FROM **GLOSSES** TO **DICTIONARIES**

THE BEGINNINGS OF LEXICOGRAPHY

Edited by

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The Beginnings of Lexicography

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From Glosses to Dictionaries? An Introduction

Chiara Benati and Claudia Händl

Whenever confronted with linguistic questions, uncertainty, doubts or curiosities, contemporary speakers, readers, students and scholars grab a mono-, bilingual, historical or etymological dictionary (either physically or metaphorically, using an online resource) to look up the word or phrase they need and find help. Dictionaries have been part of our culture for so long that they are often taken for granted, as if they had always existed. But how were dictionaries born? What do we know about the beginnings of lexicography in the various traditions? What was the aim of the first dictionaries? To whom were they addressed?

The origins of Western lexicography are often put in connection with glosses and glossaries, generally assuming a linear evolution from interlinear, marginal and contextual glosses, to single-text, thematically ordered *glossae collectae*, alphabetical glossaries and, finally, dictionaries. Nevertheless, the relationship between glosses and dictionaries is not so straightforward and cannot be reduced to this simplistic genetic and evolutionary dependence, since the glossographic tradition does not automatically stop with the emergence and diffusion of dictionaries. The weakness of the above-mentioned paradigm is further highlighted if one steps back from a West-Eurocentric perspective and moves toward a more global approach to the beginnings of lexicography, taking into consideration different epochs, languages and traditions around the world.

The present volume aims not only at sketching—on the basis of a series of significant case studies ranging from Antiquity to Modern Times—the relationship between glosses and dictionaries, but also at highlighting, on the one hand, the importance of glossographic sources for the compilation of modern-day dictionaries of the historical phases of a language and, on the other, the interpretative challenge connected to their use in a lexicographic context. These closely-related and often intertwined themes are approached from a wide spectrum of different perspectives in the five parts constituting this collection of essays, which are dedicated—

respectively—to Classical and Late Antiquity, the English, Irish, Slavic and Japanese traditions.

The complexity of the dependence relationship between glosses and dictionaries in a global perspective clearly emerges from the dialogue among various contributions. While, in fact, Theodor Georgescu's essay on the birth of modern lexicography in Hellenistic Greece as a result of the need to explain to the contemporary audience both Homeric poems and Attic drama proves the assumption of a linear development from glosses to dictionaries, in her piece on the relevance of Old English glossographic tradition for the history of the English language, Patrizia Lendinara underlines how, despite the exterior similarities between Anglo-Saxon alphabetical glossaries and dictionaries, the former had completely different sources, aims and expected readerships and cannot, therefore, "be described as lexicography *tout court*". In his article on Osbern Pinnock's twelfth-century Latin dictionary known as *Panormia*, John Considine epitomizes the difference between this text and earlier collections of glosses in terms of opposition between a theoretical and a practical approach to words and meanings.

A straight evolutionary development from glosses (to glossaries and from glossaries) to dictionaries is, on the other hand, excluded as sole explanation for the emergence of Japanese lexicography, as Antonio Manieri's contribution on the relation between the tenth-century bilingual Sino-Japanese dictionary known as *Wamyōruijushō* and the corpus of glossaries usually referred to as *Nihongi shiki* perfectly demonstrates, showing that the opposite path is also possible. This backward path and a substantial circularity in the relationship between glosses and dictionaries also emerge from the two essays dedicated to the Slavic tradition by Kira Kovalenko and Katarzyna Jasińska, Magdalena Klapper, Dorota Kołodziej, dealing with Russian sixteenth-century handwritten lexica and with the Polish redaction of the *Vocabularius ex quo*, respectively.

The interpretative challenge for modern readers and users represented by the use of medieval glossaries as sources is the main theme of Sharon Arbuthnot's contribution on medieval Irish glossographic material in the twentieth-century *Dictionary of the Irish Language* and, consequently, for its electronic version, the *Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language* (*eDIL*).

Apart from the question of a genetic dependence from glosses and glossaries, the beginnings of lexicography are also connected with the progressive distinction and differentiation of various kinds of dictionaries, such as, for example, mono-, bilingual, specialized or etymological dictionaries. This last category of lexica is at the center of Simona Georgescu's article,

which, on the basis of a corpus of terms related to the Dionysian cult, aims at showing how Byzantine etymological dictionaries provide important insights on contemporary mentalities.

Dictionaries play a fundamental role in the acquisition of a second language, as witnessed by the very existence of a particular category of monolingual dictionaries known—in English speaking countries—as 'learners' dictionaries'. The didactic use of word lists in Classical antiquity is thoroughly analyzed in Chiara Fedriani's essay on the lexicon and dialogic structure of bilingual Greek/Latin dialogues in the *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana*, which highlights how second-language acquisition was considered a natural language performance connected to the completion of everyday duties and activities and, therefore, highly dependent on the learning of vocabulary and phraseology. Hence, again, the importance of dictionaries!

Going back to the questions posed at the beginning of this introduction, the present volume, which has no claim of being exhaustive, will probably only provide partial answers to some of them, while new questions and cues for reflection and further research will raise. In any case, we hope to have created the floor for a global, comparative and interdisciplinary approach to the earliest phases of the history of lexicography and, thus, to have laid the basis for an effective communication among scholars of different disciplines working on analogous topics and, possibly, for further collaboration in the research on the beginnings of lexicography across language areas and historical periods.

PART I:

CLASSICAL AND LATE ANTIQUITY

FROM GREEK CLASSICAL TEXTS TO THE FIRST DICTIONARIES: THE BIRTH OF MODERN LEXICOGRAPHY[1]

THEODOR GEORGESCU

Introduction

The Greek language provides us with probably the best tools to find out how the first dictionaries were born in the European culture. Given the uninterrupted written tradition in Greek, from the Homeric period to the Byzantine era—spanning nearly 20 centuries!—the old texts, often unintelligible in many ways, had to be explained to a contemporary audience. The need to explain Homeric texts and Attic drama was first felt during the Hellenistic era (4th century) in Alexandria, when the first scholia on the old texts were made in order to explain grammatical, dialectical and different issues of *realia*. This is how philology was born, while the grammarians who worked on the annotation of the old texts were the predecessors of the later lexicographers.

Our aim is to show how the first Greek dictionaries emerged, starting from the first scholarly annotations to classical texts. For modern lexicography, it is compulsory to understand how the first lexicon entries were created, what they contained, whether the first dictionaries were works of authorship or rather lexical encyclopaedias born from the combination of various grammar annotations. We will trace back these issues by focusing on lexicography works from late antiquity.

Studying the relationship between classical texts from the Homeric and the Classical periods, the scholia from the Alexandrian epoch and the first lexica from the beginning of the Byzantine era is perhaps the best way to observe the evolution from glosses to dictionaries.

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[1] This article is a readjustment and partially a translation of an older study, published under the title of "Primele dicționare ale Europei" in *Studii Romanice I*, ed. Coman Lupu, 2018, pp. 497–505.

The political and social context of the birth of philology

By the end of the 5th century, when Sparta conquers Athens after the Peloponnesian War, major changes take place in the history of Greece. With the leadership of the thirty tyrants, Athens loses its independence, and in spite of restoring democracy over several years, it will not regain the climate of freedom that existed in the past. Over the next 50 years, a new power will slowly increase: Macedonia. It will end up by conquering the entire Greece and by extending the power far eastward, under the reign of Alexander the Great.

The loss of the Athenian democracy played an important part in the emergence of the first dictionaries.

After Alexander the Great's "adventure" in Asia, and—as a consequence of successive wars between his former generals and their descendants (*diadohoi* and *epigones*)—the division of the empire in what was then called the "Hellenistic" kingdoms, Ptolemy I Soter laid the foundation of the first University of Europe: it was to be set up in northern Africa, at the mouth of the Nile, in the city founded by Alexander himself—Alexandria. He established two institutions that would serve each other for a long time: the *Mouseion* ("shrine of the Muses"), a research center for various fields of knowledge (astronomy, medicine, philology, etc.), and the Library, a place where everything that had been written by that time was to be stored and consulted. Before the devastating fire in Caesar's times, during the Alexandrian War (1st century AD), the Library had accumulated about 700,000 *volumina*—rolls of papyrus on which great part of the literature had been copied. It was around these two institutions that scholars from all over the world would be drawn by a proactive policy led by Ptolemy II Philadelphus (Montanari, Matthaios and Rengakos eds. 2011). The latter wanted, on the one hand, Alexandria to become Europe's new cultural center, after the fall of Athens, and, on the other hand, to turn some of the writers—hosted there at the expense of the state—into more or less active supporters of imperial propaganda.

As far as philology was concerned, the two institutions marked the beginning of the systematic study of classical literature. This concern can primarily be explained by the language difference that had developed between the "Greek of Homer" (most probably dating back to the 8th century BC), and the Greek language of the 3rd century BC: the latter was a common unified language (*koiné*), based on the Ionic-Attic dialect, but cleansed of its Attic regionalisms. The literary public of the Hellenistic period did not fully understand the Homeric texts, and even certain words in the tragedy and comedy of the 5th century BC remained obscure to them. Thus, the

readers needed explanations for a correct understanding of the words in each context.

Moreover, Hellenistic Age poets sought inspiration in the works of authors belonging to remote periods (both Homer and the poetry of the 7th–6th centuries BC), which, once again, determined the need for lexical explanations.

We must be aware of the fact that different versions of Homer and other classical writers were circulating at that time. Hence the urgent need to establish unitary texts. The efforts of the philologists hosted in Alexandria focused on inventorying the texts, determining their paternity and editing them; in parallel, they felt the need to comment upon these works from various points of view. It is these marginal notes that would give birth to the scholia—the first commentaries on old texts, preserved, in a subsequently completed form, to this day, for authors such as Homer, Pindar, Aristophanes, Sophocles and others (Dickey 2007).

To sum up, we can say that two major factors triggered the birth of what today we call "philology": on the one hand, the need to explain the out-of-use words found in archaic and classical authors; on the other, the fashion that emerged during the Hellenistic period to use old words in new poems; this called for a full-time "job" of indexing the out-of-use vocabulary with a view to reusing (or recycling, as we might say today) it. Together with the first editions of classical authors and the scholia or commentaries, the first lexica came into being.

The Library of Alexandria

Founded in 285 BC, the Alexandria Library was first led by Zenodotus of Ephesus (c. 325–270). Among other things, Zenodotus focused on editing the Homeric epic poems and works by the lyrical poets (in the Archaic era). He is also the first known author to have drawn up a glossary explaining the Homeric vocabulary, entitled Περὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου συνηθείας, "About the Usage of the Words in Homer". A few excerpts of this glossary were preserved in Eusthatius's work, himself an author of commentaries on Homer, in the 12th century AD.

The oldest lexicon therefore emerged in the context of the growing need for explanations, in the Alexandrian period, of the author lying at the foundation of Greek education. It should be mentioned that certain terms in the epic poems were difficult to understand even in the pre-Alexandrian period. From the few preserved fragments, we can notice how the poetic terms that had come out of use were explained by a newer word:

(Zenod. fr. 254) εἶσα, ταυτὸν σημαίνει τῇ μοίρᾳ.
"'by fate', which means 'by destiny'".

There is evidence that Zenodotos' professor, Philetas (born in 340 BC), was the author of a glossary of obscure words (Ἄτακτοι γλῶσσαι "Unorderly listed words"), testimonies of which were preserved in Byzantine dictionaries:

e.g. EM 330, 39 ἑλινός· ἡ ἄμπελος, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος. Φιλήτας δ' ἐν Γλώσσαις τὸν κλάδον τῆς ἀμπέλου
"ἑλινός: vine, as Apollodorus says. Philetas <calls it> 'vine shoot' in his *Words*".

The following chief librarians also created various lexicographical works:
- Callimachus, who, besides his poetry, drew up several lexicographical works: a catalogue of authors and works called Πίνακες "Catalogues"; a work of "dialectology", dealing with the geographical areas where certain words were used; Ἐθνικαὶ ὀνομασίαι "Ethnic names", excerpts of which can be found in Athenaios (e.g. how a fish is called in a community or another); he also wrote an author's lexicon devoted to Democritus's work (Πίναξ τῶν Δημοκρίτου γλωσσῶν καὶ συνταγμάτων "Catalogue of words and idioms used by Democritus").
- Apollonios of Rhodes (c. 295–215 BC), mainly known as author of the epic work *Argonautica*, was also a grammarian, following the tradition established by his professor, Callimachus.
- the third head of the Library was Eratosthenes of Cyrene (c. 280–c. 194 BC); just like the others, besides being a scientist, he also made an inventory of the technical vocabulary; he is thought to be the author of a treaty called Σκευογραφικόν, "Handbook of tools", which gathered the terms employed by craftsmen, mainly using the classical comedy as a source. Excerpts of this treaty were preserved in the works of grammarian Polydeukes (Pollux) (Bethe 1967[2]).

The most fertile period for philology began with the fourth librarian, Aristophanes of Byzantium (c. 257–c. 180 BC). With the far-reaching capacity of a true scholar, he edited the texts of Homer, Hesiod, Pindar or the lyrical poets, as well as Aristophanes, and there are testimonies that he also worked on editing Sophocles, Euripides and Menander. We cannot know for sure whether he only edited the text or also left marginal notes explaining his editorial options. It is worth mentioning that the invention of the graphic accent is also attributed to him. It is certain that, by gathering information from his forerunners, he wrote numerous "introductions" to classical tragedies and comedies, giving details about the circumstances in

which the plays were composed: this pattern of philological introduction has been preserved to the present day, under different forms in various periods. Just like his predecessors, he also had lexicographic interests, born as a result of his editing work. Several headings of sections, out of a glossary titled Λέξεις "Words" have been preserved: Περὶ ὀνομασίας ἡλικιῶν "About the Names of the Ages" (i.e., how various beings were called at a certain age), Περὶ συγγενικῶν ὀνομάτων "About Kinship Terms", Περὶ τῶν ὑποπτευομένων μὴ εἰρῆσθαι τοῖς παλαιοῖς "About the Words that We Suspect our Ancestors Did Not Use" (i.e. about postclassical words), Περὶ βλασφημιῶν "About Insults", Ἀττικαὶ λέξεις "Attic Words", Λακωνικαὶ γλῶσσαι "Laconian Words". Excerpts from the sections were preserved in scholia or in late grammarians, such as:

(Ar.Byz. 274.12) βρέφος· τὸ ἄρτι γεγονός
"baby: the newly born".

Although scarce, the information about the next chief librarians nevertheless attests to a perduring lexicographic interest. The fifth librarian was a certain Apollonius, about whom we only know that he was called εἰδογράφος "the classifier of forms" (in *Etymologicum Magnum*). More famous was the sixth, Aristarchus of Samothrake (c. 216–145 BC), who made numerous commentaries on the classical texts and was particularly interested in Homeric studies. After him, the Alexandrian Philology School started disintegrating. The scholars left Alexandria in order to escape the persecution of Ptolemy VIII, as Aristarchus took the side of his rival in the dispute for the throne. Aristarchus's students spread to various cities. Apollodorus of Athens (c. 180–110 BC) went to Pergamon, where there was a school of grammar that equaled the Alexandrian school. There he would write a work on chronology and a commentary on the Iliad's ship catalogue (book II).

Another student of Aristarchus', Dionysios Thrax (approx. 170–90 BC), founded a school in Rhodes, where he wrote grammar treatises, of which a few fragments have been preserved in late commentaries. No work, from this entire "Alexandrian" period, has been preserved in its original form; the only traces that we find today of those philological works are citations in more recent authors. By studying them, we can still observe that, initially, the first lists of words, organized by semantic fields—not alphabetically—were intended not for the readers, but for the writers. The original purpose of most of the lexicographical works was not so much to explain the vocabulary, as to provide the writers of the time with lists of words, assigned to certain lexical fields, that would help them in their writing. These authors were drawing their inspiration from classical literature, and, by using rare

words found in Homer or in tragedies, aimed to impress a very refined audience of the imperial court in Alexandria. Moving further on, we could say that the first lexicographic attempts were born out of the desire to impress the contemporary audience of the Hellenistic era at a time when a certain loss of inspiration was balanced by strong erudition.

The School of Alexandria laid the foundation for philology. It was then that the first editions of classical authors appeared, annotated with grammatical, dialectological, semantic and cultural explanations. During the same period, the first glossaries were created—as seen previously, for the "internal use" of the Hellenistic authors. After this first phase of pioneering work (3rd–2nd century BC), there came the second phase (starting from the 1st century BC), that of creating the necessary instruments for studying the archaic texts. Some philologists devoted themselves to writing grammars or commentaries on post-classical authors (especially those of the Hellenistic period), others continued to deal with classical literature, writing syntheses of older commentaries. It is thanks to the latter that fragments from the Alexandrian scholars have endured.

Some names are worth mentioning: Tyrannion (c. 100–25 BC), a student of Dionysios Thrax, founded in Rome a new study center; fragments preserved in Herodian attest to his interest in the Homeric metrics. His student, Diocles (1st century BC–1st century AD), wrote a commentary on his professor's works. Tryphon (1st century BC) drew up glossaries and grammar treatises, from which several excerpts have been preserved. Philoxenos (1st century BC) is thought to be the author of a treatise about monosyllabic verbs (Περὶ μονοσυλλάβων ῥημάτων). The most prolific of them was, however, Didymos (1st century BC–1st century AD), nicknamed *Chalkenteros* "with copper intestines", due to his long-standing dedication to books, according to a testimony of the *Suda* lexicon. He is said to have written around 4,000 books—which owed him another nickname, Βιβλιολάθας "the one who can't remember how many books he wrote", as Athenaios put it. He compiled commentaries of his predecessors (especially Aristarchos).

It is to all these authors that we owe the continuation of studies that had commenced in Alexandria. The indications they provide, although very fragmentary, are of great value, for, apart from the fact that they were Ancient Greek speakers and interpreted classical texts from this perspective, they also had access to much older manuscripts, unlike us, who only have access to manuscripts dating from the Medieval Age. Moreover, they had in their libraries the works of authors that are lost today.

The Greek lexica

The oldest lexica preserved date back to the 1st century AD and are the result of the syntheses of previous works. They were conceived as glossaries containing difficult terms, focusing on certain authors, primarily Homer and Hippocrates. The first Homeric lexicon belongs to Apollonius the "Sophist" and appears in manuscripts with the title of Λεξικὸν κατὰ στοιχεῖον τῆς τε Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσείας "Alphabetical Dictionary of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*" (Steinicke 1957). Based on the research of the Alexandrian philologists, it helped preserve excerpts of lost works, such as those of a certain Heliodorus, cited several times, or of Aristarchus of Alexandria.

The lemmata of this dictionary are ordered alphabetically, according to the first two or three letters of the word, while the rest are generally not taken into account when it comes to the alphabetical order. Among the lemmata, there are out-of-use words (e.g. <ἀαγές> ἄθραυστον, ἰσχυρόν "unbreakable", "solid, strong"), or lexemes that were still part of the common language, but whose meaning had changed:

> e.g. (Apollon. *Lex.* 4.15) <ἀγορά> ἡ ἐκκλησία, τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ὁ τόπος καὶ τὸ συνάθροισμα
> "*agora*: assembly, crowd, people gathering".

In addition to its intrinsic lexicographic value, it also helps us understand the reading of Homer in antiquity. An important source of this lexicon was a work erroneously attributed to a certain Apion (1st century BC), a disciple of Didymos, entitled Γλῶσσαι Ὁμηρικαί "Homeric [obscure] words". Words were ordered according to their first letter and were explained briefly:

> e.g. (Apio *ad Hom.* 74.220.3) <ἄναξ> β΄ σημαίνει· τὸ βασιλεύς
> "*anax* ("absolute king") means 'king'".

A special interest in the study of words arose in the 2nd century AD, with the re-evaluation of part of classical literature, namely that written in the Attic dialect. The literary trend that imitated the language of the ancient Attic writers is known as "the second sophistic". One of the best-known authors who belonged to this trend was Lucian of Samosata. It is precisely to serve this purpose that linguistic tools, such as dictionaries of the "Attic language", appeared. Valerius Harpocration composed a glossary of terms used by Attic orators, Λέξεις τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων "The Words of the Ten Orators"—a canon of the best known rhetors (Keaney 1991). Unlike other dictionaries of the time, here the lemmata were perfectly ordered

alphabetically, not only according to the first, the second or the third letter. The lemmata also preserved peculiarities of word usage in the Attic orators' works:

> e.g. (Harp. 34.16) Ἀνδρεία: ἡ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡλικία· Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ περὶ ὁμονοίας
> "Ἀνδρεία ("courage, manhood"): age of men; used by Antiphon in *About concord*)

We can also find longer explanations about various elements of the culture and civilization specific to the classical era. From this point of view, this is a gold mine of historical information about classical Athens. The form preserved to this day has suffered several contaminations and represents the result of a simplification process.

A much stricter selection of words of Attic origin was drawn up by Phrynichos (Arabius), a 2nd century lexicographer (De Borries 1911). Two works of his have made it to our days, works that lay down the rules for a correct use of the Attic dialect:

- Σοφιστικὴ προπαρασκευή "Sophistic preparation", a lexicon that was preserved only in an *Epitome*, ordered alphabetically, but only according to the first letter; it contained words considered hard to understand, picked up from tragedies and comedies, with definitions and sometimes mentions of the source:

> e.g. (Phryn. *PS* 6.5) <ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὁδοῦ> (Eupolis): ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄνθρωπος τῶν ἐν ὁδοῖς κυλινδουμένων.
> "man of the road (Eupolis): instead of 'a man of those who walk in the streets'"

The work was later used by Photios.

- the second work is Ἐκλογὴ Ἀττικῶν ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων, "Collection of Attic Verbs and Names" organized in two books; it dealt with the use of certain terms, for instance, it contained indications about how to form the comparative and superlative of irregular adjectives:

> e.g. (Phryn. *Ec.* 65.1) <Ἀγαθὸς μᾶλλον> λέγε, μὴ <ἀγαθώτερος>, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγαθώτατος ἀγαθὸς μάλιστα.
> "you have to say «ἀγαθὸς μᾶλλον» (analytic form, literally "more good"), not «ἀγαθώτερος» (synthetic form "better"), and instead of ἀγαθώτατος (synthetical form "the best") say «ἀγαθὸς μάλιστα» (analytical form "very good").

It also aimed to amend the spelling of certain terms:

(*ibid.* 31.1) <Ὀρθρινὸς> οὔ, ἀλλ' ὄρθριος χωρὶς τοῦ ν.
"not *orthrinos* «in the morning», but *orthrios* without *n*".

Another Atticisant lexicographer, Moeris, wrote a work that has been fully preserved, Λέξεις Ἀττικῶν καὶ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ στοιχεῖον "Attic and Greek Words in Alphabetical Order" (Hansen 1998). Probably dating from the 3rd century AD and using dictionaries drawn up by other Atticisant lexicographers, it contains about a thousand lemmata, organized in pairs: one word is "used in the Attic dialect" and the other one is "used by the other Greeks":

e.g. (Moer. 190.12) ἀμπεχόνιον Ἀττικοί, λεπτὸν ἱμάτιον Ἕλληνες
"ἀμπεχόνιον (fine shawl) say the Attics, λεπτὸν ἱμάτιον (light coat) [the other] Greeks".

The term Ἕλληνες "Greeks" is sometimes replaced by κοινή "common language". Tragedy and comedy were excluded from this dictionary, which, however, did include Homer and Herodotus.

Apart from the Atticizing movement, other authors also dealt with the study of some special areas of the vocabulary. At the beginning of the 2nd century AD, Ammonius wrote a lexicon of homonyms and synonyms, Περὶ ὁμοίων καὶ διαφόρων λέξεων "About Similar and Different Words" (Nickau 1966). The work brought together older lexica that were preserved only in *Epitomes*, such as the one attributed to a certain Ptolemy, Περὶ διαφορᾶς λέξεων "About the Difference between Words", or a work by Herennius Philo, Περὶ διαφόρους σημασίας "About Different Meanings". Ammonius' lexicon was organized by juxtaposing two words with a similar meaning, which were accompanied by explanations concerning the differences between them.

e.g. (Ammon. *Diff.* 15.1) <Ἀθῆναι> καὶ <Ἀττικὴ> διαφέρει. Ἀθῆναι μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἐστίν, Ἀττικὴ δὲ ἥ τε πόλις καὶ ἡ χώρα.
"*Athenae* and *Attica* are different. For Athena is the city, and Attica is both the city and the territory [around it]."

Ammonius could also juxtapose two homonyms or paronyms:

e.g. (*ibid.* 131.1) δῆμος "people", but δημός "grease"
e.g. (*ibid.* 7.1) <ἄγριος> καὶ <ἀγρεῖος> διαφέρει. ἄγριος μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ὠμός, ἀγρεῖος δὲ ὁ ἀγροῖκος.
"ἄγριος and ἀγρεῖος are different: for ἄγριος means cruel, while ἀγρεῖος means rustic".

The author drew his inspiration from classical texts, but also from the Alexandrian critique and various other—today lost—sources from the Roman period.

A dictionary of proverbs and idioms,titled Περὶ παροιμιῶν, "On proverbs" and attributed to Diogenianus, was also drawn up in the 2nd century AD. It was organized alphabetically, only in keeping with the first letter of the idioms, which were explained rather briefly:

> e.g. (Diogenian. 1.58.2) <Ἀεὶ γὰρ εὖ πίπτουσιν οἱ Διὸς κύβοι:> ἐπὶ τῶν εἰς πάντα εὐδαιμονούντων· ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀξίως τιμωμένων.
> "'Zeus's dice always fall right': on people who are always happy or on those who are honored on merit".

When speaking about specialized dictionaries we should also mention those dealing with medical vocabulary. Galenos wrote such a lexicon, entitled—in today's editions—Γλωσσῶν ἐξήγησις "Explanation of Words", inventorying rather obscure words and idioms from Hippocrates's vocabulary:

> e.g. (Gal. *Ling.* 19.71) Αἰγύπτιον μύρον: τὸ μύρον διὰ τοῦ ἄνθους τῆς ἀκάνθης
> "Egyptian perfume: Acanthus flower perfume".

He relied on older, now lost lexicons, the tradition of Hyppocratic exegesis being as old as the Homeric one. Noteworthy in this case is the fully alphabetical organization, not just according to the first letters, of the lemmata.

Another valuable dictionary, dating back to the second half of the 2nd century, has been preserved to this day: a synthesis of the research done by the Alexandrian philologists, that preserved excerpts from classical authors whose works were lost in their direct tradition. Iulius Pollux (Polydeukes) of Naucratis wrote an *Onomasticon* in ten volumes which have been preserved under the form of an *Epitome,* a version which was both shortened and subjected to interpolations. The organization of the lemmata is indicative of the way the first lexicographers worked, as they are ordered thematically, not alphabetically:

> e.g. (Poll. 1.221.1) Γεωργικὰ ὀνόματα· γῆ, γεωργία, ἀγροικία, ἀγροί ...
> "peasant terms: land, land tilling, life in the countryside, peasants ...".

Some definitions are very short, others are quite complex and detailed, similar to encyclopedia entries. Items dealing with various types of masks used on the stage have a remarkable documentary value.

Then came the lexicographic syntheses of the Byzantine period—the last in this series; by that time, numerous lexicons of different types (general, specialized, belonging to a single author, organized thematically or alphabetically) had been drawn up.

The lexicographers that appeared starting with the 5th century are a valuable source of information about lost works—whether literary (as these lexica included quotes from various authors), or philological, including grammars and dictionaries, dating from the Hellenistic and Roman eras. They should however be used cautiously, as their editing is still under debate.

In the 5th century (or the 6th according to other opinions), Hesychios of Alexandria drew up a lexicon putting together words and idioms difficult to understand at that time (poetic or dialectal words, idioms and proverbs) (Latte 1953–1966). An abbreviated version has been handed down to us, wherefrom sources were often eliminated while numerous interpolations were added— above all, glosses from sacred texts found in a lexicon attributed to Cyrillus. The latter relied on works by Aristarchos, Apion, Heliodoros and Herodian. The lemmata were separated from the definition by a high dot, while the definition was worded in a more recent Greek:

e.g. (Phot. 50.1) ἄβραι· νέαι δοῦλαι
"servants: young slaves"

(Hsch. 611.1) Ἀγλαυρίδες· νύμφαι παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις
"glaurides: nymphas with the Athenians".

These entries were extracted the way they were used in the text, the same as they had been extracted from texts by Hesychius's predecessors (they were not always used in the nominative or in the present tense, etc., as they are listed in modern-day dictionaries; we should note the large number of verbs starting with ἐ, the augment used when forming certain past tenses). The lemmata were generally ordered in keeping with the first three letters, while phrases preceded by prepositions were listed according to the first letter of the preposition. Hesychius's dictionary is quite useful today because many of the words it explains—often dialectal—are not to be found in any other lexicon (*hapax legomena*). It also provides factual information about the Antiquity, thus also performing the function of an encyclopaedia. The numerous quotes from ancient authors help today's editors establish the Classics' texts. It is moreover a gold mine for historians of the Greek

language, as it provides information about the evolution of the language, the coming out of use of various words and the way older texts were interpreted in the Antiquity.

A dictionary including more detailed definitions—a real encyclopedia—has come down to us from the 10th century. For quite a long time it used to be referred to as *Suidae lexicon* "Suidas's lexicon". Today, however, the title cited in manuscripts, Σοῦδα, is considered to be the title of the work, not the author's name, so that in today's critique it is cited under the generic name of *Suda,* while the author is considered to be anonymous (Adler 1928–1938). Even if the hypothesis of a single author cannot be completely ruled out, the lexicon, which includes about 30.000 lemmata, is today viewed as the fruit of team work. The entries are ordered alphabetically (with the peculiarity that the Byzantine pronunciation of vowels is used, so no difference is made between the various types of "i"). The definitions however vary a lot in terms of length: some are just short explanations, others are real articles, just like in a modern-day encyclopaedia. As in the case of the other lexicons, although it dates from the 10th century, *Suda* is quite valuable as it represents a synthesis of the Scholia and of older dictionaries going back to the Alexandrian era. It also encompasses information from a dictionary of literary biographies written by Hesychius of Miletes, hence becoming an excellent source for establishing the biographies of ancient authors.

Several dictionaries that have reached us under the generic name of *Etymologica* were compiled between the 9th and the 12th centuries. The name however can be misleading as they were not strictly etymological but, besides the attempts at inferring the origin of the word, they also included quite varied additional explanations. The lemmata were ordered alphabetically and followed by various explanations: a definition, an etymology, suggestions about the use of the word and sometimes even literary quotes; excerpts from authors whose work was lost have thus been preserved thanks to such lexicons. The oldest and most important one of this series is the *Etymologicum genuinum.* Etymologies are valuable as they offer information about the way the Greeks analyzed their own language and remind those suggested by Plato in *Cratylos*:

> e.g. (*Et.Gen.* 837.1) <Ἀνεμώνη>· τὸ ἄνθος· διὰ τὸ τὸ φύλλον εὐδιάσειστον εἶναι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ
> "anemona: flower, because the plant is easily moved by the slightest breath of wind (*anemos*)".

In this case we should not completely rule out the fact that the flower name may be related to ἄνεμος "wind", although this could only be a popular etymology. But things are quite different in the following case:

(*ibid.* 823.3) <Ἀνδράποδον>· δοῦλος· παρὰ τὸ ἀποδόσθαι· ἢ παρὰ τὴν πέδην, ὃ σημαίνει τὸν δεσμόν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις † καὶ τοῖς γε δραπετεύουσι † πέδας περιβάλλουσιν
"Ἀνδράποδον": slave; from 'to surrender' or from 'handcuffs', meaning 'chain', because prisoners and runaways are handcuffed".

The glossed word, ἀνδρά-ποδον, is in fact a combination of ἀνήρ "man" and πούς "foot". Other dictionaries, datable from the following centuries, were born from this lexicon: *Etymologicum Gudianum* (11th century), which, besides etymological information, also glossed morphological and dialectal forms which it explains in their turn (De Stefani 1965[2]):

e.g. (*Et.Gud.* 230.53) <Ζῆ>, τρίτου προσώπου, ζῶ, ζαεῖς ζᾷς, ζάει ζᾷ, καὶ κράσει Δωρικῇ τοῦ α εἰς η ζῇ.
"Live: third person, I live, you live...".

This series also included the *Etymologicum magnum* and the *Etymologicum Symeonis,* going back to the 12th century (Lasserre and Livadaras 1976). The sources of these lexicons, deeply interconnected, date from the 2nd century AD, but, as they were in their turn compilations of older works, the first sources actually date from the Hellenistic period.

Conclusions

All the data above help us draw up a few characteristics of the first lexicons in the European area. They emerged naturally out of the need to explain the language gap between Homer's epic poems, classical literature and the reality of the Hellenistic period. The first forms of the science of lexicography were born from the annotations of Alexandrian scholars on Homer's texts. At the same time, lists of words ordered first thematically then alphabetically were drawn up, for the use of writers of the time who used them in their own works. The lexica were then compiled by successively putting together information. A major difference between ancient and modern-day dictionary resides in the fact that to us, a dictionary must be thorough, that is include all terms belonging to a specific field, whereas an ancient lexicon was rather a collection of glosses explaining difficult terms belonging to long-gone times or to a limited area.

We should not forget that the first dictionaries emerged when the urge and inspiration to create original literature declined while centuries of literature needed to be explained.

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ETYMOLOGY IN ANCIENT GREEK AND BYZANTINE LEXICA: THE CASE OF TERMS RELATED TO THE DIONYSIAC CULT

SIMONA GEORGESCU

1. Introduction

The ancient and Byzantine Greek lexica not only represent, for the modern philologist, an important source for determining the meaning of numerous Greek words, for attesting words otherwise lost from texts, or even for learning about lost texts, but they also expose, sometimes more clearly than the texts themselves, current outlooks on common realities, customs, actions. The perfect mirror for the mentalities of that time is provided by the etymologies that the lexica propose.

The concept of etymology as forged by ancient lexicographers is structurally different from the modern linguistic science concerning word history. We aim, on the one hand, at pointing out the characteristics of the ancient concept of etymology, and, on the other hand, at marking the common mentalities that underlie etymological explanations.

In order to highlight the strong relationship between the *ad hoc* etymologies and the general conceptions of the time, we shall approach as a case study the words concerning the Dionysian cult. These etymological proposals allow us to detect the ideas that circulated, after the 5th century, regarding this religious belief and its manifestation. In other words, they offer a panorama of the—mostly negative—perception about the Dionysian cult and its followers, that circulated long after its banishment/disappearance.

2. Corpus

For the present study, we shall approach the following lexica, that cover a wide temporal area, from the 5th to 10th century AD:

- *Hesychius' lexicon*, dating back probably to the 5th or 6th century AD (cf. Dickey, 2007: 88)
- *Suda*—10th century
- *Etymologicum Genuinum* (EGen.)—9th century, Constantinople
- *Etymologicum Gudianum* (EGud.)—10th century
- *Etymologicum magnum* (EM.)—a lexicographic compendium of the 12th century, compiled in Constantinople, for which EGen. and EGud. were important sources.

In their turn, the lexica were based on earlier glossaries or scholia, thus they perpetuate the earlier definitions and, along with them, the older general conceptions.

Sometimes we were able to complete the information provided by these lexica with various explanations encountered in scholia that were not compiled by the lexicographers.

3. General characteristics of the lexica—the concept of ἐτυμολογία

Ancient lexicographers and scholiasts base their etymological explanations on the premise that the meaning can always be revealed by the word's form. The ancient concept of etymology does not match the modern perspective on this linguistic issue.

For us, etymology supposes tracing back the word's stem, its language of origin, the most ancient form that can be attested or reconstructed, thus it implies *per se* a diachronic route. For the ancient lexicographers, searching for the etymology of a word is an approach that can be perfectly carried out in a synchronic perspective. The explanation derives from the synchronic relation that the lexicographer establishes with another word that is phonetically similar to the *explanandum*.[1] Thus, the formal similarity, as vague as it were, is the basis for an etymological explanation. At the same

[1] Sluiter 2015: 898 states: "Ancient etymology (…) is all about synchrony, even though it invokes a discourse that references the past. It is about the relationship between words and their semantic explanation or definition – it wants to know *why* anything is called what it is called, the reason for the name, and what motivates the name-giver – and the explanations it comes up with are not intended to give us insight into the past, into the historical processes and developments leading to the present situation; rather, and importantly, (ancient) etymology is about *understanding the present*. Hence, whereas modern etymology does not provide immediate insight into the contemporary semantics of a word that is actually precisely what ancient etymology is meant to do."

time, the formal connection is based on a previous remark on the semantic nearness between the words in discussion. As Sluiter (2015: 904) put it, "the etymology is a form of reverse engineering that will make it possible to read off that meaning from the surface of the word." In the words of Fowler (1999: 2, n.7, *ap.* Sluiter 2015: 904), ancient etymology supposes a sort of "retrospective shaping".

For example, in order to explain the word ἄνεμος 'wind', the lexicographer relates it to ἄω (ἄημι) 'blow', proposing thus a "reconstructed" form *ἄεμος:

<Ἄνεμος>· παρὰ τὸ ἄω, τὸ πνέω, ἄεμος, πλεοναςμῷ τοῦ <ν> ἄνεμος.

The formal incongruence is solved by a simple explanation: πλεοναςμῷ τοῦ <ν> ἄνεμος "by adding an «n» <follows> ἄνεμος". However, according to the same lexicographer, this is not the only possible explanation. He also connects it to another word, slightly similar from a phonetic point of view, and whose meaning can be drawn as *explanans*:

ἢ ἄμενός τίς † ἐστιν, ὁ μὴ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένων μηδὲ ἠρεμῶν, κατὰ μετάθεσιν τῶν στοιχείων ἄνεμος
"or it is called ἄμενος because he doesn't stay in the same place (μένων), nor keeps calm (ἠρεμῶν); through a change of the sounds <follows> ἄνεμος".

We can clearly observe how, within the same definition, we find two formal connections, based on one cognitive association: by interpreting the 'wind' as 'the one that doesn't stand still', it automatically recalls to the speaker's mind two words that refer to a semantic component, μένω 'stay' and ἠρεμέω 'keep calm'. These two words are obviously unrelated to one another even for the lexicographer, yet this is far from being an impediment in placing both of them on the same level. By coordinating them syntactically (μηδὲ, literally "and not"), the lexicographer implies that one does not need to make a choice, the relation is valid with either of them or with both, as long as the meaning stands. The form is, from his point of view, easy to explain throughout certain sound changes (κατὰ μετάθεσιν τῶν στοιχείων).

The same kind of etymological analysis applies to most of the words discussed in the lexica. We can thus understand that, from the ancient linguist's point of view, the etymological approach consists in establishing as many lexical connections as possible, being assumed that the formal similarity traces back a semantic relation. In other words, the meaning of a word is strongly related to its form.

Actually, the meaning plays a double part, being at the same time the point of departure and the point of arrival of etymological investigation. On the one hand, the previous knowledge of the meaning leads to drawing connections with other words that are formally similar to the word in discussion. On the other hand, these relations shape the meaning in order to make it as fit as possible for the proposed connection and, at the same time, to approach the semantic substance from various points of view.

Going back to the example of ἄμενος, we can observe how it is defined by two important—but not essential—features: it blows (the verb ἄημι is also used for the breath, thus it expresses the air movement), and it doesn't stand still (a characteristic that allows the connection with two words that mean 'to stay (in a place)' and 'to stay calm'; the fact that these two roots can somehow be identified by the speaker in the word 'wind' is enough to explain one feature that defines the referent, and at the same time provides a justification of the word form.

As seen, the form of a word is completely relative in determining its etymology: ancient grammarians have always been aware of the fluidity of sounds. The concept of phonetic law and regular sound change will only appear millennia later, with the Neogrammarians. Before that, changes are considered aleatory, random, in any direction: the underlying idea is that, no matter how much a word is altered, the semantic core always stays the same. And it is precisely this core that the lexicographers are searching for.

In ancient linguists' view, finding the real meaning[2], according to a scholium on Dionysios Thrax[3], consists of "explaining the words according to their sonority, through which truth comes to light" (ἀνάπτυξις τῶν λέξεων ἀρμόζουσα τῇ φονῇ, δι' ἧς τὸ ἀληθὲς σαφνίζεται). Consequently, the object of the etymological investigation is not the origin *stricto sensu*, but the unchanging core, the stable part, the truth that lies hidden behind the form (cf. Georgescu 2016: 196).

Plato's dialogue *Cratylos* perfectly illustrates this idea, by showing that the *real meaning* is independent of the changes that occur in the acoustic layer of the word, these sound changes being completely insignificant as against the semantic core. A good example would be the explanation Socrates provides for the word βῆτα—the name of the letter *b* in Greek (*Crat.* 393e): "the addition of *e*, *t* and *a* (ἦτα, ταῦ, ἄλφα) was no impediment in seeing clearly the nature of the letter <b>".

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[2] Note that ἔτυμος, -ον means 'true, real', and the noun τὸ ἔτυμον designates 'the real meaning'.

[3] *Commentaria in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam*, 14, 24, *ap.* Lallot, 1991: 135.

We can add numerous examples of phonetic decomposing and recomposing in order to sustain semantic demonstrations: for instance, κέρδος 'gain' is explained by κεράννυται 'to mix' (historically unrelated to the former), as a plain consequence of replacing the *n* with a *d*; the proposed justification of the semantic relation is that the underlying meaning was that of the good which mixes with everything (*Cratylos* 417 b).

Thanks to the formal similarity between several words, the meaning can be interpreted in as many directions as needed. Etymological propositions are, thus, multiple, syntactically connected by the conjunction ἤ ('or'), with no other mention that would assume the prevalence of one hypothesis over the others. From the lexicographer's point of view, all hypotheses are equally valid, because each of them reveals the meaning from a different perspective, or unveils different aspects of that meaning: ἢ παρὰ..., ἢ παρὰ... // ἢ ἀπὸ..., ἢ ἀπὸ... ("either from…", "or from…").

We also have to be aware that these enumerations of etymological hypotheses often represent compilations of different glossaries, lexica, scholia, and as long as the lexicographer's only intention is to copy the existent proposals, his method is perfectly valid.

At the same time, the art of etymology consists precisely in the capacity of establishing as many connections as possible. The ability to shape the meaning in order to allow it to match different semantic molds seems to be the highest quality that a lexicographer could ask for. This type of approach used to "smooth the semantic connection between word and suggested etymology" is called the *bridging technique* (cf. Sluiter 2015: 903). The meaning gradually reveals throughout the various associations that can be made: this way, several semantic components can be distinguished, as every new lexical connection can lead to extracting a different seme, while all of these semes together compose the significate.

This approach had a concrete purpose, for in those times etymology was also invested with an argumentative function: it needed not only to explain something from the past (thus tracing back certain clues leading to a protoform) but also to demonstrate a certain feature from the present. Speaking about this cyclic approach, Sluiter (2015: 905) states:

> "they commanded the explanation of words, i.e., why each thing was called by its particular name (…). Later they used some of them as arguments and deployed as it were the signs of things as guides to prove and show conclusively that which they wished to have explained."

It is precisely this argumentative function that shapes etymological discourse. It is not rare that the interpretations of a word place a marginal

feature on the main level. It is only a matter of focus: it always depends on what the lexicographer wants to outline from that particular reality.

4. The semantic field of the Dionysiac cult, in ancient and Byzantine lexica

We shall thus try to outline these principles, as they were employed in defining the terminology of the Bacchic cult. Consequently, the present study will reveal the attitude toward a religious expression, both during its existence—when it had a considerable number of followers—and centuries after its disappearance—when it became only a legendary pagan manifestation.

The way the definitions are formulated and the aspects that are highlighted reveal the perception of this spiritual reality; the prejudices are justified with the aid of the word's form, while the lexical connections are used as arguments. The outlooks and traditional conceptions, the ideas that have traversed the centuries and reached the Byzantine lexicographers' time already deformed, suppose a whole set of the ritual in a reinterpreted manner. By that time, the characters and their cultic manifestations, the purposes of all the religious expressions as well as the identity of the god, seemed incomprehensible and dark. We are—let's not forget—in Christian times. And yet...we shall see that these ideas are not so distant from the ones that circulated in a period when the cult was in vogue.

Our analysis focuses on the basic terms of the cult: the name of the god and the names of the followers of the cult (Διόνυσος, βάκχος, Ἴακχος), the words derived from βάκχος (βακχεύειν, βάκχαι), the Bacchantes (μαινάδες, θυάδες, βασσάραι *etc.*), the group they were organized in (θίασος) and the specific elements of the cultic manifestations (θύρσος, οἶνος). The etymological interpretations start from the prototypical image of the manifestations; the prototype—for the uninitiated—is shaped by tradition, and limited to the external, visible, and often reinterpreted features.

4.1. Βακχος

EGud. 258 proposes the following definition of the term:

> <Βάκχος>· ὁ μέθυσος λέγεται καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος. Ετυμολογεῖται δὲ παρὰ τὸ βοᾶν μετὰ ἤχου.
> "Βάκχος: the drunk one is called so, as well as Dionysos. It is derived from the idea of shouting with a loud voice [βοᾶν μετὰ ἤχου]."

The next entry for the same word provides a different etymology:

<Βάκχος>· παρὰ τὸ βάζω βάξω βάκχος· οἱ γὰρ μέθυσοι μεγάλως κράζουσιν.
"Βάκχος: from 'talking' [βάζω βάξω βάκχος]; because the drunk ones shout loudly."

Although the subjacent idea is the same in both explanations, the lexical relations that have been drawn are different. While the first etymology supposes a blending between the verb βοᾶν ('shout') and the noun ἦχος ('loud voice'), the second one derives the term *Bacchus* from the verb βάζω ('speak'), whose future tense form βάξω (**bak-*) allows the lexicographer to propose a direct derivation from this root.

In EM 185, 11, we find a larger explanation that takes as a starting point the same verb βάζω ('speak'), but includes a more explicit phonetic bridging:

<Βάκχος>: Μαινόμενος. Παρὰ τὸ βάζω, βάξω, βάχος· καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ κ, βάκχος, ὡς ἰαχὴ, ἴαχος καὶ ἴακχος· οἱ γὰρ μεθύοντες πλέον τῇ φωνῇ καὶ ἐνθουσιῶντες χρῶνται. Λέγεται δὲ ὁ ἱερὸς Διονύσου ἀνήρ· καὶ κλάδος, ὁ ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς· ἢ στεφανός.
"Βάκχος: Mad (seized by μανία). From 'talking' [βάζω βάξω βάκχος]. And by widening with k, <follows> βάκχος, as in ἰαχὴ, ἴαχος, and ἴακχος. Because the drunk people and those in state of ἐνθουσιασμός [possessed by the god] use their voice more (*or* a louder voice). It also designates the priest of Dionysus; and the wand, the one <used> in the mysteries; or the wreath."

We cannot ignore the fact that *Bacchus*, originally the name of the god Dionysus, is only interpreted this way by EGud.—and, here, only as a secondary meaning. The main meaning that the lexica record is 'bacchant', priest or follower of Dionysus, but which can also designate, as resulting from an ellipsis, the wand or wreath specific to the ritual. The same meaning is recorded by Hesychius (*beta* 127, βάκχος· ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διονύσου. καὶ κλάδος ὁ ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς).

The most interesting thing is that the semantic equivalence that is listed on the foreground is not defined by the affiliation with the Dionysian cult, nor by the adherence to the Bacchic mysteries, and does not imply any relationship to Dionysus. EM explains it plainly as μαινόμενος, 'mad', literally 'in the state of μανία'. It is true that, for the ancient Greeks, μανία had strong religious connotations, implying the communion with the god, but, in a laic sense (as we can assume is the case here), it simply means 'mad', 'in a state of madness'. EGud., actually earlier than EM, does not mention this relation with μανία; on the contrary, it provides an even higher degree of laic connotations by explaining it as μέθυσος 'drunk'. Originally, the state of drunkenness was not part of the ritual, but it became a stimulus towards reaching the state of ἔκστασις (literally 'coming out of oneself')

and ἐνθουσιασμός ('communion with the god'). The feature that was recorded as essential for the βάκχοι (leading, as they suppose, to the creation of the name itself) is the power of their voice. EGud. considers it an attribute of the drunk people, while EM adds that the drunk ones and those inspired by the god use their voice more (passage that can also be interpreted as "use a louder voice").

Even though the interpretation of βάκχος as derived from βοᾶν μετὰ ἤχου is clearly implausible, the hypothesis of βάζω as the basis of this word was formulated as well by modern lexicographers. Thus, Frisk, on the one hand, relates the term βάκχος with βαβαί (an onomatopoeia expressing wonder) and with a supposedly derived form, βαβάκτης (an epithet of the god Pan and of Dionysus, meaning 'party guy', 'friend of joy and drunkenness'); on the other hand, Chantraine derives the latter from βαβάζειν, in its turn probably based on βάζειν 'talk', with an expressive reduplication. Βαβάκτης seems to refer to the joy manifested through volubility, singing, dancing, an idea clearly expressed by Hesychius (*beta* 6) when glossing this word—that he actually considers the basis of Βάκχος:

> <βαβάκτης>· ὀρχηστής, ὑμνῳδός, μανιώδης, κραύγασος. ὅθεν καὶ Βάκχος.
> "βαβάκτης: dancer, hymn player, crazy-like, shouting out loud; hence also Βάκχος"

Wurzel (*ap.* Roscher 1884–1937, cf. Georgescu 2008) proposes the root *Fεπ- (meaning 'to speak'[4]—just as *βαγ-) as basis of βάκχος. He reconstructs thus *ϜιϜακχος as the original form of Ἴακχος, another epithet of Dionysus (cf. infra…), considered as an alternative form for Βάκχος.

We can thus see that not only ancient and Byzantine lexicographers, but modern linguists as well have proposed, as etymological basis of Βάκχος, a stem meaning to 'speak' or 'shout': it could be interpreted either as a passive form 'the conjured', either as active 'the one who shouts out loud', as the ancient lexicographers suppose. Following this perspective, the term has been connected with ἴακχος (elucidated by Chantraine, s.v. ἠχή, as an expressive creation reproducing a scream). Here is how EM 462, 48 explains it:

> Ἴακχος: Αὐτὸς ὁ Διόνυσος, ἢ ἑορτή. Παρὰ τὴν ἰαχὴν τὴν ἐν ταῖς χορείαις γινομένην, τουτέστι τὴν βοήν, γίνεται ἴακχος· καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ κ, ἴακχος. Ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πότοις ἰαχῆς.

[4] Cf. ἔπος 'word', εἰπεῖν 'speak'.

