

George Thomas

Middle Low German Loanwords in Russian

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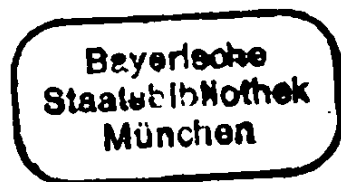
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GEORGE THOMAS

MIDDLE LOW GERMAN LOANWORDS
IN RUSSIAN



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PREFACE

This book began as a thesis at London University which I defended in 1969. It has been entirely re-thought and re-written. Its subject matter first caught my interest when as an undergraduate I was attending a course of lectures on the history of the Russian language at London University given by Robert Auty. To him and my thesis supervisor Michael Samilov I owe an enormous debt of thanks. I should also like to thank N. M. Šanskij my supervisor during my year in Moscow (1967-68).

The staffs of a number of libraries throughout the world have eased my task, but I would like here to record my thanks to the ladies of the No. 1 Reading Room of the Lenin Library and the staff of the library of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies. I was fortunate to work also at the Riga City Archive and the Staatliches Archivlager in Göttingen. To their staffs I express my indebtedness. It was also my great pleasure to work with the staff of the kartoteka drevnerusskogo jazyka of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow. To Academician S. G. Barchudarov for his kind permission to use the kartoteka and to O. I. Smirnova and her colleagues for their assistance in using it I am greatly indebted.

I am very grateful to a number of colleagues for their advice and encouragement: G. F. Cushing, H. Leeming, A. K. Rejcek, A. S. Gerd, N. A. Meščerskij, H. Weczerka, H. H. Bielfeldt, and particularly N. Angermann.

To my typist Patricia Goodall goes my special appreciation for the preparation of the camera ready copy.

Lastly I should like to record my heartfelt thanks to Kubon and Sagner and the editor Dr. Peter Rehder for including this book in the series Slavistische Beiträge.

Hamilton, July 1978

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S	P A G E
SPELLING NOTE	8
INTRODUCTION	9
1. A Note on Middle Low German	9
2. Previous Treatment of the Subject	12
3. The Aim and Methodology of This Work	17
 THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	 26
1. The Beginnings of Russo-Hanseatic Trade	26
2. Russo-German Trade Within the Framework of the Hanseatic System	28
3. The End of Hanseatic Trade in Russia	32
4. Means of Transport	34
5. Items of Trade	36
6. Methods of Trade	38
7. Persons Involved in the Trade	39
8. Currency and Weights	41
9. Communication Between Russian and German	41
10. The Livonian Order	43
11. Cultural Contacts	45
12. General Conclusions	47
 VOCABULARY	 54
 LINGUISTIC CONCLUSIONS	 219
1. Phonetics	219
2. Morphology	221
3. Semantic Classification	223
4. The Word Geography of MLG Loans	229
5. The Obsolescence and Retention of MLG Loanwords	231
6. The Overall Function of MLG Loanwords	232
 COMPARATIVE TABLE OF DATING FOR THE EARLIEST ATTESTATION OF CERTAIN WORDS TREATED IN THIS BOOK	 236

	P A G E
KEY TO THE ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGES	237
BIBLIOGRAPHY	238
1. Primary Sources	238
2. Sources Quoted from the <u>Kartoteka</u>	240
3. Dictionaries	243
4. Secondary Sources	246
INDEX OF RUSSIAN WORDS	259
INDEX OF MIDDLE LOW GERMAN WORDS	265

SPELLING NOTE

For Russian sources I have followed the spelling of the printed editions and transliterated them according to the international system. I have made no distinction between ъ and і . I have preserved ѓ ; ѐ has been rendered as f ; ё has been rendered as " internally and omitted finally. All superscripts and subscripts have been incorporated in the general text. The spelling of all dictionaries and secondary sources pre-dating the orthographic reform has been revised to suit the present norms.

INTRODUCTION

The contacts between the Slavonic and Germanic peoples over the course of more than 2 millenia have led to a high level of mutual enrichment of the lexical systems of their languages. The two groups share items of vocabulary which are absent in any other language. Gothic loanwords penetrated Slavonic from early contacts on the Black Sea coast. The Slavs also borrowed heavily from the Bavarians in the 7th and 8th C.¹ For most of the individual Slavonic languages we now have a monograph on the role of German loanwords in the vocabulary of the respective language.² For Cz., Sln., SCr., Pol., we are now quite well informed about the rise of calques modelled on German.³ For Russian the study of German loanwords from the middle of the 16th C into the 19th C has been very extensive.⁴ The previously widespread opinion that German influences before Peter the Great were negligible is now untenable. In addition the role of Scandinavian loans, arising from contact with the Vikings in Russia, though one may continue to argue about individual words, is known in its broad outlines.⁵ The role of western loanwords in the period following the decline of Viking influence has received very little attention from scholars, many of whom have assumed a priori that since Russia had little contact with the West after the break-up of Kievan Rus' loanwords from this period are few. The present work will seek to show that through contact with the Hanseatic league the language, particularly in Novgorod, Pskov and Smolensk, was considerably enriched by loanwords from Middle Low German precisely during that period when Russian contacts with the West were arguably at their lowest ebb.

1. A Note on Middle Low German

The northern group of the continental West Germanic languages which have not undergone the second Germanic sound-shift may be brought under the general heading of Low German (LG). More

specifically, however, the term is applied to those dialects which have arisen in the area of Saxony. Since Jacob Grimm, the language spoken here in the period 1200-1600 has been called MLG (G. Mittelniederdeutsch).⁶ The preceding period is marked by a complete absence of any texts in LG. The MLG period lasts until the 16th C when as an official literary language it is gradually superseded by NHG and what LG is written is heavily contaminated by HG words and forms.⁷ After being driven out of official, legal, political or epistolary use, LG survived only as a vernacular or in literature for satirical purposes.⁸

MLG is traditionally divided into 4 dialects: Westphalian, Eastphalian, Brandenburg, North Low Saxon. It is on the basis of the last of these dialects that a more or less standard literary language came to be formed mainly as a result of the rise of Lübeck as the dominating force in the Hansa,⁹ even though an earlier literary standard was in use in Eastphalia.¹⁰ The geographical distribution of MLG coincided roughly with the sphere of influence of the Hanseatic League except in East Prussia where East Middle German, introduced by the Teutonic Order, predominated. Thus MLG was spoken and written from Bruges and London in the South West to Livonia and Novgorod in the North East. The language became the lingua franca of northern Europe particularly in the sphere of commerce, among artisans and in city speech. The influence of MLG was increased by the settlement of German craftsmen in most of the towns of Scandinavia. The result of this widespread use of MLG and a need to designate Hanseatic goods by a common name was that enormous numbers of MLG words were adopted into the languages of northern Europe.

It has been estimated for Danish for instance that of 500 loanwords entering the language in the period 1200-1500 400 are from MLG.¹¹ These loans can be identified in almost all spheres of life and include words which would figure highly on any word frequency count for Sw. or Dan.¹² Some examples: Sw. borgmästare, skomakare, kansler, jungfru, skilling, stapel, peppar, senap, mynt, krögare, timmerman, fönster; Dan. bogbinder, skipper, spillemand.¹³

Such is the extent of the influence that even prefixes and suffixes of MLG have become standard elements of Sw. and Dan. word-formation, e.g. be-, vör-, er-, -else, -êe, -inne.¹⁴ It appears that MLG has exerted much less influence on Dutch and English. For Dutch we can point to ballast, onkost, rekenschap;¹⁵ for English it is not easy to distinguish between LG and Dutch loans; perhaps MLG origin can be posited for cavel, kogge, cooper, staple, smelt, spar.¹⁶ It is likely that Finnish, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian have also adopted MLG words in large numbers; for Estonian just to take examples from the religious sphere: pawest, pisop, bichtvader, mukat 'monk', paradys.¹⁷ According to Johannes Sehwers Latvian has almost 3,000 German loanwords of which the vast majority are from LG.¹⁸ These include such basic elements as spiēgelis, sīpuols 'onion', papīrs, ērgeles 'organ'.

LG has also exerted influence on the Slavonic languages, but such influence is limited to Lower Sorbian and Polish. Even here LG loanwords do not appear to be extensive, e.g. LS štyr, kruž, šluza, Pol. bakord, bukszpryt, ster, szyper, szkuta.¹⁹ These loans may be characterised as arising from the mingling of Slav and Low German populations rather than from any trade contacts. It cannot be said that the LG elements in Pol. and LS are in any way significant beside the very large numbers of Middle German and High German loans.

For the sake of completeness, though it does not really concern us here, it ought to be pointed out that the contribution of MLG to NHG is very considerable, particularly in the field of commerce and seafaring, e.g. Ufer, Jacht, Strand, echt, Fracht, Gilde, Krabbe, Lotse, Hafen, Deich.²⁰

In its turn MLG was open to enrichment from those languages with which it came into contact. In education and religion the main source of enrichment was naturally Latin, e.g. gloriê, gracie. French loans were of a more varied character, e.g. kordewan, kumpaniê. Dutch and Flemish contributed much to the maritime and commercial vocabulary of MLG as well as serving as an intermediary for Romance words, e.g. quît, dosîn, barke, barse, kabel, sluse,

karavél, düffel. From English came lotsman, bot but otherwise influence is slight.²¹ With regard to Scandinavian influences it is interesting to note that, while the speech and writings of the Hanseatic factories in Scandinavia were permeated with Scandinavian expressions, few loanwords have penetrated MLG usage elsewhere. Thus for instance in Bergen one encounters Norwegian words like husbunde, schütting, setstaven.²² Scandinavian words which have become widespread in MLG include schra, wâtmâl²³ and from an earlier period the naval terms schute, busse, kiel, râ, snecke.²⁴

A similar situation can be observed for Livonia, i.e. large numbers of Estonian, Latvian and Russian words were in everyday use by Germans in Riga, Reval and Dorpat, but few of them are known in texts from other areas.²⁵ The only exceptions to this are mostly words of Russian origin, which, since they also arise from the same language contact which has brought about the existence of MLG words in Russian, we shall present here in some detail. It is instructive that we have the names of types of fur: doinisse, troinisse (from R. dvojnica, trojnica), lasten, lastken (R. laska, lastka), schevenisse (R. ševnica); types of boat: struse, lodie (R. struga, lod'ja, whence also MLG lodienman); names of persons: rumenicke (R. rybnik), tolk (R. tolk 'interpreter'), namesnicke (R. naměstnik); items of trade: Juchten/jufften (R. juft'); measures, scales and currency: besemer 'scales' (R. bezmen'); kap (R. kap'), kunen (R. kuna), denge (R. den'ga);²⁶ cf. too klete (from R. klet' perhaps via Latv. kliēts).²⁷

2. Previous Treatment of the Subject

The question of Low German loanwords in Russian has never been fully treated before as a single subject apart from my own earlier résumé of the thesis on which this present work is also to some extent based.²⁸ I have also examined previously the roles of MLG loans in the area of naval terminology²⁹ and in the names of spices.³⁰ Nevertheless a number of authors have mentioned the role of LG in imparting to Russian words of a specialised

mercantile or trade character. The first to do so was Anna Croiset van der Kop,³¹ who specifically pointed to the possibility of LG origin for some of the Dutch loans posited by van der Meulen.³² More extensive allusion to LG influences had to await the publications of Vasmer's pupils, particularly Clara Thörnqvist and Louise Wanstrat.³³ The latter gave over pp. 89-97 of her doctoral thesis on the characteristics of the Russian vocabulary to a study of individual words arising from "Beziehungen zwischen Novgorod und niederdeutschen Städten". She insists that these relations may go back to the 11th C and even earlier. As words of MLG or LG origin she suggests kovjor, brovst, brjuki, buk, burlak, bekar', vira, erenga, kabak, kap', liver, locman, mester', metal'nik, pemza, sterljad', stopa, tufel', švabra, šida, škil', šljapa. The LG origin of a number of these words is questionable to say the least; for our research excludes the possibility of MLG origin for kovjor, brjuki, vira, kap', locman, metal'nik, pemza, sterljad', tufel' and švabra. Wanstrat's main shortcoming is that she has not made any first hand study of any sources apart from Sreznevskij.

The same criticism could be levelled at Max Vasmer's etymological dictionary of Russian.³⁴ In fairness it should be pointed out that, though he probably rather exaggerated the role of LG, and at times the brevity essential to a work of that kind does not make clear whether Vasmer intends such-and-such Russian word to be regarded as a LG loanword, his is still the most comprehensive listing of LG loanword material in Russian.

More reliable information on the LG contribution to Russian is to be found in two works on pre-Petrine loanwords from German written in the early 1960's by Sunray Gardiner and Anna Karlovna Rejčak.³⁵ Gardiner's book deals with the period 1550-1690 but treats in passing a number of loans originating earlier. Aware of the direct influence of LG exerted by the Hanseatic League, the German presence in Livonia and the activity of the Livonian Order, Gardiner attributes busa, stjurman, škiper, škuta, jachta, brovst, burmistr, balka, ritor to LG influence. In addition in her word-article on jachta she points out that one encounters such words

as busa, bekar', bergomester, mester, rydel' "in the regions bordering on Livonia" where "a Low German linguistic influence is noticeable at an early date" (p. 259). Throughout the book Gardiner shows she is aware of the possibility of LG origin, though it would be fair to say that she adds little new concrete evidence on the words themselves with the result that her examples for many words are from a later date than ours. Then again LG loans before 1550 are not the primary concern of her work, their presence merely providing an embellishment to the main body of it. It is a tribute to her contribution to the study of MLG loanwords that her treatment of them is still the most reliable and extensive to date.

