

# THE TERMINOLOGY OF *REALIA* IN THE *CODEX BANDINUS*

ANA-CRISTINA HALICHAS  
(University of Bucharest)

The vocabulary Marco Bandini used when describing the Romanian realities encountered during his tour through Moldavia under Vasile Lupu contains a number of lexical influences exerted by the Classical model, by Mediaeval Latin and by vernacular languages. The present article analyses such influences found in Bandini's account of several *realia* from the following fields: 1. administrative units and their inhabitants; 2. the Court (the Prince, the noblemen, the high officials and the army); 3. religion; 4. toponymy and anthroponymy; 5. everyday life.

**Key-words:** *Codex Bandinus*, Moldavia, lexical influences, *realia*.

As the apostolic governor of Moldavia, Marco Bandini made a tour through all Catholic parishes of his province and, in 1648, in Bacău, he wrote a report named *Visitatio generalis omnium Ecclesiarum Catholici ritus in Provincia Moldaviae*. The Library of the Romanian Academy holds two Latin manuscripts of Marco Bandini's report: the manuscript no. 80, bearing the holographic signature of Bandini himself, was donated by Constantin Esarcu at the end of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century; the manuscript no. 154, a copy made at the end of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century, was purchased during the second half of the XX<sup>th</sup> century. In 1895, V.A. Urechea<sup>1</sup> transcribed the Bandini report, partially translated it, and paraphrased some of its sections while leaving others in Latin, without offering a translation. Some fragments have also been translated in the Series *Călători străini în Țările Române* (Foreign travellers in the Romanian Countries)<sup>2</sup>, and recently Traian Diaconescu has proposed a critical edition of this report, accompanied by a Romanian translation and by extensive and rich notes and annotations.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Codex Bandinus. Memoriu asupra scrierii lui Bandinus, de la 1646, urmat de text și însoțit de acte și documente* (Memorandum on Bandini's writings from 1646, accompanied by the original text and official deeds and documents), Litografia Carol Göbl, București, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> *Călători străini în Țările Române* (Foreign travelers in the Romanian Countries), vol. V. Editura Științifică, București, 1973, p. 293–328.

<sup>3</sup> Marco Bandini, *Codex. Vizitarea generală a tuturor Biseriilor Catolice de rit roman din Provincia Moldova: 1646–1648*. Ediție bilingvă. Introducere, text latin stabilit, traducere, glosar: prof. univ. dr. Traian Diaconescu (Marco Bandini, *Codex. A general visit of all the Roman Catholic Churches existent in the Province of Moldavia: 1646–1648*. Bilingual version. Introduction, edited Latin text, translation, glossary: Professor Dr. Traian Diaconescu), Editura Presa Bună, Iași, 2006. The examples and the page references provided in this article refer to this version of the *Codex*.

An exceptional historical source of information regarding the religious, public and private life during the reign of Vasile Lupu, *Visitatio* offers interesting insights into the living conditions of 40 Catholic communities visited during this trip. It is also accompanied by an extensive list of the Catholic families, priests and psalm readers. The text narrates different events and legends, and describes burial and wedding rites, and several rituals whose purpose was to drive away epidemic diseases, as well as the dressing code, religious ceremonies and the organization of the army and of the Court. Besides its historic, ethnographic and literary importance, the Bandini *Codex* has a major significance for linguistics because its investigation may enrich our knowledge of Neo-Latin, especially by analysing the different influences exerted by the Classical model, by Mediaeval Latin and by vernacular languages. Here, “vernacular” refers to the fact that the memorandum was written in a very varied linguistic background: Bandini was Bosnian, but he knew Hungarian and Romanian, and was educated in and had permanent contacts with Rome (see his Italian correspondence); moreover, Bandini’s private secretary, Petru Parčević, who knew Romanian (as he himself confessed) and Paul Beke, a Jesuit missionary who accompanied Bandini during his journey in Moldavia, both spoke Hungarian.

The present article represents an attempt to see to what extent these influences are present in the manner in which Bandini expressed the Romanian realities he met during his tour. The analysis stops to several *realia* describing the following domains: 1. administrative units and their inhabitants; 2. the Court (the Prince, the noblemen, the high officials and the army<sup>4</sup>); 3. religion; 4. toponymy and anthroponymy; 5. everyday life.

## 1. ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS AND THEIR INHABITANTS

**1.1.** As a state unit, **Moldavia** used to be called *Terra Moldaviae* or *Terra Moldaviensis* in diplomatic Latin. On the contrary, Bandini, a foreign observer, considers that the most appropriate term to describe the status of Moldavia as a country subject to the Ottoman Empire was *provincia* (p. 41: *Provincia Moldaviae*). The word represents a Latin technical term specific to Roman public law and meant “assignment, task, or mission”. In Classical Latin, this word refers to “the position of leadership, command or to a jurisdiction”, to “the administration of a conquered territory” and, by extension, to an actual “territory under the Roman domination”. In Mediaeval Latin, this term denotes a territory found under laic or ecclesiastical jurisdiction and, by the end of the Middle Ages, it began to designate the territories tributary to a suzerain crown.

<sup>4</sup> For comments relating to those terms designating administrative units and the organization of princely Court, see also Mihaela Paraschiv, *Documentele latine de cancelarie din Moldova (secolele XIV–XVIII). Studiu lingvistic și stilistic* (Latin Chancellery Documents in Moldavia – XIV<sup>th</sup>–XVIII<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Linguistic and Stylistic Study), Editura Junimea, Iași, 2004.

There are a few contexts in which Bandini referred to Moldavia as a "principality" = *principatus* (p. 379: *de Principatu Moldaviae; Principatus Moldavicus*; p. 397: *singulis annis suum Principatum ... inspicere consuevit*). In Classical Latin, this word (derived from *princeps*, a loan translation of the Greek word *hegemonía*) has the following meanings: "supremacy; leadership; reign". The last one passed into Mediaeval Latin, where the term began to describe a territory under the leadership of a reign. In the same context, Bandini talked about Moldavia as of a *regnum subiectum* "a subjected kingdom" (= vassal) to the Hungarian Crown, even after the Mohács battle. Obviously, this is an anachronism, because Moldavia had already come out of Hungarian suzerainty starting with the XIV<sup>th</sup> century. The last attempts of the Hungarian Kingdom to dominate politically the territories east of the Carpathians were dismantled by Stephen the Great, and some recognition of subjection was only conjectural, with no real consequences. Bandini's assertion illustrates a mediaeval conception according to which states maintained some claims of suzerainty even after the subjected territories had already acquired *de facto* and *de iure* their independence or had been subjected by another foreign power.<sup>5</sup>

**1.2.** According to mediaeval usage, **Wallachia** is called *Valachia* (p. 43), *Walachia Transalpina* (p. 49) or *Transalpinia* (p. 281), and its vassal condition of the Ottoman Empire is referred to with the lexeme *provincia* (p. 49).

**1.3.** **Transylvania** is called *Transylvania* (aestheticizing orthography) and it appears accompanied by *provincia* in one single context (p. 67: *Transylvanica provincia*).

