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CONTRIBUTIONS BY BYZANTINOLOGISTS TO ROMANCE ETYMOLOGY

Through common or reciprocal borrowing the constituent languages of the Western culture share a great many lexicological items. The etymological investigator of any one linguistic area finds himself, therefore, involved in the analysis of many words coming from languages other than those of his special training and interest. Consequently, flaws, errors, and omissions are inevitable, even for the great masters of modern etymological research, with all their admirable instinct, technique, and knowledge. Furthermore, modern production in the field of word history has expanded so rapidly that it is difficult enough to keep up with research in a particular area and almost impossible to be familiar with that of neighboring areas. The present study illustrates these problems. The seven more or less common Romance words with which we shall be concerned are all, essentially, of religious content or provenience. Various Byzantinologists have proposed derivations for these words, but almost none of their hypotheses appear in the standard etymological dictionaries of the Romance languages. Although not all of these suggestions constitute definitive solutions, some of them probably do, and the others undoubtedly merit consideration. We shall present the seven hypotheses, elaborating them, some more and some less, in the form of seven word histories.

1. Carnival.

The Western designations of *carnival* can be grouped into various patterns [1]. One of the most common of these groups shows the structure : *carn-* 'meat' plus a morpheme of negativity, usually based on a verbal stem (such as *laxare, levare, tollere, privare, secare*) plus a nominalized

1. They were compiled by Merlo, *Wörter und Sachen*, III (1912), 95-101.

ending, often shaped through suffix change, haplology, or metathesis [1]. The earliest record of this pattern, *carnelevare*, is of 965, from Latium (Subiaco) [2]. A parallelism between the Western pattern and the corresponding Byzantine term has frequently been noted (e.g., Merlo, p. 89, fn. 1 ; Battisti-Alessio, *DEI*, s. v. carnasciale), but in 1938 a Greek scholar, Antonios Hatzes, went beyond the simple observation and suggested an interpretation of the Western expression as a loan translation of the Greek [3]. The Greek form is ἀπόκρεως (with numerous variants) ; it consists of the negative prefix *apo-* plus the morpheme *kre-* ' meat ' plus a nominal ending. The word is used above all in the terminology of the Great Fast ; specifically, it designates Sexagesima Sunday, the second before Lent and the eighth before Easter. The Greek designation, in other words, indicates the last Sunday (as well as the week that precedes it) which comes before the fast period.

Although the history of the timetable of fast in the Eastern and Western Churches is still unclear (« Tout cela est assez confus », Cabrol [4]), the Greek ' word ' seems to have been borrowed in the form of a calque linguistique together with the Greek ' thing'. Under the spell of the designation of Forty Days (or Quadragesima), to which, in reality, corresponded only thirty-six days of fasting before Easter, the Greek Church extended the beginning of Lent by an additional week [5]. At first, the longer period of abstention applied only to the clergy, as is seen in a treatise of the end of the 6th century by Joannes Jejunator (Migne, *PG*, LXXXVIII, 1913) : Εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰς δύο ἑβδομάδας, τῆς τε Ἀποκρέου καὶ τῆς Προφωνησίμου ἀκωλύτους ἅπαντας εἰς πάντα, τούς τε μοναχοὺς εἰς τυρὸν καὶ ὠόν, τούς τε κοσμικοὺς εἰς κρέας. [« During two weeks, however, that of Apokreos [or Sexagesima] and that of Denunciation [or Septuagesima]

1. Wartburg, *FEW*, II, 391. Corominas, s. v. carnaval. Aebischer, *Les Dénominations du ' Carnaval '*, in *Mélanges Michaëlsson*, Göteborg, 1952, p. 1-10.

2. Aebischer, p. 8.

3. Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, XIV (1938), 182-186, with a French résumé on p. 622.

4. Cabrol and Leclercq, *Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de liturgie* [*DACL*], s. v. jeunes. A bibliography dealing with the problem of the *grosse Fastenzeit* in the Eastern Church ap. H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München, 1959, p. 254, fn. 1.

