

Some remarks on an 18th century text and its fragmentary modern edition – *Pildele filosofești* [Philosophical Parables] (1713)[†]

Victor Celac^{A*}

“Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti” Institute of Linguistics, 13 Calea 13 Septembrie, 050711 Bucharest, Romania

Article info

History:

Received February 22, 2022

Accepted March 4, 2022

Published October 9, 2022

Key words:

philology

old documents

historical lexicology

old literature

translation

Abstract

In this article I will approach and try to clarify an unusual spelling (*sumparao*) which occurs in a text from the beginning of the 18th century, attributed to Antim Ivireanul. It is the question of a Romanian translation, made after an intermediate Greek version, of a distant French original. At the same time, I will point out some questionable (or more than questionable) spellings, from a fragmentary modern edition of the respective text, published by Alexandru Duțu in 1968 (*ciocotințește* for *ciocotnițește*; *ciocotinția* for *ciocotniția*; *împărteșuțeară* for *împărteșugează*; *roscoasă* for *roscoașă*; *scutelește* for *șutelește*). I will also point out some unusual, rare lexical units, some of them representing antedatings compared to the oldest attestations registered in the reference works in the field (*deletnicie*; *însoțime*; *răsfățaciune*; *soțime*). In so doing, I will propose certain semantic and/or etymological clarifications.

1. Preliminaries

The text from the beginning of the 18th century is:

[Antim Ivireanul], *Pildele filosofești*. De pe limba grecească tălmăcite rumânește. Carele cu cucerie s-au închinat prea luminatului oblăduitoriu Țării Rumânești Ioan Constandin Basarab Voievod, fiind mitropolit Chir Antim Ivireanul. De Chir Manul al lui Apostoli, cu a căruia cheltuială acum întâi s-au tipărit în Țirgoviște, la leat 1713 [*Philosophical Parables*. Translated from Greek to Romanian. Dedicated piously to the enlightened Prince Ioan Constandin Basarab of Wallachia, in times of Archbishop Antim Ivireanul. Printed in Țirgoviște, in 1713, with the financial support of Mr. “Manul al lui Apostoli”]. 6 + 108 unnumbered pages. – At the end, on the last page, there is the mention: “Și s-au tipărit această cărțuluie¹ la leat 1713, prin osteneala lui Gheorghie Radovici” [This book was printed in 1713, by the effort of Gheorghie Radovici]. An original is kept at the Romanian Academy Library (Bucharest), having a modern pencil pages numbering, to which I refer (see also BRV, I, no. 165, p. 487–489). In what follows, this text is designated by siglum: *Pildele filosofești* (1713).

Traditionally, in Romanian philology, the Romanian translator of this text has been considered unknown².

[†]I wish to thank Maria Stanciu Istrate (Institute of Linguistics “Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti”, Bucharest) for carefully reading an earlier version of this article and for her many comments and suggestions, very useful, which allowed me to make substantial improvements. – The English version is made by me and revised by Raluca Sinu (Transilvania University of Brasov), whom I thank for her substantial and significant help.

*Email address: victor_celac@yahoo.com.

¹Sic! Probably a mistaken spelling of “cărțulie” [book].

²In the DLR Bibliography (working version; internal document of the Department of Lexicology and Etymology of the Institute of Linguistics “Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti”, Bucharest, consulted by me in February 2021), this translation appeared under the siglum *Pilde Filos.* and with the mention: “anonymous translation”. In DGLR, vol. I, p. 189–192, in the article “Antim Ivireanul” (signed by Florin Faifer), this translation is not mentioned, which may indicate that the author of the article

In the second half of the twentieth century, Alexandru Duțu studied and partially edited this text³, re-summing the known information and bringing new contributions and clarifications (Duțu, 1968, p. 47). Thus, the distant French original is identified:

Les bons mots et les Maximes des Orientaux. Traduction de leurs ouvrages en arabe, en persan et en turc. Avec des remarques. Par Mons. A. Galland. Paris, 1694 [*The Parables and the Maxims of the Orientals*. Translation of their works into Arabic, Persian and Turkish. With remarks. By Mr. A. Galland. Paris, 1694]. In what follows, this text is designated by siglum: *Les Maximes (1694)*.

Based on a testimony of the Italian scholar Antonio Maria Del Chiaro (secretary at the court of the Wallachian prince Constantin Brîncoveanu; see the following quote), Alexandru Duțu supplies information regarding the fact that the French text was translated into Italian by Del Chiaro himself, then, from Italian, into Greek, by Ioan Avramios, and finally, from Greek, into Romanian, by Antim Ivireanul:

“*Le Massime degli Orientali*, traduzione dalla Lingua Franzese nella Italiana; fatta da mo [sic! probably mistake for “me”], e dedicata al Principe Costantin Brancovani, per di cui comando il P. Giovanni Abrami [...] le tradusse in Greco volgare, ma non senza notabile alterazione; fuorono poi tradotte dalla Greca nella Valaca favella per opera dell’ Arcivescovo di Valachia Antimo, il quale poi fece stamparle in amendue le suddette Lingue a spese di Maano Apostolo 1713” (document cited in BRV, I, 489).

The Greek version, written by Ioan Avramios, was published in the same place and year as the Romanian translation: in Țîrgoviște, in 1713 (see BRV, I, no. 166, p. 489–492). In what follows, this text is designated by siglum: *Gnōmika (1713)*. See its description in the *Bibliography*.

The Romanian edition from 1713 was reprinted, with some modifications and additions, in 1783, in Rîmnicu-Vâlcea:

Pildele filosofești. Care s-au tipărit acum a doua oară în zilele prea luminatului Domn IO Nicolae Constandin Caragea Voievod. Cu chieltuiala iubitorului de Dumnezeu, Chir Filaret, episcop Rîm [= Rîmnic]. În sfînta episcopie a Rîm [= Rîmnicului]. La anul de la Hs 1783. S-au tipărit de popa Costandin, Mihai Popovici [*Philosophical parables*. Which were printed a second time now, in the days of the enlightened Prince Nicolae Constandin Caragea. The expenses were born by the lover of God, Mr. Filaret, bishop of Rîmnic. In the holy diocese of Rîmnic. In the year 1783 from Jesus Christ. They were printed by the priest Costandin, Mihai Popovici]. 1 + 140 pages numbered with Slavonic letters. An original is kept at the Romanian Academy Library (Bucharest) (see also BRV, II, no. 461, p. 280–281). In what follows, this text is designated by siglum: *Pildele filosofești (1783)*.