**1.4. Rural and urban settlements** are referred to with the terms *pagus* "village", *oppidum* "small town" and *civitas* "town" (p. 357: *omnia loca, pagos, civitates ac oppida*). Even if *pagus* (p. 117: *pagus Hilip*) appears with the meaning it had in Classical Latin, Bandini's use of the terms *oppidum* and *civitas* must be analysed in more details. In Classical Latin, *oppidum* meant any other "fortified city, fortress" than Rome = *Vrbs* as opposed to *civitas* which referred to "all citizens constituting a state, a fortress or a nation"; (seldom) "city"; "citizenship, right to citizenship". In Late and Mediaeval Latin, *civitas* replaces *urbs* and *oppidum*<sup>6</sup>, referring to either medieval fortified towns or to cities where Episcopal authority had its residence; *oppidum* acquires a new meaning, that of an urban unfortified settlement. In the *Codex* under analysis, *civitas* and *oppidum* are used as perfect synonyms in most cases, meaning a "small town"; their alternation thus represents Bandini's stylistic innovation. Nevertheless, when he referred to important urban settlements or to an Episcopal capital city (such as Bacău), Bandini used the term *civitas*, which also referred to Capital cities (p. 247: *in civitate <Iassi>*). Sometimes *civitas* is accompanied by the determinative adjective *metropolitana*, derived with the suffix *-anus, -ana* from the name *metropolis* – borrowed from Greek in Late Latin, used in Mediaeval Latin to mean "capital city" (p. 247: *civitas metropolitana*;

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Marco Bandini, *Codex*, p. 444, n. 27.

<sup>6</sup> E. Löfstedt, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetherae*, Uppsala, 1911, p. 174; M. Paraschiv, *op. cit.*

p. 107: *civitas metropolitana vocatur Smaila*; p. 247: *Haec civitas modo est totius provinciae metropolitana*); the term *metropolis* is sometimes used alone to designate capital cities (p.43 : *Iassium, Moldaviae metropolim* ; p.49 : *Tergovistiam, Valachiae Transalpiniae metropolim*). Moreover, at the beginning of his story about the trip taken from “the Turkish land to Moldavia” (p. 43: *ex Turcico solo in Moldaviam*), Bandini also mentioned the stop he made in Târgoviște, which he called *oppidum* (p. 43 : *Tergovistium, Valachiae oppidum*) in the *Foreword* of the memorandum (*Prooemium*); a few pages later, Târgoviște is described as a *metropolis* (p. 40 : *Tergovistiam, Valachiae Transalpiniae metropolim*). This use of *oppidum* is not a mistake, but represents the mediaeval usage. Thus, *oppidum*, as well as the word *castrum*, is used to denote not only a town, but also a sovereign’s city residence.<sup>7</sup> It is worth mentioning that the word *sedes* appears inside the phrase *sedes metropolitana Vaivodae* (p. 387: *Iassium ad sedem metropolitanam Vaivodae*). It used to mean “chair”, “throne”, “residence” in Classical Latin, then in Mediaeval Latin, it started to express pan-mediaeval or regional realities. On the contrary, in Bandini’s text, it refers to the Prince residence, the capital city.

**1.5. The population of Moldavia** is called *moldavicus populus* (p. 59), *moldavi valachi* – most likely to differentiate them from Romanians residing in Wallachia and Transylvania (p. 379) – or just *valachi* (*passim*). The terms used for the inhabitants of urban settlements or “townsfolk” were: *cives* (*passim*), *cives oppidani* (p. 413), *oppidani* (p. 67), often *populus* (p. 105: *Barladiensis populus vineas colit*) and, rarely, *incolae* (p. 105: *incolae sunt Valachi, Armeni et Ungari*), all ancient terms whose meaning was adjusted to express mediaeval realities. Villagers are named *pagani*, the word being used here with its primary laic sense (Classical “countryman”, inhabitant of a *pagus*), and not with its Christian connotation, that of “pagan” as opposed to “Christian”.

## 2. THE COURT

**2.1.** To refer to the Court as the Prince residence, Bandini used *aula* (p. 57: *aula Principis* ; p. 175 : *ubi olim Illustrissimorum Ducum Moldaviae Aula erat*) and *curia* (p. 391 : *extra portam curiae*), without making any semantic differentiation between the two, thus interchanging them for stylistic variation only. Nevertheless, there is an obvious preference for the former. *Aula* embodies the generic meaning of the Court as (i) residence or (ii) the Prince’s retinue (p. 381: *de aula Principis moderni*). The same term also refers to great nobleman’s court (p. 251: *Baronum Aulae*). The word represents a borrowing from Old Greek and it was attested for the first time in the period of Classical Latin referring to the “interior yard of a private residence” or as synonym to *atrium*, and even with the meaning of “the Prince palace”. *Aula* was also used to talk about courtiers, people from the Palace or about the life at the Court in general in post-Classical Latin. The

<sup>7</sup> M. Paraschiv, *op. cit.*, with the examples of Moldavian documents.

same word was used to describe the imperial, seigniorial or pontifical Court in Late and Mediaeval Latin. *Curia* (classical "curia, an ethnical division which had a political and religious nature; place of gathering of curia, the House of Senate") denotes the royal, seigniorial or pontifical Court in Mediaeval Latin.

**2.2.** Besides the two terms already mentioned, the **Prince palace** is frequently referred to with the lexeme *palatium* (p. 53: *regressi e Palatio Illustrissimi Principis*; p. 103: *hic quondam insigne Palatium erat Principum Moldaviae*). In Classical Latin, *Palatium* used to mean the Palatine Hill, but the term began to refer to the palace of the Caesars found on the Palatine Hill during Augustus' reign, and metaphorically to any palace. This last meaning is retained in Mediaeval and Neo-Latin. Since Bandini knew Italian, the presence of the word *palatium* must have been triggered by the Italian word *palazzo*. There is one context in which *palatium* and *aula* are synonyms (p. 199: *erat enim ultra flumen Aula seu Palatium* "on the other side of the river <Siret> was a Court or a palace"). Bandini used *atrium* (p. 385: *sacellum exterioris palatii atrio contiguum*), the Classical Latin word meaning the main room of a Roman house, to refer to the Palace's Main Hall.

**2.3. The Prince** is usually called *princeps* (*passim*) and rarely *dux* (p. 53: *ecce currus et aurigae a Clementissimo Duce missi*). Both words were taken over from Classical Latin, with their meaning adjusted to the current social and political realities. During Mediaeval Latin, *princeps* (classical "chief, head", which later turned into a permanent title) described a superior rank in the nomenclature of laic and clerical positions; *princeps* was used to refer to the sovereign of the state, and the plural *principes* described the most important dignitaries of the palace. During Imperial Latin, *dux* (classical "guide, leader, commander") is used to refer to a military magistracy and to title of nobility; during the Middle Ages, the same word is employed to talk about a commander of frontier troops, a sovereign or about a title of nobility. In the Latin documents issued by the Romanian Chancelleries, the term *dux* was equivalent to the Slavonic *voievod*. The Italian equivalent forms *principe* and *duce*, familiar to Bandini, offer another possible explanation for the presence of *princeps* and *dux* as appellatives for the Prince in the *Codex*. The Slavonic word *voievod*, used in Romanian, can scarcely be found in the memorandum, with a Latinized and mistakenly spelt form, which seems to have no real phonetic value, maybe with the exception of *-e* instead of the diphthong *-ae*. This use seems to represent only an aestheticizing orthography (p. 109: *Michael Wayvoda princeps utriusque Valachiae*; p. 381: *vaivoda iste*; p. 387: *sedem metropolitanam Vaivodae*). In the third part of the *Codex*, which comprises notes on Moldavian realities, the Romanian term *vodă* is explained: Bandini mentioned the fact that the ruler of the country was referred to with the word *princeps* in Latin and with the word *voda* in Romanian (p. 379: *latine princeps, valachice voda*).