5. F. X. Funk, *Die Entwicklung des Osterfastens*, in Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen, I (Paderborn, 1897), p. 270-275. Vacandard ap. *DACL*, s. v. carême, col. 2144.

every one is free from penance in every respect : the monks may eat cheese and eggs, and the laymen, meat». By the 7th century, the extension had apparently become more general : from the eighth Sunday before Easter, i. e., from Apokreos Sunday on, everyone abstained from meat. The extension of the fast period, and the technical designation of its initium were transferred to the West [1]. Differences remained in the absolute dates involved. Various non-coordinate factors determined the dissimilarities in dates : the different length of the fast week, six days in the West (Sundays excluded), five in the East (Saturdays and Sundays excluded); and the fact that in the West each week is named for the preceding Sunday but in the East for the following one [2]. Thus, Sexagesima Sunday, the eighth before Easter, became in the Greek Church the starting point of the period of fast and was accordingly called Apokreos; while in the Western Church the corresponding term, a translation of the Greek, was applied to Quinquagesima Sunday, the seventh before Easter.

By the end of the eighth century the Westerners were aware of the difference in duration that existed between their period of fasting and that of the Greeks. This is indicated by a passage in a letter, of 798, from Alcuin to Charlemagne : Audivi dum Romae essem, quosdam dicentes magistros, quod orientales populi novem ebdomadas et Greci octo et Latini septem ieiunare soleant (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Epist.* IV, 225). By about the same time the extended fast period, taken over by the Roman Church from the Greek, spread from Rome to Germany [3]. As mentioned above, the translation of the Greek term appears by 965 in central Italy. According to our analysis, the name designating the beginning of the fast period or, more precisely, the end of the meat eating period is transferred to the season of revelry before Lent.

An old tradition among classical scholars derives the name *carnival* from CARRUS NAVALIS ' landship ', a central exhibit in the cultus of Isis [4];

1. *DACL*, s. v. carême, col. 2144 (Vacandard); s. v. jeunes, col. 2497 (Cabrol). P. Siffrin, *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, X (1930), 23.

2. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 129, fn. 2. A. Vogt, *Constantin Porphyrogénète : Le Livre des cérémonies*, I : 2, Paris, 1935, p. 161. Dölger, *Byz. Z.*, XXXIX (1939), 250 [where, in l. 14, ' an Sonntagen ' should read ' an Sonntagen und Sonnabenden '].

3. Vacandard, *art. cit.*, col. 2145.

4. A. Alföldi, *A Festival of Isis in Rome*, in *Dissertationes Pannonicae*, ser. II, fasc. 7, Budapest, 1937, p. 57-58, with bibliography.

folkloristically, there may be a connection between the celebrations of Isis and the merrymaking of Shrovetide. Etymologically, such a hypothesis would pressent two principal difficulties. It would, on the one hand, establish *carne-laxare, carne-tollere,* etc. as new creations, on a tertiary level, based on a parallelism with *carne-levare,* which in turn would have to be explained as a secondary transformation of **carnaval* from CARRUS NAVALIS. On the other hand, it would separate etymologically the Eastern and the Western designations of the same institution. The simpler explanation, based not on polygenesis but on monogenesis, i. e., on a single Greek origin of the entire word family, presents the fewest difficulties.

2. MACARONI.

The etymological origin of the typically Italian cereal is still debated [1]. An often suggested derivation is that from Grk. μακαρία 'dish of broth and groats ', recorded by Hesychius. Semantically, this base would in itself represent a secondary layer; the noun is a derivative of μακάριος ' blessed '. In Byzantine Greek, it designates the funeral feast [2]. This explanation does not, however, explain the second morpheme, *-on-*. Battisti-Alessio (s. v. maccherone) apparently consider it an Italian morpheme which became attached in the process of the transfer of the term from the Greek of Southern Italy to Romance.

