BYZANTIUM'S IMPACT ON THE WEST:
THE LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE
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1. INTRODUCTION. The relations between Byzantium and the West represent a field which has so far been explored primarily by historians of diplomacy, religion, and art; yet the linguist, whether sociolinguist, lexicologist, or analyst of languages in contact, also has a stake in it. For him, the Byzantine impact on the West is on a par with that of the other great medieval superstrata, the Germanic and the Arabic, both of which have been treated copiously. The Eastern influence on the West, which has fared less well, is the topic of the present survey.

We shall try to reconstruct this influence in terms of words, Byzantine words borrowed by the Western languages on the colloquial level of speech, i.e., in living use at their time as far as we can judge. The underlying assumption is, of course, that the presence of a word indicates the presence of its referent, and the borrowing of a 'word' implies the borrowing of the 'thing'. In our presentation, the process of borrowing is broken down into its sundry features: the early stage, the locus and tempus of transmission, the fields covered by the acculturation, the criteria of Byzantinity, patterns of the linguistic adaptation of a loan word to the target language, and the often indirect way of a borrowed
lexeme through a mediary language. Each of these facets is illustrated by brief word histories, many of which are the result of our own studies.

We have devoted over four decades of research to this field, and we are drawing here essentially on our own publications, citing them for each example used in the course of the discussion. The following, beyond our individual word histories, are the more inclusive and summarizing studies, and they provide ample references to primary and secondary sources.

\( ab \) = Abendland und Byzanz: Sprache, in Reallexikon der Byzantinistik, P. Wirth, ed. (Amsterdam, 1970-76), I, 345-640 [a comprehensive and systematic view of the field, with numerous examples and their documentation; the main tool for the present discussion].

\( eb \) = Les éléments byzantins dans les langues romanes, Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure, XXIII (1966), 67-73 [a first sketch of the problems involved].

\( ob \) = Contributions by Byzantinologists to Romance Etymology, Revue de Linguistique Romane, XXVI (1962), 126-139 [a methodological attempt to update earlier derivations of Western Byzantinisms].

\( rp \) = The Role of the Papyri in Etymological Reconstruction, Illinois Classical Studies, III (1978), 207-220 [reconstruction of the history of various lexemes recorded in papyri, which are Egyptian Byzantinisms].

\( vb \) = On Venetian Byzantinisms, Romance Philology, XXVII:3 (1974), 356-367 [a review article on the informative discussion of Venetian Byzantinisms by M. Cortelazzo, L'influsso linguistico greco a Venezia (Bologna, 1970)].

\( ac \) = Cultural Criteria for Western Borrowings from Byzantine Greek, with Angelina Pietrangeli, in Homenaje a Antonio Tovar (Madrid, 1972), pp. 205-229 [the Byzantine content of words as the justification of their derivation from Byzantine Greek].

\( lf \) = The Lingua Franca in the Levant: Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian and Greek Origin, with Andreas Tietze (Urbana, Ill., 1958) [numerous Byzantine nautical terms in their Mediterranean
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2. PRELUDE: RISE AND DECLINE OF GREEK IN ROME. Latin accepted Greek words from the sixth century B.C., first through Etruscan mediation and through the mediation of Southern Italy, from where Dorisms were adopted. The early borrowings referred to navigation, to the culture of the olive, and to religion. Two social layers were involved: the lower classes, which accepted everyday terms, and the Roman aristocracy, which cultivated the Greek language in its entirety as a status symbol, establishing, so to speak, a kind of Graeco-Latin Humanism. In the third century B.C., and thereafter, Greek was taught in Roman schools; the educated Roman knew how to write Greek. The *sermo urbanus*, i.e., colloquial standard Latin, was full of Hellenisms, as exemplified by Cicero's letters with their one thousand Grecisms. Greek enjoyed a high prestige at the Imperial Court: it was the language of courtship, of magic, of men of letters and orators; it was the language of the Oriental rites, the liturgical language of the Jews of Rome, and the language of Christianity in its early Roman period, up to the end of the second century.

After the Augustan period, however, Greek began to lose ground. It was a slow process. Greek was still taught in the schools of Rome and elsewhere in Italy and in the provinces. A knowledge of Greek was still taken for granted in certain professions in which Greek achievement had led the way: in philosophy, medicine, grammar, rhetoric, and mathematics. Up to the time of Marcus Aurelius (161-180), the majority of the educated read Greek, and Greek remained the language of the slaves of Oriental provenience. But the end came by the close of the sixth century. The final phase can be observed in two milieus: the ecclesiastic and the profane. In Christian parlance, after the middle of the second century, colloquial Latin replaced Greek with increasing intensity. In this process of the Latinization of the Graeco-Christian terminology, three main patterns evolved: (1) the Greek term was adopted as such, with slight adaptation to the Latin morphology (Grk. ἄγγελος 'angel' → Lat. angelus); (2) the Greek expression was replaced puristically (Grk. βαπτίζεταν
baptizein 'to baptize' → Lat. tingere, lit., 'to wet, to bathe');
(3) the Latin expression was calqued after the Greek (Grk. πνεῦμα pneûma 'spirit' → Lat. spiritus). From the middle of the third century on, the majority of the Western Christians in Spain, Africa, Northern Italy, and Gaul, spoke Latin. In the fourth century, even in Rome, the liturgical language became Latin. On the profane level, there was a similar development: up to the fourth century, a knowledge of Greek was still a status symbol in the families of the old Roman aristocracy; but in the provinces, in Northern Italy, Gaul, England and Ireland, Latin Africa and Spain, Greek was no longer known.

The causes of the breakdown of Greek were many: the Germanic invasions, the decline of the conservative classes of Hellenophiles, the old aristocracy and the intelligentsia; the severance of relations between East and West; the opposition of Christianity to Hellenism; the methods of Greek school instruction; and the flourishing of Latin letters. (ab 350-353)

3. PROTO-BYZANTINE BORROWINGS. But even earlier, from the fourth century on, with the establishment of the new Christian court at Constantinople in 330, a new culture developed in the East. While Greek as a living language receded in the West, the first traces of that new culture, the Byzantine, were discernible as borrowings in the last phase of Imperial Latinity. This stage of acculturation, the Proto-Byzantine stage, roughly covers the two centuries from the middle of the fourth to the middle of the sixth. The stimuli came, in this early period, from the highly civilized provinces, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Most of the terms borrowed were technical or professional. Two patterns of borrowings evolved: the learned borrowings, which showed almost no changes in form; and the so-called popular or semi-popular borrowings, which were adapted to colloquial Latin. The semantic fields represented were those of the Church, medicine, learning, and administration, and, for the popular elements, also navigation and daily life. The proto-Byzantinisms first appeared in the works of philosophers such as Macrobius and Boethius, of theologians such as Ambrosius, Jerome, and Augustine; and in legal collections such as the Codex Theodosianus and the
Codex Iustinianus. (ab 353-354)

(a) The learned level. The fields of Church and learning were jointly represented by πνεῦμα pneuma, originally, 'breath', then 'sentence spoken in one breath' (a term of rhetoric), then '*melody sung in one breath'; and in the West, pneuma became a term of ecclesiastic music, 'sequence of tones sung on one vowel' (6th c.), with the later variant neuma (9th c.) and Middle Fr. neume, Eng. neume 'medieval musical notation'.