> "Ἴακχος: Dionysus himself, or celebration. From the cheer [ἰαχή] during the dances, that is shouting, follows ἴαχος; and by adding a -k-, ἴακχος. Or from the cheer [ἰαχή] in the drinking parties."

A scholium to Aeschylus (*Scholia in Aeschylum, Th.*, 635-638) interprets the noun as a name for the specific hymns dedicated to Dionysus (Ἴακχος δέ ἐστιν ὕμνος ὃν ἔλεγον κατ' ἀρχὰς οἱ μυούμενοι ἐπὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ). It is significant that the scholium refers to the beginnings of the Bacchic celebrations (κατ' ἀρχὰς). The relation with the hymns is backgrounded by the same association with speaking and shouting—present in most of the etymological propositions.

A different semantic interpretation of βάκχος is provided by EM, s.v. βακχεύω:

> παρὰ τὸ βάκχος, ὃ σημαίνει τὸν οἶνον· τοῦτο παρὰ τὸ ἄχος, ὃ σημαίνει τὴν λύπην, καὶ τὸ βῶ, τὸ βαίνω. Ὁ γὰρ ἔχων λύπην καὶ εἰς μέθην ἐμπίπτων, ἀφίησιν αὐτὸν ἡ λύπη. Ὑπερέβη γὰρ τὴν λύπην ἡ μέθη.
> "from Bacchus, which means 'wine'; this <comes> from ἄχος ('pain'), which designates the 'grief', and βῶ, 'go away'. For if you feel grief and you plunge into alcohol, the grief leaves you. For drunkenness surpasses the grief."

Bacchus is interpreted as a blending between βῶ + ἄχος ('go away' + 'pain'), responding to the idea that the relief from pain can be acquired by the aid of wine. The interpretation begins, in fact, from the identification between Dionysus and the wine, an equivalence that had been established since the classical period. The god, with whom worshipers enter into communion, is embodied by the wine, that is, the element that allows you to fill yourself with the god: once poured into you, it is nothing but the god itself penetrating into your veins and whose representation you become. We find this concrete representation of *enthusiasm* (literally "getting filled with the god") ever since Euripides' *Bacchae*, where Teiresias tries to persuade Pentheus to adhere to the Dionysiac cult by invoking the very quality of wine to drive away sorrow (v. 280 sqq.).

4.2. Βακχεύειν

If *Bacchus* is interpreted as 'drunk', 'wine' or 'the one who shouts loudly' (all three proposals being phonetically motivated), the derived verb βακχεύειν 'to celebrate the Dionysiac cult', 'behave like a Bacchant', sheds new light on how the Bacchic manifestations were regarded in late antiquity. Thus, Hesychius (*beta* 119) equates the verb βακχεύειν with μαίνεσθαι 'to

be seized by μανία, to be mad'. The present participle <βακχεύοντες> is explained by μαινόμενοι 'seized by enthusiasm/ by inspired frenzy', and σειόμενοι 'shaking/dancing'. In fact, we can notice that βακχεύειν is seen as an expression of rhythmic movements, as it results from another lemma:

> <χορεύει>· μελῳδεῖ. βακχεύει. ὀρχεῖται
> "χορεύει 'he does a choral dance': he sings, *he acts like a Bacchant*, he dances".

In other words, βακχεύειν is placed on the same level as dancing and singing, without any religious connotation. The interpretation provided by EGud. follows the same line:

> <Βακχεύω>· τὸ μαίνομαι καὶ μεθύσκομαι καὶ ὀρχοῦμαι καὶ γελῶ.
> "Βακχεύω: to be seized by madness and be drunk and dance and laugh".

All of these manifestations are therefore perceived as specific to the Bacchic cult. This prejudice seems to be deeply imprinted in the common perception since its origin can be traced back in the classical period, when the laicization of the term began. Thus, in Euripides' *Bacchae*, Cadmus and Teiresias interpret the Bacchic manifestations exactly in the same manner: to them, adhering to the cult simply means to dance and shake and be joyful—a behavior that, actually, embarrasses Cadmus, as it is associated with youthful behavior (vv. 204–205). However, Teiresias concludes that, within that cult that had recently invaded the city, young people and elders are at the same level and they must dance side by side so as not to provoke the god's wrath (vv. 206–209).

The verb βακχεύειν, used metaphorically ever since Euripides, places the religious meaning on a secondary level: it thus designates, with an ironic nuance, the loss of mind, the frenetic dance and chaotic movement (Georgescu 2008). However, when βακχεύειν is equated with μαίνομαι, we cannot know for sure whether, in these lexica, μανία does or does no longer preserve the semantic features initially related to the divine inspiration, the communion with the god—supposed to underpin the convulsive movements, which characterize both the state of trance and some pathologies like epilepsy. Primitive communities—both ancient and modern—share the belief that mental disorders are the effect of a divine intervention, a belief that is largely based on the statements of the victims, convinced, during an epileptic or trance episode, that they are in contact or even identified with a supernatural force (Dodds 1983: 86–88). In fact, the very name of ἐπιληψία is based on the interpretation of the disease in these terms (ἐπί-λαμβάνω 'take control of', 'seize'), also known as ἱερὰ νόσος,

'the divine illness' or μεγάλη νόσος 'the great illness'[5]. In Sophocles' *Aiax*, the illness that seizes the protagonist is called θεία νόσος ("illness given by the gods", vv. 186–187) while Herodotus (IV, 79.4) explains this state by the periphrasis ὁ θεὸς ἡμέας λαμβάνει ("the god takes control over us"). Μανία does not simply mean the loss of one's mind, but rather implies that man and god become one; therefore, the god is guiding the movements of the possessed one, as the lexicon *Suda* states:

> <Μαίνω>· ἐνθουσιωδῶς κινοῦμαι (*Suda* 336)
> "Μαίνω: to move as possessed by a god"

The equivalence that the late lexicographers established between βακχεύειν and μαίνομαι is to be found as early as the classical period, in Plato's dialogues: here, the two notions appear in close relation as the appanage of the philosopher seized by inspiration (thus without the direct involvement of Dionysus):

> Plat., *Smp.* 218b, πάντες γὰρ κεκοινωνήκατε τῆς φιλοσόφου **μανίας τε καὶ βακχείας.**
> "you have all become part of the inspiration and Bacchic frenzy of the philosopher"

In another Platonic dialogue, ***Phaidros***, μανία is seen as a divine gift, and its effect is to exalt the soul. This very action of exaltation—a transitive one—is designated by the verb ἐκβακχεύειν, without any reference to the original significance—related to the Bacchic cult:

> *Phaidr.* 245 a. τρίτη δὲ ἀπὸ Μουσῶν κατοκωχή τε καὶ **μανία**, λαβοῦσα ἁπαλὴν καὶ ἄβατον ψυχήν, ἐγείρουσα καὶ **ἐκβακχεύουσα** κατά τε ᾠδὰς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ποίησιν.
> "The third type of inspiration and of holy possession comes from the Muses. If it seizes a tender and pure soul, it (μανία) awakens and exalts (ἐκβακχεύουσα) it towards songs and all kinds of poems."

The association of Dionysus with μανία dates from an archaic period: in one of the earliest mentions of Dionysus, *Iliad*, 6, 132, he receives the epithet μαινόμενος (μαινομένοιο Διωνύσοιο) which provides him with a double status: initiator and a direct participant in the religious manifestation. He both induces madness and suffers from it. Madness seizes him, and in turn, he spreads it to others. The determiner μαινόμενος applies to those subjected

[5] Both syntagms are explained by Hesychios as ἐπιληψία.

to this type of ecstasy, such as θυιάδες μαινόμεναι (Soph. *Ant.* 1152), μαινόμενοι Σάτυροι (Eur., *Ba.* 130).

Thus, the two notions, in fact, are closely related. The gradual loss of their religious meaning starts from the classical age and is not simply a late interpretation. The meaning of 'acting crazy', 'be crazy' often prevails in the metaphorical usage of βακχεύειν in the classical period (cf. Georgescu, 2008). Hesychius' observation, however, is a testimony for the loss of its original metaphorical value and the connotation's conversion into denotation. *Suda* provides the same explanation for βακχεύειν:

<Βακχεύων>· μαινόμενος. (*beta*.54.4)
<Ἐκβακχευθείς:> ἐκμανείς (*epsilon*.374.2)

We can thus testify a semantic restriction and, at the same time, expansion: from the expression of a concrete behavior specific to the Dionysian cult (which includes a whole schema of ritual manifestations with deep spiritual meanings), the verb narrows its semantic area—as result of a superficial view—only to those manifestations that consist in dance, more or less rhythmic movements, shaking. From the designation of these chaotic movements, βακχεύειν extends afterward its semanticism to any manifestation of this type, whether it is pathological, the effect of drunkenness, extreme joy or, on the contrary, painful grief (that makes you shiver). The semantic evolution was drawn into a pejorative direction, since, being constantly used as an ironic metaphor for any behavior that matched the cultic manifestations, the verb has gradually lost its religious basis while the contextually ironic nuance becomes part of the semic componence of the term.

However, *Suda* maintains the original distinction between a common state of madness caused by illness and the kind of madness arising from contact with the god, so that the relationship between βακχεύειν and the Bacchic cult appears as still valid in this lexicon:

<Κατεβακχεύοντο,> τουτέστιν ἐνεθουσίων ἐπιπνοίας τινὸς πληρωθέντες (*beta* 54)
"Κατεβακχεύοντο, this means that they were possessed by a god, full of a certain divine inspiration."

Hesychius (*beta* 120) explains the passive participle βακχευθεῖσα as expressing a state of psychological commotion, undoubtedly determined by an external force—an interpretation drawn out from the passive form; the verb is equated with ἐξηχευομένη ('grieved', literally 'driven out of her mind by the pain', as the preverb ἐξ- suggests), and ἐξεστηκυῖα (containing

the same preverb, 'that is out of her mind'). The underlying concept would thus be that of the divine force that takes control of your senses, making you literally lose yourself. The term is used precisely with this meaning, without being perceived as a figure of speech any more, in a scholium to Aeschylus (*Scholia in Aeschylum Pr.*, v. 836):

> <οἰστρήσασα>· ὑπὸ οἴστρου βακχευθεῖσα.
> "οἰστρήσασα: driven out of her mind by a gadfly"

It is clear that, in this context, the term does not preserve the original link with the Dionysian religion, not even as an allusion, but appears lexicalized with a broader meaning.

EM provides a different interpretation, but still leaving aside any religious implication:

> <Βακχεύω>: Σημαίνει τὸ μεθύσκομαι·
> "Βακχεύω: means to be drunk" (followed by the interpretation of Βάκχος as βῶ + ἄχος, *cf. supra*)
> <βακχευτὴς>, ὁ μεθυστὴς (*cf. Et.Gud.* 258, βάκχος· ὁ μέθυσος, *cf. supra*).
> "βακχευτὴς: a drunk person".

Hesychius mentions the syntagma μαινομένου Διονύσου (II.6, 132, quoted above), explaining it not only in its proper meaning μανίας ἐμποιοῦντος, but also as a metaphor for 'wine', defining it as such:

> ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴνου, μετωνυμικῶς· ἔκφρονας γὰρ ποιεῖ καὶ εὐκινήτους
> "or about wine, by metonymy[6]; for it makes you go out of your mind and move with agility."

Wine is, actually, the element that facilitates the attainment of the state of μανία, specific to the communion with the god, while the state of semi-consciousness caused by wine and the one generated by collective ecstasy have a common feature: the irrational. However, the use of wine as a means of achieving the state of μανία or ενθουσιασμός is considered artificial, and wine appears to be only a late attribute of Dionysus, very far from his original figure (see Dodds, *Bacchae*, Introduction, p. III–IV).

A parallel expression can be found in Spanish: *el baile de San Vito* "the dance of Saint Vito" is a compound that designates a convulsive illness, where the two components of the metaphorical usage of βακχεύειν can be

[6] Μετωνυμία does not have here the technical meaning it will achieve in stylistics; it simply means "using a word instead of another".

found as well: on the one hand, the religious reference, on the other hand, its parodic interpretation, implying the irony both towards the religious elements and the illness itself.

There is, however, a lemma that seems to state a connection with the primordial manifestations of the Bacchic cult, in Hesychius' lexicon (*beta* 119). He equates the verb βακχεύει not only with μαίνεται, but also with τραγῳδεῖ, 'to stage a tragedy' or, more precisely, "to sing during the sacrifice of the goat (τράγος) at Dionysus' feast/ celebration"; this synonymy seems to refer to the origin of the tragedy (probably born precisely with the aim of celebrating Dionysus), regardless of the interpretation of τραγῳδεῖ as a consequence or as a premise of the Bacchic manifestations.

4.3.1 Bacchantes / Maenads

In relation to μανία, it is also appropriate to mention the Maenads as main representatives of the Dionysiac cult. Just as their name—derived from μαίνομαι—suggests, the main characteristic of the Maenads was the state of μανία, defined by ἔκστασις and ἐνθουσιασμός[7].

Jeanmaire (1978: 162) marks the difference between μαινάδες—mythological characters—and θυιάδες—historical characters, the worshipers of Dionysus. The role of the latter was just that of imitating, reproducing the original state that the Maenads really experienced: the frenzy of the θυιάδες was not real, they were rather seeking—through the tumult of the choirs and the Bacchic attributes—to reproduce the delirium of the Maenads.

The lexicons contain multiple names for those worshipers of Dionysus, many of them belonging to bordering idioms. The most well-known name, generic and unmarked, is βάκχαι, a reference term by which all other names are explained.

4.3.2. Βασσάραι

The name βασσάρα (originally 'fox' and 'fox skin') is attributed to the Thracian Maenads. Hesychius mentions the Lydian origin of this name for 'fox', but Chantraine, s.v., does not give him credit, while he still approves of the foreign origin of the name. In addition to the meaning 'fox',

[7] The modern terms of *ecstasy* and *enthusiasm* do not help us to entirely translate the Greek words, as these loanwords have lost their original meaning: ἔκστασις (ἐξ-ἵστημι) literally means 'to be driven out of oneself', and ἐνθουσιασμός (εν-θεός) refers to the inspiration determined by the fact of 'being penetrated by the god'.

Hesychius explains βασσάραι as a designation of the garments that the Thracian Maenads wore (305, χιτῶνες, οὓς ἐφόρουν αἱ Θρᾴκιαι Βάκχαι).

Regardless of the origin of the term, it becomes synonymous with *Bacchae*, providing also the title of a lost tragedy of Aeschylus, Βασσάραι.

However, as we have shown in the beginning, for the ancient linguists it is not the *real* origin of the term that is important, but the possibility of "peeling" the word so that the perishable phonetic layer allows the immutable core—the true meaning—to be revealed. Thus, lexicographers have tried to find the explanation for the term βασσάραι on Greek ground, throughout the links that can be established with phonetically similar words. The etymology proposed by EM is elaborated according to the same principle of detecting as many resemblances as possible, in order to extract the common core. The derivative βασσαρίς is analyzed as follows:

> <Βασσαρίδες>: Αἱ βάκχαι· παρὰ τὸ διάγειν ἐν βήσσαις, ὅ ἐστιν ὀρεινοῖς τόποις· ἢ παρὰ τὸ βασσάρη τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπόδημα, ὅπερ εἴρηται παρὰ τὸ τῇ βάσει ἁρηρέναι. (191, 3)
> "Βασσαρίδες: <designates> the Bacchantes, from 'spending time in *valleys*' [βήσσαις], that is, in mountainous places; or from βασσάρη, the name of a sandal, which is called so because it equips the foot [τῇ βάσει ἁρηρέναι]."

Subsequently, the word undergoes the same pejorative evolution, getting to designate a woman of doubtful morality, as EGen. states (beta 53):

> ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ἡ καταφερὴς καὶ πόρνη γυνὴ εἴρηται βασσάρα
> "Hence, βασσάρα also means low and deprived woman".

It is equally possible that this evolution has started from what seems to be its original meaning, 'fox'.

4.3.3. Μιμαλλόνες (cf. Hesychios, *eta* 500)

According to Photius (*eta* 69, 16), the name would be ἠμιμάλλονες: μαινάδες· Νύμφαι ἢ Βάκχαι; this denomination seems to be specific to Macedonia. EM 588, 42, proposes the following definition:

> αἱ βάκχαι καὶ βοηδρόμοι, ἤτοι αἱ μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ἐκπλήξεως, διὰ τὸ κάτοχοι εἶναι, προϊοῦσαι δρόμῳ· ἃς καλοῦσι καὶ <γεγωνοκώμας> ἔνιοι, τῷ γεγωνίσκειν, ἤγουν θορυβεῖν, τὰς κώμας.
> "the bacchantes and those who offer help, for they go down the road with shouts [μετὰ βοῆς] and with frenetic movements, because they are possessed; some call them "the ones that fill the villages with riot" [γεγωνοκώμας], from 'to riot' that is 'disturb' 'in the villages'."

EM also mentions another semantic aspect:

> Ἐκλήθησαν κυρίως αἱ γυναῖκες· πολεμικαὶ γάρ· παρὰ τὸ μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας·
> "especially women were called so; for they were warriors; from 'imitating' [μιμεῖσθαι] men" (see also *Suda*, kappa, 1829 αἱ κληθεῖσαι ὕστερον Μιμαλόνες ἀπὸ τῆς μιμήσεως)"

4.3.4. Θεωρίδες

Derived from θεωρός "sent to consult an oracle or to give an offering", the term simply becomes synonymous with Bacchae (cf. Hesychios, *theta* 441, αἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον Βάκχαι).

4.3.5. Λῆναι

The word is equated with βάκχαι (Hesychius, *lambda* 880); the derived verb ληναΐζουσιν is explained by βακχεύουσιν (*Scholia In Clementem Alexandrinum, Protrepticum et paedagogum*, p. 307, 19).

4.3.6. Ποτνιάδες

The term is explained by Hesychius (*pi*, 3154) as follows:

> αἱ Βάκχαι. ἀντὶ τοῦ μαινάδες καὶ λυσσάδες, μανίας αἴτιαι
> "The Bacchantes, instead of Maenads and Lyssades [μαινάδες καὶ λυσσάδες], responsible of μανία"

4.3.7. Ὑαργίδες

This term is diatopically marked: it designates, according to Hesychius, the Bacchantes of Argos:

> αἱ εὐειδεῖς Βάκχαι αἱ Ἀργεῖαι (*ypsilon*, 25)
> "the beautiful Argian Bacchantes"

4.3.8. Κλώδονες

Both Hesychios and EM describe the term as Macedonian:

> αἱ Βάκχαι τοῦ Διονύσου παρὰ Μακεδόσιν·
> "Dionysus' Bacchantes at the Macedonians" (*Suda, kappa*, 1829);
> Κλώδωνας: Οἱ Μακεδόνες τὰς μαινάδας καὶ βάκχας καλοῦσιν

"Κλώδωνας: the Macedonians name the Maenads and the Bacchantes like this" (*EM*, 521, 49).

4.3.9. Λαφύστιαι

The word is derived from λαφύσσω, "devour, swallow heartily"; hence, the adjective λᾰφύστιος, α, ον, "devourer" or "devoured", which becomes the epithet of Zeus in the Minyan community (the meaning being that of "the one who tears apart", Hdt.7.197), as well as of Dionysus in Boeotia, cf. EM. In a scholium to Lycophron (*Alex.*, Scholion 1237bis, 4), the name is explained as follows:

Λαφυστίας ὁ Διόνυσος, ἀπὸ Λαφυστίου ὄρους Βοιωτίας, ὅθεν Λαφύστιαι αἱ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βάκχαι αἱ καὶ μιμαλόνες ἐκαλοῦντο διὰ τὸ μιμεῖσθαι αὐτὰς τὸν Διόνυσον· κερατοφοροῦσι γὰρ καὶ αὗται κατὰ μίμησιν Διονύσου· ταυρόκρανος γὰρ φαντάζεται καὶ ζωγραφεῖται.
"Laphystias is Dionysus, from 'Mount Laphystius' in Boeotia, hence 'Laphystiai' were also called the Bacchantes in Macedonia and the Mymalones, from 'imitating' [μιμεῖσθαι] Dionysus; for they also wear horns, imitating Dionysus; because he is imagined and painted with a bull's head"

4.3.10. Θυάδες

The more frequent version of this name is θυιάδες, linked both by ancient and modern lexicographers with the verb θύω "to rush in rage, to move violently".

Θυάδες· αἱ βάκχαι· παρὰ τὸ θύω, τὸ ὁρμῶ· καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ι, θυϊάδες (EM, 457, 20)
"Θυάδες: the Bacchantes; from 'to rush in rage' [θύω], to dark violently; and, by adding an -i-, θυϊάδες"

The name θυάδες also appears in a gloss that relates it to θύελλα; this hypothesis is endorsed by the modern etymologists, who derive both words from θύω (cf. Chantraine, s.v.).

ἡ δὲ θύελλα ἀπὸ τοῦ θύειν καὶ εἰλεῖν, θύειν δὲ τὸ σφοδρῶς ὁρμᾶν δίκην μαινομένων· «ἦ γὰρ ὅ γ' ὀλοῇσι φρεσὶ θύει», ὅθεν καὶ Θυάδες αἱ Βάκχαι (Porphyrius Phil., *Quaestionum Homericarum liber i*, 13, 11).
"θύελλα «storm» <comes> from 'rushing impetuously' and from 'overturning', for θύειν <means> 'rushing with violence', like those who are out of their mind; for indeed the ones whose mind is ill, rush violently; hence the name of Θυάδες for the Bacchantes."

In a scholium to Pindar (*Scholia in Pindarum*, Oda P. 3, *scholion* 177a, 3), it is derived from the same verb, and from θύσθλα, a denomination for the thyrsus[8].

4.3.11. Βάκχης τρόπον

Contrary to the pattern described above, the Bacchantes can be perceived not only as loud, raging characters, mastered by a violent μανία that makes them use a strong voice, but also as silent. Thus, the phrase Βάκχης τρόπον "in a Bacchante's way" is explained in *Suda* (*beta*, 56) as follows:

> <Βάκχης τρόπον> ἐπὶ τῶν ἀεὶ στυγνῶν καὶ σιωπηλῶν· παρόσον αἱ Βάκχαι σιγῶσιν
> "In a Bacchante's way: for those always mournful and silent; in view of the fact that the Bacchantes are silent".

It is also true that παρόσον can also be interpreted as a conditional conjunction "inasmuch as", thus partially denying the supposition.

4.4. Θίασος

Θίασος would be defined as "procession that celebrates the Dionysian cult with dances, song, and banquets". The modern etymological dictionaries have no clear explanation of its etymology: both Chantraine and Beeks consider it to be either possibly related to θύρσος—both words belonging to the Dionysian religion—or of foreign origin (Thracian / Phrygian according to Chantraine, or Anatolian according to Beeks, but both lexicographers express their uncertainty).

In a commentary to the Iliad, Eustathius (*Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, vol. 4, p. 96, 1) considers the term to be directly related to θεός 'god', providing the following etymology:

> ὃς δὴ θίασος ἢ παρὰ τὸ θεῖον γίνεται ἀποβολῇ συνήθει τοῦ <ε>, ὡς ἐνθεάζων, ἢ παρὰ τὸν σιόν, ἤτοι θεόν
> "θίασος was created either from 'divine' [θεῖον], by the usual loss of <e>, as in ἐνθεάζων, or from σιόν[9], that is θεόν 'god'."

[8] Probably from the same root as θύρσος (of unknown origin), *θύρσ-θλα.

[9] Σιός is a dialectal Laconic form for the Attic θεός 'god', as the same philologist explains in his *Commentary in Odysseia* (438, 44, ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὃν σιὸν ἐκάλουν οἱ Λάκωνες, οὐκοῦν σίασος καὶ τροπῇ θίασος).

EM 449, 53 provides various interpretations of this word:

> <θίασος>: Ὤφειλε διὰ διφθόγγου γράφεσθαι· ἐτυμολογεῖται δὲ παρὰ τὸ τὰ θεῖα ᾄσαι· (…) Λέγεται δὲ ὁ χορὸς, παρὰ τὸ τὰ θεῖα ᾄδειν, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεῖν, ὅ ἐστι θεύειν· ὅθεν <θιασώτας> λέγουσι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον.
> "<θίασος>: should be written with a diphthong; it is originated in the syntagma 'singing divine songs' [τὰ θεῖα ᾄσαι]. It also means 'dance', from 'singing divine songs', or from running [θεῖν], that is θεύειν[10]"

We, therefore, notice that both authors consider the term to be in close relation with θεός, taking as a starting point the purpose of the procession, namely to celebrate the god. At the same time, the figurative usage of the term ever since the classical period (cf. DGR V) with the generalized meaning of 'cheerful procession', leads to its perceiving as a prototypical image of the party, the banquet full of high spirits, hence Hesychius' gloss (theta, 572):

> <θίασον>· εὐωχίαν
> "θίασος: cheerful party".

At the same time, the information he later provides is relevant for the semantic extension of the term:

> καὶ πλῆθος, οὐ μόνον τὸ Βακχικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐρανικόν
> "Crowd, not just the Bacchic one, but also the one in a banquet"

We are therefore witnessing the loss of the religious meaning of the term—the premise of the evolution that led to its modern Greek meaning, where the only connection with the Bacchic religion is the joy or... the origin of theater: it also designates a "comedy troupe".

4.5. Θύρσος

A specific element to the Dionysian cult is the *thyrsus*, a wand adorned with ivy or vine, which often appears in the representations of the Bacchantes, both in literature and ceramic paintings. In modern etymological dictionaries, the term is considered to be of foreign origin, connected with a Hittite word with the meaning of 'vine' (cf. Chantraine, s.v., Beeks, s.v.).

The *Suda* Lexicon provides a simpler explanation (*theta*, 613):

[10] Inexistent word, perhaps a contamination between θέω and θύω.

<Θύρσος:> βακχικὴ ῥάβδος.
"Θύρσος: Bacchic wand"

EM (459, 38) interprets the term as a blending between θύειν ('to rush with rage') and ὀρθός ('straight'):

<Θύρσος>: Ὁ κλάδος ὁ παρὰ Διονύσῳ· παρὰ τὸ συνεχῶς ταῖς μαινάσι κινούμενος· οἱονεὶ θύειν (ὅ ἐστιν ὁρμᾶν) ὀρθὸς, οὐκ ἐγκεκλιμένος.
"the wand of Dionysus; originated in the continuous movement of the Maenads: as in «to rush [θύειν] in a straight position [ὀρθός], not leaning»"

The *thyrsus* was such a specific element to the Bacchic manifestations that its absence from the ritual seemed unthinkable. That is why a scholium to Euripides (*Scholia in Euripidem, Orestes*, 1492, 3) states:

<ἄθυρσοι δ' οἷά ντιν>: κακόθυρσοι. ἢ θύρσων μόνον δεόμενοι πρὸς τὸ εἶναι Βάκχαι. ἢ ἀθύρσους αὐτοὺς εἶπεν, ἐπεὶ αἱ Βάκχαι μετὰ θύρσων βακχεύουσιν
"Without *thyrsus*: the ones who use it badly; or the ones that only lack the *thyrsus* to be Bacchantes because the Bacchantes celebrate the Bacchic cult with the *thyrsus*."

4.6. Dionysus

We have intentionally left the name Dionysus to the end, for the etymological interpretations seem to resume all the commentaries that we have made so far.

The first explanation, that was, in fact, also compiled by the late lexicons, belongs to Socrates (*Cratylos*, 406c):

ὅ τε γὰρ Διόνυσος εἴη ἂν ὁ <διδοὺς> τὸν <οἶνον> "Διδοίνυσος" ἐν παιδιᾷ καλούμενος, οἶνος δ', ὅτι <οἴεσθαι νοῦν> ἔχειν ποιεῖ τῶν πινόντων τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐκ ἔχοντας, "οἰόνους" δικαιότατ' ἂν καλούμενος.
"Dionysos is the one who gives [διδοὺς] the wine [οἶνον]. He was playfully named Didoinysos [Διδοίνυσος]; the wine [οἶνος], as it makes many drinkers believe that they do have a mind [οἴεσθαι νοῦν], although they have not, could be rightly called *oionous* [οἰόνους]."

Leaving aside the discussion about Socrates' seriousness when creating the etymologies proposed in *Cratylos*, it is important to note that these explanations are certainly a reflection of the mentalities of his time: none of the definitions contradict the common beliefs, and that is why many modern exegetes think the whole dialogue is a parody of these ideas. The philosopher adopts the defining pattern used by his contemporaries, and,

starting from generally accepted conceptions, provides interpretations in line with those formulated in his time. From this point of view, we can be sure that what he proposes as an explanation for the name of Dionysus is nothing more than translating into an "etymological" definition the current prototypical image of this god: Dionysus, "the wine-giver". We should also note Socrates' remark, namely that Dionysus was called *Didoinysos* as a joke (ἐν παιδιᾷ); actually, it is the only name of a god that Socrates claims to have been given παιδικῶς, 'in-joke', or 'ironically'.

Οἶνος, 'wine', in its turn, is interpreted as coming from the expression οἴεσθαι νοῦν "to think one has reason". The interpretation of this etymological proposal—offered by Socrates himself—is also made in a playful key: the wine makes many people who drink it get the impression that they have reason when in fact they do not. The verb οἴεσθαι means, literally, "to have the illusion", "to have a picture of something that does not correspond to reality"; that is why δικαιότατα is used here as seriously as possible, confirming this situation, and not ironically, as it could be interpreted.

However, as suggested above, wine and μανία meet in the state of losing one's self, in the communion with the god; it is this communion that provides you with the power of perceiving other realities, otherwise inaccessible to the mortals (for example, you can foresee the future, cf. Eur. *Ba.* 300). At the same time, νοῦς, as opposed to λόγος—the reason as the inner and subjective ordering of thoughts—, is the spontaneous perception of a higher order, which you usually cannot even include in λόγος, in orderly reasoning, and in speech. Νοῦς has an irrational component, therefore, the drunkenness, the state of μανία and of that very moment when you feel that you have νοῦς, that you are perceiving something beyond the ordinary reality of the world, have a strong common substrate. Subsequently, this interpretation of the name *Dionysus* cannot be seen exclusively as an ironic interpretation.

EM provides a rich collection of etymologies for the name *Dionysus*, some of which having the source mentioned:

> <Διόνυσος>: Οἱ μὲν Διόνυξον αὐτὸν ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅτι σὺν κέρασι γεννώμενος ἔνυξε τὸν Διὸς μηρὸν, ὡς Στησίμβροτος. Οἱ δὲ, Δεύνυσον· ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Νύσσης· <δεῦνον> δὲ τὸν βασιλέα λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, ὡς Ἰόβας. Οἱ δὲ, ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς Νύσσης τοῦ ὄρους ὠνομάσθαι· ἐπεὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐγεννήθη, ὡς Ἱππάρχος, καὶ ἀνετράφη. Οἱ δὲ, ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλὰ διανύσαι καὶ κατορθῶσαι, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Θάσιος. Οἱ δὲ, ἀπὸ τοῦ δονεύειν καὶ κινεῖν τὰ σώματα, πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ι, ὡς πυκνὸς, πυκινός. …Ἢ παρὰ τὸ δάος δαόσυνος· καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ α εἰς ι…. Ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ νεύω Διόνευσος καὶ Διόνυσος, ὁ ποιῶν διανεύειν καὶ μὴ σταθεροὺς εἶναι τοὺς

πίνοντας. Ἢ παρὰ τὸ πολλὰ διαλῦσαι, διάλυσος, καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ α εἰς ο, καὶ τοῦ λ εἰς ν.

"Some call him *Dionyxus*, for, when he was born with horns, he pierced [ἔνυξε] the thigh of Zeus [Διὸς], according to Stesimbrotos. Others <call him> *Deunysos*: because he became the leader of Nyssa [Νύσσῃ]; *deunon* [δεῦνον] is an Indian name for 'king', according to Iobas. Others <say that> he is called so from *Zeus* [ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς] and from <the mountain> *Nyssa* [τῆς Νύσσης], because it is there where he was born, as Pindaros says, and where he grew up. Others, from the fact that he accomplishes [διανύσαι] and rules many things, according to Alexandros of Thasos. Others, from 'shaking' [δονεύειν] and moving bodies, by enlarging with an -i-, as in πυκνὸς - πυκινός. Or from 'torch' [δάος], *Daosunos* [Δαόσυνος], and by replacing -a- with -i-. Or from 'nodding' [νεύω], *Dioneusos* [Διόνευσος] and *Dionysus*, for he makes the drinking persons bow their heads [διανεύειν] and not stand straight. Or from the fact that he 'destroys' [διαλῦσαι] a lot of things, *Dialysos* [διάλυσος], and by replacing -a- with -o-and -l- with -n-."

We note how these "etymologies" actually trace back Dionysus' history and attributes, from the birth-related myth, to his status as a leader of Nyssa, to his brightness comparable to that of a torch, and to the effects he has on humans. We could say that the essence of the god (at least as the late and Byzantine authors understood it) is concentrated here.

From the point of view of the pattern applied, we find here the best sample of etymological science in classical, late and Byzantine period: the meaning, though unique, has several valences and it is gradually composed, drawn out of more or less significant features. A word can establish both syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships with countless other words; it is out of these relationships—either phonetic, cognitive or referential—that the meaning of the word slowly conceals.

5. Conclusions

We have tried to outline the characteristics of the ancient Greek and Byzantine lexicography, by taking as a case study the terms related to the Bacchic cult. This field resulted as particularly interesting because of the rich imagery and prejudices that it gave birth to, since the classical to the Byzantine era.

The explanations provided by the ancient and Byzantine lexica highlight, thus, the evolution of the concepts related to the Bacchic cult—from deeply religious, to laic ironical terms.

On the other hand, what we have tried to stress in this study is the concept of etymology as it functioned in that time, when form and meaning were seen as indissociable. We could thus understand how determining the

meaning of a word was strongly dependent on establishing as many relations as possible with other words, similar to it from a phonetic point of view. The semantics were then forged according to the cognitive features these words had in common.

The modern concept of etymology seemed to be employed in a different manner. Starting with the Neogrammarians, the semantic aspect—essential for the ancient lexicographers—is transferred on a secondary level while the phonetic laws almost monopolize the etymological approach. Nowadays, it is not as easy as in ancient or Byzantine times to mold the phonetic form of the word in order to match the semantic—sometimes evident—relation between two words. Sticking to the phonetic laws, we, modern lexicographers, sometimes miss the cognition between words that followed different phonetic paths, due to various linguistic and cognitive factors.

Nonetheless, it is cognitive etymology—a branch of cognitive linguistics developed in the last few years—that connects, throughout its principles, the ancient methods with the modern ones. It takes as a starting point, not the predetermined phonetic laws, but the semantics and the possible associations that the speaker might have established between different concepts—viewed in a typological perspective, i.e. in the wider context of semantic patterns observed in similar cases and in various languages. This approach is closer to the ancient one, inasmuch as the etymologist first tries to understand the cognitive associations underlying a semantic change, and only then proceeds to the explanation of the—sometimes difficult to explain—phonetic evolutions. It is now acknowledged that the phonetic laws do not intervene imminently and in an uncorrupted manner, but there are many other factors—either linguistic or extralinguistic—that make their way into the trajectory, the form, and the usage of a word.

From this point of view, the ancient and Byzantine etymological methods do not seem at all strange and unjustifiable. The rupture that was once created between those etymological approaches and the modern ones (starting from the 19th century) seems now to have softened more and more.

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New Insights on the Lexicon and Dialogic Structure of Bilingual Greek/Latin Dialogues from the *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana*

Chiara Fedriani

1. Introduction

In this study I look at some aspects concerning the lexicon and dialogic structure of a series of bilingual dialogues written for didactic purposes in the Graeco-Roman antiquity and commonly known as *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana*. This label consists of two descriptive terms, the former of which, a transliteration of the Greek noun ἑρμηνεύματα 'interpretations', points to the didactic *function* of these texts, whereas the latter refers to their alleged *authorship*, since they were earlier (but erroneously, hence the prefix *pseudo-*) attributed to the late grammarian Dositheus (4th century CE). In short, the 'interpretations of pseudo-Dositheus' constitute a "pedagogical dossier conceived in the context of the classroom" to instruct learners on how to acquire fluency in Latin or Greek (Gwara 2002: 110). The present analysis has been carried out on the complete series of the *colloquia*, which comprises the *Colloquium Harleianum* (ed. Dickey 2015), the *Colloquium Leidense-Stephani* and *Stephani* (ed. Dickey 2012), the *Colloquium Celtis* (ed. Dionisotti 1982, Dickey 2015), the *Colloquium Montepessulanum* (ed. Dickey 2015), and the *Colloquia Monacensia-Einsidlensia* (ed. Dickey 2012).

Such bilingual dialogues are included in different versions of a language textbook also containing an alphabetical glossary, a classified glossary, and other bilingual didactic texts used by Latin speakers who wanted to learn Greek and/or by Greeks interested in learning Latin (for details about their origin, composition, and philological transmission, see Marrou 1950, 356–357; Korhonen 1996; Tagliaferro 2003; Dickey 2012, 2015). However, as we will see below, the most important parts of the *colloquia* come from the West, and this led Dickey (2016: 10) to suggest that they were originally

designed to teach Greek to Latin children, since Greek was a constitutive part of the basic education of cultured Romans (see e.g. Rochette 2010). The bilingual *colloquia* included in the *Hermeneumata* carry a special historical significance, since they constitute the first example of a textual genre which would be replicated on this model in the following centuries, thus becoming "an established type of textbook for three hundred years and more" (Hüllen 1999: 53). Later developments include, for instance, the Cambro-Latin Dialogues *De raris fabulis* (Gwara 2002) and the Old English-Latin *Aelfric's Colloquy* (see, e.g., Hüllen 1999: 79ff.).

In the context of our discussion, the most interesting portion of these manuals is constituted precisely by the *colloquia*, which students probably read, consulted, and learnt by heart in order to become fluent (example 1), to acquire spoken competence in a colloquial variety of the language (*sermo cottidianus*, example 2), and to learn everyday vocabulary and useful phrases (*commixta et necessaria*, example 3). This makes the *colloquia* a cross between a conversation manual and a topical glossary. Accordingly, the primary aim of these didactic materials was the development of elementary and practical L2 competence by teaching "how to greet someone politely, make excuses for not doing things, take oaths, and deliver crushing insults" (Dickey and Ferri 2012: 127).

(1) Quoniam volo et valde cupio *loqui Graece et Latine*, rogo te, magister, doce me.

'Since I want and I am eager *to speak Greek and Latin*, I ask you, teacher, teach it to me'[1] (Mp 2)[2]

(2) Quoniam parvulis pueris incipientibus eruditi necessarium videbam auditionem interpretamentorum *sermonis cottidiani*, per quem facillime Latine et Graece *loqui* instruantur

'Since I saw that for little boys beginning to be educated, the hearing of hermeneumata of *daily speech* [is] a necessary thing, through which they may very easily be taught to speak Latin and Greek' (M/E 1o–p)

(3) dicam *commixta et necessaria*. est autem haec salutatio sermonum, interrogationes, maledicta, et alia multa

'I shall say *assorted useful phrases*. These are the greeting [portion of] conversations, questions, insults and many other things' (H 11a–b)

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[1] All English translations and *loci* are those provided by Dickey (2012, 2015).

[2] In this paper I refer to the colloquia with the following abbreviations: C = *Celtis*, M/E = *Monacensia–Einsidlensia*, Mp = *Montepessulanum*, L/S = *Leidense/Stephani*, S = *Stephani*, H = *Harleianum*.

Keywords such as *auditionem interpretamentorum* 'the hearing of hermeneumata' and the recurrent use of the verb *loqui* 'to speak' documented in examples (1) to (3) neatly point to a didactic methodology that basically relies on the auditory channel. Even when students read these texts, they presumably did so to repeat them aloud, with the aim of memorizing chunks and speak *facillime* 'very easily' in concrete communicative contexts. In other words, second language acquisition was essentially seen as a process of internalization through communicative exposure (Tagliaferro 2003: 68). The starting point was the progressive storage of basic vocabulary arranged in crystallized phrases and sentences that could be creatively reused to fill in conversational slots. A crucial factor in accomplishing this goal is the strategic lay-out of the bilingual text as a line-for-line columnar translation, which creates a text in which both languages are idiomatic (Dickey 2016: 10--11; Figure 1). The vocabulary is often non-standard and non-literary, albeit correct, and even includes lexical selections which point toward sociolinguistically 'high' choices: we thus find *aegrotare* instead of *male habere* 'to be ill', or *capere* rather than *prehendere* 'to take' (Ferri 2008: 112, 131).

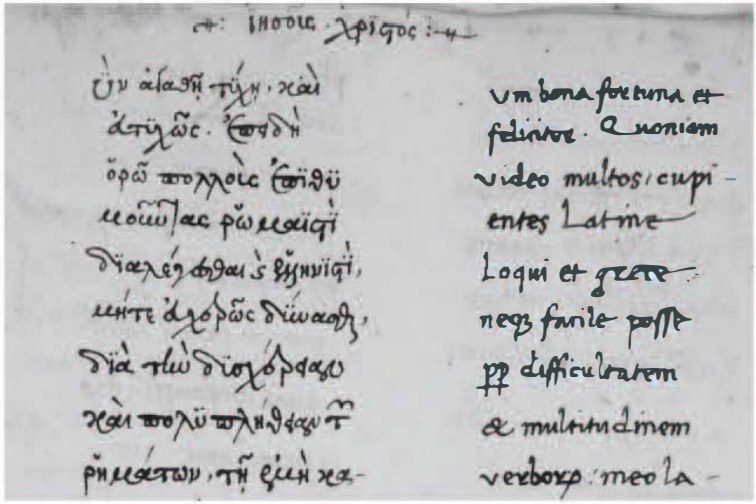

Figure 1. Incipit of the M/E, codex Neapolitanus Graecus II D 35 (from Dickey 2012: 75)

These fictional bilingual dialogues offer some basic scenarios that present the basic lexicon and grammar in context, through "little scenes of everyday life in dramatized form, as used today in modern language courses"

(Dionisotti 1982: 86–87). The inventory of daily episodes is fairly circumscribed and cyclically recurrent in various *colloquia*, as shown in Table 1 (where numbers refer to the order of a given scene and brackets indicate brief reference only).

	C	M/E	Mp	L/S	S	H
Getting up	1	1	1	1	1	
School	2	2		2	2	3
Business/Social		3	2	(5)		3-4-5
Lunch	3	4	(3)	(3)		
Preparing dinner / a party	4		4			
Baths	5	5	5	4		
Dinner		6	6	6		
Bedtime	6	7	7			

Table 1. Distribution of typical scenes (after Dionisotti 1982, 93, with modifications)

As Table 1 illustrates, the daily episodes are arranged along the course of a typical day, with a boy waking up, washing himself and getting dressed, then going to school, where he does a series of didactic activities, and coming back home for lunch. At this point, the various dialogues differ to a certain extent but generally share a change of focus, which from the afternoon onwards is put on the daily habits of an adult. Similar routines include going to the baths, attending to business and social activities, such as recovering a loan or visiting a sick friend, and preparing a dinner party, among many others (see Dickey 2017 for a detailed survey of these stories of daily life). Now, as Dickey (2017: 133) reports, the colloquia generally amalgamate two originally separate texts, one about the daily routine of a schoolboy from waking up to lunchtime and the other with more variegated scenes impersonated by an adult (as shown in Table 1). While the former basically present a schoolboy's monologue where the first-person narrative promotes a process of identification with the student, the adult daily routine is interspersed with more dialogic exchanges. The editions of the schoolboy part stemmed from a sole source, composed in the Western area of the Roman Empire, probably in Rome, and then borrowed by Greek speakers who wanted to learn Latin, going on to spread also in the East (Dickey 2017: 133). The second part, mostly involving an adult, was written in the East; the diverse versions found in the various *colloquia* differ much more from the schoolboy routine, which is replicated more consistently, probably because they had a variety of separate sources. In both cases, the original

texts date back to the imperial period: as Dickey (2012: 50) argues, there is no internal evidence compatible either with the Republican era or later medieval periods, and "government by emperors and the absence of Christianity are only the most obvious".

Building on these premises, in this paper I look at some less studied characteristics of the way in which the lexicon is strategically presented in the dialogues by examining relevant features of their textual structure. Many scholars have investigated in detail the ancient didactic practices emerging from the *colloquia* (see Marrou 1950, Debut 1984, Tagliaferro 2003, Mancini 2004, Rochette 2008, Stramaglia 2010, Dickey 2016, Marek 2017), commented on the stereotypical daily scenes they contain (Dickey 2017), and provided fundamental analyses of the language found in these texts (Ferri 2008, Dickey 2012, 2015). More recently, attention has been paid to pragmatic phenomena: Fedriani and Molinelli (forthcoming) have looked at the *colloquia* in terms of speech acts theory, and Molinelli (2018) has concerned herself with politeness and facework. However, less attention has been paid to the way in which the dialogic structure helps illustrate the manuals' hot topics, namely vocabulary and the basic principles of Greek and Latin grammar (exceptions being Dickey 2012: 196–197 and particular comments on specific *loci*). Accordingly, the aim of this study is to give an account of the specific conversational moves that are skillfully deployed in the dialogues as a means of introducing elementary linguistic tenets, with a varying degree of narratological motivation, ranging from a more reasonable insertion of lexical material into the dialogic flow to the artificial interspersing of long word lists that are almost unrelated to the surrounding context. Examples (4) and (5) illustrate this point, featuring two conversational exchanges which contain some of the main textual 'ingredients' we will see in detail in the course of the article.

In example (4) the adult speaker gives a series of orders for the preparation of dinner. The sequence of multiple requests constitutes a structural template to present the lexicon concerning couches and wine in a real context of use. As Dickey (2012: 197) explains, "vocabulary lists clearly arose from the fact that the colloquia were used to teach vocabulary in context; the lists consist of words related to the sentence just given". In (4), nouns pointing to concrete things used every day feature as direct objects of transitive verbs denoting basic actions such as 'to cover', 'to open', 'to bring out'. This simple dialogue probably enabled students to learn simple sentences made up of elementary verbs and semantically compatible fillers as objects, to broaden their vocabulary in a specific semantic field, and also to memorize a set of quasi-synonymic alternatives given in brackets within the running text.

(4)	κάλυψον βάθρον (στρῶνησον τὴν κλίνην, σύνθες στιβάδιον καὶ ἀναστρώματα ἔκτεινον), θὲς καθαρώτερον. ἄνοιξον ταμ<ι>εῖον, διένεγκε οἰνοφόρα, καὶ οἶνον, ἔλαιον καὶ γαρίδιον σιτίνην.	cooperi scamnum (sterne lectum, compone stibadium et stragula extende), pone mundiorem. aperi cellarium, profer vasa vinaria, et vinum, oleum et liquamen, cervesiam.	'Cover the bench (spread [a covering on] the couch, set up the semicircular couch and spread out the coverings), put out the finer [one]. Open the store room, bring out the wine jars, and wine, oil and fish-sauce, beer.' (C 48–49)

In example (5), the speaker asks a series of questions to his interlocutor, who answers in turn, thus co-constructing a textual grid filled in by useful question-and-answer patterns. Through this elementary exchange, students could easily learn how to ask some basic *wh-* questions (τίνας ~ ***quos?*** 'whom?', περὶ ποίαν ὥραν ~ *circa* ***quam horam?*** 'around what hour?', ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ ~ *in* ***quo loco?*** 'in what place?') and how to answer them. In turn, answers could constitute a strategic means embedded in the dialogue to introduce new vocabulary quite naturally, as in this case, where the interaction closes with a paradigmatic set of replies all compatible with the question 'in what place?': 'Σ τὸ φόρον, ἐν τῇ στοᾷ, ἐγγὺς τῆς στοᾶς τῆς Νίκης ~ *in foro, in porticu, iuxta stoam Victoriae* 'in the forum, in the portico, near the stoa of Victory'. In yet other cases, a direct yes/no question (such as Παρέλαβες; ~ *adhibuisti?* 'did you call in?') offers the opportunity to give a correct answer featuring a different form of the same verb (Παρέλαβον ~ *adhibui* 'I did', 1st person singular, literally 'I called in'), thus providing illustrative evidence for a variety of inflected forms of a given paradigm.

(5)	Παρέλαβες; Παρέλαβον. Τίνας; Τοὺς σοὺς φίλους. Καλῶς ἐποίησας. Συνετάξω;	Adhibuisti? Adhibui. Quos? Tuos amicos. Bene fecisti. Constituisti? circa quam horam?	[G:] 'Did you call in [advocates]?' [L:] 'I did.' [G:] 'Whom?' [L:] 'Your friends.' [G:] 'You did well.'

περὶ ποίαν ὥραν;	in quo loco?	[G:] 'Have you fixed
ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ;	In foro,	a meeting? Around
'Σ τὸ φόρον,	in porticu,	what hour?
ἐν τῇ στοᾷ,	iuxta stoam	In what place?'
ἐγγὺς τῆς στοᾶς	Victoriae.	[L:] 'In the forum,
τῆς Νίκης.		in the portico,
		near the stoa
		of Victory.'

(M/E 4 h–i)

In the remainder of this study I provide an analytic description of the dialogic structure designed to insert vocabulary in the *colloquia*. I first look at the case of word lists and offer an account of the speech acts they are typically embedded in (Section 2). I then turn to different types of interrogative exchanges (Section 3). Section 4 reassesses the role of these textual and dialogic structure as a genre-specific didactic tool and offers a review of the results.

2. Topical word lists and their relation to Speech Acts

This section is devoted to forms, functions and dialogical distribution of word lists in the *colloquia*. As we shall see, word lists constitute a very frequent textual device used to provide lexical inventories related to coherent semantic fields, thus forming part of the onomasiological tradition. Within this tradition, vocabulary lists are designed for people who know *what* to say but do not know *how* to say it; they help them "find words expressive of the contents which they have in their minds" (Hüllen 1999: 13). In the *colloquia*, topical word lists are preferably inserted into two specific speech acts: directives, which can be defined as acts which cause the interlocutor to perform a given action (this is the typical case of requests, orders, and advice), and descriptive statements, that is, sequences of assertive acts depicting a series of actions. On the other hand, I have identified two main word list structures, namely (i) series of paradigmatic alternatives given in brackets, which parenthetically interrupt the flow of the narrative, and (ii) lists of semantically related words.