**2.4. The Prince's Consort** is called *principissa* (p. 391) – a word derived with the ancient Greek suffix *-issa*; the term was present in Late Latin and passed in Mediaeval Latin, maybe supported by the Romance model.

**2.5.** To refer to **the noblemen**, especially to the **high nobility**, Bandini used (*passim*) the term *barones* (specific to the Western Mediaeval Latinity)<sup>8</sup> and, just incidentally, *primarii proceres* (p.399). Although the etymology of the word *baro* is uncertain, there seems to be a common consensus regarding the possibility of a Gallic loan<sup>9</sup> *baro/varo* “the officer’s servant” which might explain its existence. In Classical Latin, the term is attested with the meaning of “foolish, dull”, “giant”, whereas in Vulgar and Late Latin, *baro* meant “man, husband, free servant, vassal”. Late glossators used *baro* to refer to “mercenary” (Gloss. II, 569, 29; III, 478, 46), “man, husband” (II, 2 7,54) or “(a powerful person) in a fight” (V, 5922, 13). During St. Augustine’s times, the plural *barones* referred to the dignitaries of the Imperial Court or to military commanders. In Mediaeval Latin, the singular form *baro* still meant vassal, while the plural form, *barones*, referred to the high nobility. In Early Latin, *proceres* was used to refer to the first division of the Roman people which was triggered by the King Servius Tullius’ social reform which led to the creation of a social hierarchy. In Classical Latin, this term designates people with a high status, mainly chiefs. Mediaeval- and Neo-Latin took over the word *proceres* to refer firstly to the sovereign’s retinue, and then to feudal seniors.

When Bandini referred to the nobility in general or to lower ranked noblemen, he employed words from Classical Latin with an adapted meaning, such as *nobiles* (p. 391: *cum omnium fere nobiliorum regnicolarum concursu* “in the presence of almost all noblemen of the country”; p. 411 : *fortuna Baronum et nobilium* “the fate of great noblemen and of all <other> noblemen”), *nobilitas* (p. 389 : *toti aulicae nobilitati* “to the court nobility”) or *proceres* (p. 38: *Procerum in officiis constitutorum munia* “the duties of the noblemen who had dignities”).

**2.6.** The Late Latin word *officialis* is used to refer to **the high officials**. This particular term is both an adjective, meaning “relating to positions, to duties”, and a noun, with the meaning of “civil servant, footman”. In Mediaeval Latin, the noun *officialis* refers to a Palace dignitary who had a high position in the state. The status of “high official” is underlined by the use of a qualifying adjective *supremus*: *supremi officiales* (p. 385), while noblemen who occupied minor dignities were simply called *officiales* (p. 381) or *primores* (p. 391), which are also Classical terms. Every dignity is talked about by using the Romanian word, and its explanation is given in Latin. The lexemes have either a Romanian or a Latinized form, but in both cases the spelling is Hungarian. The words used to describe the Romanian terms were frequently employed in Western Mediaeval- and Neo-Latin: p. 381

<sup>8</sup> In Mediaeval Latin from Central and Eastern Europe, the word *boiero*, *-onis* is frequently used, and in the Romanian Countries, the Latinized form of the Romanian term *boier*: *boierus* is also present.

<sup>9</sup> Isidor of Sevilla *Orig.* 9,4,31 makes a connection with the Greek term *barýs* (*barones Graeco nomine, quod sint fortes in laboribus*).

*Logofetus seu cancellarius*<sup>10</sup>; *Vornik seu iudex*<sup>11</sup> *Terrarum*<sup>12</sup> *Moldavicarum*; *Spatar scilicet armiger*; *Poharnik*<sup>13</sup>, *nempe Pocillator* (on page 245, Bandini used a phrase taken from Late Latin, frequently employed in the Middle Ages, to talk about the Trusted cup-bearer, namely *magister pincernarum*); *Spatar, scilicet armiger*; *Postelnik, nimirum Praefectus*<sup>14</sup> *Aulae* (but on page 273: *Ionachus ... principis Moldaviae Postelnicus seu Aulae praefectus*; p. 385: *Postelniciū; Postelnicios*); p. 381: *kamaras seu thesaurarius*; *Komis seu agazonum et stabuli praefectus* (in Classical Latin *agaso* meant "the horses' groom, coachman"; in Mediaeval Latin written in Hungarian chancellery style, *praefectus agasonum* refers to the great equerry of the Hungarian Kingdom).

Sometimes these words' regional variants are used: p. 383 *Vatas* (bailiff) *seu praefectus lictorum quos aprod seu aprodios nominant* (the term *lictor* – in Classical Latin a generic name for "servant", is explained in this context by the Romanian singular form *aprod*, but with a Latinized plural, *aprodios*); *Usar* (doorkeeper) *seu custodum ad fores Principis praefectus*.

To refer to district governors, Bandini did not use the Romanian word, but a Hungarian Latinized form which was probably extremely familiar to his secretary: *porkolabus sive praefectus Principis* (p. 175).

It seems that Bandini did not understand completely the meaning of all Romanian dignities, consequently explaining some of them incorrectly. For instance, to refer to the *treasurer*, Bandini used the term *cubicularius* (p. 381) which, in Mediaeval Latin, referred to the high nobleman in charge of the Royal suite (*postelnic*). This incorrect interpretation suggests that Bandini mistakenly took the Prince's bedchamber (his bedroom) for the treasure chamber, thus mixing the two dignitaries. The explanation given for the term *uricar* ("clerk / secretary"), otherwise accurately translated with the Latin word *conservator*, is also extremely awkward, because there is no reference to the fact that the clerk, a civil servant in the Prince's chancellery would have also been in charge of the Prince's clothes, as Bandini mentioned: *urikar seu conservator, qui invigilat vestibus et aliis circa Principis splendorem* "uricar or conservator, who takes care of the prince's clothes and other things relating to the Prince's pomp" (p. 381). Bandini tried to explain the Romanian term *uşar* ("doorkeeper"), but he used an incorrect solution (maybe under the influence of the Italian word *porta* or of a word designating a Mediaeval

<sup>10</sup> The term is a creation of Late Latin and becomes synonymous with *notarius* and *scriba*. In the Middle Ages, the term designated the head of a pontifical or royal chancellery.

<sup>11</sup> In Classical Latin, the *iudex* used to be the official who uttered to a judicial formula, and in Mediaeval Latin, he was an official with legal and administrative duties.

<sup>12</sup> Here the noun *terra* bears the meaning of "district", and the reference is made to the High and Low Countries of Moldavia.

<sup>13</sup> It is worth noticing the Hungarian orthography of the word.