In contrast to this hybrid explanation, Koukoules (Λαογραφία VI [1917], 546), in a not easily accessible study [3] suggests a derivation of the entire term from Greek. He points out the frequent coupling, in funeral orations and memorial services, of the two terms μακάριος ' blessed ' and αἰώνιος ' eternal '. Typical expressions, often appearing in a context requiring the feminine gender, are : μακαρία ἡ ὁδός [' blessed the road ']; αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη [' eternal the memory']; ὑπὲρ μακαρίας μνήμης καὶ αἰωνίου ἀναπαύσεως [' for a blessed memory and eternal rest ']; σὺ εἶ ἡ ἀνάστασις, ζωὴ καὶ ἡ μακαρία ἀνάπαυσις ['you are the resurrection, the life, and the blessed rest']. Koukoules concludes that the use of the two morphemes

1. Bibliography ap. Corominas, s. v. macarrón ; Prati, *Voc. etim.*, s. v. maccherone.

2. The Greek material was compiled by Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός, Athens, 1948-57, IV, p. 207, fn. 1. Koukoules, Θεσσάλονίκης Εὐσταθίου τὰ Λαογραφικά, Athens, 1950, I, p. 490. Loukatos, 'Επετηρὶς τοῦ Λαογραφικοῦ 'Αρχείου, II (1940), 91.

3. Recently rediscovered by S. G. Mercati, *Atti Ac. dei Lincei,* Memorie, ser. VIII, vol. X, fasc. 1 (Rome, 1960), p. 49.

in similar environment led to a blending of μακαρία and αἰωνία, resulting in μακαρωνία as a synonym of μακαρία ' funeral banquet '. The religious term was transferred (a process paralleled by various examples listed by Koukoules) to traditional dishes offered at the occasion of this ceremony. Thus, the modern Greek dialect of Eastern Thrace (Adrianople) still uses the oxytone variant μακαρωνιά as the designation of the pilaw prescribed at funeral feasts. In the standard language a new neuter singular, μακαρόνιον, was formed from the feminine μακαρωνία. This is the form that spread, devoid of its original religious connotation, through Ven. *macarón* to the West. The Western term, in short, is a Byzantinism which spread either through the Crusades or through commercial relations between the Empire and Venice.

Quite possibly, the well-known literary Renaissance term *macaron(ic)* ' burlesque composition blending Latin with vernacular elements ' is an alloseme of the culinary term. Here again, various derivations have been suggested [1]. Mercati [2] draws attention to the Greek variant μακαρώνεια [neutr. plur.] ' funeral song (particularly commemorating the death of the Virgin) ' and suggests that this Greek literary expression was transferred to Italy with a change in connotation, as the depreciative designation of the monotonous and meaningless cantilena heard in funeral rites. The Greek literary term is recorded earlier than its Italian variant : the former appears in the 13th century, in the writings of the Archbishop Jacob of Bulgaria ; the latter, as *Macaronaea*, at the end of the 15th century, in Tifi Odasi, from Padua. The port of entrance in this case would also have been Venice. Just as the Greek dialect of Eastern Thrace preserves a trace of μακαρωνία 'dish offered at funeral banquets', so the dialects of the Cyclades keep the meaning variant ' funeral prayer ' alive : on the island of Syros a question about someone who died long before is answered by the expression : τώρα ! μακαρώνια'ς τὴν ψυχή του [' now ! funeral prayers to his soul ', i. e., ' he died long time ago '] [3]. The jocular connotation of the expression seems to result from the fact that the old term μακαρώνια has been repressed by the later Italianism and rückwanderer, μακαρόνια ' macaroni '.

1. Bibliography ap. Corominas, s. v. macarrón, col. 171 b.

2. *Studi Bizantini*, II (1927), 299-300 ; and *Bull. de l'Inst. Archéol. Bulgare*, IX [1935] = *Actes du IV^e Congr. Intern. des Ét. Byzantines*, I (Sofia, 1935), p. 176.

3. Koukoules, Λαογρ., *art. cit.*, p. 545, fn. 6.

The literary term, then, is identical with the culinary in origin and form, although it represents the branching off of an earlier stage of the semantic development : the stage ' funeral song ' rather than the stage ' funeral dish '. Both are developments of a set phrase constituting a blending of terms typical of funeral ceremonies. That both etymological puzzles, *macaroni* and *macaron(ic)*, can be explained without great difficulties, within a wide geographical frame, as allosemes of this one sememe, ' expression typical of funeral ceremonies ', recommends these suggestions by Koukoules and Mercati.

