul nostru<br>și Dumnezeu, | Know thou, then,<br>that this is a<br>command of Christ<br>our King and God,<br>which leadeth us |

| carea ne scoate<br>pre noi den | пр <sup>с</sup> нос8щихъ<br>сътвормюща | care ne scoate<br>den ceaste | from things corruptible and |
|--------------------------------|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ceaste putrede șî              | прич <sup>ст</sup> никы                | putrede și ne face           | maketh us partakers         |
| celor pururea-                 |  | părtaș cestor ce             | of things everlasting       |
| trăitoare face-                |  | trăiesc                      | (217)                       |
| ne părtaș (129 <sup>v</sup> )  |  | totdeauna (98°)              |                             |

The scribe of manuscript 3339 replaced *celor pururea-trăitoare* with the more explicit phrase *cestor ce trăiesc totdeauna*, probably to align the translation with spoken Romanian.

# 13. TRĂITOR "abiding, enduring"

In quotes (14)–(16), the term *trăitor* adds the significance of the adverb *pururea* "forever/eternally" (see quote (13) above) to the meaning of "lasting, enduring". In these circumstances, it is synonymous with *vecuitor* (quote (14)) and *stătător* (quote (15)), and it enters into an antonymic relationship with *putred* "rotten" (quote (15)), *trecător* "passing" (quote (16)), and *vremenic* "ephemeral" (quote (15)). DLR records only the sense of "lasting, enduring," first attested in the poem *Viața lumii / The Life of the World*, written by Miron Costin (see DLR, s. v. *trăitor*): "A lumii cânt cu jale cumplită viiața, / Cu griji și primejdii, cum este și ața / Prea subțire și-n scurtă vreame *trăitoare* / O, lume hicleană, lume înșălătoare." In the absence of other attestations, it would seem that Năsturel is the only one who uses this term with the meaning of "eternal, everlasting." It should be noted that wherever it appears, *trăitor* has a nominal value:

|      | Rom. Ms. 588   |   | Rom. Ms. 3339   | Woodward and<br>Mattingly 1937  |
|------|--|---|---|---|
|      | Romanian recension   | Slavonic recension  |   |   |
| (14) | Așadară fiind noi prelăstiți șî nesfătuind noi niciodată de ceale <b>trăitoare</b> șî <b>vecuitoare</b> (), de năprasnă va sosi asupră-ne peirea de moarte (120 <sup>r</sup> ) | цице оубо прелъщейным нам бывшим и несъвът8ющимъ ни единою w whѣх пребывагащих и вѣчных (), въ незаап8 на Де <sup>т</sup> наны пар8ба съмрътнаа | Deci, așa fiind noi prelăstiți și nesfătuindu-ne niciodată de ceale <b>trăitoare</b> și vecuitoare (), acolo fără de veaste ne va sosi asupră paguba morții (91°) | Thus then are we deceived; we have taken no thought concerning the things which are <b>abiding</b> and <b>eternal</b> (), when of a sudden there standeth over us the doom of death (203) |
| (15) | veri cumpăra cu<br>ceaste putrede șî<br>vremenice, ceale   | и ск8пивъ тлѣн <sup>н</sup> ыми<br>сими и времен <sup>н</sup> ыми,<br>стогащаа и<br>пребывающаа   | vei cumpăra cu<br>aceaste putrede<br>și tricătoare<br>ceale   | with things fleeting<br>and transient<br>purchasing for<br>thyself things that  |

|      | stătătoare șî<br>trăitoare (127°)         |  | stătătoare și<br>trăitoare (97°) | are stable and enduring (215)                  |
|------|---|--|----------------------------------|--|
| (16) | Dară nu veri<br>treace ceaste             | не претечеши ли<br>мимотек8щи <sup>х</sup> и | Dară nu vei<br>treace ceaste     | Wilt thou not haste past the things which      |
|      | trecătoare șî să                          | приложишиса къ                               | trecătoare și să                 | haste pass thee, and                           |
|      | te lipești cătră ceale <b>trăitoare</b> ? | пребывающи <sup>м</sup>                      | te lipești cătră<br>ceale        | attach thyself to that which <b>endureth</b> ? |
|      | (200 <sup>r-v</sup> )                     |  | trăitoare?                       | (363)  |
|      |   |  | $(165^{\rm r})$                  |  |

## 14. STĂTĂTOR "durable"

Like *trăitor*, the word *stătător* in quote (15) carries the sense of "that which exists in eternity". DLR renders it as "durable," with the note "rare today." The oldest attestation can be found in Varlaam's *Homily*<sup>12</sup> (1643): "Toate-s *stătătoare* şi neschimbate" (Caz. V, 186°). Dosoftei sometimes uses it instead of *veacinic* "eternal", in the phrase *viață stătătoare* "life eternal": "covârşind cu nevoința slujba firii s-au mutat cătră *viața cea stătătoare*" (DVS, oct. 60°); "Frecături de muncă și cu grea-nchisoare răbdând, Pamfil află *viața stătătoare*" (DVS, nov. 109°), "să nu bage samă de viață trecătoare pentru să ocineadze în ceri *viața cea stătătoare*" (DVS, nov.142°). In the Slavonic version, the word *stătător* corresponds to **стојациа**, derived from **стојати** "stare" (Miklosich 1862–1865, s. v.).