Let us first look at topical word lists given in brackets. They were presumably designed to practice speech routines by choosing from among a set of semantically close words: the idea behind topical word lists was probably that of learning by substituting synonyms and experimenting with new configurations, to "learn flexibility through patterning" (Gwara 2002: 112). In such cases, various alternatives are given in brackets at particular

places to expand vocabulary skills within a given semantic field, as in (6), where the lexical choices pertain to the domain of typical urban locations and institutions:

(6) Τί ἐστιν,	Quid est,	'What is it,
ἀδελφέ;	frater?	brother,
διὰ τί οὐχὶ	qua re non	why didn't
ἦλθες πρὸς	venisti ad	you come to
τὸν ναόν;	templum?	the temple?
(εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν,	(ad domum?	(to [our] house?
πρὸς τὴν ἀγοράν;	ad forum?	to the forum?
πρὸς τὸ ἀκουστήριον;	ad auditorium?	to the lecture hall?
πρὸς τὸν δικαστήν;	ad iudicem?	to the judge?
πρὸς τὸν ὑπατικόν;	ad consularem?	to the ex-consul?
εἰς τὴν πόλιν;	in civitatem?	to town?
εἰς τὸ χωρίον;	ad villam?	to the country estate?
πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν	ad fratrem	to our brother?)'
ἡμῶν;)	nostrum?)	

(H 26a–c)

The *colloquia* show a certain degree of variation with regard to the frequency and relative length of word lists. While the *colloquium Stephani* features a dialogic structure defined by Dickey (2012: 228) as "a connected and reasonably coherent narrative" that is never broken up by word lists, the *colloquium Celtis* and the *Leidense/Stephani* are full of vocabulary inventories that interrupt the story and are only minimally relevant to the context. If we consider example (7), for instance, it is clear that words are not meaningful constituents of the Verb Phrase they are inserted into, but rather a list of 'names' artificially referenced parenthetically for purely didactic reasons. Dickey (2015: 207) discusses the case of the boy who is the main character at the beginning of this passage and who is not likely, for instance, to have συνελευθέροι ~ *colliberti* 'fellow freedman'. The unnatural list of greeted people is probably a later expansion, conceived of as a strategic opportunity to fit in a large amount of word stock (Dickey 2015: 206).

(7) εἶτα ἐπάνειμι	deinde regredior	'Then I return
εἰς οἰκίαν τοῦ πατρός.	ad domum patris.	to [my]father's house.
ἔπειμι ἀσπάσασθαι	eo salutare	I go to greet
γονεῖς	parentes	[my] parents
(πατέρα	(patrem	([my] father
καὶ μετέρα	et matrem	and mother
καὶ πάππον	et avum	and grandfather
καὶ μάμμην,	et aviam,	and grandfather

ἀδελφόν
καὶ ἀδελφήν,
καὶ πάντας συγγενεῖς,
θεῖον
καὶ θείας,
τροφὸν
καὶ τροφέα,
πρεσβευτὴν τῆς
οἰκίας,
πάντας
συνελευθέρους,
θυρουρόν,
οἰκιακόν,
γείτονας,
ὅπαντας φίλους,
ἐνοίκετην,
νησοφύλακα,
εὐνοῦχον).

fratrem
et sororem,
et omnes
cognatos,
avunculum
et amitas,
nutricem
et nutritiores,
maiorem domus,
omnes collibertos,
ostiarum,
domesticum,
vicinos,
omnes amicos,
incolam,
insularium,
eunuchum).

and grandmother,
brother
and sister,
and all [my]
relatives,
[my] uncle
and aunts,
nurse
and male nurse,
steward,
and [my] fellow
freedmen,
the doorkeeper,
the domestic
servant,
the neighbors,
all [my] friends,
the domestic
servant,
the concierge,
the eunuch'
(C 17a–d)

As is evident from the passages given above, these insertions functioned as basic phrasebooks, with contextualized vocabulary lists featuring words in paradigmatic relation to each other, sometimes reaching a remarkable length. This suggests that the *colloquia* had a clear, privileged focus on the acquisition of lexical competence and the primary aim of expanding learners' vocabulary.

In other cases, however, the didactic goal of word lists was to provide different inflectional patterns for the same word, as in (8), where the alternative choices in brackets serve to illustrate different conjugation options for a given verb (γράφω ~ *scribe* 'I write', γράφεις ~ *scribis* 'you write'), number opposition for a noun (γράμμα ~ *littera* 'letter', γράμματα ~ *litterae* 'letters'), semantically related derivative doublets such as γραφή ~ *scriptura* 'writing', an abstract concept opposed to γραφεύς ~ *scriptor* 'writer', its *nomen agentis*; and Adjectives as possible modifiers (Ἑλληνικά ~ *Graeca* 'Greek', Ῥωμαικά ~ *Latina* 'Latin').

(8)	Ἄλλαξόν μοι,	Muta mihi,	'Translate [this] for me,
	γράψον.	scribe.	write!'
	(γράφω,	(scribo,	(I write,
	γράφεις,	scribis,	you write,
	γραφή,	scriptura,	writing,
	γραφεύς,	scriptor,	writer,
	γράμμα,	littera,	letter,
	γράμματα,	litterae,	letters,
	Ἑλληνικά,	Graeca,	Greek,
	Ῥωμαικά)	Latina)	Latin).

(L/S 5a–b)

In (9), in turn, the lexical alternative given in brackets (ἀπέρχομαι ~ *vado* 'I go') illustrates a relational antonym of the preceding verb meaning 'to come'. In (10) the focus is rather on grammar instead, with the narrative structure depicting a very basic event (the schoolboy 'fights' for his seat and begins reading), a strategic chance to insert different conjugated forms of three salient verbs ('to sit', 'to learn', 'to study') and alternative pronominal inflections.

(9)	Ἔρχομαι	Venio	I come
	(ἀπέρχομαι)	(vado)	(I go)
	εἰς τὴν σχολήν.	in scholam.	to school.

(L/S 2f)

(10)	Ἐκεῖ προσχωρεῖτε·	Illuc accedite:	'Go over there:
	ἐμὸς τόπος ἐστίν,	meus locus est,	[this] is my place,
	ἐγὼ	ego	I
	προκατέλαβον.	occupavi.	got it first.'
	(ἐκάθισα,	(sedi,	(I sat,
	κάθημαι,	sedeo,	I sit,
	μανθάνω,	disco,	I learn,
	μανθάνεις,	discis,	you learn,
	μελετῶ,	edisco,	I study,
	μελετᾷς)	ediscis)	you study)
	ἤδη κατέχω	iam teneo	Now I grasp
	τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάγνωσιν.	meam lectionem.	my reading.
	(ἐμός,	(meus,	(my (m.),
	ἐμή,	mea,	my (f.),
	ἐμόν,	meum,	my (n.),
	ἐμοί,	mihi,	to me,
	ἡμέτερος,	noster,	our (m.),
	ἡμετέρα,	nostra,	our (f.),
	ἡμέτερον,	nostrum,	our (n.),

ἡμῖν,	nobis,	to us,
σόν,	tuum,	your (n.),
σός,	tuus,	your (m.),
σοί,	tibi,	to you,
ὑμεῖς,	vos,	you (pl.),
ἡμεῖς,	nos,	we,
ὑμέτερον)	vestrum)	your (pl.))

(L/S 4a–f)

Besides word lists given in brackets, the *colloquia* are often interspersed with lexical inventories showing varying degrees of narrative integration into the context. A strategic occasion to insert vocabulary is provided, for instance, by series of instructions to prepare lunch for a guest (ex. 11) and a dinner party (ex. 12). In (11), the master orders the cook to bring out of the cellar all the food, drinks, and kitchen utensils to prepare the meal. The long list of ingredients and objects entirely depends on the main verb in the imperative προένεγκε ~ *profer* 'bring out'. In (12) we find a very similar context, where the master issues some orders to a slave boy to get the dining room well ready for his guests. This excerpt is slightly more complex than the one in (11), since here we have a long series of directives featuring different verbs heading a variety of Noun Phrases: the aim was probably to illustrate concrete uses of verbs and the typical objects they co-occurred with, thus providing evidence for longer chunks. Note that in both passages the list of objects (ex. 11) or actions (ex. 12) is introduced by a shared pattern: bringing or preparing *quae necessaria/opus sunt* 'the things that are necessary'.

(11) ‹προένεγκε ἃ ἀναγκαῖά εἰσιν·›	profer quae necessaria sunt:	Bring out the things that are necessary:
ἅλας,	sale,	salt,
ἔλαιον Σπανὸν	oleum Spanum	Spanish oil,
καὶ ἐπιτήδειον	et apparatum	and provision
εἰς τοὺς λύχνους,	ad lucernas,	for the lamps,
γάρον	liquamen	fish-sauce [that is,
πρῶτον	primum	both the]
καὶ δευτέριον,	et secundum,	first
ὄξος δριμύ,	acetum acrum,	and second grade,
οἶνον λευκὸν	vinum album	sharp vinegar,
καὶ μελανόν,	et nigrum,	white wine
γλεῦκος,	mustum,	and black [wine],
παλαιόν,	vetus,	new [wine],
	ligna sicca,	old [wine],

ξύλα ξηρά,	carbones,	dry firewood,
ἄνθρακας,	prunam,	coals,
ἀνθρακιάν,	securim,	a live coal,
ἀξίνην,	vasa,	an axe,
σκεύη,	catina,	vessels,
λοπάδας,	caccabum,	dishes,
χύτραν,	ollam,	a cooking-pot,
λέβητα,	craticulam,	a pot,
σχάραν,	coopertorium,	a grid-iron,
πῶμα,	mortarium,	a cover,
θύειαν,	pistillum,	a mortar,
ἀλετρίβανον,	cultellum.	a pestle,
μαχαίριον.		a little knife.'

(M/E 9c–f)

(12)	Ἐπ‹ε›ιδὴ φίλους	Quoniam amicos	'Since I have invited
	ἐκάλεσα,	invitavi,	friends
	ἐλθὲ πρὸς ἐμέ	veni ad me	[for dinner],
	καὶ ἑτοίμασον ἡμῖν	et para nobis	come to me
	πάντα	omnia	and prepare for us
	τὰ χρείαν ὄντα	quae opus sunt	everything
	εἰς δ‹ε›ῖπνον	in cenam	that is necessary
	καὶ τῷ μαγ‹ε›ίρῳ	et coco dic	for dinner,
	εἰπὲ	ut pulmentaria	and tell the cook
	ἵνα τὰ προσφάγια	bene condiat.	to season
	καλῶς ἀρτύσῃ.	Venite huc,	the relish well.'
	Ἔλθατε ὧδε,	excutite culcitam,	'Come here,
	ἐκτινάξατε τὴν	ponite pulvinum,	shake out the
	τύλην,	operite	cushion,
	θέτε τὸ	stragula	set out the pillow,
	προσκεφάλαιον,	et opertoria,	drape the
	περιβάλετε	ducite scopam,	couch-covers
	στρώματα	spargite aquam,	and the throws,
	καὶ περιβόλαια,	stemite	pull the broom
	ἐλκύσατε σάρον,	triclinium,	[along],
	ῥάνατε ὕδωρ,	adferte calices	sprinkle water,
	στρώσατε	et argentum.	arrange
	τὸ τρικλίνιον,	tu, puer,	the dining room,
	φέρετε τὰ ποτήρια	tolle lagunam	bring the cups
	καὶ τὰ ἀργυρώματα.	et imple aquam,	and the silverware.
	σύ, παιδάριον,	scinde ligna,	You, boy
	ἆρον τὴν λάγυνον	exterge mensam	pick up the flask
	καὶ γόμωσον ὕδωρ,	et pone in medium.	and fill [it with]
	σχίσον ξύλα,		water,

κατάμαξον τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ θὲς εἰς τὸ μέσον.		split wood wipe off the table and put it in the middle.

(Mp 11–12)

As is evident from examples (11–12), a specific speech act seems particularly suitable for hosting vocabulary lists, namely ordering. Orders in the *colloquia* are typically issued by a *dominus* or by his son who ask their servants to prepare a bath, or a party, to do the shopping, among many other activities. The dialogic frame of giving orders readily accommodates the insertion of lists of objects (as in example 11) or lists of actions (as in 12). The latter case is further illustrated in examples (13–14), where the orders given to prepare a meal constitute the structural skeleton for introducing an expanded food-related word stock: as Dickey (2016: 49) remarks on the passage in (14), "The wide variety of food on offer could reflect an elaborate meal, but is more likely that the writer wants to squeeze in as much food vocabulary as possible".

(13)	ἐπ(ε)ιδὴ πεινῶ, λέγω τῷ μου παιδί· **θὲς** τράπεζαν (καί) ἐπιτραπέζιον καί χειρόμακτρον· **καί ἄπιθι** πρὸς τὴν κυρίαν σου, **(καί) ἔνεγκε** ὄρτον καί προσφάγιον (καί) πόσιν οἴνου (ζύθου, ὀρτθτοῦ, ἀψινθίου, γάλα(κτο)ς).	quoniam esurio, dico meo puero: **Pone** mensam et mantele <et> mappam; **et vade** ad tuam dominam, **et affer** panem et pulmentarium et potionem vini (cervesiae, conditi, absinthii, lactis)	'since I am hungry I say to my (slave) boy: "**Set out** the table and tablecloth and napkin; **and go** to your mistress, **and bring** bread and relish and a drink of wine (of beer, of spiced wine, of absinth-flavored wine, of milk)'

(C 44)

(14)	**Δόθ'** ἡμῖν ὑδρόγαρον. **δὸς** ἡμῖν γεύσασθαι μολόχας ζεστάς. **ἐπίδος** μοι χειρεκμάγιον. **κομίσατε**.	**Date** nobis hydrogaron. **da** nobis gustare malvas ferventes. **porrige** mihi mappam. **afferte**. **mitte** impensam ad acetabulum.	'**Give** us fish-sauce prepared with water. **Give** us to taste boiled mallows. **Hand** me a napkin. **Bring** [it]. **Put** some fish-oil sauce into the vinegar-cup.

βάλε ἐλαιόγαρον	**divide** ungellas.	**Divide** up the pigs'
εἰς τὸ ὀξυβάφιον.		trotters.
μέρισον τὰ ὀνύχια.	**concide** aqualiculum,	**Cut** up the paunch,
κατάκοψον κοιλίδιον,	chordam ex aqua.	the boiled tripe.
πλεκτὴν ἐξ ὕδατος.	**vide** si habes piperatum.	**See** if you have a pepper dressing.
ἰδὲ εἰ ἔχεις πεπεράτον.	**intinge**.	**Dip** it in.'
	Utor.	'I use it.'
ἐπίβαπτε.	**Utere**.	'**Use** it.
Χρῶμαι.		
Χρῶ.	**da** ficatum	**Give** [us?] some
δὸς συκωτὸν	tenerum,	tender fig-fattened
τρυφερόν,	turdos,	liver,
κίχλας,	glandulas,	thrushes,
καλλίκρεας,	lactucas.	sweetbreads,
θρίδακας.		lettuces.
εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἄρτον	unus de vobis panem	One of you,
κλάσει	**frangat**	**break** the bread
καὶ 'ς κανίσκιον	et in canistellum	and **put** it into a
εἰσοίσει.	**inferat**.	basket.
κατὰ τάξιν **παράδος**.	ad ordinem **trade**.	**Pass** it around in order.
κλάσον ψωμούς.	**frange** quadras.	**Break** the loaves.

(M/E 11f–i)

Note that at the end of the passage in (14) there is an interesting case of *variatio*, with a change in word order, from the predominant VO pattern to the OV pattern (documented in such sentences as *panem frangat*, *in canistellum inferat* in the Latin version, with parallels in the Greek one).[3] Moreover, word order variation is accompanied by a switch of addressee: all orders are issued in the 2nd person imperative, except from those mentioned above, which are addressed to a generic 3rd person (εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν ~ *unus de vobis* 'one of you') and conveyed through exhortative present subjunctives in Latin (*frangat*, *inferat*) and the use of the future tense in Greek (κλάσει, εἰσοίσει). It is likely that such fluctuations were used to present different alternatives co-existing in the language, thus making it easier to master a more complex inventory of constructions and what Gwara (2002: 112) calls extended grammatical flexibility.

[3] The most frequent constituent order in the *colloquia* is SVO: see Mancini (2004, 176) and Ferri (2008, 154).

The passage in (14) also serves to illustrate the most frequent verbal structures documented in directive acts in the *colloquia*. I found that the most typical construction, occurring in 62% of cases, features a transitive verb in the imperative, with possible fillers as direct objects (see also example 12) or a long list of them (as in example 11). Next comes the intransitive pattern (28%), which is probably slightly less favored because it is not a good way to present collocations of verbs and a choice of compatible nouns they can occur with (or simply because intransitive verbs are generally less frequent than transitive ones). Third in line we find the ditransitive construction, featuring a direct object and an indirect object, such as ἐπίδος μοιDAT χειρεκμάγιονACC ~ *porrige mihi*DAT *mappam*ACC 'hand me a napkin' in example (14). Since the semantic scope of this construction is very narrow, being limited to verbs of giving, saying, sending and a few others compatible with the general event schema of transfer, it covers only 9% of all the verbal constructions found in the corpus.

Directives do not constitute the only speech act type which is strategically exploited to insert topical word lists into the running text, however. Another very prominent type in this respect is statements, particularly within detailed descriptions of sequences of everyday routines. A nice example is a recurrent dressing scene conceived as an opportunity to teach clothing vocabulary.[4] In the M E version of the *colloquia* this vignette is depicted with such a broad variety of lexical details to lead "to the absurdities such as the one in this passage, where the boy ends up wearing three large, bulky garments (the mantle, outer garment, and cape), none of which could realistically have been worn underneath any of the others" (Dickey 2016: 12):

(15)	Ὀρθρου	Ante lucem	'Before daylight [i.e.,
	ἐγρηγόρησα	vigilavi	at dawn]
	ἐξ ὕπνου·	de somno;	I awoke
	ἀνέστην	surrexi	from sleep;
	ἐκ τῆς κλίνης,	de lecto,	I got up
	ἐκάθισα,	sedi,	from the bed,
	ἔλαβον	accepi	I sat down,
	ὑποδεσμίδας,	pedules,	I took

[4] The *colloquia* vary to a great extent with regard to the clothing inventory mentioned in the dressing scene that opens the schoolboy's daily routine: in the L/S colloquium, it is restricted to only three elements (ὑποδήματα καὶ τοὺς πίλους καὶ ἀναξυ<ρί>δας ~ *calciamenta et udones et bracas* 'socks, shoes, and trousers': L/S1e), and in the S colloquium, to two (ὑποδήματα καὶ περικνημῖδας ~ *calciamenta et ocreas* 'shoes and leggings': S 4a).

καλίγια·	caligas;	gaiters,
ὑπεδησάμην·	calciavi me;	boots;
ᾔτησα ὕδωρ	poposci aquam	I put on my boots;
εἰς ὄψιν.	ad faciem;	I asked for water
νίπτομαι	lavo	for [my] face;
πρῶτον τὰς χεῖρας,	primo manus,	I wash
εἶτα τὴν ὄψιν	deinde faciem	[my] hands first,
ἐνιψάμην·	lavi;	then [my] face
ἀπεμαξάμην.	extersi.	I washed;
ἀπέθηκα τὴν	deposui dormitoriam;	I dried [myself].
ἐγκοιμήτραν·	accepi tunicam	I took off [my] night-clothes;
ἔλαβον χιτῶνα	ad corpus;	I took a tunic
πρὸς τὸ σῶμα·	praecinxi me;	for [my] body;
περιεζωσάμην,	unxi caput meum	I put on my belt;
ἤλειψα τὴν κεφαλήν	et pectinavi;	I anointed my head
μου	feci circa colhum	and combed [my
καὶ ἐκτένισα·	pallam	hair];
ἐποίησα περὶ τὸν	indui me	I put around my neck
τράχηλον	superariam	a mantle;
ἀναβόλαιον.	albam, supra	I put on
ἐνεδυσάμην	induo paenulam.	an outer garment,
ἐπενδύτην		a white one, [and] on
λευκήν· ἐπάνω		top
ἐνδύομαι φελόνην.		I put on a hooded
		cape.'

(M/E 2a–d)

At this juncture, a quantitative analysis of the speech acts contained in the *colloquia* may help us gain a deeper understanding of the relative importance of descriptions (that is, Statements) and Orders as strategic act types to 'host' vocabulary lists. The data reveal that Statement is the most frequent act, followed by Order, by far the most frequent type of Directive. Table 2, which is after Fedriani and Molinelli (forthcoming), shows the frequency with which different speech acts are documented in each *colloquium*. Figure 1 graphically summarizes this distribution.

	C	M/E	Mp	L/S	H	Total
STATEMENT	35	48	24	15	43	165
QUESTION	6	50	15	–	29	29
ANSWER	2	34	15	–	13	13
ORDER	25	61	32	8	33	159
ADVICE / SUGGESTION	4	6	5	–	5	5
PERMISSION	–	1	–	–	2	3
PROHIBITION	–	–	–	–	–	0
PROMISE / SWEARING	–	3	–	–	3	6
THREAT	1	1	–	–	7	9
OFFER	–	6	3	–	1	10
EXCLAMATION	–	–	–	–	2	2
COMPLIMENT	–	4	3	–	6	13
GREETING	–	9	7	2	7	25
ACCEPTING	–	1	1	–	1	3
REJECTING	–	2	1	–	1	4
THANKING	1	1	–	–	1	3
APOLOGY	2	–	–	–	–	2

Table 2. Frequency of different speech acts per *colloquium*

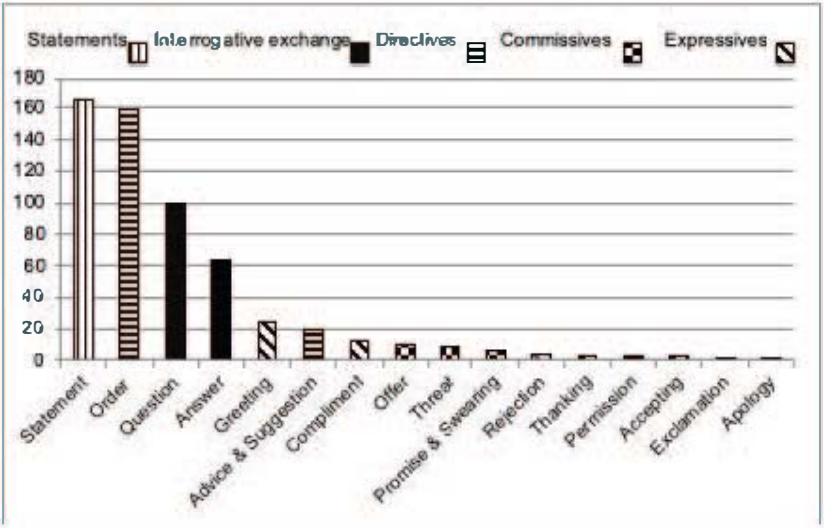

Figure 1. Frequency of speech acttypes in the *colloquia*

Now, the distribution outlined in Figure 1 shows that the third and fourth most frequent speech act types are Questions and Answers, respectively. This suggests that interrogative exchanges constitute an important and well represented dialogic structure in the *colloquia*. Accordingly, the next section is devoted to them, since, as we will see, they constitute another strategic interactional template to illustrate vocabulary and conversational routines in context.

3. Interrogative exchanges

In an insightful study devoted to the acquisition of Latin as a Second Language, Mancini (2004: 176) underlined that yes-no questions are frequently attested in the *colloquia*, since they constitute the interrogative format which implies the shortest possible answer, thus helping lighten the learners' cognitive load. Besides polar questions, however, two other major interrogative exchanges are of particular interest to us here, namely what I call the 'interrogative adjacency pair', on the one hand, and the 'request-for-information' question type, on the other. Let us examine each of them and evaluate their key role in teaching vocabulary, grammatical patterns, and how to fill basic conversational slots.

Adjacency pairs are very common in everyday interactions. They are made up of two adjacent turns that are dialogically related and uttered by two different speakers. Typical examples include greeting formulae, which are particularly frequent in the *colloquia* (see Ferri 2008: 160–163), and routinized 'how-are-you' questions, followed by their 'socially expected' answers, as in examples (16–17):

(16)	Καλῶς ζήσαις, Λούκιε·	Bene valeas, Lucie;	'May you be well, Lucius;
	ἔστιν σε ἰδεῖν;	est te videre?	do I really see you?'
	Τί πράττεις;	Quid agis?	[L:] 'How are you doing?'
	Πάντα ὀρθῶς.	Omnia recte.	[G:] 'Everything's going well.
	πῶς ἔχεις;	quomodo habes?	How are you?'
	Συγχαίρομαί σοι	Gratulor tibi	[L:] 'I rejoice for you
	οὕτως ὡς ἐμοί.	sic quomodo mihi.	in the same way as for myself.

(M/E 4b–c)

(17)	Κύριε,	Domine,	'Sir,
	χαῖρε	salve.	hello!
	σωθείης ἀεί,	salvus sis semper,	may you be well for
	προσφίλτατε.	amantissime.	ever,
	πῶς	quomodo	most loving one.
	τὰ πράγματά σου;	res tuae?	How
	πάντα καλῶς;	omnia bene?	are your affairs?
	Ὡς οἱ θεοὶ	Quomodo dii	[Is] all well?'
	θέλουσιν.	volunt.	'As the gods
			wish.'

(H 12a–b)

The excerpt in (18) illustrates a slightly different contextual variant, to be used when greeting and announcing someone who is knocking at the door:

(18)	Τίς κρούει τὴν	Quis pulsat	'Who is knocking at the
	θύρα(ν);	ostium?	door?'
	Παρὰ Γαΐου	A Gaio	'[A messenger] from Gaius
	πρὸς Λούκιον.	ad Lucium.	to Lucius.
	εἰ ἐνθάδε ἐστίν,	si hic est,	If he is here,
	ἄγγειλον.	nuntia.	announce [me].'
	Πάρεστιν παρὰ	Venit a Gaio.	'[Someone] is here [Lat.:
	Γαΐου.		has come] from Gaius.'
	Ἐρώτησον αὐτόν.	Roga illum.	'Ask [him] in.'
	Τί ἐστιν,	Quid est, puer?	'What is it, boy?
	παιδάριον;		
	πάντα καλῶς;	omnia recte?	Is everything all right?'
	Ναί, κύριε.	Etiam, domine.	'Yes, sir.'

(Mp 4a–c)

Note that some conversational slots are recurrent across different *colloquia*: a case in point here is the very common 'is all well?' question, realized with two synonymic variants in the Latin text of the *colloquium Harleianum* and in the *Montepessulanum*, respectively (*omnia bene?* in example 17 and *omnia recte?* in 18), corresponding to the Greek expression πάντα καλῶς; in both cases.[5] Along similar lines, the typical 'how are you doing?' routinized greeting is realized with two different Latin patterns in the very

[5] In example (16), by contrast, we find πάντα ὀρθῶς, which is not idiomatic Greek and presumably constitutes a translation of the corresponding Latin expression (Dickey 2012: 160).

same exchange in (16), namely *quid agis?* and *quomodo habes?*, corresponding to two Greek equivalents, τί πράττεις; and πῶς ἔχεις;, respectively.[6] Yet another alternative is employed in example (17), πῶς τὰ πράγματά σου; ~ *quomodo res tuae?* 'how are your affairs?'

It is interesting to note briefly that in the *colloquia* adjacency pairs also include directive acts featuring a request and a reply which confirms that the request has been met. This pair is worth mentioning because it constitutes another strategic means to illustrate different inflected forms of the same verb. In example (19), for instance, the same verbs are first used in the 2nd-person singular imperative and then in the 1st-person singular of the perfect tense: arguably, two very useful verbal forms to be learnt and used in basic everyday interactions. A very similar example is provided under 5 above.

(19) σφράγισον.	signa.	'[now] put your seal on [the
Ἐσφράγισα.	Signavi.	document].'
Ἀριθμῶ	Numero	'I have sealed [it].'
ἀρίθμησον.	numera.	'Count it out by number.'
Ἀρίθμησα.	Numeravi.	'I have counted it.'
Δοκίμασον.	Proba.	'Examine it.'
Ἐδοκίμασα.	Probavi.	'I have examined it.'

(M/E 5d)

The other interrogative format which is frequently used as a valuable means to teach question-and-answer patterns is the 'request for information' type, which typically features *wh*-questions. The main didactic aim in this context was probably to teach students how to ask such questions and how to reply correctly in different ways. In the passage given in (20), for instance, the exchange opens with a yes-no question, which is then followed by a 'where' question (Ὅπου; ~ *ubi?*), and two 'what' questions featuring the interrogative pronouns τί; ~ *quid?*. Answers are very simple and are typically made up of bare verbs (e.g., φιλολόγει ~ *studebat* 'he was studying' as a reply to the question 'what was he doing?'), accompanied at most by a very basic specification of place (εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ~ *ad domum* 'at home'). In (21) we find very similar *wh*- questions, answered again with

[6] As far as the Latin formula *quomodo habes* is concerned, it is clear that this is non-standard Latin, and that the phrase is a translation of the Greek model πῶς ἔχεις;, which is well attested in the Classical literature (see further Dickey 2012: 160). The most typical equivalent expression is however *quid agis?* (see Poccetti 2010: 101–103).

very short sentences featuring simple verbs or expressions of time (πρὸ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ~ *intra paucos dies* 'a few days ago') and place (οὐ μακράν ~ *non longe* 'not far off').

(20)	Ἐγένου πρὸς αὐτόν;	Fuisti ad ipsum?	'Have you been to him?'
	Ἐγενόμην. **Ὅπου** ἦν;	Fui. **Ubi** erat?	'I have.' '**Where** was he?'
	Εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκάθητο.	Ad domum sedebat.	'He was sitting at home.'
	Καὶ **τί** ἐποίει;	Et **quid** faciebat?	'And **what** was he doing?'
	Ἐφιλολόγει.	Studebat.	'He was studying.'
	Καὶ **τί** εἶπεν; Τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐκδέχομαι. ἔρχονται καὶ ἀκολουθῶ.	Et **quid** dixit? Meos exspecto; veniunt et sequor.	'And **what** did he say?' '[He said,] 'I'm waiting for my [friends]; they're coming and I [shall] follow.'

(M/E 9h–i)

(21)	Ἐὰν θέλῃς, ἐλθέ μεθ' ἡμῶν.	Si vis, veni mecum.	'If you want, come with me.'
	Ποῦ;	**Ubi?**	'**Where?**'
	Πρὸς φίλον ἡμέτερον Λύκιον.	Ad amicum nostrum Lucium	'To our friend Lucius:
	ἐπισκεψώμεθα αὐτόν.	visitemus <eum>.	let's go see him.'
	Τί γὰρ ἔχει;	**Quid** enim habet?	'**What**'s wrong with him?'
	Ἀρρωστεῖ.	Aegrotat.	'He's sick.'
	Ἀπὸ πότε;	**A quando?**	'**Since when?**'
	Πρὸ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἐνέπεσεν.	Intra paucos dies incurrit.	'A few days ago he fell ill.'
	Ποῦ μένει;	**Ubi** manet?	'**Where** does he live?'
	Οὐ μακράν.	Non longe.	'Not far off.'

(M/E 6b–c)

The interrogative exchange in (22) also illustrates *wh-* questions of the 'why' type and documents an interesting phenomenon, namely the paradigmatic illustration of both negative and affirmative answers to a given question. A case in point here is when a master asks a slave boy the whereabouts of a letter: the first answer, οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε ~ *non est hic* 'it's not here', in brackets, is followed by its antonymic version ὧδέ ἐστιν ~ *hic est* 'here it is'.

(22)	**Διὰ τί**	**Qua re**	**'Why**
	ἐβράδυνες,	tard(ab)as,	were you slow
	ὅπου σε	ubi te	[returning from] where I sent
	ἔπεμψα;	misi?	you?
	τί ἔπραξας;	**quid** egisti?	**What** did you do?'
	Ἔδωκέν μοι	Dedit mihi	'He gave me
	ἐπιστολήν.	epistulam.	a letter.'
	Καὶ **ὅπου** ἐστίν;	Et **ubi** est?	'And **where** is it?'
	(Οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε.)	(Non est hic.)	('It's not here.')
	Ὧδέ ἐστιν.	Hic est.	'Here it is.'

(H 27d–f)

The shopping scene in (23) served to teach the 'how much' question type, embedded within an interesting (and rare) communicative exchange which also offers some cultural insights about common practices used when doing the shopping. This passage was presumably conceived to illustrate not only how to ask about prices, but also to haggle successfully about the price of a selected item (see Dickey 2015: 125 for more references to and comments on Roman shopping).

(23)	ἐγὼ πορεύομαι	ego duco me	'I am going
	πρὸς ἱματιώπολην.	ad vestiarium.	to a garment-seller.'
	Πόσου ἡ ζυγή;	**Quanti** parecium?	'**How much [is]** the
	Ἑκατὸν δηναρίων.	Centum denariis.	pair?'
			'A hundred denarii.'
	Πόσου ἡ φελόνη;	**Quanti** paenula?	**'How much [is]** the
	Διακοσίων δηναρίων.	Ducentis denariis.	cape?'
			Two hundred denarii.'
	Πολὺ λέγεις·	Multum dicis;	You're asking a lot;
	λάβε ρ´ δηνάρια.	accipe centum denarios.	accept one hundred
			denarii.'
	Οὐ δύναται τοσούτου.	Non potest tanti.	'It's not possible at that
			price.'

(Mp 13b–c)

In conclusion, the dialogues found in the *colloquia* are frequently interspersed with interrogative exchanges, conceived of as a strategic means to illustrate useful question-and-answer pairs. Once learnt and memorized, these patterns probably helped learners to engage in short interactions on practical issues using recurrent dialogic architectures. What emerges from these ancient texts is thus a didactic approach which dynamically combined the presentation of selected dialogic skeletons that could be filled in using compatible lexical items found in co-occurring vocabulary lists, which

greatly enhanced the use of lexical material in fictional, but highly realistic, contexts.

4. Discussion and conclusion

In this study I have focused on the dialogic structures that are most frequently exploited in the *colloquia* to insert topical vocabulary lists and basic conversational routines, and their possible interrelations. We have seen that the primary purpose of the *colloquia*, teaching vocabulary and developing students' elementary interactional skills, is mostly pursued through some specific speech acts, namely Assertion, Order, Question, and Answer, all variably actualized in different types of vignettes reproducing small scenes of everyday life. Table 3 summarizes these findings, giving the detailed frequency of occurrence of the dialogic and textual phenomena discussed in the previous sections.

Topical word-lists	featuring sets of paradigmatic alternatives in brackets (36 instances)	• C: 4-5, 9b, 11b-c, 12a-16b, 18, 19, 21b-c, 23-26, 31, 48, 55b, 57-58, 63, 70b-d, 75b-d • L/S: 1a-b, 2a, 2c, 2e, 2f, 3d, 4a-b, 4d-f, 5g, 5a-b, 5c • M/E: 11b-c, 11e, 11f-p • H; 1, 15, 26, 27, 28 • Mp: 5
	embedded in descriptions (11 instances)	• C: 5, 17a-d, 22a-b, 34-35, 37-38, 44, 47b-c-, 50-51, 53 • M/E: 2a-d (3c: variatio), 3t • Mp: 5
	embedded in directives (8 instances)	• M/E: 8c, 9c-f, 10a, 11a, 11h, 11k-l • C: 44, 61b-c • H: 2
Questions	in adjacent pairs (9 instances)	*Routinized 'how-are-you'-exchanges* • M/E: 4a-c, 6f-h, 9b, • H: 12 • Mp: 4 *The* tace. taceo *type* • M/E: 4n-o, 5d, 6a, 10m

	'Request for information' *wh*-questions (6 instances)	• M/E: 4d-f, 6b-c, 7a, 9h-i • H: 28 • Mp: 13

Table 3. Frequency of word lists and questions in different Speech Acts and question types

As the data in Table 3 show, the most frequent dialogic structure hosting vocabulary material is the topical word list, and particularly lists which are interspersed parenthetically across the running text. They are especially documented in the *colloquium Celtis*, and this is an important point that can give us some idea about the origin and composition of lexical lists in the *colloquia*. Indeed, the *colloquium Celtis* provides clear evidence for the complex development of this textual genre overall. It results from the conflation of two separate, autonomous *colloquia*, cut up and then spliced together again. Dickey (2015: 160–161) discusses in detail inconsistencies and repetitions of similar scenes that point to a variety of individual sources. In the *colloquium Celtis*, for instance, the children are dismissed from school three times, this suggesting the existence of at least two (Dionisotti 1982: 94–95), or rather, in the view of Dickey, three different original versions all replicated within the 'final' unitary text. According to Dickey (2015: 161), the *colloquium Celtis* was compiled over a long time span and repeatedly reworked both in the East and in the West in at least two different versions, and "the bulk of the extra vocabulary was added at this point or later, as the text was transmitted in the West". Thus, vocabulary lists should be considered as later additions which are documented in some *colloquia* but not in others, although they cannot be too recent "due to similarities and historical relationships such as those found in the *colloquium Celtis* and in the *Leidense/Stephani*", as convincingly argued by Dickey.

In conclusion, the integrated analysis of the lexicon of the *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana* and the strategic use of specific speech acts, adjacency pairs, and interrogative formats, corroborates, in several ways, the results gleaned from earlier research conducted into second-language education in Graeco-Roman antiquity. In this context, the process of acquisition was primarily seen as a natural language performance closely connected to the ancient rhetorical exercise of *progymnasma*, in which students had to imagine and employ the precise words that a given character could or should have used in a given circumstance (on this point, see Stramaglia 2010: 133). The didactic principle underlying these practices was thus the idea of 'speaking as people naturally do' while performing

common practical activities ("Schule als Lebensform", Vössing 1997: 607; see also Marek 2017: 148). Previous studies have emphasized that within such an approach the core of the method is expanding vocabulary and basic phraseology as a prelude for developing further linguistic and communicative skills, while syntax is somewhat left aside. I hope to have shown, however, how the dialogues also feature a variety of frequent argument structure constructions, such as the transitive, intransitive, and ditransitive constructions, and keep on presenting a variety of simple interrogative formats, such as polar and *wh-* questions, which all have to be seen as structural and complementary mechanisms dynamically integrated into the illustration of foreign vocabulary.

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PART II:

LATIN AND VERNACULAR TRADITIONS IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

THE RELEVANCE OF OLD ENGLISH GLOSSES AND GLOSSARIES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

PATRIZIA LENDINARA

One may wonder whether it is correct or not to include Old English glosses and glossaries in the tradition of the historical lexicography of English.[1] There are indeed many differences between the Anglo-Saxon compilations of glosses (and the either continuous or occasional interlinear glosses in Old English) and the first bilingual dictionaries of the fifteenth century, not to mention the following monolingual compilations.[2] However, if, on the one hand, the various kinds of glossing practiced in the Anglo-Saxon period cannot be described as lexicography *tout court*, on the other hand, it would seem inappropriate not to take into account the whole of this period, i.e. the first six centuries of the English language. What is more, glosses occupy a considerable proportion of the Old English corpus: 24% of the surviving corpus of Old English is represented by interlinear glosses to Latin texts and the vernacular items of glossaries amount to another 1%.[3] Within this 25% of the corpus, occasional glosses play an important role as far as lexical experimentation is concerned; moreover, they provide a valuable source for the alphabetical glossaries, where they often resurface (think of the number of glosses to Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* in the First Cleopatra Glossary).

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[1] For a definition of gloss, see Lendinara 2002a: 2, "Nowadays *gloss* is used to mean a marginal or interlinear annotation to a text, typical of Medieval scribal practices. Such annotations are not always and not necessarily juxtaposed to difficult words, but rather to words that the author himself, the scribe or a later annotator chose to accompany with an interpretation or a further comment. Glosses could be written in the same language as the text or in a different language."

[2] For the first English monolingual dictionaries, see now Miyoshi 2017.

[3] The *Dictionary of Old English Corpus in Electronic Form* reckons 3 million running words in Old English. The *Dictionary of Old English* lists 61 glossaries (siglum D) and 106 interlinear glosses (siglum C), out of a corpus of 3022 texts; both groups include several very large items.

Two momentous periods in Anglo-Saxon history will be studied. Firstly, the scholarly and teaching activity of archbishop Theodore at Canterbury and the group of glossaries emanating from his endeavour. Secondly, the glossing tradition, as it was carried out at Æthelwold's school at Winchester, when the practice of glossing exerted a considerable influence on the 'standardization' of the lexicon. As a result of the conscious practice of the intellectual elite, Old English holds a unique position within the early medieval European vernaculars. In both periods glosses and glossaries played an important role and contributed to the normalization of the Old English language. This role only declines with the Norman conquest.

The beginnings

A group of relevant glossaries results from the scholarly and teaching activity of Theodore of Tarsus and Hadrian, who arrived in Canterbury respectively in 669 and 670.[4]

In the preface to the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, Bede recalls the learning of Theodore, Abbot Hadrian and of one of their disciples, Abbot Albinus; further on he will praise other students of the Canterbury school (*HE* IV,2) and quote their names (Oftfor *HE* IV,3; Tobias *HE* V,8 and 23; John of Beverley *HE* V,3); Albinus *HE* V,20). Over and over, Theodore, Hadrian and their students are praised for their knowledge of Greek and Latin (*HE* IV,1 and 2, etc.). A letter addressed to Hadrian by Aldhelm witnesses his stay at the same school.

Bede's words are matched by another kind of proof of his teaching activity: the large body of glosses, mainly preserved by continental manuscripts, which yields a much more concrete witness of what Theodore's teaching was like. It is now a widespread opinion that a group of glossaries dating from the end of the eighth century—the so-called 'Leiden Family' of glossaries[5]—arises from the scholarly and teaching activity of archbishop Theodore.[6] His hand is evident in the comment on the gloss "Cyneris, nablis id est citharis longiores quam psalterium nam psalterium triangulum fit Theodorus dixit" (*Cyneris* or *nablis*, that is, citharas longer than a psaltery, for a psaltery is triangular: Theodore said so) (Sir. 39:20 = Ld. xii.40). Other glossaries which belong to the 'Leiden group' contain various references to Theodore, his knowledge of Greek, and

[4] See Bischoff, Lapidge 1994.

[5] For this group of glossaries see Lapidge 1986 and Pheifer 1987.

[6] All reference to the Leiden Glossary (henceforth Ld., followed by the number of the chapter and the gloss) is to the edition of Hessels 1906.

his acquaintance with Oriental uses and direct knowledge of distant countries.

There are remarkable differences between the number of the sections of each glossary (that is between the number of works from which the *glossae collectae* are drawn) and the number of entries for each section, but the sources of the glosses are mostly the same. The glossaries offer a different selection from the Bible; e.g. the Leiden Glossary lacks the Old Testament books from Genesis to IV Kings, and begins its Bible sections (vii xxv) from the Chronicles (Ld. vii) to end them with a batch of glosses from the Gospel of Matthew (Ld. xxiv) and one from Mark, Luke and John (Ld. xxv). In the same glossary there occur two sections (Ld. vi and xl) from the *De excidio Britanniae* of Gildas which have no known parallel in the other glossaries. Not all the sources of the entries have been identified and the source of the whole sections xxxi and xxxii (Ld.), both titled 'De ponderibus', remains unknown. None of the existing glossaries can be said to represent a faithful record of the exegetical or scholarly activity of Theodore and Hadrian; the English archetype from which all these glossaries descend is lost; all the glossaries date from at least a century after Theodore's death.

The oldest alphabetical glossary of English origin is likely to stem from Theodore's school at Canterbury. The Épinal Glossary contains some 3,200 entries; 970 entries, a little more than 30%, have Old English glosses. The (slightly later) first glossary in Erfurt/Gotha, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek, Dep. Erf., CA 2° 42 (the manuscript contains two other glossaries known as 2nd Erf and 3rd Erf) descends from the same compilation as Épinal.[7] From the same source as the Épinal and Erfurt glossaries are also drawn a part of the entries in the so-called Second Corpus Glossary.[8] This glossary was, in turn, used in the compilation of other Anglo-Saxon glossaries. Canterbury was the place where the original of another noteworthy glossary, known as the Leiden Glossary (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. Q. 69, ff. 7r 47r),[9] was compiled.

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[7] The archetype of Épinal (Épinal, Bibliothèque municipale 72, ff. 94r 107v) and Erfurt (Erfurt/Gotha, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek, Dep. Erf., CA 2° 42, ff. 1r 14v), known as EE, was compiled between *c.* 675 and the end of the seventh century.

[8] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 144 (dated to the second quarter of the ninth century) contains two glossaries. The latter and larger alphabetical glossary is related to EE.

[9] The Leiden Glossary is made up of forty-eight chapters of *glossae collectae*, including canons and papal decretals (ch. i), the Benedictine Rule (ch. ii) and books

Unlike the three glossaries mentioned above, this compilation is made up of *glossae collectae*. The Leiden Glossary, written at St Gall *c.* 800, is the oldest representative of a large group of glossaries, some of which have not been published yet. The four above-mentioned glossaries are interrelated and numerous entries in the Leiden Glossary also occur in the Épinal, Erfurt and Second Corpus glossaries.

A number of entries in the Leiden Glossary indicate a knowledge of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, which were a standard reference work in the Middle Ages. The *Etymologiae* are often echoed or quoted: the explanation of "Aemulum: eiusdem rei studiosum quasi imitatorem" (*De canon.*, Ld. i.12) is taken verbatim from the *Etymologiae*, "Aemulus, eiusdem rei studiosus quasi imitator" (Rivalling, striving for the same thing as an imitator) (*Etym.* X.7).[10] At Canterbury an Isidorian epitome, which was used by the first Anglo-Saxon glossaries and whose influence is evident in all the following glossaries, was also compiled. Porter (2014) demonstrated that about 180 of the 2,400 entries in the Leiden Glossary derive from such epitome of the *Etymologiae*. According to Porter (2010 and 2014), both the Antwerp-London and Ælfric's *Glossary* drew from this compilation and Rusche proved the same of the Cleopatra glossaries, in particular the first one, as well as the tenth century Aldhelm glosses (2005). As for the reconstruction of this lost source, it consisted of abbreviated entries glossed in Old English from all twenty of Isidore's books.

Seen from another perspective, the EE and the Leiden glossary have great significance because they represent the earliest school texts in the English language. Moreover, these glossaries had a profound influence on the writings of the first generation of Anglo-Saxon authors.

Aldhelm studied at the school of Canterbury for a few years beginning from about 670. He is the author of a collection of *Carmina ecclesiastica*, the *Epistola ad Acircium* (a composite work including a metrical treatise and 100 Riddles), and a twin work on 'virginity', composed once in prose and again in poetry. The peculiar diction of Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* fostered thousands of glosses in Latin and Old English, which range from single-letter merographs to entire paragraphs—reaching an amazing density in some manuscripts. The prose *De virginitate* was the most heavily glossed work in Anglo-Saxon England; the tract has been provided, across the centuries, with approximately 60,000 glosses, which are preserved in fourteen manuscripts (the oldest one datable to *c.* 800 and the latest ms. to *c.* 1350). As we will see below, glossing the *De virginitate* proved to be a

of the Old and New Testament (chs. vii xxv). Further batches of Biblical glosses, apparently omitted by its compiler, occur in continental glossaries of this family.

[10] All quotations and references are to Lindsay 1911.

test bench for the evolution of English language and learning.

For its part, Aldhelm's lexicon, in particular the lexicon of his prose works, is quite remarkable with its use of rare words drawn from multifarious sources and a series of neologisms. The circularity of his borrowings from the EE glossaries, but also the Aldhelmian component of the first Anglo-Saxon glossaries, has been proved by Michael Lapidge (2007). Among Aldhelm's sources are Classical and Late Latin poets, several Fathers of the Church, including Isidore and its epitome, which was "englished" at the Canterbury school (Porter 2010: 310). Furthermore, Aldhelm borrows from Latin glossaries such as *Abolita* and *Abstrusa*.[11]

A passage from ch. XXXVIII of the prose *De virginitate* will help to elucidate this point and show how Aldhelm used both continental Latin glossaries and the *Etymologiae*.

> non autumnali divinitus impendebat hoc est mala punica, quae et mala granata nuncupantur cum palmeti dactilis, quos nicolaos vocant, favos, uvas et palatas, id est caricarum massas
>
> (rather than in the autumn [the donation consisting in] 'Punic' apples, which are called pomegranates, together with the dates of the palm which they call 'Nicolian', honeycombs, grapes and figs, that is, bunches of Carian [i.e. dried] figs)[12]

In continental glossaries, the following entries occur: "Malum punici: mala granata" (*CGL* IV, 256,37); "[...] genus palate: massae caricarum [...]" (*CGL* IV 266,29) (both from the St Gall 912 Glossary); "Niculaus: dactilis" (*CGL* IV 541,52); "Niculai: dactilus" (*CGL* IV 541,53) (both *Affatim* entries). On the other hand, Isidore has *Malum Punicum* [...] *Idem et malogranatum* (XVII.vii.6), *dactyli* [...] *Nicolai* (XVII.vii.1); *Favum*

[11] As to Marenbon 1979: 78, Aldhelm drew words such as *bombosus* and *torridus* in the meaning 'burning' from a version of *Abolita* and *Abstrusa* different from those which have survived (and whence also the *Affatim*, *Abavus*, *Abba*, *Arma*, *Ax* Glossaries and the *Liber glossarum* drew). These large and renowned monolingual glossaries take their name from the first entry, for example *Abstrusa* and *Abolita*, two glossaries which survive, in a composite form the so-called *Abstrusa-Abolita* (ed. *CGL* IV,3 198) in a manuscript of the mid-eighth century: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3321.

[12] All the references to the prose and verse *De virginitate* (henceforth *Dv.* and *Cdv.* respectively), as well as to the other works by Aldhelm, are to Ehwald's edition; for the *Dv.* the reference by page and line; translations in Lapidge, Herren 1979 and Lapidge, Rosier 1985 respectively. For this passage, Ehwald: 290,5 7 and Lapidge, Herren: 105 106.

(XX.ii.37); *Uvae* [...] *botrus* (XVII.v.13 and 14); *Ficus* [...] *caricae* (XVII.vii.17), but does not have *palathas*. *Palatha* 'dried fruit' (usually figs) occurs for the first time in II Sam. 16:1 (and Idt. 10:5), it is hence possible that, for his list of delights for the eye and the palate, Aldhelm had resorted both to the *Etymologiae* and some unknown glossary. The *Abavus*, from where the St Gall 912 likely draws or derives, employed a number of Greek sources and Latin *Palatha*—that is, the lemma of the source-glossary—is a loanword from Greek παλάθη. From the Isidorian encyclopaedia he took a constellation of vocabulary concerning fruit delicacies, which he then implemented, resorting to a monolingual glossary. In this case it is possible to surmise a Biblical glossary, from which he took both the lemma *palat<h>as* 'figs' and the *interpretamentum massas caricarum* 'lumps of Carian figs', which repeats verbatim the words of II Sam. 16:1, "onerati erunt [...] centum massis palatharum" (were laden with [...] a hundred lumps of figs).