Another translation into Romanian, after the same Greek version by Avramios, was published in 1826, by Dinicu Golescu. It was scientifically edited in 1990:

Adunare de pilde bisericești și filosofești, de întîmplări vrednice de mirare, de bune gândiri și bune neravuri, de fapte istoricești și anecdote. Tălmăcite de pre limba grecească în cea românească de Constantin din Golești [= Dinicu Golescu]. Deosibită în trei părți [*Collection of church and*

is not aware of its attribution to Antim Ivireanul. (See, as “contrast situations”, many other cases in DGLR, where the original writings and, in a separate section, the translations made by the treated authors are systematically mentioned. For example, for the Moldavian Metropolitan bishop Dosoftei ten translations are mentioned, in the respective section; see DGLR, II, 730).

³Duțu (1968), p. 23–64: Study; p. 71–115: fragmentary edition, with the corresponding passages from the distant French original.

philosophical parables, of marvellous events, of good thoughts and good deeds, of historical facts and anecdotes. Translated from the Greek language into Romanian by Constantin from Golești [= Dinicu Golescu]. In three parts]. In **Golescu** (1990), 117–325. In what follows, this text is designated by siglum: *Adunare de pilde* (1826).

Occasionally, in dealing with the situations discussed below, I will relate to the distant French original (*Les Maximes*, 1694), to the Greek version of Avramios (*Gnōmika*, 1713), to the Romanian version printed in 1783 (*Pildele filosofești*, 1783) and to the translation of Dinicu Golescu (*Adunare de pilde*, 1826)⁴.

2. Philological, lexical and etymological aspects

2.1. *Sumpará* feminine noun “emery; abrasive dust”; hapax?; occasional borrowing from Greek

In *Pildele filosofești* (1713, f. 42^v) the following parable appears: *Nu iaste minune de va birui vreodinioară cel neînvațat, cu birfелеle lui, pre cel înțelept, pentru că și sumparao strică pietrile cele de mult preț* [It is no wonder that sometimes the unlearned, with his gossip, will overcome the wise man, because even “sumparao” spoils the most precious stones][†]. (To confirm, see the excerpt reproduced photographically below, Fig. 1).

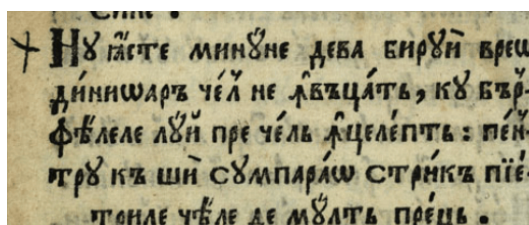


Figure 1: *Pildele filosofești* (1713, f. 42^v).

In *Pildele filosofești* (1783, f. 38^v) the text is identical.

Duțu (1968, p. 89) transcribes this fragment as follows: *Nu iaste minune de va birui vreodinioară cel neînvațat, cu birfелеle lui, pre cel înțelept, pentru că și sumpara o strică pietrile cele de mult preț.*

The form *sumpara* does not appear in **DLR**, nor in other reference works of the Romanian language that I consulted, nor in a large collection of Romanian electronic texts (internal resource, available at the Institute of Linguistics “Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti”, Bucharest)⁵.

⁴There is another printed book with the same title, published in Sibiu, in 1795, which I have not consulted. According to the information it contains, it would be a different translation from that of Antim Ivireanul, but still from Neo-Greek: *Pildele filosofești*. Tipărite în zilele prea înălțatului și prea luminatului împărat Franțiscus al doilea. Cu blagoslovenia iubitorului de Dumnezeu Domnului Domn Gherasim Adamovici, episcop neunit de legea grecească în marele prințipat al Ardealului. Sibiu, în Tipografia lui Petru Bart, 1795, 112 p. On the first page, the title and description are different: “*Pilde filosofești*. De pe limba cea proastă grecească, tălmăcite rumânește”. On the last page one can find the specification: “S-au diortosit prin noi, care o am și zățuit, Mihail Dir din vestita cetate a Sibiului și Radul din sfinta Episcopie a Rîmnicului”. (Description after **BRV**, II, nr. 590, p. 376).

[†]Here and in what follows, the Romanian quotations are translated in English by the author of this article.

⁵I did not identify any other possible variants such as **sămpara*, **sîmpara*, **zămpara*, **zîmpara*, **zumpara* or similar. – There are several lexical elements, more or less paronymic, compared to the form I am dealing with, but these are not related, neither from a semantic point of view, nor from the point of view of etymology (even distant), with the form *sumparao* of *Pildele filosofești*: (1.) *Țîmpur* neuter noun “sulphur”, attested since 1650 (Anon. Car., p. 118, no. 4045, under the form *simpur*), with lexical variants such as *țîmpor*, *țîmpur*, *sumpor* (see Tamás, 822, s.v. *țîmpor*; **DLR** s.v. *țîmpor*), and with an occasional derivative, spotted by me on this occasion: *sumporos* adjective “sulphurous” (1828, *Învățătura despre cultura sau lucrarea cînepei* [anonymous translation from German, published in Buda], in *Școala Ardeleană*, vol. IV, p. 737: *Deci cînd se scoate cînepa din murătoare, bine să se ia seama, fiindcă putearea ei cea sumporoasă, fără de a priceape omul, poate să-i aducă moarte*; see also the Glossary in the cited edition, p. 1512: *sumpor* neuter noun “sulphur”; *sumporos*, –*oasă* adjective “sulphurous”; see in **DLR** s.v. *vapor*, sense 4., another attestation with the adjective *sumporos* “sulphurous”). (2.) *Zampara*¹ feminine noun “party,

