TWO MACEDONIAN GLOSSES IN HESYCHIUS' LEXICON

PHILOLOGICAL AND SEMANTICAL ASPECTS OF A HESYCHIAN GLOSS

The Hesychian gloss \( \text{βαθάρα} \), \( \text{πυκλή} \), \( \text{Μακεδόνες} \), \( \text{πυρλός} \), \( \text{Ἄθημενς} \) was preserved in a deformed condition and therefore it is necessary to reconstruct its original shape. It is obvious that the form \( \text{Ἄθημεντες} \), occurring here instead of \( \text*{Αθημενες} \), designs one of the Epirotic tribes. However, three different terms \( \text{βαθάρα} \), \( \text{πυκλή} \) and \( \text{πυρλός} \) are evidently "mots inconnus par ailleurs et déformés, probablement par les copistes d'Hésychius".

As a rule, the researchers of the Macedonian question feel powerless in the face of numerous difficulties and give no explanation of this gloss. However, in his monograph on the Macedonian language Otto Hoffmann proposed two

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1 This article was written during my five-months stay at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (22 IV–22 IX 1991). I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Prof. Georgios Kechagioglou for help and care and to Prof. Christos Trizizilis for useful comments and valuable criticism. I am also thankful to Prof. M. Margariti-Ronga, who kindly shared with me her intimate knowledge of the archaic Greek dialects. I am not sure that they agree with me as to a non-Greek origin of the Ancient Macedonians. Naturally, I am responsible for any remaining errors and shortcomings.


3 The emendation \( \text*{Αθημενες} \) (instead of \( \text{Αθημεντες} \)) was already introduced by both editors M. Schmidt (see HAL-1, p. 364) and K. Latte (see HAL-2, p. 316), following Palmerus and Musurus.


following corrections: (a) *βατάρα instead of βαθάρα, and (b) *πίρινος ‘aus Waizen bereitet’ (or *πίρνον ‘Waizenbrot’) instead of πυρλός. Both corrections were repeated by Vittore Pisansi, who additionally suggested an obscure derivation of the Macedonian word from the Indo-European root *bhög- ‘to bake (a bread)’, cf. Old Norse baka, German backen ‘id.’, Greek φώγω ‘I roast, toast, parch’. Unlike Pisansi, Jean N. Kallérís rejected both Hoffmann’s propositions.

The former emendation is worth justifying with regard to 1) an alphabetical order, because the Hesychian gloss in question occurs between βαταιει and βατάς, and to 2) a typical feature of the Macedonian language, which – as Hoffmann asserts – possessed no voiceless aspirates. The final explanation of this problem was given by Enzo Degani, who argued that: „The lemma βαθάρα [...] is unanimously believed to be corrupt, both by editors and by linguists: this is due to the fact that on the one hand – as was underlined by Otto Hoffmann – »das 9 gegen den Makedonischen Dialekt verstößt« (p. 73), and on the other the lemma in question – this is perhaps a less strong argument, but not such as to be ignored – is inserted extra ordinem between βαταιει and βατάς. In reality, the codex Marcianus, which I have accurately collated in the case of every gloss, reads without any doubt βατάρα. The alleged βαθάρα, over which scholars have been hitherto discussing, is nothing but one of the many printing errors contained in the meritorious but considerably inaccurate work by Niels Schow: this scholar quoted the gloss under discussion because Musurus had declared that the glossa, pertaining to it, νυκλή, was corrupt [...] Schow’s error was immediately inherited by Wilhelm Dindorf [...] »codex βαθάρα», and afterwards by Schmidt [...] »sic codex«), who proposed δθάρα, then by Latte, and by Liddell-Scott-Jones [...] as well as by all the linguists concerned”.

In consequence, we can conclude that βατάρα must be established as the only possible lectio codicis.