<sup>14</sup> In Classical Latin, the term meant a commander of civil or military services which were specified by a noun in the Genitive or Dative case. In Mediaeval Latin, the term was adjusted to describe laic and ecclesiastical positions.

dignity in Moldavia, *portar* “a nobleman being in charge of the protection, protocol etc. of the Prince Court). Thus, doorkeepers (Latinized *usarii*) are called (p.385) *portitores* instead of *ianitores*; but in Classical Latin, *pórtitor* (< *portus* “harbour”) meant “custom officer in a port”. Last, but not least, the Prince’s private scribe, secret adviser or interpreter is referred to with the terms: *secretarius* (created in Late Latin as a derived word from the Classical noun *secretum*, meaning “sexton, keeper of the treasury of a church”, having the meaning found in Bandini’s *Codex* in Mediaeval Latin), *scriba* and *interpres*, words taken over from Classical Latin, without any semantic adjustment.

**2.7. Military commanders** and other military ranks and categories (p. 383, 385, 391, 393) bear different Latin names, some of them specific to Classical or Late Latin; others, coming from Classical Latin, have an entirely changed meaning which was to be found in Mediaeval Latin: *centurio* = “a commander of a military unit of 100 soldiers”; *cohortium praefecti* = “guards’ commanders”; *capitanei* = “captains”; *excubitor*, *satelles* or *satrapes* = “the Sovereign’s watchmen” (we cannot say if Bandini used these terms as synonymous or to express some different meanings); *pedites* = “infantrymen, infantry”; *equites* = “cavalry”; *sclopetarii pedites* = “infantry fusiliers”; *scutatores* = “shield bearers, squires”; *spiculatores* = “halberdiers”; *agmen equitum* = “cavalry squadron”; *dragones* = “cavalry troops fighting both mounted and pedestrian”. To talk about the nobleman who was the supreme army commander when the Prince was not present (Romanian – *mare spătar*), who also occupied the position of *pârcălab* (“governor”), that of *portar al Sucevei* (“high official being in charge of the defence of the capital and of the Prince Court”), Bandini used the Latinized form of a term borrowed from Polish into Romanian, *hatmanus* (rom. *hatman* “minister of war in Moldavia”) or the word *generalissimus* (p. 399), probably more familiar to Bandini. It is worth mentioning that the noun *generalis* which came from the Classical adjective *generalis* “general, universal” was used in Mediaeval Latin as a synonym to *dux* and *campiductor*, meaning “an army commander”. The Turkish cavalry, the janissaries, are referred to with Latinized form: *ianiceri* / *ianicerorum* / *ianiceros*.

**2.8.** To refer to the **Prince’s riding pages** (p. 397), Bandini used a Mediaeval term *stapedarii* “shield bearers”, a derived word from *stapeda* (with the alternating forms *stapes*, *stapedium*, *stapha* “stirrup”). To talk about a young servant of Vasile Lupu, the author employed the ancient word, *ephoebus*, but with a meaning adjusted<sup>15</sup> to Mediaeval realities. It also represents an aestheticizing orthography, specific to this period (in Italian correspondence, such a servant is called *giovanetto*, *cameriere*).

**2.9. Weapons** and other military accessories are described using terms coming from Classical Latin (p. 375: *sagitta* = “arrow”; *arcus cum pharetra* = “bow with quiver”; *gladius anceps* = “double edged sword”; *cassis* = “helmet”; *lorica* = “armour”; *thorax* = “breastplate, thorax”; *clipeus* = “shield”; *hasta* = “spear”),

<sup>15</sup> In Classical Latin, the term (borrowed from Old Greek) meant “a teen-ager between 16 and 20 years old”.



sometimes having an adjusted meaning (p. 375: *gladius incurvus seu framea*<sup>16</sup> = "curved sword, yataghan"; p. 397: *phalera* = "shabrack"), or lexical creations specific to the Mediaeval period (p. 375 *bombarda* = "bombard, ballista, cannon"; *sclopetum* "a firearm")<sup>17</sup>.

**2.10. Courtiers** are called *aulici* (the meaning of "courtier" was specific for the postclassical period and Late and Mediaeval Latin; in Classical Latin, Cornelius Nepos uses the term to mean "Court's slave"). The same reality is designated by the Romanian term *curteni* in another context – p. 385: *barones et nobiles kurtani*.

**2.11. The Court of Law**, described by the Classical word *tribunal* (also present in Mediaeval Latin) is called *divan* "the council room", and Bandini felt the need to stress that this word, borrowed from Turkish, was equally used by many people, among them Romanians and Hungarians (p. 399: *divan vocari solet Turcica lingua, quod ab omnibus sive Valachis, sive Ungaris et aliis usurpatur* "In Turkish, <the Court> is usually called *Divan*, a word used by all people, Wallachians, Hungarians or others").

### 3. RELIGIOUS TERMINOLOGY

Since the large majority of the religious terms used in Bandini's *Codex* are Pan-Mediaeval Latin words related to religious books, objects, canonicals, hierarchy etc. specific to the Roman-Catholic Church, we are not going to insist upon them<sup>18</sup>. Nevertheless, there are other words related to the hierarchy and the life specific to the Moldavian and Wallachian Orthodox Church that are going to be analysed briefly. Some of this words are mentioned in their Romanian form: *vladica* ("bishop"), explained *episcopus* (p. 401) or *episcopus schismaticus* (p. 387); *mătanie* ("prostration, genuflection"): *mataine* (p. 409: *tota ipsorum devotio est crucem facere, quod apud ipsos mataine dicitur* "all their piety consists in the Cross sign which they call *genuflexion*"). Other Romanian terms are morphologically adjusted, and are explained with the help of a Pan-Mediaeval word: *monasterium kalugericzarum seu monialium* (p. 225). Whenever possible, Bandini used a specific terminology designating ecclesiastical ranks if this terminology could also be applied to Orthodox realities, especially since some of these terms were very similar to the Romanian words: *metropolita* (p. 51), *popones*, *calugeros et didascalos schismaticos* "the schismatic priests, monks and psalm readers" (p. 391); *dascalii et*

<sup>16</sup> In Classical Latin, *framea* meant "a spear with an iron top, short and narrow, of German roots". In the short version and not always accurate of the Bandini's text made by the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, the term is translated *scimitarra* "yataghan". Cf. *Călători străini ...*, V, p. 335, n. 26.

<sup>17</sup> The term *bombarda*, with the doublet *bombardum*, seems to be a Mediaeval derivative from the Classical word *bombus* "noise, echo", or the Latinized form of a vernacular loan. *Sclopetum* (with its variants *sclopetus*, *sclopus*, *scloppus*) is a derivative from the Classical onomatopoeic word *scloppus* / *stloppus* "snap".

<sup>18</sup> For details see Marco Bandini, *Codex ...*, p. 447–450 – a glossary of Latin terms referring to Catholic rituals and creed objects.

