## Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Russian Lexicons: Peculiarities of the First Representatives\*

KIRA KOVALENKO

Институт лингвистических исследований Российской академии наук, Тучков пер., д. 9, RU-199053 Санкт-Петербург E-mail: kira.kovalenko@gmail.com

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**Abstract:** The present paper is devoted to the first Russian manuscript lexicons, which were commonly used in Moscovy during the 16th and 17th centuries. The author discusses the origin of foreign words, literary sources, and principles of the organization of dictionary entries in synchrony and diachrony.

Keywords: lexicography, dictionaries, lexicons, manuscripts, Old Russian literature

The beginnings of Russian lexicography go far back into the past. The first lexicographical compilations which have come down safely to our time were made in the 13th century. It was a list of symbols from the Psalms, a list of obscure words from John Climacus's *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, and some glossaries to other translated texts. Starting in the middle of the 16th century, they formed the basis of a new lexicographical genre, the Russian manuscript dictionary, which is known as *Lexicon* or *Azbukovnik*.

According to the commonly accepted classification, there are 9 types of such lexicons: the lexicons of the preliminary stage, lexicons of types 1 to 7, and the lexicons of the selective type (KOVTUN 1989: 9–18). Lexicons of the preliminary stage are compilations of glossaries taken one after another, where the entries often have no particular order. Later, compilers began to order words alphabetically (according to the first letter). Furthermore, they started to use more sources; for example, glosses of obscure words and explanations of unknown concepts from Old Russian literature. Due to the numerous entries, such lexicons became independent books: while small glossaries had normally been attached to the more voluminous manuscripts initially, the lexicons began to form the main part of the manuscripts, to which other small articles (prefaces, grammars, and so on) were added. This point was the beginning of the lexicons in the full sense of the word. In my paper, I will concentrate on these first representatives – the lexicons of the first type.

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In Russian libraries, 18 manuscripts of the first-type lexicons are stored. They are the Russian State Library (Moscow), Tikhonravov's collection: 445, Undolsky's collection: 975, 978, and 979; the State Historical Museum (Moscow), Uvarov's collection: 25, 311 (later – Uvar. 311), and 503, Synodalnoye collection: 835; the Russian National Library (St. Petersburg), Pogodin's collection: 1143, 1340, 1643, 1644, 1648, and 1655, Solovetskoe collection: 16/16 and 21/21, the Main collection: O.XVI.1 (later – O.XVI.1); the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg), Arkhangelskoe collection: C107b. The first representative of the type is thought to have been compiled at the end of the 16th century but most copies came to us from the 17th century. In spite of their overall similarity, the copies are slightly different. I would like to describe two of them, which are very close to each other: O.XVI.1 and Uvar. 311.

The manuscript O.XVI.1 is a paper codex  $(14.7 \times 9.5 \text{ cm})$  on 224 folios. It was created in the twenties of the 17th century. The manuscript starts with a Preface, in which the reasons for compiling the lexicon and the abbreviations used are explained. The word entries go from f.7r up to f.118v, comprising 2 283 entries with explained words and collocations of foreign origin. There are also some additional articles about grammar rules and works of the Holy Fathers.

The second manuscript (Uvar. 311) has 198 folios and was created at the same time as O.XVI.1, that is, in the twenties of the 17th century. The lexicon starts with a Preface, after which comes the lexicon containing 2 274 entries.

In 1989, both manuscripts were printed (KOVTUN 1989: 126-294).

The citations will be taken from the O.XVI.1 (we used the lower pagination in the manuscript). Examples from the second manuscript Uvar. 311 are quoted only where there are seriously different interpretations.