The second correction, proposed by Hoffmann, is hardly acceptable for a number of reasons. First of all, Hoffmann did not take in consideration that both Epirots and Macedonians used a similar dialect or even the same (non-Greek) language. Second, he treated the Macedonian word with no

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6 V. Pisansi, La posizione linguistica del macedone, „Révue Internationale des Études Balkaniques“ 3, p. 8–32, esp. 11.
7 Kallérís, op. cit., p. 115–116.
8 Degani, op. cit., p. 3–4.
9 For the position of Epirote and Macedonian among the ancient languages of the Balkans, see M. Kokoško and K. T. Witczak, Ancient Epirus and its Inhabitants, „Linguistique Balkanique“, 1991, fasc. 1–2, p. 41–49. For phonological divergences between Greek and Epirote, see especially: the same, Stosunki etnolingwistyczne w starożytnym Epirze (in Polish), to appear in „Balcanica Posnaniensia“ VII.
explanation of its Epirotic cognate. Third, he took Hesychius' translation of the Epirotic gloss (πυρλός) as that of the Macedonian one (πυκλή). Fourth, his correction was not verified from a philological point of view nor from an etymological one.

To reconstruct an original shape of the Hesychian gloss in question, it is necessary to emphasize that there is a semantic convergence of both deformed terms πυκλή and πυρλός because of a close relationship of the Epirotic and Macedonian languages. Beside the criterion of 'a semantical convergence' we must propose (in both cases) the second criterion of 'the closest conformity of a suggested emendation to the preserved text'. On the basis of the above criteria, I shall try to give a new explanation of the Hesychian gloss in question.

It is worth mentioning that a Greek word, being an original form of πυρλός, may be a feminine noun like βατάρα and πυκλή. If so, then we can take into consideration only the Greek word πύλας/πύλος f. (o-stem) denoting 1. 'tough (for feeding animals)', 2. 'bathing-tub', 3. 'vat, kitchen-boiler', 4. 'sarcophagus', 5. 'setting, socket of the stone', 6. 'infundibulum (of the brain)', 7. 'a surgical instrument'. This possibility is highly probable in connection with the rarity of the feminine o-stem nouns in Greek and because of the significant resemblance between πύλας/πύλος and πυρλός. The replacement of an original form (*πύλας/*πύλος) by the fictitious form πυρλός can be explained as the result of an accidental written contamination (interfusion) with πυρή 3. 'bathing-tub' (=πύλας/πύλος [GEL, p. 1556]), especially if *πυρή was an original form instead of πυκλή (see below).

It is likely that the Macedonian equivalent was primarily explained by a Greek word, whose meaning was similar to that of *πύλας/*πύλος or even the same. In this case I can propose the following emendation: the fictitious item πυκλή appeared instead of (Ionic) πυρή f. (ā-stem) as the result of a defective transcription by copists of Hesychius' lexicon. It is not impossible to suppose that internal -λ- in this item was introduced through contamination of *πυρή with *πύλας/πύλος. The meaning of Greek πυρία (Ionic πυρή) may be given as follows: 1. 'vapour-bath', 2. 'external application of heat', 3. 'bathing-tub' (=πύλος 2), 4. 'tomb (=ἐλαστής), tomb-chamber'.

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10 A Greek-English Lexicon compiled by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, revised and augmented throughout by Sir H. S. Jones, Oxford 1989, p. 1550–1551 [henceforth: GEL]. It should be added that the same emendation was first suggested by Soplingius, see Degani, op. cit., p. 14: *πύλος (pro πυρλός) Soplingius: πέρνος Guyetus: πυρός Schm.: πέρνος ('aus Weizen bereitet') vel πέρνον ('Weizenbrot') Hoffm.

11 GEL, p. 1556. There is also a homonymous noun in Ancient Greek (πυρία II. 'fishing by torchlight').
It is worth emphasizing that the Ancient Greek word πῦλος/πῦλος was not preserved in Modern Greek\(^\text{12}\) and went out of use in Byzantine times\(^\text{13}\). Likewise, the noun πυρία I. was apparently replaced from the Medieval Greek language\(^\text{14}\). Then the defective transcription of the gloss may be easily explained considering the fact that both these words were unintelligible for the copists of Hesychius’ lexicon.