Fortunately, the corresponding French passage published in Alexandru Duțu's edition helps us elucidate and understand this unclear form (*sumparaο*, transcribed, unjustifiably, by the modern editor, in two words: *sumpara ο*; see the discussion below): *Il ne faut pas s'étonner que quelquefois l'ignorant par son babil l'emporte sur le savant. L'émeril use les pierres pretieuses (Les Maximes, 1694, in Duțu, 1968, p. 89).*

Therefore, *sumparaο* corresponds to the word *l'émeril* in the French text. Data on this lexical item can be found in **TLF** s.v. *émeri* and in **FEW** 17, 157a: the basic meaning is “impure variety of corundum, very hard, which, reduced to powder, is used as an abrasive”. It is attested in French since 1200, being recorded, over time, with various forms such as *esmerill*, *esmeri*, etc. In modern and contemporary French, it often appears in the phrase *papier émeri* “sandpaper, abrasive paper”.

I do not have access to the Italian intermediate version (made by Antonio Del Chiaro, from French), but in the Greek translation, made by Avramios (after which Antim Ivireanul translates), the respective fragment is:

Δέν εἶναι παράξενον, ἀνίσως καὶ ὁ ἀμαθῆς μὲ τὰς φλυαρίας του νικᾷ καμίαν φορὰν τὸν σοφόν. διατὶ καὶ ὁ σμυρίτης, ὁ κοινῶς λεγόμενος Σουππαράς, φθείρει τὰ πολύτιμα λιθάρια. [It is not uncommon that sometimes, iniquitously, the unlearned, with his gossip, will overcome the wise man. Because the emery stone, which is commonly called “Soupparas”, also destroys the most precious stones]. (*Gnōmika*, 1713, p. 46)⁶.

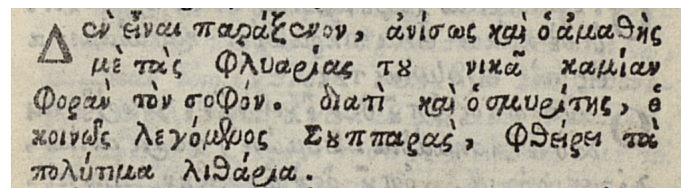


Figure 2: *Gnōmika* (1713, p. 46).

This passage is missing from Dinicu Golescu, *Adunare de pilde* (1826).

Despite what could be deduced from the passage cited above (“the emery stone, which is *commonly called Soupparas*” [our emph.]), in Greek, *σουππαράς* seems to be a rare, rather unknown element, possibly hapax (like *sumpara*, in Romanian, by the way), maybe even a typographical or a scribe's error (see details below). I believe, however, that I am able to provide a plausible etymological explanation in this case. The origin must be Turkish *zımpara* “sandpaper, abrasive material”, which was borrowed also in the Bulgarian dialectal form *зѣмпа̀ра* / *сѣмпа̀ра* (feminine noun) and in Albanian *zımpara* / *zımparë* (feminine noun), both having the same meaning (see *Ghirfanova et al.*, s.v. *zımpara*; for Turkish *zımpara* see also **RHTED**; according to *Ghirfanova et al.*, Turkish *zımpara* is of Iranian origin)⁷. From Turkish it would have penetrated, as an occasional lexical item, into Greek as well (the spelling *σουππαράς* may be a typographical error, for a more “appropriate” form, not yet attested, **σουμπαράς*: one can suspect a confusion between the Greek letters <μ> and <π>, in the process of editing the Greek text, in 1713). In my opinion, the form *sumparaο* occurring in the Romanian translation (made after the Greek version, as I have shown above) can be considered an occasional borrowing from Greek, made by the translator Antim Ivireanul, in the process

drunkenness, fornication” (**DLR** s.v. *zampara*¹). (3.) *Geampara* feminine noun “castanets; folk dance”, used more often in the plural, *geamparale*, and having a rare variant *zampara*². – Regarding the feminine noun *simbră* “association, companionship, fellowship” (with an etymology far from being clarified; see, among others, *Sala, 1999*, p. 56), from the point of view of its semantics and direct origin, it has nothing to do with *sumparaο* from *Pildele filsofești*, of course. But it is not clear whether, in a distant Indo-European perspective, there is no some connection. For this, the distant etymology of Turkish *zımpara* should be followed (for which see some details below).

⁶This passage in Greek, and several others cited in what follows, were transcribed and translated by Theodor Georgescu, lecturer at the University of Bucharest, Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures, whom I thank for his help.

⁷The connection with Turkish *zımpara* was reported to me by Theodor Georgescu, whom I thank once again.

of translation. It is possible that the Romanian translator had used not the Greek printed book (in which the form *σουππαράς* appears, as we saw already), but a manuscript with the Greek translation, which may have been written with greater accuracy, so perhaps it had the form **σουμπαράς* (see Del Chiaro's critical commentary about *the Greek book printed in 1713* – “non senza notabile alterazione...”). The hypothesis that the Romanian translator could have used not the Greek printed book, but a manuscript, anterior to the printed book, can be based, among other things, on the fact that the two printed versions, in Greek and in Romanian, appeared, practically, simultaneously; in any case, in the same year (1713).

Leaving aside the etymological and semantic aspects of the issue, I note that, from a grammatical (morphological and syntactic) point of view, the form *sumparao*, existing in both Romanian printed books of the eighteenth century (1713 and 1783), is correct and should not be transcribed in two words (“sumpara o”), as the modern editor does. In its final part, it corresponds to a dialectal pronunciation for **sumparaoua* (see the respective morphological type: *steaua, macaraua, cișmeaua*, etc.). It is about the articulated definite form, which occupies the position of subject in the context (... *sumparao* [= **sumparaoua*] *strică piatrile cele de mult preț*). I must remark that the modern editor's choice to transcribe in two words is not only unjustified – it distorts the passage and makes it even more confusing (one can assume that, in the passage “*sumpara o strică piatrile cele de mult preț*”, the group “*piatrile cele de mult preț*” occupies the position of subject, whilst “*sumpara*” functions syntactically as direct complement).