Both 1st Erf: "Nicolaum: idem quod tactilus" (*CGL* V 373,41) (Épinal: "Nicolaum: idem quod dactilus") and 2nd Cp: "Nicolaum: idem quod dact<y>lum" (N 116) betray their source to be either in Aldhelm or the *Etymologiae*,[13] whereas the following entries of the same glossaries: "Palatas: caricas" (*CGL* V 380,20) and "Palathas: caricas" (P 58) (Idt. 10:5) suggest a use of Aldhelm both for the lemma and the *interpretamentum*.[14] Moreover, in both cases, the lemma maintains the same inflected ending as in the *De virginitate*. 2nd Erf has the entry "Niculatis: dactilis" (*CGL* V 313,38). We will return to the Old English glosses to these lines of the *De virginitate* below.

The circularity of glosses and glossaries: the case of *Thermopylae*

The evident circularity between glosses, items of glossaries and literary texts marks several works composed in the British Isles. Such interconnectedness, sometimes, hinders the recognition of the effective sources. Far from being a reason of particular concern—or blame, in the

[13] On the other hand, both 1st Erf: "Dactilus: gg digitus" (*CGL* V 356,2) and 2nd Cp, D 7: "Dactulus: digitus" are *Herneneumata* entries, drawn from a section on the parts of the body.

[14] The two glossaries have also the entry 1st Erf: "Palathi: massa de crescentibus uvis" (*CGL* V 380,2) and 2nd Cp, P 54: "Palathi (for -thae): massa de recentibus uvi<s>"; in both instances the reference is to grapes, whereas in both the *De virginitate* and the Biblical verses (II Sam. 16:1 and Idt. 10: 5) the talk is about figs.

rare cases of misunderstanding—this condition adds to the value of a number of glossary entries, and shows how valuable the interpretations provided by glosses were deemed in the past; valuable to the point of not being challenged on any account.

Orosius was an author whose works had a large circulation in the British Isles. There is a chapter of *glossae collectae* from Orosius in the Leiden Glossary (ch. xxxvi) and EE have several large batches of *lemmata* from Orosius (with a minimum overlap with Ld.). Moreover, 2nd Cp "contains numerous Orosius glosses outside its Épinal-Erfurt batches" (Pheifer 1974: xlviii). In the *Historiae adversum paganos,* Orosius mentioned the Thermopylae, a stronghold in Greece, held and fortified by Antiochus (IV, 20,20):

> P. Cornelio Scipione M. Acilio Glabrione consulibus Antiochus quamvis Thermopylas occupasset, quarum munimine tutior propter dubios belli eventus fieret, tamen commisso bello a consule Glabrione superatus vix cum paucis fugit e proelio Ephesumque pervenit.[15]
>
> (Publius Cornelius Scipio and Marcus Acilius Glabrio being consuls, Antiochus seized the pass of Thermopylae, the rampart of which, in view of the uncertain issue of battle, gave him a greater measure of safety; nevertheless, when battle began, he was overcome by the consul Glabrio and barely succeeded to escape from the battlefield with a few men and reach Ephesus.)

The *Thermopylae* was a narrow pass on the coast of Greece, along the shores of the Malian Gulf. The name (Greek Θερμοπύλαι) means 'hot gates' and refers to the presence of natural hot water springs. The item *Thermopylae,* occurring in a long batch of Orosius glosses in the T-section of EE and 2nd Cp (T 91), explains that it was a 'stronghold' (OE *fæsten*), but also specifies that it was an *anstīg* 'path, defile'.

Ép Gl (ed. Pheifer)	1042 Termofilas: faestin ł *anstigan*
1st Erf Gl (ed. Pheifer)	1042 Termopilas: *festin* ł *anstiga*
2nd Cp Gl (ed. Lindsay)	T 91 T<h>ermofilas: *faesten*

[15] Zangemeister 1882: 263.

Lindsay (1921b: 13), who was quite harsh on the (mis-)interpretation of *Thermopylae* as a common word by the author of the *Hisperica Famina*,[16] blames this use on the 2nd Cp entry, which had only one interpretation; namely *fæsten* 'fastness, stronghold', and had dropped the latter interpretation, *anstīg*.[17] However, and without questioning the dating of the two works, the interpretation of EE was not that clear either, while the penchant of the Faminator for picking up and employing unusual words did the rest.[18]

A word *termopilae* found currency in the so-called Hisperic vocabulary where it was used for a 'passageway (between rocks)', but also a 'gate (of a ford)'. It occurs three times in different passages of the *Hisperica Famina A*, "nam pantia ruptis astant septa termopilis" (for all your fences have broken gates) (line 79), "Has clandistinas frequenter lustravi termopilas," (Frequently have I wandered over these secretes passes) (line 228) and "fluctivagaque scropheas (*l.* scrupeas) vacillant aequora in termopilas" (the billowing waters undulate toward the canyons of rock) (line 408).[19] But there is more, a variant reading *termovela* (sg.) has a couple of occurrences in the Life of Maedóc (of Ferns): "Qui ante nos aperiet termovelan vadi" (The one who will open the door of the ford before us); "unus ex eis exiliens termovelam eis apperuit" (one of them, springing forth, opened the doorway).[20] The word occurs in the passage when Maedóc, asked about his

[16] The *Hisperica Famina* were written in Ireland around in the seventh century and belong to a literary movement of limited range. The main stylistic features are a simple syntax and the repetition of the same concept by means of strings of synonyms (for example, *spatha*, *ensis*, *framea*, *pugio* all meaning *gladius* 'sword'). See Herren 1974: 46.

[17] *Anstiga* is likely the pl. of *stīg* f. 'path'; as to Pheifer 1974: 130, *anstigan* of the Épinal Glossary "may be the scribe's misinterpretation of a stroke above *-a* in the exemplar", and not the pl. of a *stīga* week m. or *stīge* week f. *Anstīg*, (?-*stiga*, ? -*stige*) is otherwise unrecorded, but see the compound *gātanstīg* 'a goat-path', which occurs (1x) in a Charter.

[18] In a positive spirit, Pheifer 1974: 130 surmises that the Faminator was aware of the meaning of *termopilae* when using it "generically for 'cliffs'". However, *termopilae* has more than one meaning in the *Hisperica Famina* and also occurs elsewhere. For the correct meaning, see the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (*DMLBS*): http://www.dmlbs.ox.ac.uk/web/welcome.html: "narrow pass or passageway (that provides limited access), (transf.) gate".

[19] Herren 1974: 68 69, 80 81 and 94 95, respectively, and comments at 139 140.

[20] Further occurrences are reported by Grosjean 1956 and Herren 1974: 140. The recent editions of the *Cosmographia* of Aethicus Ister (including Herren's) all suggest a different interpretation for the word *termofiles* (*ternosiles* of Wuttke's edition, which was reckoned among the occurrence of *Thermopylae* as a common noun). See Herren 2011: 132 133 and his remark at page 227: "Resiliit aquila caladris bella gerendo, termofiles specus voraginem appetit et meditullia secerpit."

successor, replies by saying that the man who will succeed in opening the gate (*termovela*) of a nearby ford is going to become the future bishop.[21]

The second part of the A-text of the *Hisperica Famina* is a collection of sketches.[22] Two of these short compositions, which deal with set topics from the natural world, that is 'De igne' (lines 426–450) and 'De vento' (lines 476–496), provide a good example of contextualized lexicography.[23] Not only the subject matter, but also the vocabulary is drawn from Isidore's *Etymologiae*: these verbal echoes were probably evident also to the advanced students, for whom these compositions were destined.

Taken to such an extreme, words drawn from glossaries (but also from another kind of texts) would be used to build a lexical continuum, either in prose or in verse. This is a feature of a number of either single passages or complete short works composed in the Middle Ages, including the British Isles. Contextualized lexicography is not characterized by the choice of a certain type of words, but rather by their frequency and by the fact of belonging to the same semantic field, or having a source in one and the same—sometimes identifiable—work.[24]

For the parodic vein of contextualized lexicography one should look to France, where, at the end of the ninth century, Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés wrote a poem, the *Bella Parisiacae urbis*, which would circulate and enjoy great success in England.[25] A talented author such as Abbo succeeded in exploiting the allusive potential of an artful employment of glossary words. The third book of his poem, characterized by an extensive use of contextualized lexicography, engaged the reader in an intellectual game and stood so high in the estimation of Æthelwold and his entourage, that the bishop of Winchester included the *Bella Parisiacae urbis* in his donation to

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(The eagle waging war with the kites retreats, seeks out the hollow of its warm lair, and selects the remotest part.)

[21] *Vita sancti Maedoc episcopi de Ferna* (*BHL* 185), ed. Plummer 1910: II,154.

[22] According to Grosjean 1956: 55, the *Hisperica Famina* were not a *jeu d'esprit*, but a method of training the pupils in the use of stylistic ornamentation, providing them with "les matériaux d'un style relevé".

[23] The sources listed by Herren 1974: 19–32 include, beside Isidore's *Etymologiae*, a glossary drawn from Gildas's *De excidio Britanniae*, unidentified Graeco-Latin and Hebrew-Latin glossaries, and scholia on Vergil.

[24] See Lendinara 2005 and 2012.

[25] The entire story of a late ninth-century poem, the *Bella Parisiacae urbis* by Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, is indissolubly tied with glosses and glossaries. The peculiarity of its composition as well as its large circulation makes of this poem a case study for the role and development of medieval glossography, see Lendinara 2011.

the monastery of Peterborough.[26]

Aldhelm's glosses

Already influential in his lifetime, Aldhelm continued to be popular in England until the Viking attacks of the mid-ninth century. Interest in Aldhelm's work was revived in the 920s and, within a generation, he became a major curriculum author who was studied, in some centers, even beyond the turn of the twelfth century. In almost all surviving manuscripts, the works of Aldhelm are accompanied by glosses, in some cases thousands of Latin and Old English glosses. Outstanding among these glossed codices is Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 1650 (the glosses were entered in the ms. in the first half of the eleventh century, perhaps at Abingdon), where the prose *De virginitate* is accompanied by more than one layer of Latin and/or Old English glosses.[27] These glosses yield a fitting example of how effectively Latin and English could be combined to ease the understanding of a difficult text. The choice of the glossators at work on Aldhelm's texts are far from mechanical renderings. They result in new formations and semantic as well as syntactic loans.

In Brussels, BR 1650 five different scribes—hands A, B, C, CD, and R—were at work:[28] these five scribes added *c.* 6,000 Old English glosses and 8,500 Latin ones. New sets of *glossae collectae* from Aldhelm's works were being produced all through the Anglo-Saxon period, testifying to the vitality of this selection technique.

The number of Aldhelm entries in the Anglo-Saxon alphabetical glossaries is remarkable. Glosses from the *De virginitate* in prose and in verse are one of the main components of the First Cleopatra Glossary and the Harley Glossary. There were also glossaries collecting exclusively

[26] For such booklist, see Lapidge 2006: 134–136.

[27] See Goossens 1974 and Gwara 2001. A large share of the glosses of Brussels were repeated in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 146 (s. x ex.) (ed. Napier, no. 1), into which they were copied from Brussels, BR 1650 around the middle of the eleventh century, again perhaps at Abingdon. Goossens has refined Napier's 'Digby group', calling it the 'Abingdon group' and adding London, BL, Royal 7.D.xxiv.

[28] CD is the latest hand: "the CD corpus must have undergone a certain amount of revision to bring it into better conformity with later and fully developed Winchester usage. But already in its earliest attested stage (in the Cleopatra glossaries), the CD corpus provides ample evidence of *interpretamenta*, striking for their competence, inventiveness and learning.": Gretsch 1999: 184.

entries drawn from his works, such as the Third Cleopatra Glossary.[29] A short glossary with entries drawn from Aldhelm's verse *De virginitate* was copied in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 2. 14 (in the margins of ff. 1 1r–19v). The ninety-six glosses were put in alphabetical order, but under each letter they retain the original order of the text.[30]

It is estimated that 1st Cl (over *c.* 5,000 entries) contains about 2,100 Aldhelm glosses.[31] Several glosses from Aldhelm's prose and verse *De virginitate* occur both in 1st Cl and 3rd Cl. Wolfgang Kittlich has identified twenty-three different layers of glosses in the three Cleopatra glossaries (for example, the layer S 1, according to his numeration, corresponds to the first batch from Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate*). 1st Cl features, under each letter, at least four batches from Aldhelm. One of these batches also contains *lemmata* from Aldhelm's Riddles and his *Carmina ecclesiastica*.[32]

When studying an Old English gloss, its relationship with the source of the Latin lemma is of crucial importance. The entry "Genetrix: *flinda*" (*l. flint*) (G 132), in 1st Cl, is, at first sight incomprehensible, unless we return to the original context of occurrence, that is riddle no. XCIII of Aldhelm. The riddle, which bears the title 'Scintilla' (that is the 'spark engendered by a flint stone'), describes the flint (OE *flint*) as the mother of the spark, employing a motif, which is frequently used in this kind of composition.

Removed from its own context the gloss "Genetrix: *flinda*" (G 132) is merely an awkward combination of words. All the nearby entries in the alphabetical section occur in the riddles by Aldhelm. Four of the glosses, "Gracilis: *lytel*" (G 130), "Grandem: *micel*" (G 131), "Genetrix: *flinda*" (G 132) e "Gentis: *mines cynnes*" (G 133) were drawn from a glossed version of the riddle 'Scintilla'.

Sed gracilis grandes soleo prosternere leto,
[...]
Frigida dum genetrix dura generaret ab alvo
Primitus ex utero producens pignora gentis. (lines 4 and 10–11)

(but, although meagre, I am accustomed to overthrow the mighty in death:

[29] 3rd Cl (ff. 92r–117r) ed. Rusche 1999: 471–553 contains 1,718 entries, all drawn from Aldhelm's works.
[30] Ed. Napier 1900, no. 18[2].
[31] The manuscript was written at St Augustine's, Canterbury and dates to the reign of Æthelstan (924–939).
[32] This batch is found, under several letters, after the batch which overlaps with 3rd Cl: it has glosses from the prose and verse *De virginitate*, the *Carmina ecclesiastica* and the Riddles: it is layer S 12 in Kittlick's (1998) classification of the Cleopatra glosses.

[...]
when my cold mother brought me forth from her hardened womb,
(so) producing first of all the offspring of her race.)[33]

The more difficult or obscure the words used by Aldhelm, the easier it is to spot them in his work, even when they occur as isolated entries of a glossary. The Old English interpretations that match the Latin of Aldhelm include a number of rare words and hapaxes, but not as many as would be expected. Such features testify to the attention paid by the glossator in rendering the meaning of his source-text.

A part of the occurrences of OE *hunigtear* 'honey which drips from the comb'(7x), [34] is found in the glosses to Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate*. There, the word renders both Latin *nectar* 'the drink of Gods, anything sweet, pleasant, delicious' and *carenum* 'a sweet wine boiled down one third' (a loanword from Greek κάρηνον). Aldhelm uses *nectar* to refer to 'wine', a longstanding use quite widespread. The glossator of Brussels, BR 1650 (Goossens no. 2569) employs the Old English word *hunigtear*, literally 'tear of honey', which, in the *Leechdoms*, is used for the 'honey which drips from the comb'. Another glossator adds a further rendering in Latin, employing *suavitas* 'sweetness': "defecati nectaris: A *ahluttredes hunigteares*: C purgati suavitatis". The passage of the prose *De virginitate* draws a parallel between the honey gathered by the bees and a special kind of wine. The lines are overburdened with adjectives, rare words such as *merulentus* 'intoxicated' (post Classical), *defecare* 'to cleanse', and loanwords from Greek such as *apotheca* (Greek ἀποθήκη) 'store room' and *nectar* 'nectar' (Greek νέκταρ).

ut merulenta defecati nectaris defruta apothecis caelestibus recondenda et angelicis cauponibus committenda feliciter inferret,

(so that he might bring in with blessings the vinolent must of clarified wine for laying down in the celestial cellars and for distributing to the angelic wine-merchants,)[35]

[33] Ehwald 1919: 140 141; Lapidge, Rosier 1985: 90. The acc. sg. *grandem* does not feature in Ehwald's apparatus, but might reproduce a now lost Insular variant reading.
[34] The compound word continues in Middle English *honīter* 'a drop of honey, honey dripping from the comb', also used as an epithet for Christ.
[35] Ehwald 1919: 269,13 14; Lapidge, Herren 1979: 90.

With regards to its further occurrences, Old English *hunigtear* is used three times in medical texts, where the compound is in some respects a technical word which specifies the ingredients of two recipes.[36] *Hunigtear* also occurs in the interlinear glosses to a Passiontide Hynm: "Fundens aroma cortice, vincens saporem nectaris, [...], portans triumphum nobilem *ageotende wyrtbræð of rinde oferswiþende swæcc hunigteare* [...] *berende sige æþelne*".[37] This occurrence anticipates one of the contexts of occurrence in Middle English religious lyrics and the nectar ('*hunigtear*') forms the basis of comparison of the 'sweet scent' emanating from the Holy Cross.

Note also the hapax *hunigtearlic* which glosses *nectareum* (*Dv.* 234,3) in 1st Cl, N 3: "Nectareum: *þone hunigtearlican*" and belongs to the idiolect of the Aldhelmian glosses.

Hunigtear is not repeated elsewhere as a gloss to *nectar*, but occurs again, as second *interpretamentum* of Latin *carenum*, in 1st Cl, C 365: "Carene: *cerenes ł hunigteares*".

> purpureis malvarum floribus incubantes mulsa nectaris stillicidia guttatim rostro decerpunt et velut lento careni defruto, quod regalibus ferculis conficitur,
>
> ([the bees] [...] settling on [...] the purple flowers of mallows they gather honeyed moisture drop by drop in their mouths and, as if with the treacly must of sweet wine made for royal feasts,)[38]

In this case, in rendering a word from the *De virginitate*, the glossators took the shortcut of a loanword of the Latin lemma itself, *ceren*.[39] The same loanword, which has a limited number of occurrences in Old English (9x), is used in 3rd Cl, 47 "Carene: *cerenes*". With a minimum degree of approximation *ceren* also glosses *defrutum* 'must boiled down' both in 1st Cl, D 170: "Defruti: *cærenes*" and 3rd Cl, 1655 "Defruti: *cerenes*" (*Cdv.* line 2512). Also *ceren* occurs twice in the *Leechdoms* to designate an ingredient of a recipe (Lch II 1.17.6 and 55.1.6).

Related to the former passage of the *De virginitate*, but evidently

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[36] Med 5.2 (Nap) 4.1; Med 5.4.1 (Cockayne) 9 and 16. But for some glossaries which are recurrently quoted, the short titles and systems of reference are those used by the *DOE* project and available at: http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/st/index.html. References have been checked against the editions and sometimes increased or improved.

[37] HyGl (Milfull) 67.2.3 (Hymn 67_2).

[38] Ehwald 1919: 231,16–18; Lapidge, Herren 1979: 61.

[39] The loanword is already attested in EE and 2nd Cp. A Latinized form *ceremum* occurs in a homily, LS 10.1 (Guth) 17.28.

misplaced in the course of transmission, is an entry of 3rd Cl, 407 "Cærenes: apothecis" (*Dv.* 269,13). This gloss, too, is at first glance incomprehensible, unless one recovers the original context in which it occurred.

The glosses to Aldhelm also allow us to remark how the Winchester lexicon gained a foothold. The Old English glosses to *Nicolaus* 'a kind of date (of larger size than ordinary)', occurring in a line of Aldhelm taken into account above (*Dv.* 290,5–7) and in another passage, show how such words challenged the ingenuity of the glossators who approached the text at different times and in discrete milieux. The large corpus of the glosses to Aldhelm provides a variety of renderings for Latin *Nicolaus*.

One of the glossators of Brussels, BR 1650, followed, as usual, by the glosses in Digby 146, uses the Old English word *gedropa*, which in the whole Old English corpus has only this pair of interdependent occurrences. Whereas the current dictionaries of Old English stop short by providing the translation 'a kind of date', *gedropa* may be compared with other Old English words with the same root, such as *dropa* 'drop' and the verb *dropian* 'to drop, drip'. With *gedropa* 'something dripping with juice', the glossator might have tried to suggest the juicy pulp of a large date, as the *Nicolaus* was.

Apparently, the glossators of both Aldhelmian apparatuses kept experimenting with different words, which, like *gedropa* do not occur elsewhere in other glosses or glossary *lemmata*. In another occurrence of *Nicolaus* in the prose *De virginitate*,[40] a Brussels glossator renders 'dates' by *melsc appla* (Goossens no. 3736; a gloss by CD), followed by Digby 146 with *mylisce appla* (Napier 1, no. 3844). OE *æppel*, which is used of the 'apple', but also for other fruits, is specified by *milisc* 'sweet, mild, mulled'.

Elsewhere *Nicolaus* is glossed by *palmæppel*, literally 'fruit of the palm': 1st Cl, N 95 "Nicolaus: *palmæpla*"; 3rd Cl, 696 "Nicolaos: *palmæppla*"; for other occurrences of *palmæppel*, see 1st Cl, D 127: "Dactulus: *ficæppel* ł *palmæppel*";[41] 3rd Cl, 1134: "Dactulus: *falmæppel*",[42]

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[40] See "licet melliflues nectaris palmeti dactilos et mulsum nectaris nicolaum longe inconparabiliter praestare credamus?" (even though we believe that the juicy dates of the palm and the honey-sweet nectar of Nicolian dates are incomparably better by far?): Ehwald 1919: 236,19 237,1; Lapidge, Herren 1979: 65.

[41] The interpretation *falmæppel* should be emended into *palmæppel*; the gloss occurs within a batch of entries from the verse *De virginitate* (and is drawn from line 170).

[42] 3rd Cl has another occurrence of *ficæppel* for date: 3rd Cl, 694 695: "Dactulus: *ficæppel* idem et palatas: 7 cariarum", a gloss which evidently goes back to *Dv.* 290,5 7 and stems from the close occurrence of the Latin words *dactulus* and *carica*. In all the other occurrences (8x, all limited to works dating from the second half of

and CollG1 23 (Zupitza) 20: "dactilorum: *palmœppla*".

The rendering by *fingerœppla* (only pl.) 'finger-shaped fruits, dates' is exclusive of two sets of glosses to Aldhelm:

AldV 1 (Goossens no. 557) dactylos: A *clystra*: 7 *fingerappla*.
AldV 1 (Goossens no. 3734) palmeti: C Palmeti ⊥ *fingerapplu*: CD *winegeardes*.
AldV 1 (Goossens no. 3735) dactylis: B *tamı*: C *fingerapplū* : Dactilis ⊥ *tanu*.

AldV 13.1 (Napier 1, no. 472) dactilos: *.i. clystro fingerappla, clystra*.
AldV 13.1 (Napier 1, no. 3843) dactilis: *fingerapplum tamum*.

The only occurrence of *fingerœppla* outside these Aldhelm glosses is found in a homily, the *Life of St Mary of Egypt*. The lines draw attention to the exotic and likely unknown date as well as to its name: "ond hi*m* on hand gena*m* ænne lytelne tænel mid caricum gefylledne. and mid palm-treowa wæstmu*m* þe wé hatað finger-æppla" (and took in his hand a little basket filled with dried figs and with the fruits of the palm, which we call dates).[43] The phrase with the relative clause introducing *fingerœppla* has a typical educational turn. The author of the homily was presenting a new Winchester word to his audience and, at the same time, was summoning Isidore's words: "Fructus autem eius dactyli a digitorum similitudine nuncupati sunt." (Its fruits are called 'dates' from their similarity to fingers.) (*Etym*. XVII.vii.1).

Interlinear glosses and the normalization of language carried out by Æthelwold

It is undeniable that Æthelwold had a role in providing Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* with a corpus of Old English glosses. The bishop of Winchester (963–984) was one of the principal proponents of the English Benedictine Reform of the second half of the tenth century, which represents an important stage in the history of the English Language. The revival of monastic life brought along an increase in book production and re-established a solid educational background for Latin learning, promoting the translation of a number of works. Moreover, the Reform gave some impetus to continuous interlinear glosses of texts such as the Benedictine

the tenth century on and a West Saxon milieu) *ficœppel* translates either *carica* or *ficus* or clearly refers to this fruit: e.g. in Ælfric quoting from Mt. 7:16 or Lc. 6:44.

[43] LS 23 (Mary of Egypt) 660–662 [= Skeat II.xxiii.B].

Rule (its translation is to be placed at the very beginning of such a momentous period in the Old English language) and the Psalter. Instruction in English seems to have comprised the translation of set Latin texts, and it is quite evident that the teaching methods employed by Æthelwold in the school at the Old Minster at Winchester (his cathedral church)[44] involved the use of English, though, possibly, only at an oral level (Wulfstan, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* ch. 31).[45]

The fact that Æthelwold used the vernacular with his students was not particularly new but the stress laid by Wulfstan on this feature of the teaching carried out at Winchester bears witness to the late Anglo-Saxon period's attitude toward the status and function of the vernacular. The range and the reach of the program of vernacular prose prompted by King Alfred has often been overstated (as well as the role of Alfred in the program itself); however, it is undeniable that the use of the vernacular had gained ground in the interim between Alfred and Æthelwold.

In the second half of the tenth century, a standardized lexical usage linked to Winchester became established. Æthelwold's school and the Winchester scriptorium were the regulating forces behind this trend to linguistic normativity. The standardization which took place with the epicenter in Winchester is also the final result of the intellectual climate at King Æthelstan's court (924/5–927 and 927–939, king of the English), where Æthelwold was raised.

The Winchester circle would have been similar to social networks. Ursula Lenker has applied the network model to the tenth-century language variety at Winchester, and demonstrated that it functioned as a "tight-knit, localized network cluster which functions as a mechanism of norm enforcement and maintenance" (2000: 226). The Winchester vocabulary is not the only example of a lexical standardization dating from Anglo-Saxon England. A close study of Old English documents would allow us to identify the language of other smaller circles. But, unlike other more or less exclusive uses, the Winchester standard is quite easy to define and critics agree on its consistency.

The literary production of the first generation of the English Benedictine Reform was characterized by a strong attention to words. As far as the Latin is concerned, texts were marked by an interest in 'uncommon'—and sometimes unusual—words (neologisms, archaisms, and loanwords from Greek) as well as by a recherché employment of a wealth of synonyms. This

[44] The school at Winchester was established after 963. The same technique of Latin teaching and English writing tradition might have been practiced before at Æthelwold's school at Abingdon.

[45] Lapidge, Winterbottom 1991: 47–48.

is evident also in the writings of Æthelwold, such as the preface to the translation of the *Regularis concordia*.[46] In terms of Old English, a number of words were adapted in meaning to express key concepts of Christianity and new words were coined, some of these replacing *in toto* or in part the use of former words: e.g. *(ge)laðung vs cirice* 'church' (in the abstract sense) or *alter*, *altare* 'altar' flanking *weofod*.[47] Old English literary language was capable of matching the Latin of works such as Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate*, which was heavily glossed.

A number of translation equivalents (employed both in translations and interlinear glosses) were taught for certain Latin terms. These included new formations or words adapted in meaning, such as *cyðere* 'martyr', *gelaðung* 'church', *mōdig* 'proud', *mōdignes* 'arrogance', and *wuldorbeag* 'crown of glory' (for Latin *corona* in a figurative-religious sense, e.g. "corona vitae aeternae", "corona martyrii").[48] Ælfric, who had been educated at Winchester and was a pupil of Æthelwold, consistently uses certain Old English words, e.g. *ælfremed* 'foreign', *(ge)gearcian* 'to prepare, supply', *(ge)frēdan* 'to feel, perceive', in preference to synonyms such as *fremde*, *(ge)gearwian*, and *(ge)fēlan*. Exclusive of Ælfric is also the use of *behreowsian* 'to repent of' and *behreowsung* 'repentance', in lieu of their synonyms *hreowsian* and *hreowsung*.

In turn, Ælfric developed a sophisticated grammatical terminology in Old English, which he employed in his *Grammar*, while a liturgical terminology was likely coined by Æthelwold. A series of batches of the Antwerp-London Glossary[49] preserves the latter technical lexicon, as

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[46] Æthelwold's works attest to his concern with both English and Latin. He translated into English the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* and the *Regularis concordia*, a Latin customary (issued after the council of Winchester in 973) which served as the norm for the reformed Benedictine monasticism in England. He is also the author of the interlinear gloss to the Royal Psalter and the glosses to Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* preserved, among others, in Brussels, BR 1650. See Gretsch 1999: 261 331 and 332 383, respectively.

[47] The source of these particular items is different. Some (*ælfremed* 'stanger', *mīht* 'might') were regional words in use specifically in Winchester; an Anglian origin has been surmised for *ōga* 'fear'. As to Kornexl 2017: 228 "there is probably no single answer to the question about the origin of the 'Winchester vocabulary'". Also, the exact reasons behind such standardization are still a matter at issue. As to Gneuss 1972: 76, stylistic considerations had a relevant role.

[48] For *wuldorbeag* see Kirschner 1975. For *mōdig* and *mōdignes* see the book by Schabram 1965, who anticipated the following studies with his research.

[49] The class glossary in Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, M. 16. 2 (47) + London, BL, Add. 32246 is a compilation which may be considered typical of the Benedictine Reform period in England. It is evident that the anonymous compiler of this glossary

Loredana Lazzari has demonstrated (1996).

Walter Hofstetter, in a large volume (1988), has examined thirteen semantic fields of the Old English lexicon, operating under the assumption that a preferential use of certain words was taught and encouraged in Winchester. All the occurrences of a number of word groups have been charted and analyzed. For each word group (belonging to different semantic fields), Hofstetter distinguishes between three kinds of synonyms (1988: 143): A. the words reflecting Winchester usage; C. their 'non-Winchester' synonyms, that is, words which were deliberately avoided in Winchester; and, finally, B. the words which were sporadically employed in Winchester and which occur in other texts as well. Hofstetter has also identified the works with a marked preference for the Winchester words to the near-exclusion of their synonyms. These texts include the works of Ælfric, the Lambeth Psalter gloss, the interlinear gloss to the *Expositio hymnorum*, and the Old English translation of the Rule of Chrodegang of Metz.

Besides these works, the "Winchester usage" is evident in many other texts, written also in other regions of England. Kitson, basing his remark on the study of charters, has shown that the Winchester usage "cuts across ordinary dialect distribution" (1995: 103, note 20). The group norm saw a diffusion across monasteries. The preferential use of certain words gained also currency outside Winchester. The status of Winchester and its standardized lexicon was such that the author of a part of the interlinear gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels, Farman,[50] tried to cope with the new norm and West Saxon. His Mercian gloss features a number of hyper-adaptations (see Smith 1996: 26–29) to the Winchester norm. Farman introduced several Saxonisms in his gloss in the attempt "to imitate the language of his temporal and ecclesiastical superiors" (Kuhn: 641–642).[51]

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had access to the same material used by Ælfric for his *Glossary*. As to Porter 2011: 158, the two glossaries are "close siblings", that is independent descendants of the same archetype. The Antwerp-London Glossary holds a great deal of entries drawn from Isidore's *Etymologiae* which do not occur in Ælfric's *Glossary*. The differences are in large part due to the different use for which the two texts were intended. Moreover, Ælfric might have modified the original word lists in line with the ideal of simplicity and brevity which characterizes his writings.

[50] Farman glossed the Gospel of Matthew, part of the Gospel of Marc (Mc. 1 2:15) and part of the Gospel of John (Io. 18:1 3) in the Mercian dialect; Owun completed the rest with a Northumbrian gloss. For the dialects of Old English, see Sauer, Waxenberger 2017.

[51] Standardization consists of the imposition of a uniformity upon a class of objects; as to Haugen, "[t]he four aspects of language development [...] are as follows: (1) selection of norm, (2) codification of form, (3) elaboration of function, and (4) acceptance by the community" (1966: 933). See Milroy 1992: 129 for a definition

The Old English gloss to the Royal Psalter (London, BL, Royal 2.B.v) has been recognized as a work of Æthelwold.[52] This interlinear gloss to a Roman Psalter offers sophisticated renderings of the verses and experiments with proposing new renderings for a good number of Latin words. Æthelwold employed a range of synonyms and largely used word-formation to coin new compounds, which would go on to earn their place elsewhere. There are Old English words such as *geðwære* 'kind, gentle', *ðæslic* 'suitable', and *gymen* 'care', which are used both in the apparatus to the Royal Psalter and Aldhelm's glosses in Brussels, BR 1650. Such systematic rendering of a Latin word finds a counterpart also in Æthelwold's translation of the Benedictine Rule.

The Royal Psalter (known with the siglum D) has been praised for the abundance of its vocabulary and for the knowledge of Psalter exegesis which looms behind a number of his interpretations of Biblical verses. All the interlinear glosses composed at Winchester,[53] with the sole exception of the Lambeth Psalter (London, Lambeth Palace Library 427) (I), will draw on this interlinear gloss.[54] However, in a number of instances, the other δ-type Psalter glosses will not repeat the renderings offered by Æthelwold, choosing instead a more common gloss word, and will therefore reduce the lexical variation of Psalter D.

For example, the adverb *ðæslīce* 'after this manner, opportunely', derived from the above mentioned *ðæslic* is used to gloss Latin *taliter* in Psalm 147.9 only in Psalter D as well as in the glosses to the Blickling Psalter (OccGl 50.1.2 [Brock] 147.9) and in the much later Psalter K (Salisbury, Cathedral Library 150), which follows D on several occasions. In Psalter I, *taliter* receives a double gloss ("þæslice ł swa gelice").

Glosses and glossaries had a role in normalizing the rendering of set Latin words. The interaction between the two languages can be observed nowhere better than in interlinear glosses, which allows us to understand the

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of standardization from a dynamic point of view. As far as Old English is concerned, Haugen's scheme cannot be applied *in toto* to the Winchester standardization, the more so in the interpretations that highlight the intellectual and stylistic component of the phenomenon.

[52] See Gretsch 1999: 261–331. This gloss, as well as the Old English translation of the Benedictine Rule by Æthelwold, reproduces a nascent state of the Winchester usage.

[53] The manuscripts of Psalters G (London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E.xviii), H (London, BL, Cotton Tiberius C.vi), and J (London, BL, Arundel 60) were copied at Winchester and F (London, BL, Stowe 2) has a probable Winchester origin.

[54] "The Lambeth Psalter gloss is […] a fresh and highly competent interlinear version": Gretsch 1999: 27; its gloss belongs to the 'Winchester group', for which see above.

ways in which these texts were interpreted. Glosses demonstrate the concern over a correct rendering of the meaning and in the selection of synonyms. The same purpose is evident in the Old English translations. As Mechthild Gretsch remarks in the conclusions of her book, "[s]uch interest in a stylistic and intellectual refinement of the vernacular cannot be paralleled anywhere else in early medieval Europe" (1999: 426).

In his 1972 essay, Helmut Gneuss also addressed the question of the existence of a late West Saxon *Schriftsprache*, that is, an orthographic and morphological norm based on the West Saxon dialect. The Winchester standardization of lexicon and the late West Saxon *Schriftsprache* should be kept apart, although the origin of both may well be placed in Æthelwold's circle at Winchester.[55] Winchester vocabulary and Standard Old English exhibit a diverse linguistic character and purpose as well as a diverse geographical reach (1972/1996: *Addenda*). An interval of about thirty years should be reckoned between the two phenomena and the origin of Standard Old English should be placed somewhere in the years between *c.* 970 and *c.* 975, during the last years of King Edgar's reign (957/9–975).

Normative tendencies are evident in the orthography of Late Old English texts and Ælfric was the first and therefore the primary practitioner of the standardized written form. This standardization (based on late West Saxon dialect) of the orthography of stressed phonemes and the inflectional endings is witnessed by several eleventh century Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, to begin with those of Ælfric's homilies, which can be compared and fruitfully contrasted. It has been remarked that "the idea of an OE standard language presupposes not only a process of deliberate regulation; it also requires a broader distribution of a standard language in larger parts of the population" (von Mengden: 28). Bearing in mind these and other clarifications (i.e. Gretsch 2001, Lange 2012 and Kornexl 2017), it seems undeniable that Standard Old English, in the refined definition of Helmut Gneuss, is a unique and remarkable phenomenon of Old English.

Some features of past research

For a long time glosses have been considered minor literature if literature at all. The *interpretamenta* were understood to be a translation of the relevant *lemma*, and when they did not square with this hypothesis or their

[55] On the trail of the opinion expressed by Henry Sweet in his edition of the *Regula pastoralis* (1871: I, v–vi), the standardization of Old English was at first posited at the time to Alfred. It was C. L. Wrenn, who, in a paper given at the Philological Society (1933), moved the basis for such a standard from the time of Alfred to that of Ælfric.

relationship was not immediately clear, taken for blatant errors. Because glosses were mainly used to study Old English lexicon, they were commonly decontextualized, that is, excised from their original context, be it a glossary entry or an interlinear gloss, continuous or occasional. On the contrary, wherever possible, glosses should not be printed without their Latin *lemma* or, at least (when this is impracticable for space reasons), its former collocation should be kept in mind. The overall approach adopted in the past was to give more importance to glosses in the vernacular. This practice not only makes it impossible to study what choices the glossator made and why he (or she) made them; it also makes it difficult to give a correct interpretation of the Old English words that have been wrenched from their original contexts.

The practice of decontextualizing the glosses from their original context was initiated by the first Elizabethan scholars who approached Old English manuscripts after centuries of neglect. They underscored the glosses with their charcoals, still visible in the manuscripts, inaugurating a use which continued until recently. Following this approach, lemma (Latin) and interpretation (Old English) switch places and the latter is turned into the main entry, whereas the former is (mis)taken as a kind of translation. As I wrote elsewhere, vernacular glosses are not mere translations, alphabetical glossaries are not dictionaries, and, most importantly, glossators were not that inadequate to the task in hand.[56]

The concept of "exceptionalism" has often marked the lexicographic approach towards Old English glosses, to the point that these have been regarded as a corpus set apart (in some ways comparable to poetry). On the contrary, Old English glosses participate in the wider conversation of literary production and remain crucial with regard to the language.

However, it should be underscored that there are instances in which the Old English gloss words do not reflect everyday use, nor should be identified as such (and must not be used for far-fetched reconstructions of Anglo-Saxon society). This is the case of specifically coined words such as *glīwmæden* 'female musician' or *fiðelestre* 'female fiddler' or the many *ælf-* 'elf' compounds occurring in the glossaries. Some of these gloss words do not continue into English, but, this notwithstanding, they are quite interesting for the linguistic reflections which emerge behind their formation. Latin *intermittere* 'to leave off, omit, neglect' is glossed by the loan translation *betwuxsendan* in the glosses to the *Regularis concordia*.[57]

[56] See, i.a., Lendinara 2002b.

[57] The verb occurs 5x: RegCGl (Kornexl) 9.143; 12.249; 14.249; 20.362; 22.439; and 56.1367. The verb also occurs in Hymn 39 where it renders *interpolat*: Hy Gl 2 (Milfull) 39.7.

Only once, in the *Regularis concordia, intermittere,* in the meaning of 'to leave off', is rendered by *lætan.*[58] Lucia Kornexl speaks of "morphological borrowing" and "structural replicas" and surmises that there was also an etymological concern behind this sort of glosses (2001: 206).

The same happens with the adjective *samodherigendlic* 'praiseworthy, laudable' which occurs only in the interlinear versions of the Hymnal,[59] where it renders Latin *conlaudabilis* 'worth of praise' (2x).[60] In Hymn 90 "Hunc partum [...] conlaudabilem" (III,2) is glossed by "*Þisne suna* [...] *samodherigendlicne*". While *samodheringendlic* occurs only here, the simplex *herigendlic* 'laudable, commendable' has about 50 occurrences in the Old English corpus.

The degree of 'artificiality' was likely evident to contemporary audiences and was instrumental in teaching. If one compares the occurrences of the words *gold* 'gold', *seolfor* 'silver', and *mæstling* 'brass', and those of the respective compounds of *-smiþ* 'smith', it is unmistakeable that only *goldsmiþ* 'goldsmith' occurs in different sort of texts, whereas the occurrence of *seolforsmiþ* 'silversmith' and, to a still larger measure, of *mæstlingsmiþ* 'brass-worker' is limited to glossaries. The three compounds occur, one right after the other, in the *Glossary* of Ælfric:

Aurifex *goldsmiþ*	(ed. Zupitza p. 301,15)
Argentarius *seolforsmiþ*	(ed. Zupitza p. 301,15)
Aerarius *mæs<t>lingsmiþ*	(ed. Zupitza p. 301,15 16)

Goldsmiþ has 5 occurrences in glosses, but it is employed also elsewhere. *Seolforsmiþ* occurs in three interrelated works, the *Glossary* and the *Colloquy* of Ælfric and the Antwerp-London Glossary. Finally, *mæstlingsmiþ* is found only in Ælfric's *Glossary* and in the Antwerp-London Glossary.

The three words sequence draws evidently on a lexical exercise and it would be quite risky to draw conclusions on lock manufacturers in Anglo-Saxon England. Moreover, in Ælfric's *Colloquy*, the compound words occur in the singular and were clearly an interpolation based on a lexical drill.[61]

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[58] RegCGl (Kornexl) 65.1574.

[59] HyGl 2 (Milfull), 90.3 and HyGl 3 (Gneuss) 90.3.

[60] For *conlaudabilis* see Prudentius, *Hamartigenia* line 692.

[61] "Habeo fabros, ferrarios, aurificem, argentarium, ęrarium, lignarium et multos alios variarum artium operatores. *Ic hæbbe smiþas, isene smiþas, goldsmiþ, seoloforsmiþ, arsmiþ, treowwyrhtan 7 manegra oþre mistlicra cræfta biggencras*" (Garmonsway 1939, lines 205 207). In the interlinear gloss to the *Colloquy*, *aerarius* is glossed by *ārsmiþ* which is a hapax. In turn, *aerarius* only occurs in

That *mæstling* was not that common is proved by the *Grammar* of Ælfric, where the word is re-determined by *gold* 'gold': "ealswa gað ðas naman: *hoc fundamentum* [...] *aurum* gold, *argentum* seolfor, *auricalcum* goldmæstlingc, *stagnum* tin, *plumbum* lead, *ferrum* isen [...] *ET CETERA*." (ed. Zupitza: 31,3 14). *Goldmæstling* will have only a further occurrence in Ælfric's *Glossary*: "Auricalcum: *goldmæstlingc*" (ed. Zupitza: 319,1 2). In both cases, Ælfric was pointing out the word formation to his pupils.[62] Once again, it is evident that glosses should be handled with care, and on the background of the whole Anglo-Saxon corpus.

From Old to Middle English

The two main methods of compilation in lexicography are the alphabetical and the topical. Anglo-Saxon alphabetical and topical glossaries were copied and compiled anew both in the twelfth and the thirteenth century. In the late Anglo-Saxon period and the early Middle English period the emphasis is on topical glossaries (e.g. the four glossaries in Bodley 730 and the Worcester version of Ælfric's *Glossary*). The overall organization of subject glossaries changed only slightly, although they introduced new lexical fields (and items) reflecting sociological changes. As for the alphabetical tradition, we have seen how it is possible to establish a lineage of works, each of which contains material from the preceding one. These compilations continued to include both vernacular and Latin interpretations. With a progressive refinement of alphabetization, *lemmata* were arranged according to the first two initial letters (*AB*-order), as in 2nd Cp, finally reaching an *ABC*-stage with the Harley Glossary.[63]

As we have seen before, several large bilingual glossaries were composed in Anglo-Saxon England. When the first bilingual dictionaries began to be drawn up in the fifteenth century, their compilers resorted to the former lexicographical method of production (this took place both in the British Isles and in continental Europe): the initial attempts at the production of English dictionaries continued the tradition of the Anglo-Saxon alphabetical glossaries.[64] As far as the English lexicography is concerned,

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Ælfric's *Glossary* and the Antwerp-London Glossary.

[62] Note that also Latin *orichalcum* 'yellow copper, brass' was written *aurichalcum*, as if from *aurum*.

[63] In this glossary there are even traces of attempts to arrive at an *ABCD*-order, e.g. "Blandus . lenis . placidus . iocundus . suavis . *liþe*" (B 456), [...], "Blasphemia . vituperatio . *tæl*" (B 466), "Blatis . *bitelum*" (B 467), [...], "Blavum . color est vestis . *bleo*" (B 474).

[64] It should be reminded, however, that, although the layout of Anglo-Saxon

bilingual word lists with the language order Latin-English precede those using the order English-Latin. The first Latin-English dictionaries are the *Medulla grammaticae* (mid-fifteenth century) and the *Ortus vocabulorum* (for both, see Stein 1985). The compilers of these dictionaries selected the Latin *lemmata* from the glossarial sources accessed, but often preferred to supply new English translations or equivalents for such words. In cases of doubt, they sometimes left the space assigned to the vernacular *interpretamentum* empty. The two earliest English-Latin dictionaries are the *Promptorium parvulorum sive Clericorum*, compiled in the late fifteenth century, and the *Catholicon anglicum* (1483).[65] Note, however, that the *Medulla grammaticae* had a much larger circulation than either the *Catholicon* or the *Promptorium*.

The debt owed by modern monolingual dictionaries to earlier bilingual versions is underscored by Wagner (1967: 120): "Les dictionnaires monolingues des langues occidentales qui nous sont aujourd'hui si familiers ne sont pas issus par simple mutation, traduction ou adaptation, des dictionnaires latins antérieurs. C'est au contraire par une lente évolution des versions bilingues plus anciennes que se sont dégagées les formes essentielles de nos modernes répertoires." There is still much to do on the lexicographical working practices which might yet provide a correct estimate of how much of the Old English material was merged into the 'new' dictionaries, with particular regard for the relationship between the Latin *lemmata* and English *interpretamenta*, and the precise ratios of each.

Conclusions

The study of Old English glosses helps reconstruct the language in its social context. Seen in this light, glosses turn out to be peculiar meta-texts and not worthless marginalia, as they are often deemed to be. Glossaries and interlinear glosses offer important insight into the gradual rise of the vernacular. However, in Anglo-Saxon England, it was not concern about the study of vernacular languages themselves that promoted the compilation of glossaries. The forces giving rise to the large lexicographic output are related to several fields of endeavor, such as: collecting and systematizing

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alphabetical glossaries anticipates that of dictionaries, these compilations were assembled with a different scope, were drawn from different sources and were aimed at different audiences.

[65] The entries of the *Promptorium parvulorum*, like the *Catholicon*, are arranged alphabetically, but in two sections: '*nomina*' (nouns, but also adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections) coming first, followed by '*verba*' (verbs).

learning, education, religious teaching and even proselytizing activities. The bilingual compilations, not only the topical glossaries but also many interlinear glosses, played an active part in the history of teaching Latin in England.

As such, the Anglo-Saxon glossarial production entirely deserves being defined by the words of Alan Kirkness (2004: 56) who writes that lexicography comprises such terms as "art, craft, process, and activity".[66]

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[66] Also the following remark may be applied in part to the Anglo-Saxon period: Kirkness 2004: 56 asserts that it is time "to emphasize the high degree of human knowledge, insight, judgment and skill required to produce the text of a successful reference work designed to be of practical use and benefit in real-life situations."

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THE DREAM OF OSBERN PINNOCK AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF MEDIEVAL LEXICOGRAPHY

JOHN CONSIDINE

The English monk Osbern Pinnock, or Osbern of Gloucester, completed a monolingual Latin dictionary in or very near the third quarter of the twelfth century; its date can be ascertained because a few of the 27 complete manuscripts include a dedication to Hamelin, the abbot of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, who held office from 1148 to 1179.[1] This "huge, avant-garde, and influential" dictionary, as the medievalist Rodney Thomson has described it (1983: 8), was called, somewhat mysteriously, *Panormia*, or, less mysteriously, *Derivarium*, or *Derivationes*; the second and third of these titles indicate the derivational structure of the dictionary.[2] After the dedication to Hamelin and a prologue, it is divided into sections, one for each letter of the alphabet, and all but the shortest sections consist of two parts: first, a series of paragraph-length accounts, called *derivationes* in one manuscript (see Osberno 1996: 1.10, collation), each of which begins with a given word and then treats all of its derivatives together, and second, a series of entries for individual words, called *repetitiones* in two manuscripts (see Osberno 1996: 1.45, collation), though some words appear only in one of these series.

In this chapter, I would like to argue that the *Panormia* stands at a turning point in the history of medieval lexicography, and to present and discuss the remarkable prologue to the dictionary. And I would like to

[1] Hunt 1958: 269; for the manuscripts, see Osberno 1996: 1.x xiv.

[2] For the various titles, see the incipits reported in the collation at OSBERNO 1996: 1.5, which include "Incipit panormia Osberni Gloecestrensis"; "Prologus in derivarium"; and "Incipit prologus derivaciomun." Perhaps, as suggested in Robustelli Della Cuna 1975: 128 129 (see also HUNT 1958: 269 n 5), *Panormia* is from *Pannomia* (Greek *pan* "all" and *nomos* "law") with influence from Latin *norma* "rule, law"; the title was also given to a legal collection by Ivo of Chartres, compiled some decades before Osbern's work.

follow each of these main divisions of my chapter with a short excursus. The first of these suggests ways in which the turning point in lexicographical history which I identify might be contextualized more broadly in intellectual history, and particularly in the history of the study of language. The second offers a hypothesis about the intellectual origins of the derivational lexicography of Latin of which the *Panormia* is such an important, and early, example.

The *Panormia* and lexicographical tradition

In order to see how innovative the *Panormia* was, we must compare it with the collections of glosses which preceded it. A gloss in a manuscript explains the meaning of the glossed form *in one context*. It is therefore quite appropriate for a collection of glosses to have separate entries for separate occurrences of a given form. So, for instance, in the greatest such collection, the *Liber glossarum*, which originated in seventh-century Spain, the word *anima* "spirit" first occurs in the inflected form *animam*, glossed *sanguinem* "blood" (*Liber glossarum* 2016: AN 216): this goes back to a gloss on Vergil, *Aeneid* 4.652, in which Dido's words "accipite hanc animam," spoken before she stabs herself, were literalistically taken to mean "receive this blood" rather than "receive this spirit." This entry is followed by one in which *anima Argolica*, which occurs at *Aeneid* 2.118, is explained as *anima Graeca* (AN 217). Next comes an entry which glosses *animam hanc* as *hunc sanguinem* (AN 218), deriving again from *Aeneid* 4.652, though presumably by a different channel of transmission than AN 216. Next come three entries (AN 219–221) offering different glosses for the phrase *animam eripit*, which the first of the three identifies as occurring in Cicero. The makers of the *Liber glossarum* were not trying to make a unified dictionary entry for the word *anima*; indeed, a number of the glosses which were brought together because the word *anima* occurred in them were really directed to explaining a word which collocated with it.

