

BYZANTIUM'S IMPACT ON THE WEST:
THE LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

HENRY AND RENÉE KAHANE

[1. Introduction. 2. Prelude: Rise and decline of Greek in Rome. 3. Proto-Byzantine borrowings. 4. The ports of entrance. 5. Contours of acculturation. 6. The criterion of content. 7. Linguistic adaptation. 8. Intermediary borrowing. 9. Epilogue.]

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].
- cb* = *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)].
- cc* = *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

setting].

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 *ángelos* 'angel' → Lat. *angelus*); (2) the Greek expression was replaced puristically (Grk. βαπτίζειν

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 *pneûma*, 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 ἀνθόλοψ *anthólōps* (4th c.) was transferred through Lat. *antolops/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 *cataminia* 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. ταρταροῦχος *tartarou̇chos* 'pertaining to Tartarus, to Hell', Latinized as *tartarucus* (6th c.) and used in some such phrase as *(*bestia*) *tartaruca* '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 ἔγκαυστον *ēnkauston*; it was Latinized, first with shift of the Byzantine stress, as *encaustum*, the base of Ital. *inchiostrò*; then with preservation of the stress, as *ēncaustum*, the base of OFr. *enque* with Eng. *ink*, Fr. *encre*. (eb 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. κυριακόν *kyriakón* 'house of God', shortened to κυρικόν *kyrikón*, yielded Goth. **kyrikō* 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. *pentecōste*, which survives in Romance. (ab 366)- The day of Ares, Grk. Ἄρεως ἡμέρα *Áreōs hēméra* 'Tuesday', still survives in Austrian dialects as *Ertag*, contrasting with the Latin calque, *Martis dies*, preserved in Romance, Fr. *mardi* etc. (ab 366)- The name of the day, Grk. σάββατον *sábbaton*, had a nasalized variant σάμβαθον *sámbathon*, recorded in a fourth-century papyrus, which is still alive in Roum. *sîmbătă*, SGer. *Samstag*, Fr. *samedi*. (ab 366; *rp* 212)

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 **chalkóchytron* 'pail of copper' appears, with haplologic shortening, in Bologna, in Modena, and in Romagna as *calcēder*. (ab 391)- Grk. βρύλλον *brýllon* 'rush' (the plant) occurs in Parma as *bril*, in Bologna and Romagna as *brél*, and in Emilia in the metathetic derivative *berleto*. (ab 394)- Byz. πτωχός *ptōchós* 'beggar', in use since antiquity and the New Testament, was borrowed in the Exarchate as **pitocus*; it spread first in the Northern Italian dialects as *pitoco*; then standard Italian took it from the north as *pitocco*. (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 *angoúrion* 'cucumber' (6th c.) appears as *angúria* 'watermelon' in Northern Italy, then with agglutination of the article, as Ven. *langúria*, Emil. *langória*. The same Byzantinism reached the West also via the Slavic languages; so Ger. *Gurke*, Eng. *gherkin*. (ab 399)- Grk. βροντήσιον *brontḗsion* 'pertaining to thunder', then in Byzantine Greek 'bronze', produced a regressive noun *βρόντιον **bróntion* '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 *allágion* 'change'. The Western base form, **allagium*, was Latinized in Venice to *lazius*, and developed popularly, with apheresis of initial *l*, to *azo*, which was then standardized to Ital. *aggio*, developing via Ital.-Fr. *ag(g)io* into an international term. (ab 376-377, 444; cc 215-216)- In the field of navigation, Byz. μανδράκιον *mandrákion* 'inner harbor' (6th c.) turned into Ven. *mandracio*, with Genoese *mandracio* and Ital. *mandracchio*. (ab 410, 445; lf 542-543)- In the ecclesiastic terminology, Late-Grk. διάκων *diákōn* 'assistant of the priest', then Byz. διάκος *diákos*, became Ven. **dzago/zago* with Bergamo, Brescia, Marche *zag(o)*. (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 *Μαυρόβλαχος **Mauróblachos* 'black Walach', and the Greek ethnicon was adapted in Dalmatia as *Moroulacus* (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', κονδοῦρα *kondouúra*; 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 *gòndula/gòndola*. (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. ῥωμαῖος *rōmaîos* '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. μακαρόνεϊα *makarōneia* 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 μακαρονιά *makarōniá* '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, ὀρμίζω *hormizō* 'to moor', survived in Byzantium, as evidenced by a ninth-to-tenth century record and by the nominal derivative ὀρμισία *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. *χαριστία **charistia*, 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, Αἰγαῖον Πέλαγος *Aigáion 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, Μονεμβασία *Monembastia*, in popular parlance Μονοβασία *Monobastia* (9th c.), was therefore called in Greece μονοβασιά *monobasiá*, and in Venice *vinum Monavaxie*. But the Franks, following their custom, distorted the name of the town: Μονοβασία *Monobastia* [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. φανάριον *phanáron* 'light, lantern, lighthouse' spread with the thirteenth century in the Mediterranean; in Italy, *phanarium*,