2.2. *Ciocotniți* transitive and reflexive verb “to flatter”

In *Pildele filosofești* (1713, f. 35^v) the verb appears in the following context:

Însuși cela ce te ciocotnițește, acela se scîrbêște de tine întru inima sa. [The very one who **flatters** you, is disgusted by you in his heart.]

Dușu (1968, p. 85) transcribes this word differently:

Însuși cela ce te ciocotințește [sic!], *acela se scîrbêște de tine întru inima sa.*

In *Les Maximes* (1694, p. 267) the passage is:

Le mesme qui vous flatte vous déteste dans l'ame.

In *Gnōmika* (1713, p. 39) it is rendered as:

Ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἴδιος ὁποῦ σέ κολακεύει, σε βδελύτεται μέσα εἰς τὴν καρδίαν του. [He who **flatters** you, is the very one who hates you in his heart].

In Dinicu Golescu, *Adunare de pilde* (1826, p. 125, parable 91), one can read:

Chiar acela ce-ți face lingușituri, în sineș te urește și pe la alții te vorbește de rău. [He who **flatters** you, is the very one who hates you in his heart, and he gossips about you with others].

The form of the modern edition, *ciocotințește* (with a virtual infinitive **ciocotinți*), never really existed in the Romanian language. This is, without a doubt, a wrong reading, compared to the correct form in the original printed book, in 1713 – *ciocotnițește*. In other words, it is a confusion of the editor, the letters for [i] and [n] in the Slavonic alphabet being often very similar. The verb *ciocotniți* appears in DA, SDLR, DELR s.v. *ciocotniță* [woodpecker], and it is attested in Romanian since 1648.

2.3. *Ciocotniție* feminine noun “flattery, adulation”

In *Pildele filosofești* (1713, f. 107^v–108^r) this word appears in the following context:

Ciocotniția se asemănă cu o înarmare zugrăvită [= reprezentată prin intermediul unui desen], pentru căci șutelêște pre om, iar nu-i dă nici un folos. [The flattery is like painted (= represented by means of a drawing) weaponry, for it deceives man, and is of no use to him.] (To confirm, see the excerpt reproduced photographically in what follows, under §2.10, Fig. 4).

Duțu (1968, p. 113) transcribes this passage differently:

Ciocotinția [sic!] se asemănă cu o înarmare zugrăvită, pentru căci scutelêște pre om, iar nu-i dă nici un folos.

In *Gnōmika* (1713, p. 114) the noun *κολακεία* “flattery” is used. (See the quotation reproduced *in extenso* below, under §2.10).

This fragment has no correspondent in *Les Maximes* (1694).

Through the reading *ciocotinția*, the modern editor is guilty of the same confusion between the Slavonic letters for [i] and [n], as in the previous case. This word, in the correct form, the one from the book printed in 1713, *ciocotniție*, is not recorded in DA, nor in the other verified Romanian dictionaries. It is, therefore, a “lexicographical novelty”. It could be added in DELR s.v. *ciocotniță*.

2.4. *Deletnicie* feminine noun “habit” (or: “laziness, idleness”? “easiness, accessibility”?)

In *Pildele filosofești* (1713), this word appears twice.

2.4.1. First it appears on f. 59^r, in the following context:

Deletnicia iaste pricina cugetelor celor réle. [Idleness is the cause of the wicked thoughts.] (This fragment is not retained in Duțu, 1968).

In *Les Maximes* (1694, p. 293) the corresponding fragment is:

La pensée au mal tire son origine de l'oisiveté.

In *Gnōmika* (1713, p. 63) it is rendered as:

Ἡσχολή εἶναι ἡ αἰτία τῶν κακῶν λογισμῶν. [Laziness / idleness is the cause of the wicked thoughts.]

In Dinicu Golescu, *Adunare de pilde* (1826, p. 129, parable 136), one finds an equivalence through a more developed, more “descriptive” phrase:

Petrecerea de vreme cea fără treabă pricinuieste blestemății. [Passing time without activity leads to wickedness.]

2.4.2. The second time the noun *deletnicie* appears in *Pildele filosofești* on f. 97^{r-v}:

Trei lucruri fac împărăția a unui împărat să fie mulțămită: deletnicia ce dă la oameni să se apropie de dînsul, dreptatea și îndurarea [There are three things that make a king’s dominion satisfying: his accessibility to his subjects, the justice and the mercy.] (the same in Duțu, 1968, p. 107).

In *Les Maximes* (1694, apud Duțu, 1968, p. 107) one can read:

Trois choses rendent le règne des rois agréable: la Trois choses rendent le règne des rois agréable: la facilité à se laisser approcher, la justice et la libéralité. à se laisser approcher, la justice et la libéralité.

In *Gnōmika* (1713, p. 104), the fragment is rendered as:

Τρία πράγματα κάμνουν ευχάριστον την βασιλείαν τῶν βασιλέων, ἡ εὐκολία ὅπου δίδουν εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους νὰ τοὺς σιμῶσουν, ἡ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ ἡ ἐλευθεριότης. [Three things make the authority of kings pleasant: the easiness with which they allow people to approach them, justice and generosity.]

This passage is missing from Dinicu Golescu, *Adunare de pilde* (1826).

Of all the verified dictionaries, I found the noun *deletnicie* only in DLR, where it is illustrated with only one quotation, namely with that from page 59^r, and it is defined as “deprindere, obișnuință [habit]”. At first glance, this meaning seems to correspond to the two Romanian contexts reproduced above. But, by reference to the contexts from the distant French original and to the alternative translation by Dinicu Golescu, the meaning could be, in the quotation from page 59^r, “idleness, laziness”, and in the quotation from page 97^{r-v}, “easiness”. From the etymological point of view, the noun *deletnicie* is to be explained by reference to the obsolete adjective *deletnic* “which has free time, which is free” (DLR); see also the adverb *indelete* “slowly, freely, without haste”, which is usual and very old in Romanian.