The name of the compilation varies: "The book called Alphavit containing unintelligible foreign words one can find in sacred Slavonic books" (O.XVI.1) or "The explanation of foreign words found in sacred books presented in alphabetical order for ease of reference" (Uvar. 311). So, here we find the foreign words (or collocations) and their explanations – these are the most important and obligatory parts of any entry. Above the foreign words, we can sometimes see small red letters which point to the source language. Most of them are from Greek. Of course, the Russian language was greatly influenced by Greek after the Christianization of Russia, that was the main reason for borrowing. Therefore, most Greek words are closely connected to the Christian church hierarchy, worship, and theological notions. For example:

$An^{c}$ лъ, посла́/нни <sup>к</sup> (f.7r)	Apostle, messenger	cf. ἀπόστολος
<i>Ди/иако<sup>н</sup>, слуга</i> (f.35r)	Diyakon, servant	cf. διάκονος
Ёвангелие {г}¹, блговѣстие	Evangelie {Greek}, good	cf. εὐαγγέλιον
(f.41r)	message	

<sup>1</sup> In curly braces, you can see references to the original language and literary source, placed in the manuscript over the words or in the margins.

Логосъ {г}, слово (f.73v)	Logos {Greek}, word	cf. λόγος
Символь, исповѣданї/е вѣры {маѯ <sup>м</sup> гре <sup>к</sup> . о́.} (f.95r)	Simvol, faith confession {Maximus the Greek 70}	cf. σύμβολον
<i>О́у́постась</i> { <i>г</i> }, составъ (f.108r)	Upostas, content	cf. ὑπόστασις

Along with Greek words, there are also interpretations of Hebrew and Aramaic words. They came from books translated from Hebrew into Russian or from Greek books where Hebrew words were only transliterated:

Адана́и {ев} .m <sup>л</sup> . г <sup>с</sup> дь (f.7r)	Adanai {Jewish}, God	cf. Hebrew אדני
Карвана {евр}, да <sup>p</sup> , / евреи бо <i>ѿнели что обещаю<sup>m</sup> /</i> принести в дарь бгу, ѿто/ле <i>wно, карвану нарицаху, /</i> рекше да́рь возложень бгу { <i>ма<sup>p</sup>. кй / лу<sup>к</sup>. мб</i> } (f.64r)	Karvana {Jewish}, gift because Hebrew once have promised to give a gift to God, since then they named it karvana, that is gift assigned to God {Mark 28, Luke 42}	cf. Hebrew קֶרְבָן
Ѿ санна {ж}, спси/ны вышнїи, или ѝ ги спси же (f.83r)	Osanna {Jewish}, save us the Highest or God, save us (f.83r)	cf. Hebrew הושע נא
Саваw <sup>ө</sup> {ж}, си́ла {їсаїа а́ } (f.95r)	Savaof {Jewish}, strength {Isaiah 1}	cf. Hebrew צבאות
Варь {ев},/снъ (f.28r)	Var {Jewish}, son	cf. Aramaic בר

Latin words reflect Russian relations with Western Catholic countries. Presumably, they represent words concerning religious lifestyle:

Анима {p''},/диїа (f.12r)	Anima {Roman}, soul	cf. anima
И́нъ у∕рбибу, по поса́до <sup>м</sup> (f.56v)	In urbibu, in towns	cf. in urbibus
Ка/рдиналь {p"}, ми <sup>т</sup> рополи <sup>т</sup> (f.61r)	Kardinal {Roman}, bishop	cf. cardinalis
Папа {pu}, npe/вы́шнїи чинъ (f.87r)	Papa {Roman}, the highest rank	cf. papa
Силва {ри}, лѣсъ (f.99v)	Silva {Roman}, forest	cf. silva

Tatar and Turkish words occur much more rarely.

Абысь {ma}, попь (f.9r)	Abys {Tatar}, priest	cf. абыз
Темирь {ma}, же//лѣзо {cл <sup>®</sup> np <sup>4</sup> вла <sup>д</sup> м / и ц <sup>c</sup> p py <sup>c</sup> .} (f.105v–106r)	Temir {Tatar}, iron {The tale about the immaculate Theotokos of Vladimir, Russian kingdom}	cf. <i>темир</i>

Дербышь {тур}, игуменъ (f.97v)	Derbysh {Turkish}, abbot	cf. derviş
Суалітта́нь (!) {тур}, ца́рь {дани <sup>л</sup> . д } (f.97r)	Sualtan {Turkish}, tsar {Daniel 4}	cf. sultan
Сеиты {тур}, вл <sup>д</sup> кы сїирѣчь ѡ҆блада/тели земли (f.97v)	Seity {Turkish}, lords, that is land possessors	cf. seyyid