(ab 357)- The name of a mythical animal, the ἄνθόλος anthōlops (4th c.) was transferred through Lat. antelop/antalops to the West, where OFr. antelop appeared commonly in bestiaries; the shift from a fabulous creature to the zoological antelope occurred as late as the seventeenth century in England. (ab 357)- In medical terminology, καταμήνια katamēnia n.pl. 'menstruation' (derived from μήν mēn 'month') was taken up by Oribasius latinus (6th c.) as catamīnia with Middle Fr. catimini; the i of the latter reflected the folketymological influence of catir 'to hide', which also accounted for the semantic shift of the French idiom en catimini 'in secret'. (ab 355)

(b) The popular level. Grk. κανονικός kanonikós 'churchsinger', derived from κανών kanōn 'psalmody', generalized in the West (6th c.) from churchsinger to common cleric, as in Fr. chanoine and Eng. canon. (ab 131-133; ab 358-359)- Grk. ταρταρόδχος tartaróchoś 'pertaining to Tartarus, to Hell', Latinized as tartarōsus (6th c.) and used in some such phrase as *(bestia) tartarōsa 'demon of Hell', became Ital. tartaruga, a name transferred to the turtle, which lives in mud and was therefore considered a symbol of darkness and heresy; the influence of tortus 'twisted' produced finally Fr. tortue with Eng. turtle. (ab 360)- The red ink of the Byzantine emperors was called ἕγκαυστον ēkauston; it was Latinized, first with shift of the Byzantine stress, as encaustum, the base of Ital. inchiostro; then with preservation of the stress, as ēncauestum, the base of OFr. enque with Eng. ink, Fr. encre. (ab 72; ab 362)

(c) The Gothic mediation. The spread of the early Byzantine borrowings was closely tied to the mediary role of Gothic. Through the activity of the Gothic missionaries of Arianism, certain ecclesiastic terms wandered, in the fifth and sixth
centuries, from the Balkanic area to the Danube and the Rhine, coming finally into German. Thus, Grk. κυριακὸν kyriakón 'house of God', shortened to κυρικόν kyrikón, yielded Goth. *kyrikó with Ger. Kirche, contrasting with Graeco-Lat. ecclesia, the Romance lexeme; the Byzantine term was probably borrowed in the period of Constantine (4th c.), when church architecture had its great development. (ab 365) - Grk. πεντηκοστή pentēkostē 'fiftieth', i.e., the fiftieth day after Easter, gave Ger. Pfingsten, contrasting with Graeco-Lat. ecclesia, the Romance lexeme; the Byzantine term was probably borrowed in the period of Constantine (4th c.), when church architecture had its great development. (ab 365) - Grk. πεντηκοστή pentēkostē 'fiftieth', i.e., the fiftieth day after Easter, gave Ger. Pfingsten, contrasting with Graeco-Lat. pentēkostē, which survives in Romance. (ab 366) - The day of Ares, Grk. Ἀρέως ἡμέρα ἀρεός ἡμέρα 'Tuesday', still survives in Austrian dialects as Ertag, contrasting with the Latin calque, Martinis dies, preserved in Romance, Fr. mardi etc. (ab 366) - The day of Ares, Grk. Ἀρέως ἡμέρα ἀρεός ἡμέρα 'Tuesday', still survives in Austrian dialects as Ertag, contrasting with the Latin calque, Martinis dies, preserved in Romance, Fr. mardi etc. (ab 366)- The day of Ares, Grk. Ἀρέως ἡμέρα ἀρεός ἡμέρα 'Tuesday', still survives in Austrian dialects as Ertag, contrasting with the Latin calque, Martinis dies, preserved in Romance, Fr. mardi etc. (ab 366) - The day of Ares, Grk. Ἀρέως ἡμέρα ἀρεός ἡμέρα 'Tuesday', still survives in Austrian dialects as Ertag, contrasting with the Latin calque, Martinis dies, preserved in Romance, Fr. mardi etc. (ab 366) - The day of Ares, Grk. Ἀρέως ἡμέρα ἀρεός ἡμέρα 'Tuesday', still survives in Austrian dialects as Ertag, contrasting with the Latin calque, Martinis dies, preserved in Romance, Fr. mardi etc. (ab 366) - The day of Ares, Grk. Ἀρέως ἡμέρα ἀρεός ἡμέρα 'Tuesday', still survives in Austrian dialects as Ertag, contrasting with the Latin calque, Martinis dies, preserved in Romance, Fr. mardi etc. (ab 366) - The day of Ares, Grk. Ἀρέως ἡμέρα ἀρεός ἡμέρα 'Tuesday', still survives in Austrian dialects as Ertag, contrasting with the Latin calque, Martinis dies, preserved in Romance, Fr. mardi etc. (ab 366) - The day of Ares, Grk. Ἀρέως ἡμέρα ἀρεός ἡμέρα 'Tuesday', still survives in Austrian dialects as Ertag, contrasting with the Latin calque, Martinis dies, preserved in Romance, Fr. mardi etc. (ab 366) - The day of Ares, Grk. Ἀρέως ἡμέρα ἀρεός ἡμέρα 'Tuesday', still survives in Austrian dialects as Ertag, contrasting with the Latin calque, Martinis dies, preserved in Romance, Fr. mardi etc. 4. THE PORTS OF ENTRANCE. Byzantinisms proper spread west from about the sixth century on, more or less after the split of Latin into the Romance vernaculars. About two hundred of them accumulated, borrowed during the millennium of the Eastern Empire. We shall interpret them first according to the five stages of their entrance, i.e., in an interlocking analysis of distribution and chronology. (a) Ravenna. In Ravenna the Byzantine influence lasted for about two centuries, from 540 to 751. The city fell to Justinian with his victory over the Goths in Italy. The colonial government, known as the Exarchate, comprised all of Italy not conquered by the Langobards, from Venetia to Calabria. Greek administrators, priests, soldiers, and businessmen settled in the city. There was also a Greek school. Numerous borrowings resulted in the area. (ab 440-442) The most reliable criterion of mediation through Ravenna is the geographical distribution of the borrowing in question: if it pertains to the dialects spoken in the area that once comprised the Exarchate, the chances are that it entered Italy, precisely, in the Exarchate. The dialects involved are those of Romagna (including Ravenna itself), of Emilia (with such
towns as Bologna, Modena, Parma, Piacenza), and of the Marche. Examples: Byz. *χαλκόχυτρον *chalkóchytro 'pail of copper' appears, with haploglossic shortening, in Bologna, in Modena, and in Romagna as calcêder. (ab 391) - Grk. βρύλλον brýlon 'rush' (the plant) occurs in Parma as brîl, in Bologna and Romagna as brel, and in Emilia in the metathetic derivative berleto. (ab 394) - Byz. πτωχός ptōchos 'beggar', in use since antiquity and the New Testament, was borrowed in the Exarchate as *pitoeus; it spread first in the Northern Italian dialects as pitoco; then standard Italian took it from the north as pitbcco. (ab 403)

