JEWEL TERMINOLOGY IN ROMANIAN BIBLICAL TRANSLATIONS

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Abstract. This study is a linguistic analysis of the twelve precious stones that appear on the breastplate of the High Priest, in the *Old Testament*, the *Exodus* episode. The contrastive analysis has been conducted in a diachronic manner, from the first translation into Romanian of few parts of the Old Testament (*Palia de la Orăştie*, 1581-1582), up to the Synodal edition of the *Holy Bible*, published in 2008. The research on the biblical language arouses interest because it contains old Romanian terms, which are sometimes ignored in the modern dictionaries. For example, the term *hoşen* was attested in the *Palia,* but it is not recorded in DEX (the *Explanatory Dictionary of Romanian Language*). Romanian translations of the *Holy Bible* were consistently related to the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate*, but there were also influences from the modern translations in Hungarian, German, Modern Greek, Italian, French, Russian and English, which contributed to the slow modernization of the Romanian biblical vocabulary.

Key words: Holy Bible, the Old Testament, Exodus, priestly breastplate, gemstones, Romanian language, translations of the Bible.

The research of religious language in Romanian biblical translations is an ongoing process, especially due to the reprint in the recent years of some *Bible* variants extremely important for the evolution of the Romanian language in general: the *New Testament* from Balgrad (1648), the *Psaltir* from Balgrad (1651), the version of the *Old Testament* attributed to Daniil Andrean Panoneanul (c. 1665–1672), Nicolae Milescu's version of the *Old Testament* (c. 1683–1686), the *Bible* from Bucharest (1688), the *Vulgata Bible from Blaj* (1760–1761), the *Bible* translated by Samuil Clain (1795). The analysis of the terminology for gems has considered these sources, to which we could add the modern and contemporary translations, which, in their turn have become sources for the next editions (1858 – the partial translation of the *Old Testament* by Ion Heliade Rădulescu), 1874, 1914 – the first Romanian Synodal edition of the *Holy Scripture*, 1921, 1924 (Dumitru Cornilescu's version, considered the model of the subsequent Protestant editions), 1939, 1944, 1968, 1982, 1988, 2001 (Bartolomeu Anania's version) 2004 and 2008. We have attempted a broad view of the respective terms, the impact of the translation sources and the pressure of contemporary Romanian. We have concluded that as regards the terminology for gems, the Greek and Latin sources (the *Septuaginta*, the *Vulgate*, respectively) are more important than the Slavic sources and they combine with the *Old Testament* sources in the modern languages, permanently making the Biblical lexis new.

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The paper analyses the names of the jewels used on the priestly breastplate or the *choshen* [Rom. *hoşen*], as they were translated in the Romanian versions of the *Holy Bible*[2], in an attempt to stress through this research the importance of the biblical language in the evolution of literary Romanian language.

The priestly breastplate is an item of apparel of the High Priest in the *Old Testament*. In Epistula LXIV *Ad Fabiolam*, 16, St. Jerome describes it as being *of small size, yet more sacred than all the others discussed above* (*i.e.* the other items of the apparel). Its description is provided in *Exodus,* 28, 15–28; 39, 8–21. In Hebrew it is called *hosen,* in Greek λόγιον, in Latin *rationale*. Physically, it was a square piece of cloth, weaved with gold thread and engraved with twelve jewels, representing the twelve patriarchs of Israel.

The term *hoşen* is attested in the first Romanian translation from the *Old Testament*, *Palia de la Orăştie*, with the phonetic variants *hozen* and *hojen* (Palia 1968: 271, 272)*,* generated by the difficulty in representing graphically the Romanian fricative *ş.* The authors preserve the Hebrew loan word, but add its Romanian translation, *cu alt nume pieptari* (Palia*,* 1968: 272, side note). A particular case is Ion Heliade Rădulescu's 1858 translation, in which the author prefers the Latin terms, despite the fact that the original source text of the translation was in Greek. Thus, the author uses the term *raţional* for *hoşen* and the term *superumeral* for *efod* [Eng. ephod]*,* (e.g. Heliade 1858: 88), both borrowed from the Latin *rationale* and *superumerale*. Except for Heliade's version, the translations published between 1688 and 1921 oscillate between the Greek loan word *engolpion* and the vernacular term *pieptar* (Eng. breastplate)*.* The Greek term *engolpion* is used in the 1688, 1795 and 1914 editions, included in the Romanian morphological system, by the use of the article: *pre amândoao părţile engolpiului* (Bible 1688: 68), *pre engolpionul judecăţii* (Bible 1795: 79), *pre marginea Engolpionului* (Bible 1914: 123). The other editions contain the variants *piepturelul judecăţii* (Bible 1760: 189), *pieptarulŭ judecăţei* (Bible 1874: 72) *pieptarul judecăţii* [Eng. breastplate of judgement] (Bible 1921: 93). The term *hoşen* reappears in the Romanian editions of the *Bible* starting with Radu-Galaction's version: *hoşenul judecăţii* (Bible 1939: 89) and it will become the standard term in modern translations. In the Anania version (2001) and in the *Septuagint* published in 2004 an attempt was made to return to the vernacular word *pieptar* (*pieptar al judecăţilor,* Septuagint 2004: 266), but the 2008 version retained again the Hebrew term *hoşen,* in order to emphasize its specialized and sacred nature. Although the word *hoşen* is included in *Palia de la Orăştie* and in almost all the *Bible* editions since 1939, the term was not recorded in Romanian dictionaries; we noticed that it is absent from the *Dictionary of Neologisms* (1978), the *Explanatory Dictionary of Romanian Language* (DEX, 1984), the *Orthographic, Orthoepic and Morphological Dictionary of Romanian* (DOOM, 1982 and 2005).