### 15. ÎMPREUNĂ-PURUREA-FIITOR "coeternal"

Absent from Romanian lexicographic works, *împreună-pururea-fiitor* is a loan translation after the Slavonic term **chipchoc**8**\text{\text{\text{utma}}}** "coaeternus" (Miklosich 1862–1865, s. v. **chipuchhoc**8\text{\text{utma}}). Fota preserves this term, for lack of a synonym, to express this characteristic of God as a person of the Holy Trinity:

|      | Rom. Ms. 588  |  | Rom. Ms. 3339   | Woodward and Mattingly 1937   |
|------|---|--|---|---|
|      | Romanian recension  | Slavonic recension   |   |   |
| (17) | Dumnezeu deplin<br>şî de-viaţă-făcător<br>şî de sfinţie<br>dătător, singur-<br>volnic, însuş- | Бга съвръшейна и животвораща и сщеніе преимѣм самово <sup>л</sup> на, самоси <sup>л</sup> на | Dumnezeu<br>deplin și de-<br>viață-făcătoriu<br>și de sfinție<br>dătătoriu, | perfect, life-giving<br>and sanctifying<br>God, with the same<br>will, the same<br>power, coeternal |

<sup>12</sup> Carte românească de învățătură / The Romanian Book of Teaching, or Cazania (the Homily), was printed by the Metropolitan of Moldavia, Varlaam, in 1643. It has connections to Byzantine, Modern Greek, South Slavic, and Ukrainian sources. Varlaam's Homily is one of the most important texts in the history of the Romanian literary language.

putearnec, съпр<sup>с</sup>нос8щтна singur-volnic, and impersonate împreunăнсъставна însuși-(275)pururea-fiitor șî putearnic, cu stat (164<sup>r</sup>) împreunăpurureafiitoriu și cu stat  $(125^{\rm r})$ 

### 16. CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the numerous ways of expressing nuances of the eternal, lasting forever, conducted in this study shows first of all that most of these terms were formed by imitating the internal structure of the Slavonic terms they translated. Most of these words did not turn out to be long lasting. The current Romanian vocabulary retains only *veacinic*, in its literary variant *veṣnic*. It originates from the Slavonic втильна and has been modified after borrowings with the suffix *-nic* (ex.: *ispravnic* < sl. исправыникт, *pravednic* < sl. праведыникт, *protivnic* < sl. противыникт etc.). Due to its initial use as characterizing only God, the word *veacinic* appears rarely in *Varlaam and Josaphat*. The increased frequency of *vecuitor* as a translation of the same Slavonic adjective (втильнъ) could be an indication of an attempt to differentiate between the semantic aspects of each of the two terms. In Fota's copy, the number of occurrences of *vecuitor* decreases, being replaced twice by *veacinic* and once by *netrecător*.

Some of the terms analyzed do not appear in Romanian lexicographic works. They are probably creations of Udrişte Năsturel, namely: *împreună-pururea-fiitor*, *pururea-fiitor*, *pururea-fiitor*, *neclătinat* and *nevechitor*. The adverb *pururea*, "forever, always", present in the composition of three linguistic calques, was not retained by the scribe Fota in ms. rom. 3339 except in the compound used to characterize God as a person of the Holy Trinity, namely *împreună-pururea-fiitor*, "co-eternal creator". In other instances, the scribe preferred to replace it with the synonym *totdeauna*, which he considered to have been closer to the spoken language.

#### **SOURCES**

- Caz. V, Varlaam, *Carte românească de învățătură*, Iași, 1643; ed. J. Byck, București, Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă, 1943.
- CC¹, Coresi, Tâlcul Evangheliilor, [Braşov], c. 1567–1568; ed. V. Drimba, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei Române, 1998, p. 31–187.
- CC², Coresi, popa Iane, popa Mihai, Evanghelia cu învăţătură, Braşov, 1581, ed. Sextil Puşcariu and Alexie Procopovici, Bucuresti, Editura Academiei Române, 1914.
- CV, Codicele Voronețean, ms. rom. BAR București 448, 1563–1583; ed. Mariana Costinescu, București, Editura Minerva, 1981.
- DLR, Dicționarul limbii române, București, Editura Academiei Române, 1965-2009.
- DVS, Dosoftei, *Viața și petreacerea svinților*, Iași, 1682–1886, ed. R. Frențiu, Cluj–Napoca, Editura Echinox, 2002.