3. Canon.

The ecclesiastical term *canon* (and its variants), which designates a certain dignitary of the church (' the member of the chapter of a cathedral'), exemplifies a common linguistic situation : a derivation whose morphemic basis is obvious although its semantic one is not. There is agreement on the form of the etymon, Lat. *canōnicus*, a reflex of Grk. κανονικός, but not on the particular meaning variant involved. N. Widloecher states [1] : « L'origine del nome *canonico*... non ha avuto sempre una spiegazione soddisfacente e uniforme » ; and C. Dereine indicates, without preference or even curiosity, some of the possible filiations [2] : « Il importe peu à savoir si, du point de vue de l'étymologie stricte, le mot vient, comme le veulent certains, de κανών, signifiant soit la matricule ou liste des membres d'une église [3], soit la part des revenues ecclésiastiques, soit encore la psalmodie. » The communis opinio [4] leans toward still another explanation : *canōnicus* ' pertaining to the rules ' is postulated as a basis, apparently because the form of life of the clergy concerned is supposed to have been founded on the knowledge of, or adherence to, certain ecclesiastical rules.

Much can be said, however, in favor of the basis ' psalmody '. A. Pöschl [5] suggests Grk. κανών ' psalmody ' as the startingpoint for *canon*,

1. *Encicl. cattol.*, III (1949), 553-554.

2. *Dict. d'histoire et de géogr. ecclésiastiques*, XII (1953), 354.

3. The filiation advocated, e. g., by H. Leclercq ap. *DACL*, s. v. chanoines, p. 238.

4. First proposed, as far as we know, in the 4th century by St. Basil (Leclercq, *art. cit.*, p. 233) and now represented by the Romance etymologists : Bloch-Wartburg, *Dict. étym.*, s. v. chanoine ; Corominas, s. v. canón ; Battisti-Alessio, *DEI*, s. v. canònico.

5. In a neglected discussion in *Bischofsgut und Mensa episcopalis*, I (Bonn, 1909), § 3 : Stiftskirchen, Kanoniker (p. 48-80, esp. 51-53) ; and in a later, slightly retouched and

the dignitary, and its congeners. What he presents as the semantic prehistory of the term is not quite clear; he hints, in *Kanonikerchöre*, p. 195, at a connection with the Hellenistic term κανονικός ' trained according to the musical theories of the Pythagoreans ' (a derivative of κανών, monochord', thus named because, since it rendered the simplest tonal relations, it constituted a ' standard ' for the determination of acoustic theory [1]). This, however, is unconvincing unless a bridge is established from Hellenistic musicology to early Christian practice. Pöschl's second reference (not elaborated) to *zeiteinteilung* (p. 195) is more promising; he suggests that κανών ' rule ' (a word of widest significance and influence in our Western civilisation [2]) may have applied to the disposition and regulation of the holy office. This first development in which κανών ' arrangement ' changed to ' office ' [3] was followed by a second, based on the preponderance of singing involved, as a result of which κανὼν ' office ' was specialized to ' psalmody '. Pöschl's main argument is a record of this latter stage. The 7th century ecclesiastic writer Antiochus Monachus in Homilia 105 presents the definition : ἡ ψαλμῳδία ἡμῶν κανὼν λέγεται ' our psalmody is called *canon* ' (Migne, *PG.*, LXXXIX, 1753). In Homilia 18, the same author identifies the κανονικαί as γυναῖκες ψάλλουσαι ' female singers ' (p. 1185).

In this context, then, the derivative κανονικός designates the professional church singer. The expansion of the profession of church singer coincides with the development of liturgical singing, in the period of the ascendence of the Church in the 4th century. The first canons are found among those of the clergy who are dedicated to music, the psalts (' singers ') and anagnosts (' readers '). Canonical choirs, i. e., choirs consisting of trained singers, are found only in connection with rich and powerful churches, renowned both for music and architecture : Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Caesarea, and Constantinople. In all of these, the

all too sketchy résumé of this study, entitled *Die byzantinischen Kanonikerchöre als Ursprung der abendländischen Stiftskirchen*, in the transactions of the *III*e *Congr. Intern. des Études Byzantines*, Athens, 1932, p. 194-197.