As late as the eleventh century, a large and important new dictionary, the *Elementarium* of Papias, still did not make it a consistent principle to present a single entry for each word. Its first entry for *anima* read "*anima* is an incorporeal substance, capable of understanding and reasoning, invisible, capable of movement, immortal; its origin is unknown; nothing of the physical world is incorporated with it."[3] This was in fact taken directly from

[3] Papias 1977 1980, AN 138: "anima est substantia incorporea, intellectualis, rationalis, invisibilis atque mobilis et immortalis, habens ignotam originem, nihil terreneum in se mixtum."

the *Liber glossarum* (AN 229), which excerpted it from the *Differentiae* of Isidore of Seville. In a second entry, immediately after this one, Papias treats the word very differently, as follows:

> ***anima***: whence is derived ***animula***, ***animal***, ***animo*** (2nd pers. sing. ***animas***). By compounding, ***exanimo*** (2nd pers. sing. ***exanimas***), ***exanimis*** (masc. and fem.) and ***exanime*** (neut). From ***animus*** are formed ***animosus***, ***animositas***; by compounding, ***magnanimus***, ***magnanimitas***, ***pusillanimis***, ***longanimis***, ***unanimis***, ***unanimiter***, ***animaequior***.[4]

Parts of this entry can be traced back to Priscian, and this is not surprising: the derivational morphology of Latin is such that the student who learns a word such as *animus* has thereby learned other words such as *animosus*, and this is a point which any grammarian helping students to increase their vocabulary is very likely to make. So both Papias and Priscian anticipate the emphasis on derivation in the *Panormia*, here and in other entries, such as those for *arma* and *facere* (Papias 1977–1980: AR 179; Goetz 1923: 180). But this does not mean that the *Elementarium* had a strong derivational flavour. As we have just seen, Papias' derivational entry for the word *anima* is preceded by an encyclopedic treatment of the theologically defined entity called *anima*. It is followed by no fewer than five other entries beginning with the word *anima*. One of these states that *anima* "has its name from *animo*": *anima* here is not a word, but an entity with a name, so the entry is, in our terms, fundamentally encyclopedic.[5] By the way, this statement contradicts the statement in the derivational entry which precedes it that *animo* is derived from *anima*. Of the next four entries (Papias 1977–1980: AN 141–144), one explains that *anima* means "life" or "blood" (the latter must ultimately be derived from a gloss on *Aeneid* 4.652 like those collected in the *Liber Glossarum*); one gives its etymology as from Greek *anemos* "wind"; one remarks that the soul may be referred to by different names such as *spiritus* and *mens* depending on which of its activities is under consideration; and one observes, in words taken from Saint Augustine, that a purified mind is the eye of the soul. There is a lot of information here, but it is not unified into a single entry, or even made consistent from entry to entry, and it is as much about the soul itself as about the word *anima*.

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[4] Papias 1977–1980, AN 139: "***anima***: inde derivatur ***animula***, ***animal***, ***animo*** -as; componitur ***exanimo*** -as hic et haec ***exanimis*** et hoc exanime. ***animus*** a quo ***animosus***, ***animositas***; componitur ***magnanimus***, ***magnanimitas***, ***pusillanimis***, ***longanimis***, ***unanimis***, ***unanimiter***, ***animaequior***."

[5] Papias 1977–1980, AN 140: "***anima*** nomen habet ab animo -as."

It is in the light of Papias' treatment of *anima* that the innovative quality of Osbern's can be seen.

> *animus* (gen. *animi*): thence *animosus* (fem. *animosa*, neut. *animosum*) "daring", with compar. and superl. forms *animosior* and *animosissimus* whence the adverbs *animose*, *animosius*, and *animosissime*, and the fem. noun *animositas* (gen. *animositatis*), and the active verb *animo* (2nd pers. sing. *animas*) whence *animatus* (fem. *animata*, neut. *animatum*), and the fem. noun *animatio* (gen. *animationis*), and the fem. noun *anima* (gen. *animae*) whence the fem. noun *animula*, and the adjective *animalis* (masc. and fem.) and *animale* (neut.), as in the words of the apostle, "animalis homo non percipit ea quae sunt spiritus Dei" [1 Cor., 2.14]; and the neut. noun *animal* (gen. *animalis*).[6]

The entry then digresses to remark that there is also a word *anomalus*, which is used by Martianus Capella, before returning to derivatives of *animus*, including the adjective *equanimis*, the adverb *equanimiter*, and the noun *equanimitas*, the adjective *magnanimis*, and so on. By no means is this in every respect a more interesting piece of work than the series of entries in which Papias brings pieces of information related to *anima* together, but it has something dramatically new to offer. Whereas Papias understands *anima* to be both a word and also a thing, the soul, Osbern understands *anima* to be simply a word, which has a single place in a system of other words. His treatment of it is austerely that of the maker of a dictionary, and not that of a collector of glosses or a maker of an encyclopedia. What makes the real difference between Papias' derivational entry and Osbern's entry is not simply that Osbern's is more elaborate; it is that Osbern's mapping of the derivational relationships of *anima* is all that he has to say about the word.

The *Elementarium* of Papias and the *Liber glossarum* are both in alphabetical order. There had been alphabetically ordered wordlists in Latin Christendom since late antiquity (see Daly 1967), so that for instance Book 10 of the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville is alphabetically ordered, and there is, indeed, evidence for the use of alphabetical ordering in ancient Rome. Other ways to arrange a short wordlist were known to lexicographers of Latin: for instance, words could be arranged thematically, or in the order

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[6] Osberno 1996: 1.20: "*animus* animi, inde *animosus* a um .i. audax et comparatur animosior animosissimus, unde *animose* animosius animosissime adverbia, et hec *animositas* is, et *animo* as verbum activum, unde *animatus* a um, et hec *animatio* is, et hec *anima* e, unde hec *animula*, et hic et hec *animalis* et hoc animale, sicut apostolus dicit animalis homo non percipit ea quae sunt spiritus Dei; et hoc *animal* lis."

in which they occurred in a given text. However, I know of no derivationally organized Latin dictionary which can be dated on internal or codicological evidence to a date before the twelfth century. Since the *Panormia* appears from its dedication to have been completed in or around the third quarter of that century, and since Osbern refers in that dedication to an earlier *derivationum liber*, which he compiled with much labour many years before the dedication of the *Panormia* as we have it (and which was then stolen from him), it would seem that he was among the pioneers of the derivational lexicography of Latin.[7] A collection of *derivationes* with strong verbal similarities to the *Panormia* is extant in a twelfth-century manuscript, now Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Poet. et philol. 4° 56. Georg Goetz suggested that this collection was Osbern's source; it has also been suggested that it might be identified with Osbern's stolen *derivationum liber* (Goetz 1923: 206–207; Osberno 1996: 1.viii). In either case, it does not seem to be much earlier than Osbern's first lexicographical work would have been.

The *Panormia* was the first of three great Latin dictionaries of the High Middle Ages, the second being the *Derivationes* or *Magnae derivationes* of Ugutio, which derives from the *Panormia* (see Goetz 1923: 202–204; Hunt 1958: 267 n 1), and the third being the *Catholicon* of Giovanni Balbi, which derives from the work of Ugutio. These both attained very wide manuscript circulation, and the *Catholicon* also appeared in numerous printed editions in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Ugutio is in this case less austere, because he begins his entry for *anima* by considering five possible etymologies for the word, and when he turns to *animus*, he spends a little time on a consideration of *animus*, *anima*, and other words for the soul (Uguccione 2004: A 197). But he too treats *anima* in a context of derivational processes: the great bulk of the long paragraph in his dictionary which begins with the headword *anima* sets out all the forms derived from it, from the diminutive *animula* to the compounded and suffixed *pusillanimitas*. Likewise, Balbi begins his long entry for *anima* by remodelling some of Ugutio's material. Although he brings encyclopedic material into his entry—and although he breaks up the unified entry in the *Derivationes* to place derived forms in an alphabetical sequence, so that *pusillanimis* is with other words beginning *pu-*, and not with its closest derivational relatives—he nevertheless creates a single entry for each word,

[7] Osberno 1996, 1.1: "iuvenis componere incepi, senex tandem usque ad unguem peruxi," and 1.2: "Nec lateat lectorem me, cum primum scolaribus ferulis relictis monachum induissem … aliun derivationun librun, opus egregium et summo studio confectum, fecisse, sed a quodam invidie peste laborante furtive mihi surreptum fuisse."

in which, like Osbern and Ugutio, he treats it independent of context. All three lexicographers do sometimes quote from texts which use a given word, but they quote in order to support or elucidate context-independent statements about its meaning and its grammatical behaviour. Such statements were made in Osbern's derivational framework before they appeared in Balbi's alphabetical framework, and indeed Osbern's derivational framework required attention to words as words, in a context of other words, and not as pretexts for encyclopedic information about things or for literary information about specific contexts.

Excursus: The *Panormia* and grammatical tradition

Whether the *Panormia* or the Stuttgart collection or another dictionary came first, there is clear evidence that the derivationally arranged treatment of the vocabulary of Latin began before 1180, and there seems to be no evidence that it began earlier than the twelfth century. What turned the medieval glossographical tradition into the medieval dictionary tradition at this time?

The difference between the medieval dictionary as represented by the *Panormia*, and earlier collections of glosses or of encyclopedic statements as represented by the *Elementarium*, is that the dictionary conceives of the word as rather an abstract entity. So, the question which we have just asked might be rephrased: why might a grammarian in the twelfth century conceive of the word as a more abstract entity than would a grammarian in the eleventh century? We need go no further than the late Vivien Law's *History of Linguistics in Europe from Plato to 1600*—which was published as a textbook, but represents the mature work of an immensely learned and thoughtful scholar—for some preliminary answers. The first depends on the fact that two translations of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* from Greek into Latin were made in the second quarter of the twelfth century (for their chronology, see Borgo 2014: 53).

> In Aristotle's *Metaphysics* twelfth-century readers found an important epistemological distinction: that between practical knowledge, leading to action, and theoretical knowledge, leading to truth. Only three disciplines, Aristotle claimed, were truly theoretical: physics, mathematics and theology. Aristotle's readers began to ask themselves whether this was inevitable. Might it be possible to study *any* subject-matter in either a practical or a theoretical manner? How might one go about it? Could language be investigated in a theoretical manner, not merely in the practical, descriptive manner everyone was familiar with? (Law 2003: 171)

The difference between on the one hand gathering statements about what a word means in particular contexts, and about the thing which the word denotes, and on the other hand composing a dictionary entry which tries to capture the general meaning of a word and the way in which it relates to other words, surely is essentially the difference between practical and theoretical investigation. So, the change in lexicography which can be placed in the decades before 1180 seems to coincide very closely with the change in other kinds of language study which Law attributes to the stimulating effect of Aristotle on the minds of learned persons in Latin Christendom.

It would be imprudent to press the point: an early dating for the first version of the *Panormia*, or for the Stuttgart *derivationes* collection, would place either or both a little too early for the influence of the first translations of the *Metaphysics* to be plausible. But Law offers another suggestive argument. The monolingual dictionary which makes context-independent statements about words and their meanings is driven by a theory of the sign which treats the form of the word and the concept it expresses as a single entity. Such a theory of the sign was indeed developing in the twelfth century.

> By the twelfth century philosophers were grappling with the sign, and with semantic problems generally, in a far subtler manner [than before]. Thierry of Chartres ... declared: "Meaning (*significatio*) is the union of the thing and its name. We don't call the thing alone the meaning, but include the word signifying it. Meaning includes the signified (*significatum*) as much as the signifying element (*significans*)."[8]

Thierry of Chartres made this statement around 1150, near the beginning of the range of possible dates for Osbern's dedication of the *Panormia*. By the 1170s, towards the end of the range of dates for Osbern's dedication, grammarians were pointing out precisely that word forms are immediately associated with concepts rather than with real-world entities (Law 2003: 173). An explanation of how context-dependent medieval gloss collections turned into context-independent medieval dictionaries in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries might not only look at how medieval grammarians were seeing their subject-matter as increasingly abstract at just that time, but also at how medieval philosophers of language were seeing *significatum* and *significans* as locked together, so that a list of words becomes a list of the

[8] Law 2003: 151 152, translating Thierry 1971: 192: "Et est significatio: unio rei et uocabuli. Non enim rem tantum appellamus significationem sed et ipsum uocabulum significans. Complectitur enim significatio tam significatum quam significans."

concepts associated with them, and so that statements of the formal relationship of words become statements about the relationship of concepts.

Finally, we may note R. W. Hunt's account (1958, 270–273) of the "growing vogue for 'derivationes' which prompted Osbern to make his collection." Every reader of Isidore knew that *derivatio* was part of *etymologia* (see *Etymologiae* 1. xxix), but twelfth-century grammarians explored the nature of *derivatio* more deeply in their theoretical writings than their predecessors had done. And as Hunt observes, Osbern himself describes the role of *derivationes* in the classroom: at an elementary level, only a few derived forms of a given word are expounded, but older and more capable students are shown how multiple forms extend from a given word in multiple directions as one derivation flows from another, "which might serve as a description of Osbern's own method of proceeding."[9] This pedagogical practice can be seen as a result of some or all of the theoretical developments at which we have glanced in this excursus.

Osbern's dream

"On a winter's night, when, after much sleepless study and the burning of much oil, I had kept my eyes open until about the most silent hour of all, at last I laid my weary limbs to rest on a rough bed of scanty straw and coarse blankets, and fell into oblivious sleep."[10] These are the opening words of the prologue to the *Panormia*. Well may their Latin originals stand before a dictionary: many of them are glossed in easier Latin in medieval manuscripts, and an early copy notes that the prologue is "difficult to understand because at every point it is entangled with exotic words."[11] Not only is the style of the prologue to the *Panormia* curious; so is its content, for it introduces a dream, which runs all the way through the dictionary, and

[9] Osberno 1996: 1.1: "alii quidem, licet regulares modos sequantur, tenues tamen et perraras partes adminores imbuendos eliciunt, alii vero, qui in studiis scilicet maiora perceperunt et huius scientiae magis videntur capaces, in multiplices se derivandi rivos multipliciter extendunt," discussed Hunt 1958: 269.

[10] Osberno 1996: 1.5: "Cum in nocte hyemali multe lucubrationis pervigilio phirimoque in lichinis olivo depasto usque ad conticiniun ferme nictitassem, in Letheum tandem soporem squarroso me lectisternio, utpote perrara farragine hirtisque sagis receptantibus, defetiscentes artus conquexi."

[11] All the glosses are given in the apparatus of Osberno 1996; easier to read are the selections in Goetz 1896: 79 85, and [Osbern] 1836: 1 5; the quotation is from Oxford, Christ Church MS 91, *apud* Hunt 1958: 268: "Prologus ad intelligendun difficilis quia verbis exoticis est undique involutus."

which is, I shall propose, significantly connected to the avant-garde quality of Osbern's lexicography.

The dream begins thus. "And while I had the nourishment I needed from the delicious kiss of sweetest sleep, behold! A host of people, marching together, entering the house in which I was lying, made a loud noise with the resounding clatter of their shoes."[12] So just as Osbern passes from the monastic discomfort of his bed to the languorous pleasures of sleep (the kiss is a *suavium*, which is defined by Osbern himself as "a kiss mixed with saliva"), he passes from the dead stillness of midnight to the aggressive noise of a strange home invasion.[13] Startled awake, and peeping through an aperture in the bedclothes under which he is hiding, he sees the likeness of a beautiful woman in the moonlight which pours in through cracks in the walls or curtains of his chamber. She is called Grammatica, the personification of the study of the Latin language. Osbern had Martianus Capella's description of *Grammaticē* from the third book of *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* in his memory, if not before him, as he wrote, and there are close verbal parallels between his text and that of Martianus.[14] But whereas Martianus places *Grammaticē* among the followers of Mercury, Osbern makes Grammatica a leader. "Poets of some gravity, their hair swan-white, dressed in Roman cloaks, their feet appropriately shod in buskins, followed their mistress in amiable procession as she walked ahead"[15]: it was they whose noise first broke into the speaker's slumbers.

Grammatica addresses the host of poets, and unlike Martianus' *Grammaticē*, she has something distressing to say to them: although she has been honoured in the past, "now, by contrast, altogether rejected by the mortals of the present age, I am openly set at nought by all, so that you shall scarcely find one among thousands who labours to know me well."[16] But she has a plan to set matters to rights again. Since the humans of this age

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[12] Osberno 1996: 1.5: "Dumque epipario predulcis sompni suavio affatim saginarer, ecce phalanga turmatim subeuntium domate quo decumbebam fragosa crepidarum complosione perstrepebat."

[13] Osberno 1996: 2.631: "osculum cum saliva mixtum."

[14] Cf. Osberno 1996: 1.6, "ex qua scabra puberum ingenia linguarumque vituligines levi sensim attritione purgabat" and Martianus, *De nuptiis*, 3.226, "ex qua scabros dentes vitiligines que linguarum … levi sensim attritione purgabat"; cf. Ugutio 2004: 2.3 (prologus): "nec balbutientium linguarum vituligines abradere."

[15] Osberno 1996: 1.6: "Dominam autem preambulam vates gravastelli cignino capillitio candidantes, penulasque Latiales indusiati, pedibus quam decenter coturnatis comi processu assectabantur."

[16] Osberno 1996: 1.7: "Nunc autem inter huiusce temporis stirpitus repudiata mortales, publicitus ab omnibus floccipendor; quia qui me pernosse desudet, vix inter tot milia, vel unum reperies."

"are so irrational and so slothful," and "lest by their feeble learning I should disappear," she announces that "I wish, in this assembly, to make manifest the elements of Latin, according to rule and in order," showing at least what the meaning of each is agreed to be, and if possible from what derivational fountainhead it flows.[17] By "elements", *partes*, she evidently means words; we might say lexemes, because she evidently sees them as units in a system, as one does if one treats words in derivational groups. They will be arranged alphabetically, and they will be clearly explained: she is going to dictate a new Latin dictionary in the hearing of the assembled poets and of "a certain trustee of mine," to wit the speaker, who is still hiding under his meagre bed-covers, but is not invisible to Grammatica, who winks at him as she speaks, and remarks that "it pleases me to pour them into the thirsty openings of his memory."[18]

This is not merely a prologue, but a sustained framing narrative. Grammatica announces that she will begin with the word *amo*, and 68 derivational families headed by words beginning with *a* follow, the first being indeed the family headed by *amo*, which includes 45 other forms, from *amator*, *amatorius*, and *amatorculus* to *adamo*, *redamo*, and *deamo*. After the last of these derivational families, which is headed by *abhominor*, the framing narrative resumes: Grammatica pauses for breath, and explains that she would now like to give a list of forms "briefly, without derivation."[19] The list follows, running to 728 items, some of them being repeated from the foregoing material (the first is *amatorculus*), and some being new (the last is *abditorium*, which will reappear later in the *Panormia* as a member of the derivational family beginning with *do*). The voice of Grammatica is heard again, sometimes accompanied with appreciative exclamations by the poets, at the end of every alphabetical sequence in the dictionary, until, after the short run of entries for words beginning with *z*, her final speech concludes with an injunction to remember what she has said, and to pass it on, accurately remembered, to others.[20]

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[17] Osberno 1996: 1.8: "Quoniam igitur adeo desipiscentes, adeo esse inertici approbantur, ne per dehunbem eorumdem abholear scientiam, in hac vole contione partes Latinas normaliter et digestim propalare, quo duntaxat intellectu acceptas, vel ex qua derivandi scaturigine esse constat elicitas."

[18] Osberno 1996: 1.8: "Quas tandem per singulos alphabeti apices serie et enucleatim enodatas cuiusdam mei sequestris (ad me autem oculo connivente adnutabat) famelicis memorie faucibus libet instillare."

[19] Osberno 1996: 1.45, "pauculoque ad respirandum intercurrente silentio" and "libet partes breviter sine derivatione replicare."

[20] Osberno 1996: 2.769, "diligenter ad memoriam revocate et memoriter ceteris commendate."

Why did Osbern give his dictionary this structure? He gave one obvious answer himself in the dedication to Hamelin (Osberno 1996: 1.3), namely that he was paying homage to Martianus Capella: *Grammaticē* makes a long speech about grammar in the *De nuptiis*, and Grammatica makes a long series of speeches about vocabulary in the *Panormia*. Although the *De nuptiis* is now read as an encyclopedic text and the *Panormia* as a dictionary, the contrast between encyclopedias and dictionaries was not made by readers and writers in the twelfth century.[21] Osbern's Grammatica cites Martianus from beginning to end of the dictionary (e.g., Osberno 1996: 1.9 and 2.769), often with reference to his remarks on the articulation of speech sounds. Moreover, she pleases her audience much more than Martianus' *Grammaticē*, who is eventually silenced by Minerva because everyone is so bored by her discourse (*De nuptiis*, 3.326), so Osbern not only honours his predecessor but hints at the superior delightfulness of his own subject matter. Considering the reputation of Martianus in the twelfth century, this was a bold claim to make.

A second reason for Osbern's use of the figure of Grammatica is suggested by her final words, and by the limited alphabetization of the dictionary—more limited than that of the *Elementarium*, let alone that of the *Liber glossarum*—which gives us sequences running from *amo* to *abhominor* or from *amatorculus* to *abditorium*. The *Panormia* is not a wordlist meant for ready reference, but a pedagogical text meant for thoughtful and retentive study. The speaker of the prologue models this sort of study: he listens to every word which Grammatica speaks, and commits it to memory, to be written down later. The attendant poets are likewise good listeners. The very large scale of his work precluded Osbern's making its memorization truly feasible by casting it in verse like the *Tretiz* of his countryman Walter de Bibbesworth or the *Graecismus* of Eberhard of Béthune (the two are brought together in Hinton 2017: 879–80 and n 76). But the apparatus of the vision of Grammatica allowed him to present the memorization of the *Panormia* as an ideal.

As the example of the *De nuptiis* shows, however, it is possible to present an allegorical figure without the apparatus of a vision. To be sure, the dream-vision or nocturnal vision was a way to bring allegorical figures before the eyes of the speaker of a literary text: a century before the *Panormia*, Anselm of Besate's *Rhetorimachia* had included a dream-vision in which Grammatica herself makes an appearance (Dinzelbacher 1981: 74). But it was not a necessary device, unless the visionary is to be

[21] For further discussion, see Considine 2016.

transported somewhere, as Anselm's speaker is. Boethius, for instance, did not need to put the speaker of *De consolatione philosophiae* to bed in order that Philosophia should appear to him. Osbern seems to have been going out of his way to say that the *derivationes* and *repetitiones* of the *Panormia* came to him from an outside authority, and that he received them with complete passivity, as a vessel to be filled rather than an interlocutor: "it pleases me to pour them into the thirsty openings of his memory," says Grammatica. This actually contradicts a key element of the dedication to Hamelin, the story of the laborious composition of the *Panormia*, interrupted by the theft of an early version. Perhaps this calls for an explanation.

If so, I think that the explanation may be twofold. On the one hand, Osbern surely knew that a whole book surveying the vocabulary of Latin with attention to its derivational morphology rather than to its use in context was a novel undertaking. As we have seen, whether he was the very first person to compile a book of *derivationes* or not, he was surely one of the first. Papias could claim the authority of tradition for the *Elementarium*: it was, he wrote, "a work which has, to be sure, already been elaborated for a long time by many others and has also been added to and amassed by me more recently as best I could."[22] Osbern could make no such claim, but he could present the figure of Grammatica as an authority for his own innovation: "I, discoursing on Latinity, have made the mother of Latinity herself hold forth, as from her greater authority concerning the extent of this field of knowledge,"[23] he says at the end of his dedication. And, since *grammatica* inevitably suggests the teaching of the art of grammar, he could make the allegorical figure a hint that the *Panormia* was really no more than a distillation of the established practice of countless *grammatici* in the Latin classrooms of western Christendom.

On the other hand, Osbern may have had cause to see the derivational structure of the *Panormia* as a gift from another tradition of language study altogether, which, on the whole, was too foreign to be identified confidently as an authority for his own practice. To this tradition we now turn.

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[22] Daly, Daly 1964: 230: "opus quidem a multis aliis iam pridem elaboratum, a me quoque nuper … prout potui adauctum et accumulatum"; translation ibid. 232.
[23] Osberno 1996: 1.3: "ego de Latinitate disserens ipsam Latinitatis matrem quasi a maiore auctoritate de scientie ipsius profunditate feci disputare."

Excursus: The *Panormia* and Arabic lexicography

I have shown above that the derivational structure of the *Panormia* was anticipated by that of a few entries in the *Elementarium* of Papias, which were themselves indebted to material in Priscian. I have also suggested that the emphasis on the decontextualized word which is entailed by a fully derivational lexicographical structure may have spoken to a developing emphasis on the theoretical in the study of language, and on the decontextualized study of words, and I have cited R. W. Hunt's remarks on the twelfth-century interest in *derivationes*. But the movement from the inclusion of a few derivational groups of words in the eleventh-century *Elementarium* to the fundamentally derivational structure of the twelfth-century *Panormia* is still dramatic. Could there have been a model for this quite fundamental reimagining of the macrostructure of the Latin dictionary?

There was, indeed, a vigorous lexicographical tradition in medieval Europe, in which the entire vocabulary of a language which, like Latin, was used in sacred and literary texts was brought together in derivationally arranged dictionaries. This was the Arabic tradition. Starting with the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* attributed to al-Ḫalīl bin Aḥmad, who lived at the end of the eighth century of the Christian era, there was a strong tradition of so-called *muǧannas* dictionaries of Arabic, which were founded on a comprehensive inventory of the lexical roots of Arabic, and treated all the derivatives of each root together (as opposed to the thematically ordered *mubawwab* tradition: see Baalbaki 2014: 47–50). A Latin dictionary could not follow the *muǧannas* model in detail, because the morphology of Latin is so different from that of Arabic: the basic lexicographical unit in a Latin dictionary has to be a word rather than a root. Indeed, the concept of the root only entered the European grammatical tradition in the early modern period, its immediate source being the Hebrew tradition, although this was ultimately of Arabic origin (overview in Law 2003: 241–250; cf. Rousseau 1984). But a Latin dictionary could follow the model of the *muǧannas* dictionaries by presenting words in derivational groups rather than individually.

The *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* was in fact arranged in a sequence which could not have been followed by a Latin lexicographer, since it depended on the possible permutations of the letters in the roots which it documented, so that all the roots in which a given letter appeared were treated in succession (Baalbaki 2014: 280–282). But before long, some *muǧannas* dictionaries began to be arranged alphabetically, so that the roots which began with a given letter were treated in succession (Baalbaki 2014: 329–330). This

combination of alphabetical macrostructure and derivational groupings is, of course, precisely that of the *Panormia*.

The first of the alphabetized *muǧannas* dictionaries to treat the vocabulary of Arabic with something like exhaustiveness was the *Ǧamharat al-luġa* of Ibn Durayd, a work of the early tenth century of the Christian era; it is very curious, but probably coincidental, that its introduction identifies it as having been dictated by the compiler to a disciple, and complains about the "ignorance and incapacity" of contemporaries (Baalbaki 2014: 338, 340), just as Osbern's prologue tells the story of Grammatica complaining about the ignorance of contemporaries before dictating the *Panormia* to him. Although the structure of the *Ǧamharat al-luġa* is basically alphabetical, this description simplifies an extremely complex arrangement. By contrast, "full alphabetical order is consistently applied for the first time in Zamaḫšarī's … *Asās al-balāġa*," a work compiled between 1106 and 1144 (Baalbaki 2014: 330), in other words a little before the completion of the *Panormia* between 1148 and 1179.

Osbern could have known of dictionaries in the *muǧannas* tradition. Although it is a long way from his home in Gloucester to Zamaḫšarī's in Khorasan, in his lifetime, Latin Christians were in contact with Arabic-speaking civilizations in the eastern Mediterranean (not least in Crusader states like the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Principality of Antioch); in central Mediterranean territories such as the Kingdom of Sicily; and on the Iberian peninsula. Osbern's contemporary Adelard of Bath had connections with Sicily and Antioch, and knew Arabic well—it is not a long way from Gloucester to Bath—as did other Englishmen of his lifetime.

There is no need, or indeed reason, to suppose that Osbern knew Arabic himself. The hypothesis which I present here only entails that he had talked to someone who had handled a *muǧannas* dictionary with understanding. So, the question is whether the very rapid development of the alphabetically and derivationally arranged Latin dictionary in the twelfth century, at a time when contact between Latin Christians and their Arabic-speaking neighbours was multifarious, might have been inspired by the model of the alphabetically and derivationally arranged Arabic dictionary, given that this model was well developed and in wide circulation by the twelfth century. A similar question can be asked of the beginnings of Arabic lexicography (see especially Baalbaki 2014: 54–58, 283). In that case, without downplaying the arguments which Ramzi Baalbaki has made for the indigenous origins of the Arabic lexicographical tradition, one might ask whether the early Arabic philologists invented the dictionary as a genre anew, and in complete ignorance of the existing dictionary traditions of the Byzantine world, for instance that of Coptic Egypt, or whether these traditions gave them a model

which they could then make their own. Be that as it may, if twelfth-century collections of *derivationes* like the *Panormia* do owe anything to the *muğannas* tradition, they add one more point of cultural transmission to the "constellation of nodes of contact, influence, appropriation, transmission, and rejection" (Chism 2009: 630) between the cultures of the Latin Middle Ages and the contemporaneous Arabic-speaking world.

And whereas this may be a small point in the history of Arabo-Latin cultural exchange, it is not such a small one in the history of medieval Latin lexicography. Ugutio took his derivational structure and much of his material from Osbern. Giovanni Balbi took much of the material in the *Catholicon* from Ugutio, re-arranging it in alphabetical order. Most of the lexicographers in Latin Christendom by the fifteenth century were influenced in one way or another by the *Catholicon*. If a structural principle taken from the Arabic tradition had a formative influence on Osbern, its indirect influence ran across Latin Christendom.

Conclusion

The dictionary which Osbern Pinnock presented in its dedication as the result of a lifetime's labour, and in its prologue as the result of an extraordinary nocturnal vision, was indeed an extraordinary work, and it was evidently the result of great labour. If it was not the first of the derivational Latin dictionaries of the twelfth century, it was the foremost among them in terms of its circulation, surpassed only by that of its offspring, the *Derivationes* of Ugutio, which held its own until the fifteenth century. Its intellectual antecedents within the Latin tradition go back to the late antiquity of Priscian, Isidore, and Martianus Capella, as one might expect, and these antecedents are set out in the dedication. The strange story which the prologue tells may be no more than an ornamental supplement to the more sober dedication. But perhaps it stands for a story about the indirect influence of an Arabic lexicographical tradition, which Osbern was unable or reluctant to tell more fully, and which can now, like other stories of indirect intellectual influence, only be seen as a matter of greater or lesser probability.

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PART III:

THE IRISH TRADITION

EXPLANATORY AND ETYMOLOGICAL GLOSSES IN THE *DICTIONARY OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE*

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Released online in 2007, the *Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language* (better-known by the acronym *eDIL*) is a sizeable, retro-digitized historical dictionary.[1] Covering the language from earliest evidence up to the seventeenth century, the text was first published in twenty-three separate fascicles between 1913 and 1976. Production of the dictionary seems to have been a turbulent and troubled process which spanned two world wars, a notorious rush into print to meet the demands of 'use-it-or-lose-it' funding, various changes of editor and staff, and a change of title from the original *Dictionary of the Irish Language* to *Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language*, in recognition of the fact that the ambitious aims envisaged at the start had had to be somewhat re-evaluated (Griffith, Stifter, and Toner 2018: 3–6). Considering the external pressures and enormity of the task of scholarship, the original dictionary is a remarkable achievement in many ways, and the scope and robustness of its content has been enhanced in recent years as a result of two small-scale post-digitisation projects that have corrected textual misunderstandings, excised ghostwords and added words not picked up by the original editors.[2]

A serious issue surrounding the content of the dictionary remains, however. This has to do with the use of material gleaned from a number of medieval glossaries. Glossary-making clearly occupied an important place

[1] *Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language*, Royal Irish Academy, accessed March 31, 2019, http://www.dil.ie [full edition].

[2] The first project, which ran from 2008 to 2013, was based at the University of Ulster and subsequently at Queen's University, Belfast. For the corrections and additions incorporated into the dictionary as a result of that work, see Arbuthnot and Bondarenko 2013. The second project, entitled 'Text and Meaning: Contributions to a Revised Dictionary of Medieval Irish', is based at Queen's University, Belfast, and at the University of Cambridge. Research began in April 2014 and is expected to end in 2019 when a second revised version of the electronic dictionary will be released. Both projects were funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council.

in the learned activity of medieval Ireland. Extant manuscripts preserve a number of texts which fall into this broad category, but which vary considerably in terms of length, structure, and method of exposition (Russell 1988, 2008). Shorter examples include collections of glosses drawn from single sources, such as that associated with *Félire Oengusso* 'The Martyrology of Oengus' (Stokes 1862: 124–140), and a few metrical glossaries, the best-known of which is probably *Forus Focal* 'Basis of Words' (Stokes 1891–1894a). It is likely that a number of single-text *glossae collectae* were merged and alphabetized to produce the more substantial and wide-ranging glossaries (Russell 1988, 27), but we know that the compilers of these longer, more complex texts were prepared to reuse glosses wherever they could be made to fit and to infer, abstract and reinterpret as they pushed material through the editorial mill (Russell 1988: 28–30; Arbuthnot 2008, 2013).

The aim in all of this, of course, is to explain the meanings or derivations of selected items of vocabulary. This is achieved in various ways. Explanatory glosses tend to pair poorly attested words with better-known synonyms or to give short definitions in accessible language (Russell 1988: 16). In many instances, the lemmata were probably rare, obsolete, localized or borrowed words, so the glossaries served to record the items in question as well as to clarify their intended senses. A good number of these 'difficult' words never show up in running text, but some glosses are accompanied by quotations from native Irish grammatical, legal, religious and literary works which contain the forms of interest. Clearly, the purpose of these quotations is to support the authenticity of the words and to illustrate how they may be used in context. A small selection of entries, from a range of glossaries, will give some impression of this type of material:

> cucht .i. lón '*cucht*, i.e. food' (Stokes 1900: 59 § 426)
> 'mormuir' moin, 'bothach' seiscenn '*mormuir* [means] bog, *bothach* [means] marsh' (Stokes 1891–1894a: 21 § 70)
> coach .i. rūathur, ut est coach Díarmada '*coach*, i.e. an attack, thus "Díarmaid's attack"' (Meyer 1912: § 362)
> blúsair .i. núall ard égóir; ut dicit(ur) Flann: .... deog daim duind techtus blúsair '*blúsar*, i.e. a loud, excessive cry, as Flann says: "... a drink for a brown stag that has a great bellow"' (Moran 2019: OM § 180).[3]

[3] The dictionary entries based on these extracts are: *2 cucht* (dil.ie/13416), *? mormuir* (dil.ie/32585), *2 bocthach* (dil.ie/6264), *coach* (dil.ie/9791)/*4 cúach* (dil.ie/13303) and *blúsar* (dil.ie/6198).

In contrast to the explanatory material, etymological glosses can posit relationships between Irish words and words in other languages, and attempt to resolve single items of vocabulary into two or more simple, but unrelated, terms (Russell 1988, 16–27). It is essentially a philosophical approach to language, seemingly modelled on principles developed by Isidore, seventh-century bishop of Seville, and intended to allow a deeper, more intuitive, understanding of the sense of a particular word than would be possible in an explanatory 'x = y'-type gloss. It is clear that a successful etymology depended on supposed underlying terms being phonetically, graphically and morphologically similar to the target and also semantically suitable. Within that guiding principle, however, medieval Irish scholars displayed remarkable levels of creativity, so that while some of the etymologies they suggested accord with the findings of modern linguistics, most seem deliberately exploratory and even playful (Baumgarten 1990, 2004: 55–65; Russell 2004: 1–7). Thus, the same glossary can contain an entry that accurately derives Irish *balb* from Latin *balbus*:

balb ab eo quod est balbus (Meyer 1912, § 146)
balb 'dumb; stammering' from *balbus* 'stammering',

and another which borrows the formula in use here to suggest a derivation for Irish *allud* 'fame' in which the Latin preposition *a* 'from' functions as an integral part of the etymology in what is essentially a sophisticated bilingual pun:

allud ... a laude .i. ōn molad (Meyer 1912: § 86)
allud 'fame' ... *a laude*, i.e. from the word for 'praise'.

Typical of the glosses that propose to etymologize words by breaking them down into their alleged constituents is an attractively concise gloss in which *conar* 'a path' is resolved into both *cin fhér* 'without grass' and *cin ar* 'without ploughing':[4]

conar .i. cin ḟér, ł cin ar (Binchy 1978, ii 610.25)
conar 'a path', i.e. *cin fhér* 'without grass', or *cin ar* 'without ploughing'.

As is common in the more substantial Irish glossaries, this entry puts forward alternative etymologies for the same word, each intended to probe

[4] The architect of this gloss uses to his advantage the conventions of Irish grammar the initial *fh-* in *cen fhér* is silent, so phonetically the phrase is close enough to *conar* to fall within the 'wiggle room' allowed by Isidorian etymologists.

the lemma from a slightly different angle (Baumgarten 1990: 2; 2004: 58). The material on *conar* is representative of the phenomenon of etymological glossing also in that, whereas explanatory glosses generally attach to ill-attested words, etymological glosses tend to be applied to familiar items of vocabulary. The reason for this is self-evident: it is only because the audience can be relied upon to have a good sense of the meaning of a word like *conar* that an etymologist can begin to play with ideas of how and why *cin fhér* and *cin ar* are appropriate as etymologies. Similarly, the very fact that *allud* was well-known is what enabled some medieval scholar to propose a derivation from Latin *a laude*.

The appeal of ready-made, large-scale glossaries as building-blocks for the construction of an historical dictionary is entirely understandable, and remarkable gains were made through the incorporation of glossary material into the resource that was to become *eDIL*. A wealth of reasonably secure nouns, adjectives and verbs, with related terms in the language, is still attested only from these sources.[5] Other verbs and nouns have unique forms known only from the glossaries.[6] And numerous dictionary entries were constructed specifically to recognise the 'difficult' lemmata of explanatory glosses, some of which appear in several different glossaries, while others are confined to one particular text. Examples include:

> **ligur** n 'expld. in glossaries as tongue': l.■ .i. tenga, Thr. Ir. Gl. 26. ligar .i. tenga, Lec. Gl. 455 (luigar .i. teanga, M 263). ligair .i. tenga, Goid. 75 § 11.
>
> **braitsi** n (ME loanword, Met. Gl. 50) 'hose, breeches': b.■ (braidci, MS.) asan, Met. Gl. 33. 19. b.■ .i. asan, Lec. Gl. 546, Stowe Gl. 253. *Cf.* bríste.
>
> **criun** n 'expld. as wolf': c.■ .i. cú allaid, Lec. Gl. 334. cruin, Stowe Gl. 277. críuin (g s. ?) .i. mac tíre, Eg. Gl. 150a. críun, ●'Cl. crian .i. cú allaid cited Meyer Contribb. 515. See 2 gríuin.
>
> **rathonn** n 'a bed-cover, coverlet?': rathonn .i. brotbrach, H. 3.18 p. 74 (●'C 122).

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, when much of the content for *(Contributions to a) Dictionary of the Irish Language* was being prepared, the aims and methods of medieval etymologizing were

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[5] For a few examples, see the dictionary entries on ***adaltair*** (dil.ie/277), ***blichtmaire*** (dil.ie/6143), *1 **cobthach*** (dil.ie/9858), ***fáise*** (dil.ie/21182), and ***fialaigid*** (dil.ie/21929).

[6] See, for example, ***atrorbe*** (dil.ie/4922), *con-**ben*** (dil.ie/12000), ***doéscairigid*** (dil.ie/17588), ***dorar*** (dil.ie/18276), and ***étid*** (dil.ie/20858).

rarely adequately understood (Baumgarten 1983: 225; Russell 2008: 2–4). Moreover, the published texts of the glossaries available at the time consisted mainly of lightly edited transcriptions of the Irish material, issued without translations or linguistic or textual commentaries. This being the case, it is not surprising that a significant number of unnecessary, confused and misguided entries were created as a result of the dictionary's awkward engagement with glossary material in general and with etymological glosses in particular. It is obviously desirable that mistaken dictionary entries which arose in this way are eventually deleted or emended as appropriate, but in the meantime an investigation into the treatment of glossary forms in the original dictionary provides fascinating insights into the strategies and assumptions of early lexicographers, striving to produce an historical dictionary on modern principles but faced with complex medieval Irish text which they had little help in interpreting.

The bulk of the etymological glosses cited in the dictionary comes from one or other version of a text usually referred to as *Sanas Cormaic*, literally 'the Whispering of Cormac', though the usual title in English is simply 'Cormac's Glossary'. This work is traditionally associated with Cormac úa Cuilennáin, king-bishop of Cashel, who died in 908. The association with this historical figure depends heavily on a partially abbreviated reference in another text, however, and the title *Sanas Cormaic* actually appears only in a short, early version of the glossary (Russell 1988, 10–11).[7] It is a later, much-expanded text which supplied the dictionary with around 2500 forms and citations. These are quoted from an edition published by Kuno Meyer in 1912 which is still identified in *eDIL* by the abbreviation 'Corm. Y'. Significantly, in this edition, the Irish text is accompanied only by an alphabetical Index of Words, which rarely gives any indication as to what these words might mean. Also available to the dictionary-makers were untranslated, single-manuscript texts of the shorter version (Stokes 1862; Meyer 1919), a translated fragment (Stokes 1891–1894b), and what is perhaps best described as a partial translation of a composite text (O'Donovan 1868).

From the outset, then, *Sanas Cormaic* presented certain basic challenges as well as opportunities. On the one hand, here was a large amount of material of early date which, although it may not always stand up to the scrutiny of modern philology, is nevertheless concerned specifically with the meaning and origin of words. On the other hand, the published material was unwieldy and, while some glosses had been translated successfully,

[7] Another glossary, *Dúil Dromma Cetta* (see below) also has a cross-reference to a text of this title: *leighe sanais cormaic* 'read *Sanas Cormaic*' (Binchy 1978: ii 618.30).

some had been misunderstood and others had never been translated at all. Seemingly anxious to accommodate almost every morsel of language occurring in *Sanas Cormaic*, but often unsure as to how the text was to be construed, the dictionary editors opted to create unique listings for problematic forms. Question-marks abound in entries of this kind, any statements ventured about meaning are based solely on internal evidence from the glossary text, and suggestions as to the derivation of the headword or related words in the language are extremely rare. What follows is an assortment of dictionary entries based on uncertain extracts from *Sanas Cormaic* and other glossaries, each of which will be discussed further below:

2 cat c.¤ isin chombreic is cath in scotica, Corm. Y 206.

ude ? gobung gaibther forsin crand (cethra *v.l.*) co ndanmaiter a n-ude (amuide *v.l.*) i comulg (a combolg, i cumung *v.l.*), **Corm. Y** 1268.

? allno: a.¤ (.i. nos) quasi aliud .i. a laude .i. on molad, ●'C. 84 (H. 3.18, 63).

pit, (put) 'a pit, hollow (? the female pudenda)?': putte a putteo [= Lat. puteo] .i. cuthe, ut dicitur pit a puteo.i. brēnaim, Corm. Y 1060 (= Lat. cunnus, acc. to Corm. Tr. p. 138). pit a puteo .i. on cuithe dicitur put, H. 3.18 p. 77 (●'C. 132).

2 gamain 'November': g.¤ .i. in mí gaim īar samuin, Corm. Y 687.

úach 'top (?)', cf. úachtar: crūach .i. cōir a ūach .i. a ūac[h]tar, Corm. Y 340.

ca c.¤ ōndī is caput, cend, Corm. Y 736.

7 es 'food': es .i. biad, Corm. Y 736.

2 drech in etymol. gloss: merdrech .i. mer ┐ d.¤; mer .i. drūith, d.¤ .i. baeth, Corm. Y 875.

lat in etymological gloss: indlat … .i. l.¤ .i. traig. Indlat don chois etc., Corm. Y 943.

From tenuous listings of this kind in the dictionary, it is easy to form the impression that the glossaries are littered with unusual, impenetrable, and otherwise-unknown words. A fresh look at the first item in the above list,

however, reveals that this is in fact a common word—but a Welsh one and explicitly identified as such in *Sanas Cormaic*.[8] The glossary material runs:

> cat … in chombreic is cath in scotica (Meyer 1912, § 206)
> '*cat* in Welsh is [the same as] *cath* "battle" in Irish'.

Closer investigation of the glosses which lie behind the next two dictionary entries on the list, those headed *ude* and *allno* (both with accompanying question-marks), suggests that there was no need to create separate entries for these forms either, as they are simply renderings of well-attested (Irish) nouns. *Ude* forms part of a gloss on *lias* 'a pen (for animals)' and is an acceptable variant of the common word *uide* 'a journey or march', for which the dictionary has a substantial entry.[9] Admittedly, correct understanding of *ude* in *Sanas Cormaic* was hampered to some extent by the mis-division of words in the surrounding prose (*i comulg*) and by the retention of a minority reading (*crand*) in the 1912 edition of the glossary. Properly understood, though, this explanatory gloss reads:

> lïas .i. gobung gaibther forsin cethra co ndannaiter a n-ude ic omulg (cf. Meyer 1912, § 1268)
> '*lïas*, i.e. an enclosure which is put around animals so that their journey is restricted (?) while being milked'.

Allno, meanwhile, was imported into the dictionary from the glossary known as *Dúil Dromma Cetta* 'the Collection of Druimm Cetta'. This glossary shares a good amount of material with *Sanas Cormaic* and also exists in longer and shorter versions (Russell 1996). An Irish-only edition of the longer text appeared in print in the mid-nineteenth century (Stokes 1859, 170-96), but the dictionary cites this source according to a still-unpublished transcript made by Eugene O'Curry (identified by the abbreviation 'O'C' and manuscript references to 'H.3.18'[10]). We know that a scribe involved at some point in the transmission of *Dúil Dromma Cetta* had trouble deciphering the exemplar from which he was working and that

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[8] The corresponding form in Modern Welsh is *cad*; see *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, accessed March 31, 2019, http://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html, s.v. *cad*[1]. On Brittonic words cited in Irish glossaries, see further Russell 1995.

[9] Several examples of the spelling *ude* are actually listed in the dictionary s.v. *uide* (dil.ie/42950).

[10] This refers to Dublin, Trinity College, MS 1337; there are copies of *Dúil Dromma Cetta* on pp. 63a-75b and 633a–638b. These texts were subsequently transcribed and published in Binchy 1978, ii 604.39–621.35, iii 1069.30–1078b.6. Citations below are from the first of these published texts.

he produced a number of corrupt forms based on what he could make out of the shapes of the letters in front of him (Arbuthnot 2010). It transpires, then, that *allno* is just a scribal error for the well-established word *allud* 'fame' (ibid., 23-24).[11] Although *Dúil Dromma Cetta* has garbled *allno*, the corresponding gloss in *Sanas Cormaic* is that cited above as an illustration of etymological glossing and has the required form *allud*:

> ***Dúil Dromma Cetta***: allno .i. nós … a laude .i. on molads (Binchy 1978, ii 605.36)
> ***Sanas Cormaic***: allud .i. nōs … a laude .i. ōn molad (Meyer 1912, § 86).

Although *allno* has an entry of its own in the dictionary, the *Sanas Cormaic* version of this gloss is, in fact, the first citation given s.v. *allud*:

> **Allud** n m. g s. allda, **LL** 12516.
> allaid, **Alex.** 394. **fame, renown, glory:** a.¤ .i. nōs: nō alad a laude, **Corm. Y** 86. rí co nallodaib o[l]lmár (alladaib, MS.), **SR** 6762. cudu a.¤ [a] deigloir, **AU** i 442.15. ropu lán Hériu … dia a.¤ ┐ dia scélaib, **TBFr.** 12. at mathi … Fir Breg … im a.¤, **LU** 4265. ni fair bías a nós nách a a.¤ nach a irdarcus, 6377 (**TBC**). nire thallastar a uáill nach a a.¤ … i nErind, 9046 (**FB** 79). ar a.¤ ┐ érgna ┐ aurlabra, 8247 (19). alludh ergna *distinguished fame*, **BB** 45a17. cen a.¤ án, **LL** 4221. a alladh 's a aebh, **BB** 57a4 ba h-a.¤ mór do Lugaid, **LL** 14533. ar a.¤ ┐ gail ┐ gasciud, **LU** 8815 (**FB** 61). im echt im alladh im uaill, **BB** 52b15. a húaill, a ha.¤, a hindsaigthi, **Ériu** iv 146 § 25. in dímolta ┐ int allad ┐ in inocbail ro gab A., **Alex.** 629. ? do chungid allaid ┐ étala, **LL** 217b36 (**TTr.** 59). tuilleadh gach laoi ort d'alladh, **Aithd. D.** 11.21. clū alla ┐ oirrdercus, **Fl. Earls** 142.6. urrann dá allamh (.i. cuid dá chlú), **Ó Bruad.** iii 156.5. allad gaiscid *fame for prowess*, **YBL** 126a1.

There are, then, no extraordinary Irish words *cat*, *ude* and *allno* that have been preserved for posterity only in glossaries, as the dictionary implies. The very existence of entries under these headwords may suggest something about the dictionary-makers' approach to glossary material, though. *Sanas Cormaic* itself makes clear that *cat* is not an Irish word; only ten short entries separate the dictionary listing for *allud*, under which the editors placed the relevant *Sanas Cormaic* extract, from *allno* which was created solely to accommodate the corresponding material from *Dúil Dromma Cetta*; fascicle U of the dictionary, which includes both the robust entry on

[11] Confusion of minims is often found in this text and the letter *d* seems to have been written with a short ascender and was interchanged with both *o* and *b*. Thus, it is not difficult to understand how *allud* came to be misread as *allno*. See Arbuthnot 2010, 32-33.

uide and insecure *ude ?*, was in the hands of a single researcher (Teresa Condon). In view of all of this, it is tempting to think that certain editors tended to regard the glossaries as storehouses of odd and isolated words, and did not push particularly hard on forms that were not immediately meaningful to them. Conceivably, they might have taken a more critical look at *cat*, *allno*, *ude* and the like had these appeared in texts of another genre.