*poppones* (sic) (p. 409); *poppus* (sic) *seu valachicus sacerdos* (p. 409). The analysis of *didascalus* and *dascalus* reveals interesting facts: first of all, the morphological adjustment of the Romanian word *dascăl* “psalm reader” to the form *dascalus* is extremely important; secondly, due to their similar spelling and meaning, the words are used as synonymous. *Didascalus*, borrowed from Greek, was frequently used in Mediaeval and Neo-Latin (sometimes with the form *didasculus*) to mean “teacher, professor”. The Romanian word *dascăl* meant: 1. “psalm reader”; 2. “teacher”. Thus, it is possible that Bandini, or his secretary, mixed these two meanings, a fact that led to confusion when it came to naming the psalm reader<sup>19</sup>. Sometimes the Romanian word (rendered in a Latinized form) is explained by terms specific to the Catholic Church: *monasteriorum iegumeni seu superiores aut guargiani* (p. 403). In other cases, when describing other elements related to the ecclesiastical hierarchy or to the customs of the Orthodox Church, Bandini used only the terms usually found employed by the Catholic Church: *a superioratu* “from abbacy” (p. 403); *aqua benedicta* or *aqua lustralis*<sup>20</sup> = “holy water” (p. 51); *aspersorium ex floribus basilici* “a bunch of sweet basil” = *sfeștoc* “sprinkler” in Romanian terminology from Wallachia (p. 51). Regardless of the person’s ethnical origin, Bandini used the terms *hungarus* to mean “Catholic” and *valachus* to mean “Orthodox” (for which the author also used *schismaticus*)<sup>21</sup>. Parishioners are called *populus*, except when Bandini used the mediaeval derivate *parochianus* (p. 285). To refer to “guardians”, the author employed the phrase *filius ecclesiae*. To describe a specific Orthodox custom consisting in striking a wooden or metal board in order to call the people to the church (the Romanian *a bate toaca*) just before the bells were tolled, Bandini did not use the Romanian form, but two Classical words, *asser* “board” and *crepitaculum* “tinkle” (p. 419). Finally, Bandini used the term *ergastulum* to refer to “residence”: (p. 41) *conscripta et absoluta Bacoviae in Moldavia in nostro Archiepiscopali Ergastulo* “our described <tour> which ends in Bacău, in Moldavia, at our archiepiscopal residence”. The Latin word *ergastulum* (<gr. *ergázomai*) initially meant “slave workshop or prison”, but during Renaissance, the noun developed a new metaphorical meaning, that of “residence”, due to the fact that the Church ministers working for God were compared to slaves working for their masters in workshops<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> When it comes to the Catholic psalm reader, Bandini uses the Mediaeval and Neo-Latin terms: *cantor* and *praecantor* (p. 207).

<sup>20</sup> The phrase is present in Classical Latin; *aqua lustralis* “holy water” had a purifying role. The phrase passed into Christian and Mediaeval Latin with a semantic adjustment.

<sup>21</sup> The Jesuit Paul Beke also confirms the semantic polarization of these two words: *Omnes Valachi in Moldavia sunt schismatici, Ungari et Saxones catholici et vulgo catholica fides in hac patria vocatur Ungarica fides* “All Wallachians from Moldavia are schismatic, Hungarians and Transylvanian Saxons are Catholic and, in this country, the Catholic faith is called Hungarian faith” (in *Diplomatarium italicum*, II, p. 353).

<sup>22</sup> Marco Bandini, *Codex...*, p. 426, n. 8.

#### 4. TOPONYMY AND ANTHROPONYMY<sup>23</sup>

The variety of proper names present in *Codex Bandinus* is an important testimony regarding the way spoken Romanian was used four centuries ago.

**4.1. Toponymics** appear with a Latinized or a vernacular form. Sometimes, an explanation is also provided. Toponymics, whose form allowed Latinization, suffered a morphological adjustment, most of the times being re-categorised in a flecional class. Those expressing an accusative of direction (*Iassium, Chiprovacium, Hussium, Kuthnarium, Sophiam, Selesnam, Tergovistiam / Tergovistium* a.s.o.), an ablative of separation (*Tergovistio movimus. Kutnario, ex Chiprovacio* a.s.o.) an ablative of place (*Iassii*) are the most frequent ones. To express someone's affiliation to a certain place, Bandini used adjectives derived with the suffix *-ensis* from the toponym: *Hussensis, Saboianensis, Romanensis, Barlodiensis, Iassensis, Amadgensis, Bacoviensis* a.s.o. Some of these Latinized toponyms appear as such in the Mediaeval Latin used within the Romanian Countries (*Brassovia, Bacovia* etc.), while others represent a morphologically adjusted form, which alternated with the Romanian one (*Hus, Jas, Kuthnar* etc.).

Of great interest for the history of Romanian language are the Romanian toponyms derived from appellatives, especially when they are accompanied by an explanation of their meaning or by their Hungarian or Latin translation: (p. 241) *in monte Episcopi* "on the Bishop's Hill"; (*ibid.*) *in monte Sarata* "on the hill of Sărata<sup>24</sup>"; (*ibid.*) *in monte Ploska* "on the hill of Plosca<sup>25</sup>"; *in monte Kevely* "on Mândru's<sup>26</sup> Hill"; (p. 247) *Strunga mons* "Strunga<sup>27</sup> Hill"; (p. 127) *Slobodzia seu liber a servitiis et exactionibus pagus* "Slobozia or the village without obligatory unpaid work and taxes"; (p.141) *Alfalu, valachice Sat de Gsos* "Alfalu<sup>28</sup>, in Romanian Sat de Gios ("the Low Village"); (p. 143) *ungarice Forrofalva, valachice Forovan nominatur* "in Hungarian – Forrofalva, and in Romanian Faraoni"; (p. 143) *Bogdanfalva valachice Valyesak* "Bogdanfalva, in Romanian Valea Sacă<sup>29</sup>"; (p. 145)

<sup>23</sup> The Romanian linguistic elements from *Codex* have been analysed by Traian Diaconescu in "Elemente de limbă română în manuscrisul latinesc *Codex Bandinus* (1648)" (Romanian words in the Latin manuscript *Codex Bandinus*, 1648), in Lucia Wald, Th. Georgescu (coord.), *In memoriam I. Fischer. Omagiul foștilor colegi și discipoli* (Lucia Wald, Th. Georgescu eds., *In Memoriam I. Fischer. Homage paid by former colleagues and followers*), București, Humanitas, 2004, p. 130–145; idem, "Marco Bandini ed i catolici di Moldavia", in *La cultura rumena tra l'Occidente e l'Oriente: gli umanesimi greco-bizantino, latino e slavo*, Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Iași, 21–22 maggio, 2004, p. 58–78; idem, in "Introducere" (Foreword) to Marco Bandini, *Codex...*, p. 12.

<sup>24</sup> In Romanian "salty, salt".

<sup>25</sup> In Romanian, it means "flask", a necked, broad flattened vessel of wood, clay, metal or leather used by peasants in the fields, etc. or ornamentally.

<sup>26</sup> Bandini gives inside the text the Hungarian translation of the Romanian toponym *Mândru* which comes from the adjective *mândru* "proud, conceited, arrogant". The Hungarian adjective *kevely* has the same meanings.

<sup>27</sup> In Romanian: 1. "sheepfold"; 2. "gorge, ravine, pass"; 3. "opening, breach".

<sup>28</sup> In Hungarian, "low village".

<sup>29</sup> "Dry Valley".