Some entries explain words from Church Slavonic or Old Russian language which departed from the Russian lexical system:

<i>Вертогра<sup>д</sup></i> , <i>wropo<sup>d</sup></i> (f.28r)	Vertograd, garden
Древле {сл}, прежде / и́ли в пре <sup>д</sup> ната времена {к де <sup>в</sup> р. (!) т́г.} (f.36v)	Drevle {Slavonic}, earlier or in former times {Epistle to the Hebrews 303}
Степень, лѣстви/ца {дѣа <sup>н</sup> . м́.} (f.100r)	Stepen', ladder {Acts 40}
Ў̀ѝ, / дада {ỉwa <sup>н</sup> бго <sup>с</sup> пре <sup>д</sup> сло <sup>в</sup> } (f.108v)	Ui, uncle {The Preface of John the Apostle}
<i>Усерази, серги</i> { $\ddot{i}$ схо <sup><math>\delta</math></sup> } (f.109r)	Useryasi, ear-rings {Exodus}

The words marked as Czech are especially interesting. The same words in the Novgorod manuscript lexicon of 1596 (Russian National Library, Pogodin's collection,  $N_{2}$  1642) and some other lexicons are marked as Polish. Most of them can be found in Belorussian and Ukrainian historical dictionaries and are considered to be Old Ruthenian words; some are Common Slavic. The source from which they came to the lexicon is unknown:

Картни <sup>к</sup> (in Uvar. 311 квартникъ) {челя (!)} кондра <sup>т</sup> , / рекше мѣ <sup>д</sup> ница (f.72v)	Kartnik (kvartnik) {Czech}, quadrans, that is copper coin	cf. Old Polish <i>kwartnik</i> 'an old fractional gold coin used in Poland in the 14th and 15th cent.' (SP16 11: 607–608), Old Belorussian квартникъ 'an old frac- tional coin' (HSBM 15: 16)
Креска {чес}, че/ртà (f.72v)	Kreska {Czech}, stroke	cf. Czech <i>kreska</i> , Old Belo- russian <i>креска</i> 'line, mark' (HSBM 16: 116)
Лакну <sup>л</sup> {че}, взалка <sup>л</sup> /ся (f.75r)	Laknul {Czech}, got hungry	cf. Old Czech <i>laknąć</i> (SP16 12: 450–451), Old Belorus- sian <i>лакнути</i> 'to be hungry' (HSBM 16: 281–282)
Нечекаша {ч}, нера <sup>д"/</sup> ша, или небрегоша (f.81r)	Nechekasha, did not take care or neglected	cf. Polish <i>czekać</i> 'to wait', Czech <i>čekat</i> 'to wait'
Пуща {ue},/ пустыня (f.89r)	Pushcha {Czech}, desert	cf. Old Russian <i>nyuµa</i> 'des- ert place', Czech <i>poušt'</i> 'de- sert place', Polish <i>puszcza</i> 'dense forest'

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Of course, many words have no language marks, although we can easily determine their origin. Moreover, not all language inscriptions are correct. Sometimes, the compilers overwrite not the language of word origin but the language from which the whole text in which the word occurred was translated into Russian. Or, it could be connected with the name of the book; Adupa, a loanword from Greek  $d\theta \eta \rho a$ . has the mark *ezu* 'Egyptian', most likely because it was taken from the Egyptian Patericon (Historia Monachorum in Aegypto). The same language may have different marks: г (an abbreviation for гречески 'Greek') and ели (i.e. еллински 'Hellenic') for Greek, pu (i.e. римски 'Roman') and ла (i.e. латински 'Latin') for Latin, and so on. As the compiler writes in the Preface, "ї а<sup>3</sup> тѣ рѣчи, ιа́ко<sup>ж</sup> в писа́нїи / то<sup> $\pi$ </sup>кова́ны wбрето<sup>x</sup>, тоу́ю / и здѣ с на<sup> $\pi$ </sup>писание<sup>м</sup> постави<sup>x</sup>, / а ку́ю бе<sup>3</sup> на<sup> $\pi$ </sup>писаниа wбрето<sup>х</sup> / тую и з<sup>д</sup>ь бе<sup>3</sup> на<sup>д</sup>пїсания поста/ви<sup>х</sup>. не смею что w себь при/ ложити" (f.5v) – "And I, those words, the same way as I had found in the manuscript, so here with inscriptions gave, and which one without inscription, so here without inscription gave. I durst not anything from myself add". Nevertheless, this testifies to the compiler's interest and attempt to determine word origin using all available means.