Unfortunately, no known editorial policy exists to shed light on how those involved with the original dictionary approached their overall task or how they dealt with any given source. Indeed, given the numerous changes of staff and the inconsistencies that can be detected between one fascicle and another (Griffith, Stifter, and Toner 2018, 4), it is questionable even whether a set of guidelines was drawn up or served throughout the dictionary's long history. In addition to a certain readiness to accept that words occurring in glossaries were likely to be unique attestations, however, there are signs that editors often struggled to see the etymological point and were inclined to take the glosses as mostly explanatory. On occasion, this caused conflict between how the scholars responsible for the dictionary understood glosses and how previous editors of the texts had interpreted them. Such tension is particularly evident in the dictionary listing for *pit*, which has the much-queried dual-definition 'a pit, hollow (? the female pudenda)?':

> **pit, (put)** 'a pit, hollow (? the female pudenda)?': putte a putteo [= Lat. puteo] .i. cuthe, ut dicitur pit a puteo .i. brēnaim, Corm. Y 1060 (= Lat. cunnus, acc. To Corm. Tr. p. 138). pit a puteo .i. on cuithe dicitur put, H. 3.18 p. 77 (O'C. 132).

The presentation of material in the dictionary somewhat obscures the evidence for *pit* that is put forward here. This comes from two glosses, each bringing the Irish word into association with an item of Latin vocabulary. A short text which has come to be known as the *Loman* Glossary (Russell, Arbuthnot, and Moran 2006) offers:

> pit a puteo .i. on cuithe (Binchy 1978, ii 624.38)
> '*pit* comes from *puteus*, i.e. from the word for a pit',

while *Sanas Cormaic* has instead:

> pit a puteo .i. brēnaim (Meyer 1912, § 1060)
> '*pit* comes from *puteo*, i.e. I stink'.

John O'Donovan (1868, 138), at work on the *Sanas Cormaic* material, rightly perceived there to be two elements to this: an etymological element (*pit a puteo* '*pit* comes from *puteo*') and an explanatory one (*puteo .i. brēnaim* '*puteo*, i.e. I stink'). Similarly, the *Loman* Glossary first gives etymological *pit a puteo* '*pit* comes from *puteus*' and then follows up with an Irish explanatory gloss on Latin *puteus* (*.i. on cuithe* 'i.e. from the word for a pit'). No doubt aware that in Modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic *pit* is the usual means of reference to the vulva, O'Donovan (ibid.) suggested that the Irish term under discussion in the glossaries was the same as Latin *cunnus*. Instead of simply recognising that *Loman* and *Sanas Cormaic* preserve the earliest collected attestations of that word, however, the dictionary editors prioritized the definition 'pit, hollow', seemingly distracted by the idea that Latin *puteus* and Irish *cuithe* are intended to give directly the meaning of Irish *pit*.

While the editors obviously favoured 'pit, hollow' as the intended meaning of Irish *pit* in the glossaries, the possibility that the word refers to 'the female pudenda' is at least recognised in the same entry in the dictionary. Treatment of the word *gamain*, which occurs in § 687 of *Sanas Cormaic* (Meyer 1912), is altogether more problematic. This form is recorded twice in the dictionary under entirely different senses. It is noted as an example of *gamuin* 'a yearling calf', which is in keeping with how O'Donovan (1868, 85) understood the usage in the glossary:

> **gamuin** n i, m. (a) 'a yearling calf': gamhuin, IGT Decl. § 34. gamain, Corm. Y 687. in sengamain troitech, TBC²3659. doberar gamain istech, Ériu vii 6 § 6 = 198 § 6. bo cona gamaind, Laws i 184.20 Comm. g s. gemen ... fírgámna, Aisl. MC 95.27. brat gamna, IT iii 101.30. re bonnuibh chos gamhna, Ezek. i 7. pl. gamlías hi tallat trichait n-gamna, FB § 91 (LU 9187). il lías ngamna *calves' byre*, BDD § 5. nipsa cau-sa ingaire ganma, LU 9328. urcholl íona ganmaib, Laws iv 86.2 Comm. tugaidh na gamhna don bhaile, 1 Sam. vi 7. bemn ainm do gabuin, O'C. 577 (H.3.18, 287). In n. l.: Loch Gamhna, FM iv 696.7.

And it is also given an entry of its own as 2 *gamain* 'November':

> **2 gamain** 'November': g.x .i. in mí gaim īar samuin, Corm. Y 687.

The phrase quoted in support of the entry *2 gamain* 'November' means 'the winter month after the festival of *Samain*',[12] and the editors of the dictionary confidently took this as an explanatory gloss on an otherwise-unattested month-name. The portion of text cited s.v. *2 gamain* represents only the start

[12] *Samain* refers to a festival held at the start of November (dil.ie/36129).

of the glossary entry in question, though; the entry as a whole revolves around the word *gamnach* 'a cow with a yearling calf'. *Gamain* at the start, then, is almost certainly the calf-word, used here to denote specifically a calf born in winter so as to enable a number of word-plays in which *gamain* itself is linked to both *gam* 'winter' and the name of the festival of *Samain*, and *gamnach* is etymologized through *gam-shinech* 'having teats in winter':[13]

> gamain .i. i mmí gaim īar samuin,[14] unde dicitur gamnach .i. gam-s[h]inech .i. arinnī is mblicht i mmī gaim .i. i ngaimreth (cf. Meyer 1912, § 687)

> *gamain* 'a yearling calf', i.e. [born] in the month of winter after the festival of *Samain*; thus is said *gamnach* 'a cow with a yearling calf', i.e. having teats in winter, i.e. by reason of the fact that it is in milk in the winter month, i.e. in winter.

2 *gamain* 'November', then, is yet another ghostword in the dictionary, one which owes its existence, at least in part, to a perception that the purpose of glosses is generally to explain the meaning of obscure words.

What emerges incidentally from the above is that the translation of *Sanas Cormaic* produced by John O'Donovan and published in 1868 correctly renders the senses intended for *pit* and *gamain* in the glossaries, whereas the dictionary is at best conflictory and at times actually inclined in the wrong direction. O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry were the scholars initially charged with producing an historical dictionary of Irish at a meeting of the Irish Archaeological Society held in November 1852 (Griffith, Stifter, and Toner 2018: 3). O'Donovan eventually began work in 1859, but died shortly afterwards, in December 1861. In terms of the treatment of glossary material, it is regrettable that O'Donovan did not contribute more to the project, for clearly he had better instincts about etymological glosses than most of those who succeeded him. Indeed, to judge by comments made by one of the scholars intimately involved with the final dictionary, the practice of medieval etymologizing was a source of real frustration and perplexity in the early phrases of the work.

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[13] The *-sh-* is silent, so *gamnach* is effectively etymologized through *gam-shinech*. See also n. 4 above.

[14] Meyer misread the minims at the start of the entry and presented the material as if it contained the definite article (*in mí gaim* 'the winter month'); in fact, the text begins with the preposition *i*$^{n-}$ 'in' (*i mmí gaim* 'in the winter month'). The reading is found in Dublin, Trinity College, MS 1318 (the Yellow Book of Lecan), col. 45, l. 22.

Osborn Bergin was assistant to Kuno Meyer for a few years after the latter took over editorship of the dictionary in 1907. Bergin himself went on to act as general editor of fascicle E which finally appeared in 1932 (Toner forthcoming). A few years later, he reflected that:

> the patience of modern scholars is often exhausted in the endeavour to extract a few grains of real value to the lexicographer from the masses of 'etymological glosses' ... Etymology was a game with no rules. It was a matter of guesswork, and one guess was a good as another (Bergin 1938, 206).

Bergin was an imposing figure in Irish scholarship whose views on etymological glossing had a 'powerful influence on the subsequent generation of Irish scholars' (Russell 2008: 2). Although he himself played no further role in the dictionary after E was completed, one or both of the researchers who worked with him (Maud Joynt and Eleanor Knott) contributed to no less than seven other fascicles (Toner forthcoming). Bergin's issues with medieval etymological glossing obviously have to do with the fact that the derivations proposed in glosses, such as *allud a laude* or *conar .i. cin ar*, did not accord with his own expectations as a philologist interested in the scientific origins of Irish. Most disconcerting in the above remarks, however, is his insistence that Irish Isidorian etymology was 'a game with no rules'. This is emphatically not the case; in glosses of this kind, formulae and conventions abound to guide readers on their way to understanding. The *Loman* entry on *pit*, for example, conforms to a widespread pattern in which the word of interest is derived from a Latin noun or verb and the Latin is then supplied with an Irish gloss of equivalent meaning. In addition, Latin *puteus* 'pit' meets the basic Isidorian criterion that etymological suggestions should be phonetically, graphically and morphological similar to the lemma and semantically suitable. Had the editor of fascicle N-O-P grasped that there were rules to the game of etymologizing, the idea that Irish *pit* was a term for a pit or hollow would never have come up in the dictionary.[15]

Greater appreciation of the conventions of medieval etymology would have saved the dictionary also from a number of entries which were created for what are actually word-fragments. Discussions of etymologizing in Irish glossaries have often cited examples such as the proposed derivation of *conar* 'a path' from *cin ar* 'without ploughing' and of *ichtar* 'the bottom' from *ic tír* 'at the ground' (Meyer 1912, § 779). Such etymologies operate

[15] Incidentally, this fascicle was arranged by Maud Joynt, one of the researchers who had worked with Bergin.

as if the headwords are slightly skewed compounds of the elements in question. What has not been sufficiently brought out to date is that, in many instances, the lemma of an etymological gloss is analysed as if it were a kind of blend or portmanteau, as if the word were constructed in much the same way as English *brunch* was derived from the *br-* of 'breakfast' and *-unch* of 'lunch'. In such cases, one or more of the elements identified in the etymology are not whole words. Early Irish grammatical tracts preserve specialized technical terms for the phenomena of reducing genuine items of vocabulary to the first or last few letters; *díchned derid*, literally 'taking away the last part', is distinguished from *díchned túis*, 'taking away the first part' (Calder 1917: 11, 1986, 2000). These terms are sometimes employed in glossaries to clarify how the etymology is envisaged as working. Thus, to explain how *pait* 'a container for liquid' might be traced back to *fúal* 'water' and *áit* 'a place', *Sanas Cormaic* informs its readers that *fúal* has undergone *díchned derid* in this instance:

> pait quasi fu-áit .i. āit fūail ┐ dīchned deridh fuil and (Meyer 1912, § 1062)
> *pait* 'a container for liquid', as if *fu-áit* [< *fu-* + *áit* 'a place'], i.e. a place for water, and the last part [of *fúal* 'water'] is taken away there.

Elsewhere, other words are similarly shortened in etymological glosses but technical terms such as *díchned derid* and *díchned túis* are not used to describe the process that has taken place. Thus, the term *crúach* 'a stack of corn' is presented as if it were a blend of *cóir* 'straight' (implicitly contracted to *cr-*) and the start of the word *úachtar* 'top', but the text has no comment on the relationship between *úach-* and *úachtar*:

> crūach .i. cōir a ūach .i. a ūac[h]tar (Meyer 1912, § 340)
> *crúach* 'a stack of corn', i.e. straight its *úach-*, i.e. its top.

The fact that *úach-* is itself immediately glossed with *úachtar* suggests that whoever produced this etymological explanation never intended that there would be confusion over the status of *úach-*. Based solely on the occurrence in *Sanas Cormaic*, however, a listing for '*úach*' was created in the dictionary:

> **úach** 'top (?)', cf. úachtar: crūach .i. cōir a ūach .i. a ūac[h]tar, Corm. Y 340.

Similar misconceptions about how to construe clusters of letters in the glossaries lie behind the current dictionary listings for *ca* and *7 es*:

> **ca** c.n. ōndī is caput, cend, Corm. Y 736.

7 es 'food': es .i. biad, Corm. Y 736.

Both of these are drawn from the *Sanas Cormaic* entry explaining *iasc* 'fish'. Seen in the context of the full glossary entry, the short extracts cited in the dictionary take on a very different character:

> īasc quasi esc .i. ab esca. Es didiu .i. biad … Ca ōndi is caput, cend. Ceand didiu ┐ clēithe cach mbīd in t-īesc, ar dotomail Īsu é (Meyer 1912, § 736)

> *iasc* 'fish' as if *esc*, i.e. from [Latin] *esca* 'food'. *Es-* then is 'food' … *ca-* comes from [Latin] *caput*, 'head'. Fish, then, is the head and culmination of every meal, for Jesus ate it.

In *Sanas Cormaic*, then, the Irish word *iasc* 'fish' is derived ultimately from Latin *esca* 'food' and the text then goes on to explain that it is the *es-* of *esca* that means 'food', while the second element is derived from Latin *caput* 'head'. So, *es-* and *ca-* are, firstly, not whole words and, secondly, not even fragments of an Irish word (it is Latin *esca* that it being dissected here). A hyphen after *es* and *ca* in the published edition would have alerted the dictionary-makers at least to the fact that these were not candidates for inclusion under their own headwords, but none of the texts of *Sanas Cormaic* published to date made any attempt to visually identify forms like *iach-*, *ca-* and *es-* as word-fragments. In the absence of such markers, it was left to individual dictionary editors to make their own inferences about the status of these forms. Even from the small sample of entries mentioned here, there are interesting observations to be made about editorial choice: the entry headed *iach* is in the same fascicle as unnecessary *ude* (discussed above); that on *es*, in which *.i. biad* 'i.e. food' is accepted as a straightforward explanatory gloss, appears in the fascicle that was edited by Osborn Bergin; the entry on *ca*, in a fascicle which was not published until 1968, is more cautious and makes no suggestion on how the form is to be understood.

It difficult to know what the dictionary editors were thinking when they created circumspect entries like *ca*. This ventures nothing about possible meaning, cognates or even the part of speech that *ca* might represent; on the other hand, there are no question-marks such as are found in the dictionary entries on *ude*, *allno*, and so on, and which seem intended to query whether the relevant forms were genuine lexical items. Other means of registering doubt about 'words' gleaned from glossaries are also occasionally employed in the dictionary. Rather than blindly following the suggestions made in *Sanas Cormaic* that *drech* is a word of similar meaning to *baoth* 'wanton, licentious', for example, the dictionary simply highlights the fact that this *drech* is found in an etymological gloss:

> **2 drech** in etymol. gloss: merdrech .i. mer ┐ d.¤; mer .i. drūith, d.¤ .i. baoth, Corm. Y 875.

The same strategy is adopted for *lat*, which is equivalent in meaning to *traig* 'foot', according to *Sanas Cormaic*:

> **lat** in etymological gloss: indlat … .i. l.¤ .i. traig. Indlat don chois etc., Corm. Y 943.

These statements, warning users of the dictionary to be mindful of context when dealing with etymological glosses, suggest that the glossary entries in question were intelligently read beyond the sections cited in the dictionary—which is certainly an improvement on the shortsighted approach which gave rise to *2 gamain*, *7 es* and *ca*. Looking at the wider material in which *drech* and *lat* appear, it is reasonably clear what roused the suspicions of the dictionary editors in each instance. *Drech* occurs in the explanation of *meirdrech* 'a prostitute':

> merdrech .i. mer ┐ drech; mer .i. drūith, drech .i. baoth. Merdrech didiu ben drūith baoth, ut dicitur: Drūith gach mer, mīanach gach baoth (Meyer 1912: § 875).

At face value, this would seem to translate as:

> *meirdrech* 'a prostitute', i.e. *mer* and *drech*; *mer* means wanton, *drech* means licentious. *meirdrech*, then, is a wanton and licentious woman, as is said: every *mer* is wanton, every licentious person is full of desire.

The sticking-point here is that the gloss *mer .i. drúith 'mer* means wanton' immediately precedes *drech .i. baoth 'drech* means licentious', and *mer*, *drúith* and *baoth* all have very similar meanings, whereas *drech* is otherwise-unknown. Given that *baoth* occurs twice in close association with *drúith* and *mer* further on in the glossary entry, the editors of the dictionary seem to have suspected that, in origin, *.i. baoth* was intended as an additional gloss on *mer .i. drúith* rather than as a gloss on mysterious *drech*.[16]

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[16] This raises the possibility, of course, that the word *meirdrech* was broken down into *mer* 'wanton' and *-drech*, the latter being a fragment of the headword in which the medieval etymologist took no further interest. Such an explanation does not seem particularly objectionable: in the *Sanas Cormaic* entry on *ésca* 'the moon', for example, the lemma first splits into *áes-ca* and the entry then continues with a statement on *áes* 'stage', while *-ca* does not come up again: *esca .i. aos-ca, ar atāt aosa ili and ō aon co trichait* (Meyer 1912, § 572) *'ésca* "the moon", i.e. *áes-ca* [< *áes* 'a stage'], for there are many stages to it from one to thirty'.

Lat, which is also categorized in the dictionary as 'in etymological gloss', crops up in connection with two well-established verbal nouns: *indmat* and *indlat*. Attestations, mainly from a range of literary and religious texts, suggest that both *indmat* and *indlat* referred to 'washing the hands or feet'; they are, in all likelihood, variations of same word. *Sanas Cormaic* attempts to distinguish between them, however, suggesting that *indmat* derives from *ind* 'end' and *mat* 'hand', while *indlat* comes from *ind* and *lat* 'foot':[17]

> mat .i. lāmh, unde indmat .i. ind na lām negar and. Indlat immorro .i. lat .i. traig. Indlat don chois didiu, ar is [ind] don c[h]ois in traicch. Et a latitudine dicitur (Meyer 1912, § 943).

> *mat*, i.e. a hand, thus *indmat* 'washing the hands', i.e. [< *ind* 'end' + *mat* 'hand'] the end of the hand is washed then. *Indlat* 'washing the feet', i.e. *lat*, i.e. the foot. Washing the leg then, for the foot is the end of the leg. And it [*lat*] is said from the word *latitudo* 'breadth'.

Mat 'hand' is poorly evidenced but has some support outside of this gloss;[18] there seems to be no independent support for the glossary's suggestion of a word *lat*, meaning 'foot'. *Sanas Cormaic*, nevertheless, presents a compelling case for *lat*, putting forward not only an explanatory gloss (*lat .i. traig* 'lat, i.e. the foot') but also an etymological one (*a latitudine dicitur* 'it is said from the word *latitudo* "breadth"'). The fact that *lat* is not simply defined as 'foot' in the dictionary suggests, however, that the editors found the idea that early Irish vocabulary included both *mat* 'hand' and also *lat* 'foot' improbably convenient. In other words, they seem to have sensed that rather than being a component of *indlat*, *lat* was artificially abstracted from this verbal noun in *Sanas Cormaic*.

Whatever misgivings they may have had about *drech*, *lat* and the like, the editors of the dictionary followed a safe course of action in drawing up restrained listings which merely draw attention to the etymological

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[17] Elsewhere in *Sanas Cormaic*, the broader sense of *indlat* is acknowledged: *intan adhaim duine a chosa ┐ a lāma indlat innsin* (Meyer 1912, § 597) 'when a person washes his feet and his hands that is *indlat*'.

[18] The headword of the relevant entry in the dictionary is given as *1 mát, mat* (dil.ie/31663), but none of the attestations has evidence of a long vowel and the form *mát* seems to be suggested solely on the assumption that same word occurs in *mátán* and *mátlorc*, both of which mean 'club, cudgel'.

context.[19] At this distance from the original text, there is little prospect of proving beyond doubt that *lat* was not a legitimate feature of the early Irish lexicon, as opposed to an archaic, specialized or localized word. Indeed, the issue of whether medieval Irish etymologists coined words for the sole purpose of etymological speculation and play has remained largely a matter of conjecture and opinion in modern scholarship. The last-expressed views on the matter came from Paul Russell and Calvert Watkins. Russell's position was that 'for words to be etymologized into unrecognizable or invented elements' would 'negate the aims of this type of etymologizing' (Russell 1988: 19; cf. 2008: 4 n. 10). Watkins, meanwhile, argued that early scholars did indulge in such activity on the grounds that fabricated words could themselves be glossed and thus assigned a meaning (Waktins 1967).

Watkins did not refer closely to the glossaries other than to propose that a still-uncertain element, *orn*, which appears several times in *Sanas Cormaic* and is always glossed with *orgun* 'slaying; slaughter', was the invention of a glossator. Had he looked further into *Sanas Cormaic*, he might have been interested in, for example, *úach- .i. úachtar* and *es- .i. biad*, both of which demonstrate the potential of glosses for hinting at meaning for forms that are not themselves genuine lexical items. He might have been intrigued also by the *Sanas Cormaic* material on *lat*, in which both explanatory and etymological glosses are invoked, seemingly to lend authority to an otherwise-unknown and highly suspect 'word'. Perhaps the best evidence for coining, however, is a pair of glosses found at the end of letter-block M in two largely neglected copies of *Sanas Cormaic*. These copies are preserved sections of manuscripts held in Trinity College, Dublin, which date from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries (Ó Muraíle 1996: 45–48). The glosses in question have not been previously published or discussed. They read:

[19] Statements about the assumed status of headwords are actually extremely unusual in the original dictionary. Apart from *drech* and *lat*, a few other listings note that the headword functions within an etymological context, nine headwords are deemed 'vox nihili', the labels 'nonce-word' or 'nonce-formation' are found six times in all, and twice the dictionary quotes Whitley Stokes' assessment that the lexemes in question are 'mere nonsense and intended to be such'.

menearb .i. dath. Menerbæ .i. bandee dathae.[20]
menerb, i.e. a dye. *Menerbæ*, i.e. the goddess of dyes.

On first impression, these companion pieces seem to consist of an explanatory gloss on a common noun ('*menerb*, i.e. a dye') followed by an etymological gloss in which the name Menerba, identified as 'goddess of dyes', is implicitly derived from this *menerb*. There can be little doubt, though, that *Menerbæ* here is a Gaelicised version of the name of the Roman goddess Minerva, who is said by Isidore of Seville to have first dyed wool.[21] Assuming this is correct, the posited noun *menerb* must have been abstracted from the name rather than being the foundation on which the name was built. Of course, the presumption of *menerb* 'dye' may be an honest inference, but we can be fairly certain that the author of this gloss did not know of any such word in Irish.

It is important to stress that this accretion to the text of *Sanas Cormaic* appears only in sixteenth- or seventeenth-century copies and that little can be said about the date at which this pair of glosses might have been composed. Nevertheless, *menearb .i. dath* seems the most defensible example to have emerged to date of a supposed medieval Irish explanatory gloss that actually has no basis in the language. Its existence inevitably raises questions about the purposes that Irish glosses served at the time when they were composed and incorporated into compendia such as *Sanas Cormaic*, and about the extent to which different types of medieval gloss can be of use to dictionary-makers today.

At one end of the scale are straightforward nuggets of information: these either reliably explain the meaning of a word by providing a synonym (e.g. the explanation of *airténe* as *cloichéne* 'a small stone'; Meyer 1912, § 26) or short elucidatory phrase (e.g. the gloss on *lías* 'a pen'), or they pass on an etymology that is still accepted by linguists (e.g. *balb a balbus*). Material of this kind probably had a role in language conservation and education from the outset, and it provides rich pickings for the modern lexicographer. More complex are Isidorian etymologies such as the proposed derivation of *conar* 'a path' from *cin ar* 'without ploughing' or of *allud* 'fame' from Latin *a laude* 'from praise'. A certain mental agility is required to keep up with

[20] Edited here from Dublin, Trinity College, MS 1317 (H.2.15b), p. 33b8–9 (where the glosses are in the same hand as the preceding entries). An additional subscript *æ* is written between the *-ee* of *bandee*. The other copy of this material can be found on p. 97a7–8 (where these glosses seem to have been written by a different scribe from the foregoing). For comment on Irish scholars' engagement with medieval glossaries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Russell 2008: 17.
[21] *Etymologies*, XIX.xx.

what is going on in these glosses and, presumably, both perceptive readers and the scholars who conceived of these derivations were rewarded for their efforts with a sense of achievement and sometimes amusement.[22] Clearly, glosses of this type offered opportunities for innovation and experiment, but they are based around genuine words (though not all of them are Irish) and, while scholars such as Osborn Bergin may have had little use for what is suggested in these extracts about relationships between various terms, there is nevertheless a wealth of lexical evidence here to be collected and construed. Finally, a significant subcategory of etymological glosses works with word-fragments (e.g. the derivation of *crúach* from *cóir* + *úach-*) and seemingly artificially abstracted forms (e.g. *menerb*). Presumably, to an audience of contemporaries it would have been clear which were real and whole words and which were not, and part of the appeal in producing and consuming this type of material lay in appreciating how formulae and conventions could be harnessed to blur the lines between intellectual play and authentic linguistic information. Several centuries later, it is sometimes a struggle to distinguish between (a) genuine lexical items which obviously belong in an historical dictionary, (b) items which probably ought to be included in a dictionary but only with certain caveats, and (c) forms whose presence in a modern lexicographical resource would be simply misleading.

In conclusion, then: material in the *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (and, consequently, in *eDIL*) which was based on forms found in medieval Irish glossaries requires more intensive revision than material from texts of any other genre. To some degree, this is attributable to the complexity and diversity of the terms covered in these sources, and to the fact that the work of editing and translating, which should have laid the groundwork for incorporation of these terms into a lexicographical resource, had not been carried out to a reasonable standard when the dictionary was being compiled. Such issues were compounded, however, by dictionary editors who were not always well-attuned to the methods and motivations of medieval glossators. What comes across strongly on prolonged exposure to glossaries like *Sanas Cormaic* is that those who composed this type of material delighted in the Irish language and in their own abilities to probe and play with language in general. While they were certainly interested in simple explanations of unusual or uncommon words, the practice of etymological glossing allowed them to experiment, even with word-fragments and probably with deliberately coined words. Frequently, the

[22] As an example of the humour that is occasionally on show in medieval Irish glossaries, *Dúil Dromma Cetta* has the entry: *borr .i. a borra* (leg. *a barro .i. eilefaint* (Binchy 1978: ii 607.24) '*borr* "swollen, thick", i.e. from [Latin] *barrus*, i.e. an elephant'.

editors of the dictionary were overly literal in their engagement with such texts, however. They treated fragments as meaningful units in their own right, and they pursued imagined explanatory glosses when they did not 'get' the creative etymologies that were actually in the texts. Unnecessary and inaccurate listings can be expunged and emended, of course, but arguably material from glossaries like *Sanas Cormaic* would have been integrated more successfully into the historical dictionary of Irish in the first instance had the medieval scholars who worked on these texts been properly appreciated as the people of originality, intelligence and wit they so often show themselves to be.

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PART IV:

THE SLAVIC TRADITION

WHICH DICTIONARY IS BEAUTIFUL, AFFLUENT AND CONCISE AT THE SAME TIME? (IN 15TH-CENTURY POLAND)

KATARZYNA JASIŃSKA,
MAGDALENA KLAPPER
AND DOROTA KOŁODZIEJ

The beginning of Polish lexicography dates back to the first half of the 15th century. Among the medieval bilingual (Latin-Polish) dictionaries, there are two *Mammotrects* and the so-called *Trident Vocabularius*, as well as around 40 manuscripts containing lists of Latin-Polish translation equivalents (Twardzik 2005). These dictionaries differ in scope and quantity of the vocabulary included, but what they have in common is the more or less equal number of Latin and Polish words and the lack of definitions. There are also monolingual Latin dictionaries[1] with added Polish translation of just some of the headwords—glosses supplementing the Latin explanation. This type of dictionaries is being investigated in a project entitled "Polish Vocabulary in 15th-Century Latin Dictionaries Called *Rosarii*: a Comparative Study".[2]

At the beginning of the 15th century, a dictionary called *Vocabularius Ex quo* (abbreviation: VEx) was created in Germany. It was a compilation of other dictionaries, mainly the *Elementarium doctrinae erudimentum* written by Papias, the *Magnae derivationes* by Huguccio of Pisa, the *Catholicon* by John of Genoa and the *Brevilogus*. The VEx was intended to serve poor seminarians, enabling them to better understand Latin texts, especially the Bible in its literal sense. In addition to semantic and

[1] For further information about monolingual Latin dictionaries, cf. Goetz 1923.

[2] The project entitled "Polish Vocabulary in 15th-Century Latin Dictionaries Called *Rosarii*: a Comparative Study", project leader: prof. Ewa Deptuchowa, sponsored by the National Science Centre (decision number: 2016/21/B/HS2/01249) is conducted at the Institute of Polish Language of the Polish Academy of Sciences (2017–2020).

grammatical information, the dictionary included German translations of many lemmata (Grubmüller 1990: 2040–2041).

The popularity of the VEx is reflected in the preservation of about three hundred manuscripts and forty printed copies described in the critical edition by Klaus Grubmüller (1988–2001). They are preserved in libraries in many countries, including Poland. The rich manuscript tradition made individual copies diverse, some clearly adapted to the needs of local recipients. Grubmüller (1988: 113–116) distinguished five main manuscripts and one printed redaction of this dictionary. He also described some manuscripts as a 'free redaction'—clearly deviating from the basic VEx pattern. Among them, there is a manuscript of the Wrocław University Library (Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu), IV Q 95 (Grubmüller 1988: 59).

The RGB Group—a Polish redaction of the VEx

To us, as Polish lexicographers, this manuscript has a special meaning, as it is the only one among the copies of the VEx listed by Grubmüller containing Polish glosses. However, there are six other manuscripts preserved in the collections of several other libraries presenting many similarities to the Wrocław copy. The whole group consists of the following manuscripts:

Name	Manuscript dating	Storage location	Library	Shelfmark
Rosarius Paulinus	1440	Częstochowa	Archiwum Ojców Paulinów na Jasnej Górze	II 25
Rosarius Cracoviensis	1450	Kraków	Archiwum i Biblioteka Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej	Ms 224
Rosarius Vratislaviensis	1450	Wrocław	Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu	IV Q 95
Rosarius Ossolineus I	1457	Wrocław	Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України імені В. Стефаника	Fond 5 DE-520

Rosarius Dominicanus	*ca* 1470	Kraków	Archiwum Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów w Krakowie	XV 12
Rosarius Ossolineus II	1476	Lviv	Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України імені В. Стефаника	Fond 5 DE-431
Rosarius Ossolineus III	XV *p. post.*	Wrocław	Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu	1630/I

In Polish historical lexicography, these dictionaries are known as *rosarii*. This unusual name refers to an excerpt from the *incipit*:

> Presens igitur opusculum non inmerito nu<n>cupatur istis tribus nominibus: granarius uel granarium propter sui vtilitatem, rosarius propter sui decorem, breuilogus propter sui breuilogam tradicionem (1450 *Rosarius Cracoviensis*, fol. 3r).[3]

On the basis of the terms *rosarius*, *granarius*, *brevilogus*, we call this group of manuscripts the RGB group (from the first letters of the dictionary names). Our research has revealed significant differences in the micro- and macro-structure of the RGB dictionaries in relation to the classic VEx: extended introduction, elaborate ending, semantic definition of *Y*-letter section, changed layout and modified system of grammatical symbols, omitted German translation of Latin words and addition of extended definitions of Polish glosses, added and omitted entries.

1. Extended introduction

In the introduction to the RGB redaction of the VEx, we can distinguish three parts: the first one originates from the VEx, and the third is derived

[3] "A granary for its usefulness, a rosarius for its beauty, and a brief lexicon for its conciseness" (our own translation). We do not normalize the spelling of Latin quotations from the manuscripts except for the use of capital and small letters. We also add punctuation marks.

from the *Brevilogus*. The sources of the middle part have not been identified yet. The RGB redactor might have elaborated it.

1.1. Part I

The introduction begins with an enumeration of the sources used during the development of the dictionary. The author did not provide any specific title for his compilation, which is why it is commonly known by the name derived from the *incipit*: "Ex quo vocabularii varii autentici" (Grubmüller 1967: 67). The aforementioned sources are: Papias, Huguccio, the *Catholicon,* and the *Brevilogus*. The author of the RGB redaction expanded the list of his sources with *Exposiciones Vocabulorum Bibliae* by William Brito and a not better specified dictionary called *Puericius*.

Next, information about the purpose of the dictionary is provided:

> [...] ita quod pauperes scolares eosdem de facili pro precio competenti ratione eorum pauperitatis habere ac procurare non valeant, ut tamen eo facilius sacram scripturam litteraliter et partim mistice et spiritualiter intelligere possint (1450 *Rosarius Cracoviensis*, fol. 3r).

The RGB redaction concentrates on providing poor seminarians with easier access to the Holy Scriptures (and no other Latin texts—as the classic VEx does, cf. Grubmüller 1967: 67). Instead, it enriches the literal explanation of words by providing their metaphoric and spiritual senses.

This is followed by a brief description of the dictionary macrostructure: alphabetical order of the lemmata and a concise system of grammatical symbols. The VEx mentions supplementation of the Latin semantic definitions with the German equivalents of the words: "quod Latinum precedat et Theutunicum subiungitur" (Grubmüller 1988: 1).[4] In the RGB redaction, the same fragment reads: "quod Latinum precedat et wlgare subiungatur" (1450 *Rosarius Cracoviensis*, fol. 3r).[5] This change indicates a conscious departure from the VEx pattern and indeed, there are no German words in the text of the dictionary in any of the RGB copies known to us. This does not mean, however, that every omitted German word is replaced by a Polish one. In fact, Polish glosses are scarce.

This part of the introduction ends with an incentive for improvement. According to the passage quoted from the Book of Sirach, the prize for

[4] "Latin precedes and German follows" (our own translation).

[5] "Latin precedes and vernacular follows" (our own translation).

gaining wisdom is eternal life (Eccl. 24, 31): "Qui elucidant me vitam eternam habebunt"[6] (1450 *Rosarius Cracoviensis*, fol. 3r).[7]

1.2. Part II

This part of the introduction proposes three alternative names for the dictionary. First, the redactor calls his work *granarius*, comparing it to a storehouse or granary where nutritious grain is stored: "Ideo quia sicut in granario, id est horree frumenta vtiliora et grana pociora reponuntur" (1450 *Rosarius Cracoviensis*, fol. 3r).

The abundance of words taken from works of various authors is compiled in a concise way, which reminds the RGB redactor of another Latin-German dictionary he knows and uses—the *Brevilogus*. "Sic iste liber continet vocabula vtiliora et pociora ex diuersis voluminibus diuersorum autorum exponencium Sacram Scripturam in hanc massam breuilogam redactam" (1450 *Rosarius Cracoviensis*, fol. 3r). Hence the second proposed name.

Finally, the RGB redactor gives the third name—*rosarius*: "Rosarius quia sicut rosa precellit alios flores odore, decore et pulcro rubore, et confeccio queuis ex rosis preemine" (1450 *Rosarius Cracoviensis*, fol. 3r). The comparison of the dictionary to a rose, which surpasses other flowers in beauty, decorativeness, and aroma, allows him to expose the beauty of his work that surpasses other dictionaries thanks to the wealth of explanations. The author emphasizes that just as a rose can be red or white, the explanations of words (in particular of those taken from the Holy Scriptures) may be either literal or spiritual. And just as a rose is a well-known flower, this book can become the most widely-known dictionary for poor students unable to afford larger dictionaries.

As a summary of this section, the author repeats all three names, emphasizing the usefulness, beauty, and concise structure of his work.

1.3. Part III

This fragment of text was taken from the introduction to the aforementioned *Brevilogus*—an anonymous dictionary from the end of the 14th century. Many of its copies contain German glosses. The *Brevilogus* was one of the

[6] "They that explain me shall have life everlasting" (The Holy Bible 1914: Ecclesiasticus 24, 31). We quote the Holy Scripture using Bible abbreviations from the Vulgate.

[7] In the VEx and the RGB group, the quote was assigned to the Book of Wisdom: "[...] in libro Sapiencie octauo capitulo" (Grubmüller 1988: 1).

main sources of the classic VEx, but the RGB redactor used it again to enrich his dictionary.

And so the introduction to the first entry—*A*—is quoted from the *Brevilogus*:

> Hec enim littera a secundun Isidorun primo libro Ethimologiarum in omnibus lingwis est prior, quia ipsa ora nascenciun apperit. De qua dicitur in hystori<i>s masculus natus recenter dicit a, mulier vero e.[8] Wersus: E profert aut a quisquis procedit ab Ewa, omnis masculus dicit a, e femina profert (1450 *Rosarius Cracoviensis*, fol. 3r).[9]

A is the first letter of the alphabet in all languages, because it is the first sound that a newborn boy makes (as though recalling father Adam). Girls, however, cry *E* (recalling Eve).

The *Brevilogus* is divided into three parts containing nouns, verbs, and indeclinable parts of speech respectively, which is the reason for having three separate alphabetical sequences. The RGB redactor copied this division,[10] despite the fact that his dictionary does not follow the *Brevilogus*. All dictionary entries are arranged in one alphabetical sequence (as in the VEx).

Then the redactor provides the meanings of the Hebrew letter *Aleph* and the Greek *Alpha* (including a quote from the Book of Revelation), and explains the four functions of the letter *A* in Latin. The last one of these—an interjection of despair—is illustrated with another quote from the Bible, the words of Jeremiah: "Aaa domine Deus nescio loqui, quia ego puer sum" (Jer 1, 6).[11] The same quote is also used at the beginning of the introduction to the *Brevilogus*. It is a metaphor of how a young seminarian, who is still unable to proclaim the Word of God, matures to priesthood by learning Latin.

After this introduction, the RGB redactor proceeds to explain the consecutive lemmata based on the VEx.

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[8] The passage: "De qua dicitur in hysteris masculus natus recenter dicit a mulier vero e" is quoted from *De miseria humanae conditionis* by Pope Innocent III.

[9] The passage: "E profert aut a quisquis precedit ab Ewa Omnis masculus dicit a, e femina profert" is quoted from *Postilla super totam Bibliam* by Nicholas of Lyra.

[10] "[…] trinam spacialiter (*pro* specialiter) tradicionem nomen, verborun et parciun indeclinabiliun" (1450 *Rosarius Cracoviensis*, fol. 248r).

[11] "And I said: Ah, ah, ah, Lord God: behold, I cannot speak, for I am a child" (The Holy Bible 1914, Jer. 1, 6).

2. Ending

The second difference between the classic VEx and the RGB group is the presence of an extensive ending after the last lemma. There is no long ending in the classic VEx, just a short *explicit* with basic information about the time and place of the completion of the copyist's work. In the ending of the RGB dictionaries, three parts can be distinguished. The first one is a response to the criticism of the anonymity of the dictionary, the second is a laudation in honor of God and the Saints, the third includes an *explicit* with information about the identity of the copyist and the circumstances of the completion of his work.

2.1. Part I

The first part does not occur in the classic VEx. The author refutes the allegation that his dictionary is *acephalos* (headless)—without either a title or author:

> Attendant derogantes hunc libellum acephalum vocantes id est sine autore uel sine capite, sine [sine] titulo (1450 *Rosarius Cracoviensis*, fol. 248r).

Citing the double meaning of the word *cephas*, he indicates that his work may not have a *head*, but instead it is based on a *rock*, that is on solid and diverse sources:

> Qui vere est cephas, id est caput, eo quod positus est super firmam petram videlicet quia habet autoritatem (1450 *Rosarius Cracoviensis*, fol. 248r).

These sources include: Huguccio, whose dictionary adds significance and prestige to word explanations, Papias and Briton, from whom the interpretation of the Bible vocabulary is taken, and Isidore, whose work is the basis for including etymological information in the dictionary. He also claims that if the meaning of a given word is inconsistent with its contemporary or ancient use, then the dictionary explanation should not criticize or improve the source text, but remain in unity with its author.

2.2. Part II

The reference to the Polish spiritual tradition is most evident in this part of the dictionary:

> Pro fine cuius sit benedictus Deus almus et eius genitrix sancta virgo Maria intacta sanctusque presul Stanislaus pater pius Polonorum patronus, cuius sub vexillo spes tribuitur omni Polono (1450 *Rosarius Cracoviensis*, fol. 248r).

It expresses the praise of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the patrons of Poland: Saint Stanislaus of Szczepanów, Saint Adalbert, as well as angels and John the Baptist.[12] The fragment ends with a plea to God for blessings and prosperity for Poland.

2.3. Part III

This is the most individualized part of the dictionary, where the copyist reveals his name and origin, as well as the time and place of completion of his work. However, not all of these pieces of information were included in every copy. Presenting one's name in the form of a puzzle is an interesting personal touch:

> Explicit granarius per manus cuiusdam pauperis clerici de Schrzypna et est finitus die dominico que [s.] recantabatur Cantate domino can<tate>, sub anno Domini 1440. Non bene finivi, quia melius scribere nesciui. Si bene scripsissem, nomen meum imposuissem. Sed primum est an secundum dre vltimum as est (1440 *Rosarius Paulinus*, fol. 274v–275r).[13]

3. *Y*-Headwords

Another element differentiating the RGB group from the classic VEx is the *Y*-letter section. In accordance with the microstructure of the dictionary, in the typical VEx, under the letter *Y* words starting with this letter and their definitions are listed.[14] Meanwhile, in the RGB group, under the letter *Y* there is only one extended entry regarding the sound/letter *Y*. First, the grammatical properties of the sound are discussed:

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[12] The praise of Saint Adalbert and John the Baptist appears in other copies of *rosarii* (Adalbert: *Rosarius Paulinus* and *Rosarius Vratislaviensis*, John the Baptist: *Rosarius Vratislaviensis*).

[13] "Here ends the granarius by the hand of some poor seminarian from Skrzypna, and it was finished on the day when the "Sing to the Lord" song was sung in 1440. I have not finished well, because I could not write any better. But if I wrote well, I put my name here. First comes an, second comes dre, and last comes as" (our own translation).

[14] The entries are as follows: *Yconia*, *Yconomus*, *Yppotromium* (cf. Grubmüller 1988: 2939).

> Y vocalis est et ideo potest terminare sillabam et incipere quacunque consonante sequente uel precedente sicut omnes vocales faciunt et scribitur tantum (1450 *Rosarius Cracoviensis*, fol. 246v).[15]

It is also pointed out that the letter *Y* is written in words of Greek or barbarian origin.

This remark contributes to a brief discussion of the barbarian languages:

> Barbarum dicitur omne illud lingwayum, quod non est grecum uel hebraicum uel latin <um>. Et sic ydiomata polonica, theutonica, bohemica etc. dicuntur barbarica (1450 *Rosarius Cracoviensis*, fol. 246v).[16]

Among the barbarian languages, the RGB compiler mentions the Polish language, which is yet another Polish trait in the RGB group. Following the remarks on spelling, we find a list of words which start with the letter Y: *yas*, *yaspis*, *ycon*, *yconomus*, *ydea*, *ydia*, *yle*, *yliades*, etc. (1450 *Rosarius Cracoviensis*, fol. 247). However, unlike in the classic VEx, no semantic definitions are given.

4. Differences in layout

All the preserved manuscripts of the RGB redaction have—in contrast to the VEx—a modified graphic layout (the *in continuo* characteristic for the RGB copies and the *a linea* layout "entry below entry", typical of the VEx pattern):

[15] "Y is a vowel and because of that, it can end and start a syllable with any consonant following or preceding it" (our own translation).

[16] "Barbarian are those among the languages which are not Greek, Hebrew or Latin. And thus the Polish, German or Czech language is called barbarian" (our own translation).

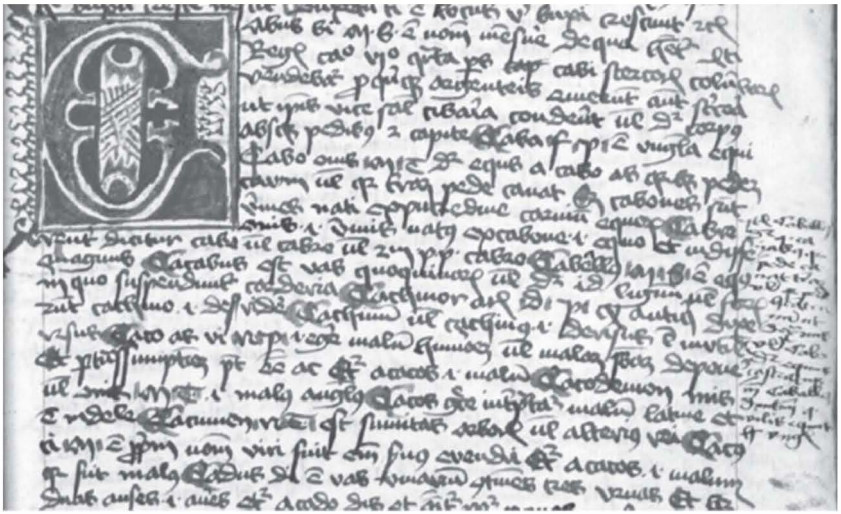

Figure 1. 1450 *Rosarius Cracoviensis*, fol. 31r[17]

[17] We are grateful to the Archiwum Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej (Archives and Library of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter) for allowing us to include the photograph of this fragment of manuscript in the article.

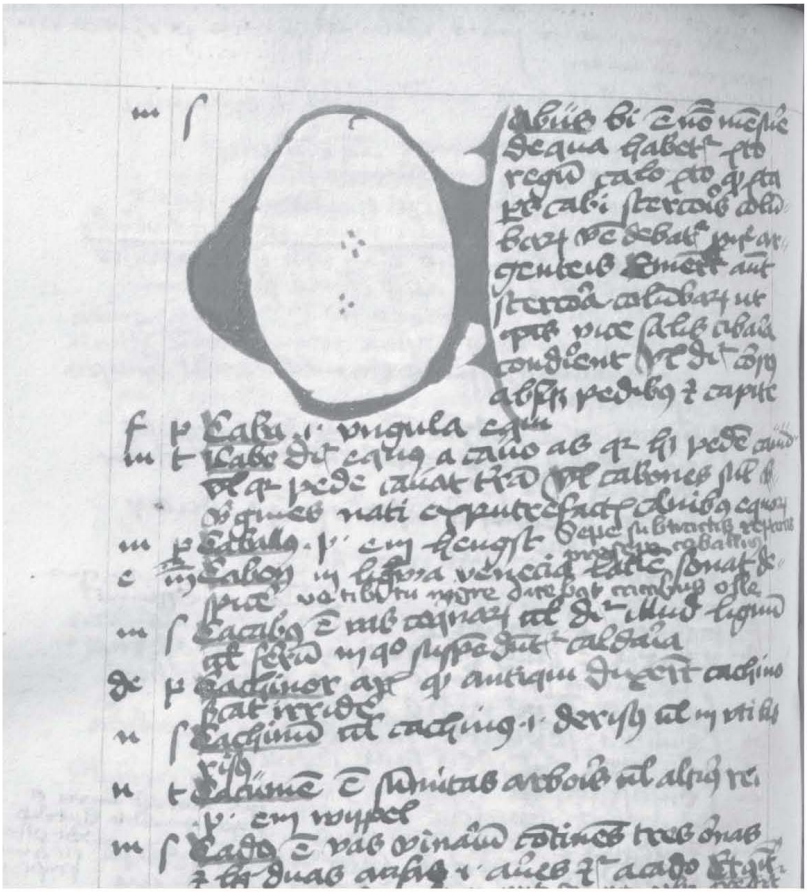

Figure 2. XV *p. post. VExF1*,[18] fol. 51v

Also, the system of grammatical *sigla* is modified. In the RGB copies the *sigla* are placed between the entry and the meaning in the RGB copies, instead of placing each entry in a separate column on the left or right margin, as in the VEx. A typical entry article in the classical VEx and RGB dictionaries consists of the headword, synthetic grammatical information in the form of a *sigla*, and semantic explanation. The brevity of grammatical

[18] Here and further *VExF1* = Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Barth. 136.

information provided in the dictionary is a characteristic feature of the VEx pattern derived from the *Brevilogus*.

Depending on the part of speech represented by a given lemma in the dictionary, the information on the characteristics of each grammatical category varies. In case of nouns and adjectives, gender and declension are indicated, while in case of verbs, conjugation and number are provided. In the VEx, the system of describing grammatical categories is based on their symbolic rendering by means of abbreviations, usually one letter long, thus one abbreviation may be used for defining more than one element of the description. In the manuscripts of the RGB redaction, the system of grammatical description is slightly expanded, making it more individualized. The abbreviations which are employed usually consist of a few letters. Moreover, grammatical information itself is complex and extensive.

The comparison of the two systems of providing grammatical information for a headword with the abbreviations used in the VEx and the RGB is illustrated by the entry *Corvus* ('raven') in the example below:

VEx: Coruus ein rabe epy s 1414 *VExP2*,[19] fol. 38v
RGB: Coruus, vi masculini uel epiceni generis est quedam auis et est nomen 1476 *Rosarius Ossolineus II*, fol. 57v

When describing each noun and adjective headword, not only the nominative singular, but also the inflectional ending of the genitive singular (which facilitates the identification of the inflectional pattern) is typically provided, and the gender determined. In the case of verbs, the infinitive is stated (if the entry in the dictionary appears as the 1st person singular present tense), as well as the ending of the past tense.

5. Substituting German glosses with Polish ones

As a rule, German equivalents of the Latin words included in the VEx are omitted, and sometimes substituted with Polish ones. For a historian of the Polish language, this is the crucial difference between the RGB copies and the VEx. The individual RGB copies contain between 72 and 270 Polish equivalents of Latin words, mostly nouns. These Polish equivalents are added mainly to words which are rarely used, ambiguous, and usually appearing in the Vulgate. These Polish words, although relatively few and scattered, are a valuable source supplementing the lexicon attested in the *Old Polish Dictionary* (Urbańczyk 1953–2002).

[19] Here and further *VExP2* = Praga, Národní knihovna České republiky, I C 36.

Under the Latin headword *Candibulum* ('sieve'), the VEx contains the German equivalent, which in turn is replaced by the Polish gloss *szypen*: 'utensil for sieving or pouring, especially pouring beer' (cf. entry *Sypień* Urbańczyk 1953–2002, VIII 525) in one of the RGB copies.

VEx: Candibulum est instrumentum braxandi schapff 1429 *VExF2*,[20] fol. 56v
RGB: Candibulum est instrumentum braxandi scil. szypen 1457 *Rosarius Ossolineus* I, fol. 44ra

The word *sypień* is attested in the *Old Polish Dictionary*, but the material illustration there lacks reference to this source.

6. Expanding the semantic explanations

In some entries, the definitions are more detailed than in the VEx, e.g. the lemma *Cauma*: 'heat, hot weather':

VEx: Cauma, id est calor uel incedium 1414 *VExP2*, fol. 34v
RGB: Cavma, tis, neutrus tercie, est calor uel incendium uel pluvia calida et est proprie caliditas aeris proveniens a sole, wulgariter ssrzezoga XV *p. post Rosarius Ossolineus* III, fol. 22r

Under the headword *Cauma*, the VEx contains two synonymic Latin equivalents, *calor*: 'heat, swelter' and *incendium*: 'fire', which are also included in one of the RGB copies together with an additional Latin explanation describing the phenomenon in a more precise manner and the Polish gloss *ssrzezoga* rendering the same meaning (cf. entry *Śrężoga* Urbańczyk 1953–2002, IX 39).