*Hidegkut, valachice Fontanella a situs amoenitate et iugi fontium scaturigine vocatur*; “Hidegkut<sup>30</sup> is called in Romanian Fântânele (“Fountains”), a name coming from the splendour of the place and from its numerous springs”; (p. 187) *valachice dicitur Karara Porcsilor, ungarice Dissnok Ösvenye, latine Semita Porcorum* “in Romanian it is called *Cărarea Porcilor* (“The Path of Pigs”), in Hungarian *Disznok Ösvenye* and in Latin *Semita Porcorum*”; (p. 187) *usque ad ... fontem Pricipissae vocatum, valachice autem Funtene Domnei et ungarice a Vajdane Kuttya* “up to the fountain called the *Princess’s*, in Romanian *Fântâna Doamnei* and in Hungarian *Vaidane Kuttya*”; (p. 189): *valachice Piatra, hoc est lapis, dicitur* “in Romanian they call it *Piatra* (“The Stone”), that is *lapis* <in Latin>”.

Nevertheless, some of the etymologies noted by Bandini are his own inventions:

– Bandini thought that the toponym Huși was triggered by a possible presence of Hussites in that particular area (p. 95: *Hus oppidum denominatur a famoso Haeresiarcha Ioanne Huss* “The town is named after the famous heresiarch Ian Huss”), but he had no historical or linguistic support for such a claim. This name was attested before the Hussite Heresy and the adherents of Ian Huss were never called *huși* in Romanian. Moreover, the Latin derived word *hussites* couldn’t create the toponym Huși, because it is a plural noun designating a group of people, originating from the anthroponym Husul, attested in the area in the XVth century<sup>31</sup>.

– Bandini explained the name of the village of Lucăcești as “the village of Saint Luca” (p.135 : *valachice Lukacseste, ungarice Lukacsfalva vocatur, id est Pagus S(ancti) Lucae* “in Romanian it is called Lucăcești, and in Hungarian Lukácsfalva, that is the village of Saint Luca”). In fact, the name derives from the anthroponym Lukács<sup>32</sup> ;

– When talking about the village Săbăoani, Bandini wrote (p. 199): *Szabofalva, scilicet Pagus Sartoris* “Szabófalva, that is “The Tailor’s Village” <in Hungarian>, and in Romanian Săbăoani”. In fact, this name does not derive from the noun *szabó* “tailor”, but from the Hungarian anthroponym *Szabó* > rom. *Sabău*.<sup>33</sup>

– The toponym *Valea Hangului* has an anthroponymic origin. And yet, Bandini translated the Hungarian noun *hang*<sup>34</sup> in Latin: (p. 207) *nominatissima vallis Hang, hoc est Echo, ... quam Bistrice fluvius per lapides et saxa devolutus suo murmure resonantem reddit, ubi cantus novemplici voce reciprocatur* “a very famous valley <called> Hang, i.e. “echo”, in which the sound echoes nine times when the Bistrița River tumbles humming through its stones and rocks.”

– Bandini talked about a man, of German origin (Saxon), from Transylvania whom he considered the first vineyard grower of the region, and from whose name

<sup>30</sup> In Hungarian, “cold water fountain”.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Marco Bandini, *Codex...*, p. 430, n. 10.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 434, n. 61.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 437, n. 118.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 438, n. 128.

the toponym *Cotnar* might have derived. Such a claim may have some historical support: although vineyard growing was a very old occupation in Cotnar, these wines became known due to growers of German origin (Saxons) who were also mentioned in other sources<sup>35</sup>. Nevertheless, the explanation Bandini gave to meaning of that person's name is indeed odd: (p. 235: ... *et ab inventore Gutnar, hoc est bonus stultus, vel ut aliqui volunt Gutnor, scilicet bonus ventus, nomen imposuerunt et postmodum G mutando in K communi vocabulo Kutnar aut Kotthnar inscripserunt* ... "... and from this discoverer Gutnar <whose name means> *bonus stultus*, that is "the good fool", or, as some say, Gutnor, *bonus ventus*, that is "the good wind", they gave the name < to this place> and then, interchanging G in K, they wrote the common name Kutnar or Kotthnar").

– The name of the village Amăgei is either a collective nickname given to some Catholic inhabitants settled on the Cotnar estate or a plural of an anthroponym *Amăgeu* which could come from the noun *amăgeu* "liar", attested in Miron Costin and Dimitrie Cantemir. Bandini offered two explanations, one acceptable and other completely far-fetched: (p. 247) *Amadsei hoc est deceptor, tum quia homines incolunt arte decipiendi praepollentes, tum quia vinum quod ibi nascitur bibones suavitae deceptos prosternit*. "<The village bears the name of> Amăgei, that is "delusive", either because the people up there are very good in deceiving or because the wine seduces the drinkers with its sweetness, putting them to the ground.")<sup>36</sup>.

– Bandini offered a typical popular etymology to the toponym Iași (Jassy) (p. 247: *Ungarice Iasvasar, valachice Ias, latine lassium vel lassi, sic denominatum tradunt ab opilione huius nominis, qui prius boves in eodem loco pascebat, in quo postmodum Aula Principum erecta*. "In Hungarian <it is called> *Iasvasar*, in Romanian *Iași*, in Latin *lassium* or *lassi*. It is believed that the city was named after a cow-boy who once took his cattle to pasture in the same place where the princes' palace was later erected."). In fact, the toponym reminds of a group of military units whose name represents the adjustment of the Russian version *jasy* of the name given to Alani Jazyges or Ossetians<sup>37</sup>, who were present in those territories at the beginning of the XIV<sup>th</sup> century.

– The name of the city Roman is explained as below: (p. 193) *Quasi nova Roma a colonis ex Italia in Daciam translati appellata* "<The town> was called a kind of New Rome, from the colonists displaced from Italy to Dacia". This etymology represents an old *topos* of Romanian Humanism, as can be seen from the description of Iași (Jassy) (p. 249: *Longe spectans civitas quasi nova Roma apparet* "From far away, the town seems to be a new Rome"). The name of the city Roman might originate in the name of a local chief.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 440, n. 160.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 440, n. 176.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 440, n. 178.

**4.2. The anthroponyms**<sup>38</sup> recorded by Marco Bandini in the list of priests, deacons and parishioners from the thirty three Moldavian Catholic parishes present numerous Romanian elements, beside the Hungarian, German, and Italian ones. These anthroponyms also reflect several aspects concerning everyday life, being an indirect means that offer information regarding the way individuals situated themselves within their social class. These anthroponyms may be classified in the following categories:

– calendar names: *Luka* (p.301), *Manul* (p. 289, 295), *Nikora* (p. 349)

– hypocoristics: *Barbocz* (p. 315; 325), *Dumitras* (p.297), *Giörgyicze* (p.297), *Jonasko* (p. 313), *Martinel* (p. 345), *Petras* (p. 293), *Petrasko* (p.275), (p. 293, 307), *Toncea* (< Anton; p.343), *Truczul* (343)

– nicknames coming from appellatives: *Balan* (p. 313), *Barbalat* (p. 343), *Barbat* (p. 353), *Barbos* (p. 315), *Barkucz* (p. 347), *Brenza* (p. 343), *Csula* (p. 353), *Czigan* (p. 349, 355), *Csukul* (p. 293), *Longocz* (p. 313), *Prepelicz* (p. 349), *Roska* (p. 297), *Topor* (p.299) *Ureki*<sup>39</sup> (p. 403) etc.