Rejcek's "Kandidatskaja dissertacija" from Leningrad University treats all loanwords of Germanic origin in Russian "delovaja pis'menost'" from 1400 to 1700. Since it deals with loanwords transmitted to Russian from English, Dutch, High and Low German as well as the Scandinavian languages it is somewhat unwieldy. The thesis does not include calques despite what one might expect from such a title. Conscious of the importance of showing the route of loans into Russian and severely critical of the sloppy etymologies of KES and the Academy 17 volume dictionary, Rejcek carefully documents the evidence for each word and traces the likely introduction of the lexeme into Russian. Like Gardiner, she deals with the possibility of Polish as a transmitter of German loanwords in Russian with circumspection. Indeed she goes a little farther in stating that the role of Polish intermediary has been greatly exaggerated in the linguistic literature. On the subject of intermediaries, it is interesting to note that her list of abbreviations lacks Latvian, Lithuanian and Belorussian. The main body of her work consists of articles on individual words, examining in detail the word's subsequent semantic development, its geographical distribution and its function within Russian. The author is not slow to admit the possibility of the Hanseatic League's having introduced both an item of trade and the word designating it. It is inexplicable

however, particularly in a native of Tallinn (Reval), why, as in the case for instance of anis, such words are seen as NHG loans. Rejcek's thesis is supplemented by tables which compare her own dating of a word's entry into Russian with that available from other studies. We shall repeat this manoeuvre at the conclusion of this book. In general one can say of her contribution, that, while the role of MLG loans in Russian is hinted at in the articles on individual words, no attempt is made to synthesise the nature of this lexical contact.

Another product of the sixties is Gerta Hüttl-Worth's essay on the western loanwords in Russian in the period 1550-1800.³⁶ While this work provides an interesting synthesis of foreign influences on Russian, it cannot be said that it adds substantially to our knowledge of the processes of lexical borrowing of the earlier period. The same decade saw the publication of three important monographs on Polish loanwords in Russian.³⁷ The work of Leeming, Kochman and Sobik is fundamental for our knowledge not only of the Polish contribution to Russian but also of the role of Polish as an intermediary between German and Russian. This is not the place to deal with these works in detail. Nevertheless they will figure prominently in the discussion of individual words in this book.

Lastly we must turn to the III volume of Valentin Kiparsky's Russian historical grammar,³⁸ where he attempts to show in some detail the origin of whole sets of loanwords which are still in use in contemporary Russian. Obviously his book represents a significant landmark in the development of Russian lexicology. In what way does it enrich our knowledge of the contribution of LG to Russian? Kiparsky states that contemporaneously with Polish loans (i.e. from 14th-17th C) "drangen ins Russische auch direkte Entlehnungen aus hochdeutschen und niederdeutschen Dialekten, die meistens über das Baltikum und die hansischen Faktoreien in Pleskau und Nowgorod, später in Moskau, eingeschleust wurden." He claims that "Baltendeutsch die Vermittlerrolle spielte" (p. 105). A number of points are not clear from these statements.

Did HG and LG loans come via the Baltic or only the latter? Why should "Baltendeutsch" have necessarily played a role?³⁹

Contacts were with merchants of the whole Hanseatic League not just with Livonian merchants. One questions whether the term "Baltendeutsch" has any significance for the beginning of this period. In any case one would expect that his list of words of direct German influence of the pre-Petrine period would give LG prominently as a source. Yet as MLG words he gives only burgomistr (certainly not from MLG in this form), djužina, drjagil', kružka, ludit', ratman (he gives 1464 as the first evidence, in fact it is common from the middle of 13th C), snur (1663, thus ignoring the evidence of Richard James and Tönnies Fenne, both cited by me in the article which Kiparsky quotes in support), stul, škiper. Surprisingly he derives anis and barka from HG, despite contrary evidence in the articles by me which Kiparsky quotes without comment. In addition he makes the grave error of taking master in the Smolensk-Riga Treaty of 1229 as meaning 'Meister'. He concludes that Polish had a much greater influence on Russian than German in 15th-17th C. In his treatment of Dutch loans he mentions some words which have considerable claim to being of MLG origin, e.g. korinka (which he says I claim as existing already in 1633, although a more careful reading of my work will reveal that the word is included in Torg. kn. from 16th C), stamed (already recorded in 1608), stopa (already at the end of 16th C). In short Kiparsky's book does scant justice to the MLG element in the Russian vocabulary. This is compounded by his intention to give weight to those lexical items which are still present in the Russian vocabulary even though the sub-title of his book is "Entwicklung des Wortschatzes". In other words he has not sought to characterise the lexical system of any period in the development of Russian; rather he has attempted to demonstrate the contribution of various languages to the modern lexicon.

3. The Aim and Methodology of This Work

This book was conceived with the idea of collecting as far as possible all the MLG loanwords in Russian and analysing the conditions in which these words were adopted. It soon became evident that in the past insufficiently strict means for identifying MLG loans had been employed. As a result many words have been attributed to MLG influence which turn out to have little claim to be so considered. They are examined here together with the genuine MLG loanwords. The purpose of the work may be summed up thus:

- 1) The identification of all the MLG loanwords in Russian sources of 1200-1550.
- 2) The analysis of words found only in later texts or in dialects which have some claim to be considered MLG loanwords.
- 3) To ascertain the origin of those words which other scholars have considered MLG loanwords.
- 4) The analysis of the conditions of the loan and the date of its entry into Russian.
- 5) The determination of the function of each word in Russian, the semantic category to which it belongs and the degree of assimilation into native Russian.
- 6) To study the morphological and phonetic phenomena of the loanwords.
- 7) To provide a synthesis of the overall contribution of MLG to the Russian lexicon.

The shortcomings of many of the estimates of the MLG contribution to Russian stem from an inadequate study of the primary sources. Clearly it would be impossible to study all texts written from 1200 to 1600. Therefore texts which promised to yield MLG loanwords were selected. The following were of particular importance:

- 1) Russo-Hanseatic trade treaties and other documents appertaining to this trade.

I have studied all the published documents of the Riga, Reval (Tallinn) and Copenhagen archives (ARA, ARA II, Bunge, AKA,

RLA, RGA, RGA II, SG, GVNP, Janin). All of the texts from the Riga City Archive have been seen by me in the original manuscript. I am told that the Archive contains no unpublished material in this sphere for the period 1150-1600. The former Reval City Archive documents were removed during the course of the last war to Göttingen where they are now housed in the Staatliches Archivlager of the Land Niedersachsen. I have consulted these documents in the original manuscript too. A few unpublished texts are held there but were not found to have direct reference to our subject.

These Russo-Hanseatic texts, which have been studied in detail by L. K. Goetz and others,⁴⁰ are a very fruitful source for MLG loanwords. They consist mostly of regulations for trade, peace treaties, diplomatic correspondence and even private letters. Contained in them are the names of cloths, wines, spices, weights and measures, coins and the offices of people engaged in the trade.

2) Miscellaneous north west Russian texts.

These include works of a specifically Novgorod or Pskov character -- the Novgorod and Pskov chronicles, Torg. Kn., Alex. Nev., Lav. Kn. They reveal in general far less than the above documents but are nevertheless of great importance in studying MLG loanwords. They reflect the degree of contact of Novgorod and Pskov with the Livonian cities and the Livonian Order.

3) Sources from other centres.

These are naturally of a diverse nature and include texts which other scholars had quoted in discussing various words, e.g. DDG; others were chosen because the texts or content have some link with north west trade or cultural ties with north Germany, e.g. Dracula, Af. Nik., Malinin XV. The texts of the diplomatic exchanges between Moscow and Poland (SRIO: 35), England (SRIO: 38), and Prussia (SRIO: 53) were studied to see how MLG loanwords competed with loanwords from other sources.

Some of the texts mentioned above contain translated material. Where examples from such texts are quoted in the word articles specific reference will be made to the translation. Otherwise no translated material has been used for the purpose of

this book.

4) Foreign sources.

The material in Fenne, James, Ridley and Paris Dictionary has been studied fully. These sources generally reflect the spoken language, but since we do not know the informants for the dictionaries and handbooks or how well the compilers heard Russian, we should be careful not to deduce too much from them. Basically we shall follow Gardiner's policy of using them as proof of the existence of the word at a certain date rather than analysing the spelling and forms of the word in detail. The worth of these foreign sources is that they reflect the spoken language and deal very much with everyday objects, especially items of trade. In addition they provide a gloss in a foreign language and thus help to pinpoint a word's meaning. Of the foreign sources Fenne has by far the greatest significance because it deals directly with Russo-Hanseatic trade.

In an attempt to extend the sources, I have used Sreznevskij's Materialy extensively for the period 1200-1500. For the latter half of the 15th C and for the 16th and 17th C I have used the card index (kartoteka) of the Slovar' drevnerusskogo jazyka, compiled at the Institut russkogo jazyka of the Soviet Academy of Sciences under the direction of S. G. Barchudarov. A dictionary based on this kartoteka is now beginning to appear.⁴¹ In the bibliography I have separated the primary sources proper from those sources which are in fact quoted from the kartoteka. I have done this to avoid giving the false impression to any future investigator that I have myself extensively used sources quoted from the kartoteka.

The word articles, which make up the major part of this book are organised in a standard pattern. First we give examples from the primary sources, followed by examples from Sreznevskij and the kartoteka. The articles continue with a summary of the word's meaning and its attestation in dictionaries. There follows an analysis of various scholars' work on the origin of the word. After a brief survey of the historical background to the loanword

we sum up the relevant arguments and try to draw our own conclusions.

In deciding the case for the source of a word a number of criteria are followed. Firstly the Russian word must be phonetically similar to its supposed MLG source. Secondly there must be an identifiable semantic relationship between the Russian word and its MLG counterpart. Thirdly the historical background to the loaning process must be manifest. On occasions however as we have pointed out for words in the Russo-Hanseatic spice trade the fact of identifying a loanword from MLG may itself be used as historical evidence of trade in that commodity.⁴² Nevertheless it will be obvious that only in a limited number of cases can MLG be established beyond doubt as the source of a given Russian word. Only those words whose MLG origin has been established to our satisfaction will be dealt with in the linguistic conclusions.

This study also includes a small number of calques. Although it is recognised that calques form a separate category from loanwords, it was decided to include them here so as to give a more complete picture of MLG influences on the Russian lexicon, and because they shed extra light on the overall language contact situation.

Footnotes

¹See V. Kiparsky, Die gemeinslavischen Lehnwörter aus dem Germanischen (Helsinki, 1934); A. Stender-Petersen, Slavisch-germanische Lehnwortkunde (Göteborg, 1927).

²A. Mayer, Die deutschen Lehnwörter im Tschechischen (Anstalt für Sudetendeutsche Heimatforschung der deutschen wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Rechenberg, 3, 1927); H. Striedter-Temps, Deutsche Lehnwörter im Serbokroatischen (Slavistische Veröffentlichungen, 18, Berlin, 1953); H. Striedter-Temps, Deutsche Lehnwörter im Slovenischen (Slavistische Veröffentlichungen, 27, Berlin, 1963); H. H. Bielfeldt, Die deutschen Lehnwörter im Obersorbischen (Veröffentlichungen des Slavischen Instituts an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin, 8, Leipzig, 1933); W. Kaestner, Die deutschen Lehnwörter im Polnischen (Veröffentlichungen des Slavischen Instituts an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin, 23, 1939); G. Korbut, Wyrazy niemieckie w języku polskim (Prace Filologiczne, 4 (1893), pp. 345-560); D. Šelud'ko, Nimecki elementy v ukrajins'kij movi (Kiev, 1931).

³N. Reiter, Die deutschen Lehnübersetzungen im Tschechischen (Slavische Veröffentlichungen, 3, Berlin, 1953); M. Rammelmeyer, Die deutschen Lehnübersetzungen im Serbokroatischen (Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen Reihe III Frankfurter Abhandlungen zur Slavistik, 23, 1975); C. Vasilev, 'Lehnprägungen im Polnischen und Slovenischen' (Festschrift für Alfred Rammelmeyer, Munich, 1975, pp. 405-438). K. Flekenštein, 'O kal'kach s nemeckogo v sovremennom russkom literaturnom jazyke' (Slavjanskaja filologija, V (1963), pp. 298-309).

⁴S. C. Gardiner, German loanwords in Russian 1550-1690 (Publications of the Philological Society, 21, Oxford, 1965) has an extensive bibliography.

⁵C. Thörnqvist, Studien über die nordischen Lehnwörter im Russischen (Études de philologie slave publiées par l'institut russe de l'Université de Stockholm, 2, Stockholm and Uppsala, 1948); for a discussion of the problem see V. Kiparsky, Russische historische Grammatik, III (Heidelberg, 1975), pp. 94-98.

6

A. Lasch, Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik (Halle, 1914);
A. Lübben, Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik nebst Chrestomathie und Glossar (Leipzig, 1882).

⁷R. Peters, "Mittelniederdeutsche Sprache" in J. Goossens (ed.), Niederdeutsch. Sprache und Literatur, I (Neumünster, 1973), pp. 66-115 .

⁸T. Sodmann, "Der Untergang des Mittelniederdeutschen als Schriftsprache" in J. Goossens, pp. 116-129.

⁹Peters, pp. 75-77.

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THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

During the Kievan period Russia enjoyed closer contact with the European centres of civilisation than she was to have until the time of Peter the Great. Trade routes linked Kiev with Cracow, Prague and Regensburg. Novgorod was visited by Scandinavian merchants particularly from the island of Gotland. From the 12th C Russia had a continuous, flourishing trade with North Germany. From the beginning of the 13th C Pskov and Novgorod had far less welcome contact with the West in the shape of the Livonian Order which tried without success to bring part of Russia into the fold of the western Church.

1. The Beginnings of Russo-Hanseatic Trade

It is impossible to determine exactly when the journey from Germany direct to Russia became common, but at least not until well into the 13th C. Prior to that the island of Gotland, particularly Visby, was the point at which merchants from all nations met.¹ There is some evidence for Russians being on Gotland in the 12th and 13th C. There are reports of their churches without any knowledge of the year of their foundation. The Russians are first mentioned as being present in Lübeck in 1188, when among others they are granted tax-free trade concessions. It seems, however, that gradually the Russians found it more convenient to stay in Novgorod or in the Livonian cities and trade with the Germans there. Indeed it was not until the reign of Ivan III in the late 15th C that the Russians began to realise once more the importance of a Baltic seaboard and the profit which could accrue from active trade instead of passively relying on the transport of other nations.