through suffix change, turned into *fanale*, which then captured the West up to Portugal. (*ab* 422; *lf* 589-592)- The Greek phrase βαρεῖα συμβολή *baréia symbolē* '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. *Havarie*, 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 ρουζικόν *rouzikón* (late 7th c., reflecting an Arabo-Persian variant) and as ριζικόν *rizikón*, 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. ριζικόν *rizikón* expanded, as *risicum/riscum*, 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 *naós* '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 *katharós* '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. *gágaro*, 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 *káēma* [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. ἀμορφία *amorphía* '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. *morfea*, Port. *morfeia*. (*ab* 374; *cc* 213-214)

(c) *The arts*. Byzantium contributed one important concept of

painting and three names of musical instruments. Byz. λαμμα-
τίζω *lammattizō* '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; collo-
quially it has been preserved only (we don't know why) in
Hispano-Romance as *matizar*, with the nominal derivative *matiz*
'shade, nuance'. (ab 374-375; cc 214-215)- AncGrk. τύμπανον
týmpanon 'drum', in Byzantine pronunciation [tímبانo], was pre-
served in OFr. **timbne*, 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 *dēnárion* [dináριο]; the
iotacized form was reborrowed by the West as *dinarius*, attested
on Merovingian coins; it survives in NItal. *dinaro*, Occitan
diniè, Catal. *diner*, Span. *dinero*, Port. *dinheiro*. (ab 375-376;
eb 71)- The legal expression ἀπόδειξις *apódeixis* [apódixis],
used as 'receipt' since proto-Byzantine times, was the base
of the insurance term, OSicil. *pódisa*, Prov. (a)pódisa, then,
with rendering of the Byzantine fricative δ by l, Ital.
pólizza, 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 σμιρίς *smirís* (stem σμιρίδ- *smirid-*)/
σμερί(ο)ν *smeri(o)n*. A derivative, *σμερίδιον **smeridion*,
spread widely via the Latinized base form *smertilium* (Venice,
13th c.): Ital. *smiriglio*, OFr. *esmeril* with Eng. *emery*, Ger.
Schmirgel. (ab 380; vb 360-361)- Byz. Ἰνδανικὸς/Ἰνδονικὸς
(σίδηρος) *indanikòs/indonikòs (sidēros)* (ca. 8th c.)/*Ἰνδανικόν
**indanikón* 'wootz steel', a blending of Grk. Ἰνδικὸς *indikòs*
'Indian' and Ossetic *āndon* 'steel', became Medieval Lat.
andanicum, with OVen. *andanico*, 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 δίασπρος *diaspros* 'twice white', i.e., with two shades of white resulting from the technique of damask weaving, survived in the West as *diasprum* 'damask', with such realizations as Ital. *diaspro*, OFr. *diaspre*, OSpan. *jaspre*, MHG *diasper* and Eng. *diaper*. (ab 385-386)- Byz. ἑξάμιτον *hexámiton* 'kind of textile', a derivative of ἑξάμιτος *hexámitos* 'with six threads', was transmitted via a Latinized base form *examitum*, recorded in Sicily (12th c.); it spread widely: Ital. *sciamito*, OFr. Prov. OCatal. *samit*, OSpan. *xámed*, Span. *jamete*, Eng. *samite*, MHG *samît* 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 τροῦλλα *trou̓lla* '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. τροῦλλα *trou̓lla* 'cupola', furthermore, developed the masculine offshoot τροῦλλος *trou̓llos*, 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. *tuȓlë*, Serb.Croat. *turla*, Roum. *turlă*, OVen. and NItal. *turlo*. (ab 388; cc 222-223; rp 213-214)- Byz. ταπήτιον *tapētíon* [tapíti] 'small carpet' was probably borrowed in the period of the Crusades: Medieval Lat. **tapitium*, 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. βόθρυος *bóthyros* '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 Byzantinicity, 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 παραγᾶς *papagâs* 'parrot' from the East, probably from Arabic, and with the Crusades transmitted it to the West. The Byzantinism entered Northern Italy as *papagâ*, and its Latinization, **papaganus*, is reflected in MHG *papegân*. 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 *orýzion* [(o)rízi] '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 ὠτόδριχον *ōtōdrichon* 'smoked (fish) egg' (11th c.), with a popular variant *(δ)βοτάριχον *(a)*botárichon*; the latter was borrowed as **butaricum*, first recorded as *butarigus* 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 *Skλάβos* [sklávos] 'Slovene/Slav' changed, because of the loose political organization of the Slovenes and their ensuing servitude, into the appellative σκλάβος *sklávos* '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. *schiauo*, OFr. *esclave*, MHG *sklave*, Middle Eng. *sclaue*, Span. *esclavo*. (ab 402; ce 228-229)- From Justinian to the end of the Empire, the sovereign, the imperial princes, and the ruling vassals were called δεσπότης *despótēs*, and the appellation was borrowed by the West, as *despotus*, OItal. *despòto*, 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 ἀμίρ *amīr*, with the two suffix variants ἀμιράς *amírās* and ἀμιράτος *amírátos* (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. *amirail* '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 *petrélaion*, the flammable liquid, a compound