It is worth mentioning the nickname of the Moldavian Prince Stefan Rareș (1551–1552), namely *Belicâne* which had its origin in the ruler's habit to skin dogs just for fun. This nickname became a family name in Romanian<sup>40</sup>: (p. 229) *ab ipsis quoque Valachis Belikine vocatur, id est excorians canes; eo quod canum latratus non ferens, illis in tota Moldavia bellum indixit, ac prae stultitia insigniores canes coram excorari iussit eorumque eiulatu mirifice delectabatur* “the Wallachians themselves gave him the nickname of *Belicâne*, meaning “one who skins dogs”, for he couldn't stand dogs barking, he declared war to them throughout Moldavia and, in his madness, ordered to skin the biggest ones under his very eyes, pleasing himself with their howling”.

– names coming from appellatives defining people's occupations: *Butnar* “cooper” (p. 315), *Csoban* “shepherd” (p. 335), *Korcsomar* “innkeeper” (p. 353), *Kosocar* “skinner” (p. 343), *Kurular* “strap/harness/belt maker” (p. 345), *Pakorar / Pekurar / Pokorar* “shepherd” (p. 315 / 321 / 303) etc.

– feminine words derived with the suffix *-oai* which referred to the wife of a man bearing that particular name: *Anna Tamasoje, vidua* (p. 343), *Barbara Brenzoje, vidua* (p. 347).

Two other anthroponyms drew our attention. The first one is the name of a Greek man from Iași (Jassy) (p.57: *ergo utatur ... cuiusdam Graeci, Barba nuncupati, opera* “consequently, the services of a Greek named Barba should be used”). In fact, *Barba* was not that person's name, but the vocative of *barbas*, meaning “uncle” in Greek; this noun is usually used as a way of addressing an uncle or an

<sup>38</sup> See Traian Diaconescu in “Elemente de limbă română ...” (Romanian elements ...), p. 142–145 and Ion A. Florea, “Elemente românești în structura numelor de familie ale catolicilor din Moldova” (Romanian elements in the structure of Catholic surnames in Moldavia), in *Convorbiri literare* n°. 11, 2003, p. 108–110.

<sup>39</sup> It is about the spatharus Neculai Ureche, son of Vasile Ureche, who was the brother of Grigore Ureche.

<sup>40</sup> Traian Diaconescu, “Elemente de limbă română ... (Romanian elements ...), p. 136.

older person. The other anthroponym, *Grossul*, is the name of many Catholics registered in Bandini's list; one of these man had a German origin (Saxons) (p. 87: *Reverendus Dominus Georgius Grossul Baniensis, Saxo natione et Kutnariensis parochus* "the reverend George Grossul, a Transylvanian of German origin (Saxon) from Baia and vicar in Cotnar"; p.163: *unum huius Provinciae filium, patria Baniensem Saxonem, scilicet Georgium Grossul ... sacerdotii dignitate nobilitavit* "one of the sons of this Province, a Transylvanian of German origin (Saxon) from Baia, namely George Grossul ... promoted him to a dignity of priest"). It is worth mentioning here the Romanian form of this surname, with the enclitic article *-l*, which resembles formally and semantically the German word *gross* "big" (the Romanian *gros*). In other contexts, the name appears in its German form (p.213: *a familia de Gros pro Baiensi ecclesia empta* "bought by the Gross family for the Church in Baia"; p. 219: *Georgius Gros Baiensis* "George Gross from Baia").

## 5. EVERYDAY LIFE

**5.1.** Bandini described the poor conditions he encountered when travelling towards Moldavia, his lack of money for travel expenses or the toll he had to pay when crossing the Danube. To talk about these realities, the author used either terms taken over from Classical Latin without any semantic change (p. 47: *viaticum* "travel expenses, travel victuals"; *vadum Danubii* "Danube ford"), or words which passed from Late Latin to Mediaeval Latin (p. 49: *telonium* "customs").

All currencies' names and measurement units for distances mentioned in the *Codex* are those used in Latin during that particular period: *taleri imperiales* "imperial thalers", *solidi Polonici* "Polish *solidi*", *Ungarici ducati, vulgo Leones seu taleri Leonis* "Hungarian ducats, thalers with lions or lions", *ungarica milliaria* "Hungarian miles", *leuca* "league" etc.

Bandini recorded a series of other *realia* to which he referred using terms: (a) borrowed from Romanian, providing sometimes an explanation in Latin or Hungarian; (b) semantically adapted terms originating in Classical Latin; (c) Mediaeval Latin terms:

– (p.135) *valachice vocatur pecura, ungarice deget, latine axungia* "in Romanian they call it *păcură* "crude oil", in Hungarian *deget*, in Latin *axungia*". In Classical Latin, *axungia* meant "lard used to grease wheels"; here the word is semantically adapted to the reality it expressed. In the Hungarian dialects spoken in Bacău, Mureș, Harghita and Covasna counties, *deget* is the name for crude oil<sup>41</sup>.

– (p. 95) *cucurbitam vino plenam* "calabash full of wine". The term *cucurbita*, which meant "pumpkin" in Classical Latin, was chosen by Bandini to describe the vessel made by hollowing out a special sort of pumpkin<sup>42</sup> in which the inhabitants of Huși offered wine to strangers as a sign of special affection.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Marco Bandini, *Codex...* p. 434, n. 66.

<sup>42</sup> In Romanian *tiugă* or *tiğvă*.

– (p. 187) *et suam ocsinam, id est patrimonium, vocitant* “and they call it «their *ocina*», that is a property inherited from parents”; *patrimonium* is also a word taken over as such from Classical Latin.

– (p. 223) *Krama seu domus vinaria* “*Krama* or wine cellar”

– (p.375) Sable furs liming the coats of noblemen are called *sebellinae pelles*, a widely used term in the Latin spoken during the Middle Ages.

– (p. 120) Narrating about the miracle carried out in Stănești by Saints Cosma and Damian, who cured the wife of a local townsman, Bandini referred to the couple with two terms which, in Classical Latin, designated the head of the family and his wife: *pater familias* and *mater familias*.

**5.2.** The fact that Bandini tried to depict his trip as accurate as possible is visible in his use of terms related to several rituals whose purpose was to drive away epidemic diseases:

– (p. 135) *superstitiosissima gens Valachorum Priapos ad omnem aditum viarum erexit tali figura. Ingentem arborem quercinam populares exciderunt, cui humanam faciem pedes et manus fabrili opere effinxere, statua haec praestigiosa in manu dextra tenet sceptrum, vel arcum duabus sagittis intensum, in laeva frameam, qua vibrata ictum minari videtur.* “extremely superstitious, the Wallachian nation, erected at every crossroad some *Priapi* which were made as follows: peasants cut an enormous oak; then artisans curved on its surface a human face, hands and legs; this magic statue holds in its right hand a sceptre or a stretched bow with two arrows, and in the left hand a spear which, when vibrated, seemed to strike”. It is worth mentioning the equivalence Bandini made between these anthropomorphic pillars having a protective function and the God Priapus. No doubt he used familiar symbols known by the cultivated Roman clergy, for some of the characteristics of Priapus could resemble the Romanians anthropomorphic descriptions: some statues of this deity protecting gardens and fertility were curved in a single tree and were placed in the middle of plantations to chase away birds and thieves (hence, they defended the crops against any disease).