The earliest extant German-Russian trading agreement, usually dated at 1189,² speaks of an old peace treaty. German coins of 10th-12th C, most of Rhenish and Westphalian origin, are numerous in Russia, but this evidence is not conclusive for

extensive earlier trade. Nevertheless it seems likely that from the middle of 12th C German merchants were constant visitors to Novgorod and that, after the treaty of 1189, the trade was considerably more regular and systematised. This treaty guarantees freedom of trade and safe journey to Gotlanders and Germans in Novgorod and to merchants from Novgorod in Gotland and Germany.³ It allows for transportation by river, lake and sea. Land routes to Russia are not mentioned until the trade treaty of 1268-69. This treaty is altogether more explicit than those that went before dealing with such problems as pilots for the return journey, language study for the Germans (see below), the freedom of Germans resident in Russia from military service and the continuance of trade during periods of war. It should be remembered that Russia, particularly Pskov, was constantly at war with the Livonian Order. Though the Order and the expansion of German trade in the east were at first developments which went hand in hand, the savagery of the Knights was at complete variance with the peaceful aims of the merchants. These divided attitudes caused each party constant embarrassment in the following centuries.

At roughly the same time Russo-German trade was developing and being regulated in the Dvina River basin. The oldest text mentioning this trade is the Cologne privilege of 1165.⁴ The Livonian chronicler Heinrich der Lettenpriester informs us as an eyewitness of the beginnings of German trade in the area within the framework of the general subjugation and Christianisation of Livonia. In 1210 Grand Master Arnold went to Polock to discover whether the Prince would be prepared to grant Riga merchants access to his land. In 1229 a treaty was signed between the Germans and Smolensk. It offers a more careful regulation of trade than the basic treaties of Novgorod and remained the cornerstone of relations between Russian and German merchants in the Dvina area for almost 200 years. Those responsible for the drawing up and ratification of the treaty included Bishop Albert of Riga, Master Folkwin of the Livonian Order, the citizens of Riga, two merchants each from Lübeck, Soest, Münster and Gröningen and one

from Bremen. Possibly the codification of already existing practices, the treaty mentions the prohibition of credit, security of personal freedom and free development of trade.

An important factor in stabilising this early trade was the colonisation by north Germans of the east Baltic shore and the foundation of cities there on the model of Westphalian towns (Riga in 1201, Reval 1219, followed by Dorpat, Narva and Pernau). This helped to bring about the unity of the eastern Baltic, and these cities served as advanced outposts for developing trade with Russia.⁵

2. Russo-German Trade Within the Framework of the Hanseatic System

German merchants in Novgorod were either "winter travellers" or "summer travellers", each group staying for approximately half a year. There was a further division into "land travellers" and "sea travellers"; the latter, being senior, were accorded extra privileges and were accompanied by the priest, who, besides administering to their spiritual needs, acted as scribe and bookkeeper. The coffers and wares were kept for security in the church, the sturdiest building in the Novgorod factory. Russians were not admitted to the church, so that they should not know the extent of the unsold supplies. At night the factory was patrolled by a guard with dogs and everyone in the factory had to take his turn at this duty. Every merchant paid rent for his room, which entitled him to use of the common brewing, baking and wax-melting facilities. The keys to the coffer of the factory were kept by the elders of Gotland, Lübeck, Soest and Dortmund. No women were allowed to enter the factory on any account, probably on the grounds of preserving security, besides which all the merchants had to swear an oath of celibacy each time they visited the factory.⁶ The strictness of these house regulations gives some indication of the difficulties which stood in the way of the development of close personal relationships and mutual trust between Russians and Germans.

Bearing in mind this atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion, it is remarkable that the trade continued to flourish. The history of Russian trade relations with the Germans is one long chapter of complaints, reprisals and stubborn refusals to give in to demands and trade embargoes. That trade did continue in spite of these obstacles is no doubt due to the absolute necessity of the trade to both sides for economic survival.

The continued success of the Hanseatic League depended largely on the adroitness with which the axes of trade were manipulated in Lübeck to maintain the equilibrium between east, west, north and south. Walter Vogel points out that originally trade was confined to articles which were so rare in a particular area that they were treasured as gold.⁷ Later conveyance of goods was more important. Hanseatic trade had its basis in the cultural and geographical differences between the eastern and western lands of northern Europe. In other words the Hanseatic merchants exploited the fact that in eastern Europe animal farming on any large scale was not possible because of the climate, that Poland, Lithuania and South Russia had vast plains for cereal crops, that Scandinavia was rich in wood, that the Low Countries had a skilled work force etc. Thus the East provided mostly mass products for consumption -- cereals, fish, beer (to be regarded as a form of nourishment rather than a pleasurable indulgence) and raw materials which the West could transform into manufactured goods.

The densely populated towns of Flanders were admirably suited to the blossoming cloth-weaving industry. Since she relied heavily on exporting, Flanders was dependent on sea traffic. In addition she needed raw materials in order to weave cloth from them. Wool had to come from England and Spain. In time England and Holland developed their own weaving industry to the point where they could compete with Flanders. There was always a ready market for fine cloths in the East, which had neither the resources nor the techniques for making good quality cloths itself.

Apart from the geographical position at the neck of land linking the North Sea and the Baltic and the availability of all

the natural resources indispensable for ship-building -- wood, tar, hemp -- several factors gave the Hanseatic towns a distinct advantage in controlling north European trade.⁸ The towns of north Germany were autonomous, possessing complete independence in all commercial and political questions. Nominally of course they were part of the Holy Roman Empire, but a political vacuum had been created by the preoccupation of the Emperors with affairs to the south. Secondly the towns were able to attract people from the land, since they offered an escape from feudal masters.⁹ Many foreign rulers found that German trade could be personally very rewarding and so they preferred to grant the Hansa special privileges rather than to have their own merchants perform the tasks for them.

Turning from this brief discussion of the factors which helped the rise of the Hansa, we can see that Novgorod found salt, cloth and at times cereals indispensable and at the same time the German merchants jealously guarded their monopoly of the Russian market, which provided a lucrative income for furs and wax to be sold on western markets.

I have indicated that for the earlier period of Russo-German trade Gotland played a very important role. Not only did it serve as a convenient place to break the journey, but merchants organised on Gotland held a high stake in the trade itself.¹⁰ Gradually we see a decline in Gotland's importance and a consequent rise in the position of Lübeck, by now the chief Hanseatic city, as controller of the Russo-German trade. Treaties are no longer made with Gotland and individual towns but with the Hansa as a whole. By the end of the 14th C however direct responsibility for the Russian trade had passed to the towns of Livonia, though the merchants there maintained close ties with merchant houses in Lübeck. Riga came gradually to have dealings almost exclusively with the Dvina area, while Reval (R. Kolyvan') traded mostly with Novgorod and Pskov. These two cities took upon themselves the role of "go-between" for the Russians and the remainder of the Hansa. For instance the Livländische Städtetage dealt with important everyday

details of the Russian trade. Thus the meeting of 1405 discussed such issues as shipping times, payment of a translator in Novgorod, appointment of wine inspectors, sale of horses to the Russians, trade with non-Hanseatics in Novgorod, cheating in wax, honey and flax. The increase in the influence of the Livonian cities detrimentally affected the independence of the Novgorod factory. Livonians increasingly took on the work of jobbers, entrepreneurs and interpreters.

In the latter half of the 15th C the conditions worsened considerably from the German point of view. In 1469 the German merchants were forced to leave Novgorod and retreat to Narva. The German church was closed and an embargo put on trade with Novgorod. The Russians were able to avoid this embargo since Narva, founded by the Livonian Order, had always refused to join the Hansa. Eventually peace was made in 1472, but this was the period when Novgorod was occupied in its final and, as it turned out, unsuccessful struggle for independence from Moscow. The victory for Ivan III in 1478, which left Novgorod, formerly the most powerful city state in Russia, part of Muscovy, opened up the way for the removal of Moscow's principal competitor in Baltic trade.

Conditions of trade in the cities along the Dvina were somewhat different. Polock and Vitebsk were within the limits of Lithuanian territory, while Smolensk was heavily dependent on Lithuania for its survival. That the Dvina towns fell under the sway of Lithuania had two important consequences. Firstly Polish influence on culture and language was direct and lasting. This can be seen in terms like město for town, pan for gentleman, burmistr as against bergomester in Novgorod, and voit from Pol. wojt. Secondly good trading relations were hindered by the fact that the Teutonic Order was at war with the heathen Lithuanians, even though the Order in Livonia, in consequence of its treaty with Vitovt, was not directly involved in the fight. In the treaty of Thorn (1411), which followed the Battle of Tannenberg, unhindered freedom of trade was granted anew. The Polockians imposed very demanding conditions in their treaties with the Germans, prohibiting them

from direct trade with Smolensk and Vitebsk. In Polock the German merchants had no large factory separated from the Russian city by a wall and ditch. "Vielmehr wohnten hier die Deutschen von einander getrennt in verschiedenen Häusern und Höfen, die ihnen von den Einwohnern wohl nur mietweise überlassen waren."¹¹ Throughout the 15th C the Russians on the other hand were continually trying to trade in the Baltic despite the strenuous resistance of the German merchants. The trade of the 15th C in the Dvina area consists of a tedious series of complaints and reprisals, culminating in the need for a completely new treaty in 1478. Yet even this treaty failed to deal adequately with such important problems as the concentration of trade in Polock. The Hanseatic monopoly had not much longer to run in the Dvina area either.

3. The End of Hanseatic Trade in Russia

In 1498 Alexander of Lithuania granted Polock the right of stapling goods. This treaty differs from all its predecessors in that it is not a bilateral agreement between Germans and Russians but a concession from Lithuania to the Russian merchants. The Germans were allowed now to practise only bulk trade except at three annual fairs. From this time, while trade continued, it did so with no special privileges for the Germans.

Further north, friction between the Hansa and the Livonian Order was growing more intense. Dorpat complained in 1475 that her wares were being blocked by the Order on their way to Russia. In 1476 the Hansa towns tried to arrange an end to the struggle between the Livonians and Russia, but the defeat of Novgorod by Moscow overshadowed all these problems. Suddenly the Livonian towns realised the immensity of the threat to their existence and trade that Muscovite expansion represented.

In the meantime the state of the factory in Novgorod had worsened. Even though Ivan III had written the Hanseatic merchants a letter promising protection, Dorpat still had to write on 25 July 1479 to Riga to suggest that the church should be walled

up and the factory closed as soon as possible. In 1487 envoys from Dorpat and Reval set out for Novgorod with a large entourage. On March 25 they made, on behalf of the whole Hanseatic League, a peace treaty with Ivan's representatives which was to have lasted 20 years. The Germans had to make several important concessions, and the position of the German merchants continued to deteriorate under Ivan's ambassadors until the closure of the factory in 1494. This was the crowning glory in Ivan's plan to spread the Moscow principedom to the west as far as the Baltic and remove any commercial competitors from his path. As well as removing the German merchants he also rid himself of the Novgorod merchants who also represented an obstacle to his plans. The factory in any case was not what it had been. The second half of the 15th C had seen many signs of its gradual disintegration -- a decline in the number of Russian visitors, lack of money in the factory, delapidation of the building and agonising disagreements between German and Russian.¹²

Several factors, apart from the confrontation with the aims of Ivan III, contributed to the decline of the German factory in Novgorod. Competition from various quarters was encroaching on the Hansa's trade monopoly. The Dutch were beginning to enjoy direct trade links with Novgorod. The south Germans from Augsburg, Regensburg and Nuremberg were using new land routes to reach Russia direct. The guiding of Hanseatic trade from Lübeck became increasingly difficult particularly in view of serious differences in outlook between Lübeck and the self-interest of the Livonian cities, who were quite prepared to become the focus of trade instead of Novgorod and Pskov.¹³

Although the factory reopened in 1514 for a short time and trade continued, admittedly under changed conditions,¹⁴ the closure of the factory signified the end of the old Hansa trade in Russia. Now the Germans were no more privileged than the Dutch, Danes or Swedes, and when the Englishman Chancellor discovered the White Sea approach to Russia he was welcomed by Ivan IV as a good alternative to the stifling Hanseatic trade. It should not be forgotten that the Hanseatic-Russian trade link continued long

afterwards,¹⁵ but the meeting place for German and Russian was just as likely to be Reval or Riga.

4. Means of Transport

The usual route for ships bound for Novgorod to take was to leave Lübeck for Reval^{15a} then on to the mouth of the R. Neva, where goods would be unloaded and transferred to Russian river boats (R. lod'ja) and the journey continued by way of Lake Ladoga and R. Volchov to Novgorod. To ensure safe passage along this route through the rapids and waterfalls the Germans had to hire Russian pilots and porters, although they could choose to dispense with their assistance on the return journey. Alternatively, on arrival in Reval one could choose one of several land routes via Dorpat and Pskov or Wesenberg and Narva.¹⁶ These land routes later became more popular than the traditional water routes because of the risks involved in dealing with the rapids and the undesirability of some of the Russians detailed to act as escorts. The land routes were essentially "corridors", and merchants who strayed from them were dealt with severely. The merchants found it desirable to travel in caravans, keeping well together and employing armed guards. The land routes were best suited for travel by sledge.

Sailing across the Baltic cannot have been a pleasant undertaking in the Middle Ages. The trip was fraught with dangers due to faulty navigation, inclement weather, unseaworthiness of ships and attacks from pirates. No insurance scheme operated in the Hanseatic area. Instead of this, in order to minimise risks, merchants usually owned part shares in several boats rather than having total ownership of one. It was common practice too for merchants to divide their cargoes among the different ships in a convoy. With regard to storms, the Hansa, cautious in all its activities, prohibited ships from leaving port if there was any chance of dangerous weather springing up. Navigation was conducted by a series of depth soundings with a déplot. The captain of the ship (MLG schipper) was himself a merchant and probably part-owner

of the vessel in his command. His office entailed recruiting crew members, responsibility for loading and unloading and for keeping reliable inventories of goods and stores. Only married men of a dependable and stable nature were chosen for this work, presumably because it was thought that they would be less inclined to desert with the ship and its contents. To relieve the captain of some of his arduous duties, a helmsman (MLG stûrman) was employed, who had primary responsibility for navigation of the vessel. In addition a pilot (MLG lotsman) was taken on for particularly treacherous stretches and for the entrance to harbours. The crew lived before the mast and had to sleep in quarters without any roof to protect them from wind and rain.¹⁷

One of the great advantages which the Hanseatic League had over its rivals was the kogge, invented towards the end of 12th C.¹⁸ It was a sturdy craft, flat-bottomed, high-sided with a voluminous hold. It had at first one square-rigged sail which could be well enough manipulated for the ship to be sailed fairly close to the wind and for a time the German sailor outstripped in knowledge and skill all previous European sailors. The construction of the ship put no limits on size. Only the depth of the water at harbours was a deciding factor. The Hanseatics also had various other types of specialised ships, mostly for coastal, river and lighter work, e.g. schute, schnigge, busse, barke, bardze and strusse. A constant difficulty in dealing with mediaeval ships is that one name may serve for several types of ship and that the names of ships are subject to change. The same ship may even have different names in different ports.¹⁹

Of Russian travel abroad during this period we know very little. Apparently the Russians were not seafarers. When they did venture into the Baltic, they would sail on the Hansa kogge. When the Russians did finally show some interest in sailing themselves the Hansa made sure that they were prevented from obtaining the necessary commodities for building ships. When we do find Russians further afield, they are more likely to be envoys than merchants, e.g. Isidor's mission to Florence in 1438, which stayed

some time in Lübeck after having been brought there by a Hanseatic kogge.²⁰ Novgorod certainly had no fleet of its own for the transportation of Russians. There are many references in German-Russian texts to appeals for German escorts for Russian dignitaries and to thanks for the successful completion of a mission.