1. Abert ap. Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, s. v. Saiteninstrumente, p. 1766.

2. The broad semantic history of the term is presented, e. g., in the monographs by H. Oppel, Κανών (*Philologus* : Suppl. XXX : 4; Leipzig, 1937) and by L. Wenger, *Canon* (*SB Wien*, philos. hist. Kl., CCXX : 2 [1942]).

3. E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Boston, 1870, s. v. κανών.

canons make their appearance at about the same time. The sources stress the newness and unusual quality of these trained singers. Male and female singers are distinguished : κανονικοί and κανονικαί. In Italy, large church choirs are first introduced in the Byzantine churches, above all Ravenna. There the *canonici* are called *cantores*. From Ravenna the institution spreads to the rest of Italy : the *monachi canonici* are members of monklike associations devoted to church singing, particularly to the singing of psalms. In Gaul, *canonici* are introduced in large churches from the 6th century on. Church singing is extended from the professional singers to the whole clergy. In the Carolingian period the institution is expanded and generalized : the musical connotation recedes before the one stressing ecclesiastic community life ; together with this change, various other semantic shades of *canonicus*, particularly that of ' regular ', cover the original ' church singer '.

4. Lazarus.

Christian tradition has sometimes merged New Testament characters. In *Longinus*, for instance, the Middle Ages combined the Roman soldier of John 19 : 34 with the centurion of the synoptic Gospels (e. g., Matt. 27 : 54). In the case of *Lazarus*, three characters of the Gospels have coalesced. The confusion exists not only in the legend but also among etymologists. The three episodes involved are the following :

a) The parable of the rich man and the poor man, narrated in Luke 16 ; the poor man is described in vv. 20-22 : And there was a certain beggar named *Lazarus*, which was laid at his gate, full of sores, And desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table : moreover the dogs came and licked his sores. And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom.

b) The episode in which the brother of Mary and Martha is raised from death, told in John 11 : 1-44. In the first verse, the man is identified : Now a certain man was sick, named *Lazarus*, of Bethany.

c) The story of the anonymus leper in Galilee, healed by Christ, which is found in Mark 1 : 40-42 : And there came a leper to him, beseeching him, and kneeling down to him, and saying unto him, If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. An Jesus, moved with compassion, put forth his hand, and touched him, and saith unto him, I will ;

be thou clean. And as soon as he had spoken, immediately the leprosy departed from him, and he was cleansed.

These three passages have led to various confusions. The name *Lazarus* changed into an appellative noun and survived widely as the designation of the 'leper' : Medieval Lat. *lazarus*, OItal. *lazzaro* (*DEI*, s. v.), Fr. *ladre*; Span. *mal de San Lázaro* 'leprosy'. Why should the name of *Lazarus* who was not a leper in either Luke or John, have been attributed to the nameless leper of Mark ? Various suggestions have been made. The most common one [1] derives the 'leper' from *Lazarus*, the beggar full of sores, in Luke 16. Corominas explains Span. *lázaro* 'ragged beggar' (*DCELC*, s. v.) « por alusión al mendigo del Evangelio curado por Jesús de su afección leprosa » ; the same character, according to Corominas, has given his name to the lepra, *mal de San Lázaro*. Neither the first nor the second of these interpretations correlates with the Gospels. A third hypothesis is mentioned, without indication of source, by DuCange (s. v. Lazari) : *Lazari* 'leprosi' : sic dicti, quod eorum domus seu Ecclesia extra muros Hierosolymitanae civitatis sita, *sancto Lazaro* dicata esset. Prati (*Voc. etim.*, s. v. lazzaretto) suggests that this church took its name from the biblical *Lazarus* in Luke 16 ; but this, again, seems unfounded : the church is the Lazarium mentioned around 400, in the *Itinerarium Aetheriae*, XXIX (Pétré, ed., p. 217, with fn. 5), which commemorates the resurrection of *Lazarus* as told in John 11. To say that lepers were named for this church seems somewhat forced.