2.5. *Împărteșugă* verb (?; the infinitive form is not attested) “to have a share, to take part” (meaning deduced from the context)

In *Pildele filosofești* (1713, f. 54^v–55^f) this verb occurs in the following context:

Prietenii cei mai mulți se apropie de tine pentru ca să se împărteșugă⁸ mėsii tale; iar daca vād că ți se împuținează avérea, îndată te părăsesc. [Most friends approach you in order to share the meal at your table; and if they see that your wealth is diminished, they will leave you at once.]

Duțu (1968, p. 94) transcribes this word differently:

Prietenii cei mai mulți se apropie de tine pentru ca să se împărteșutează [sic!] mėsii tale; iar daca vād că ți se împuținează avérea, îndată te părăsesc.

In *Les Maximes* (1694, apud Duțu, 1968, p. 94) one can read:

La plûpart de vos amis s'approchent de vous pour avoir part à vôtre table, et d'abord que vos biens diminuent, ils vous abandonnent.

In *Gnōmika* (1713, p. 58–59) the fragment is rendered as:

Οἱ περισσότεροι φίλοι σιμῶνουν εἰς τοῦ λογου σου, διὰ νὰ γέυουν συμμετοχοὶ τῆς τραπέζης σου. καὶ εὐθύς ὅπου εἰδοῦν πῶς τὰ υπάρχοντά σου ολιγοστεύουν, σὲ παραιτοῦσι. [Most friends approach you in order to share the meal at your table; and if they see that your wealth is diminished, they will abandon you at once.]

In Dinicu Golescu, *Adunare de pilde* (1826, p. 128, parable 127), one can read a rather free interpretation:

⁸Recte: *împărteșugeze*. The final [–ă] of this verbal form is just a regular pronunciation, specific to some Nordic Romanian patois. See the respective morphological type: *a lucra* “to work” ~ ind. pres. third pers. sg. (*el*) *lucrează* “(he) works” ~ conj. pres. third pers. sg. (*să*) *lucreze* / regional (*să*) *lucreză*.

*Caută bine, fă deosebire de oameni cinstiți și de lingușitori, căci cîți **îți intră în casă** nu sînt toți prieteni ai tăi, ci și ai mesii, carii, cum vor simți că să **împuținează** averea ta, te lasă și mai **întîi** încep a te vorbi de rău, căci **îți cunosc greșalele**. [Beware and try to distinguish between honest people and flatterers, as some of those who **enter your house** are not only friends to you, but also to your meal-table; as soon as they will feel that your wealth diminishes, they will abandon you and will start to speak ill of you, for they know your faults.]*

The verb *împărteșuga* does not appear in the verified dictionaries. As for the form retained by the modern editor (*împărteșutează*) it is, again, a wrong reading, a confusion, the letters for [ğ] and [ț] in the Slavonic alphabet being often very similar. Etymologically, *împărteșuga* is to be considered an occasional creation, based on the well-known verb *împărtăși* (attested, according to MDA, since 1683; this verb also has a rare variant of the first conjugation: *împărtășa*), possibly the result of a contamination with a second lexical element which I was not able to identify at this time.

2.6. *Însoțime* feminine noun “*accompaniment, association*”

In *Pildele filosoșești* (1713, f. 83^r) this noun occurs in the following context:

Însoțimea celora ce-i urîm iaste lucru mai rău și decît moartea. [The association with those we hate is something worse than death.] (This passage is not retained in Dușu, 1968).

In *Les Maximes* (1694, p. 321) one can read:

La compagnie de ceux pour qui on a de l'aversion est quelque chose de pire que la mort.

In *Gnōmika* (1713, p. 88) the passage is rendered as:

Ἡ συντροφία ἐκεῖνων ὁποῦ μισοῦμεν, εἶναι πράγμα χειρότερον ἀπὸ τὸν ἴδιον θάνατον. [The association with those we hate is something worse even than death.]

In Dinicu Golescu, *Adunare de pilde* (1826, p. 133, parable 207), one can read a very different interpretation of this passage.

I signal this case because it represents an antedating, if compared to the information of the MDA, where the word *însoțime* has *Mineiul* (1776) as its oldest attestation.

2.7. *Răsfățaciune* feminine noun “pampering; enjoyment, pleasure”

In *Pildele filosofești* (1713, f. 87^r) this word occurs in the following context:

Cu greu lucru iaste a să supune neștine poruncilor altuia, fiind el obicinuit a porunci; și a pătimi rău, fiind crescut între răsfățaciuni. [It is difficult for someone to obey the commands of another, when he is accustomed to command; and to suffer bad things, when he was raised in delights.] (This passage is not retained in Duțu, 1968).

In *Les Maximes* (1694, p. 327) one can read:

Il est rude d'estre sujet au commandement après avoir commandé, et d'estre exposé aux mauvais traitemens après avoir esté élevé dans la délicatesse et dans les plaisirs.

In *Gnōmika* (1713, p. 92) the fragment is rendered as:

Εἶναι σκληρὸν πράγμα νὰ ὑποτάσσεται τινὰς, εἰς τοῦ ἄλλου τὰ προστάγματα, ἀφ' οὗ ἐσυνήθισε νὰ προστάζη, καὶ νὰ κακοπαθαίνη, ἀφ' οὗ ἀνετράφη ἀνάμεσα εἰς τὰς τρυφὰς. [It is a difficult thing for someone to obey the commands of another, when he is accustomed to command; and to suffer bad things, when he was raised in delights.]

In Dinicu Golescu, *Adunare de pilde* (1826, p. 134, parable 222) one can read:

Anevoie lucru este de a suferi să să poruncească de altul acela care rău s-au obicinuit, numai el să poruncească la alții, cum și de a trăi în nevoieți, fiind rău învățat, numai în desfățaciuni și pe moale. [It is difficult to be ordered to by another when one has been badly accustomed to be the only one to order to others, as well as to live in need when one has been badly taught to live a delightful and cushioned life.]