In the margins, compilers usually wrote the literary sources from which the words came into the lexicons (if they knew them). These are the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John with pericope numbers, Acts of the Apostles, Epistles, and the Book of Revelations. Then, in almost all the protocanonical books of the Old Testament, one can find in the margins of the lexicon: Genesis, Exodus, the Books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, Joshua, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel; and deuterocanonical books as well: Judith, Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Joshua ben Sira, and the Books of the Maccabees.

In addition to these, there are the marks to the works of the Holy Fathers: The Ladder of Divine Ascent of John Climacus, Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, works of Dionysius the Areopagite, Saint John of Damascus, Ephrem the Syrian, Dorotheus of Gaza, Maximus the Greek. Sometimes, the compiler mentioned only the names of compilations, not the particular text, for example, the compilations Chep' Zlataya (Golden Chain) or Zlatostruy.

Biographies of the Orthodox saints form a considerable part of the literary sources. The compiler used more than 20 hagiographical texts which were very popular in that period. Among the saints whose biographies we can find in the margins are famous theologians and writers (John of Damascus, John Chrysostom, John Climacus, Epiphanius of Salamis, Arsenius the Great, Theodore the Studite), hermits and ascetics (Anthony the Great, Mary of Egypt, Athanasius the Athonite, Onuphrius of Egypt, Sabbas the Sanctified, Sava of Serbia, Simeon the Holy Fool, John the Merciful, Saint Menas – the Martyr and Wonder-worker, one of the best-known Egyptian saints), and martyrs (Saint George, Demetrius of Thessaloniki). Then, the compiler used the Patericon – a collection of stories about saints, martyrs, and hierarchs, and tales about them, and Synaxarion – collections of stories about feasts and the lives of saints arranged according to the twelve months of the year.

Biographies of the saints were the favourite genre. Oleg Tvorogov wrote that "the value of the translated hagiography in Old Russian literature is exclusively great: biographies of the saints, along with sacred Scripture and homiletics, created the medieval Christians' ideology, and biographies of the saints were the basic source of information about the history of the world and the history of the church, along with chronicles" (TVOROGOV 2008: 3).

Historical and geographical books were much rarer in those times, and only a few of them are mentioned in the lexicon: the Christian Topography by Cosmas Indicopleustes, Explanatory Palaea, Chronicle (Greek and Roman kingdoms), and Alexandria.

The main subject groups are determined by the literary sources: a lot of words related to Christian lifestyle and Jewish geographical names connected with the lives of Jesus Christ and the Apostles came from the Gospels as well as theological books:

Комкание $\{z\}$ , прича/стие, ёже $e^{c}$ ть	Komkanie {Greek}, communion, that is
прилтие бжі/и <sup>x</sup> таинъ $\{e\phi pe^{M} nd\}^{2}$	taking God's sacraments {Ephrem the
(f.58r)	Syrian, 84 (actually 85)}
Капернаумъ {ев}, домъ утѣше/нил	Kapernaum {Jewish}, a house of comfort
{ev². tw <sup>н</sup> . s̄`} (f.63r)	{Gospel of John 7}
Пасха, преведение, / или свобода {гри <sup>2</sup> $бгo^{c}$ . $\vec{a}$ } (f.86v) <sup>3</sup>	Paskha, transferring or freedom {Gregory of Nazianzus 1}
Псевдопровити/ся, лжепророкъ	Psevdoprofitisya, a false prophet
{маžu <sup>м</sup> гре <sup>к</sup> . б з } (f.90v)	{Maximus the Greek 9, 7 (actually 7)}
Скрижали, двѣ доще <sup>ч</sup> ки / истесаны ис	Skrizhaly, two tablets hewing out from the
камени самөи/ра, на ни <sup>х</sup> же написа бғъ	sapphire stone on which God wrote ten
.ī. за/поведеи йлълтяно <sup>м</sup> (!) {евре <sup>м</sup> .	commandments to the Israelites {Epistle
mка} (f.96v)	to the Hebrews 321 (actually 320)}
Херуви <sup>м</sup> , многъ разу <sup>м</sup> , / $u$ прем <sup>д</sup> рость { <i>дейни</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>ape</i> <sup>n</sup> .} (f.112r)	Kheruvim, good sense and wisdom {Dionysius the Areopagite}