The thirty-three or so Byzantine words transmitted through Ravenna at this early stage of contacts reflect the milieu of the settler, a technology of everyday life. They refer to the orchard, the kitchen, domestic utensils, clothing, handicraft, commerce, and the Church. Two examples, probably Ravennatic: Byz. ἀγγούριον angourion 'cucumber' (6th c.) appears as anguria 'watermelon' in Northern Italy, then with agglutination of the article, as Ven. languria, Emil. langòria. The same Byzantinism reached the West also via the Slavic languages: so Ger. Gurke, Eng. gherkin. (ab 399) - Grk. βρόντισιον brontision 'pertaining to thunder', then in Byzantine Greek 'bronze', produced a regressive noun *βρόντιον *brontion 'bronze', and this yielded Ital. bronzo (7th-8th c.) with Fr. bronze and its German and English offshoots. (ab 380)

(b) Venice. In the early phase of its history, from the sixth century on, Venice with its lagoon was a province of the Byzantine Empire, first under the Exarchate, then, after the collapse of the latter in 751, as a Ducate, with increasing independence. In the ninth century, Venice separated itself de jure, but the cultural, commercial, and political ties with Byzantium remained alive: Byzantium exerted an intensive artistic influence on Venice; Venetian commercial representations existed in Byzantium and Byzantine ones in Venice, until the latter, in association with the Normans of Southern Italy, destroyed the Empire early in the thirteenth century.

The numerous borrowings reflecting the close ties refer in
particular to commerce and communications. (ab 442-446) Thus, in economic matters, the premium paid for the exchange of one currency for another was a profitable institution of Byzantine origin, introduced in the tenth century by Nicephorus II Phocas and known as ἀλλάγιον allagion 'change'. The Western base form, *allagium, was Latinized in Venice to lazius, and developed popularly, with apheresis of initial l, to azio, which was then standardized to Ital. aggio, developing via Ital.-Fr. agg(e)io into an international term. (ab 376-377, 444; cc 215-216)- In the field of navigation, Byz. μανδράκιον mandrakion 'inner harbor' (6th c.) turned into Ven. mandracio, with Genoese mandracio and Ital. mandracchio. (ab 410, 445; ff 542-543)- In the ecclesiastic terminology, Late-Grk. διάκων diákon 'assistant of the priest', then Byz. διάκος diákos, became Ven. *dzago/zago with Bergamo, Brescia, Marche zago. (ab 370, 445)

But Venice was not only a seapower with fleet stations and commercial interests in the eastern Mediterranean; it was also a city at the margin of the Balkanic area which lay within the Byzantine orbit. Dalmatia was under Byzantine domination from the end of the fifth century to about the year 1000; after that, the area and in particular its coasts came under Venice. With this, Dalmatia turned into a mediator of Byzantinisms to Venice. (ab 444-445) Examples: The Byzantines called the nomadic shepherd of Dalmatia *Μαυροβλαχος *Mauróblachos 'black Walach', and the Greek ethnicon was adapted in Dalmatia as Moroulacu (12th c.). This appellation was taken over by the Venetians, who generalized it into an abusive term, morlaco 'stupid, boorish'; the Spaniards borrowed the expression in the seventeenth century, apparently during their occupation of Northern Italy, and they still use it. (ab 402-403)- A Byzantine transport ship was known as 'the short-tailed', Κονδουρά kondoura; the word appeared in the medieval Dalmatian cities as condura and, with adaptation of its ending to the common suffix -ola, in Venice (not later than 1094) as gondula/gondola. (ab 413; cc 221-222; vb 360)

(c) Southern Italy. The South of Italy was, of course, traditional Hellenic territory, the so-called Magna Graecia,
where, in the speech of fishermen and farmers, remnants of the koine (the Greek counterpart of Vulgar Latin) had stayed alive since antiquity. But the reconquest of the area by Justinian in the sixth century initiated a new phase, the Byzantine superstratum. Officials, businessmen, and the clergy came with the Byzantine army. In the seventh century new settlers arrived, when, under the impact of the Islamic expansion, the Greek monks of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt were forced to flee to Calabria. In the eighth century, refugees driven from Constantinople by the iconoclastic movement increased the Greek contingent of displaced persons, and in a final wave during the tenth and eleventh centuries, when Islam conquered Sicily, Greeks from that island likewise settled in Calabria. In that period, with its more than two hundred monasteries, the Graeco-Christian civilization of Southern Italy reached its zenith. With the eleventh-century Norman hegemony in Southern Italy, the decline began, and Greek gave way to Romance.

Byzantine borrowings from Southern Italy (ab 446-448) refer essentially to three fields: the Church, farm life, and navigation. Examples: In the iconoclastic period, with the many religious refugees from Constantinople to Rome, Byz. ὄμοατος ῥωμαῖος 'journeyer to Rome' was generalized to 'pilgrim', and the early tenth-century records of the new use point to Southern Italy as the area of the shift. (ab 370; cc 208) - Byz. μακαρόνεια makaronia also is religious in its origin: it first meant 'dirge' (13th c.), then '*funeral meal', and finally 'dish offered at such a meal' (the Greek dialect of EThrace still preserves μακαρωνίδα makarondia 'dish of rice eaten at a funeral meal'); the 'dish offered' turned into the base of maccheroni, whose earliest traces (11th c.), it seems, can be found in Southern Italy. (ab 129-131; ab 398-399) - An Anc. Greek verb, ὁρμίζω hormizo 'to moor', survived in Byzantium, as evidenced by a ninth-to-tenth century record and by the nominal derivative ὁρμίση hormisia 'landing'. The first Western trace was from Amalfi, in 1105, indicating Southern Italy as the prime area of the borrowing. The term then turned, via Northern Italy, into Ital. ormeggiare, Prov.
Catal. ormejar. (ab 421-422, 448; vb 361)

(d) Francocracy. The rule of the Westerners in the Eastern Mediterranean, labeled broadly Oriens Latinus and, with limitation to the Greek areas, called Francocracy, was a phase of the Crusades: with the Latin Empire of 1204-1261, the French came into possession of Morea (the medieval name of the Peloponnesus) and Cyprus, and the Venetians colonized the Greek islands and coasts. The impressions and reminiscences which the feudal lords and merchants brought home, in the form of foreign lexemes (ab 448-450), concerned the Church, commerce, society, warfare, and navigation. For example, the Crusaders associated the miserable condition of the Greek monasteries with their maladministration by the Byzantine lay aristocracy, the so-called charisticary system (10th-12th c.), and in the process, Grk. *χαριστήρα *charistta, originally 'beneficium', turned for the foreign observer into a lexeme of negative value, as suggested by Ital. Prov. Span. carestia 'scarcity, want'. (ab 371-372; cc 210-211)- The name of the Aegean Sea, Αἰγαίον Πέλαγος Aigaion Pélagos, taken over as Egeopelagus, was corrupted in Venetian to Arcipelago, the base form for the international archipelago and the shortened archipel. (ab 409)- The traditional appreciation of Greek wines was revived with the Crusades. One sweet wine which was produced in a town of the Peloponnesus, Μονοβασία Monembasia, in popular parlance Μονοβασία Monobasla (9th c.), was therefore called in Greece μονοβασιά monobasiá, and in Venice vinum Monavasie. But the Franks, following their custom, distorted the name of the town: Μονοβασία Monobasla [monovasia] became Malvasia, and the wine, accordingly, appeared in the thirteenth century in Venice as vinum de Malvasia. Wine and term conquered Europe: Fr. malvoisie, Anglo-Norm. malvesy, Eng. malmsey, and Ger. Malvasier. (ab 400-401; cc 218-219)