Our knowledge of German travel beyond Novgorod and Smolensk is severely limited, nevertheless we do know that Germans did sometimes continue beyond Novgorod to Moscow.²¹ In 1494 when Schrove's delegation from the Hansa was in Moscow, they found more German craftsmen than German merchants resident there. Indeed they had to turn to a German craftsman to furnish a loan so that one of the party could pay off a fine for having struck a Greek.

5. Items of Trade

In Novgorod²² the two most important Russian exports were fur and wax. The furs were of considerable variety -- fox, wolf, ermine, sable, marten, squirrel, beaver and lynx.²³ Wax was brought from all parts of Russia. Impurities were often found in the wax, even to the extent of large stones placed in the middle. There was no really satisfactory method of checking for impurities in the wax. The other export items fall far behind wax and fur in importance -- sturgeon from the Neva, walrus teeth (for gifts), tallow, falcons for hunting. Little is known about this last commodity or about the export of drugs, silks or oriental goods in general.

In the Dvina area furs played a less important part in the trade, which is hardly surprising in view of the fact that the area has a hinterland which is much less conducive to trapping than that of Novgorod. Wax, mentioned in the first treaty of 1229, was of prime importance. Tallow, groats and barley were the other main exports from Polock. Of the imports to Polock, cloth was the main commodity. Among foodstuffs were salt, herring, stockfish, hops and cereals. Fruits and spices -- nutmeg, almonds, cloves, figs and raisins -- were also imported by the Hansa. Beer and wine was

sold, but only wholesale. Metals and metalware -- axes, knives, iron, lead, copper, tin and brass -- were also brought in.

The main item of Hanseatic import to Novgorod was cloth. The most expensive kinds, e.g. those from Ypern were used as presents. The better kinds were important for the vestments of the clergy. At the other end of the scale was watmal -- a popular, rough, woollen cloth. Most cloths were named after their place of origin, e.g. Brugge, Cambrai, Ypern, Nieuwerkerken, Tournai, Westerloo in Flanders; Amsterdam, Delft in Holland; Göttingen, Erfurt in Germany; Colchester, Kersey, London in England.²⁴ Although the quality of the English cloths was not high, and the Hansa was forced to stop the import of all but the best English cloths into Russia, they achieved considerable popularity when trade with Flanders was cut off in the 15th C. The Hanseatic merchants could import cloths but not clothes. The making of trousers at the factory was explicitly prohibited, but this prohibition was not always heeded. From 1466 permission was granted in the schra for one tailor at the factory. Many sundries for tailoring were among the Hanseatic imports -- pins and needles, yarn, thread and scissors. Gloves belonged to a later period and were chiefly confined to presents. Salt was obviously an indispensable item of trade. Indicative of its importance is that it was among the most popular articles for the Hansa to forbid when it wanted to bring pressure to bear on the Russians.

Herrings from Aalborg, Schonen and Bornholm were an important means of nutrition. They were sold and packed by the last. Wine was not only a trading item for ecclesiastical and private use, but was a necessity for embassies to bring as a gift to the Grand Princes in Moscow. Most of the known types of mediaeval wine were imported into Russia by the Hansa -- claret, malvasier, bastart, romanie.²⁵ It must be admitted however that little is known of the extent of Russian-German wine trade. Beer was brewed in the factory but this beer could not be sold to the Russians. Imported beer could only be sold by the barrel. The factory did not have retail outlets, which were such a well-known feature of the

Hanseatic "Steelyard" in London. Grain was at times an essential item of the trade because of the considerable fluctuations in the Russian harvests and the uncertainty of the often flooded or otherwise impassable roads which prevented grain arriving from the surrounding countryside. The Novgorod Chronicle of 6739 (1231) speaks of how Novgorod was saved from famine by the importation of German corn. I have argued elsewhere for the importance of spices in Hanseatic-Russian trade.²⁶ In lists of such goods imported by the Hansa may be included figs, almonds, dates, ginger, pepper and incense. Among the sundry articles may be mentioned parchment, hops, rosaries and metals (silver and copper from Hungary and Poland, lead from Sweden, Hungary and England, tin from England and Bohemia).

6. Methods of Trade

It is not easy to determine the volume of Hanseatic trade in Russia. There were usually 30 merchants at one time resident in the Novgorod factory, together with servants and apprentices. As a safety precaution, no merchant was allowed to bring more than 1,000 Marks' worth of goods to Novgorod. If at the end of the season the Church of St. Peter was still full of the winter merchants' goods, a message would be sent to the Livonian towns to hold up the summer merchants until the stocks had been cleared. From the fact that merchants from the Hansa returned year after year despite the long and dangerous journey, and the constant robbery and cheating which they had to endure, one can conclude that earnings from the Russian market must have been considerable.

Trade was predominantly wholesale, and payment made through exchange of goods. The Germans normally paid with cloth, the Russians with furs. Gradually however the Germans introduced a form of standard currency based on the Lübeck Mark of silver. The Hansa officially frowned on credit but could do little to prevent it. In Novgorod credit facilities were provided clandestinely, while in Polock credit was openly available.

Important for an assessment of the language contact situation is the fact that the Russians forbade the Germans to deal with merchants from other Russian cities or with merchants from Poland-Lithuania. Like the Hanseatics, the Novgorod merchants wanted the monopoly of trade on their side too. Many Hanseatic merchants would band together into companies and would thus minimise their financial risks. The Hansa strictly prohibited them from joining into association with non-Hanseatics. This last provision was directed mostly against the Dutch who tried to pose as merchants from Kampen, a member of the League.

7. Persons Involved in the Trade

Among the Germans visiting Russia some clearly enjoyed higher status than others. The fine for killing envoys, interpreters, elders and priests was higher than for others. Their importance lay in the fact that these were the individuals who had to treat with the Russians. Envoys on diplomatic missions were usually burgomasters or councillors from German or Livonian towns but during the mission were prohibited from engaging in trade.

The names of the interpreters on such missions suggest that they were Germans. It is likely however that some of the interpreters were Estonians. A number of Estonians were active in Reval throughout the Middle Ages as translators.²⁷ The Novgorod factory kept a permanent interpreter. His main task was to translate letters and compose replies. The Master of the Livonian Order and the Livonian Bishops had their own translators too. The Livonian Order also performed translation service from and into Russian for the Teutonic Order in Prussia.²⁸ If an interpreter was found to have translated wrongly, he would be punished by having his tongue cut out by the roots.²⁹ Interpreters were forbidden, following the Livländischer Städtetag of Pernau (1450), to translate on behalf of the French, Walloons, Lombardians, the English, the Scots, Spaniards or Flemings.

The elder was the Hansa's representative in the factory and was responsible for dealing with all Russian complaints. This task fell in the 15th C to the Hofknecht, who often had to endure anger and abuse from the Russians. The priest did not play such an important part in German-Russian relations. Although he was secretary to the factory and drew up the official and private documents, he had no official link with the Russians, certainly not with the Archbishop of Novgorod, although the latter was himself quite often in contact with the Germans.

Social mobility in Livonia and north Germany was limited. Most of the merchants represented the highest stratum of urban society and it was not easy for a craftsman, jobber or brewer to enter their ranks. The merchants visiting Novgorod came from all the towns of the League. However the numbers from certain cities -- Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, Hamburg, Bremen -- outweighed the others. In the earlier period the towns of Westphalia played a particularly important role -- Soest, Dortmund, Münster, Kassel, Koesfeld. Cologne was also of importance as the source of wine and cloth merchants. However in the later stages the merchants of Livonia played the most important part, many of them linked by close familial ties with the merchant houses of Lübeck.

Despite efforts to exclude non-Hanseatics from the Russian markets, there was competition to Hanseatic trade at times throughout this period. Thus in 1350 a group of merchants from Lombardy came to Novgorod. Instructions were sent out that they were not to be admitted again. The penetration of the Dutch into the Russian trade occupied the Hansa a good deal in the 15th C. At first the Dutch went only as far as Livonia, but in 1417 we have the first complaint concerning Dutchmen trading in Novgorod. The Dutch represented a great threat in the herring and salt trade. They were also beginning at the end of the 15th C, and more strongly in the following centuries, to sell their cloth direct to the Russians. The English presented little problem in Russia, though they had good relations with the Prussian towns, particularly Danzig.

Merchants from south Germany, particularly Nuremberg, Frankfurt/Main and Augsburg were also visitors to Russia. The Städtetag of Pernau (1461) forbade the hiring out of rooms or cellars to the Nurembergers for more than three days.

8. Currency and Weights

There was never a unified, fixed monetary or measuring system of the whole Hanseatic League. The last, a measure of capacity and the schippspund varied considerably from area to area and from time to time. The scales set up in Riga and Reval were the standards for Livonia and Russia, although the Russians continually claimed their right to employ their own measurements. They also had their own scales for the wax trade. The treaties deal with the setting up of weights and standard measures in considerable detail.

We have already pointed out that most trade was by barter. It appears that before 15th C the Russians in Novgorod had no coins of their own. Various Scandinavian and German coins are met with on occasion. In 1409 the Russians began to give up furs and traded in German and Lithuanian currency.^{29a} The coins in use included the Lübeck Mark, the Joachimstaler, the Livonian coins artig, ore and schilling.³⁰

9. Communication Between Russian and German

Thus far we have tried to show the background to any language contact. In this section we propose to examine as far as possible the exact nature of the language contact situation itself.

As we have seen, the German merchants were instructed by the schra to be wary of Russians in all trade and unofficial dealings. In addition the two groups belonged to different branches of the Church. Difference in religious observance was bound to lead to a degree of alienation. On the face of it the opportunities for intercourse between Russian and German which might lead to mutual influences on their respective languages were small. By far the

greatest hindrance to communication was however the mutual incomprehensibility of Russian and German.

The Germans soon saw the advantages to be gained from learning Russian. A treaty of 1268 with the Russians allows for German apprentices, known as sprakelerer to be sent into Russian homes inside Russia for the express purpose of learning ordinary conversational Russian. The clause in the treaty reads: Hospites libere et sine contradictione pueros suos mittant ad discendum loquelum in terram, quocunque volunt.³¹ A later ordinance of 1346 stated: "nen lerekit boven twintich jar olt scal leren de sprake in dem Nougardeschen richte noch to Nougarden enbinnen, he se we he si, de in des kopmanes rechte wesen wil".³² So highly did the Hansa regard this practice that they expressly excluded all non-Hanseatics from participating.³³ Estonians and Germans in Reval could also offer lessons in Russian. Thus a certain young gentleman from Lübeck had to pay more than 40 Riga Marks in 1440 to a Hinrik van der Heyde for teaching him Russian and Estonian.³⁴ For learning Estonian one generally reckoned with 17 weeks' instruction. It is not known how long it took to learn Russian or whether the apprentices ever got much beyond a fairly primitive knowledge of conversational and commercial Russian.³⁵

We have already seen that the Hansa and the Livonian towns had their own interpreters. A number of these may have been Estonians. It is not possible to establish whether Estonian was an intermediary in the language contact situation. Although Germans in Reval probably knew Estonian well,³⁶ it is likely that any Estonian interpreters would have translated direct from Russian to LG and vice versa. In any case there was never a shortage of Germans who had sufficient command of Russian.

Our information of the Russians' knowledge of LG is even more severely limited. We have no direct evidence that Russians learnt LG at all. Even on their visits to the Livonian cities, Russians, in all probability, used the interpreters there, rather than speaking LG. The term russisch used to describe such interpreters points to the fact that they were involved in Russian trade rather

than that they were of Russian nationality. In Estonian tulk, in Swedish and LG tolk (it may be significant that it is a Russian loanword) was used as the general term for an interpreter in Reval.

The knowledge of Russian thus derived culminated in several handbooks of Russian, particularly Tönnies Fenne's manual of 1609.³⁸ Contact between the two languages was sufficient to produce a number of Russian loanwords in LG (see above p. 12).

Contact between Germans and Russians was not limited to trade. In the next two sections we shall look briefly at relations with the Livonian Order and the cultural contacts between the LG-speaking area and Russia in our period.

10. The Livonian Order

The Livonian Order was founded on the basis of the Cistercian Order with the purpose of Christianising the heathen Latvians and Estonians.³⁹ The former were quickly won over and then assisted the Order in breaking Estonian resistance. This was finally accomplished in 1237, and the Order gained control of a vast area with a population of about a quarter of a million. This was achieved despite friction with Albert Bishop of Riga and King Waldemar of Denmark, who had founded Reval in 1219. At this point the Livonian Order formally became part of the Teutonic Order. This was not a happy union because the two orders were dissimilar in character and aims. The Teutonic Order saw as its goal the mass baptism of the Lithuanians and closing the territorial gap which separated its area from Livonia, while the Livonians were more interested in northern Estonia and the bordering Russian lands.

In the 1230's together with the Swedes the Livonian Order was planning a military assault on Russia. A pro-German and pro-Catholic faction existed in both Novgorod and Pskov. It was a party of Germanophiles within the walls of Pskov who opened the gates of the city to the combined German and Swedish army after an otherwise unsuccessful siege. The army then moved on Novgorod to establish the Order's authority in the surrounding area. All German

territorial or religious aspirations in Russia finally disappeared with the defeat of the joint army by Alexander Nevsky on the ice of Lake Peipus in 1242. The battle established the boundaries of the eastern and western Churches and brought about the break-up of the original knights. There were to be many skirmishes between Germans and Russians over the next few centuries, and these are faithfully recorded in the Novgorod and Pskov Chronicles.