Historical books of the Bible, chronicles, and geographical books brought names of different places, descriptions of real and mythological peoples, animals, and plants. The Epiphanius of Salamis's story *On the Twelve Gems (About Ephod)*, which was included in Palea, describes various gems and their magic qualities:

Адамать (in Uvar. 311 адаманть) {г},	Adamant {Greek}, a very precious jewel
<i>камень зело че/сте<sup>н</sup> {о́евуде} (f.12r)</i>	{About ephod}

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Ephrem the Syrian's Homily 85: http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=1&manuscript=007&page=146.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Gregory of Nazianzus's first homily about Easter: http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium. php?col=1&manuscript=136&pagefile=136-0009.

Даөни/а, гра <sup>д</sup> иракла, а́ инде пише/тса даөния по еллински дре́/вце блгоуханно {алезандро <sup>в</sup> /хо <sup>ж</sup> } (f.36r)	Daphnia, town Irakleia, in other places Daphnia is meant in Greek a fragrant tree {Alexander's travelling}
Охла́/ти, есть диким лю <sup>д"</sup> именуе/ми wxла́ти, или косма <sup>т</sup> цы, и <sup>ж</sup> / су <sup>т</sup> круглы косма́ты черны w/бличие имуще лво́во {алеžа <sup>н</sup> дрїя.} (f.84v)	Okhlaty, people named okhlaty or kos- mattsy, which are round, black, shaggy and lionlike {Alexandria}
Oгнену <sup>c</sup> (in Uvar. 311 огенусъ), / пи́ше <sup>m</sup> , iа́ко е́сть во индиски <sup>x</sup> // страна <sup>x</sup> древо, наричемо ẃгне/нусъ (in Uvar. 311 огенусъ), и <sup>ж</sup> во ẃгни не гори <sup>m</sup> , и ни <sup>ж</sup> не / гние <sup>m</sup> {u <sup>c</sup> p елли <sup>н</sup> . / алеžа <sup>n</sup> .} (f.84v-f.85r)	Ogenus, it is written to be a tree named ogenus in the Indian land, which can not be berried {Greek kingdom, Alexandria}
Тигръ, / звѣрь лю <sup>m</sup> , и паки тигръ $e^{c} pe/ka$ . d. часть реки и <sup>3</sup> ше <sup>д</sup> шил и <sup>3</sup> pa/л; сил проходи <sup>m</sup> землю acupi/искую, a инде пише <sup>m</sup> , тигръ, / вѣтръ ocmpъ {u <sup>c</sup> p гре <sup>ч</sup> / бы <sup>m</sup> . $\tilde{e}^{r}$ } (f.105v)	Tigr, a fierce animal, and also tigr is a river, the fourth part of river came from Paradise; it goes along Assyrian land but in other places tigr is written to be a strong wind {Greek kingdom, Book of Genesis}

The names of representatives of the church hierarchy, civil and military authorities, and some proper names of famous people (tsars, poets, philosophers, and so on) also came from historical books.