7. Adding new entries

The list of headwords in the VEx and the RGB group is not identical. In the analyzed copies of the RGB redaction, some entries are added, some omitted, e.g. the lemma *Cubrum*: 'kind of linen outer garment'.

VEx: ø
RGB: Cubrum, bri, neutrum secundum, est vestis linea, proprie kytla 1450 *Rosarius Cracoviensis*, fol. 48r

[20] Here and further *VExF2* = Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Praed. 105.

In the example above, the Latin headword *Cubrum* noted in the RGB copies does not appear among the entries in the VEx. Similarly, the Latin headword *Cellatrix* (with the German equivalent *ein kelneryn*) noted in the VEx does not appear among the entries of the RGB group:

VEx: Cellatrix ein kelneryn 1414 *VExP2* 35r
RGB: ø

The copies of the VEx are so numerous and diverse that it would be infeasible even for a comprehensive critical edition to take account of all the preserved manuscripts, let alone of all the details differentiating each and every one. As for now, it is impossible to determine which parts of the Latin text of the dictionary are unique to the RGB group (apart from the hypothetically unique fragments quoted above). Further comparative research on the list of headwords and the content of the definitions may lead to the location of such fragments and to finding the immediate link between the VEx and the RGB dictionaries.

Internal diversity of the RGB group

The RGB group is not homogeneous. The known copies differ in terms of time and place of creation, list of entries, and number of Polish glosses. We also found minor linguistic differences in the introduction and in the ending. In order to establish the filiation between the seven preserved copies, we started our research with a comparative analysis of the introductions, endings, and Polish glosses recorded in these manuscripts. Our preliminary study shows that the manuscripts of the RGB redaction we know today are separated from the otherwise unknown original text by a series of intermediate copies.

The research also indicates that within the group of RGB manuscripts, four copies have the most similarities: the *Rosarius Paulinus*, the *Rosarius Ossolineus II*, the *Rosarius Ossolineus III,* and the *Rosarius Dominicanus*. The results of the preliminary research do not allow us to determine the exact filiation of these copies; however, in the entire group, *Rosarius Vratislaviensis* is the most distinctive in every respect. Currently, work is underway to study all the Polish glosses of the entire RGB group. The results will contribute to a better understanding of the manuscripts' affinity.

Conclusions

The individual characteristics and separateness of the RGB group from the VEx model allow us to speak of a Polish adaptation of this dictionary. Despite the differences, it is not a separate lexicographical work, but rather a modification that retains many common features with the VEx. Although this type of dictionary came to Poland through the Czech territory of Silesia, it was adapted to the needs of local users on Polish soil. This is evidenced by the lack of similar manuscripts with Czech glosses (Voleková 2015: 21–22). The copying and further modification of the VEx ended in the fifteenth century due to the decline in popularity of medieval Latin dictionaries and the increasing role of translation dictionaries.

There are indications that, apart from the seven discussed copies, many more were used in Poland. Aleksander Brückner mentioned nine manuscripts from the second half of the 15th century, which he refers to as *granarii* or *rosarii*. (Brückner 1895: 1–52). Around 1890, Brückner conducted a query in the Imperial Library in St. Petersburg (Императорская Публичная библиотека) in search of documents originating from Poland. He concentrated on the oldest manuscripts containing Polish texts or even single words scattered in Latin works. Among them were dictionaries created in Polish monastic libraries, transferred to the Warsaw University Library (Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego) at the beginning of the 19th century and confiscated soon after by the Russians. A substantial collection of these documents returned to Warsaw in 1922, only to be destroyed during the Second World War (Deptuchowa and Frodyma 2018: 89–91).

The only source of information about these dictionaries 'the Petersburg *rosarii*', as we call them is Brückner's article, which lacks a detailed description of the manuscripts or a full list of the Polish glosses they contained. Based on library descriptions (Kaliszuk 2016) and on the passages quoted by Brückner (1895: 1–52), we can assume that at least three copies belonged to the RGB group and the rest represented other lexicographical compilations of the time. The linguistic material he recorded can be compared with the preserved copies, but it is no longer possible to reproduce their full content.

Gathering and comparing linguistic material from 15th-century dictionaries containing Polish glosses allowed us to determine the distinctive features of the RGB redaction and to conduct comparative studies of these copies. All the entries containing Polish glosses are stored

in our database.[21] Our research team is currently working on the semantic and grammatical description of these Polish glosses so as to create a multifunctional monolingual dictionary. Indexes of Latin headwords and their Polish equivalents facilitate Latin-Polish and Polish-Latin queries. Additionally, we intend to search for other similar manuscripts and attempt to identify dictionaries which may provide intermediate links between the VEx and the RGB group.

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[21] For more information about the database *The Rosarii with Polish glosses*, cf. Jasińska, Klapper, Kołodziej 2018.

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FROM GLOSSES TO LEXICONS, OR *THERE AND BACK AGAIN*

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1. Glosses and glossaries

From the very beginning of the Russian literary tradition, the explanation of difficult-to-understand words was very important for readers and editors of Old Russian texts. The first books translated into the Slavic language—the Gospels in the Greek language—already contained transliterations of some Aramaic words accompanied by their Greek equivalents, which were preserved in the Russian translations, cf. *ηλι ηλι λεμα σαβαχθανι; τοῦτ' ἔστιν· θεέ μου θεέ μου, ἱνατί με ἐγκατέλιπες*; (Matt 27: 46[1])—*елwi елwi лема савахтани. еже-сть бж҃е мои бж҃е мои. въскѫѭ мѧ еси оставилъ* (Alexeev et al. 2005: 155); *ραββουνι, ὃ λέγεται διδάσκαλε* (John 20: 16)—*раввоуни. еже наречеть сѧ оучителю* (Alexeev *et al*. 1998: 93). The situation was the same as far as the *Psalter with Expositions on the Psalms* ascribed to Athanasius of Alexandria is concerned: transliterated Hebrew personal and place names and their explanation are present in the Russian text of the 11th century (F.n.1.23) and then formed the first Russian glossary *Words of the Hebrew language* preserved in a Novgorod manuscript of 1282 (Kovtun 1963: 18–30). Although the Greek text of the *Expositions* differs greatly from the text represented in the Russian manuscript, it is still possible to find some similar passages, which served as a basis for the glossary, cf. *Κάδης ἁγία ἑρμηνεύται* in the *Expositions on the Psalms* (PG 27, 153)—"Кадисъ сказаеться святыни"[2] in the Russian translation (Kovtun 1963: 19)—"Кадь, с(вяты)ни" in the *Words of the Hebrew language* (Kovtun 1963: 19).

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[1] Citations from the Greek New Testament are given according to the 28th edition of Nestle-Aland (https://www.nestle-aland.com).

[2] Here and henceforward, citations of the handwritten texts are given in the simplified orthography; words with *titlo* scribal abbreviation mark for frequently written words (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Titlo) are written with missed letters given in round brackets; letters written in manuscripts over lines, are given in italics.

Later, glosses written by Russian scholars and editors appeared. They can be found in the Chronicle of George Hamartolos (Istrin 1920–1930), in the *Euchologion of the Great Church* (Afanasyeva *et al.* 2019: 42–44), in Gennady's Bible (Romodanovskaya 2001), in a Herbal of 1616 (Morozov 2016), and in other works. According to the formal criteria, N. Shaymerdenova divided glosses into 1) marginal, interlinear and explanations inside the texts;[3] 2) one-word and multiword; 3) explanatory, encyclopaedic and etymological. They could be created by the author or the editor and explain foreign or native words (1997). As for their function, L.S. Kovtun enumerated the following types (based on the study of Gennady's Bible): 1) translation of foreign words, 2) foreign words as equivalents to Russian ones, 3) explanation of foreign words, 4) lexicographical description of foreign words, 5) equivalents connected to the assimilation of Church terminology (1991: 191–193). V.A. Romodanovskaya, studying the same text, distinguished lexicographical, variant, and encyclopaedic glosses, cross-indexing and definitions of Latin words from the Latin text (2001: 138–139).

In the 16th century, glosses to Gennady's Bible were united to form a glossary (Pogod., 1287: 103v–106r). The manuscript dates from the 1560s, but according to A.N. Levichkin's assumption, the glossary was compiled not later than 1513 (2014: 267). It contains 225 word entries, made on the glosses in the two Books of Chronicles, the Book of Judith, the Book of Esther, the Book of Wisdom, and the Book of Jeremiah.

2. Glosses as a source for Russian handwritten lexicons

Glossaries and word lists served as the basis for the next stage of Russian lexicography; at the end of the 16th century a new type of lexicographical compilation was created, in which headwords were ordered alphabetically. They were intensively rewritten in the 17th century and much more rarely later, when printed dictionaries appeared. However, there are some copies that date to the 18th, 19th, and even 20th centuries. It is possible to distinguish more than nine types represented in more than 150 manuscripts (Kovtun 1989: 9–10; Kovalenko 2016a; Kovalenko 2018).

Lexicon compilers actively used word lists of *onomastica sacra*, glossaries to the Psalter and to the *Ladder of Divine Ascent* by John Climacus (Kovtun 1963, Kovalenko 2013). Also, they expanded lexicons by creating new word entries based on various sources. Maximus the

[3] In discussing explanations of words given in texts, we do not refer to glosses, although some Russian researchers follow this practice. Various points of view toward this terminological question are set out in the article by A. A. Malyshev 2019.

Greek's works were among their favourites. He often used glosses to explain unknown foreign words and notions, which, in the lexicons, were transformed into word entries, cf.:

Words by Maximus the Greek	Lexicon of David Zamaray
На латыискуıе ересь, глаголемуıе пургаториıиъ, сиречь ıгиь чистителиыи (MDA 42, 13v-14v) To the Latin (Roman Catholic) heresy called *Purgatorion*, that is cleansing fire.	Пургаториıнъ {г}, ıгиь чистителиыи, иже блядет Ориген еретик {Макси(м) Грек}[4] (D446, 192v) Purgatorion (Greek), cleansing fire, about which Origen the heretic talks nonsense (Maximus the Greek).
Псииъ ес(ть) живıтнище пѣкıе крилато тънчаи<шии>[5] якожс прах еже ражает<ся> от дивиих смокıв гл(агол)ем<ыхъ> олѵ̑ифъ, ихже садıв<ии>цы иарокıм вѣшаıт и<а> добрых смокıвиицах <иа> укрѣшлеиие плодовъ их. <Ра>жаеми бо от олѵифъ<ъ пси>ии прилѣтаıще и <при>липаıщес к коицем с<мо>ковиым, крѣпят см<ок>вы, и ие отпадаıт пр(е)ж<де> зрѣльства (MDA 42, 196r) *Psin*[6] is an animal with wings, as light as powder, which is born from wild figs and which is hung, especially by gardeners, on to the good fig trees in order to fix their fruits, because *psins* are born from figs and stick to the figs so that they (figs) do not fall down before they are ripe.	Псинъ {г} ес(ть) живıтиıе иѣкıе, тоичаише, яко прахъ, крплато, раждаемо от дивиих смокvъ, гл(агол)емых олиифъ, ихже садıвиицы иарокıм вѣшаıт иа добрых смокvах иа укрѣшлеиие плодıв ихъ {Макс(им) Грек, ей} (D446, 180v) *Psin* (Greek) is an animal with wings, as light as powder, which is born from wild figs and which is hung, especially by gardeners, on to the good fig trees in order to fix their fruits (Maximus the Greek, 15).

[4] Here and henceforward, words written between lines or in the margins are given in curly brackets.

[5] Letters in angle brackets are reconstructed by the author because of corruption of the text.

[6] Ψήν is 'gall-insect, Cynips psenes, which lives in the fruit of the wild fig and male palm' (Liddell-Scott), in modern classification *Blastophaga psenes*, which pollinates the common fig *Ficus carica*. The source of the comment is Maximus the Greek's translation of the Suidae Lexicon, an encyclopedic lexicon, written in Greek in the 10th century (Ivanov 1969: 78).

Зефѷръ вѣтръ ес(ть) лѣтнии, ти*х* и гладо*к* и бл(а)гопоспѣше*н* кораблеником*м*, скорѣише бо корабли напре*д* пыхае*т* безъ всякаго влънениа, вѣет же о*т* лѣтняго запада, зово*м* по фрязскы превензца (MDA 42, 196r) Zephyr is a summer wind, quiet and smooth and good for seafarers, because it quickly pushes ships without sea motions, blows from the South West, called in Italian *prevenztsa*.

Зефиръ {г}, вѣтръ лѣтнии, тихъ и гладокъ, // и бл(а)гопоспѣше*н* кораблеником*м*, скорѣиши бо корабли напре*д* пхае*т* бе*з* велия волнения, вѣе*т* же о*т* лѣтняго запада; нарицаем же по фрязски превензъца {Макси*м* Гре*к*} (D446, 88r-88v) Zephyr (Greek) is a summer wind, quiet and smooth and good for seafarers, because it quickly pushes ships without sea motions, blows from the South West, called in Italian *prevenztsa* (Maximus the Greek).

Transforming glosses into word entries, the compiler of the lexicon David Zamaray used the same methods that compilers usually employed when working with ordinary texts: they partly shortened text fragments and supplied headwords with a language mark (initial letters of a language name written in cinnabar over a headword) and the literary source (author's name or title) written in the margins. Sometimes they were obliged to structure the text as we can see in the first fragment, where the word explained in the text became a headword in the word entry and its explanation the definition.

3. Glosses in Russian handwritten lexicons

The marginal space of the lexicons contained even more information of various types than ordinary manuscripts. Compilers annotated the literary sources of word entries and, sometimes, the source language of foreign words, using special signs resembling commas for that purpose. In some lexicons, topic groups ("peoples", "animals", "stones", etc.) or the numbers of the lexicon subdivisions were placed there. Accidentally omitted words were inserted in the margins, together with phrases reflecting the attitude of the scribe to the text (for example, "то ложь"—"that is false"). Finally, compilers wrote comments to some words, which they connected to the corresponding words by special marks (lines, points, commas, crosses and so on) placed over the word and near the comment itself. Sometimes—less frequently though—literary sources and comments were inserted over the word to which they belonged.

Glosses (mostly marginal, but occasionally interlinear[7]) in lexicons could be added to both the headword and any part of its definition. As the main goal of these lexicons was to explain difficult-to-understand words, headwords were usually foreign words or collocations transliterated into Cyrillic letters. Having been rewritten many times, these headwords may have been copied with mistakes and compilers had to check them in literary texts or other lexicons. If they found another form, they 1) gave the second headword, as in the word entry "Арсъ, или ареосъ, апрѣль" (Pogod. 1145: 35v)—"Ars or areos, April", 2) wrote a gloss: "Триада (gloss: трианда), троица" (Pogod. 1145, 152r)—"Triada (gloss: trianda), trinity", "Акафисматосъ (gloss: акафисто*), несѣдаленъ" (Pogod. 1143: 22v)—"Akafismatos (gloss: akafisto*), unsittable (referring to a period of time when one should not sit)" or 3) used both options: "Сидеротико, или спиридитико (gloss related to the first part of the word спири: сири), желѣзно" (Yud. 4: 101r)—"Siderotiko or spiriditiko (gloss: *siri*), iron". In the last example, the gloss does not contain the whole word, but only the part which is different. The same method is used in the word entry "●фитин (gloss to the last part of the word тин: тисъ), сирия" (Yud. 4: 77v)—"*●fitin* (gloss: *tis*), Syria" and in "Тмили (with a sign of the gloss over the first letter и: ѣ) ю, помрачали ея" (Yud. 4: 110r)—"*Tmili yu* (gloss: *e*), darken her", where only one letter was changed by means of a gloss.

Glosses which supplied different forms of the headword did not necessarily reflect the process of correction of mistakes, but could also indicate two competing forms from different source languages: "Сардиосъ (gloss: сердоликъ) камень вавилонскии, красенъ аки кровь, обретается в Вавилонѣ, на земли ко ассириом, // прозрачен, имат же силу, целити отоки, и язвы от желѣза бываемы" (Pogod. 1143: 37r–37v)—"*Sardios* (gloss: serdolik), a Babylonian stone, red as blood, which can be found in Babylon, in the land of Assyria, transparent, has power to heal oedemata and ulcers, being from iron". The initial headword is nearer to the Latin word *sardius* 'carnelian', while the word in the gloss is the Greek *σαρδόνυξ*, influenced by folk etymology and rethought as two Russian words *сердце* 'heart' and *лик* 'face' (Vasmer 1964–1973: 3, 605).

Comparing lexicons, a compiler might also find another meaning which was not given in his lexicon, or a lexical variant. One of the options in that case was to give a gloss to the headword: "Ареи (gloss: рѣдки), тяжелы" (Yud. 4: 2v)—"*Arei* (gloss: rare), heavy"; "Щудъ (gloss: исполинъ), гигантъ, еже есть волот" (Pogod. 1145: 171r)—"*Shchud* (gloss: titan), giant that is mighty man". Sometimes a gloss just doubles the definition and it is unclear why the scribe put it here: "Усерязи (gloss: серги), серги"

[7] Interlinear glosses are marked off with an asterisk.

(Pogod. 1145: 158v)—"*Useryazi* (gloss: earring), earring". However, having found a new meaning or variant of the definition, compilers usually wrote glosses to the explanatory part of word entries. The types of semantic relations between explanatory words and words in glosses will be examined below.

Another function of glosses added to the headword was to connect words to each other. This was used only in the lexicon of David Zamaray; he wrote another foreign equivalent with the same meaning which could be found in his lexicon. Here are some examples: "Вѣино (gloss: аравона), залогъ обручителныи жениха с невѣстою" (Yud. 4: 19v)—"*Veino* (gloss: *aravona*), betrothal pledge of the fiancé and fiancée". We will not find the word *aravona* in Yud. 4, as the beginning of the lexicon is lost, but we can assume that such a word entry existed, as it is represented in other lexicons of the same type. For two other entries, it is possible to find referred words. Word entry "Рота (gloss: спира), божба, или полкъ воиновъ" (Yud. 4: 95v)—"*Rota* (gloss: *spira* 'detachment'), oath, or detachment of soldiers" is connected to "Спира, сонмъ, *или* собор" (Yud. 4: 100r)—"*Spira*, gathering or meeting"; "Киркисии (gloss: иподрумие), поле конскаго уристания" (Yud. 4: 57v)—"*Kirkisii* (gloss: *ipodrumiye*), field for horse racing" is connected to "Подрумие, поле или площадь конскаго запуска" (Yud. 4: 87r)—"Podrumiye, field or place for horse racing".

Glosses to the words in the explanatory part of word entries are more frequent and various. We can find there:

1) a Russian word with a very close or the same meaning, which could have the same root: "Выполерование, искусство в бранех (gloss: в воинѣ)" (Yud. 4: 19r)—"*Vypolerovaniye*, art of battle (gloss: war)"; "Рефандаръ, мскам блюститель, сирѣчь конюшеи (gloss: конюхъ)" (Pogod. 1145: 138r)—"*Refandar*, keeper of mules, that is groom (gloss: the same word with another suffix)"; "●склабися, мало усмехнуся (gloss: улыбнуся*)" (Pogod. 1143: 43r)—"*●sklabisya*, grinned a little (gloss: smiled*)". If an explained word and a gloss had similar parts, the compiler of Yud. 4 David Zamaray did not change the whole word, but wrote only the part of the word which was different: "Диалогосъ, двоесловие (gloss: словец)" (Yud. 4: 27v)—"*Dialogos*, dialogue (gloss: *logist*)". Extremely rarely, this method was used by the compiler of Pogod. 1143. In the following word entry, he changed the root of the word, so that instead of поглотити one should read пожрети: "●дон тотурано нъ, ес(ть) звѣр зело велик, яко слона цѣла поглотити (gloss over глот: жре) могии, живет же и на сусѣ, и в водѣ" (Pogod. 1143: 43r)—"*●dontoturanon*, there is a very big animal, which can

eat (gloss: gobble) up an elephant, he lives on dry land and in water". Glosses of this type are the most frequent.

2) a Russian word of the same semantic field: "Стругы, волнобития морская (gloss: рѣчная), еже есть валы" (Pogod. 1145: 147v)—"*Strugi*, breaking waves in the sea (gloss: in the river), that is swell"; "Дустеръ, декабрь (gloss: февра*л*)" (Yud. 4: 30r)—"*Duster*, December (gloss: February)".

3) a Russian word as a classifier, for example: "Василиканъ, чечетка (gloss: птичка)" (Pogod. 1143: 27r)—"*Vasilikan*, redpoll (gloss: small bird)"; "Мерра, горесть (gloss: земля)"—"*Merra* ('Marah'), bitterness (gloss: land)" (Yud. 4: 66v). In the last example, the definition reflects the translation of the Hebrew toponym, as the word in the gloss refers to the type of toponym it belongs to.

4) a Russian equivalent to a foreign word: "Архиеп(и)*с*(ко)пъ, начало посѣтителе*м*, рекше, а҃ (первы)и еп(и)*с*(ко)по*м*, по греч(е)ски бо еп(и)*с*(ко)пъ, а по рус//ски посѣтите*л*; еп(и)*с*(ко)пи (gloss: посетители) бо узаконени поставляеми быва*ти*, яко да посѣща*ют* вѣрны*х*, аще добрѣ е*же* во Х(рист)а Б(ог)а вѣру хранятъ" (Pogod. 1143: 22r–22v)—"*Arkhiyepiskop* ('archbishop'), authority for visitors, that is the first for bishops, as in Greek—bishop, and in Russian—visitor; because bishops (gloss: visitors) are set by law to visit laymen (to observe) if they keep the faith well"; "Фия тирска, Фия есть град именуемъ, тирскии же наричется, поне*ж* во странѣ Тирстеи стоитъ, сего града нѣкая жена порфирокия (gloss: багряноторговавница)... вѣрова во Хр(и)ста" (Pogod. 1145: 161r)—"*Fiya* of Tyre, Fiya is a city named so, it is called "of Tyre" as it is situated in the country of Tyre, a widow porfirokiya (gloss: scarlet robes seller) of this city... believed in Christ"; "Еродиако*н*, с(вя)щенноди*я*ко*н* (gloss to the диако*н*: слуга)" (Yud. 4: 34r)—"*Erodiakon*, hierodeacon (gloss: servant)". A reader could find in glosses translations of foreign words which were transliterated in a way that their meaning was not clear.

5) a foreign equivalent to a Russian word: "Архистратигъ, начало войномъ (gloss: стратигом*ъ*), рекше, начальствуя над воины, по гречески *б*(о) архи начало, а воинъ гл(агол)ется стратигъ" (Pogod. 1145: 25r)—"*Arkhistratig* (ἀρχιστράτηγος), authority for warriors, that is being in command over the warriors (gloss: strategoi), for in Greek *arkhi* is command and warrior is said *strategos*". Here the compiler used the

linguistic information contained in the explanatory part to provide a foreign equivalent to the Russian word.

6) a loaned equivalent to a Russian word: "Ексапсалмы, шестопѣсние (gloss to the пѣсние: псалмы), екса бо гречски шесть, а псалмосъ, пѣснь" (Pogod. 1143: 30v)—"*Eksapsalmy*, the six songs (gloss: psalms), because *eksa* in Greek is six, and *psalmos* is song"; "Али о дияволосъ, но оболгатель" (gloss: диявол) (Pogod. 1145: 33v)—"But *diavolos*, but liar (gloss: devil)". Here the words in the first part are transliterated into Cyrillic Greek forms: *ексапсалмы* contains a Greek numeral in the first part of the word (although the second part is Russified, as it has a Russian ending *-ы*), in the second word entry *о дияволосъ* includes the Greek ending *-оς* and the Greek article *ὁ*. The words in the gloss *псалмы* and *дияволъ* are of foreign origin as well, but they had already existed in the Russian language for a long time, as they occurred in the Gospel and in liturgical books. That is the reason why the compiler gave them as presumably more traditional equivalents to the words *шестопѣсние* and *оболгатель*, which have Russian roots, but are less common.

7) a foreign word gloss to a foreign word: "Водле, и водлугъ, обѣсия пред рѣчию вмѣсто, по; в сицевых, водле (gloss: водлугъ) дѣлъ, еже ес по дѣлом, водле тебе, по тебѣ, тако и в прочих о сих разумѣваи" (Yud. 4: 17v)—"*Vodle* and *vodlug*, put before words instead of "po" in such (phrases), vodle (gloss: vodlug) businesses, that is on business, *vodle* you, on you, and in other (cases) one should understand the same".

8) an additional piece of encyclopaedic information: "Стакта, нѣкая мазь бл(а)гоуханна (gloss: стакта ес сокъ древа змирна), наречена стакта; составлена от разных вещеи, якожс и миро; толкуетжеся стакта заря" (Yud. 4: 96v)—"*Stakta*, certain fragrant ointment (gloss: *stakta* is a sap of myrrh tree) called *stakta*, made up from various things, *stakta* is interpreted as dawn".

9) another syntactical construction: "Уден ене еуморфонъ, нѣсть красно (gloss: не красно ес)" (Pogod. 1145: 157v)—"*Uden ene eumorfon*, is not beautiful (gloss: is unbeautiful)".

10) a correct Russian or foreign word which was occasionally confused with another word of similar spelling. Some mistakes corrupted the sense quite seriously, for example, we can find such slips as *обуается* (*obuvaetsya* '(somebody) puts his shoes on') instead of *обуреается* (*oburevaetsya*

'(somebody) is obsessed') (Pogod. 1145: 33v) or *волкъ* (*volk* 'wolf') instead of *воскъ* (*vosk* 'wax') (Pogod. 1145: 114r). If a mistake was discovered, the scribe could strike out the wrong variant or, maybe when he was less certain, write a gloss. For example, in the word entry "Елпиди, насаждень (gloss: надеждень)" (Pogod. 1145: 68v) the Greek word *ἐλπίδα* 'hope' is explained initially as *nasazhden* 'implanted', while the gloss supplies the more-precise meaning *nadezhden* 'hopeful'. The difference from the ordinary correction here is that the compiler possibly did not know which word was correct and did not simply strike out the wrong one, but inserted a gloss providing a variant reading represented in another manuscript.

4. Handwritten lexicons in the editorial work

Combining data on vocabulary and grammar, handwritten lexicons turned into reference books for editors and scribes, including those working for the Moscow Print Yard. One of the Moscow Print Yard editors was Sergiy Shelonin, a famous scholar from the Solovki monastery. He started his editorial work as a monk at Solovki, and continued it as Print Yard editor in Moscow, where he lived from 1643 until 1652 and prepared for publication the paterica, John of Damascus' works and the *Ladder of Divine Ascent* by John Climacus (Sapozhnikova 2010: 125). When working on manuscripts, he would add a lot of marginal glosses which contained lexical variants, explanations of difficult-to-understand words and links to other books from his library. Some of his manuscripts have references to the lexicons, which he might have had in the monastery.

In *An Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* by John of Damascus (Sol. 310/330 written in 1637), he inserted two references to a lexicon (101r and 166r, upper pagination). Alongside one of them, the lexical variant for the bird name *моксосъ* (*moksos*) is given—*слука* (*sluka*) 'Eurasian woodcock (Scolopax rusticola)' (Sl.11–17 25: 137). It is quite a rare word and can be found starting from the second edition of David Zamaray's lexicon (D446), created in 1632, and in its later editions:

> Слука ес(ть) птица имеием, иже ес(ть) моксосъ, в зимиый год, 6 м(е)с(я)цъ лежит мертва; возрастом иевелика, перие ея красио с желтиио, иоги долгоиьки, обрѣтаетжеся и в руских страиах в дикиx лѣсох, цдѣже липияк болшои; егда же тепло почиет тогда оживет (D446: 219r) *Sluka* is a name of a bird, which is *moksos*, in cold time 6 month lies dead, not big by its height, its feathers are red and yellowish, legs

are long, can be found in the Russian lands in wild forests where large lime-grove; when it feels warmth, then it revives[8].

Presumably, the same lexicon was mentioned by Sergiy, when he made a reference to the word *остреи* 'shelled mollusk' in the *Hexameron* of John the Exarch "алфави*т* букви*н*нои бкува (!) ш҃ " (Sol. 319/339: 264v)—"*Alfavit* in letters, letter *sh*" (although there are other lexicons with a similar word entry). There we can find the following text:

> Шивада (т) животино ес(ть) иѣко*е* в мори иарицаемо пииы, о иейже писаио выше с(ти)*х* цѯ҃и (D446: 260v) *Shivada* is an animal in the sea, called *piny*, it was written about it above, verse 968.

The reference in the Lexicon takes us to another word entry:

> Пииы {ел} ес(ть) животино ес(ть) иѣкое в м*о*ри, при брего*х* стоящее о*т*верзши уста своя, и бываюощи*м* там часты*м* молиия*м*, и виезапу молиия входи*т* усты во виутреняя пииы, оиа же устрашившися затворяе*т* своя чрепииы с молииею и тако в ией о*т* молиия зараждае*т*ся драгии бисе*р*; сия пииы, прообразую*т* Пр(е)*с*(вя)тую Б(огороди)цу, якоже бо пииы и шивады о*т* молиия зачииаю*т* бисеръ, тако и // пр(е)*с*(вя)тая Б(огороди)ца о*т* Д(у)ха С(вя)та луча*т* безцѣнииаго бисера Х(рист)а Б(о)га и(а)шего (D446: 181v 182r) *Piny* {Hellenic} is an animal in the sea, staying near the cost with its mouth open, and as lightning often happens, lightning comes through the mouth inside *piny*, and it being afraid closes its shell with lightning, and precious pearl is conceived by the lightning; these *piny* symbolize the Virgin, as *piny* and *shivady* conceive pearls by the lightning, so the Virgin conceived priceless pearl Christ our Lord by the Holy Spirit.

Below that reference, Sergiy wrote four lexical variants of *остреи*: "шивады и остриды, и пины тоже, ска*л*ки тоже"—"*shivady*, and *ostridy*, also *piny*, also *skalki*". A little bit later in the text, another lexical variant is mentioned—*колхи*, with a link to the lexicon's letter 'K', to the following word entry:

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[8] In the manuscript, Sergiy also makes another link to that lexicon, pointing to the word entry *Сионъ*: "Сионъ ес(ть) гора, иа иейже стои*т* гра*д* Иер(у)*с*(а)ли*м*, иии бо ес(ть) гора Сииа иже ес(ть) во Аравии, о*т*стоящая о*т* Иер(у)*с*(а)лима 18 диеи пѣша ходца, в иейже да*н* бы*с*(ть) ветхий зако*н*" (Arkh. 446: 207v) *Sion* is a mountain, on which Jerusalem stands, there is another mountain *Sinai*, which is in Arabia, standing from Jerusalem 18 days way on foot, where the Old Law was given.

Коиьхи {ла} коиьха иарицается матица жемчюжиая, образом оиа аки крабица, имѣет же в себѣ предѣлы и малы, и велики // аки сусѣчцы, в иихже обрѣтается жемчюгъ и мал, и велик, великии же жемчюгъ бываем в голубиио яице, а вѣсом бываем конха фунтов въ м̑, и въ н̑" (D446: 118v 119r) *Konkha* {Latin} *konkha* is called pearl shell, it is like a chest and has inside divisions small and large, like bins, in which there are pearls small and large, large pearl can be as a dove egg, and weight of *konkha* can be 40 and 50 pounds[9].

So, in one page, Sergiy collected five names for pearl shell, which were used in the Russian language in that period.

In Moscow, in the early 1640s, Sergiy Shelonin started compiling his own lexicon (Plig. 71), based on David Zamaray's lexicographic compilation. He worked on it constantly and, later in the 1640s and soon after 1653, new editions were created (Tikh. 338 and Sol. 18/18). Another one, a shortened version, was written in the 1660s–1670s not long before, or soon after, his death, so it could have been the work of either the scholar himself or of one disciple of his (see for details Sapozhnikova 2010 and Kovalenko 2016b). The consistency of his lexicographic work can be observed in the word entries which he added to his lexicons (it was typical to leave some space after each letter subdivision and write new entries, which can be identified as such because they differ in both handwriting and ink colour). For example, Sergiy added an entry (written by himself, not by his scribe) "Шупа, длань {Симеон Нов(ый) Б(о)гослов, сл(ово), і}"—"*Shupa*, palm {Symeon the New Theologian, Word 14}", based on the gloss in the manuscript on which he was working at the same time—Symeon the New Theologian's works: "отверзоша шупу {сиреч длань} руки" (Sol. 795/905: 91v)—"opened the *shupa* {that is palm} of hand". As a result, the third edition of Sergiy's lexicon became the biggest Russian handwritten lexicon.

As well as transferring glosses from manuscripts into his lexicons, Sergiy made comments to the texts which he was working on using word entries. In this case, not only did he insert the letter division, but also subdivision numbers to locate more precisely the place in the Lexicon. For example, the Psalter compiled in the second part of the 1660s and containing Maximus the Greek's translation of the psalms (Sol. 741/851) has more than 20 references to the Lexicon, allowing the readers to find explanations of animal names, natural phenomena, names of places and obsolete words:

[9] See other legends about pearls in Kovtun 1987.

- еродиево жилище {Алфавит, зиам е, стих, сѵ̑} (Sol. 741/851: 191r) strok's house[10] {*Alfavit*, letter e, verse 240},

cf. in the Lexicon:

> Еродии птица есть велика, подобиа боцяиу, или чапли, живет иа водяиистых мѣстех, велми чадолюбива, и врабие бо птицы около гиѣзда ея жилище имут, егда же отидет в пусто мѣсто и вселится в ие, тогда радуется и веселнтся, по прем(у)дрому словеси. Толкуется еродии киязь заповѣди. Сей и орла забиваетъ и сиѣдаетъ (Sol. 18/18: 202r) *Erodii* is a big bird, similar to a stork or heron, lives in the watery places, very fond of its children, and sparrows have their dwellings near its nest; when it goes away into empty place and dwells there, then it is glad and rejoices, according to the wise saying. *Erodii* is explained a prince of precept. Also it kills the eagle and eats it.

(Later, Sergiy made an addition in the margins: Максим Грек, Псалтыр, пс(а)лом, рг̑.—Maximus the Greek, Psalter, psalm 103.)

- якоже роса Аеръмоиская {зри Алфавит, гл(а)ва, тнѳ.} (Sol. 741/851: 184r) as the dew of Hermon {see *Alfavit*, chapter 259},

cf. in the Lexicon:

> Ливаиъ{жи}, тол. ладаиъ. Во Аравии есть по горам ростут древа иевелики красиы, что товолга; кора иа иих от с(о)лнца сѣдается, и истѣкает из иих ладан, что из ели сѣра, и застывает от с(о)лнца, и тако его сибираютъ (!); а росиой ладан также дѣлают арапы, прибавливают в иего гвоздики, и иных пряных зелей. А турки иазываютъ ладаиное древо, тутсъ, агачь (Sol. 18/18: 290r) *Livan* {Hebrew}, incense. In Arabia, there trees grow in the mountains, not big, fine, like meadow-sweet; their bark cracks because of the sun, and incense flows out, like resin from a fir tree, and gets stiff under the sun, and so it is gathered; and the Arabs make dew incense, they add there cloves and other spicy herbs. Turks call it the incense tree, *tuts*, *agach*.

- от земли Иердаиски и Ермоиимски {Алфавит, с(ти)х, снѕ. земля Заулоня, и Неффалимля.} от горы малы {Алфавит, стих, рчѳ.} (Sol. 741/851: 82r) from the land of Jordan, and of the Hermonites {*Alfavit*, verse 256, land of Jordan and Hermonites}, from the hill Mizar {*Alfavit*, verse 199},

[10] Citations from the Book of Psalms in English are given according to the King James Version (www.bible-center.ru).

cf. in the Lexicon:

Заулонъ {жи}, <...> тол(коваиие) Заулонъ бѣ, ѕ҃ и с(ы)иъ Ияковль, того ради и земля, яже в Палестииѣ *от*дѣлеиа ему, земля Заулоиия иарицается, толкуется же Заулоиъ иощиица (Sol. 18/18: 215r) *Zaulon* {Hebrew}, explanation, *Zaulon* (Zebulun) was the sixth sun of Jacob, and therefore the land which is in Palestine, cut off to him, is called Zebulun's; Zebulun is explained noshscnitsa; Ердаиъ <...> друзии же горы суть под тѣми горами бѣлы суть вельми, и тѣ суть близ Е*р*даиа, то есть земля Заулоия// и иефталимля (!), об оиъ по*л* ердаиа (Sol. 18/18: 184r 184v) *Erdan* <...> other mountains under those mountains are very white, and they are near *Erdan* (Jordan river), that is Zebulun's and Naphtali's land, at the other side of Jordan.

- Прежде даже разумѣти терния вашего рамиа, якоже во гиѣ*въ* пожреть и*х* {Алфави*т*, зиа*м*, р. сти*х*, у҃ѯ҃ѕ҃.} (Sol. 741/851: 98v) Before your pots can feel the thorns, he shall take them away as with a whirlwind, both living, and in his wrath {*Alfavit*, letter *R*, verse 466},

cf. in the Lexicon:

Рамио {жи}, высоко (Sol. 18/18: 392r) *Ramno* {Hebrew}, high.

(The addition in the margin was made later by Sergiy's hand: Пс(а)ло*м*, н҃з—psalm 57.)
One of these particular glosses contains a word taken from the lexicon: "брение {извѣсть, Ал*ф*ави*т*, зна*м*, буки сти*х*, ѯ҃з. зна*м*, к. сти*х*, т҃а.}" (Sol. 741/851: 54v)—"*Breniye* {lime, *Alfavit*, letter *buki*, verse 67, letter K, verse 201}", cf. in the Lexicon:

Бреиие {се*р*}, известь" (Sol. 18/18: 92r) *Breniye* {Serbian}, lime;
Калъ иарицается извѣсть раствореиая иа камеиое здаиие" (Sol. 18/18: 254v) *Kal* is called lime, dissolved for stone building.

Another manuscript—*Das Große Destillierbuch* by Hieronymus Brunschwig (Q.VI.7)—contains a lexical variant at page 8v, which could have been taken from the lexicon (gloss *груша* 'pear' for the word *мандрагора* 'mandrake', cf. "Мандрагоровыя яблока, груши"—"Mandrake fruit, pears" (Sol. 18/18: 303r), but also the whole word entry "Постернакъ, морков дикая"—"Posternak, wild carrot, written in the margin near the plant name *постернака доместика*" (Q.VI.7, 111r) (< lat. Pastinaca domestica). Obviously, this is a copy of the word entry from the

third edition of Sergiy's Lexicon "Постернакъ, дикая морковь" (Sol. 18/18: 386r)—"Posternak, wild carrot".

Sergiy Shelonin's lexicon was also used by other scholars; for example some references to it can be found in three copies of *Words from the scripture, and from the apostolic tradition, and saint fathers' rules about new books* (Levichkin 1999: 48). Still, because of Patriarch Nikon's reforms and the subsequent rise of the Solovetsky Monastery, which began soon after Sergiy Shelonin's death, his lexicons were not widespread.

Conclusions

Glosses played an important role in the history of Russian lexicography. Glosses in the early texts formed glossaries, which were later used, along with onomasticons, collections of Psalm symbols, and the glossary to the *Ladder of Divine Ascent* by John Climacus as basis for alphabetic lexicons. Including glosses was one way to enlarge their volume. As was shown by the example of Maximus the Greek's words, they were taken almost without changes, except for small structural transformations. At the same time, glosses were actively used in the process of compiling and editing lexicons; compilers often wrote them in the margins or between the lines, attaching them to a headword or to any word present in the definition. Glosses had various functions: they contained comments, encyclopaedic information, lexical variants, or synonyms. In some lexicons, glosses contributed to the lexical systematisation, as they connected words with similar meanings. Solovki scholar Sergiy Shelonin was the first to start using the material he had collected for his lexicon to annotate texts. In the process of editing, he either added definitions from the lexicon as explanations for unknown words, or inserted a reference to a particular section of the lexicon in which the word could be found in some manuscripts, whole word entries could be added in the margin.

Thus, we can see that, from their origin in the margins, glosses were transformed into glossary word entries and then included in lexicons, from which they returned once more to the book margins, being used for the explanation of difficult-to-understand words.

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PART V:

THE JAPANESE TRADITION

GLOSSES, GLOSSARIES, DICTIONARIES IN ANCIENT JAPAN: THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE *WAMYŌRUIJUSHŌ*

ANTONIO MANIERI

1. Introduction

The *Wamyōruijushō* (Collection of Japanese Names in Categories, ca. 933), the dictionary which I deal with in this paper, is a turning point in the history of Japanese lexicography and scholarship in general, since it is the oldest extant dictionary that is not just a translation or re-elaboration of Chinese dictionaries, but shows a more deliberate and more developed stage of lexicographic activity based on textual criticism. Despite representing Minamoto no Shitagō's (911–983) juvenile attempt to systematize the world into a dictionary, the construction of the *Wamyōruijushō* reveals certain mechanisms in the development of Japanese lexicography, particularly its transition from a predominantly glossographic activity to a more critical practice, and the changing methods of quoting source materials.

The *Wamyōruijushō* has previously been studied chiefly by Japanese scholars, but not by European or American ones. Besides some references in Karow (1951) and Bailey (1960), which are introductory essays, more recently only Steininger (2017) has dealt with Shitagō's masterpiece. Despite being an outstanding and compelling study on poetics and the practice of Sinitic learning in Heian-period Japan (794–1185), Steininger (2017: 199–200) assesses that the intended use of the *Wamyōruijushō* is not entirely clear since its arrangement into categories makes it difficult to use it as a dictionary for reading. Steininger suggests that the work was predominantly viewed as a primer to be read, rather than a reference book to be consulted at need.

In this paper I would like to show, in particular, the relation between the *Wamyōruijushō* and one of its sources, the *Nihongi shiki* (Personal Notes on the *Chronicle of Japan*). In Shitagō's dictionary, *Nihongi shiki* most frequently refers to a glossary compiled by Yatabe no Kinmochi (?–?) around the early 10th century, but in a larger sense, *Nihongi shiki* is a corpus of glossaries compiled between 812 and 904 and strictly linked to the *Nihon*

shoki (Chronicle of Japan, 720). The *Nihon shoki* is one of the earliest extant texts of Japanese literature and one of the founding texts of Japanese civilization. As glossaries, the *Nihongi shiki* are the earliest such examples produced in Japan and related to a Japanese work. The *Wamyōruijushō*, in its turn, is the first dictionary to quote not only Chinese texts, but also Japanese works, among which the *Nihongi shiki* is afforded a prominent level of authority.

Even within Japanese scholarship, very few studies have focused on the relation between the *Nihongi shiki* and the *Wamyōruijushō*; one such study is Kuranaka Shinobu's (1988) research on the difference between the labels *Nihongi* and *Nihongi shiki* in the *Wamyōruijushō*, which I will discuss below. This detailed study follows a research trend about sources of the *Wamyōruijushō*, whose main contributions are Kuranaka *et al.* (1999) and Lin (2002). All these researches focus on sources, quotations, circulation of books in the construction of the *Wamyōruijushō*, but put little emphasis on the role played by scholar-officials in the emerging of Japanese lexicography. In fact, in general, much attention has been paid to the role played by Buddhism and Buddhist monks in the beginning of Japanese lexicography, but I would like to stress here that, even if the contribution of Buddhist monastic elites is undeniable, the *Wamyōruijushō*, particularly by means of the *Nihongi shiki*, relates the formation of an indigenous lexicography to the context of a different cultural elite, namely that of the scholar-officials. Moreover, I would like to argue that the *Wamyōruijushō* is certainly useful as a primer to be read through, as stated by Steininger (2017), but I think its utility is quite clear since it is also a reference book for formulating texts and, thus, to be consulted at need.

In this paper, I will briefly introduce the context of scholar-officials in which the *Nihongi shiki* and the *Wamyōruijushō* were produced. Then, I will introduce the texts and their interactions, focusing on structure and tradition of the *Wamyōruijushō* and the *Nihongi shiki*. Finally, considering the reasons why Shitagō used the *Nihongi shiki* in the construction of his dictionary, I will show how there is a certain discrepancy of authoritativeness between the simple glosses, that the compiler certainly used, and the glossaries produced in the context of official education. Moreover, I will argue how, in the development of the Japanese lexicographic tradition, there is no straight evolutionary process from interlinear glosses, to glossaries collecting these glosses, to dictionaries.

2. Dictionaries along the Book road

From the 8th to the 10th century, in Japan cultural hegemony was in the hands of the powerful bureaucracy of scholar-officials who administered the state based on penal and civil codes (*ritsuryō*) at central and local levels (in the so-called *ritsuryō* state). These officials received a Chinese education (Ury 1999), as Japan had already received and assimilated Sinitic culture, namely its writing system, socio-ethical systems, sciences and medicine, literature, historiography, Buddhism, etc. This assimilation had a "caractère livresque" (Verschuer 1985: 255), since Sinitic culture had reached Japan thanks to an impressive flow of texts along what Wang Yong (2001) has called the 'Book Road'. At a linguistic level, a sort of diglossia/digraphia characterizes ancient Japan: written Sinitic was the "cosmopolitan written language of prestige, learning, and wide circulation" throughout the whole of East Asia, in contrast to the Japanese vernacular (Kornicki 2018). Since the written medium was essentially the Sinitic one, for the officials (as well as the Buddhist clergy), two main tools were crucial to reading, learning and reproducing texts: "vernacular reading" and dictionaries.

On the one hand, a complex system of glossing Chinese and Japanese texts composed in Sinitic emerged to facilitate the reading at a morphosyntactic level (SVO and isolating Sinitic vs. SOV and agglutinative Japanese) and lexical level. This "vernacular reading" consisted of punctuation and inked marks that offered both morphosyntactic tips and lexical glosses furnishing the Japanese equivalents of Sinitic words, namely by means of Chinese characters used as phonograms (called *man'yōgana*) or, after the 8th century, by means of Japanese-made syllabic scripts (derived from Chinese characters), in particular the so-called *katakana* script (Kornicki 2018: 157–186). On the other hand, Chinese (monolingual) dictionaries also reached Japan and were used there.[1] The very concept of what we now call a "dictionary" is in fact a borrowing from the continent, and because of the nature of the logographic script, we can distinguish dictionaries according to which elements of the characters (shape, sound and

[1] Several glossaries (Ch. *yinyi*, Jp. *ongi*) for the reading of Buddhist scriptures are preserved in the Shōsōin, the treasury of the Tōdai Monastery in Nara, whereas dictionaries such as the *Erya* (Approaching the Correct, 3rd c. BCE) and the *Shuowen jiezi* (Explaining Simple and Analyzing Compound Characters, ca. 121) are recorded in the *Nihonkoku genzai shomokuroku* (Catalog of Writings Currently Held in our Country, 891). Moreover, in the *Gakuryō* (Law on Education) of the Taihō Era Administrative Code of 701, Article 5, which regulates the curriculum for official education, includes the *Erya* among other Chinese classics.

meaning) were taken into account in the ordering of the entries (Yong and Jing 2008).[2]

As mentioned above, the earliest extant glossaries and dictionaries produced in Japan were related to the reading and interpretation of Buddhist scriptures. This is the case, for example, of the *Shin'yaku Kegonkyō ongi shiki* (Personal Notes on Pronunciation and Meaning of the New Version of the *Flower Garland Sūtra*, late 8th century) and the dictionaries *Tenrei banshō meigi* (Words and Meaning of Myriad Shapes in Seal and Clerical Script, 827–835), attributed to the monk Kūkai (774–835),[3] and the *Shinsen jikyō* (Newly Selected Mirror of Graphs, 898–901), compiled by the monk Shōjū (mid 820s–?).[4]

3. Minamoto no Shitagō's *Wamyōruijushō*

The *Wamyōruijushō* is a Sino-Japanese dictionary compiled by the scholar-official Minamoto no Shitagō during the Jōhei era (931–938). About 3,000 Chinese terms (almost solely nouns, except for two verbs and one adjective) are arranged in semantic categories, with notes on Chinese and Japanese pronunciation, Japanese semantic equivalents, and quotations from more than 290 Chinese and Japanese sources, including classics, Buddhist scriptures in their Chinese versions, commentaries, other dictionaries, etc. (Kawase 1955; Kuranaka *et al.* 1999).

Minamoto no Shitagō is one of the thirty-six immortals of Japanese poetry (*sanjūrokkasen*), the canonical list of famous poets compiled by

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[2] Although the organizing principle is based on only one element, in most cases, the entries explicate all three elements of shape, sound and meaning.

[3] It is just a 'modified' *Yupian* (Book of Jades, 543), the Chinese dictionary compiled in China by Gu Yewang (519–581); it includes about 16,000 characters, printed—as in the *Yupian*—in both small seal script and clerical script (two of the codified Chinese scripts), arranged according to 542 radicals and providing the Chinese prommciation in the *fanqie* system. The work was at least partially compiled by Kūkai, since his name appears at the end of the first of its six parts. Kūkai, also known by posthumous name Kōbō daishi or the esoteric name Henjō Kongō, was an esteemed scholar, poet and official who in 804 took part in an official mission to Tang China, where he intended to improve his knowledge of tantric Buddhism; once back in Japan, in fact, he founded the esoteric lineage of Japanese Buddhism known as Shingon (lit. 'true word'). Kūkai brought a copy of the *Yupian* from China to Japan after the official mission of 804. The text is in TBM.

[4] The *Shinsen jikyō*, which contains more than 20,000 characters arranged by radical and meaning, also comes from the *Yupian*, but with a more extensive re-elaboration, since the Japanese equivalents in *man'yōgana* are also included. It also contains a large number of *kokuji*, the characters created in Japan. For the text, see SJ.