of πέτρα *pétra* 'stone' and έλαιον *élaion* '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. (*ab* 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 *galéa* 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; *cc* 219-220; *vb* 365-366)- A reinforcing timber was called, according to the second-century Greek lexicographer Pollux, φάλκη *phálkēs*; the term was borrowed by the West, and in the thirteenth century, *falca* became the name of an extra board which protected a boat from seawater; the noun produced a participial derivative, **infalcatus* 'provided with a *falca*' (perhaps patterned after Gr. έμφαλιωμένος *emphalkōménos*), thus, in Genoese *castellum infarcatum*, OCatal. *nau enfalcada*, OVen. *barca falcata*; 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. Παυλικιανοί *Paulikianoi*, the name of a seventh-to-eighth century gnostic sect, was borrowed by the West and easily lent itself, in its Byzantine pronunciation [pavlikjaní], to a secondary blending with *publicanus* 'tax-gatherer', an invective 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, *popelicans*. (*ab* 371; *cc* 209-210)- 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/ truceople/ tricople/ tracople* and MHG *turkopel/ durkopel/ durehkoppel*. (*ab* 405; *cc* 211-212)

(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 ἔμβολοι *émboloi*, under which merchants, often of foreign provenience, established their shops. The Byzantine custom, together with its name, ἔμβολος *émbolos*, which occasionally encompassed the entire district, spread in the Mediterranean, with *embolus* reaching the West by the eleventh century; *emboli* in foreign cities, usually Constantinople, appear in Venitian, Pisan, and Genoese documentation, and actually existed in Amalfi and Genoa. (*ab* 380; *cc* 216-217)-

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 *Eparchikōn biblion*, described how raw silk was treated by the καταρτάριοι *katartáριοι* 'silk throwsters'. This agent noun derives from the verb καταρτίζω *katartízō* '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 **akatártion*. The term was borrowed by the West in two variants: either the negative prefix ἀ- *a-* of Grk. *ἀκατάρτιον **akatártion* was transposed to the Italian negative prefix *s-*, giving Tuscan *scatarzo*; or the initial ἀ- *a-* dropped, resulting in Fr. *cadarce*, 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. κλίμαξ *klîmax* '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; *lf* 568-572; *cc* 224-225)- Grk. Σαρακηνός *Sarakēnós*, a word of Oriental provenience, was originally an ethnonym 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 ethnonym to a religious term, the Mohammedan: Σαρακηνός *Sarakēnós* contrasted with Χριστιανός *Christianós*. With such a polarity a third semantic layer developed, an invective,