SARDIU / SARDEON

The first jewel of the breastplate is the **sard** [Rom. *sardiu* or *sardeon*]. The term is of Greek origin, neuter gender: σάρδιον (cf. *Septuaginta,* Exodus 28, 17 and 36, 17). In the Latin *Vulgate* it was included in the masculine gender, with the ending *–us: sardius*. In the

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Palia, the term appears with the variants *şardie* (Palia 1968: 271) and *sardonie* (Palia 1968: 311), the former being derived from Hungarian (*cf.* Hungarian Károli, Exodus 39, 10: *szárdiusz*), and the latter from the Lat. *sardonius lapis*. The Romanian versions of the *Old Testament* continue to feature similar phonetic oscillations: *sardion/ sardiu* (Ms.45, [c.1683-1686]), *sardion* (Ms. 4389 [c. 1665-1672], 1688, 1795), *sardie / sardios* (1760-61), *sardonŭ / sardoniu* (1874, 1904), *sardiu* (1858, 2001, *Septuagint* 2004), *sardeon* (1968, 1988, 2008). Dumitru Cornilescu opted for the *sardonix* form, borrowed from the Western sources used, under the influence of Fr. *sardoine* (1910 French translation of the *Bible,* Exodus 39, 10) and of It. *sardonio* (*cf.* 1927 Italian translation of the *Bible,* Exodus 39, 10). Radu-Galaction's translation departs from the earlier versions and proposes the term *rubin* (Bible 1939: 89; 103), used in the 1876 Synodal edition of the Russian Orthodox Church (Exodus 28, 17) as well. The noun *rubin* [Eng. ruby] was probably employed at the suggestion of the bishop Nicodim Munteanu, consulted for the translation and speaker of Russian. This jewel represents the first-born son of Israel, Reuben. The phonetic resemblance between the proper name and the name of the gem *rubin* may have generated this translation interpretation. Heliade describes it as being of red colour, hence the later interpretations as ruby, garnet, carnelian (*Biblicele* 1858: 134). The Synodal edition published in 1944 with the blessing of the patriarch Nicodim Munteanu returned to the Greek loan word *sardeon* (Bible 1944: 89)*.*

TOPAZ

All *Bible* editions indicate on the first row, second line, the **topaz** [Rom. topaz]. The term is of Greek origin (τοπάζιον), borrowed in Latin, with various endings and genders: *tŏpazŏs (-us),-i,* feminine (Plin., 37, 107), *tŏpazĭus,-ii,* feminine (Tert., *Marc. 2, 10*), *tŏpazĭon,-ii,* neuter (Ambr., *Ps. 118; Serm. 16, 41*), *tŏpazōn,-ontis,* masculine (Prud., *Psych. 861*) (Fr. Gaffiot 2000: 1582).

The translators of the *Palia de la Orăştie* opt for the variant *paziia* (Palia 1968: 311), by interpreting the first syllable *to* from the Greek etymon, as an article. The tradition was carried on in *Psaltirea Scheiană* and in *Psaltirea lui Coresi* from 1577 (*pazia*), although the form *topazie* had appeared in *Palia de la Orăştie*: *în rândul dentâniu şardie, topazie şi smeragdie* (Palia 1968: 271) (Vieru 2008: 230). The Ms. 4389, 1688 and 1795 Romanian translations of the orthodox *Bible* take over the Greek term as such, *topazion* (*Exodus* 28, 7; 39, 8). The 1760–61 Catholic edition is the only one to use the variants *sardie, topazie,* which represent the Romanian adaptation of the Latin forms *sardius* and *topazius,* occurring in *Vulgata* (ed. 1979) and *Vulgata Clementina* (ed. 2005)*.* The form *topaz,* used in all modern translations, appeared for the first time in Nicolae Milescu's translation of the *Old Testament* (Ms. 45 [c. 1683–1686]. Heliade's translation reintroduces this phonetic form in the biblical language, under the influence of the French language (Heliade 1858: 88), with the alternative graphic form *topazŭ*. The form with *ŭ* survives in the 1874 and 1904 editions, even though the French-Romanian dictionary of Poyenar, Aaron and Hill published in 1841 attested the graphic form *topaz,* related to French *topaze* (Poyenar *et al.* 1841: 741). Starting with the 1914 edition, the modern term *topaz* is used exclusively.

SMARALD

The last jewel on the first row is the **smarald** [Eng. emerald], in all *Bible* editions. The term is derived from Gr. σμάραγδος, borrowed in Latin as early as the pre-classic

period, with the forms *smăragdus, zmăragdus. Palia de la Orăştie* – containing the oldest Romanian attestation of this word – uses the doublet *smeragdie* (Palia 1968: 271) and *smaracdiia* (Palia 1968: 311), possibly under the influence of the earlier terms *topazie* and *paziia* (Vieru 2008: 230). In a document containing the inventory of the fortune of Stephan Voivode (Petru the Lame's son), dated from 1504 (Chivu *et al.* 1979: 194), there can be found the form *zimaragda*, with this single occurrence of a prothetic *i.* The preference for the voiceless vowel in the initial position seemed to be preferred in early Romanian versions of the *Old Testament*.