On the basis of the above, we can reconstruct the following original form of the Hesychian gloss in question: βατάρα . *πυρή, Μακεδόνες. *Πυέλος, *ἀδαμάνας.

ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF EPIRO-MACEDONIAN βατάρα

The correctness of the above-suggested reconstruction may be checked from an etymological view-point. The Epiro-Macedonian term βατάρα “bathing-tub” (= *πυέλος), vapour-bath (= *πυρή) can be successfully compared with the Common Germanic word *bāpa- n. ‘vapour-bath; bath’, also ‘bathing-tub’, cf. Old Icelandic bað n. ‘warms Bad, Dampfbad’, OSwed. baŋ, Norw. bað, Dan. bað, OFris. bað, OHG. bað, German Bad, English bath, Dutch bad and many others\(^\text{15}\). As is well-known\(^\text{16}\), the Germanic item continues the Indo-European protoform *bʰo₁to-, which is derived from the root *bʰe-: *bʰo- ‘to warm’ (cf. OHG. bājan, German bāhen ‘to forment’). The close relationship of the Germanic and Epiro-Macedonian terms can be established beyond all question. As a matter of fact, the term βατάρα originates from the same protoform *bʰo₁to-, extended by means of the feminine suffix -rā\(^\text{17}\). Then it is simply an exclusive isogloss, which joins in some way the Germanic and Epiro-Macedonian languages.


\(^{13}\) Note that E. A. Sopfocles, Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B. C. 146 to A.D. 1100), Cambridge 1914, p. 963, cites neither πῦλος/πῦλος nor πῦρία.

\(^{14}\) The noun πῦρία I. occurs in Modern Greek dialects, but with different meaning ‘Fischfang bei Fackellicht’ (< πῦρια II.): πῦρια Chios, Megiste, πῦρια Epeiros [Parga], cf. Mod. Greek to πῦρια, see Andriotis, Lexikon..., p. 474, No. 5164. However, traces of πῦρια I. are well preserved in the verbs πῦριξα ‘erhitzen, erwärmen’, also ‘ausbrüten’ (ibid., p. 474, No. 5165) and πῦριδ (ibid., p. 474, No. 5166).

\(^{15}\) See e.g., H. Falk and A. Torp, Wortschatz der germanischen Sprachheit, Göttingen 1979, p. 256; J. de Vries, Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Leiden 1961, s. v. bað.

\(^{16}\) Cf. J. Pokorny, Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Bern–München 1959, p. 113 [henceforth IEW].

\(^{17}\) In any case, the relation of the Epiro-Macedonian and Germanic forms is in some way analogous to that of Mod. Gk. μανίσαμα l. ‘bath-room; bathing-tub’ and μανίνο n. ‘bath, bath-room’. [Both Greek words come from Italian].
The etymology suggested above can be taken as a positive verification of the proposed emendations on the one hand, and as an evidence for the ancient lexical links between the Indo-European tribes of the Balkans and those of the North on the other.

MACEDONIAN ὠδός: SEMANTICS AND ETYMOLOGY

There are no philological problems with the Hesychian gloss ὠδός. ῥὺμοι. Μακεδόνες, though the semantical and etymological aspects are still obscure. Firstly, Jean Kallérí's is unsure whether the Greek word ῥὺμοι (pl.) designs 'timons de char' (= 'poles of a chariot or car' [GEL, p. 1576]) or 'pièces rondes de bois sec' (= 'log or block of wood for fuel' [ibid.]). Secondly, the Macedonian word has no acceptable etymology10.