A fourth analysis, by far the most convincing, is proposed by Koukoules, in a discussion of Byz. λάζαρος [2] ; he states that in the Middle Ages the lepers were called *Lazari* in analogy to the dead and ressurrected *Lazarus* of John 11, because they were considered living corpses. This derivation is supported by the form of existence which was imposed upon the lepers. The leper's existence was like a *vera morte civile* ; he was accompanied to the hospital *con le ceremonie per i defunti* [3]. For the people, a comparison of the lepers with the dead was apt, indeed. In the 4th century, Gregory Nazianzen calls them (*PG*, XXXVI, 580) νεκροὶ πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου [' corpses before their death ']. In an edict of the middle of the 7th century, by Rotharic, King of the Lango-

1. Represented, e. g., by Migliorini, *Dal nome proprio al nome commune*, Geneva, 1927, p. 119 ; Wartburg, *FEW*, V, 233 ; Battisti-Alessio, *DEI*, s. v. ladra[2].

2. Βυζαντινῶν βίος, II : 1, p. 147.

3. Appolonj-de Ninno ap. *Encicl. cattol.*, s. v. lebbra.

bards, the leper *tamquam mortuus habetur* ['is considered dead'] [1]. In the 10th century the Byzantine historian Leo Diaconus compares them to νεκροὺς ἀτάφους, κινούμενα λείψανα ['unburied dead and moving corpses'] (ed. Bonn, p. 458).

Koukoules' interpretation, in short, of *Lazarus* as the designation of a 'leper' is based neither on the perception of sores as 'leprosy' (i. e., the Luke passage) nor on the confusion of *Lazarus* with the anonymous leper healed by Christ (i. e., the Mark passage), but rather on the medieval reality of the metaphor of the living dead (i. e., the John passage).

5. Parabolanus.

There is a widespread late-medieval and humanistic European term of learned character, *parabolanus* 'prattler'. Its variants are: Ital. *parabolano*, recorded from the 14th century on (Tommaseo-Bellini, s. v.); Fr. *parabolain*, recorded in the *Songe du vergier* (1376 or 1378) by Philippe de Maizieres (Godefroy, s. v.); Span. *parabolano*, recorded in the *Rimas* [1634] of Lupercio Argensola (*Dicc. Autor.* [1737], s. v.) : Algun gran poltrón *paraboláno*, and still alive today (*Dic. Acad.* [1956]) as a colloquialism : 'el que inventa o propaga noticias falsas o exageradas'. Corominas (*DCELC*, III, 616) considers the term as a congener of *palabra*, thus implying a basis PARABŎLA. Wartburg (*FEW*, VII, 606) derives it from PARABOLANUS 'daredevil', a derivative of PARABOLUS, from synonymous Grk. παράβολος. Battisti-Alessio (*DEI*, IV, 2765) combine the two hypotheses: they state that Grk. παράβολος 'reckless' was adapted somewhere (whether in Greek, Latin, or Romance is not very clear from their presentation) to *parabola* 'word'.

The Byzantinologists, on the other hand, following the method of Words and Things, tend to interpret the term in a different way. The tradition began with V. V. Bolotov [2]; was continued by H. Grégoire, *Byzantion*, XIII (1938), 283-285, and A. Philipsborn, *Byzantion*, XX (1950), 185-190; its most elaborate presentation was that of W. Schubart, *Journ. of Egyptian Arch.*, XL (1954), 97-101.

Schubart notes the existence of a religious brotherhood, the *parabalani*,

1. Cabrol ap. *DACL*, VIII, 2585, s. v. lèpre.

2. *Christianskoje Čtenie* [Christian Reader], 1892 : July-August, 18-37; cf. Mich. Speranskij, *Byz. Z.*, II (1893), 344-345.