The Latin voiceless / voiced alternation in the initial consonant is also preserved in Old Romanian, as illustrated by the 1688 edition: *zmaragd* (Bible 1688: 59; 67) and *smaragd* (Bible 1688: 931) and the 1760–1761 Catholic edition: *zmaragd* (Bible 1760: 189) and *şmaragd* (Bible 1760: 202), a variant which evidences the influence of Hungarian.

Starting with the Orthodox *Bible from Blaj* (1795), the only surviving form has been that of the voiceless initial consonant one. The 1795 edition also contains the variant *smaragdin* (Bible 1795: 238), of adjectival origin (gr. σμαράγδινος), which is, however, a single occurrence.

The term *smaragd* is carried up by the 1914 edition as well, but ten years later Cornilescu proposes a Russian origin variant, *smarald* (Marcu, Maneca 1978: 1000). The conservative character of the religious language is reflected in the 1944 Synodal edition, which revives the archaic form *smaragd* (Bible 1944: 89, 102, 1394). The pressure of contemporary Romanian language has contributed to imposing the final form *smarald,* in the post-World War II Synodal editions.

ANT(H)RAX / CARBUNCUL / RUBIN / BDELIU

The fourth jewel (the first one on the second row) of the breastplate is named 'o ἄνθραξ in the *Septuagint* and *carbunculus* in the *Vulgate;* both terms mean *coal* and *red lead*. Additionally, Lat. *carbunculus* also had the meaning *ruby* (Guţu 1983: 150), taken over from French: *escarboucle.* The various *Old Testament* translations either borrowed the Greek or Latin terms as such, or transferred the form and/or the meaning of the word. In the Hungarian cultural area, Heltai Gaspar's *Pentateuh* (Pamfil 1968: 272, 311) and the 1590 *Hungarian Károli Bible* translation borrowed both the form and the meaning of the term used in the *Vulgate: carbunculus* and *karbunkulus*. The translators of *Palia de la Orăştie*, who resorted to combining the Hungarian and Latin sources in translating the other eleven jewels on the breastplate (Gafton 2007a: 2.2.2.7), resorted in this particular case to a Hungarian loan term, *karmin* (< Lat. *carminium,* a red pigment), used again in the form *carmen* (Palia 1968: 311) or *carmel* (Palia 1968: 272), obtained by back-derivation. The term had a limited range of spreading, similar to other Latin borrowings entering through Hungarian, such as *crijolita* and *safîr* (Ferro, Ţâra *et al.* 2006: 1349).

The Romanian translations which closely followed the *Septuagint* took over the Greek term: *anthrax* (1688), *antrax* (1795), *anthrace* (1858), *antracs* (1914), *antrax* (2004). *Biblia Vulgata from Blaj* (1760-61) and the 1874-1921 editions resort to the *Vulgate* model, but use the Romanian phonetic form and spelling: *carvuncul* (Bible 1760: 189); *corvuncul*[3] (Bible 1760: 202), *carbunculŭ* (Bible 1874: 72, 83), *carbuncul* (Bible 1921: 93; 107).

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[3] Betacism is a phonetic characteristic of the Romanian translation of *Vulgata* (1760-61): *carvuncul, corvuncul, veril.*

Heliade Rădulescu professedly opts for the form transfer from Greek and considers that *anthrace* may designate any gemstone whose composition includes *gaz carbonicu*, possibly even the diamond, but not necessarily the ruby, although some attribute the red colour to it (*Biblicele* 1858: 6). Cornilescu introduces for the first time the neologism *rubin* in *this* context (Bible 1924: 73, 85), possibly following the model of the Lutheran German *Bible*: *Rubin* appeared in the 1545 edition, in *Exodus* 28, 18; 39, 11 and it was preserved in the 1912 edition. The translators Vasile Radu and Gala Galaction return to *carbuncul*, but use *rubin* as the name of the first jewel (s.v. *sardiu / sardeon*) of the breastplate. The 1944 edition of the patriarch Nicodim Munteanu returns to *sardeon* and preserves *carbuncul* (Bible 1944: 89, 102). The post-World War II translations abandon the archaic form *carbuncul*, in favour of the neologism *rubin*, preserved in the German and Italian translations. The term existed in Latin – *rubinus* – but its use in this context can be accounted for by relating it to one of the meanings of the noun *carbunculus*.

We have mentioned above that Dumitru Cornilescu was the first to introduce the term *rubin* for the fourth jewel on the breastplate of the High Priest. The word has entered the Romanian language since 1594 as *rombin* (Tiktin III 1989: 335). It can also be found in the translation of *Genesis* 2, 12, where the *Septuagint* uses 'ο ̓άνθραξ and the *Clementine Vulgate* (1546 [2005]), *bdellium*, following the Hebrew *b.dolah* (MLD 2004, I: 331). The translators of the first Romanian version of *Genesis*, in *Palia de la Orăştie* were influenced by the Hungarian source – *bdelion*. In the Orthodox versions of the *Old Testament* written in the 17th century and following Greek *Septuagint*, 'ο ̓άνθραξ was translated as *ruby*: *robinul* (MLD 2004, I, Ms. 4389: 171), *rubinul* (MLD 2004, I, Ms. 45: 171), *rubinul* (*Bible* 1688: 2). The term *robinul* was glossed in the margin of the Ms. 4389 as *anthraxu*, following the Greek *Septuagint* (MLD 1988 [2004], I: 324).