Bandini mentioned another ritual which he encountered at the Transylvanian boarder, whose purpose was to drive away the plague. In one version, ten virgins were supposed to go out nude during a dark night and to run around the village, singing and throwing lighted sticks; ten necked lads, carrying spears, had to cross the virgins’ way, to salute them and hit their spears against the lighted sticks. The same ritual had another version: ten nude lads harnessed themselves to ploughs and furrowed around the village. During this time, ten singing and laughing virgins were driving them around and villagers, armed with clubs, sat on the furrow facing Transylvania. Bandini did not use the classical term *virgines* “virgins” or *adulescentes* “lads” when he talked about the characters performing the ritual. He preferred to use the phrases *puellae praegrandes* or *annosae*, and *iuvenes* to underline the fact that both the girls and the boys had already reached the marriage age.



**5.3.** Bandini also reproduced the words uttered in Romanian by the Romanian Prince, Matei Basarab, and a Latin translation of a saying of Vasile Lupu, the latter keeping a purely Romanian word order and content. These two occurrences are included in our analysis of *realia* terminology.

– (p. 51) *Princeps ... curiose interrogat in hunc modum : Cse dzicse ? hoc est quid dicit ?* “The Prince ...curiously asked as follows: *Cse dzicse*: meaning *What is <he> saying ?*”

– (p. 267) *Bene dixisti, monache. At meministine quid Christus Dominus Sancto Petro dixerit ? Qui gladio quaerit gladio etiam peribit. Credas mihi, monache, quia si civem meum securem laessisses, eadem securi caput tuum praescindi curassem* “Well said, father, but do you remember what our Lord Jesus told Saint Peter? *For all those who take the sword will die by the sword*. Believe me, father, if you had axed one of my men, I would have had you decapitated with the same axe.”<sup>43</sup>

**5.4.** Bandini’s memorandum also mentions some *realia* specific to neighbouring countries, especially to Turks and Tartars. Thus, the Western terminology used in Mediaeval and Neo-Latin to talk about the Ottoman Empire and its Emperor are also to be found in this text: *Turcicum Imperium, Otthomanica Porta* (p. 109), *Imperatoria Aula Turcarum* (p.381), *Otthomanicus Imperator* (p. 109 ; 411), *Caesar Turcarum* (p. 109 ), *Imperator Turcarum, Turca* (p. 109). The Great Khan of Tartars is referred to with Latinized term used in Mediaeval Latin: *magnus chamus Tartarorum* (p.109) and the other Tartar commanders have the title *dux* (p. 107 : *Tartarorum Dux Kantamir*). Latinized forms are also used to refer to the Nogai Tartars – *nahaienses <Tartari>*, to high Ottoman dignitaries and the dignities: (p. 411) *vezerii, bassae, vezeriatius* etc. (all of them present in Mediaeval Latin).

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

**6.1.** The vocabulary of *realia* Bandini encountered during his travel through Moldavia and mentioned in the report he sent to the Congregation *De propaganda Fide* has a composite structure: besides Classical terms (which are very frequent and were taken over as such from Latin or were semantically adjusted to designate new realities), there are also words from Late, Mediaeval or Neo-Latin, as well as borrowings from vernacular languages (most frequently from Romanian and Hungarian), borrowings which were taken over as such or adjusted morphologically (Latinized).

The influence of Italian, a language familiar to both Bandini and his assistant, Peter Parčević, is visible in the use of certain terms (*palatium, dux, generalissimus*, etc.). Loans from vernacular languages can have two possible explanations: on the one

<sup>43</sup> In Romanian: “Bine ai grăit, părinte, dar îți amintești ce i-a spus Domnul <nostru Isus> Cristos Sfântului Petru ? *Cine scoate sabia, de sabia va pieri*. Crede-mă, părinte, că dacă ai fi rânit cu securea vreun târgoveț de-al meu, cu aceeași secure m-aș fi îngrijit să îți se taie capul” .

hand, they were used for a long time in Mediaeval Latin (for instance *boiero*, *chamus*); on the other hand, Bandini wanted to inform the reader as accurate as he could when it came to the meanings and functions of some institutions, customs, objects, or onomastics specific to the area he visited and described.

**6.2.** From the spelling's point of view, one can discover forms specific to the period the memorandum was written in, and also aestheticizing orthographies such as *ephoebus*, *Transylvania*, also present in the Mediaeval Hungarian Latin orthography. We only mention here the graphical fluctuations between *e* and *o* when reproducing the sound [ã] (*pecura*, *Pokorar*), or those between *u* and *e* for [î] respectively (*Funtene*, *Brenza*). Fluctuations can also be found when Bandini attempted to reproduce graphically the fricatives [ş], [j] and the affricates [ţ] and [č]. Thus, [j] is written either *z*, or *s* (*Kozokar*, *Kosokar*); [ţ] spelled as *z* (*Galazi*), *cz* (*Czigan*), or *cs* (*Radaucs*), whereas [ş] appears as *ss* (*Hussium*), and [č] is written as *cs* (*Csolan*) or *cz* (*Coczan*).

6.2.1. Certain spellings reflect the author's effort to reproduce the Romanian pronunciation. The articulation of the diphthong *oa* as an opened *o* was specific to Transylvania (*Nicora* = *Nicoară*), which thus reflects the Transylvanian origin of many Catholics from Moldavia; the spelling *Ureki* reproduces the Moldavian pronunciation of the name *Ureche*; the form *Keczani* (= *Chetcani*) of the Romanian toponym *Steţcani* (< anthroponym *Steţco*), which became *Teţcani* through aphaeresis, seems to confirm a palatalized pronunciation of the [t] sound, as spoken in Transylvania. At the same time, palatalizing the consonant *p-* at the beginning of a word (*Getre* = *Chetre* = *Petre*) was a frequent phenomenon in Moldavia. The Moldavian pronunciation of the voiceless labiodental fricative consonant *f* as a voiceless velar fricative is also confirmed by a village name, *Filip*, mentioned by Bandini as *pagus Hilip*.

**6.3.** From the morphological point of view, we have to mention the hesitations relative to the affiliation of some names to certain flexional classes, confirmed by the presence of several doublets such as *popa* / *poppus* *Valachus*, *Tergovistiam* / *Tergovistium*, and also the presence of some person's names having an enclitic article *-l*, a frequent phenomenon in old Romanian – *Csukul*, *Manul* etc. –, and some Romanian inflected forms – *Funtene Domnei*, *Karara Porcsilor*.

**6.4.** We cannot conclude this brief linguistic analysis of Bandini's text without mentioning its literary value<sup>44</sup>. The story, discontinued by foreshortenings, anticipations and digressions, the static or dynamic descriptions, the characters' porters full of picturesque and expressive descriptions, the moving, baroque speeches, all these represent elements that transform Bandini's text from a historical source of indisputable documentary value into a work of incontestable artistic value.

<sup>44</sup> See in this effect the comments of Traian Diaconescu in *Introducere* (Foreword) to Marco Bandini's *Codex*, p. 16–19.