'the Enemy', which survives in modern Greek folklore. In the West, to be sure, there existed the Latin congener, *Saracēnus*, but Byz. Σαρακηνός *Sarakēnós* [sarakinós], with its iotacistic pronunciation, acted as a superstratum upon the Latin variant, and the new pattern, *Saracīn-*, frequently displaying the negative value 'heathen, infidel', spread by about the tenth century and became popular with the Crusades: OItal. *saracino*, OFr. *sarrazin*, Middle Eng. *sarezin*, MHG *sarrazīn*, OCatal. *sarraçt*. (*ab* 402; *ce* 225-227)

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 (δ/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, folketyymology, and calques.

(a) *Blending*. A Byzantine engine for throwing stones was called a πετραρία *petraría*; 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. *perriere* with Eng. *perrier*, OSpan. *pedrera*. (*ab* 407)- Byz. πλάτη *plátē*, 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

ciata, Ital. *piatta*, Middle Fr. *plat*. (ab 415; lf 348)

(b) *Folk-etymology*. Byz. περιγαμνηή *pergamēnē* [pergamin-], borrowed in the Carolingian period, yielded Medieval Lat. and Ital. *pergamina*, OFr. *pargamin*. 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 *stratiōtēs*, 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; ce 212)

(c) *Calques*. Translation of a foreign lexeme is a common way of borrowing. The name of a fourth-century tool of torture, τριπάσσαλον *tripássalon*, consisting of Grk. τρι- *tri-* 'three' and πάσσαλος *pássalos* '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; ob 138-139)- In ecclesiastic Greek, the beginning of Lent, the time of fasting, was called ἀπόκρεως *apókrews*, which combined the negative particle ἀπο- *apo-*, 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; ob 126-129)- A piece of Byzantine weaponry, the quarrel for the crossbow, was called μυῖα *myíā* '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 *cōdex*. In Latin it was a third-declension noun and survived as such regularly in Ital. *codice* and, through borrowing, in Grk. κώδιξ *kōdix*. Then, in Greek, the noun was adapted to the familiar second declension, and the new pattern κώδικον *kōdikon* appeared, as 'register of taxes', in Egyptian papyri of the seventh-to-eighth century, and in Michael Psellus (11th c.) Κώδικος *kōdikos* is found with reference to the *Codex Iustinianus*. The Byzantine Latinism was reborrowed as **codicus*, and this form spread widely in the Romance languages: OItal. *cōdico*, Catal. *còdic*, Span. Port. *código*, with, possibly, a short form, OFr. and Eng. *code*, Prov. Catal. *codi*. What looked like a second-declension deviation in Latin resulted from an intermediate Byzantine stage reflecting the impact of the *Codex Iustinianus*. (*ab* 377; *rp* 215)- The Latin term for a dignitary, *dux*, was borrowed by Greek as δοῦξ *doûx*, acc. δοῦκα *doûka* 'leader, general, governor', with a popular form, δοῦκας *doûkas* (9th c.); and this Byzantine neologism was re-borrowed by Italian as *duca*, 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 κώρτη/κούρτη *kōrtē/kou̅rtē* added to its original meaning of 'enclosure,