The tradition was maintained up to the translation of Heliade Rădulescu (1858), *anthracele*, but his proposal was never accepted. Starting with the 1874 translation, up to the contemporary editions, the term *bdeliu* was used, except for the Cornilescu edition (1924[2012]) – *bedelion*, and the *Septuagint* (2004) – *piatra neagră* [Eng. the black stone], glossed as *probably the bdeliu* (Septuagint 2004: 58).

The confusion increased because of *Numbers 11,7*, where the *manna* is described as having the colour of κρύσταλλος (Greek Septuagint), of *bdellium*, respectively (*coloris bdelii*) (*Clementine Vulgate*). Most of the Romanian biblical translations followed the Greek *Septuagint* and used the linguistic calque, such as *criştal* (1688), *crystallu* (Heliade, 1858), *cristal* (Ms. 45, 1795, 1921 *Orthodox Bible*, 1944 – 2008) and the arhaic and poetic forms *mărgăritariu* [Eng. pearl] (Ms. 4389), *cleştar* (Septuagint 2004). The *Vulgate from Blaj* (1760-61) is clearly influenced by its Latin source: *de faţa bdillului*, while the translation done by Gala Galaction and Vasile Radu in 1938 (reprinted in 1939 and 1940) contains the explanation *răşina de bdeliu* [Eng. resin of bdellium], expressing the Hebraic meaning of *b.dolah*, in a form resembling the Latin *bdellium*.

SAFIR

On the second row of gemstones, in the second position, the *Septuagint* indicates the gem named σάπφειρος. The term entered the Greek language from Hebrew *sappir*, which meant *the most beautiful thing* (Marcu, Maneca 1978: 954); from Greek, it entered Latin, in the form *sapphirus*. The word was attested for the first time in *Palia de la Orăştie*, as *safir* (Palia 1968: 272, 311), following the Latin *sapphirus*.

In Middle Greek it develops into an epenthetic nasal: σάμπφειρος. This form enters the Slavonic Church, *samfiru* (Ciorănescu 2007: 849)*,* from where it is borrowed by Old Romanian, with an initial voiceless or voiced consonant: *samfîr, zamfîr.* The *Bible of Bucharest* (1688) illustrates this alternation, by the terms *zamfîr* (Bible 1688: 59; 68) and *sanfîr* (Bible 1688: 931). The alternative use of the nasals *m / n* within the word is preserved in the Catholic edition of 1760-1761: *samfîr* (Bible 1760: 189) and *sanfîr* (Bible 1760: 202). The Orthodox *Bible from Blaj* emphasizes the influence of the Greek version of the *Septuagint* on the translation and introduces for the first time the loan word *sapfir* (Bible 1795: 79), in parallel with the Romanian form *samfîr* (Bible 1795: 90) which illustrates the influence of the sources used by the translators, mentioned by Samuil Micu Clain in *Cătră Cetitoriu*: *...din fir în păr cercând-o şi cernând-o şi cu cea elinească a celor şeaptezeci de dascăli şi cu cea veachie românească alăturând-o, unde au trebuit o au îndreptat, ca întru toate să fie asemenea şi întocmai izvodului elinesc a celor şeaptezeci de dascăli* (Bible 1795: 2). Heliade uses for the first time a French loan word, *saphir* (Heliade 1858: 88), *saphiru* (Heliade 1858: 98). The 1874 edition replaces the cluster *ph* with the letter *f, safirŭ* (Bible 1874: 72, 83), preserving Heliade's neologism, but it also maintains the old term, taken over from the *Septuagint, sapfiru* (Bible 1874: 1015). The alternative graphemes survive in the 1914 Synodal edition - *sapfîr* (Bible 1914: 107) and *safir* (Bible 1914: 123, 1645) – and returns in the 1944 Synodal edition– *safir* (Bible 1944: 89, 102) and *sapfir* (Bible 1944: 1395) – even if the editions published meanwhile, Cornilescu's and Radu-Galaction's, used *passim* the form *safir,* which will become standard again in the post- World War II versions of the *Bible*.

IASPIS / DIAMANT

The *Septuagint* indicates on the second row, third position, the jewel named ἴασπις, whose name was maintained in the *Old Testament* Latin versions. Epiphanius (1934: 136) and St. Jerome, in Epistula LXIV *Ad Fabiolam*, 16 also consider it the sixth jewel. In Palia de la Orăştie, the term is replaced by *gheman* (Palia 1968: 272, 311), a word derived from Hun. *gyémánt* (= diamond), which is included in the 1590 *Hungarian Bible* version, in *Exodus.* 28, 17 and 39, 10. The same translation solution was used in the *Lutheran Bible* edition of that time (1545), *demant,* in *Exodus* 28, 18 and 39, 11. The term *diamante* is attested in the same period, in a document dated from 1594 (Tiktin 1988, II: 60), then in the first Romanian translation of the *New Testament* (1648), and then in *Amos* 7, 7 (Bible 1914: 1071): *şi iată bărbat stând pre zid de diamant şi în mâna lui diamant* (and there it was a man, sitting on a diamond wall, with a diamond in his hand).