(e) Lingua Franca. Mediterranean terms, whatever their origins, radiated easily over the entire area, and the terminological Lingua Franca, the jargon of the seamen, preserved various Byzantine elements. (ab 450-451) Thus, Byz. φαντάριον phanártion 'light, lantern, lighthouse' spread with the thirteenth century in the Mediterranean; in Italy, phanarion,
through suffix change, turned into *fanale*, which then captured the West up to Portugal. (ab 422; ff 589-592) - The Greek phrase βαρεία συμβολή *bareia symbole* 'heavy contribution to a common enterprise' became a term of sea law referring to the expenses caused by sea damage, which were incurred by the participants in a maritime venture. The phrase was shortened to either noun or adjective. In Byzantine times, the Rhodian sea law used the noun; the West, around 1200, borrowed the adjective in its elliptic use, and *varia/avaria spread from Genoa to become an international term with Fr. *avarie, Eng. average, and Ger. *Navarie, its meaning restricted to just one aspect of the complex event, 'sea damage'. (ab 411-412) - Arab. *rizq*, an expression of military government, referred to the sustenance of the Arabic officials and soldiers in newly conquered Byzantine Egypt: they had to live on the land by taking what they could get. Byzantine Greek borrowed the word from Arabic, as δουζικόν *rouzikón* (late 7th c., reflecting an Arabo-Persian variant) and as δυζικόν *rizikòn*, and shifted its use from the soldier's right to requisition to his luck, good or bad, in finding maintenance, eventually generalizing it to 'chance, fate'. Then, with the twelfth century, Byz. δυζικόν *rizikòn expanded, as risçun/risçown, into a term of Mediterranean maritime law applied to the dangers of the sea, and through the Italian maritime republics it came into international use. Modern *risk still preserves the two semantic roots of its past, the military and the nautical, the chance and the danger. (ab 378; rp 216-217)

5. COUNTOURS OF ACCULTURATION. From a total view, the Byzantine impact resembles the Arabic influence in Spain. The two, to be sure, were chronologically coextensive; Byzantium as well as Islam evolved as models for their neighbors in terms of technology, commerce, and gracious living. The Western Arabisms were more numerous than the Byzantinisms because the intensity of the symbiosis was different; the tie between Byzantium and the West was prevalently peripheral and maritime. This explains, obviously, the large share of terms of navigation among the Byzantine borrowings. In the field of religion, the Arabic contribution was minimal in relation to
the Greek; both Byzantium and the West were Christian civilizations.

We shall describe succinctly the various domains covered by the Byzantinisms and give for each two characteristic examples. (ab 424-426)

(a) The Church. The nineteen borrowings refer to the architecture and decoration of the church, to parts of the liturgy, the hierarchy of the clergy, pilgrims and heretics, monasticism, and humility. Thus, Anc. Grk. ναός 'temple' became in Christian parlance 'the place in the church where the laity gathers' (7th c.); it was taken over by Church Latin as navis (9th c.), with adaptation to quasi-homophonous navis 'ship', and in this way survived as OFr. nef, Eng. nave, and was translated into German as the Schiff of a church. (ab 367)- Grk. καθαρός 'clean, pure', as a gnostic concept, became from the fourth century on the proud self-designation of certain sects. With the eleventh century, the Byzantine term was transmitted to the West, applied, above all, to the Neo-Manichean movements spreading by then. But their adversaries interpreted the label Cathari unfavorably: whether Latinized as catharus (12th c.) with its popular variant MHG ketzer, or Latinized as gazarus (13th c.) with its vernacular variant NItal. gázaro, it came to mean 'heretic'. (ab 371; cc 208-209)

(b) Medicine. The eight borrowings cover diverse subfields, medicinal plants, instruments, diseases, and veterinary medicine: Grk. κάημα [káima] 'burning, cauterization' entered the medical Latin of the Iberian Peninsula as *caima, with the Spanish verb quemar 'to cauterize', recorded in tenth-century glosses; Span. quemar Port. queimar broadened from a medical to a common term; they are today the general words for 'to burn'. (ab 373)- Grk. ἀμορφή amorphē 'ugliness' was applied in Byzantine Greek to the skin, 'disfiguration of the skin through lepra', and in the School of Salerno became the base of medieval Lat. morphea 'skin disease' (11th c.), which turned into OItal. morfea, OFr. morfoies, Middle Fr. morphee, Catal. Span. morfia, Port. morfeta. (ab 374; cc 213-214)

(c) The arts. Byzantium contributed one important concept of
painting and three names of musical instruments. Byz. λαμματίζω 'to put shades into a painting', a technical term of Byzantine art attested in the eighth century, appeared in Latinized form as matizare in several medieval treatises of the West, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century; colloquially it has been preserved only (we don't know why) in Hispano-Romance as matisar, with the nominal derivative matis 'shade, nuance'. (ab 374-375; cc 214-215) - AncGrk. τύμπανον 'drum', in Byzantine pronunciation [tîmbano], was preserved in OFr. *tîmbe, then timbre, Ital. timbro, Eng. timbre 'quality of tone or speech'. (ab 375)

(d) Commerce and law. The nineteen borrowings refer to money, measures, documentation, risk, agents, transportation, and storage. The old Latin numismatic term dēnarius was borrowed by Greek and iotacized to δηνάριον dēnāriōn [dinârio]; the iotacized form was reborrowed by the West as dînarius, attested on Merovingian coins; it survives in NItal. dînaro, Occitan dînî, Catal. dîner, Span. dînero, Port. dîneiro. (ab 375-376; eb 71) - The legal expression ἀπόδειξις ἀπόδειξις [apōdieixis], used as 'receipt' since proto-Byzantine times, was the base of the insurance term, OSicil. pōdisa, Prov. (a)pōdisa, then, with rendering of the Byzantine fricative ɔ by t, Ital. pòlizza, Fr, police with Eng. policy, Span. póliza. (ab 378)