yard' a new one, 'imperial tent and headquarters', probably following the model of indigenous Grk. αὐλή *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. *tarkaš* 'quiver' was Byzantinized as ταρκάσιον *tarkásion*, and with the Crusades the latter spread west, as OFr. *tarcais* and MHG *tarkîs*; then, either through assimilation or through adaptation to synonymous OFr. *cuirre*, 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 *chabiáron* (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 *muhāğir* 'emigrant'; the honorific epithet, which originally had been applied to the early follower of the Prophet, was Hellenized as μαγαρίτης *mōagaritēs*/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; rp 215-216)- The linguistic field of *Nutzpflanzen*, useful plants, is exemplified by Arab. *bāđingān* 'egg-plant', which was taken over by Greek around the eleventh century as ματιζάνιον *matizánion* with the later variant μελιτζάνα *melintzána*; and this variant went west; Ital. *melanzana*, SFr. *merindzano*. (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 *keramītēs* '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 *caramia*, 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 *peribólaiōn*, 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 ὑπέρπυρον *hypérrpyron*, a golden solidus common in the eleventh century, later devaluated. The learned term lost its initial, and in this popular form, πέρπυρον *pérrpyron*, entered the West through Venice in the eleventh century as *perperum/perpera*, and was later transferred from Venetian to OItal. *pèrpero* 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, *κατάστιχον* *katástichon* '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. *catastre/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 *Ῥωμανία* *Rōmanía*, the traditional designation of the Eastern Empire, and a Greek wine, mentioned in Venice in 1173, was accordingly known as *vinum de Romania*. But with the events of the Venetocracy, the geographical term *Romania* narrowed its reference to Morea, and from the fourteenth century on the Venetian oenonym *romanía* designated a wine from the Peloponnesus. The Venetian label became international: Ital. *romanía*, Middle Fr. *rommenie*, Eng. *rumney*, MHG *romanîe*. (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* *plōtēs* 'navigator', recorded in the seventh century, seems to have been borrowed in that area because the stem change from Grk. *πλωτ-* *plōt-* to Ital. *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 **τριακοντάσημον* **triakontásēmon*, based on an adjective 'with thirty stripes or ornaments', with the more colloquial variant **τριαντάσημον* **triantásēmon*. 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, *trientasme*; and Wolfram von Eschenbach in the Parzival (beg. 13th c.) used *dr̄iantasmê* 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 *ergaleîon* 'tool', in the koine ἀργαλεῖον *argaleîon*, restricted its use in Byzantine Greek to 'medical tool for douches'; the plural ἀργαλεῖα *argaleîa* 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.

University of Illinois at Urbana

INDEX OF BYZANTINE BASES

*άβοτάριχον	403	Μονοβασία	398
άγγούριον	395	μυτα	409
Αίγαϊον Πέλαγος	398	ναός	400
*άκατάρτιον	407	ὀρμίζω	397
άλλάγιον	396	ὀρύζιον	403
άμιράς/άμιράτος	406	παπαγᾶς	403
άμορφία	400	Παυλικιανοί	406
άνθόλοψ	393	πεντηκοστή	394
άπόδειξις	401	περγαννή	409
άπόκρεως	409	περιβόλαιον	412
άργαλεῖον	414	πέρπυρον	412
Ἄρεως ἡμέρα	394	πετραρία	408
βαρεῖα (συμβολή)	399	πετρέλαιον	404
βόθυνος	403	πλάτη	408
*βρόντιον	395	πλώτης	413
βρύλλον	395	πνεῦμα	393
γαλέα	405	πτωχός	395
δεσπότης	404	ῥιζικόν	399
δηνάριον	401	ῥωμαῖος	397
διάκος	396	Ῥωμανία	413
δίασπρος	402	σάμβαθον	394
δούκας	410	Σαρακηνός	407
έγκαυστον	393	σκάλα	407
έμβολος	406	σκλάβος	404
έξάμιτον	402	*σμερίδιον	401
*ίνδανικόν	401	στρατιώτης	409
κάημα	400	ταπήτιον	402
καθαρός	400	ταρκάσιον	411
κανονικός	393	ταρταροῦχος	393
καταμήνια	393	Τουρκόπουλοι	406
κατάστιχον	413	*τριακοντάσημον/ *τριαντάσημον	413
κεραμίτης	412	τριπάσσαλον	409
κονδούρα	396	τροῦλλα/τροῦλλος/ τουρλ-	402
κόρτη	410	τύμπανον	401
κυρικόν	394	φάληκς	405
κώδικον/Κώδικος	410	φανάριον	398
λαμματίζω	401	χαβιάριον	411
μαγαρίτης	411	*χαλκόχυτρον	395
μακαρώνεια	397	*χαριστία	398
μανδράκιον	396		
*Μαυρόβλαχος	396		
μελιντζάνα	411		