In the first Romanian translation of the entire *Old Testament*, there is the term *íaspin,* in Ms. 45, *Iezechiel* 28:13, being glossed on the margin, in red colour, as *ghesmi.* This word reappeared in *Exodus* 28, 18: *Şi al doilea rându, anthrax, zamfîr, ghesmi.* It is a unique occurence in the Romanian biblical version, an hapax that is probably the result of the combination between *iaspin* and *gyémánt.* A combination between *adamant* (of Slavic origin) and the Hungarian *gyémánt* resulted in the popular form *aghiamant* (Candrea, Adamescu 1931: 22). Again an hapax – *aspis* – is to be found in Ms. 4389, *Iezechiel* 28:13, a *lapsus calami* for *iaspis.*

The radical change in translation was probably triggered by the description of this jewel in the *Bible* text. In the *Apocalypse 21*, jasper is the *prea cinstită*; *în chipul cristalului* gem (Bible 1688: 931). In the same chapter, it is the first stone laid at the foundation of the

New Jerusalem: *Şi era denlăuntru făptură a zidului ei iaspis şi cetatea – aur curat, asemenea cu sticla cea curată. Şi temeliile zidului cetăţii – cu toată piatra cinstită împodobite; temelia cea dentâiu iaspis* (Bible 1688: 931)*.* Furthermore, Saint John Chrysostom Golden Mouth uses the same stone to suggest the radiance of God's figure: *Şi Cela ce şădea era aseamenea la vedeare ca piatra iaspis şi ca sardinul...* (Bible 1688: 931). The recurrent comparisons with glass and crystal may have originated the interpretation of *jasper* as being in fact *diamond.* What we noticed is that the term *adamant,* of Slavic origin, still used in Romanian until the second half of the 19th century (*e.g.* Antonescu 1862: 31), never appeared in the Biblical language in premodern versions.

By mere transliteration, the term *iaspis* is preserved in the Romanian *Bible* versions until 1874[4], when it returns to the translation proposed in the *Palia,* with the closest phoneme to the present-day one, *diamantŭ*: *Şi într-alŭ dŭoilea şirŭ: Unŭ carbunculŭ, unŭ safîrŭ şi unŭ diamantŭ* (Palia 1968: 272, 311). The 1914 *Bible of the Holy Synod* returns to *iaspis,* but, starting with the Cornilescu edition, all *Old Testament* versions will replace *iaspis* with *diamant.* Similarly to the earlier cases, the 1944 Synodal edition illustrates a turning moment between tradition and modernity, regarding translation. In the *Apocalypse* 4, 3; 21, 11; 21, 19 (Bible 1944: 1381, 1394, 1395) the term *iaspis* is used*,* but in the *Exodus* the term *diamant* appears (Bible 1944: 89, 102). The oscillation was still present in the Barolomeu Anania's version (2001, online edition): *diamant* (Exodus 28, 18) - *iaspis* (Exodus 39, 11).

Although in present-day Romanian the term *iaspis* has been replaced with the French loan word *jasp,* the replacement has not affected the *Bible* translations, which have preserved the term *diamant*. The only version using the modern term *jasp* is the *Septuagint,* the 2004 edition.

LIGURION / OPAL

In the 2004 edition of the *Septuagint,* the Romanian translators indicate that *ligurion* is *the most obscure term in this list* (Septuagint 2004: 267). In Epitome A, Written in Armenian, of the works of Epiphanius, *ligurion* is a jewel identified as being the *hyacinth (yakund)* (Epiphanius 1934: 203). The Persian scholar Al-Biruni, the author of a work on gems, in the 10th century, claims that this is the Persian name of the ruby (Al-Biruni 1989: 29). Epiphanius mentions the belief of the ancients that this jewel results from the solidification of the lynx urine (*cf.* Ovidius, *Metamorphoses,* XV, v. 413-415, Plinius, *Historia Naturalis,* VIII, 57, 137, Isidorus, *Etymologiae,* II, 2, 20), considering that, in fact, the *Sacred Scripture* concerns a different jewel, *hyacinthus*, whose absence from breastplate would be false, being caused by a confusion of name (Epiphanius 1934: 253): *Itaque adducimur ut credamus Scripturam hunc appellare lyncurium .* The idea had also been supported by Saint Jerome, in Epistula LXIV *Ad Fabiolam*, 16*,* where he no longer mentions the ignoble ancient etymology of the gemstone. His theory maintains its actuality. In the *Vulgata Clementina* (1592 [2005]) and *Douay-Rheims Bible* (1609), the traditional term is used, taken over from the *Septuagint, lygirius* and *ligurius*, but *Nova Vulgata* returns to Jerome's suggestion and replaces the earlier term with *hyacinthus,* in *Exodus* 28, 18 and 39, 12.

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[4] In Heliade's 1858 translation, in *Exodus* 28, 18 the form *iaps,* hapax legomenon appears. In *Exodus* 36, 18 the term *iaspis* is used, generally in Romanian *Bible* translations from the 17th –18th century.

The Nicolae Milescu version[5] (Ms. 45), the Ms. 4389, the Biblie of Bucharest (1688) and the version in 1795 transliterate the *Septuagint* term*: lighirion* (Bible 1795: 79, 90), in contrast with the 1760-1761 *Biblia Vulgata*, which preserves the Latin double gender (Gaffiot 2000: 911, 932), masculine and neuter, of the Greek loan word: *ligurios* (Bible 1760: 189)*, ligurion* (Bible 1760: 202). The 1858 (Heliade), 1874 and 1914 editions preserve the Greek phonetic form, but adapt the ending to the Romanian system: *liguriŭ* (1858 and 1874), *lighiriu* (1914). Dumitru Cornilescu was the first to propose a radical change in translation, replacing the old term with the French loan word *opal* (Bible 1924: 73, 85). This term has been preserved in all subsequent Romanian editions of the *Bible*.