The Livonian Order was not concerned with trade although its main border fortress town of Narva played an important role in Baltic trade by its refusal to recognise the occasional Hanseatic embargoes on trade with Russia. From the Livonian Order the Russians learned the practice of wearing chain mail coats (MLG panser) and of protecting their horses with armour. New weapons, including later on the cannon, were also introduced in this way.

The order was divided into three classes -- knights, priests and servants. To supplement the numbers there were a number of confratres, who were allowed to marry and lived outside the Order and were called upon for specific campaigns. The master (MLG mèster) had prime responsibility for running the Order. He had a personal entourage of two chaplains (MLG kaplân), who had charge of the archives, the seals and the chancellery, scribes and eight servants (including a smith, a translator and a cook). The voget was responsible for implementation of administrative decisions. In the campaigns the commanders (MLG kummendûr) and the marshals (MLG marschalk) held the positions next in importance to the master. Most of the knights were from aristocratic Westphalian families and naturally used MLG as their language of conversation.

Obviously contacts between the Russians and the Order were far from intimate. Yet the master is mentioned so often in the Russian chronicles that he must have been known to some of the more important figures in Novgorod and Pskov society. Knowledge of new military techniques was introduced. Otherwise the Order only served to antagonise the Russians although it can be said that their presence assured some protection for Hanseatic trade.

11. Cultural Contacts

The cultural contacts which trade between the Hansa and Russia engendered can be seen in the doors of St. Sophia's Cathedral in Novgorod, the vaulting of the Granovitaja Palata and perhaps in the "gothic" features in the decoration of the churches of Theodor Stratilates and the Saviour on Il'jina Street, which bear a striking resemblance to the decoration of patrician houses in Riga and Tallinn. It has been asserted that certain motifs in the Nibelungenlied came from Russian fairy tales transmitted to south Germany by Hanseatic merchants.⁴⁰ A profusion of recognisable signs of cultural contact is seen first from the end of the 15th C, when in fact the situation of the Hansa was already worsening.⁴¹

The Russian Church in Novgorod under the leadership of Archbishop Gennadij clearly had close contacts with the north German area. The greatest project of the Gennadij circle was the first full translation into Russian of the Bible. It was based on Catholic models -- the Vulgate and two early LG Bibles (those of Cologne and Lübeck). It is known that a Dominican was involved in this translating enterprise.⁴² Before 1492 (7000 from the beginning of the world according to the Russian calendar) fear was widespread in Russia that the end of the millenium would coincide with the destruction of the world. To allay these fears Archbishop Gennadij sent to Rome in 1488 for information on questions of calendar counting. Nicolaus Bulow, a native of Lübeck, a student of Rostock University where he began his studies in 1480, and a person of considerable fame within the Hansa for his learning, was commissioned to carry out this work. He is known from Russian sources to have been concerned with astronomical (and hence also astrological) questions. After the closure of the Hanseatic factory in 1494 Bulow tried to leave Russia, was arrested and brought back to Moscow where he seems to have spent the remainder of his life as court physician. Here he translated into Russian Steffen Arndes' "Gaerde der Suntheit", published in Lübeck in 1492.

Finished in 1534, it is the oldest Russian translation of a western medical book. It was copied many times over and served as a basis for later popular medical books and herbals.⁴³

Another north German active in Novgorod at this time was Bartholomäus Ghotan, the Lübeck printer.⁴⁴ It is known that he brought a number of printed books with him for Ivan III. It is further suggested that he tried to set up printing presses in Russia, despite the lack of any evidence to that effect. He was probably active as a translator in the Gennadij circle. Raab's notion that Ghotan's printed version of "Dracole Wyda" published by him in 1483 in Magdeburg, was incorporated in the "Pověst o Drakulě", which appeared in Pskov in 1486, has now been refuted.⁴⁵ It has been generally accepted that one of Ghotan's printed works, the dialogue between life and death, was translated by him from MLG into Russian.⁴⁶ The work contains a number of foreign words, e.g. prezviter, kardinal and panter (the last based on MLG panteger and glossed in a footnote to the original as panter es zver' podobn volku). Even its title dvoeslovie is a calque of the LG.

In 1493 there is a certain "Silvester Minor alias Maloj in Ruteno de Nouargardia" registered as a student at Rostock University. Raab has suggested that he was linked with Jurij Trachaniot's embassy at the time in Lübeck and that he was in touch with Hussites in north Germany. Angermann refutes this and suggests instead that he had been sent there for purely educational reasons by Gennadij.⁴⁷

Both Raab and Angermann, to whom we owe much of our knowledge of cultural ties of this period, conclude in general that German-Russian cultural relations have not received their due attention because of the exaggeration in scholarship of Polish and Italian influences. They are also agreed that these cultural relations were a direct outgrowth of Russo-Hanseatic trade contacts.

12. General Conclusions

In this chapter I have tried to sketch the main outlines of the background against which Russian and MLG have interacted. I have shown the time limits of the contact, as well as its social and cultural confines. A few generalisations may be hazarded on the basis of this information :

- 1) Contact was only with Novgorod, Pskov and the Dvina area until roughly the end of the 15th C. Thereafter contact spread to Moscow.
- 2) Relations were on the whole those of merchant to merchant. Contacts between the Russians and the Catholic Church hierarchy and the Livonian Order were strictly limited.
- 3) Russian served as the principal language of communication.
- 4) The Hanseatics were the only west Europeans whom the Russians met in any numbers before the end of the 15th C.
- 5) In Novgorod, but not in Polock, the Germans were housed in a colony separated from the Russian population and stayed for periods of six months or less.
- 6) There were no serious interruptions in trade from 1200 to 1500, thereafter there are long gaps.
- 7) Trade relations were at their most vigorous from the early 13th C until 1494, peaking at the end of the 14th C-beginning of the 15th C. They continued with intermittent spurts of prosperity throughout the 16th and early 17th C.
- 8) Most items of European trade were included in those goods exported out of or imported into Novgorod and the other trading cities.
- 9) It is likely that imported goods were known by their MLG names, exports by their Russian name.

Footnotes

¹The main source of information for the history of Russo-German trade is still L. K. Goetz, Deutsch-Russische Handelsgeschichte des Mittelalters (Hansische Geschichtsquellen, 5, Lübeck, 1922); also of importance are W. Buck, Der deutsche Handel in Novgorod bis zur Mitte des xiv. Jahrhunderts (Dissertation, Berlin, 1895); P. Johansen, "Novgorod und die Hanse" (Städtewesen und Bürgertum als geschichtliche Kräfte, Gedächtnisschrift für Fritz Rörig, Lübeck, 1953, pp. 121-149); M. N. Berežkov, O trgovle Rossii s Ganzoju do konca xv. v. (St. Petersburg, 1879); A. L. Choroškevič, Torgovlja velikogo Novgoroda s Pribaltikoj i zapadnoj Evropoj v xiv-xv vekach (Moscow, 1963).

²Goetz (1916), pp. 63-67.

³These reciprocal clauses continued to be included in the treaties, but probably were simply pro forma.

⁴Berežkov, p. 67.

⁵P. Johansen, "Die Bedeutung der Hanse für Livland" HGbll. 1941, p. 4; Johansen/von zur Mühlen, pp. 28-39 give an outline of the early years of Reval.

⁶These house regulations were incorporated in various editions of the schra (from ON skrá), see W. Schlüter, Die Nowgoroder Schra in sieben Fassungen vom xiii. bis xvii. Jahrhundert (Dorpat, 1914).

⁷W. Vogel, Geschichte der deutschen Seeschiffahrt (Berlin, 1915), pp. 202-208.

⁸For the best general study of the Hanseatic League see P. Dollinger, La Hanse 12-17 ième siècles (Paris, 1964), now available in German and English versions; cf. too F. Rörig, Vom Werden und Wesen der Hanse (Leipzig, 1940) and D. Schäfer, Die deutsche Hanse (Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1925).

⁹H. Planitz, Die deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter (Graz/Cologne, 1954), pp. 141-145.

¹⁰W. Schlüter, "Zur Geschichte der deutschen auf Gotland" (HGbl., XV (1909), p. 455ff.).

¹¹H. Hildebrand, "Das deutsche Kontor zu Polozk" (Baltische Monatschrift, XXII, (1873) NF 4, V, pp. 342-381), p. 346.

¹²Esper, "Russia and the Baltic, 1494-1558" (Slavic Review, XXV (1966), pp. 458-474) gives a clear picture of the decline of Hanseatic trade in the 15th C before the closure of the Peterhof.

¹³R. Hüpke, "Der Untergang der hansischen Vormachtstellung in der Ostsee, 1531-1544" (HGbl., XVIII (1912), pp. 85-119).

¹⁴Esper, p. 466. Recently a work of fundamental importance for the continuation of Russo-Hanseatic trade in the 16th C has appeared: Erik Tiberg, "Moskau, Livland und die Hanse 1487-1547" (HGbl., XCII (1975), pp. 13-70).

¹⁵For the later period see E. Harder, "Seehandel zwischen Lübeck und Russland im 17./18. Jahrhundert nach Zollbüchern der Novgorodfahrer" (ZVLGA, XLI (1961); N. Angermann, "Zum Handel der deutschen Kaufleute in Pleskau" (Russland und Deutschland Festschrift für Georg von Rauch, Stuttgart, 1974, pp. 73-82).

^{15a}J. Goetze, "Hansische Schifffahrtswege in der Ostsee" (HGbl., 93 (1975), pp. 71-88).

¹⁶For a description of the trade routes linking Livonia with Russia see F. Bruns/H. Weczerka, Hansische Handelsstrassen (Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte, NF, 13, Cologne/Graz, 1967), pp. 750-792.

¹⁷In addition to Vogel, *passim*, for a detailed study of the sailing and manning of Hanseatic ships see P. Heinsius, Das Schiff der hansischen Frühzeit (Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte, NF, 12, Weimar, 1956).

¹⁸Heinsius, *passim* and H. Winter, Das Hanseschiff im ausgehenden 15. Jahrhundert (Die letzte Hansekogge) (Rostock, 1961). A Kogge is now on view in the Deutsches Schiffahrtsmuseum in Bremerhaven (cf. HGbl1., XCI (1973), pp. 54-57).

¹⁹B. Hagedorn, Die Entwicklungen der wichtigsten Schiffstypen bis ins 19. Jahrhundert (Veröffentlichungen des Vereins für hamburgische Geschichte, 1, Berlin, 1914), pp. 7-10.

²⁰H. Ludat, "Lübeck in einem russischen Reisebericht des Spätmittelalters" (ZVLGA, XXXV (1955), p. 71).

²¹Bruns/Weczerka, pp. 799-782.

²²The most detailed study of the items traded in Novgorod is that of Choroškevič (1963).

²³M. P. Lesnikov, "Ganzejskaja trgovlja pušninoj v načale xv veka" (Učene zapiski moskovskogo gorodskogo pedagogičeskogo instituta im. V. P. Potemkina, VIII (1948), pp. 61-93).

²⁴H. Ammann, "Deutschland und die Tuchindustrie Nordwesteuropas im Mittelalter" (HGbl1., 1954); a somewhat different picture emerges from the archaeological evidence: A. Nachlik, "Tkani Novgoroda i trudy novgorodskoj archeologičeskoj èkspedicii" in: Materialy i issledovanija po archeologii SSSR, CXXIII, pp. 228-313, esp. p. 292.

²⁵H. Hartmeyer, Der Weinhandel im Gebiete der Hanse im Mittelalter (Volkswirtschaftliche und wirtschaftliche Abhandlungen, NF, 3, 1905).

²⁶Thomas (1971c).

²⁷Johansen/von zur Mühlen, pp. 350, 379.

²⁸L. K. Forstreuter, Preussen und Russland im Mittelalter. Die Entwicklung ihrer Beziehungen vom 13. bis 17. Jahrhundert (Königsberg, 1938), pp. 243, 245.

²⁹Cf. Bunge IV, 1601: "wer he erst unrecht getolket, man solde den tolke den tunge mit der wortelen afsniden"; see W. Stieda, "Zur Sprachkenntnis der Hanseaten" (HGbl. (1884), p. 157 ff).

^{29a}Pskov I (6917); Novg. I (6918).

An unconvincing attempt is made to refute the theory that furs were the staple currency until the 14th C in N. G. Rjadčenko, "Russkie denezhnye naimenovaniya" (Pracy Odes'kogo Universytetu, CXLVIII (1958), pp. 223-231). The more orthodox view is to be found in: V. L. Janin, "Numizmatika i problemy tovarnodenezhnogo obraščeniya v drevnej Rusi" (Voprosy Istorii, (1955), 8, pp. 135-142

³⁰For a description of the coins in use in Livonia in the Middle Ages see D. Ja. Fedorov, Monety Pripaltiki xiii-xvi stoletij (Opreditel' monet) (Tallinn, 1966) and A. Molvygin, "Nominaly melkich monet Livonii s serediny xiii do vtoroj poloviny xvi vv. i nekotorye voprosy denezhnogo dela Novgoroda i Pskova" (Izvestija Akademii Nauk Estonskoj SSR, XII, Serija občestvennyh nauk, 4 (1963), pp. 379-389); L. Rasmusson, "Münz und Geldgeschichte des Ostseeraumes vom Ende des 10 bis zum Anfang des 14 Jahrhunderts" in: Die Zeit der Stadtgründung im Ostseeraum (Acta Visbyensia I. Visby-symposiet för historiska vetenskaper 1963, Uppsala, 1965), pp. 135-151.

³¹Raab (1955-56), pp. 342-343.

³²Stieda, passim.

³³Raab (1955-56), p. 343 has instances from 1423 concerning the Dutch, 1434 concerning the Dutch, English and Flemings. Similar instances are to be found for 1442 and 1487. The last example is a report of the Riga delegate of the Hansetag in Lübeck that it will be required of a language student "dat he yn der hense sy".

³⁴Johansen/von zur Mühlen, p. 375.

³⁵loc. cit.

³⁶loc. cit.

³⁷Ibid., p. 150.