In *DLR*, the noun *răsfățaciune* is registered with the two meanings mentioned above. The first meaning, “pampering”, is illustrated with a quotation from Văcărescu, Ist. (*DLR* siglum), the second, “enjoyment, pleasure”, with a quotation from Antim Ivireanul: *Sîntem... ca niște dobitoace necurate, tăvălindu-se în răsfățaciunile cele spurcate și de nimica* [We are... like unclean beasts, wallowing in filthy and futile pleasures] (Antim, P. 130; *DLR* siglum). The latter meaning corresponds to the one in the book printed in 1713. Therefore, the fact that this word, otherwise rarely attested, also appears in a textual source undoubtedly attributed to Antim Ivireanul may count as a circumstantial argument for the paternity supported by Alexandru Duțu, who, as previously mentioned, attributed *Pildele filosofești* to the Metropolitan of Wallachia. – It is also worth including an earlier attestation of the discussed word, spotted by me on this occasion: 1648, *Varlaam și Ioasaf*, 227 (= f. 198^r): *Derept aceea, întoartă voia ta luînd tările și volnicie den răsfățaciunea ce te-am răsfățat.*

2.8. *Roscoășă* feminine noun “luxury, enjoyment, pleasure”

In *Pildele filosofești* (1713, f. 78^r) this noun occurs in the following context:

Oamenii își arată omenia⁹ lor la 5 feliiuri de întîmplări: cînd își întemeiază norocirea lor pe nenorocirea altora; [...] cînd se silesc să arate îmbunătățiți, fiind între dăsfătăciuni și între roscoășă.
 [People show their [in]humanity in five kinds of occasions: when they base their luck on the misfortune of others; [...] when they strive to be perceived as being good [in the moral sense], while they live in delights and in **luxury**.] (To confirm, see the excerpt reproduced photographically below, Fig. 3).

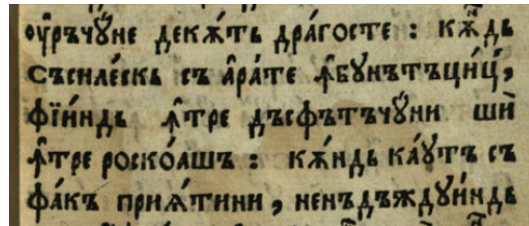


Figure 3: *Pildele filosofești* (1713, f. 78^r).

Duțu (1968, p. 101–102) transcribes this word differently:

Oamenii își arată [ne]omenia lor la 5 feliiuri de întîmplări: cînd își întemeiază norocirea lor pe nenorocirea altora; [...] cînd se silesc să arate îmbunătățiți, fiind întru desfătăciuni și întru roscoasă [sic!].

In *Les Maximes* (1694, apud Duțu, 1968, p. 102) one can read:

Les hommes font paroître de la folie en cinq occasions differentes: lorsqu'ils établissent leur bonheur sur le malheur d'autrui, [...] lorsqu'ils veulent devenir savans au milieu du repos et des plaisirs.

In *Gnōmika* (1713, p. 83) the fragment is rendered as:

[...] εἰς τὰς τρυφὰς καὶ εἰς τὰς ἡδονὰς. [... in delights and in **pleasures**.]

This passage is absent from Dinicu Golescu, *Adunare de pilde* (1826).

In this case, we have another wrong reading of the modern editor: *roscoasă* for *roscoășă*. The error probably occurred at a time after the transcription of the text with the Latin alphabet, when the graphemes <s> and <ș> could be mistaken, especially since we have a totally unusual form, practically unknown in the current Romanian language. (It seems to me less likely that there was a confusion while transcribing the old printing, because the graphemes for the sounds [s] and [ș] in Slavonic writing are very different).

Neither the word *roscoășă*, nor other possible forms like **răscoașă*, exist in the **DLR** or in the other verified dictionaries (even less, the erroneous reading provided by Duțu, 1968, p. 102: *roscoasă*). I did not find any additional textual attestations, so it has to be considered a hapax. The accentuation is deduced from the book printed in 1713, which features a graphic accent on [–óa–].

Nevertheless, I am able to provide an etymological and semantic explanation for this extremely rare Romanian lexical element. It is undoubtedly related to the following set of cognates in the Slavic languages: Russian *рѳкошь*, Ukrainian *рѳкши*, Belarusian *рѳкоша*, Bulgarian *рѳкѳи*, Serbian *рѳкоши* and others. The meaning of these words (they are all feminine) is “luxury; opulence; excess” (see further details for all these lexical units in Vasmer s.v. *рѳкошь*). Given the chronology and location in the southern part of the Daco-Romanian domain, it is very likely that *roscoășă*, occurring in this translation made by Antim Ivireanul, is an occasional borrowing from Bulgarian.

⁹Sic! See below the amended text in Duțu (1968): [ne]omenia [inhumanity], and the equivalent of the French original: *la folie* [foolishness, folly].

2.9. *Soțime* feminine noun “society; association”

In *Pildele filosofești* (1713, f. 12^r) this word occurs twice, in the following context:

*La fieștecare politie sau împreunare sau soțime să nu te apuci la lucrul carele se cuvine la treaba tuturor de obște; pentru căci de va ieși lucrul spre bine, soțimea dă sfișitul cel bun la dînșii, iar de va ieși spre rău, fieștecarele va da greșala asupra-ți [In every society or **association**, do not assume for yourself the burden that should be the common thing; because if you succeed, the **society** will appropriate this success, and if you fail, everyone will blame you for the failure.] (the same in Dușu, 1968, p. 75).*

In *Les Maximes* (1694, apud Dușu, 1968, p. 75) one can read:

En quelque communauté, compagnie ou société que ce soit, ne vous engagez à rien de ce qui regarde les affaires communes; parce que si vous réussissez, la compagnie s'en attribuera le succès, et si vous ne réussissez pas, chacun vous attribuera la faute.

This passage is absent from Dinicu Golescu, *Adunare de pilde* (1826).

I signal this lexeme as a “lexicographical novelty” – it is not registered in the **DLR** or in the other verified dictionaries.