The similarity with the translation options in French indicates the fact that Dumitru Cornilescu and the later translators of the *Bible* in Romanian adopted the French models. Until the early 20th century, the French versions had used the term *ligure* (ed. 1744, 1865, 1894[6]), but the edition published in 1900 recorded for the first time the term *opale* (*Ieş.* 28, 18; 39, 12)*, also used in the 1905 German edition. The Italian edition of the *Bible,* published in 1927, uses the variant *opal* as well*: nel terzo ordine, un'opale, un'agata, un'ametista* (*Exodus* 28, 19).

The origin of this interpretation is the work *De gemmis* of Epiphanius, who, starting from the idea that the actual jewel in the seventh position is *hyacinthus*, describes its varieties: *thalassites, rhodiaeus, anatibos, chaunieus,* **opalus,** *perileucos* (Epiphanius 1934: 255).

Therefore, the borrowing of the French, German or Italian models published at the beginning of the previous century account for the French term *opal* in the Romanian versions of the *Bible*.

AGAT(Ă)

The eight jewel of the breastplate is the **agate**. In contrast to the translation changes recorded above, for this gemstone all *Bible* versions are constant. Differences are recorded only at the phonetic level. The term had entered the Romanian language before the appearance of the first *Old Testament* translations, in the form *acates,* from the Latin word *achates*, derived from Gr. ʾαχάτης. The first Romanian versions of the orthodox *Old Testament* use the variant *ahatis* (Ms. 45[7], Ms. 4389, 1688, 1775), borrowing the Modern Greek word, whereas the 1760-1761 *Biblia Vulgata* contains the form *achates*, following the Latin model. Heliade preserves the aspired, but abandons the final *s*, *achate* (Heliade 1858: 88, 98). He is also the one who includes the modern term, of French origin, *agat,* in the form *agathu: achate, dis* and *agathu* (*Biblicele* 1858, p. 134). The 1874 translation preserves the grapheme *ŭ* final*, specific to that age, but abandons the aspired: *agatŭ*. The 1914 Synodal edition attempts to return to the archaic form *ahatis,* which is however absent from the later versions. The Cornilescu (1924) edition uses the modern form *agat,* but, starting with Radu and Galaction's translations, only the form *agată* will be used*, with a single exception, in the *Septuagint* (2004), which contains the doublet, accepted by present-day Romanian, *agată* (Septuagint 2004: 267) and *agat* (Septuagint 2004: 289).

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[5] Nicolae Milescu also used the form *lighíriu*, in the book of Iezechiel 28, 13.

[6] The 1894 edition contains the doublet *ligurius* (Exodus 28, 19) and *ligure* (Exodus 39, 12).

[7] Nicolae Milescu also used the form *ahat*, of Greek origin, but without the preservation of the Greek ending, in the book of Iezechiel 28, 13.

The word entered Romanian from Fr. *Agate* (DEX 1996: 19). The variant *agat* renders the French phonetic form; the variant *agată* illustrates the content-to-form adaptation. The word is assigned the ending *-ă*, to be included in the feminine gender, thus preserving the gender of the original term.

AMETIST

As in the case of the previous jewel, the position and name of the ninth one are stable and unequivocal. Epiphanius names it *nonus lapis, qui est amethystus, postremus in tertia serie* (Epiphanius 1934: 289). The term ἀμέθυστος had been borrowed in Latin with the endings *–us* and *–os*: *amethystus, amethystos*. The latter variant occurs in the version published in 1760-1761, which prefers the forms in *–os* (e.g. *ligurios*): *amethistos* (Bible 1760: 189). There is also attested the form *amathisthos* (Bible 1760: 202), with vowel harmony, which Romanian has not accepted.

In *Palia de la Orăştie,* the ending of the word for this jewel is influenced by the ending of the previous jewel: *acatie, amatie* (Palia 1968: 272), and *acates, amatis* (Palia 1968: 311).

Following the model of the *Septuagint,* in general, the first versions of the orthodox *Old Testament* use the Greek term by mere transliteration: *amethistos* (Ms. 45, Ms. 4389, 1688, 1760–1761) and *ametistos* (1795). In Nicolae Milescu's version, in *Iezechiel* 28, 13, the translator used also the form **améthistu,** following the Lat. *amethystus*, which reappeared in Heliade's translation, as *amethystu* (Heliade 1858: 88, 98), under the influence of both Latin and French – which is also the last version containing the aspired. The form in the 1874 edition – *ametistŭ* (Bible 1874: 72, 83) – will be taken over by all later Romanian editions, in the variant *ametist*. One exception is the 1968 edition, in which the form *ametist* (Bible 1968: 99, 113) has an alternative feminine form *ametistă* in the *Apocalipse* 21, 20 (Bible 1968: 1391), which is unique and not used in subsequent versions of the *Bible*. Also, the 1914 *Bible of the Holy Synod*, in *Exodus* 39, 12 contains the unaccounted form *ametis*, derived, most likely, from a common *lapsus calami* (Bible 1914: 123).

The last row of jewels contains, in the *Septuagint,* τος χρυσόλιθος καὶ βηρύλλιον καὶ ὀνύχιον (chrysolithos, beryllion and onychion). In the *Vulgate* and in Epistula LXIV *Ad Fabiolam*, Saint Jerome reverses the order of the last two jewels, thus *onychinus* becomes the eleventh jewel and *beryllus* the last one.