³⁸Tönnies Fenne's Low German Manual of Spoken Russian, (Pskov, 1607), edited by L. L. Hammerich et al. (Copenhagen, 1961). For more information on Fenne, see Pierre Jeannin, "Der Lübecker Tönnies Fonne -- ein Pionier der Slawistik" (HGbl., XCI (1973), pp. 50-53). For an earlier manual see P. Johansen, "Fragment eines niederdeutsch-russischen Sprachführers" (ZslPh., XXIII (1955), pp. 275-283).

³⁹The information in this section is based on F. Benninghoven, Der Orden der Schwertbrüder, Fratres milicie Christi de Livonia (Osteuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, 9, Cologne/Graz, 1965).

⁴⁰F. Panzer, "Nibelungische Ketzereien" (Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, LXXII (1950), p. 469ff.); for the role of the Hansa as a transmitter of narrative poetry cf. W. Stammer, "Die deutsche Hansa und die deutsche Literatur" (HGbl., XXV (1919), pp. 35-39); for the possibility of further literary contact see H. Raab, "Zur Tradition der deutsch-russischen Wechselseitigkeit im Ostseeraum" (WZG, VII (1957-58), pp. 1-2).

⁴¹N. Angermann, "Kulturbeziehungen zwischen dem Hanseraum und dem Moskauer Russland um 1500" (HGbl., LXXXIV (1966), pp. 20-48).

⁴²Ja. S. Lur'e, "K voprosu o 'latinstve' Gennadievskogo literaturnogo kružka" in: Issledovanija i materialy po drevnerusskoj literature (Moscow, 1961, pp. 68-77).

⁴³For more information on Bulow see N. Angermann, "Nicolaus Bulow, ein Lübecker Arzt und Theologe in Novgorod und Moskau" (ZVLGA, XLII (1966), pp. 88-90); A. A. Zimin, "Doktor Nikolaj Bulev -- publicist i učenij medik" in: Issledovanija i materialy po drevnerusskoj literature (Moscow, 1961, pp. 78-86; H. Raab, "Über die Beziehungen Bartholomäus Ghotans und Nicolaus Buelows zum

Gennadij-Kreis in Novgorod" (WZR, VIII (1958/59), pp. 419-422; N. Angermann, "Neues über Nicolaus Bulow und sein Wirken in Moskauer Russland" (Jahrbücher für die Geschichte Osteuropas, XVII (1969), pp. 408-419.

⁴⁴Raab (1958/59), *passim*; N. Angermann, "Bartholomäus Ghotan in Novgorod" (ZVLGA, XLV (1965), pp. 141-148; see too H. Raab, "Zu einigen niederdeutschen Quellen des altrussischen Schrifttums" (ZSl., III (1958, pp. 323-335).

⁴⁵J. Striedter, "Die Erzählung vom walachischen Vojevoden Drakula in der russischen und deutschen Überlieferung" (ZslPh., XXIX (1961), p. 401ff.); Ja. S. Lur'e, Povest o Drakule (Moscow/Leningrad, 1963), pp. 28-30.

⁴⁶A detailed study of the rise of this translation is now available: Th. Lewandowski, Das mittelniederdeutsche Zwiegespräch zwischen dem Leben und dem Tode und seine altrussische Übersetzung (Slavistische Forschungen, 12, Cologne/Vienna, 1972).

⁴⁷Raab (1956/57), p. 359-60; Angermann (1965), pp. 141-142.

VOCABULARY

anis

Torg. Kn. p. 85: 53 anisu fun"t koli dešev.

SRIO:38 pp. 433-6 maslo anisovo (in a list of wares brought to Muscovy by the apothecary Jacob from England, 1603).

Fenne:122: anis-Annis.

The kartoteka has examples from 16th C:

Knigi raschodnye Nikolaevskogo karel'skogo monastyrja II. 90 da anisu šest' grivenok (1560-3).

Pri-rasch. kn. Vol. II: 116-7 da larion že kupil 4 grivenki anisu (1573-4).

Rospis' travam 285-292 trava anis a rostet za morem v nemětckoj zemle
In modern Russian the word has remained as 'aniseed'. It also appears in derivatives anisovka and anisovaja vodka.

The kartoteka has examples of anif, aniš, onis.

Vasmer considers the word to be from NHG Anis or Fr. anis, Lat., anisum, Gr. ἀνίζον . Šanskij suggests a loan direct from Gr . Gardiner derives it from NHG or LG anis. It cannot have come via Pol. which has anyż (the probable source of the form aniš). Dismissing Fr. origin on phonetic grounds, Rejcek expresses the view that, considering the close trading relations with the Hansa, it is possible that the word together with the article it designated came to Russia from NHG in 16th C.

Goetz does not specifically mention aniseed in his list of spices imported by the Hansa. Herberstein states that he was served aniseed sweetmeats in Moscow in 1517 or 1526.

It seems likely that the word was borrowed in the first half of 16th C, if not earlier. Pol. origin is excluded on phonetic grounds. A loan direct from Gr. for an item of the spice trade is extremely unlikely. MLG (not NHG) anis remains as the only possible source for the word.

Coupled with the evidence of Fenne where the word appears in a list of Hanseatic spices, we may now add aniseed to those commodities imported by the Hansa. Latv. anīši, recorded in 1748, is also from G.

Lit.: Vasmer I:18; Šanskij I:1, 109; Gardiner, p. 50, Rejcek, p.336; Dal' I:44; Akad. I:143; Lasch-Borchling I:98; Pskov I:65; Goetz (1922), p. 326; Thomas (1971c), pp. 93-94; Sehwers, p. 3.

artug

Novg. I:6918 togo lěta načša novgorodci trgovati promeži sebe lop'ci i groši litovskymi i artugy němečkymi a kuny otložiša.

Novg. I:6928 načša novgorodci trgovati dengi serebrjanyymi a artugy poprodaša němcom a torgovalě imy 9 lět.

Pskov II:6928 togo že lěta pskoviči otložiša penjazmi artugy trgovati i pristaviše masterov dengi kovati v čiřtom srebrě.

The kartoteka has examples from later chronicle redactions, all of which refer back to events in Novgorod and Pskov in 1410 and 1420. Apart from the forms recorded above we have artugov and artugami from Nik. L. XI. Otherwise the word is not recorded in Russian.

According to Vasmer from OSw. artogh, örtugh, a Swedish coin. Thörnqvist considers that the coin alluded to in the chronicles is not the Swedish örtug, but the Baltic coin artig. She bases her argument on the likelihood of greater influx of Baltic coins at the beginning of the 15th C than of Swedish ones from Gotland. She is content however to call it a Germanic loan, since it is possible that the Nordic word was known to the Russians at an earlier date and was used here to signify a Baltic coin.

The historical background to this loan is clearly of fundamental importance in deciding its true origin. The events in the chronicles show the Novgorodians and Pskovians introducing the

coin artug for their own use and then abandoning it in 1410, selling it back to the Germans and starting to mint their own coins in pure silver. Molvygin has shown that this is directly connected to the fall in value of the coins because of the low level of silver contained in them. This led to a thorough currency reform in Livonia in 1422, after which the same coin began to be known as a pennig. The coins were minted in the second half of the 14th C and the first quarter of the 15th C by the Livonian Order in Reval and by the Bishopric of Dorpat (Tartu). They were not in use outside of Livonia.

Contrary to Thörnqvist, we have no evidence supporting the notion that this word was used outside of Novgorod and Pskov in the first decades of the 15th C. We should therefore seek the source of this word, not in Swedish, but in MLG, where the word always designates the Livonian coin. It is probable that the MLG word is itself loaned from OSw. In MLG the word is attested in the forms artich, artig, artug, artog, ortich, artoch. The forms artug and artog could have given the R. word without the need to suggest the contamination of MLG artig and Sw. örtug, as posited by Rejcek. Lit.: Vasmer I:27, Thörnqvist, pp. 139-141, Wanstrat, p. 31; Rejcek, p. 320; Sreznevskij I:28; Lasch-Borchling I:125; Schiller-Lübben III:240; Berežkov, p. 167; Choroškevič, p. 294; Fedorov, p. 368; Molvygin, passim.

arcibiskup

Pskov I:6969 priečaša nemeč'kija posly sudija velikii ot arcybiskupa rizkogo.....i ko arcybiskupu rizkomu..... ot arcybiskupa rizkogo.

Pskov I:6988 mesterovy ljudi da i arcybiskupovy.

Malinin XV i egda byša bliz grada isrětě ego arcibiskup gimoděi (Council of Florence, 1439, 16th C copy).

RLA:265 da togo veleb'nogo preosveščennago arcibis"купа selivestra (Riga/Polock, 1478 -- this text contains certain Polonisms, e.g. do 'to', město 'city').

Sb. Muchanova:27, p. 39 poslove německii.....i ot arcibiskupa rižskogo i ot ego knjazej.....i za arcybiskupa rižskogo (Livonia/Novgorod, 1482).

ARA:5 čto letos' perěmir'e vsjali magistr i arcibiskup i biskupy i vsja zemlja livonskaja (undated, but probably 1510, Novgorod/Livonia).

SRIO:53, 10 genizenskoi arcibiskup (Embassy of the Teutonic Order to the Grand Prince, 1518).

SRIO:53, 22 a u magistra, gosudar', livonskogo byl v nedelju s'ezd u nego rcybiskup rizskoj (Note from Alexander to Grand Prince, 1520).

RLA:369 Ertzebisshopp tho Riga = arcybiskup rizskii (Moscow treaty with Riga and Livonia, Novgorod, 1521). Sreznevskij has an example from the Hypatian Chronicle under the year 6660 in the forms arcibiskup and arcipiskup. The kartoteka has many examples from 16th C.

The later examples of the word show it to designate any western archbishop. It is never used for Russian archbishops. It formed adjectives with the suffixes -ov and -l' but has disappeared from modern Russian

Vasmer and Leeming consider the word a loan from Pol. arcybiskup, attested since 1402 in SSP. Sobik, who also derives the word from Polish has examples only from 1607. Her explanation of Sreznevskij's examples as loans from Gr. is surely untenable. It may be indicative that she misspells them arcybiskop and arcypiskop.

The example from the Hypatian chronicle may be due to Ukrainian influence. SRIO:53 refers to a Polish archbishop, but may have been translated by the Livonian Order into Russian. Malinin XV refers to the Russian delegation to the Council of Florence which travelled via Hanseatic territory. All of the other examples refer explicitly to the Archbishop of Riga who played a significant role in German-Russian relations in the Baltic area.

It would be rash to point to any one source for this word in Russian. Clearly Pol. cannot be excluded, however in view of the large proportion of early references to the Archbishop of Riga a loan from MLG ertzebischof from Lat. archiepisopus should not be excluded. The change er to ar is a common one in MLG; the prefix is attested in MLG as artze; and in any case some contamination with R. archiepiskop is to be expected.

Lit.: Vasmer I:28; Leeming, p. 78; Christiani, p. 11; Sobik, p. 178; Kochman (1967), p. 102; Kovaliv, p. 267; Sreznevskij I:31; Lasch-Borchling I:605.

ask, jask, jaščik

James 26:15 yashic -- a box or drawer.

Sreznevskij has examples of ask from 14th C and jask from 15th C. The kartoteka has examples of jaščik from the beginning of 16th C in diplomatic exchanges with the Crimean Horde and Poland.

In modern Russian jaščik remains as the word for 'box'. Wanstrat, Kiparsky, Vasmer derive ask, jask (and the supposed deminutive jaščik from OWN askr, OSw. asker. Černych dismisses a Scandinavian loan and proposes instead OHG ask as the source. Šanskij also derives it from Sw. or OHG. Thörnqvist accepts it as Nordic in origin but is not so quick to dismiss the possibility of MLG asc. She wonders whether north Germans were trading in Russia early enough for a MLG word to be adopted with the initial a to be prejoticised. She also remarks on the possibility that Germans operating on the Prague-Kiev trade route introduced the word. She concludes that Pol. jaszczyk is taken from Ukr.

The word is not attested in Russo-Hanseatic trade documents. In addition, the fact that it is distributed so widely at such an early stage suggests that it is not of MLG origin. A loan from OHG

is highly speculative. Much more acceptable is the notion that the word arose from Scandinavian trade in Russia before the beginning of German-Russian commercial relations.

Lit.: Vasmer III:133; Wanstrat, p. 32; Kiparsky, p. 97; Černych, p. 146; KÉS, p. 392; Thörnqvist, p. 100-1; Schiller-Lübben I:133; Sreznevskij III:1666 and I:31.

atlas

DDG:80 a dočeri svoei knjaz michailo andrěevič požaloval dal...lětni otlasen (Belozero Testament, 1486).

DDG:87 da dvě vošvy na otlasě na černom šity zolotom da serebrom (Jukanija's testament, 1503).

SRIO:35:7 u borisa u ukladnika vzjali dvatcat' n'jug šafranu da otlas...a vzjali u nich da dva otlasa (Grand Prince to Kasimir complaining about goods stolen from Russian merchants by Lithuanian customs officials, 1489).

DDG:98 da šuba ruskaja otlas červ'čat ... veneditcoi da šuba otlas sin' ... a otlas na šube červčat veneditcoi (Testament of Prince of Volok, 1506).

DDG:99 da u fedora u malovo mentenja otlas višnev venedickoi (Testament Uglič, 1521).

Fenne:125 otlas -- Atlasch.

Paris Dictionary: 477 Attelas -- du satin.

James 40:20 atlas -- satin.

The word is further attested in the kartoteka in diplomatic relations with the Holy Roman Empire (1490) and several other 16th C sources. The word has been preserved in the meaning of 'silk' in modern Russian, also with adjective suffixes -ovyj and -nyj.

Vasmer derives the word from Pol. atłas or NHG Atlas from Arabic atlas 'smooth'. Rejcek dismisses the possibility of Pol. intermediary on accentual grounds. Šanskij prefers to consider the word a loan from Turkic, cf. Tu. atlaz, atlas. Gardiner also considers the possibility that the word came direct from an oriental source, perhaps via Br. She contends that the early German examples may be due to Pol. influence, noting that SSP has one example of atłas from 1393.