2.10. *Șutelî*, variant of the verb *șutili* “to flatter, to deceive”

In *Pildele filosofești* (1713, f. 107^v–108^r) this verb appears in the following context:

*Ciocotniția se asemănă cu o înarmare zugrăvită, pentru căci șutelêște pre om, iar nu-i dă nici un folos. [The flattery is like painted (= represented by means of a drawing) weaponry, for it **deceives** the man, and is of no use to him.] (To confirm, see the excerpt reproduced photographically below, Fig. 4).*

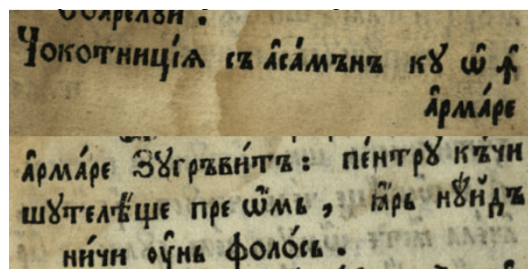


Figure 4: *Pildele filosofești* (1713, f. 107^v–108^r).

Dușu (1968, p. 113) transcribes this word differently:

Ciocotniția se asemănă cu o înarmare zugrăvită, pentru căci scutelêște [sic!] pre om, iar nu-i dă nici un folos.

In *Gnōmika* (1713, p. 114–115) one can read:

*Ἡ κολακεία ὁμοιάζει με μίαν ζωγραφισμένο πάνοπλιαν, διατί χαροποιεῖ τον ἄνθρωπον, ὅπου κολακεύει, μὰ δεν του δίδει καμίαν ὠφέλειαν. [The flattery is like a drawn panoply, because it pleases the man while **flattering** him, but it is of no use to him.]*

This passage has no correspondent in *Les Maximes* (1694), nor in Dinicu Golescu, *Adunare de pilde* (1826).

By the form of the modern edition, *scutelêște*, perhaps the editor intended to make a tacit amendment, if this is not a simple, unintentional inaccuracy (*lapsus calami*). In any case, the correct reading remains *șutelêște*, the form used in the 1713 edition. The verb *șutili*, with the variant *șuteli*, and with the meanings mentioned above, appears in the old Romanian, starting from 1581 (Coresi, *Evanghelia*; see DLR). On the contrary, the verb **scuteli* does not exist in the DLR, nor in other verified dictionaries of the Romanian language.

3. Conclusions

The first Romanian version of *Pildele filosofești* [Philosophical Parables] was published in 1713. It was attributed to Antim Ivireanul. The text was studied and edited fragmentarily in the 20th century (Dușu, 1968, p. 23–64, 71–115). I noticed a number of inexplicable differences, at least at first glance, between the text printed in 1713 and the one proposed by the modern editor. By reference to the data contained in the historical and etymological dictionaries of the Romanian language (DA, DLR, DELR etc.), and also by comparison with the corresponding passages from (1.) the distant French original (*Les Maximes*, 1694), (2.) the Greek version by Avramios, after which Antim Ivireanul translated (*Gnōmika*, 1713), (3.) a later edition, with minor modifications, of the translation by Antim (*Pildele filosofești*, 1783) and (4.) another translation, significantly different, from the beginning of the 19th century, made by Dinicu Golescu (*Adunare de pilde*, 1826), I proposed some punctual amendments of several incorrect readings of the modern editor (for example, *ciocotințește* for *ciocotnițește*; *ciocotinția* for *ciocotniția*; *împărteșuțează* for *împărteșugează*; *roscoasă* for *roscoașă*; *scutelește* for *șutelește*). I also pointed out some new lexical units (“lexicographical novelties”), or unusual and rare ones, some of them representing antedatings if compared to the oldest attestations recorded in the reference works in the field (*deletnicie*; *însorime*; *răsfățaciune*; *soțime* etc.). At the same time, by comparing the analysed passages with the original French text, with the Greek version, but also with the two later Romanian versions of *Pildele filosofești*, I was able to provide some semantic and etymological clarifications, which could be useful for lexicographers and researchers of the history of words.

Bibliography

- Adunare de pilde* (1826) = *Adunare de pilde bisericesti și filosofești, de întâmplări vrednice de mirare, de bune gândiri și bune neravuri, de fapte istoricești și anecdote*. Tălmăcite de pre limba grecească în cea românească de Constantin din Golești [= Dinicu Golescu]. Deosibită în trei părți [Collection of church and philosophical parables, of marvelous events, of good thoughts and good deeds, of historical facts and anecdotes. Translated from the Greek language into Romanian by Constantin from Golești [= Dinicu Golescu]. In three parts.], in Golescu (1990, p. 117–325) [first edition: 1826].
- BRV = Ioan Bianu, Nerva Hodoș, Dan Simonescu, *Bibliografia românească veche. 1508–1830*. Four volumes. București. I: 1508–1716. Stabilimentul Grafic J.V. Socec, 1903; II: 1716–1808. Atelierele Socec & Co., Soc[ietate] Anonimă, 1910; III: 1809–1830, fasc. 1–2: 1809–1817, 1912; fasc. 3–8: 1817–1830, Atelierele Grafice Socec & Co., Soc[ietate] Anonimă, 1936; IV: 1508–1830. Adăogiri și îndreptări, Atelierele Grafice Socec & Co., Soc[ietate] Anonimă Română, 1944.
- DELR = *Dicționarul etimologic al limbii române*. Vol. I–II. I: A–B. Coordinators: Marius Sala, Andrei Avram. Academia Română. Institutul de Lingvistică „Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti”. Editura Academiei Române, București, 2011; II: *Litera C. Partea 1. Ca–Cizmă*. Coordinators: Marius Sala, Andrei Avram. Academia Română. Institutul de Lingvistică „Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti”. Editura Academiei Române, București, 2015; Partea a 2-a. *Clac–Cyborg*. Coordinators: Ion Giurgea and Cristian Moroianu, 2018.
- DGLR = Eugen Simion (coordonator) et al., *Dicționarul general al literaturii române*. Seven volumes. Academia Română / Editura Univers Enciclopedic, București, 2004–2009.
- DLR = *Dicționarul limbii române. Serie nouă*. Coordinators: Iorgu Iordan, Alexandru Graur, Ion Coteanu, Marius Sala, Gheorghe Mihăilă. Academia Română/Editura Academiei Române, București, 1965–2010 (contains the letters D, E, L–Z).
- Dușu, Al. (1968). *Coordonate ale culturii românești în secolul XVIII. (1700–1821)*. Studii și texte. Editura pentru Literatură, București.