In the *Septuagint,* ὀνύχιον is the twelfth jewel of the biblical breastplate. In Epistula LXIV *Ad Fabiolam*, 16, Saint Jerome describes it as occupying the penultimate position, but Epiphanius, although in the detailed description of each jewel he considers it as the last one, comments upon the alternative positions (Epiphanius 1934: 164). He notes that, as regards the last two jewels, beryl and onyx are the 11th and 12th, respectively, but in the Hebrew version of the *Exodus*, the order is reversed. His explanation takes into account the order in which Jacob's sons are introduced in the *Old Testament* and the correspondence between their names and the twelve stones: onyx corresponds to Benjamin and beryl to Jacob. In the first reference to Jacob's twelve sons, Joseph is introduced as the 11th, before Benjamin, by the order of birth, but in the listing in the *Exodus* 1, 1-5, referring to the Entry into Egypt, Joseph is left at the end because he was already in Egypt, and this would explain the placement of beryl in the last position (Epiphanius 1934: 180).

In the Romanian versions of the *Holy Bible*, we notice that the order in the Greek *Septuagint* – beryl the 11th jewel and *onyx* the last one – was followed by the Manuscripts 45 and 4389, also by the 1688, 1795, 1914 and 2004 *Septuagint* editions; all the other editions, from the 1581-82 *Palia* to the 2008 *Bible*, place the onyx on the eleventh position, as in the Hebrew version and later in the Latin *Vulgate*.

CHRISOLIT / CRISOLIT / HRISOLIT

The **hrisolit** [Eng. Chrysolite] is the tenth jewel of the breastplate, the first in the fourth row. Epiphanius describes it as having the colour of gold - *colorem aurum* (Epiphanius 1934: 293)*,* with healing properties for stomach and bowels diseases (Epiphanius 1934: 209).

The Romanian *Bible* editions record phonetic variants with the presence or the absence of the aspirate *h* in the beginning or the end of the word: *crijolita* (Palia 1968: 272, 311), *hrisolith* (MLD II [Ms. 45, Ms. 4389], 1991: 163), *hristolithos* (Bible 1688: 59; 68), *chrysolithu* (Heliade 1858: 88, 98) etc. Form variations appear in the same version: *hrisolitos* (Bible 1795: 79, 90), *hrisolit* (Bible 1795: 667, NT 249); *hrisolit* (Bible 1914: 107, 123), *hrisolitos* (Bible 1914: 1645); *chrisolit* (Bible 1921: 93), *crisolit* (Bible 1921: 107); *chrisolit* (Bible 1944: 89), *hrisolit* (Bible 1944: 102, 1395). All the post- World War II versions of the *Bible* adopt the variant *hrisolit*.

Among the Romanian translations, that which stands out is the one of Vasile Radu and Gala Galaction's team, in which the *chrysolite* is replaced by the *beryl* in *Ieşirea* 28, 20 and 39, 13, following the model of the Modern Greek *Old Testament* version: *βηρύλλιον, ὄνυξ, καὶ ἴαστις.*

ONIX

In the *Genesis* 2, 12, there is a reference to a green stone which was later on interpreted as *onyx*: ‘ο ἄνθραξ καὶ ‘ο λίθος ‘ο πράσινος. The Romanian versions that followed closely the *Septuagint* preferred a literal translation, for example *piatra cea verde* (1688), *piatră verde* (1795), *pétr'a prasina* (Heliade, 1858), *piatra cea verzuie* (Septuagint 2004: 45, with the annotation *probably...the onyx*).

In point of form, the doublet *onifinos* / *onihinos,* the former resulting from a false back-derivation (Gafton 2007a: 2.2.2.7) is attested in *Palia de la Orăştie* (Palia 1968: 272, 311). The variant *onihion* (Ms. 45, Ms. 4389, 1688, 1795) is of Greek origin and it provides further evidence in support of the influence of the *Septuagint* on translations, while the variants *onihinos* (*Palia*), *onihin* (1760-61) and *onihinŭ* (1874) reveal the influence of the Latin *Vulgate*. Heliade proposes the variant *onichin* (*Exodus* 28, 20; 36, 20)*,* intended to follow the Greek *Septuagint*, from which the translator also took over the order of the jewels. The form *onih* used by the translators of the 1914 edition is accounted for by dropping the Greek ending of the loan word from the *Septuagint*. This suggests the conservative character of the biblical language, considering the fact that the modern form *onixŭ* has been registered since 1852, in Teodor Stamati's *German-Romanian Dictionary* (Stamati 1852: 549). But for the first time, the term *onix* appeared in the Romanian translation of the *Vulgata* (1760-1761), *Genesis* 2, 12: *peatra onixului* (Biblia 1760: 2), following foreign translations (the term *onyx* was used, for example, in the Luther Bible 1545, Hungarian Károly 1590, the David Martin's translation 1744).

All *Bible* editions after World War I (except the 1921 edition that preserved the form *onihin*) use the modern loan word of French origin (DEX 1996: 720), *onix*.