The use of this silk cloth was confined, as the examples show, to the highest stratum of Russian society. It was a rich fabric, highly prized, used in the making of ceremonial fur-coats, gloves, hats etc. There is no evidence to support the fact that satin and other silks were imported into Russia as part of Hanseatic trade. Nor did the Reval and Riga merchants concern themselves with the export of silks and satins to western Europe, since the western market was satisfied by direct trade with the east through Genoa, Venice and Florence. We do have some evidence that the Teutonic Order bought small quantities of silk from Russia. In Eastern Europe the main centre of trade in cloths was L'vov, which retained links with Tana and Kaffa. Silk only appeared on the Novgorod market, according to Choroškevič, in the last third of the 15th C as Novgorod strengthened its ties with central Russia which had retained trading links with the south.

The ultimate origin of this word is clear enough, but it is no easy matter to determine the route of the loan. The difficulty is compounded by the fact that the source of the word in German is not certain either. Seiler assumes that the word must have passed through Romance to German, direct German loans from Arabic being otherwise non-existent. Yet Italian has raso 'shaved off' and French has satin. This leads us to reconsider Gardiner's hypothesis that the word could have entered German from Pol. Our examples give some pointers to the argument. SRI0:35:7 refers presumably to Russian merchants returning from L'vov to Moscow. DDG:98 and 99 refer specifically to Venetian satin. The possibility remains that the word resulted from direct contact with the Orient or through

Venetian merchants trading in L'vov. In any case we must bear in mind that this was a rare and very expensive item and it is impossible to say with any degree of certainty what was its route of importation. Certainly MLG cannot be considered its source. Lit.: Vasmer I:31; Rejčak, p. 362; Šanskij I:1, 171; Gardiner, pp. 52-54. Seiler II:244-5; Choroškevič, pp. 209-211; Savvaitov, p. 6; Dal' I:72; Akad. I:216; Sreznevskij II:758.

balka

Pskov II:6943 najali pskoviči naimaty na novoi most na pskově rěkě a zapas balki naimitov a rilini i gorodni i dub'ja pskovskaja.

The word is not recorded again before Peter the Great, when it appears with the new meaning of 'ship's beam'. Today it is a long beam used to support walls and floors in house-building or a transverse or lengthwise beam in ship construction.

Vasmer says that the word cannot be from Dutch, as claimed by van der Meulen, since an example from the Pskov Chronicle is too early for Dutch influence. He posits a loan from MLG balke. Šanskij agrees but points to the possibility of Pol. intermediary. Kochman presumes the word to be a Pol. loan.

The difficulty with this word is to decide whether it was loaned in the 15th C and loaned again afresh at the time of Peter or whether it continued in existence until Peter and received an extra naval meaning at that time. Speaking for its continued use is the good evidence of the word's preservation in the dialects of Pskov, Onega, Riga (in the latter as bal'ka). For the instance recorded in 1435 MLG balke appears as the most likely direct source, although it raises certain questions about the possibility of contacts between German and Russian carpenters.

Lit.: Vasmer I:47; van der Meulen (1909), p. 26; Kruaze van der Kop, p. 13; Rejcek, p. 277; Šanskij I:1, 24; Smorgonskij, p. 47; Želtov, p. 8; Pskov, p. 102; Morsk. slov., p. 53; Dal' I:109; Akad. I:255; Schiller-Lübben I:145; SRNG II:82; Kochman (1975), p. 31.

barka

Malinin XV sredi ego [Venice] prochodjat korabli i katargi i po vsem ulicam vody ězdjat' v barkach (Council of Florence, 1439 in a 16th C copy).

ARA:77 a škiperem s lavrencom na bojarki (Russian traders from Copenhagen to Ivangorod, 1566).

The kartoteka has:

PDS:10, p. 30 s škiperom s janom olenskoj zemli na bojarke morem (1581).

AIE I:332 v lod'jach i v poromech i v učanech i v barkach.... i vo vsjakich sudach s bol'šich ljudej i s bol'šich barok (1586). Both of the last two examples are taken from Novgorod. Gardiner lists more examples from the second half of 17th C. In modern Russian there exist two words bark and barka with very different meanings. Bark is a seagoing, sailing boat with three masts, whereas barka is a deckless, flat-bottomed, unpowered river boat or lighter.

Scholars are agreed that the ultimate source of this word is Coptic baṛ, whence Gr. βάρης, It. barca. From the Mediterranean, where the word designated a small boat, it spread to Eng., Du., and LG, where it acquired the meaning of three-masted ship. The word was reborrowed into these languages later as a rowing boat, lighter, ship's boat. Gardiner thinks it possible that the Russian words bark and barka are due to contact with Livonia, since LG has both bark and barke. Croiset van der Kop on the other hand ascribes the distinction between LG bark and barke to Russian influence. She

discusses further the possibility that the word could have come to Novgorod in the 14th C with Lombardy merchants.

A loan direct from It. is not out of the question particularly in view of the fact that the first evidence of the word is in a text which relates to vessels on the Venice canals. The other examples point to Novgorod and apparently to sea-going vessels. The form bojarka is presumably a mutilated form of barka. It might be pointed out that only one example (barok gen. pl.) points unequivocally to barka as the nom. sing. rather than bark. In MLG we have the forms bark, barke, berke together with some confusion with bardze, barse, bardese (attempts to reproduce Eng. barge). The word normally signifies a sea-going vessel with three masts. R. bark is not attested until Peter the Great and is probably a loan from Eng., Du. or LG, but barka is older and is most readily derived from MLG barke, which has also given Latv. barka. The instance in Venice may represent an independent loan from It. As we pointed out earlier, a word used to designate a particular type of ship may readily change its meaning. Therefore it is difficult to come to any more than tentative conclusions about the origin of this word in Russian. Lit.: Gardiner, pp. 57-59; Kruaze van der Kop, p. 24; Morsk. slov. I:59; Morsk. reč. slov., s.v.; Lasch-Borchling I:148; Vogel, p. 498; Heinsius, p. 208; Thomas (1971a), pp. 174-175; Sehwers, p. 9.

bastr

ARA:20 a grabežu vzjali iz lod'ě...da 2 bočki bol'šich bastru (Undated (1525?), Ivangorod to Rugodiv concerning stolen goods).

ARA:110 i věno i mět i romamaneju i bastru (Novgorod and Pskov to Reval, undated, but after September, 1598).

Torg. Kn. 106 bastr slatčae romaněi s kras 'nožid'k....alkan... slatčae bastru....pivo lubskoe gusto dobre kaby na bastru pochodilo.

Torg Kn. 114 bastor.

SRIO:38:6 a na tě bylo dengi španskíe kupiti tovaru spanskovo 600 boček vina španskogo alkatu romaně i krasnoj i beloј i bastru po 11 dukic bočku (1588).

Fenne:84 bastort - Basterdt.

The kartoteka has:

AI:I:327 a vin vetro romaněi tri vetra renskogo vetro bastru dva vedra uksusu dobrogo (1563).

In modern Russian there is a word bastr 'a kind of crude, artificial sugar', probably from G. Basterzucker. The word for a type of wine has not survived.

Gardiner derives the word from NHG Baster(wein).

We do know that wine was imported into Russia, although we are not well-informed about the types of wine introduced by the Hansa. Bastert is a recognised type of wine, probably a wine mixed with spices and sweetening ingredients to make it more palatable. It belongs mostly to the later period of Hanseatic trade.

Choroškevič quotes a passage concerning export of wines from Bruges to Russian in 1406: "van zoeten vijne de Russen pleghen to kopene". Our own examples above give some indication of what kind of wine bastr was. SRIO:38 points unequivocally to a Spanish wine. Sweeter than romaneja (an unfortified wine?) but not as sweet as alkan (alkat) and good and thick like Lübeck beer.

The historical evidence of the wine trade and the specific references in our examples above would suggest that we should favour the probability of a loan from MLG bastert, bastart. Apart from the example of bastort in Fenne none of the examples has final t. The Russian forms must be explained by a misunderstanding of the word-boundary and the formation of a form *baster, *bastor. The e or o has then become regarded as a fill vowel, so that a gen. sing. bastru could be formed, by analogy with which a new nom. sing. bastr could arise. This is supported a) by the fact that the genitive of this and other items of trade was probably used more frequently than any other case and b) by the fact that the modern loan bastr has apparently repeated the same process. The German

word has also entered Pol. where it is recorded as baster from the middle of the 16th C.

Lit.: Gardiner, p. 63; Dal' I:133; Akad. I:293; Schiller-Lübben I:157; Hartmeyer, p. 45 and 117; Blümcke, p. 47; Siewert, pp. 474-5; Choroškevič, p. 330; Goetz (1922), p. 319.

bejšlot/bešlot

This word is not recorded before Peter. In Modern Russian it is an old-fashioned name for dams by which reservoirs are built, or in the Archangel and Olonec dialects it is a ditch dug at the sides of a road to drain it.

Vasmer considers it a loan from the root MLG besloten, MLG slot, Du. sloot. Van der Meulen derives it from Du. bijslot. Šanskij points to MLG besloten at the time of Peter (sic!).

In view of the date of the loan, its meaning and its alternative spelling it is almost certainly from Du. bijslot. Lit.: Morsk. reč. slov. I:24; Podvysockij, p. 6; Kulikovskij, s.v.; Vasmer I:84 (a different interpretation in Fasmer I:163); Meulen (1944), p. 16; SRNG II:205. C. Thörnqvist, "Etymologische Bemerkungen" (Scandoslavica, I (1954), pp. 22-23).

bekar'

GVNP:21 vzjati tritcat' xlěbcov baran a ljubo poiot' mjaso troe kurov sito zaspy dva syra běkar' soli (Novgorod/Toržok, 1437-62, 1437-62, copy of 16th or 17th C).

This word is not attested elsewhere.

Vasmer claims it as a loan from ON bikarr or MLG beker. Wanstrat accepts MLG origin and explains the ending by analogy with other words in -ar'. Kopetz points to a loan from Germanic, cf. OHG behhari (sic!).

The reference makes it clear that we are dealing here with a measure used in the salt trade, which was firmly in the hands of the Hansa.

In view of the use of the word in Novgorod and its place in the salt trade, we can assume that it is borrowed from MLG beker (from Lat. bicarium) where it has the meaning of cup and measure for dry and liquid goods. Little more can be said on the evidence of one example of the word.

Lit.: Vasmer I:70; Wanstrat, p. 91; Rejcek, pp. 357 and 476; Kopetz, p. 56; Choroškevič, p. 218, Goetz (1922), pp. 301-2, 307; Schiller-Lübber I:211-2; Lasch-Borchling I:190.

beliza

This word is not recorded in OR but appears in dialects on the Moscow River as a small hammer used in the caulking of the bottom of boats. It occurs in Rjazan' as beleza with the same meaning.

Vasmer says that the word may be loaned from MLG vîlîsen, cf. MLG vîlen and îsen. Van der Meulen asserts however that Du. rabatijzer (an implement for caulking) has given R. lebeza, from which the 'metathesised' forms beleza or beliza emerge.

Thörnqvist too derives R. lebeza from Du. rabatyser, rabatijser in the syncopated form *rabijzer. Substitution of l for r might indicate that the loanword was adopted in the vulgar milieu of labourers on wharfs. R. e for the diphthong ij would also be acceptable. She asserts that G. rabeisen or LG *rabisen *rabisern are phonetically farther from R. She shows that Vasmer's

etymology cannot withstand critical examination because a) it is semantically unsatisfactory and b) we have no certain examples where MLG v gives R. b.

A loan from MLG is highly unlikely in this instance. Du. influence in the development of Russian ship construction leads us to accept Thörnqvist's arguments.

Lit.: SRNG II:212, 208; Schiller-Lübben V:252, 392; Vasmer I:72; van der Meulen (1944), p. 74; Clara Thörnqvist, "Old Barge-builders' terms from the Volga area" (SEER, XXXII (1953), pp. 141-5).

bergomester

There are very many examples of this word in Russo-Livonian documents of 16th C referring to the Burgomasters of Livonian cities. Apart from an example in a translation of 1509, cited by Gardiner none of the instances of its use predates 1515. In addition to references to Livonian Burgomasters we have one reference to Danzig (AKA:13 from 1558) and to the Burgomasters of all the Hanseatic towns assembled for a meeting of the Hansetag in Lübeck (SRIO:53:3 from 1517). Further examples may be found in RLA:361 (1516), ARA:8 (1515), ARA:23 (1527). One example (RLA:369, 1521) is a translation of a LG text: van den Borgermeister = ot bergamagistrov.....Borgermeistere = bergamesterom. The usual form given is bergomester, though a whole variety of forms is recorded, some showing interesting instances of folk-etymology: běrgoměster, bermaster, ber'gomester, bergomejster, dolgomester(!), bolgomester(!), berestegorem(!) dat. pl., bergomister, peremester(!) There existed in 19th C a civilian rank bergmejster, a later loan from German.

Gardiner treats this word together with burmistr which we examine separately below. The forms bergomester etc. she derives directly from LG. Without question the word is loaned from MLG,

which has the following forms: borgermeister, borgemeister, börgemester, börgemeister.

Lit.: Gardiner 70-1; Rejcek, p. 217; Dal' I:200; Goetz (1922), p. 389; Schiller-Lübben I:395; Lasch-Borchling I:323.

biskup

RLA: Anhang la) piskup rizkii....pod piskupom rizkim

b) piskup riž skii....pod piskupom' riž'skim'

(Smolensk/Riga treaty, 1229; redactions d)-g) have episkop).

Sobolevskij:35 poklon ot knjazja ot fedora k piskupu i k masteru i k ratmanom što budet nam reč' s piskupom' ili s masterom' (Smolensk/Riga, 1284).

RLA:50 k piskupu riž'skomu (Novgorod/Riga, 1299-1307).

Novg. I:6876 togo že lěta prichodiša němci rat'ju velikoju sam biskup i mester' i kumenderě pod Izboresk.

RLA:115 a čto pod piskuplim gorodom = under des bischopis slote (Novgorod treaty with German envoys, 1392).

Pskov I:6917 togo že lěta pskoviči vzjaša mir s riž'kim knjazem mesterom i s jur'ev'skim piskupom (examples subsequently in Pskov I are abundant).

Malinin XV pervyi grad nemeckii kospir biskupa jur'evskago i tu ego srětil biskop jur'evskii s velikoju čstiju (then subsequently very frequently in the account of the journey to, and the proceedings of, the Council of Florence, 1438-39 in a 16th C copy).