Димостенъ еллинскии вило/совъ бѣ в лѣта .҂е́ та {u²p елли <sup>н</sup> } (f.38r)	Dimosten, there was a Greek Philosopher in year 5301 (207 B.C.) {Greek kingdom}
Куви/куларие {p''}, постелничеи цр́е/въ {їюди <sup>®</sup> . в́і.} (f.61r)	Kuvicularie {Roman}, the gentelman of the king's badchamber {Judith 12}
Протосигке <sup>л</sup> , / болши" келеиникъ патриарше/скои, и <sup>ж</sup> ѕелд честенъ {µ <sup>c</sup> p греч} (f.87v)	Protosigkel, the main patriarch cell- attendant {Greek kingdom}
Патрикѣи {г}, ѿи́ь мо́ща/го наро <sup>о</sup> наго промышления {ц <sup>c</sup> p гре <sup>ч</sup> } (f.87v)	Patrikie, the father of the common folk care {Greek kingdom}
<i>Сателите, / велможи {їюди<sup>ө</sup>} (f.103r)</i>	Satelite, noble people {Judith}

In addition to these sources, there are some others which are not mentioned in the lexicons but we can distinguish them. These are glossaries which had been compiled before. One of them is "The interpretation of obscure words" explaining incomprehensible words from an archaic translation of John Climacus's *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (further detailed in KOVTUN 1963: 216–268, TRIFUNOVICH 1982). "The interpretation" is just a list of Serbian words which would be unknown to a Russian reader (one of the first translations of *The Ladder* was made in Serbia and then came to Russia). In the lexicon, all the entries are ordered alphabetically.

Some entries (such as *Smilax*, for example) came from theological comments to *The Ladder* which exist in some manuscripts:

Гадани/е, сокровенъ глаго <sup>л</sup> (f.33r)	Gadanie, secret word
Рѣснотивие, йсти/нство (f.92v)	Resnotivie, truth
<i>Сво/и́ство, е́же и́ма<sup>т</sup> что о́со<sup>б</sup>но</i> (f.102r)	Svoistvo, what is one has particularly
Тризна, подвигь {лѣст. д́.} (f.106v)	Trizna, deed {Ladder, Step 4}
Ўзро́къ, вина̀ (f.108v)	Uzrok, blame
Смилаžъ {г}, трава, иже по/добна хмелю, вьетсѧ кру²/древа i и́scyшаѧ его крѣпо/стию своею (f.99v)	Smilax {Greek}, the grass which is like hop creeps around a tree withering it by its strength

The other lexicographical source is the *Explanations for proper names alphabetically* by Maximus the Greek (further detailed in KOVTUN 1975: 116–205). After the Christianization of Russia, newborn babies were given the names of saints, most of which had a Greek origin. The meaning of these names was unclear. Maximus the Greek translated Greek and some Latin names into Russian, and a large number of the names translated in his dictionary have been used in the lexicon. They formed the last part of each letter division, called "Human Names":

А́настасїи, воскр <sup>с</sup> ние (f.23r)	Anastasiy, resurrection
Варнава, / снъ́ утѣшения (f.30v)	Varnava, the son of comfort
Калистра <sup>т</sup> $\{z\}, / добрыи во́инъ (f.70v)$	Kalistrat {Greek}, good warrior
Ма/карие {г}, блженныи (f.79r)	Makarie, blessed
Пелагия, пучина (f.91r)	Pelagia, the deep

Apart from the above-mentioned ones, there are a lot of entries in which it is difficult to classify and determine what sources they were taken from. Most of these words are of Greek origin and we can only suppose that their source was something like a Greek–Russian dictionary. The others are lexical variants which were usually written in the margins as a result of the editor's correction of texts.

Here, we have investigated only two lexicons of the first type but they have an extremely important place in Russian lexicography because other lexicons of the first and other types were compiled on their basis. For example, Nil Kurlyatev made a new edition by reducing some large entries of the O.XVI.1 and adding new ones, and the new edition of the basic lexicon appeared. Gradually, new entries enlarged the volume more and more but all the lexicographical principles (e.g. the structure of entries, the alphabetical organisation, or the types of references) were kept almost unchanged. Only in 1596, in Novgorod the Great, a new type of lexicon was created: the compiler organized the entries not only according to the first letter but also taking into consideration the next vowel letter. Moreover, he used some rules organizing the entries within every letter subdivision. Nevertheless, even there, most features of the first lexicons were preserved, which confirms their key role in the development of Russian lexicography.

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