whose name was first recorded by the beginning of the 5th century in Alexandria. Its members came from the lowest social class; their duty was to care for the sick, in particular to collect the lepers and plague-infected and to take them to the hospitals. They were, then, orderlies and they were tough. As to the form of the word, the variant with *a*, παραβαλάνοι, is the older and the one which is used in most manuscripts. It is a derivation of the morpheme βαλαν- ' bath ', with the prefix παρα-, which probably indicates ' helper '. The original pattern παραβαλάνοι ' attendants at the bath ' was then changed, through secondary influences, in two directions : *a*) It blended, in view of the well-know rough behavior of the brotherhood, with παράβολος ' reckless '. The result is *parabolanus*, a variant frequently found in medieval records. *b*) It blended with the widely-used medieval GrecoLatin morpheme *parabol-* ' talk ' and, perhaps, as a result of this blending, the *parabolani* or ambulant physicians, came to be considered talkative and vain. The latter use of the term is found in Rabelais, as *parabolain*, in the original prologue of the *Quart livre* [1], and is applied to the physicians of his time. In semantic terms, this is perhaps the last reflex of its original use.

The date of the Western reflexes seems rather late, therefore, we would suggest deriving them from Byzantine Greek rather than through GrecoLatin channels of late antiquity. In Byzantine Greek the Hellenistic term stayed alive [2] as part of the medieval terminology. It is perhaps not by chance that the 14th century French record is found in a work ascribed to Philippe de Maizieres, who had spent part of his life in Cyprus and had been a prime mover in the Crusade undertaken in the sixties of the 14th century, by Peter of Lusignan [3].

6. Labarum.

In late antiquity and in medieval culture the *labarum* played a considerable rôle as a standard, symbolic, ever since Constantine, of Christianity. The standard etymological dictionaries either do not go into the problem of the origin of the term at all [4] ; or they state that the origin is

1. Sainéan, *Langue de Rabelais*, I, p. 146.
2. Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν βίος, IV, p. 174.
3. Gröber-Hofer, *Gesch. d. mittelfranz. Lit.*, I (Berlin-Leipzig, 1933), p. 146-147.
4. E. g., Gamillscheg, p. 546; *FEW*, V, 100; Corominas, s. v. lábaro.

unknown [1]; or they offer some obviously unsatisfactory derivation [2]. Yet, since 1927, Byzantinologists consider the problem of the derivation of the term as solved, thanks to a convincing suggestion by Henri Grégoire, *Byzantion*, IV (1927-28), 477-482. In a second study, *Byzantion*, XII (1937), 277-281, Grégoire cleared up certain details, mostly of a phonetic nature, which he left open previously. A brief summary of his two investigations follows.

A term belonging to the jargon of Roman soldiers, *laureatum* (*signum* ?) 'image of the Emperor surrounded by a wreath of laurel' [litt., 'laureled image'], becomes, in the transfer to colloquial Greek, λαυρᾶτον. Semantically, it generalizes from 'image of the Emperor' to 'standard', because certain standards showed the Emperor's image. Similarly, then, a related colloquialism of the Roman soldiers, *laureum* (*vexillum*) 'standard' [litt., 'laureled standard'] is also taken over by Greek, where it appears, about 350, as λάβαρον, the designation of the standard of the victorious Christian faith. The Greek term wanders back to the West, in the Latinized form *labarum*.

The phonetic problem centers around the development of the sequence *-aur-* : the labial glide developed both in Greek and Latin to a labial fricative, and between this fricative and the following *r* a *sprossvokal* developed. This *sprossvokal* appeared in various forms; Grégoire cites the variants λάβαρον, λάβωρον, λάβουρον.

We ourselves drew attention to the fact that the Christian symbol appears, in the West, in doublets (*Rom. Philol.*, XII [1958-59], 224, fn. 40): in addition to the Greek *rückwanderer*, *labarum*, the original basis is also preserved in a direct Western form, the first morpheme of the famous *oriflamme*. Following and elaborating an old suggestion by H. Schuchardt and G. Meyer (*ZRPh*, XVI [1892], 522), we posit a starting point *laurea flammula*, litt. 'laureled standard'. Its old French reflex should have been *lorie flambe*, yet the recorded form is *orieflambe* (e. g., *Roland* 3093 *O* Hilka-Rohlfs). The loss of the initial *l-* brought the term into the orbit of *aur-* 'gold'; but it is difficult to say wheter the phonetic change was the cause or the result of the association. The interesting thing is that both variants, Greek and Latin, however marked the difference in form, still kept their original symbolic use and connotation in common.