(e) Technology and handicraft. Among the eleven borrowings some refer to metals, minerals, and leather, some occur in the terminologies of glassmaking, tanning, and manuscript production. Thus, a variety of corundum, exported from Naxos since Antiquity and used for grinding and polishing, was called in Byzantine times σμερίς smîrîs (stem σμερίς- smirîdis)/σμεριλ(ο)ν smerîl(ο)n. A derivative, *σμερίλιον *smerîlion, spread widely via the Latinized base form smerillium (Venice, 13th c.): Ital. smeriglio, OFr. esmeril with Eng. emery, Ger. Schmirgel. (ab 380; vb 360-361) - Byz. ἰνδανίκος/İNΔAΝΙΚΟΣ (oíδηρος) indanikōs/indonikōs (oíderos) (ca. 8th c.)/*INΔAΝΙΚΟΥ *indanikôn 'wootz steel', a blending of Grk. ἰνδικής indikē 'Indian' and Ossetic Ĭndon 'steel', became Medieval Lat. andanizum, with OVen. andaniço, OFr. ondanique/andaine. (ab 380; Theodoridis, Byz. Z. LXIV [1971], 61-64).
(f) Clothing and textiles. Here the Byzantine contribution was considerable, with seventeen terms: it covered elegant fashion, in particular that of the court, the silk industry, precious fabrics, the techniques of weaving, shades of colors, and decorations. Two examples of fabrics: The tenth-century Byzantine adjective διασπρός [DIASPROS] 'twice white', i.e., with two shades of white resulting from the technique of damask weaving, survived in the West as [DIASPROM] 'damask', with such realizations as Ital. diaspro, OFr. diaspre, OSpan. jaspre, MHG diasper and Eng. diaper. (ab 385-386) - Byz. ἐξάμιτον [HEXAMITON] 'kind of textile', a derivative of ἐξάμιτος [HEXAMITOS] 'with six threads', was transmitted via a Latinized base form examitum, recorded in Sicily (12th c.); it spread widely: Ital. sciāmito, OFr. Prov. OCatal. samīt, OSpan. xūmed, Span. jamete, Eng. samīte, MHG samīt and Ger. Samt. (ab 384)

(g) The house. The nineteen Byzantinisms refer to technical devices, probably innovations which played a role in domestic life. They cover such areas as housebuilding, furniture, kitchen utensils and garden tools as well as fishing implements. Thus Lat. trulla 'ladle' was borrowed by Greek and generalized to τρούλλα [TROULLA] 'receptacle'; then 'receptacle' was applied metaphorically to the cupola and the new architectural term was reborrowed by the West, as indicated by trulla 'cupola' in Venice and Bari. Byz. τρούλλα [TROULLA] 'cupola', furthermore, developed the masculine offshoot τρούλλος [TROULLOS], which was likewise borrowed by Italian, as shown in an eighth-century record in the Liber Pontificalis; today trullo is still the name of the Apulian farmhouse with its characteristic conic roof. A third, metathetic variant, τουρλ- [TOURL-], spread as 'cupola, tower, spire of a church' in the Balkans and Northern Italy, e.g., Alb. turlë, Serb.Croat. turla, Roum. turlă, OVen. and NItal. turlo. (ab 388; oc 222-223; rp 213-214) - Byz. ταπήτων [TAPETION] [TAPI] 'small carpet' was probably borrowed in the period of the Crusades: Medieval Lat. *TAPEITUM, the Western base form, was Romanicized as OFr. tapit/tapis with Eng. tapis, Prov. tapit/tapis, Catal. tapit, Span. Port. tapis. Western congeners with e, such as Ger. Tapete, go back to an older Graeco-Latin layer, tapēt-. (ab 389)
(h) Land and nature. The eleven borrowings either hint at features common in medieval farming society, or designate plants and animals. The case of Grk. βόθυνος 'trench, pit' is typical. The term, used from Ancient to Modern Greek, was borrowed in Ravenna, with the tenth-century record butinus, and it expanded from that enclave of Byzantinity, thus Perugia butinale. The isolated morpheme was then probably adapted to botte 'barrel, vault', with gemination of the dental, and bottino 'cesspool, cistern' spread to Tuscany and was accepted by the standard language. (ab 393) - Byzantium took παπαγάς 'parrot' from the East, probably from Arabic, and with the Crusades transmitted it to the West. The Byzantinism entered Northern Italy as papagā, and its Latinization, *papa-ganus, is reflected in MHG papegān. The parrot is a natural for secondary associations: In French the ending was adapted to gay 'jay' or gai 'merry', which yielded OFr. papegay/papin-gay with Middle Eng. popingay, and Ger. Papagei, Prov. papagai, OSpan. papagayo. In Italian the ending was adapted to gallo 'rooster', which yielded Medieval Lat. papagallus and OItal. papagallo. (ab 395)

(i) Food and cooking. Some of the thirteen Byzantinisms were themselves of Oriental origin, so that Byzantium evolved, in this particular linguistic field, as a mediator between the Orient and the West. The borrowings refer to refined foods such as bakery goods and fish delicacies, to staple foods such as noodles and rice, to fruits and vegetables such as cucumbers and eggplants, as well as to sundry wines. Thus, ὀρύζιον ὀρύζιον [(o)rizi] 'rice', the name of the medicinal plant and, by the tenth century, of the food, appeared in the West, in the thirteenth century, as risium in Italy and risi in England. Ital. *risi was perceived as a plural, and a new analogous singular, riso, was formed which became the base of OFr. ris, Middle Eng. rys, MHG reys. Rice has been cultivated in Northern and Central Italy since the fifteenth century. (ab 399) - In Byzantine Greek, roe was called ωτάριχον ωτάριχον 'smoked (fish) egg' (11th c.), with a popular variant *(a)βοτάριχον *(a)botarichon; the latter was borrowed as *butariuwm, first recorded as butarius in Venice (14th c.), then in wide
distribution throughout the West: Ital. bottarga, Fr. boutargue, SFr. boutargo, Span. botarga, Port. butargas. (ab 397-398)

(j) Social life. The terms of Byzantine origin refer to dignities of the feudal hierarchy, the low strata of society, names of ethnic groups with pejorative connotations, superstition, and the fashion of the beard. Two examples from fourteen: The ethnicon Σκλάβος Sklabos [sklavos] 'Slovene/Slav' changed, because of the loose political organization of the Slovenes and their ensuing servitude, into the appellative Σκλάβος sklabos 'slave'; and this change from name to common noun took place, in all probability, during the ninth century and in the marginal areas of the Byzantine Empire, perhaps in the Balkanic region; with the Crusades, the Byzantine term became international: Ital. schiavo, OFr. esclave, MHG sklave, Middle Eng. solaue, Span. esclavo. (ab 402; cc 228-229)- From Justinian to the end of the Empire, the sovereign, the imperial princes, and the ruling vassals were called δεσπότης despotes, and the appellation was borrowed by the West, as despotes, OItal. despoto, OFr. despot. The title was applied, e.g., to Emperor Otto III (983-1002), who introduced the ceremonial of the Byzantine court to his own; it was frequently used for Western rulers in the period of Francocracy. (ab 401)