- FEW = Walther von Wartburg *et al.*, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch. Eine Darstellung des galloromanischen Sprachschatzes*. 25 volumes. Klopp / Winter / Teubner / Zbinden, Bonn / Heidelberg / Leipzig-Berlin / Bâle, 1922–2002.
- Ghirfanova *et al.* (2010) = А.Х. Гирфанова, Ю.А. Лопашов, Н.А. Сухачев, *Туркизмы в языках Юго-Восточной Европы (Опыт сводного описания историко-лексикологических и этимологических данных)* [*Turkisms in the languages of South-eastern Europe...*]. [Publishing House of the Russian Academy of Sciences], Sankt-Petersburg.
- Gnōmika* (1713) = Ioan Avramios, *Gnōmika palaiōn tinōn philosophōn. Ek tēs Italikēs eis tēn hēmeteran haplēm Dialekton metaphrasthenta Kai ... aphierōthenta tō eusebestatō ... hēgemoni pasēs Oungrovlakhias kyriō kyriō Ioannē Kōnstantinō Basaraba Voevoda Arkhierarchyeontos tou ... Mēropolitou kyriou Anthimou tou ex Ivērōn Para tou Kyr Manou Apostolē ou kai tois analōmasi neōsti etypōthēsan* [*Maxime filosofice...*] (translation from Italian into neo-Greek), Tîrgoviște, 1713, 119 p. (In the consulted print, CRV 166 kept at the Romanian Academy Library (Bucharest), available in digital format in the digital library digibuc.ro, the pages are not numbered. I refer to the pagination of the digital document from digibuc.ro, which has 119 pages). Some fragments from here were transcribed in [Golescu \(1990, p. 370–404\)](#).
- Golescu, D. (1990). *Scieri*. Ediție îngrijită, studiu introductiv, note, comentarii, bibliografie, glosar și indice de Mircea Angheliescu. Editura Minerva, București.
- Les Maximes* (1694) = *Les bons mots et les Maximes des Orientaux*. Traduction de leurs ouvrages en arabe, en persan et en turc. Avec des remarques. Par Mons. A. Galland. Paris, 1694.
- Pildele filosofești* (1713) = [Antim Ivireanul], *Pildele filosofești*. De pe limba grecească tălmăcite rumânește. Carele cu cucerie s-au închinat prea luminatului oblăduitoriu Țării Rumânești Ioan Constandin Basarab Voievod, fiind mitropolit Chir Antim Ivireanul. De Chir Manul al lui Apostoli, cu a căruia cheltuială acum întâi s-au tipărit în Tîrgoviște, la leat 1713 [*Philosophical Parables*. Translated from Greek to Romanian. Dedicated piously to the enlightened Prince Ioan Constandin Basarab of Wallachia, in times of Archbishop Antim Ivireanul. Printed in Tîrgoviște, in 1713, with financial support of Mr. “Manul al lui Apostoli”]. 6 + 108 unnumbered pages.
- Pildele filosofești* (1783) = *Pildele filosofești*. Care s-au tipărit acum a doua oară în zilele prea luminatului Domn IO Nicolae Constandin Caragea Voievod. Cu cheltuiala iubitorului de Dumnezeu, Chir Filaret, episcop Rîm [= Rîmnic]. În sfînta episcopie a Rîm [= Rîmnicului]. La anul de la Hs 1783. S-au tipărit de popa Costandin, Mihai Popovici [*Philosophical parables*. Which were printed a second time now, in the days of the enlightened Prince Nicolae Constandin Caragea. With the expense of the lover of God, Mr. Filaret, bishop of Rîmnic. In the holy diocese of Rîmnic. In the year 1783 from Jesus Christ. They were printed by the priest Costandin, Mihai Popovici]. 1 + 140 pages-numbered with Slavonic letters [reprint with some changes of the 1713 printing].
- RHTED = Serap Bezzmez, C.H. Brown, *The Redhouse Turkish–English Dictionary*. [Second edition]. Yedinci Baskı, Istanbul, 2007.
- Sala, M. (1999). *Introducere în etimologia limbii române*, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, București.
- SDLR = August Scriban, *Dicționarul limbii românești. (Etimologii, înțelesuri, exemple, citațiuni, arhaizme, neologizme, provincializme)*. First edition. Institutu de Arte Grafice „Presa Bună”, Iași, 1939.
- Școala Ardeleană* = Eugen Pavel (coordonator) *et al.*, *Școala Ardeleană*. Antologie de texte. Patru volume. FNSA / Academia Română / Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă / Muzeul Național al Literaturii Române, București, 2018. I: *Scieri istorice*; II: *Scieri lingvistice. Scieri literare*; III: *Scieri literare. Scieri teologice și religioase. Scieri filosofice*; IV: *Scieri didactice și instructive. Repere critice. Glosar. Indice de autori, traducători și opere antologate*.
- TLF = Paul Imbs, Bernard Quemada (dir.) *et al.*, *Trésor de la langue française. Dictionnaire de la langue du XIX^e et du XX^e siècle (1789–1960)*. 16 volumes. Éditions du CNRS / Gallimard, Paris, 1971–1994, [online].
- Varlaam și Ioasaf* = *Varlaam și Ioasaf în cea mai veche versiune a traducerii lui Udriște Năsturel*, în *Reflexe ale medievalității europene în cultura română veche*. Edited by Maria Stanciu Istrate, Editura Muzeului Național al Literaturii Române, Colecția Aula Magna, București, 2012 [date of the text: 1648].
- Vasmer = Max Vasmer, *Этимологический словарь русского языка* [*Dicționarul etimologic al limbii ruse*]. Translation from German into Russian and additions by O.N. Trubačev. Editura Progress, Moscova, 1964–1973. Four volumes (1: *A–D*; 2: *E–Muj*; 3: *Muza–Sjat*; 4: *T–Ja*) [original edition: *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, Winter, 1950–1958. Three volumes].