1. E. g., Bloch-Wartburg, s. v. labarum.
2. E. g., Battisti-Alessio, s. v. làbaro.

7. Travail.

Travail ' work ' and its congeners have been equated, since Paul Meyer [1], with TREPALIUM ' tool of torture ', a compound of *tres* ' three ' and *palus* ' pale '. C. H. Livingston renewed the discussion of the term by his attempt to derive it, in a Words and Things approach, from *TRAPACŬLUM ' the instrument to wind yarn with ' [2]. However, his main objection to TREPALIUM, a semantic one, is not convincing : a Latin gloss in a ms. of the 11th century (*CGL*, V. 624,36 *trepalio* vel puteal est locus in quo rei verberantur) clearly shows that TREPALIUM is coupled with *puteal* ' the whipping post ' [3].

But, as the Kahanes have shown apropos of Livingston's study [4], Lat. TREPALIUM is less isolated than the scant tradition suggests. This hypothesis is based on the autobiographical (or pseudo-autobiographical) report by S. Ephraem Syrus, entitled *Narratio ad monachos de sua conversione* [5], preserved in an 11th century ms., but, it seems, belonging to the period of the Saint, the 4th century [6]. The relevant passage of the Narratio (XXVI) runs as follows : Τῇ οὖν ἐπαύριον ἐκάθισεν ὁ ἄρχων ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, καὶ προέθηκαν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ τὸ τριπάσσαλον καὶ πάντα τὰ βασανιστήρια. In the translation of 1616 by the humanist Gerardus Vossius [7] : Postridie autem judice pro tribunali sedente, constituerunt coram illo *tripassalum*, et quaecumque alia tormentorum genera.

1. *Rom.*, XVII (1888), 421.

2. *Skein-winding reels* (University of Michigan Publications in Language and Literature, XXIX), Ann Arbor [1957], p. 63-83.

3. For the meaning of *puteal* cf. Graff, *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz*, IV, 1031-2 ; Diefenbach, *Novum glossarium*, p. 40.

4. *Language*, XXXIV (1958) 541-542.

5. J. S. Assemani, *S.P.N. Ephraem Syri opera omnia, graece et latine*, III (Rome, 1732-46), p. XXIII-XXXI. Cf. Harles ap. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca graeca*, VIII, Hamurg, 1802, p. 235 ; A Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, III : 2,999, fn. 1 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 52.11.1/2 ; Berlin, 1952) ; and F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, I, 180, nº 587 (Subsidia Hagiographica, 8 a ; Bruxelles, 1957).

6. J. Bollandus, *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. 1, p. 49. Le Blant, *Ac. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, Mémoires, XXX : 2 (Paris, 1883), p. 226. Cf. dom H. Leclercq, *DACL*, XV, 2450 (1953), s. v. torture.

7. *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. 1, p. 57.

Since Grk. τριπάσσαλον contains the same two elements found in Lat. TREPALIUM, *tri-* 'three' and *pássalos* 'stake', the latter a common technical term of torture in the Roman period [1]; and since τριπάσσαλον is recorded earlier, in all probability, than TREPALIUM, it not only confirms TREPALIUM as an instrument of torture but is most probably the Byzantine model after which Late Latin TREPALIUM was patterned.

In Greek, the formation τριπάσσαλον was not isolated. The same pattern is found in the Byzantine passion play Χριστὸς πάσων, of the 11th or 12th century [2]: in line 1488, in the description of the cross, there occurs the adjective τρίσυλος [3], a compound of *tri-* and *húlē* 'timber', i. e., 'consisting of three pieces of timber'. It is possible that the designation of the instrument of torture was borrowed within the Christian tradition [4].

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1. A. D. Keramópoullos, Ὁ ἀποτυμπανισμός [The impalement], Athens, 1923, p. 67.
2. A. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, Urbana, 1957, p. 279, fn. 280.
3. J. G. Brambs, ed., Leipzig, 1885, p. 111.
4. The later semantic history of *travail*, with application to Gascony, has recently been skillfully presented by K. Baldinger, *Wartburg Festschrift*, Tübingen, 1958, p. 59-93.