(k) Warfare. The Byzantinisms cover such subfields as military ranks, certain types of mercenaries, and innovations above all in the technology of ballistics. Two examples from ten: In Islamic Egypt (which, to be sure, succeeded and for some time linguistically overlapped with Byzantine Egypt) the title amīr designated a military commander and a government official. The Arabism was Byzantinized as δύση amīr, with the two suffix variants δυσή amirs and δυσή amirōs (7th-8th c.), and these two variants were borrowed by the West in the ninth century; they were adapted to the vernaculars as indicated by OSpan. amirate 'official' and by OFr. amiral 'commander', which eventually evolved into the modern international admiral. The general, incidentally, shifted to the sea in the eleventh century in Sicily. (ab 405; rp 217)- Grk. πετρέλαιον petrelaion, the flammable liquid, a compound
of πέτρα petra 'stone' and ἕλαιον elaiion 'oil', was first mentioned in a pilgrim's guide of the eighth-to-ninth century; the term was Latinized with replacement of the second morpheme by the corresponding Lat. oleum; and petroleum appeared first in the thirteenth century, in an alchemistic prescription for the production of Greek fire. (cb 408)

(1) **Navigation.** The maritime terminology of the Mediterranean contains numerous Byzantinisms. The forty-five borrowings refer to the sea and its coasts, the harbor, the ship and its parts, navigation, and the crew. An eel-like fish, perceived as a sea serpent, appropriately gave its name γαλέα galēa to a small and quick ship, recorded in the tenth century; the Greek name of the vessel was taken over by the West as galea, Eng. galley, probably through the Normans in Southern Italy; in Catalan, which rejects hiatus, the galea became a galera (13th c.) and this variant spread widely: Span. galera, Fr. galère, Ital. galera, Ger. Galere. (ab 412; ca 219-220; vb 365-366) A reinforcing timber was called, according to the second-century Greek lexicographer Pollux, φάλκης phálkes; the term was borrowed by the West, and in the thirteenth century, faloa became the name of an extra board which protected a boat from seawater; the noun produced a participial derivative, *infaloatus 'provided with a faloa' (perhaps patterned after Gr. ἐμφαλκόμην emphalkōmenos), thus, in Genoese castellum infarcatum, OCatal. nau enfaloada, OVen. barca faloata; and a nominalized Southern Italian congener, *fargata, led, with metathesis, to the widespread name of a vessel, fregata, a type of ship originally characterized by its protective high boards. (ab 416-417)

6. **THE CRITERION OF CONTENT.** To ascertain the Byzantine origin of a Western word, the traditional criteria of borrowing, singly or in combination, must be applied: phonology, meaning, geographical distribution, and the chronology of the documentation. A fifth criterion, cultural content, can sometimes be applied. In this procedure, the usual methodological sequence which begins with the word is reversed: moving from 'thing' to 'word' we find in the referent of a lexeme the clue to its provenience. The cultural references of Byzantinisms
involve, broadly speaking, historical events, technological innovations, or semantic changes originating in Byzantium. 
(ab 426-429; cc passim)

(a) Historical events. Various religious and political episodes or movements of Byzantine history were echoed in Western Byzantinisms. Παυλικιανός Paulikianó, the name of a seventh-to-eighth century gnostic sect, was borrowed by the West and easily lent itself, in its Byzantine pronunciation [pavlikianí], to a secondary blending with publicanus 'tax-gatherer', an inventive of New Testament tradition applied to people estranged from their religion. The Byzantine term was firmly attached to adherents of twelfth and thirteenth-century Western dualistic sects, who accordingly were called, in Latinized form, publicani and populicani, and in French, populicants. 

Among the mercenaries serving in the Byzantine army, the Seljuk Turks played a preponderant role. They were called Τουρκόπουλοι Tourkópouloi 'men of Turkish descent'. These men, often converted to Christianity, seem to have come from mixed parentage, Turkish fathers and Greek mothers. The term was borrowed during the First Crusade; it occurred frequently, applied to bowmen and cavalry officers in the service of the Knights Templars and the Knights of St. John, thus OFr. turcople/ trucople/ tricople/ tracople and MHG turkopel/ durkopel/ durchkoppel. 

(b) Technological innovations. Some of the Byzantinisms explicitly mirrored truly Byzantine realia, features of its civilization which were imitated abroad. A term of medieval Greek town-planning was transmitted in the milieu of commerce: the streets in the business center were lined by arcades called ξυβολοὶ ἐμβολοὶ, under which merchants, often of foreign provenience, established their shops. The Byzantine custom, together with its name, ξυβολος ἐμβολος, which occasionally encompassed the entire district, spread in the Mediterranean, with ἐμβολος reaching the West by the eleventh century; ἐμβολὶ in foreign cities, usually Constantinople, appear in Venitian, Pisan, and Genoese documentation, and actually existed in Amalfi and Genoa. 

The silk industry, introduced around the middle of the sixth century from the Orient into the Byzantine Empire, was then transmitted from Byzantium to the West in the twelfth. The tenth-century Byzantine guildbook, Ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον Ἐπαρχικῶν βιβλίον, described how raw silk was treated by the καταρτάροι 'silk throwsters'. This agent noun derives from the verb καταρτίζω καταρτίζω 'to prepare, to finish', which refers to the activity of these workers in twisting the raw silk as it issued from the cocoon, i.e., in finishing the unfinished. The raw silk, in other words, was perceived as the 'unfinished', ἀκατάρτιον *akatartion. The term was borrowed by the West in two variants: either the negative prefix ἀ- of Grk. *akatartion was transposed to the Italian negative prefix s-, giving Tuscan scatarzo; or the initial ἀ- a- dropped, resulting in Fr. cadare, OCatal. cadars, OSpan. cadarzo. (ab 383; cc 217-218)

(c) Semantic change. Sometimes Byzantine Kulturwörter of non-Byzantine origin changed their meaning in Byzantium and were again exported with their new meanings, this time as Byzantinisms. Latin, Arabic, and Slavic lexemes were involved in this process. By the second century, AncGrk. κλίμακα klíma 'ladder, staircase, gangway' was replaced by synonymous Lat. scala. In nautical environment the Latinism was applied to the landings in the harbor of Byzantium; thus, the σκάλα skála became a typically Byzantine feature with ample records in a fifth-century guide to Nova Roma. The Constantinopolitan institution spread in the Empire, where σκάλα skála, half common noun, half toponym, designated landing places. From Byzantium the Italian maritime republics transmitted the term to the West, and Ital. scala led to Fr. escale, Catal. Span. Port. escala. (ab 410; if 568-572; cc 224-225)- Grk. Σαρακένδος Sarakénōs, a word of Oriental provenience, was originally an ethnicon referring to the Arab who had come from the land east of the Jordan and from Southern Palestine. In Byzantine use it changed to a general designation of the Arab, and then from an ethnicon to a religious term, the Mohammedan: Σαρακένδος Sarakénōs contrasted with Χριστιανός Christianós. With such a polarity a third semantic layer developed, an inventive,
'the Enemy', which survives in modern Greek folklore. In the West, to be sure, there existed the Latin congener, *Saracenus*, but Byz. *Σαρακηνός Sarakenós* [sarakinós], with itsiotacistic pronunciation, acted as a superstratum upon the Latin variant, and the new pattern, *Saracine*, frequently displaying the negative value 'heathen, infidel', spread by about the tenth century and became popular with the Crusades: OItal. *saraçino*, OFr. *sarrazin*, Middle Eng. *sarezin*, MHG *sarrazin*, OCatal. *sarracèl*. 