Fujiwara no Kintō (966–1041): a lexicographer, literatus and official, he is without a doubt one of the most prominent scholars of 10th-century Japan.[5] Shitagō compiled the dictionary under the command of and for the use of Princess Kinshi (904–938), daughter of the sovereign Daigo (885–930, r. 897–930), as recorded in the preface of the *Wamyōruijushō*:

> [...] Therefore the Princess Kinshi gave me the following order: "I have heard that those who aim to collect the dust, having obtained the higher ranks, devote themselves to meanings and facts; those who break the cassia boughs, passing the exams, compete in picking flowers. But nobody is concerned with the Japanese names. We know one hundred entries of the book titled *Forest of Officials' Poems and Prose*, and the *Master Bai's Collection of Categorized Matters*, in thirty books, which are materials useful for literary writing, but they are useless in dispelling uncertainties about the everyday world. Actually, for this purpose, we have the *Compendium of Classifications*, the *Collection of Chinese Nouns by Mr. Yang*, the *Materia Medica with Yamato Names* compiled by the physician Fukane no Sukehito on royal order, and the *Personal Notes on the Chronicle of Japan* by Yatabe no Kinmochi, governor of the province of Yamashiro. Nevertheless, the *Collection of Chinese Nouns by Mr. Yang* has only ten sections from Yōrō era, and the *Materia Medica with Yamato Names*, compiled during the Engi era, collects only information concerning medicinal herbs. The three books of Kinmochi's *Personal Notes on the Chronicle of Japan* include very ancient words, but few Japanese nouns. The *Compendium of Classifications*, in eight books, and the *Collection of Chinese Nouns by Mr. Yang*, though bearing different titles, have similar contents. And then, there are evident mistakes in compiling. [...] Therefore, I request that you compile a text collecting correct explanations that could

[5] An expert in the Chinese classics, Shitagō also expressed his knowledge in the form of his vast poetic output, ranging from poems in Japanese to poems in Chinese, and in his frequent involvement as arbiter of poetic competitions. Aside from his personal poetic anthology, the *Shitagōshū* (Shitagō's Anthology, 10th century), many of his poems later appeared in state and private anthologies. In 951, the sovereign Murakami (926–967, r. 946–967) appointed him as one of the Five Men of the Pear Chamber (*Nashitsubo no gonin*), a group of poets and scholars—the others being Ōnakatomi no Yoshinobu, 921–991; Kiyohara no Motosuke, 908–990; Sakanoue no Mochiki, ?–?; and Ki no Tokiburni, 922–996—put in charge of the compilation of the second royal anthology, the *Gosen wakashū* (Later Collection of Japanese Poems, 951), and a commentary on the *Man'yōshū* (Collection of Ten Thousand Ages, late 8th century), the latter of which is unfortunately no longer extant (Kannotō 2008).

> be good for my readings" (original text in Nakada 1978: 3–4; emphasis mine).[6]

The princess cites the Chinese encyclopedias *Wenguan cilin* (Forest of Officials' Poems and Prose, 658) and *Baishi shilei* (Master Bai's Collection of Categorized Matters, 9th century),[7] lamenting that these are only good for becoming competent in writing and reading Chinese texts, in particular those necessary for passing the official examinations and obtaining good positions and higher ranks. In fact, "collecting the dust" is a metaphor for "obtaining an appointment": for those trained in the study of classics, obtaining a public appointment is as simple as collecting the dust off the floor, whereas "breaking the cassia boughs" refers to passing the state examinations.[8] Thus, the author (through Kinshi's words) makes an important difference—perhaps the first time such a distinction is drawn by a Japanese writer—between the "Sinitic world", i.e. that of literary writing (of the "wind and moon", in the original), and the "vernacular world", petitioning for an up-to-date lexicographic tool that could connect these two worlds, which in fact are just two sides of the same coin. This differs, therefore, from previous Japanese sources collecting vernacular words, such as the *Benshiki rissei* (Compendium of Classifications, first half of 8th century), the *Yōshi kangoshō* (Collection of Chinese Nouns by Mr. Yang, ca. 720), the *Honzō wamyō* (Materia Medica with Yamato Names, 918) and the *Nihongi shiki* (Personal Notes on the *Chronicle of Japan*). The former two are technical dictionaries for the use of state officials, only surviving thanks to numerous quotations in the *Wamyōruijushō*, and likely to have been organized into categories (Kuranaka 2001, 2001, 2003; Manieri 2012),

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[6] For another translation into English, see Steininger 2017: 247–253; into German, see Karow 1951: 161–162. For an annotated translation into modern Japanese, see also Takahashi & Takahashi 2006: 21–34.

[7] The *Wenguan cilin*, compiled at the behest of emperor Gaozong (628–683, r. 649–683) of Tang under the direction of Xu Jingzong (592–672), is an anthology of texts ranging from the Han period (202 BCE–220 CE) to the Tang period (618–907). The *Baishi shilei*, whose complete title is *Baishi liutie shilei ji* (Master Bai's Collection of Categorized Matters in Six Tablets), is an encyclopedia written by the Tang-period writer and politician Bai Juyi (772–846), one of the most influential Chinese poets in Japan.

[8] The metaphor comes from the 3rd-century Chinese official Xi Shen's biography, included in the *Jinshu* (The Book of the Jin, 648), which tells that Xi Shen, who obtained a position thanks to his brilliant dissertation, told the emperor that his perspicacity was like a bough in a cassia forest and like piece of jade on Mount Kunlun (JS, 1443).

while the *Honzō wamyō* is a botanical dictionary in which Japanese equivalents were paired to a previous Chinese lexicon (Inasaki 2002).

The *Wamyōruijushō* survives in a twenty-book version (*nijikkanbon*) and a ten-book version (*jikkanbon*), but the two versions do not differ only in their respective number of books. The ten-book version excludes the entire section on administrative geography (Books 5–9 of the twenty-book version). Moreover, the internal arrangement of the books is also different: the twenty-book version has 32 sections and 249 subsections, while the ten-book version has 24 main sections divided into a total of 128 subsections. Finally, there is not always complete correspondence between the lemmata in the two versions. In any case, it is difficult to define which of the two is the oldest or the most faithful to the author's intentions, even if some evidence suggests that a so-called *ur*-twenty-book version was compiled earlier (Kuranaka 1988).

There are several testimonies of the two versions, in the form of both manuscripts and print editions. All of the manuscripts are either incomplete or with lacunas, but the two versions have vulgates in the form of printed editions: for the twenty-book version, the *Genna sannen kokatsujiban nijikkanbon* (Movable-type Edition in Twenty Books of the Third Year of Genna Era), an edition printed with movable type and published in 1617 by Nawa Dōen (1595–1648); and, for the ten-book versions, the *Senchū Wamyōruijushō* (Annotated Commentary on the *Wamyōruijushō*), the edition annotated by Kariya Ekisai (1775–1835), completed in 1823 but published only in 1883. The *Senchū Wamyōruijushō* is particularly valuable for the collation of previous manuscripts and for the Ekisai's rich philological comments, most of which consist of *loci similes* of lemmata and quotations.[9]

As for its internal arrangement, the *Wamyōruijushō* follows the traditional arrangement of *leishu*, i.e. the Chinese equivalent of European encyclopedias. More precisely, the *Wamyōruijushō* can also be defined as a *ruijuhensanjo*, a work "composed of selected quotations from classics and arranged according to semantic categories" (Aida 2001).[10]

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[9] For the *Genna sannen kokatsujiban nijikkanbon*, I follow Nakada (1978), and for the *Senchū Wamyōruijushō*, I follow SWMS. Other testimonies are found in Mabuchi (2008) and TBWMS.

[10] It is not so simple to draw a dividing line between dictionaries (and glossaries) and encyclopedias, since both of them make abundant use of quotations. In fact, it is not unfair to say that, at a certain point, there is no clear dividing line between lexicographic activity, *sensu stricto*, and such activities as commentary, epitome and anthology—all definable, according to Aida Mitsuru (2001), as "works composed of selected quotations from classics and arranged according to semantic categories"

In any case, in the *Wamyōruijushō*, the categories are organized as starting from heaven, then progressing to the earth (in the sense of the natural landscape), and finally zeroing in on mankind and its surroundings, namely plants and animals. One major difference with respect to most Chinese *leishu*, such as the *Yiwen leiju* (Collection of Literature Arranged by Categories, 624) or the *Chuxueji* (Notes to First Learning, 728),[11] is the absence of sections dedicated to emperors, imperial decrees and the imperial family, which constitute a chief organizing principle of the Chinese works. Moreover, each section usually consists of subsections in which the listed lemmata are in a semantic relationship of co-hyponymy (usually indicated by 類, Ch. *lèi*, Sino-Jp. *rui*) or meronymy (indicated by 具, Ch. *jù*, Sino-Jp. *gu*).

Finally, in each lemma, the definition is given by quoting one or more Chinese sources. The Sinitic pronunciation is given by means of a homophonous character or by means of the *fanqie* system (lit. 'cut-and-splice', 'countertomy'), where two characters are used to indicate the pronunciation of a third character (character glossed)—the initial of the first character indicating the initial of the character glossed, and the final of the second character indicating the second part (or rhyme) of the character glossed.[12] The Japanese vernacular pronunciation is represented by Chinese characters used as phonograms (*man'yōgana*), and is linked with a Japanese source or marked with some other notation, such as *wamyō* 和名 (lit. 'Japanese name') or *zoku* 俗 (lit. 'vernacular')—the former used when the Japanese equivalent is supported by some form of textual evidence, the latter when the equivalent is found in everyday speech (Tsukishima 1963). Often, notes on pronunciation and vernacular are given in small double-line annotations.

(*ruijuhensanjo* in Japanese). For a discussion on the difference between Chinese encyclopedias and European ones, see Bauer (1966), Bretelle-Establet and Chemla (2007); Drège (2007); and Tian (2017).

[11] The *Yiwen leiju* was written on imperial order by a team of ten compilers headed by Ouyang Xun (557–641). It has 100 books, divided into 46 sections and 727 subsections. Quotations are excerpted from 1431 books from all kinds of literature, most of which survive only in the form of quotations. The *Chuxueji* was written on imperial order by a team of compilers in order to provide a primer for imperial princes. It consists of 30 books, divided into 23 sections and 313 subsections, and its quotations exhibit a particularly literary quality (Tian 2017).

[12] The *fanqie* system was introduced in the 3rd century, and used in dictionaries and commentaries on the classics until the early 20th century (Yong and Jing 2008: 239–243).

To illustrate the structure, I shall use the lemma for *yangwu* 陽烏, the 'three-legged crow'. This lemma is the second one in the dictionary, in Book 1, Section 1 "Heaven", Subsection 1 "The Heavenly Vault", and it reads as follows:

> 陽烏　歷天記云日中有三足烏赤色今案文選謂之陽烏日本記謂之頭八咫烏田氏私記云夜太加良須 (Nakada 1978, 1)
> Sun Crow (*yangwu*). The *Record of the Past* states [that it is] "a three-legged crow in the sun, red in colour". More recently, the *Literary Selection* attests "the sun crow". In the *Chronicle of Japan*, [the sun crow] is called the "eight-span-head crow". *Kinmochi's Personal Notes* state that [its pronunciation is] *yatakarasu*.

The compiler Shitagō then quotes several books and several related expressions to explain the meaning of the Sinitic compound 陽烏, consisting of the character 陽—which is the sinogram for *yang*, the 'positive, bright force' of the Chinese sapiential tradition, contrasting with *yin* ('the negative, dark force'), and here also referring to the sun—and of the character 烏 'crow'. Shitagō supplies the meaning of the compound by quoting a definition (三足烏、赤色 'a three-legged crow, red in color') from the lost Chinese book *Litianji* (Record of the Past, unknown date), which he has probably quoted from other Chinese encyclopedias. Then, he provides further attestations by citing the *Wenxuan* (Literary Selection, early 6th century), a Chinese poetic anthology well-known in Japan. Another definition in Sinitic characters (頭八咫烏 'eight-span-head crow') is excerpted from the Japanese book *Nihon shoki*. Finally, Shitagō provides the Japanese pronunciation/equivalent by quoting, from the *Nihongi shiki*, a string of phonograms (夜太加良須) reading *yatakarasu*, where *yata-* means 'big' and *karasu* means 'crow'. Since other Sinitic words are assigned the same Japanese equivalent, it seems that the lemma is based more on the Japanese name than on the Sinitic entry.

Therefore, in the *Wamyōuijushō*, we find more than just a process of adopting/adapting Chinese material—as it is done in the *Tenrei banshō meigi*, which is just a 'modified' *Yupian* (Book of Jades, 543), and the *Shinsen jikyō*, which also comes from the *Yupian*, but with a more extensive re-elaboration. These two dictionaries have a large dissemination, existing in several manuscripts and, in the case of *Shinsen jikyō*, also in abbreviated manuscripts featuring entries only with Japanese vernacular terms. In all of these cases, however, Chinese materials are adopted and adapted with regard to their product more than to their process: by this, I mean that these glossaries and dictionaries show strong links with the original Chinese

materials, which are re-elaborated to a certain degree, but their production does not reveal a conscious glossographic or lexicographic process. This "consciousness" of glossographic/lexicographic activity, on the other hand, is evident in the *Wamyōruijushō*, and previously only in the *Nihongi shiki*. The result is the first clear, extant example of a dictionary independent from individual texts, not just a translation or re-elaboration of Chinese dictionaries, and exhibiting a more developed stage of Japanese lexicography, as its foundation is philological activity.

4. From the *Nihon shoki*, to the Lectures on *Nihon shoki*, to the *Nihongi shiki*

Nihongi shiki are, thus, glossaries of words in the *Nihon shoki*. The concept of glossary (*ongi* in Japanese) is not new, since there are earlier Chinese models of glossaries containing explanations of difficult words. These glossaries are arranged according to the occurrence of the words within a single text. There is a large output of glossaries linked to Buddhist scriptures, and in fact, the oldest extant Japanese glossary, the above-mentioned *Shin'yaku Kegonkyō ongi shiki*, is also of this kind. The only manuscript of this glossary, dating back to the spring of 794 (Okada 1941: 2) and preserved at the Ogawa Chikanosuke Archive in Kyōto, consists of two volumes; it includes 230 terms occurring in the second Chinese translation, in 80 volumes, of the *Flower Garland Sūtra* (Skt. *Avataṃsakasūtra*, Ch. *Huayanjing*, Jp. *Kegongyō*), realized in 699 by the Khotanese monk Śiksānanda (652–710). [13] Following this second translation, the Chinese monk Huiyuan (673?–743?) compiled the *Huayanjing yunyi* (Pronunciation and Meaning of the New Version of the *Flower Garland Sūtra*, early 8th century), a two-volume glossary of some terms occurring in this new version of the *Flower Garland Sūtra*; the *Kegonkyō ongi shiki* is a Japanese glossary based essentially on Huiyuan's Chinese glossary, but also on a Japanese-language appendix of glosses in the first volume of the *Yiqiejing yinyi* (Pronunciation and Meaning in the

[13] The *Flower Garland Sūtra* is the scripture in which Śākyamuni expounds his teachings immediately after achieving enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree. It was written in Sanskrit in stages, beginning from at least the 1st century CE, and probably compiled from *sūtra*s already in circulation; it is one of the most influential texts in East Asian Buddhism. Besides the translation in 80 books realized under the auspices of the empress Wu Zetian (625–705, r. 690–705), there are two other Chinese translations, the first one a sixty-volume edition made in 420 by the Indian monk Buddhabhadra (359–429), and the third a partial translation edited by Prajñā (?–?) in 810.

Complete Buddhist Canon, ca. 649), by Xuanying (7th century), of which a manuscript copy dating back to 1126 has been preserved in the Hōryū Monastery in Nara (Okada 1941: 1–2).[14] However, Buddhist *ongi*, at least in the early stages, are necessarily related to "foreign" works",[15] whereas the *Nihongi shiki* is the first example to relate to a work produced in Japan.

In this paragraph, I will show how the compilation of the *Nihongi shiki* is the product of a textual exegesis work around one (glossed) text (and one alone), the *Nihon shoki*, in the formal context of "lectures" on the *Nihon shoki*.

The *Nihon shoki*, also known as *Nihongi*,[16] is a mytho-historiographical work in 30 books, written in Sinitic, with some songs in Japanese represented in Chinese characters used as phonograms.[17] It was submitted to the throne by Prince Toneri (676–735) in 720, after a long and complex process of compilation by several authors, probably originating with the history-editing initiative ordered by the sovereign Tenmu (?–686, r. 673–686). This "historiographical project", also including the *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters, 712) and geographical chronicles known as *fudoki* (lit. 'records of lands and their customs'), aimed to legitimate the hegemonic rule of the Yamato clan and the *ritsuryō* state (Ooms 2009).

The text begins with legendary narratives, such as the origin of Heaven and Earth, the origin of deities, the creation of the Japanese archipelago and a foundational myth aimed at legitimating the sacred sovereignty of Japanese monarchs, namely the "descent of the heavenly grandson Ninigi". It ends with the abdication of the sovereign Jitō (645–702, r. 686–697) to her grandson Monmu (683–707, r. 697–707) in 697. As it proceeds toward the 7th century, the work becomes more consistent, but in any case, even later books must be used with care. An interesting element of the textual

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[14] In the *Shin'yaku Kegonkyō ongi shiki*, each lemma includes the meaning, Chinese pronunciation and, most prominently, notes on the Japanese pronunciation/meaning expressed by means of Chinese characters used as phonograms. The text is in Takeuchi (1962). For a study, see Okada (1941).

[15] Another type of glossographic activity in which Japanese equivalents are added to Chinese definitions is evident from five *mokkan* (written wooden tablets) classified as *ongi mokkan* (wooden-tablet glossaries).

[16] *Nihongi* and *Nihon shoki* are two alternative names for the same work and, as stated by Kojima Noriyuki (1962: 287–296), they have been equally used over a long period. Another theory suggests that the original title should be *Nihonsho* (lit. 'a book of Japan'), and that *Nihon shoki* originates from this. For a summary of the debate in English, see Sakamoto (1991: 30–33).

[17] The text is in Sakamoto *et al.* 1967. There exists only a very old English translation of the entire work, which is Aston (1972: 1896).

construction of the work is that variants from 58 different accounts are added to some sections.

The *Nihon shoki* very soon became an authoritative text in official historiography, and a founding text in general. In particular, it became very soon a reference text for students following the "history" curriculum (*kidendō*) of the State University, which focused on Chinese dynastic histories and Chinese *belles lettres*, and recognized as the privileged ladder for bureaucratic promotion (Momo 1947: 207, 243). The members of the "history" curriculum were also in charge of the compiling of other "official histories", collectively known as "six official histories of the country" (*rikkokushi*), the first of which—and the model for all subsequent ones—was the *Nihon shoki*.[18] Moreover, the *Nihon shoki* has been transmitted through a copious textual tradition, essentially comprised of two major families of testimonies, the Furuhon Ms. and the Urabe Ms., even though most of the old manuscripts survive in an incomplete or fragmentary form. Many manuscripts add grammatical or lexical glosses giving vernacular equivalents for some difficult Sinitic words.[19]

What made the *Nihon shoki* authoritative so soon after its compilation and laid the foundation for any "discourse" on the *Nihon shoki* was a series of specific lectures on the work that were held at court between 721 and 965—one every 30 years, more or less—called *Nihon shoki kōen* ('lectures on the *Nihon shoki*'). These lectures had a twofold motivation, both political and practical. At a practical level, the Sinitic language of the text gradually became more and more difficult to understand, and the lectures were useful in clarifying these aspects. But most of all, as stressed by Bialock (2007: 151), at a political level, these lectures, attended by the peak of the nobility and officialdom, represented "a type of 'textual community' in which the oral recitation and explication of the inaugural history helped to reaffirm the

[18] It is followed by the *Shoku Nihongi* (Chronicle of Japan Continued, 797), *Nihon kōki* (Later Records of Japan, 840), *Shoku Nihon kōki* (Later Records of Japan Continued, 866), *Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku* (Veritable Record of the Sovereign Montoku of Japan, 879) and *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* (Veritable Record of Three Reigns of Japan, 901). See Sakamato (1991) and Ury (1999).

[19] This rich manuscript tradition is also linked to the medieval "discourse on the *Nihon shoki*", called the "medieval *Chronicle of Japan*" (*chūsei Nihongi*). In this corpus of treatises, commentaries, anecdotes and origin narratives of shrines and temples, the conception of the Age of Gods found in the *Nihon shoki*, as the foundation of the dynastic authority, is re-interpreted according to medieval esoteric Buddhist discourse. Thus, Buddhist and Indian deities and concepts merged with local and popular cults in order to create a pan-Asiatic and Buddhist worldview (Scheid 2006, Isomae 2010).

bonds between the *tennō* [the monarch] and the court". In other words, through textual interpretation, they tried to unify the plethora of ritual and mythological systems that had emerged in the *ritsuryō* state after the *Nihon shoki*'s compilation. On the one hand, the fact that these lectures were held once every 30 years shows that every generation must have taken part in at least one lecture; on the other hand, the cessation of the lectures in 965 reflects the general crisis in the above-mentioned "history" curriculum of the State University, and the passage from a state based on the *ritsuryō* to the familistic state governed by the Fujiwara.[20]

Facts about these lectures are found in a document called *Nihongi kōrei* (Account of Lectures on the *Chronicle of Japan*, 965), which is a report by the secretariat that survives thanks to its quotation in the *Shaku Nihongi* (The Chronicle of Japan. Explained, ca. 1300), the oldest extant commentary on the *Nihon shoki*, compiled by the Shintō priest Urabe Kanekata (ca. 1278–1306).[21] The document records the year, month and day of each lecture; name of the lecturer; location; year, month and day of the concluding banquet; person who introduced the poems at the banquet; number of poems; and so forth. The data concern seven occasions, as we can see in Table 1.

[20] There exists a vast bibliography on the *Nihon shoki* and its subsidiary texts from the premodern period. For some references in English, see Brownlee (1991), Kōnoshi (1999) and Isomae (2010).

[21] *Shaku Nihongi* is a commentary on the *Nihon shoki*, compiled by Urabe Kanekata between 1274 and 1301. It consists of 28 books grouped into seven sections. Book 1 has some introductory matter on the *Nihon shoki* and other related sources. Book 2 is a glossary with Sino-Japanese readings of Japanese characters occurring in the text (in a few cases, the Japanese reading is given). Book 3 includes some items with further explanation, listed according to their occurrence in the text. Book 4 consists of the dynastic genealogy. Books 5 to 15 present definitions for some words and expressions by quoting other works. Books 16 to 22 include the Japanese readings of the characters. Books 23 to 38 feature Japanese poems composed about materials found in the *Nihon shoki*. Items in each section and in each book are arranged according to their appearance in the *Nihon shoki*, and definitions and comments are furnished by quoting several related sources, such as the *Kojiki*, *Sendai kuji hongi* (Ancient Matters and Fundamental Records of Earlier Ages, 9th–10th century), *Nihongi shiki* and more than 30 *fudoki*. For the text of *Shaku Nihongi*, see Kuroita (1935).

N.	Year	Era name	Sovereign	Lecturer	Banquet
1	721	Yōrō	Genshō (r. 715–724)	?	
2	812–813	Kōnin	Saga (r. 770–781)	Ō no Hitonaga	
3	843–844	Jōwa	Ninmyō (r. 810–850)	Sugano no Takatoshi	
4	878–881	Gangyō	Yōzei (r. 876–884)	Yoshibuchi no Chikanari	yes
5	904–906	Engi	Daigo (r. 897–930)	Fujiwara no Harumi	yes
6	936–943	Jōhei	Suzaku (r. 930–946)	Yatakabe no Kiyomochi	yes
7	965	Kōhō	Murakami (r. 946–967)	Tachibana no Nakatō	

Table 1. List of Lectures on the *Nihon shoki*

Another document useful in reconstructing the lectures is the *Nihongi kyōen waka* (Poems of the Completion Banquet of the Lectures on the *Chronicle of Japan*, 882–943), a two-book anthology of poems composed for the banquets held after three lectures (of the Gangyō, Engi and Jōhei eras). For these banquets, poems were composed in Japanese on themes appropriate to the *Nihon shoki* (Nishizaki 1994; Felt 2017: 332–375). Therefore, this source is useful in determining that the attendees of these lectures, whose names are recorded after each poem, were all state officials, from the lower to the higher ranks.

The lectures were essentially exegetical readings of the text. In particular, some Sinitic words were explained by means of Japanese vernacular terms, even though some changes had occurred between the early lectures, which were more focused on explaining terms, and the later lectures, which were more centered on explaining the contents (Suzuki 2007). There is no record of an entire exegetical lecture, but there are indeed records of the terms explained during the lectures. These records are the *Nihongi shiki*.

As stated previously, by "*Nihongi shiki*" we refer to a corpus consisting of texts in both the direct and indirect tradition, plus some lost texts. The *Honchō shojaku mokuroku* (Catalog of Books of Our Country, latter half of

the 13th c.)[22] records eight "personal notes", one for each lecture, plus another that is not linked to one lecture in particular:

> *Yōrō gonen shiki* (1 volume); *Kōnin yonen shiki* (3 books, by Ō no Hitonaga); *Jōwa rokunen shiki* (by Sugano no Takatoshi); *Gangyō gonen shiki* (1 book, by Yoshibuchi no Chikanari); *Engi yonen shiki* (by Fujiwara no Harumi); *Jōhei rokunen shiki* (by Yatabe no Kinmochi); *Kōhō yonen shiki* (by Tachibana no Nakatō); *Nihongi shiki* (3 books). (Kawamata 1930: 522)

However, the name of the scholar given for each of the "personal notes" is that of the lecturer rather the actual compiler, and, as stressed by Kōnoshi (2009: 67), we have no evidence that the *Honchō shojaku mokuroku*'s author had direct access to these materials, which were probably already lost by the 13th century.[23]

Some "personal notes" from the direct tradition have survived thanks to the Shōkōkan Ms. and the *Nihongi shiki reihon*.

The Shōkōkan Ms. is a manuscript with *fukurotoji* (bound-pocket) binding, dated to "the 6th year of the Enpō era", i.e. 1678. Its copyist is Sassa Munekiyo (1640–1698), and the source from which he copied is the no-longer-extant Hino Manscript. The Shōkōkan Ms. includes three different records, which Kuroita Katsumi (1935), in his anastatic edition, has labeled Kōhon (Text A), Otsuhon (Text B) and Heibon (Text C). In fact, Texts B and C have been regarded (Nishimiya 1969) as 12th-century works based on 10th- and 11th-century materials. Text A comprises the personal notes produced after the Kōnin era lecture, so it is also called *Kōnin shiki* (Personal Notes of the Kōnin Era). It consists of a preface, three sections of words and expressions in Sinitic with interlinear vernacular glosses in *katakana* script (sometimes longer explanations in Sinitic are also given), and at the end, a postscript by Morikata (?–?). The order of the lemmata follows the appearance of each word in the *Nihon shoki*; specifically, Section 1 covers terms from the Age of Gods to Jinmu's reign, Section 2 from Nintoku's to Bidatsu's reign, and Section 3 from Yōmei's to Jitō's reign. The use of *katakana* script suggests that this record had an original core to which later changes were added.

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[22] It is an anonymous catalog including only books written in Japan. It collects more than 500 titles, organized into 20 categories.

[23] Other than the *Nihongi shiki*, the *Honchō shojaku mokuroku* (Kawamata 1930: 523) also cites the *Nihongi mondō* (Questions and Answers on the *Chronicle of Japan*, unknown date), whose question-and-answer format is also found in some *Nihongi shiki*.

The *Nihongi shiki reihon* is a movable-type printed book, the beginning of which is lost, preserved at Mutobe Katsuki's Archive in Kyōto and labeled as Teibon (Text D) by Kuroita (1935). It was produced after the Jōhei era lecture, so it is also called *Jōhei shiki*. It has a different format from the *Nihongi shiki* in the Shōkōkan Ms., since it consists of a question-and-answer format in which the question starts with the character 問 (lit. 'question') and ends with expressions such as: 其意如何 ('what is the meaning of that?'), 其由如何 ('what is the reason for that?'), 其解如何 ('what is the interpretation of that?') and 若有其説乎 ('is there any theory for that?'). The answer always starts with the expression 師説, meaning 'teacher's comment', and is usually based on previous scholarship, including previous lectures on the *Nihon shoki*, *Kojiki*, etc. Moreover, this form of commentary is also to be considered as a glossographic work, since in many cases the Japanese readings of the Chinese expressions are also furnished in *man'yōgana* script.

As far as the indirect tradition is concerned, we have several quotations from a glossary known as the *Kinmochi (nihongi) shiki* in two main sources: the *Wamyōruijushō*, where it is labeled as *Nihongi shiki* or *Denshi shiki* (Personale Notes of Master Yatabe),[24] and the *Shaku Nihongi*, where it is labeled as *Kinmochi shiki*. There is a tendency to consider them the same work, in spite of previous debate (Suzuki 2006). The author, as suggested by the titles, is Yatabe no Kinmochi. As a student, he took part in the Engi-era lecture (904–906); in the *Nihongi kyōen waka*, among the poems recited during the closing banquet of the Engi-era lecture, there are two poems (the seventh and the eighth) composed by a "Yatabe no Kinmochi, student with right to court rank due to parent's position, Junior 7th rank lower". Thirty years later, on the occasion of the Jōhei-era lecture, he became the lecture master, as also recorded in the *Nihongi kōrei*. However, the *Kinmochi shiki* is not related to the Jōhei lecture, which took place between 936 and 943, and is further quoted in the *Wamyōruijushō*, whose datation is not precise, but is during the same Jōhei era, i.e. from 931 to 938. On the contrary, the *Kinmochi shiki* consists of preparatory material for attending the Engi-era lecture, based on previous material, namely a private record related to a Gangyō-era lecture and composed by Yatabe no Nazane (?–900), who was the father or brother of Kinmochi and attended the Engi-era lecture. Nevertheless, the same *Kinmochi shiki* is used in different ways in the *Wamyōruijushō* and the *Shaku Nihongi*, since in the former only glosses of

[24] In *Denshi* 田氏, *shi* 氏 is character for 'mister/master' and *den* 田 is the second character (*ta*) of the name Yatabe no Kimnochi 矢田部公望, read in its Chinese-origin prommciation.

the Japanese readings are quoted, whereas in the latter longer explanations are also reproduced.

Moreover, as for quotations in the *Wamyōruijushō*, whose compilation was more or less contemporary with the Jōhei lecture delivered by Yatabe no Kinmochi, I suppose that Shitagō considered Kinmochi's record an authoritative source for the role played by Kinmochi in those years.

5. From the *Nihongi shiki* to the *Wamyōruijushō*

In the two versions of the *Wamyōruijushō*, there are 79 quotations from the *Nihongi shiki*, but there is in fact a certain discrepancy in that the other 35 quotations are marked as *Nihongi shiki* in ten-book version and *Nihongi* in the twenty-book version. In particular:

- 63 quotations are common to the two versions and in both of them they are attributed to the *Nihongi shiki*;
- 14 quotations from the *Nihongi shiki* appear only in the ten-book version;
- 2 quotations from the *Nihongi shiki* appear only in the twenty-book version;
- 35 quotations are attributed to the *Nihongi shiki* in the ten-book version, but to the *Nihongi* in the twenty-book version.

In addition, there are:

- 2 quotations common to the two versions and in both of them attributed to the *Nihongi*;
- 1 quotation attributed to the *Nihongi* found only in the ten-book version.

In any case, we can count 114 quotations in total from the *Nihongi shiki*. Nishimiya Kazutami (1969) suggests that both labels refer to the *Nihongi shiki*, whereas Kuranaka Shinobu (1988) argues that *Nihongi* refers to glosses added directly to the text and *Nihongi shiki* refers to glossaries. In particular, she argues that it is the ten-book version that places emphasis on the *Nihongi shiki*. In fact, in the twenty-book version, there is a preference for Japanese equivalents chosen from that period's most commonly used vernacular words, whereas in the ten-book version, there is a preference for equivalents excerpted from previous books by means of exegetical interpreting.

Taking the twenty-book version into consideration, we may note that most of the quotations from the *Nihon shoki* and the *Nihongi shiki* are concentrated in five books. In Book 1 there are twelve quotations, in entries on natural phenomena and the landscape. Twenty-nine quotations are in Book 2, in particular eleven entries on deities, four on demons and fourteen on mankind, specifically on words for differences in age or for kinship. In Book 10, there are nine quotations about dwellings and streets. In Book 13, there are ten quotations, of which seven are about rituals and celebrations. In Book 18, there are thirteen quotations, ten of which are about birds. Of all the other quotations scattered across different books, I would also like to point out that eleven are related to plants/trees, cereals and *sake*.

In my opinion, two main lexical domains are represented here. The first macro-domain, consisting of terms for deities, demons and rituals, is clearly related to the worship of indigenous deities and to shrine rituals. In this domain, cereals (rice, millet) and *sake* are included, the importance of these products to agricultural cults being well known. From a more interpretative standpoint, birds also have a particular role in these beliefs: they are considered sacred creatures, often flying between this and the other world, contributing to the movements of the sun and carrying the spirits of the rice.

On the other hand, the fourteen terms related to mankind, especially to family relations, and those about dwellings and streets seem to be related to the sphere of social ethics, namely the Confucian tradition.

On the contrary, there are few quotations from the *Nihongi shiki* in all the sections (and subsections) in Books 11 to 15 that are strictly linked to what we can define as technical and practical knowledge, i.e. knowledge oriented toward specific applications that are particular and concrete (called *technai* in the European tradition). This technical-practical knowledge is disseminated throughout the *Wamyōuijushō*, but it is concentrated in the central books, from 11 to 15. In these books, to furnish the Japanese equivalents of each lemma, Shitagō only quotes the *Nihongi shiki* very few times, preferring other works that are also cited in the preface, namely the *Yōshi kangoshō* and the *Benshiki rissei*. As previously observed by Kuranaka Susumu (2002), the lexical domains covered by these dictionaries (bovines and horses, vehicles, textiles, agriculture, aquaculture, hunting and falconry, metallurgy) are technical and linked strictly with lower-ranking state officials. In other words, these dictionaries provide insights into several technical terminologies that are not attested in canonical written sources, such as poetry and historiography. In other studies (Manieri 2012), I have shown how terms quoted by these dictionaries are in fact also attested only in practical documents on wooden tablets and paper, such as transit passes, public advice, registers, balance sheets, etc. I have also shown that these

documents and the particular lexicon attested there reflect the domain of low-rank officials.

As a matter of fact, we can also highlight how in the construction of the *Wamyōruijushō*, the compiler seems to privilege specialized and authoritative sources for every field in the dictionary. As for heavy and solemn matters, such as indigenous religious beliefs and Confucian ethics, he prefers to refer to the founding texts of those cults and social principles, the *Nihon shoki*. In particular, he chooses glossaries known as *Nihongi shiki* because they propose an orthodox reading of the text that can hardly be confuted. I will now provide some examples in order to clarify the relationship between the *Wamyōruijushō* and the *Nihongi shiki* and *Nihon shoki*.

5.1 From glossary to dictionary: Once again on the "sun crow"

In section 2, I provided an exemplar entry from the *Wamyōruijushō* by quoting the lemma on the "sun crow". In the lemma, Shitagō furnishes the semantogram 頭八咫烏 ('eight-span [八咫] head [頭] crow [烏]') as the equivalent of 陽烏 ('sun crow') and 三足烏 ('three-legged crow'). The semantogram 'eight-span-head crow' is said to be attested in the *Nihon shoki*. It occurs in Book 3 of the *Nihon shoki*, regarding the legendary sovereign Jinmu:

> 既而皇師、欲趣中洲。而山中嶮絕、無復可行之路。乃棲遑不知其所跋涉。時夜夢、天照大神訓于天皇曰、朕今遣頭八咫烏。宜以為郷導者。果有頭八咫烏、自空翔降。天皇曰、此烏之來、自叶祥夢。大哉、赫矣。我皇祖天照大神、欲以助成基業乎。(Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: 194--197; emphasis mine)
>
> Accordingly the supreme sovereign led the army and wanted to enter the central land. However, the mountains were steep, and the lack of a road made it difficult to proceed or go back. So they were in a state of disorder, and did not know where to step. That night, the supreme sovereign had a dream and was instructed by the great goddess Amaterasu, who said: "I will send you the eight-span-head crow, and he should guide you through the land." Then the eight-span-head crow flew down from the sky. The supreme sovereign said, "This crow's coming is just like in my dream. Wonderful! My ancestor the great goddess Amaterasu wants to help me in building this realm."

Jinmu was the great-grandson of Ninigi, the 'heavenly' grandson of the female sun deity Amaterasu who was sent to Earth. In the passage above, Jinmu is leading the migration eastward in order to conquer the Land of Yamato, and in this he is guided by the crow, a creature found in the

mythologies of various East Asian cultures, where it is believed to inhabit and represent the sun.

In the *Kinmochi shiki*, as quoted by the *Wamyōruijushō*, the string 頭八咫烏 is given the vernacular equivalent 夜太加良須 in *man'yōgana* script. As for the other *Nihongi shiki*, there is also an entry related to the character string 頭八咫烏 in Text A of the Shōkōkan Ms., where it follows the appearance of the word in the *Nihon shoki*, and where it is glossed by the interlinear *katakana* syllabic script as ヤタカラス, i.e. *yatakarasu* (Kuroita 1935: 21).

Looking at the *Nihon shoki* manuscript glosses, we find a gloss recording the pronunciation *yatakarasu*, in *katakana* syllables, just like in Text A of the *Nihongi shiki*; it appears on folio 7 verso of the *Nihon shoki* Kitano Ms., which is the oldest extant manuscript of Book 3 of the *Nihon shoki*, dating back to 1519–1536. It is not a very ancient manuscript, and belongs to the Urabe manuscript family, but also assembles materials from other testimonies. We do not know if this gloss was copied directly from another manuscript of the *Nihon shoki*, from the *Nihongi shiki* or from the *Wamyōruijushō*, but in this case, there is a correspondence between the glosses in the manuscript, the glossary and the two versions of *Wamyōruijushō*; moreover, since the Urabe manuscript family is regarded as the most authoritative group of manuscripts, what I would like to stress here is the sheer agreement in the orthodox reading of the text.

5.2 Gloss or glossary? Some discrepancies between the two versions of the *Wamyōruijushō*

The lemma 海神 'god of the sea' exhibits a certain discrepancy in the two versions, since it occurs in two different positions and with slightly different quotations. In the twenty-book version, it occurs in Book 2, Section 5 "Demons and Deities", Subsection 16 "Deities and Spirits". In the ten-book edition, it occurs in Book 1, Section 1 "Heaven and Earth", Subsection 3 "Deities and Spirits". The lemma reads as follows in the two versions:

	Text	Translation
Twenty-book version	海神　文選海賦云海童即海神也　日本紀云海神和名和太豆美乃加美 (Nakada 1978: 11)	God of the sea. The *Rhapsody on the Sea* in the *Literary Selection* attests [that] "the child of the sea, in other words, is the god of the sea". The *Chronicle of Japan* attests "god of the sea" (in vernacular, *wata tsu mi no kami*).

Ten-book version	海神　文選海賦云海童於是宴語海童則海神也日本紀私記云海神和名和多豆美 (SWMS: 19)	God of the sea. The *Rhapsody on the Sea* in the *Literary Selection* attests [that] "the child of the sea had a banquet here" ("child of the Sea, in other words, god of the sea"). The *Personal Notes on the Chronicle of Japan* attest "god of the sea" (in vernacular, *wata tsu mi*).

Table 2. 'God of the sea' lemma

The twenty-book version contains a shorter quotation from the *Wenxuan* (Literary Selection), and the vernacular equivalent, which is longer, is attributed to the *Nihongi*, not to the glossary. The passage is quoted from Book 1 of the *Nihon shoki*, where deities ruling the upper, middle and lower seas were created when Izanagi was bathing himself after returning from the "Yomi" underworld.

> 又生海神等、號少童命。 (Sakamoto *et al.* 1967: Vol. 1, 91; emphasis mine)
> Then the gods of the sea were born, called the "Little Child Lords".

Glosses for the 'god of the sea' in several sources read the character compound in different ways.

Manuscript	Gloss
Tankaku Ms. (1306 – Fumhon Ms. family)	*[umi] no kami*
Naikaku Ms. (1598 – Urabe Ms. family)	*wata tsu mi no kamu*
Nihongi shiki Text A (Kuroita 1935: 19)	*wata tsu mi*

Table 3. 'God of the sea' glosses

The Tankaku Ms., which belongs to the Furuhon Ms. family, provides a lexical gloss only for the character 神, which is read *kami*, whereas the Naikaku Ms., belonging to the Urabe Ms. family, has a lexico-grammatical gloss for the compound, which is read '*wata tsu mi no kamu*'. This *wata tsu mi no kamu* is very similar to the quotation in the twenty-book versions, with the sole difference of the last syllable, which is "*mi*" in the *Wamyōruijushō* and "*mu*" in the manuscript gloss; however, *kamu* and *kami* are variants of the same word. The gloss in Text A is *wata tsu mi*, and it is the same as in the ten-book version. Therefore, the ten-book version is quoting a glossary, as is in fact noted. But the twenty-book version, which

attributes the vernacular equivalent to the *Nihon shoki*, is actually quoting an interlinear gloss of the text.

The glossary (and thus the ten-book version) equivalent is more appropriate, since *wata* is an Old Japanese word for 'sea, ocean'; *tsu* is a possessive particle; and *mi* means 'deity, lord, god' (as also in *yama tsu mi*, lit. 'deities of the mountains'). On the other hand, the expression *wata tsu mi no kami* (or *kamu*) is not as accurate, since *no* is another (more recent) particle of possession, and *kami* a (more recent) word for 'deity, lord, god'.

Therefore, the gloss *watatsumi no kami* is pleonastic, and demonstrates a sort of crystallized circulation of the word *watatsumi*, which later in fact is also considered as a proper name. In my opinion, the glossary's *wata tsu mi* expresses a philologically sound reading, which is easily confirmed, because of the official context, by consulting the orthodox reading of the text as used in official lectures.

Another example of discrepancy between the two versions is given by the lemma 渡子 'ferryman'.

	Text	Translation
Twenty-book version	渉人 [...] 日本紀 云渡子和多之毛利一云和多利毛利 (Nakada 1978: 16)	Ferryman. [...] The *Chronicle of Japan* attests "ferryman" (*watashimori*). According to another reading (*watarimori*).
Ten-book version	渡子 [...] 日本紀私記云渡子和多利毛利今案俗云和多之毛利 (SWMS: 52)	Ferryman. [...] The *Personal Notes on the Chronicle of Japan* attest "ferryman" (*watarimori*, nowadays *watashimori*).

Table 4. 'Ferryman' lemma

Again, there is a certain discrepancy between the ten-book version and the twenty-book version, since the Chinese compound 渡子 meaning 'the man who crosses (the sea)' is linked to two readings: *watarimori* in the ten-book edition, attributed to the *Nihongi shiki*, and *watashimori* in the twenty-book edition, attributed to the *Nihongi*. *Watarimori* and *watashimori* have similar origins: *mori* is a word for 'person in charge, caretaker, watchman', whereas *watashi* and *watari* are the nominal forms of two verbs, *watasu* and *wataru*, which are, respectively, the transitive and intransitive variants of the root "*wat-*" meaning 'crossing'. Thus, *watarimori* (lit. 'a person who crosses') seems more accurate, since *watashimori* (lit. 'a person who crosses s.t.') would need a sort of object preceding it.

Unfortunately, Text A of the *Nihongi shiki* does not attest the "*watarimori*" reading, but a special hint is found in the oldest extant

manuscript of Book 11 of the *Nihon shoki*, where the word occurs. In the Maedabon Ms., there is a gloss for 'ferryman' that gives the reading "*watashimori*" (as in the twenty-book version), but there is another interlinear gloss reading "*watarimori*" with the notation "Yōrō". It may refer to the Yōrō-era lecture on the *Nihon shoki*, thus quoting an authoritative, orthodox source for reading the *Nihon shoki*.

Therefore, in these two examples, we can recognize two different stages in the construction of the *Wamyōruijushō*, reflected in the two different versions of the dictionary and also demonstrating different uses of the *Nihongi shiki*, as previously stressed by Kuranaka Shinobu (1988). In the first stage, reflected in the twenty-book version, the compiler seems to excerpt some Japanese equivalents directly from glosses of the *Nihon shoki*, as the note *Nihongi* also indicate, but these excerpted glosses do not seem very accurate. In the second stage, the compiler seems to be conscious of his mistakes, and the two inaccurate glosses *watatsumi no kami* (which shows some pleonasm) and *watashimori* (inaccurate) are changed into *watatsumi* and *watarimori*. In changing the equivalents, the source also changes, becoming the *Nihongi shiki*. Therefore, in the case of both *watatsumi* and *watashimori*, we find a sort of emendation aimed at restoring a more accurate reading, taking into account the reference to materials produced in the context of official lectures, as the *Nihongi shiki* and corrections of the interlinear glosses also attest.

5.3 Authority in "teacher's comments"

The official nature of the lecture and thus the authority of the master contribute to making the *Nihongi shiki* definitive, a fact that is also evident from further notes that appear on some quotations from the *Nihongi shiki* in the *Wamyōuijushō*, namely *shisetsu* 師説, literally 'master's/teacher's explanation/comment'.

There are three *shisetsu* labels on material from the *Nihongi shiki* and/or *Nihongi* in both versions of *Wamyōruijushō*, also with some discrepancies:

		Text	Translation
1	Twenty-book version	山神 [...] 日本紀云山祇 (Nakada 1978: 11)	God of the mountains [...] The *Chronicle of Japan* attests "god of the mountains."
	Ten-book version	山神 [...] 日本紀私記云 山祇師説夜万都美 (SWMS: 19)	God of the mountains [...] The *Personal Notes on the Chronicle of Japan* attest "god of the mountains" (master's comment: *yama tsu mi*.)

2	Twenty-book version	疇 [...] 日本紀師説八太介 (Nakada 1978: 6)	Field [...] The *Chronicle of Japan* master's comment [is] (*hatake*).
3	Twenty-book version	乳母 日本紀師説女乃於止 [...] (Nakada, 1978: 13)	Wet nurse The *Chronicle of Japan* master's comment [is] (*menooto*) [...].

Table 5. 'God of the mountains' lemma

The label "*shisetsu*" refers to explanations offered by the master while commenting on a certain text in public or private lectures, and in the *Wamyōruijushō* it is also applied—besides to the *Nihongi shiki*—to several other works, the most important and frequent being two Chinese texts, the *Wenxuan* and the *Youxianku* (The Dwelling of Playful Immortals). The former is the earliest extant Chinese anthology arranged by genre, widely read also in other East Asian countries and transmitted to Japan as early as the 8th century, becoming a required reading in official education and the object of a rich manuscript tradition (Knechtges 2015). Shitagō quotes commentaries rather than original texts or, in some cases, the lecture on *Wenxuan*, as shown by Yin Xianhua (2009). The latter is a novel written by Zhang Zhuo (660–732), and describes how a traveler spends one night in a strange hostel, where he meets two singing girls recounting their anecdotes and stories. It was lost in China but survived in Japan, where it is preserved in several extant Japanese manuscripts. Kuranaka Susumu (1967) has shown that the words in the *Wamyōruijushō* quoted from the *Youxianku* are often quoted not from the text, but from the lectures on the *Youxianku*, which are very common in private learning contexts, outside the state curriculum.

Therefore, glossaries such as those on the *Nihon shoki* often emerge and develop in the context of lectures, merging philological activity with oral transmission.

5.4 From glosses to dictionary via glossaries?

Even if it is probable that the *Nihongi shiki*'s authors quoted definitions from interlinear glosses in the source texts, this does not imply that glossaries are merely collections of glosses from texts. Moreover, all the glossaries labeled *Nihongi shiki* are strictly linked to official lectures, where the oral dimension also played a great role.

In addition, as far as the *Wamyōruijushō* is concerned, the compiler Shitagō quotes both glosses and glossaries for his vernacular equivalents, but there seems to be a preference for glossaries, which are considered more

authoritative. This could be attributed, as stated above, to the fact that these glossaries were produced in the context of educating officials, as is also the case of the educational context linked to works such as the *Wenxuan* and the *Youxianku*, and thus the master's authority is much more important.

However, if paths such as gloss-glossary, gloss-dictionary, glossary-dictionary and even gloss-glossary-dictionary can be so clearly and easily traced, a "return" path could also be possible. There are some examples that can clarify this typology. For example, in the case of *yatakarasu*, we find the gloss in *katakana* script (the same as that in Text A) also in the Kitano Manuscript of the *Nihon shoki*. The reading *wata tsu mi no kami*, from the twenty-book *Wamyōruijushō*, is also found in some manuscripts of the Urabe family, such as the Naikaku Ms.; this reading is not attested in the *Nihongi shiki*. Suzuki (2007) has shown that glosses in *man'yōgana* script furnishing vernacular equivalents, added to the Kengen Ms. of the *Nihon shoki* (dated 1302) by Urabe no Kanenatsu (13th–14th century) in 1303, are quoted by the *Kinmochi shiki*. Therefore, the "evolutionary" path of gloss-glossaries-dictionary seems to be the simplest and most obvious route in the emergence of lexicography, but, at least in the Japanese context, it does not proceed in a straight line, as one might imagine.

6. Concluding remarks

Glosses and glossaries are both useful tools for text reception, but whereas glosses can be consulted only by reading the main text, glossaries can be used also in a more didactic way, for example as a set of words to be learned by heart. In any case, glossaries are not necessarily simple collections of glosses detached from a text, since in ancient Japan, they also emerged and developed in educational settings, official or private, based on oral transmission. This is the case, in particular, of the *Nihongi shiki* glossaries, which are the result of official lectures at which the main text of the *Nihon shoki* was read aloud, introduced and commented on.

The *Wamyōruijushō* as a bilingual dictionary was produced not just by translating Chinese lemmata into Japanese, but through an elaborate philological effort that consisted not merely in finding one-to-one equivalents, but also entailed a great deal of negotiation of meaning and of cultural reenactment, as the Sinitic, Japanese-Sinitic and vernacular terms were linked together. Moreover, the *Wamyōruijushō* deals not only with texts, but also with both glosses and glossaries. It is certainly useful as a primer to be read through, as stressed by Steininger (2017), but it is also a useful tool for text production in addition to text reception, since the dictionary is organized according to semantic domains.

The compiler chooses authoritative sources for all fields represented in the dictionary, from technical terminologies to administrative terms. In particular, he privileges the glossaries known as the *Nihongi shiki* when he wants to propose an orthodox reading of words belonging to solemn and ethical lexicon, because these readings from official education setting hardly can be confuted.

To sum it up, both the *Nihongi shiki* as glossaries and the *Wamyōruijushō* as a dictionary were produced in the context of the *ritsuryō* state system, and they reflect the priorities of this system. Moreover, the *Nihongi shiki* is acknowledged as an authoritative glossary, not only as a supplementary text for reading and interpreting one of the most authoritative Japanese sources, namely the *Nihon shoki*, but also because it was produced in the educational setting of the official lectures on the *Nihon shoki* held at court. Therefore, I would like to point out that Japanese lexicography emerged not only in the Buddhist framework, to which most of the early glossaries and dictionaries refer, but also in the framework of the *ritsuryō* state officialdom, whose role, overlooked until now, was fundamental and must be further investigated.

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