BERIS / IASPIS

With regard to the twelfth jewel of the breastplate, the *Septuagint* considers that this is the ᾿ονύχιον, which would be the translation of the original Hebrew term *yâshphêh*. Subsequently, by phonetic association, *yâshphêh* is reinterpreted as *jasper* and it appears as such in the *Luther Bible* of 1545, then in Heltai Gaspar's *Pentateuh* of 1551, wherefrom it was borrowed by the translators of *Palia de la Orăştie* (Gafton 2007a: 2.2.2.7)*,* in the form adapted to the Romanian system *iaspie,* by analogy to *şardie, acatie, amatie* etc. The orthodox *Bibles* of the 17th century (Ms. 45, Ms. 4389, 1688), then the 1795 and Heliade's translation published in 1858 use the name and order in the *Septuagint*, where βερύλλιον is the eleventh jewel of the breastplate. Epiphanius also considers *beryllus* the 11th jewel, similarly to the authors of the Septuagint (Epiphanius 1934: 173). The 1688 and 1775 editions translate the Greek term by *virilion* (*Exodus* 28, 20; 39, 11) and Ms. 45 (*Tobit* 13, 16) the form *virili*, without the Greek ending –*on,* while Heliade does not accept the betacism − *berylliu* (*Exodus* 28, 20; 36, 20). The Catholic edition printed in 1760-61 follows the Latin model of the *Vulgate* and places the jewel named *veril,* from Lat. *beryllus*, in final position (Bible 1760: 189, 202). The betacized form reappears in the 1914 Synodal edition, *viriliu* (Bible 1914: 107, 123), in the 11th position, following the Greek model. The modern term *beril* is used only in the 2004 translation of the *Septuagint* (Septuagint 2004: 267, 289). In the 1874 Synodal edition (Bible 1874: 72), the last jewel on the *pieptarulŭ judecăţei* [Eng. breastplate of judgement] is *iaspide*, a name derived from the Accusative form *iaspidem* of Lat. *iaspis*. The Russian Synodal edition published in 1876 had used the same term, derived from the Nominative Latin form: яспис. The 1921 edition alternates between the forms *iaspide* (Bible 1921: 93, 107) and *iaspis* (Bible 1921: 284).

In the French *Bible* editions the term *jaspe* appears as such, designating the last jewel, no earlier than 1910 (*Ex.* 28, 20; 39, 13). Dumitru Cornilescu, using the neologism *jasp,* may have considered this form (Bible 1924: 73, 85). In Radu and Galaction's translation, the final position is occupied by *jaspis* (Bible 1939: 89, 103). All subsequent translations of the *Old Testament*, except for the *Septuagint* published in 2004, have preserved this term, with the spelling *iaspis*, in final position on the breastplate.

CONCLUSIONS

The contrastive analysis of the *Old Testament* texts translated into Romanian has revealed that the Greek model of the *Septuagint* was followed by the Ms. 45, Ms. 4389, 1688, 1795, 1914 and 2004 editions. The other versions combine various translation sources, generating several lexemes for the same concept. The Slavonic version of the Bible was hardly followed in regard to the gemstones. Even the oldest Romanian translations preferred to use the Greek engings, e.g. *sardion onihion*. The Slavic forms, such as сапфіръ, ахáтъ, iаспïсъ, онхïй (Bible 1751: 248, 257) where not accepted in the Romanian biblical language, with very few exceptions: *amestistă* (1968), *onih* (1914).

In the versions in which the sixth position of the breastplate is occupied by *iaspis* (the 2004 version including: jasp)*,* the twelfth jewel is *onihion* (Ms. 45, Ms. 4389, 1688, 1795),

onychin (1858), *onih* (1914) and *onix* (2004), observing the order in the *Septuagint.* The 1760-1761 Catholic edition replaced *onihion* with *veril,* following the *Vulgate* model, indicating **beryllus** in final position. Heliade Rădulescu's translation contains many innovative elements at the phonetic and lexical level, marking the beginning of the modernization of Romanian biblical language. All Romanian versions opting for the replacement of the jewel *iaspis,* in the sixth position, with *diamant*, also replaced *onihion*, in the twelfth position, with *iaspis,* in various phonetic variants: *iaspie* (Palia)*, iaspide* (1874), *jasp* (1924), *jaspis* (1939), *iaspis* (1944-2008, without 2004). Furthermore, the versions using the term *diamant* for the sixth jewel use, in the eleventh position, *onifinos / onihinos* (Palia), *onihin* (1760-1761), *onihinŭ* (1874), and *onix* (1924-2008, except for 2004), which indicates that one of the sources of these *Bible* versions was the *Vulgate,* where *onychinus* is the eleventh jewel of the breastplate. Before the 20th century, the influence of the French editions of the *Bible* cannot be considered, but the German and, for the Catholic editions in Transylvania, the Hungarian models must be taken into account.

The old editions are characterized by translation alternations, in the sense of using several phonetic variants for the same word. The translations in the second half of the 20th century have shown a tendency towards standardization of terms, in the onomasiological field of gemstones, under the pressure of the contemporary Romanian language.

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[8] MLD contain the Romanian Manuscript No. 45 [c. 1683-1686] - the entire translation into Romanian of the *Old Testament*, done by Nicolae Milescu and preserved in the Library of the Romanian Academy, the Cluj Napoca Brach; also the Romanian Manuscript No. 4389 [c. 1665-1672] - the entire translation into Romanian of the *Old Testament*, done from Slavic and Latin by an anonymous person from Wallachia (probably Daniil Andrean Panoneanul), in the second half of the 17th century. The Manuscript is preserved in the Library of the Romanian Academy, in Bucharest.

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