7. **LINGUISTIC ADAPTATION.** In the process of borrowing, the Byzantinisms of course underwent various changes of a phonological or morphological nature. The phonological transfer from Greek to Italian (far and away the main route of transfer) was a smooth one, in view of the considerable similarity between the two phonological systems. (ab 430–434) In a broad statement as to the bridging of the most conspicuous differences, Byzantine fricatives (β/γ/χ) turned into stops (d/g/k), and the Byzantine interdental fricative (θ) into a dental (t) or a sibilant (s/z). The morphological changes, on the other hand, were complex (ab 434–439) and the Western Byzantinisms offer, indeed, excellent material for the study of a specific phase of change-in-borrowing, lexemic adaptation. Foreign linguistic elements, in any language, are often weak through their lack of associability, and the target language tends to de-isolate them through transformation into familiar morphemes. Among the items under observation three patterns of such transformation evolve: blending with related Romance lexemes, folketymology, and calques.

(a) **Blending.** A Byzantine engine for throwing stones was called a **πετραρχια petrarhía**; the designation was borrowed, by the eighth century, as a technical term of warfare, and then hybridized with the regional Western congeners of its root morpheme, *petra* 'stone', yielding OLombardic *predaria*, OFr. *perrier* with Eng. *perrier*, OSpan. *pedrera*. (ab 407)– Byz. ΠΛΑΤΗ plateau* pátitē*, derived from a root πλατ-*plat-* 'flat', designated a transport ship and a raft. The term was borrowed by the Italian maritime republics and adapted to the respective and related Romance forms of *plattus* 'flat': OVen. *piata*, Genoese
(b) Folketymology. Byz. περγαμηνή pergamanē [pergamin-], borrowed in the Carolingian period, yielded Medieval Lat. and Ital. pergamina, OFr. parchemin. Secondly the latter, under the influence of parche 'leather for binding books', changed to parchemin, with its English offshoot parchment. (ab 382)–In Greek, the soldier was called στρατιώτης stratiótēs, an ancient term surviving in late Byzantium, where it specifically referred to the Imperial Guards; the word was borrowed as stratiota by early-fifteenth-century Venetian, to denote the Venetian mercenary serving in the Levant. The element strat- was influenced secondarily by Ven. strada 'street', thanks, apparently, to a perception of the mercenaries as being people who roamed the roads. The new military term, OVen. stradioto, spread over Europe: Ital. stradiota/-otto, Middle Fr. estradiot, Span. estradiote. (ab 405-406; cc 212)

(c) Calques. Translation of a foreign lexeme is a common way of borrowing. The name of a fourth-century tool of torture, τριπόσαλον tripóssalon, consisting of Grk. τρί- tri- 'three' and πόσαλος pósalos 'stake', was borrowed, within the Christian terminology, through translation: Lat. trepalium, a compound of tri- 'three' and palus 'stake', appeared in 582 and became the base of Fr. travail and its numerous congeners, such as Eng. travail. (ab 439; cc 138-139)–In ecclesiastic Greek, the beginning of Lent, the time of fasting, was called ἀπόκρεος apókreōs, which combined the negative particle ἀπό- apō-, the morpheme κρε- kre- 'meat', and a nominal ending. The Byzantinism was transposed into Latin as carnelevare, recorded in the tenth century; this consisted likewise of a negative element, levare 'to remove', and the morpheme carne 'meat'; with metathesis, it turned into carnevale and carnival.

(ab 439; cc 126-129)–A piece of Byzantine weaponry, the quarrel for the crossbow, was called μυία myiā 'fly' (10th c.), the flying missile being compared to the insect. The Byzantine martial term was transposed into Ital. moschetta, lit. 'small fly', recorded in the fourteenth century; this spread widely from Italy, with a secondary transfer from the missile to the weapon, as in Eng. musket. (ab 439)
8. INTERMEDIARY BORROWING. In the successive phases of their spread, several Byzantinisms in the Western languages reflect a frequent pattern of acculturation: that one culture influences another not through immediate contact but through an intermediate stage. Either Byzantium mediated between a third culture and the West, or a third culture mediated between Byzantium and the West. (ab 451-455)

(a) Byzantium mediating. Lexemes of Latin, Iranian, and Arabic provenience spread within the current of Byzantinization. The case of a Latin Rückwanderer is illustrated by the legal term ὁδὲξ. In Latin it was a third-declension noun and survived as such regularly in Ital. codice and, through borrowing, in Grk. κόδιξ κῶδις. Then, in Greek, the noun was adapted to the familiar second declension, and the new pattern κώδικον κόδικος appeared, as 'register of taxes', in Egyptian papyri of the seventh-to-eighth century, and in Michael Psellus (11th c.) κώδικος. The Byzantine Latinism was reborrowed as *codicus, and this form spread widely in the Romance languages: OItal. codico, Catal. òdico, Span. código, with, possibly, a short form, OFr. and Eng. code, Prov. Catal. odi. What looked like a second-declension deviation in Latin resulted from an intermediate Byzantine stage reflecting the impact of the Codex Justinianus. (ab 377; rp 215) - The Latin term for a dignitary, dux, was borrowed by Greek as δοῦξ δούκα, acc. δοῦκα δοῦκα 'leader, general, governor', with a popular form, δοῦκας δοῦκας (9th c.); and this Byzantine neologism was reborrowed by Italian as duxa, recorded since the thirteenth century. (ab 401) Byzantium as the mediator of Imperial Roman culture presents a most interesting problem, still largely unexplored, for the historian of language; much of the Western terminology of administration, bureaucracy, and court ceremonial that seems Latin, may, in reality, represent a Latin filtered through Greek. An example: Western corte 'court of a prince', in use since Carolingian times and so far unexplained semantically, could well reflect a development undergone by Lat. cors/corte(m) in Byzantium. There κόρτη/κούρτη κόρτε/κούρτε added to its original meaning of 'enclosure,
yard' a new one, 'imperial tent and headquarters', probably following the model of indigenous Grk. αὐλὴ aulē, which had both meanings. This new Byzantine use, 'court of a prince', may have superimposed itself on its Latin congener in the West. (ab 510)

Byzantium accepted and transmitted Iranian elements. Iran. tarkāš 'quiver' was Byzantinized as ταρκάσιον tarkásion, and with the Crusades the latter spread west, as OFr. tarcais and MHG tarkis; then, either through assimilation or through adaptation to synonymous OFr. cuivre, a k-variant superseded the t-variant: thus, Ital. carcasso, OFr. carquais, OCatal. carcaix, OSpan. carcaix. (ab 406)

The Byzantines were fond of fish roe, known as χαβιάριον chabídron (ca. 850), an Iranian term (acc. to Szemerényi) consisting of kapi- 'fish' plus āya 'egg'; by the thirteenth century word and thing appeared in the West, as cavial and caviar (ab 398, 452; Greek origin, on the other hand, was recently suggested by D. J. Georgacas, Ichthyological Terms for the Sturgeon, Athens, 1978, 225-237).