- EGov., Evanghelie învățătoare, Govora, 1642; ed. Alin-Mihai Gherman, București, Editura Academiei Române, 2011.
- EPrav., Eustratie Logofătul, *Pravila aleasă*, ms. rom. BAR Cluj-Napoca, fondul *Blaj*, nr. 41, 1632; ed. by A.-M. Gherman, București, Editura Academiei Române, 2018.
- Ms. rom. 355, BAR, A lui Iliodor istorie etiopicească, Iași, 1773.
- Ms. rom. 588, BAR, <Istoriia lui Varlaam şi Ioasaf>, tradusă de Udrişte Năsturel, Țara Românească, c. 1670; ed. Stanciu Istrate, 2013.
- Ms. rom. 3339, BAR, Traiul și viața a preacuvioșiloFr p<ă>rinților noștri, a lu Varlaam și a lu Ioasaf, scrisă de preacuviosul, părintele nostru, Ioan Damaschin, pentru folosul sufletesc. Iară acum, den limbă slovenească, întoarsă fu pre rumânească, de mult păcătosul, robul lu Hristos, Udriște Năsturel de Fierești, al doilea logofăt, Țara Românească, 1675, ed. Năsturel, 1904.

### REFERENCES

- FCLR II M. Avram, E. Carabulea, F. Ciobanu, F. Ficşinescu, C. Gherman, F. Hasan, M. Popescu-Marin, M. Rădulescu, I. Rizescu, L. Vasiliu, Formarea cuvintelor în limba română, II, Prefixele, Bucureşti, Editura Academiei, 1978.
- Frâncu, C., 1997, "Sintaxa", in: Ion Gheție (coord.) *Istoria limbii române literare. Epoca veche (1532–1780)*, București, Editura Academiei Române.
- Frâncu, C., 1983, "Topica lui **mai** și a altor adverbe (**cam, prea, și, tot**) în construcții de tipul (**nu) mă mai duc**", *Limbă și literatură*, III, 321–335
- Miklosich, Fr., 1862–1865, Lexicon Palaeslovenico-graeco-latinum. Emendatum auctum, Vindobonae, Guilelmus Braumueller.
- Năsturel, P. V., 1904, *Vieața sfinților Varlaam și Ioasaf*. Tradusă din limba elenă la anul 1648 de Udriște Năsturel de Fierăști, al doilea logofăt, tipărită pentru prima oară de generalul ~. București, Stabiliment de arte Grafice "Universală".
- Olteanu, P., 1975, Slava veche și slavona românească, București, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică.
- Stanciu Istrate, M., 2011, "Un cărturar român în căutarea literarității. Udriște Năsturel", *Limba română*, LX, 1, 86–94.
- Stanciu Istrate, M., 2012, "Denumiri ale efemerului într-un roman religios din veacul al XVII-lea, tradus de Udrişte Năsturel", in: R. Zafiu, A. Dragomirescu, A. Nicolae, A. Ştefănescu (eds), Limba română: direcții actuale în cercetarea lingvistică, Actele Colocviului internațional al Catedrei de limba română, Bucureşti, Editura Universității din Bucureşti, 317–323.
- Stanciu Istrate, M., 2013, Reflexe ale medievalității europene în cultura română veche. "Varlaam și Ioasaf" în cea mai veche versiune a traducerii lui Udriște Năsturel, București, Editura Muzeului Național al Literaturii Române.
- Stanciu Istrate, M., 2021, "Veacul acesta vs. viața veacului într-un manuscris de la jumătatea secolului al XVII-lea", Limba română, LXX, 1, 43–52.
- Stanciu Istrate, M., 2021, "Varlaam şi Ioasaf. Aspecte ale traducerii", Dacoromania, serie nouă, XXVI, 2, Cluj-Napoca, 192–198.
- Ștrempel, G., 1959, *Copiști de manuscrise românești până la 1800*, vol. I, București, Editura Academiei.
- Ștrempel, G., 1978, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești. B.A.R.*, I, *1–1600*, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică.
- Ștrempel, G., 1987, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești. B.A.R.*, III, *3101–4413*, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică.
- Woodward, M. A., H. Mattingly, 1937, *St. John Damascene Barlaam and Ioasaph*, with an English translation by ~, London, William Heinemann Ltd, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press.
- Vaillant, A., 1964, Manuel du vieux salve, Paris, Institut d'Études Slaves.