Regardless of the actual meaning of Greek ῥὺμοι, the Macedonian word in question can be easily compared with the Indo-European word for 'branch', IE. *όδος (< *H₁ότος), which is well attested not only in Germanic (e.g. Gothic ástās, O.Sax. ast, OHG. ast, German Ast 'branch'), but also in numerous non-Germanic languages of the Indo-European family (cf. Arm. ost 'twig, branch', Greek Attic ἐξος, Aeolic βδος 'branch', etc.)20. The semantical development of 'branch' to 'pole of a chariot (car)' is easily acceptable especially as any wooden pole is to be made from a branch of a tree. The different change of 'branches' to 'log (block) of wood for fuel' may also be adopted with no semantical difficulties, because 'block of wood' can be comprehended as 'a gathering of (dry) branches'.

As regards the phonological aspects, the development of IE. *o to Mac. a (as well as that of IE. *-oi to Mac. -ai) is wholly regular, compare e.g.,

1) Mac. ἕξος (Gk. κίλιον) < IE. *ókso- 'wood, firewood, tree, timber', cf. Skt. áksu- 'bamboo-pole', Gk. δὲλνα f. 'beech', etc.;

2) Mac. δόρουλος 'oak' < IE. *dóru- 'tree, wood', also 'oak', cf. Hittite taru-, Skt. dāru- 'wood', Gk. δόρυ n. 'tree, wood': δόρος f. 'oak', etc.;

and, on the other hand,

18 Kallérís, op. cit., p. 83–85.
19 For a short survey of the etymological explanations, see esp. Kallérís, op. cit., p. 83–84, ftn. 6 and 7. However, none of the proposed hitherto etymologies, including Kallérís' own, can be accepted for some reasons. Firstly, deriving the Macedonian lexical relics from the Greek language is a fundamentally blunder of a part of the researchers of the Macedonian question (e.g. Hoffmann, Kallérís, Katić, Sakellariou and others). Secondly, postulating the prefix *ad- in reference to Mac. ὠδός is an ad hoc hypothesis, proposed by another group of linguists (e.g. Schwyzer, Kussu, Pisani, Bednarczuk).

20 See S. E. Mann, An Indo-European Comparative Dictionary, Hamburg 1987, p. 893; and IEW, p. 785–786, s. v. odo-s 'Ast'.


3) Mac. κόμ(μ)ζρα (pl.) ‘crabs’ or ‘small crustaceans’ in general < PIE. *κίκθεροι (m. pl.) ‘id.’, cf. Gk. Doric κίκμαρος m. ‘a kind of lobster’, Old Norse humarr ‘lobster’, German Humer ‘id.’

However, it is impossible to decide whether the geminate -δδ- attests the process of an assimilation in Macedonian (i.e. IE. *-sd- > -zd- > Mac. -dd-21) or it is only a Greek transcription for Macedonian -zd-.

As a result, we can conclude that Macedonian δδστ (regardless of its actual meaning) represents a straightforward descendant of the Indo-European plural form *όσδοι ‘branches’.

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DWIE GŁOSY PALEOMACEDOŃSKIE ZACHOWANE
W LEKSYKONIE HESYCHIOSA
(streszczenie)

Chociaż Leksykona Hesychiosa stanowi wartośćowe i wciąż nie w pełni wykorzystane źródło do badań nad wymyślonymi językami antycznymi Bałkanów, to jednak zachowane głosy paleobałkańskie wymagają właściwej analizy filologicznej i semantycznej. Autor analizuje pod tym kątem dwie głosy paleomacedońskiej. W pierwszym przypadku odtwarza nie tylko właściwą postać wyrazu (mac. βαλσά) i całej glosy, ale też właściwe jego znaczenie: 'żānia parowa, wanna'. Zestawia następnie ów termin paleomacedoński z pokrewnymi nazwami, zachowanymi w językach germanijskich (por. niem. Bād, ang. bath, stil. baδ). W drugim przypadku autor rozważa semantyczne aspekty głosy paleomacedońskiej δδστ i na bazie analizy etymologicznej rekonstruuje jej pierwotne znaczenie i postać (i.e. *όσδοι ‘gależie’).

21 For a phonological analogy, see Old Norse haddr m. ‘braid, tress’ (from Germanic *bādzaz m. ‘id.’ and IE. *kosδh-) and many others. This process occurs also in some Ancient Greek dialects.