The multi-faceted relationship between Byzantium and Islam was mirrored in considerable reciprocal borrowing, and in various instances Arabic terms reached the West through Byzantium. The Arabic settler in newly-conquered Byzantine Egypt was called muḥāgir 'emigrant'; the honorific epithet, which originally had been applied to the early follower of the Prophet, was Hellenized as μαγαρίτης magarites/μαγαρίτης magaritēs and borrowed by the West. Two polar shades of meaning then evolved: on the one hand, OFr. magaris in medieval literature designated the 'Noble Heathen'; on the other hand, Byz. μαγαρίτης magaritēs, with its reflexes in Italy and France, was secondarily degraded to 'apostate, renegade'. (ab 370-371; cc 227-228; rr 215-216)- The linguistic field of Nutsplänsen, useful plants, is exemplified by Arab. bāḏīḡān 'egg-plant', which was taken over by Greek around the eleventh century as ματζάνιον matzánion with the later variant μελιντζάνα melintzana; and this variant went west; Ital. melanzana, SFr. merindaçano. (ab 400)

(b) Byzantium mediated. Byzantine words and things reached
the West within the current of Arabization. In the conquered provinces of the Byzantine Empire, Islam acquired a rich Greek heritage, a goodly part of which it transmitted to the West, particularly to Spain. A term of Graeco-Egyptian magic, κεραμίτης 'magic stone, lodestone', was borrowed, not later than the ninth century, by Arabic as qaramīt; and the Arabism spread in two variants, one with r: OGenoese caramita, Prov. caramida; the other with l: Ital. calamita, Fr. calamite, Span. Port. calamita. As to its use, the referent shifted from the lodestone to the needle it magnetized, and, around 1200, from the needle to the compass. (ab 453-454; rp 210)-

A wrap worn by monks and city dwellers was called περιβόλαιον peribólaion, with records in Egyptian papyri of the Byzantine period; the term was borrowed by Arabic as [fir(i)wīl], recorded in 1161 in Mozarabic, the Romance dialect spoken by Spaniards who lived under Islam. The Byzantino-Arabism survives in Span. ferreruelo, Port. ferragoulo, Ital. ferraiuolo. (ab 454; rp 212-213)

(c) Secondary centers of radiation in Italy. The transfer of Byzantinisms to the West must frequently have been a result of immediate communications, realized in such milieus as navigation, commerce, diplomacy, and travel, and in the complex movements of the Crusades. Yet within the West, the borrowing often proceeded in stages; certain Italian areas which were, on the one hand, what we call the Ports of Entrance for Byzantinisms, functioned, on the other hand, as mediaries between Byzantium and the great central cultures from Northern Italy to Provence and Catalonia, from France to England and Germany. The areas involved were Venice (ab 445-446) and Southern Italy (ab 447-448).

The role of Venice in the transmission of Byzantine economy is evidenced by the history of a coin, the Byzantine υπέρπυρον hyperpyron, a golden solidus common in the eleventh century, later devaluated. The learned term lost its initial, and in this popular form, πέρπυρον perpyron, entered the West through Venice in the eleventh century as perperum/perpera, and was later transferred from Venetian to OItal. perpero and to OFr. perpre. Then in Southern France, a diminutive variant,
*perperola, blended with Prov. parpalhola 'butterfly', an insect symbolizing worthlessness, and the coin was called in Provençal parpalhola, Middle Fr. parpoillole, Catal. parpellola. (ab 376; cc 215) - Features of the Byzantine bureaucracy spread through Venice: thus, χατιστιχον kastasticon 'tax register of real estate' was taken over in Venice by the twelfth century as catastico, which in turn was Italianized as catasto/catastro; the latter variant spread: Fr. catastrophe/cadastre, with Eng. cadastre and Span. catastro. (ab 377) - Venice exported Greek merchandise, as shown by the history of the name of a wine. This story centered around one, or rather, two toponyms. The first was Ρωμαία Rōmania, the traditional designation of the Eastern Empire, and a Greek wine, mentioned in Venice in 1173, was accordingly known as vinum de Rōmania. But with the events of the Venetocracy, the geographical term Rōmania narrowed its reference to Morea, and from the fourteenth century on the Venetian oenonym romania designated a wine from the Peloponnesus. The Venetian label became international: Ital. romanìa, Middle Fr. rommenie, Eng. rumney, MHG romanìe. (ab 446; cc 219)

From the eleventh to the thirteenth century, the period of the Normans, the Hohenstaufen, and the House of Anjou, Southern Italy was in contact with both Byzantium and the great Western cultures, and it transmitted words and things from the former to the latter. The phonological transformation of a nautical term highlights this role: Byz. πλώτης pilotēs 'navigator', recorded in the seventh century, seems to have been borrowed in that area because the stem change from Grk. πλώτ- pilot- reflects a typically Sicilian development: the intercalation of a vowel (a svarabhakti vowel); then Southern Italy transmitted piloto to Genoa (13th c.), the standard language, and the international terminology of navigation, e.g., Eng. pilot. (vb 366-367) - As to the export of textiles, there existed a cloth named *τριακοντάσιμον *triakontásimon, based on an adjective 'with thirty stripes or ornaments', with the more colloquial variant *τριαντάσιμον *triantásimon. In the eleventh century, Emperor Alexius I Comnenus sent an altar cloth, a pallium triacontasimum,
to the Abbot of Montecassino. Southern Italy seems to have mediated the colloquial variant to Germany: Heinrich von Veldeke, in the Eneid (c. 1180) mentioned a pillow of precious material, *trientasmē*; and Wolfram von Eschenbach in the Parzival (beg. 13th c.) used *drīantasme* for nothing less than the tablecloth of the Round Table. (ab 386; cc 218) A linguistic field in which the Byzantine expansion through Southern Italy was particularly strong was medicine. Western knowledge of Greek medicine was largely the effect of the famous School of Salerno, which flourished from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. Several of the Byzantine medical terms which reached the West remained in the popular language. (ab 448) Thus, AncGrk. ἐργαλεῖον *ergaleion* 'tool', in the koine ἄργαλεῖον *argaleion*, restricted its use in Byzantine Greek to 'medical tool for douches'; the plural ἄργαλεία *argaleia* was borrowed by medicinal Latin with a first eleventh-century record in the School of Salerno, and *argalia* 'catheter', the new singular, spread: Ital. *algalia*, Fr. *algalie*, Catal. Span. *algalia*. (ab 373; cc 213; rp 212)

9. **EPILOGUE.** With the decline of the Empire, the prestige of Byzantium faded, and with the breakdown, its impact on the West withered away. The epilogue was the harbinger of a new era: the Byzantine teachers and scholars who, with their manuscripts, reached the West, played their weighty role in the Renaissance. They no longer represented a living present but rather a dead past. From then on, for five centuries, Hellas replaced Byzantium, and to the West, Hellas meant the lofty and beautiful world of Classical Antiquity.
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