Bunge X:421 priěxaša poslovi němečkii v velikii Nov'gorod ot knjazja ot mestrja inci vinki i ot piskupa jur'evskogo olfroměja = da sind gekomen de dusschen boden to Grote Nowgarden van dem vorsten meyster Heiderik Vinke unde van dem bisscop van Derpte Bertolomeo.....inca da ignat' ratmanin indrik tolk knjaz' mesterev i jakov piskup' bojarin = Hinrik unde Hilbrand eyn ratman

unde Hinrik tolk des vorsten meysters unde Jacob eyn boyare des bisscopes van Derpte (1448).

GVNP:78 i prislaša česnyi biskup jur'evskyi (Novgorod and Pskov with Dorpat, 1474).

Sb. Muchanova 27, p. 39 ot biskupa jur'evskogo i ot biskupa ostrovskogo i ot biskupa kurskogo i ot biskupa kolyvanskogo (Livonia/Novgorod, 1482).

SRIO:35 has many examples mostly refering to Polish bishops from 1493 on.

ARA:5 čto letos' perėmir'e vsjali magistr i arcibiskup i biskupy (Undated, probably 1510).

The word continued in use as a designation of Catholic bishops throughout the 16th and 17th C.

The word is commonly derived from OHG biscof, MHG biscof, cf. Cz., Pol. and SCr. biskup. Attempts have been made by Kochman, Leeming and Gardiner to derive the Russian word from Pol., where it attested from 14th C (or 1423 according to Sobik) and has been identified as a Bohemianism by Korbut and Sobik. No attempt has been made to explain our examples above satisfactorily. Thus Sobik says: "Der früheste Beleg im Russ. stammt zwar schon aus dem Jahre 1368 (s. Sreznevskij I 88) und weist auf eine dt. Umgebung dieses Wortes hin....aber das ist nur ein einzelner Beleg und die später häufig vorkommenden Zeugnisse treten meistens in Verbindung mit Adjektiven auf, die auf poln. Vermittlung schliessen lassen...".

All of the examples of forms differing from episkop can be taken as derived from a foreign model, whether they appear as piskup, piskop or biskup, the form which eventually replaces the others. Sobik's statement given above points up the dangers of relying on Sreznevskij for one's knowledge of Russian vocabulary up to 1500. In fact our examples show that the word is constantly attested in texts from 1229 to the beginning of the 16th C. Only one of our materials has any reference to Polish bishops (SRIO:35). All of the other examples refer explicitly to bishops of Livonia (Riga before the creation of the archbishopric, Dorpat (Tartu), Reval, Kurland, Osel). The word biskup appears in texts from

Novgorod and Pskov where Polish influence in contradistinction to Polock texts is absent. All of this leads to the inescapable conclusion that our word is loaned from MLG bischof, bischof. Latv. bīskaps comes from the same source.

Lit. Vasmer I:88; Leeming, p. 79; Gardiner, p. 64; Korbut, p. 373; Sobik, pp. 183-4; Lasch-Borchling I:282; Schiller-Lübben I:343; Sehwers, p. 13; Kochman (1967), p. 103.

bot

Fenne:107 patec - bodt.

The kartoteka has only one set of examples before 1600:

Stat. spis. p. 51 i kapnagovskoj naměstnik franc brokonguz prislal k nam pjatnadcat' botov čtob my ěchali v gorod... a franc brokonguz prislal k nam těže baty čtoby my ěchali v gorod (1564).

AIE I:329 from 1585 has an example of botnik.

The word appears infrequently in the 17th C and is revived again at the time of Peter. In modern Russian bot may designate a sailing, rowing or motor boat.

Vasmer discusses the possibility that bot may be a loan from LG, bearing in mind the importance of Timmerman in Peter's early acquaintance with boats. This statement of Vasmer's is odd, since he is himself aware that the word was attested from the first half of 17th C. Gardiner derives the word from Du. boot, since the boat mentioned in her earliest example (from 1667) is the "Orel" built by Dutchmen. Again this is strange because Gardiner is herself aware of the example in Fenne and in AIE given above. Rejcek favours a Du. loan on phonetic grounds, whatever they may be.

The existence of this word from 1564 casts fresh light on the etymology of the word. We should not necessarily take the reference

to Copenhagen as indicative of a loan from Danish. Indeed on the mission described the Russian emissaries hired a Livonian German as their interpreter. It seems justifiable therefore to derive the word from MLG bot (whence also a no longer preserved Latv. buots). The fact that Fenne bothers to give the word and the fact that his spelling of it indicates that its etymological link with its LG gloss is no longer apparent suggest that the word was in use in the NW area for a couple of centuries before the time of Peter, when it may have been reborrowed.

Lit.: Vasmer I:112; Gardiner, p. 65; Rejcek, p. 235; Sehwers, p. 22; Thomas (1971a), pp. 175-6; Akad. I:591; Dal' I:295; Lasch-Borchling I:332.

bridel'

Not attested in OR, this word is given by Dal' as a naval term. It is a 'dead anchor chain'.

Vasmer derives it from MLG breidel, OHG brittil, Eng. bridle with the transference of meaning from "rein, bridle".

The above argument is somewhat flimsy and especially when one considers that the OED gives Eng. bridle with the meaning 'a chain for mooring' in a naval sense in 1626. Whether Du. and LG had similar meanings is not known. Little more can be said about the origin of this word without any earlier evidence of its use.

Lit.: Dal' I:313; Morsk. reč. slov. I:37; Morsk. slov. I:88; Schiller-Lübben I:418; Vasmer I:123; OED I:1098.

brjukiš

Torg. kn. 5 sukna brjukiš

6 polubrjukiš

73 (5) a v brjukišech sereď'njaja měra 35 aršin a cvět v brjukišech lutčej sin' ili lazorev paspideni golub... a po nemecki brjukišu imja krumlist.

(6) a polubrjukiš sin' i lazorev...a cena brjukišem nerov'na...a polubrjukiši kakovaž...a polubrjukišu po nemecki imja kipers.

Fenne: 129 brjukiš - Bruggisch

polubrjukiš - Ringewandt

The kartoteka has the following examples before 1600:

Vlad. Sb. da pod'jačemu alekějcu semenovu dadyt sukno brjukišno (1535).

SASAB da otcu moemu duchovnomu odnorjadka lazoreva brjukišna (1533-8).

Kn. pri-rasch. Kir. L. 900 prodal odnorjadku lazorevu brjukišnu (1568).

Archiv Stroeva: da šubka žen'skaja zelena brjukišna (1576).

SGGD II:89 s sukna s brjukiša i s lunskich i s nastrafilej i s anglinskich i s polubrjukišev i s koltyrev s postava po tri dengi (Novgorod, 1586). The word has not survived.

All scholars are agreed that brjukiš and its derivatives brjukišnyj and polubrjukiš come from the name of the town Brügge (Bruges). It is therefore loaned, according to Rejčak, from NHG Brüggisch.

Bruges was not only a centre for distribution of Flemish cloths all over Europe in the middle ages but was also a place of manufacture in its own right. All trade in cloth was through Reval, Riga and Pernau. Flemish cloths were solely in the hands of the Hansa even in the 16th C since their chief commercial competitors, the Dutch and the English, were more concerned with finding a market in Russia for their home-produced cloths.

We are therefore completely justified in deriving the word from the MLG adjective brüggesch. The first example of the Russian word with the native adj. suffix 'n already attached suggests that the loan may be considerably older. This might in any case have been inferred from the fact that the word is attested in so stable a spelling.

Lit.: Vasmer I:131; Rejcek, p. 365; Choroškevič, pp. 168-176; Goetz (1922), pp. 281-2; Savvaitov, p. 135; Lasch-Borchling I:358.

buk/buča/bučit'

None of these words is recorded before the 18th C. The words are well attested in the dialects. buk, buča is a wooden vessel in which linen is boiled or a place under a mill wheel, where water washes out a pool. bučit' is to wash linen in a tub. In Archangel buk is a tub for washing linen, while buča is the alkaline solution for laundering or soaking cloths; in Smolensk buk is a tub with a holey bottom and bučit' is a process of pouring boiling water on the clothes and throwing scorching stones on the stove. In Olonec the word appears as bucit'.

Vasmer, Thörnqvist and Wanstrat derive the words from MLG bûk 'tub' and bûken 'to wash cloths in a tub'. Vasmer dismisses the possibility that buk is loaned from Comi buk, itself probably a loan from Russian. Šanskij expresses some doubt about the likelihood of a loan from MLG but offers no serious alternative etymology. He derives bučit' from buk, which he regards as from the onomatopoeic bu.

The words seem to have entered the Russian literary language from the dialects. bučit' has also apparently penetrated Ukr. The exact source of this word cannot be stated with any certainty, but three factors support a loan from MLG. Firstly the

correspondence of meaning is total. Secondly the existence of the words in northern dialects, which could have taken the word from Novgorod, and in Smolensk suggests that the loan arose in the Baltic area. Thirdly Latvian also has būķis from MLG.

Lit. Dal' I:341; Akad. I:713; Kulikovskij, s. v.; Podvysockij, Thörnqvist, p. 270; Wanstrat, p. 90; Schiller-Lübben I:446; Šanskij I:2, 242; Sehwers, p. 23; SRNG III:261-2.

burlak

The kartoteka has no examples before 1670, when the word is attested in Voronežskie Akty: burlakov čelověk so sta. It is however well-documented in the dialects. In Riga burlak is an ignorant good-for-nothing; in Archangel a bachelor, a man who has travelled far to work or a worker on floating rafts. On the Volga it signifies a lonely person, a bachelor, a joker, a tramp, a self-willed person; in the east it is a general word for a peasant engaged in hauling barges.

The etymology of this word has led to considerable speculation. Vasmer suggests that it may have come from some collective like MLG burlach and then become the word to describe an individual in that collective. By far the most detailed argument for MLG as the source comes from Wanstrat. She speaks of the "Arbeitsgenossenschaften" which hauled barges and points to the possibility that they were assembled from peasants of the district, perhaps by their German employers (the Hansa in Novgorod) and called burlag "weil die Leute aus einer Ortschaft sich naturgemäss zu einer Artel' zusammenschlossen." She points to the fact that Lith. has burlokas 'Russian or Polish man', Latv. has burlaks, burlakas 'bargehauler' and Finnish purlakka purlakko 'a servant'. Almost certainly Latv., Lith. and Est. are loaned from

Russian. Šanskij finds attempts to derive burlak from Tatar or MLG unconvincing. Instead he suggests a connection with the no longer preserved Russian word burlo 'a noisy fellow', cf. dialectal burlo 'biggest in a peal of bells', itself presumably based on the same onomatopoeic element bu, with which Šanskij explained away buk (see above).

The Russian word has become so well known that it has been loaned into Pol., Cz., SCr. and Bulg. It is probable that Baltic German has also received the word from R, but it does not follow that the Russian word was not originally from MLG and then lent back with a fresh meaning. The range of meanings of the Russian word make it exceedingly difficult to isolate the original one. It is however unlikely that such meanings could have developed from 'noisy fellow'. The root meaning seems to be men who are sent far from their home to work. If such is the case, then the suggested MLG etymology begins to look more convincing. Even so it remains pure speculation.

Lit. Želtov, p. 9; Podvysockyj, p. 12; Morsk. reč. slov., s. v.; Dal' I:351; Akad. I:698; Vasmer I:148; Wanstrat, p. 90; Kiparsky (1936), p. 150; Šanskij I:2, 233; Schiller-Lübben I:455, SRNG III: 291.

burmistr

All the early examples of this word and its alternative forms are from Polock:

RLA:122 my velikij knjaz' vitovt dali esmo siju gramotu burkgimistru rziskomu Nik "brugu (Grand Prince of Lithuania on behalf of Polock to Riga, 1399).

RLA:249 tym počestlivym susědom našim i prijatelem čestnym i milym panu bur"mistru i rjadcam i všem měščanom rizskogo města (Polock/Riga, 1465).

RLA:250 susědom i prijatelem našim panu burgmistru i voitom i rjadcam i všem ratmanom rizskogo města poklon (Polock/Riga, 1465).

RLA:265 i oni bur"mistrove i rat'monove našich tovarov polockych ne vydali (Polock/Riga, 1478).

The word is very common in Polock texts for the rest of the 15th and throughout the 16th C. The first examples in texts from other areas are from 1565:

ARA:75 v kolyvan' bumistrom i posadnikom i ratmanom Rugodiv/Reval, 1565)

ARA:78 v kolyvan' burmistrom i ratmanom (Rugodiv/Reval, 1566).

ARA:81 burmistrom i ratmanom i všem posadnikom grada kolyvani (Rugodiv/Reval, 1567).

ARA:103 česnym bormistrom i ratmanom i posadnikom grada kolyvani.... i prosit' v bormisrov i v ratmanov i v posadnikov grada kolyvani (Pskov/Reval, 1568).

ARA:133 i ot grada kolyvanskogo ot burmejstro i ratmanov (Russian translation of a Livonian note, 1574).

RLA:397 v rigu buimistrom i ratmanom i polatnikom = inn Riga denn borgemeisteren unnd radesvorwannten der statt (Pskov/Riga, 1588).

After the time of Peter, the word spread into Russia where it acquired the meaning of 'a man appointed by a landowner to oversee his estate and serfs' and 'city official'. Both of these uses died out in the 19th C.

Vasmer derives the word from Pol. burmistrz, burgmistrz, or possibly direct from MHG burmester. Šanskij also attributes the examples in 15th-17th C texts to MHG influence. Van der Meulen, presumably only considering examples from the time of Peter, points to Du. burgmeester as the source. This possibility is rightly dismissed by Rejcek on the grounds that Polock had no contact with Holland in the 14th C. She suggests that the donor language was either MHG burge(r)meister or MLG burmeester, the forms in -mistr

being due to the influence of Pol., with which Polock had relations in the 14th and 15th C. Gardiner's treatment of the word is complicated by the fact that she insists on treating it together with bergomester. The forms of the burmistr type, which she admits are later, she derives from Pol. burmistrz, Br. burmistr, bujmistr from MHG burgmeister or LG.

We have seen that the word bergomester prevails in Novgorod. burmistr and bergomester are never used in the same text. burmistr predates the first example of bergomester by more than a century. burmistr is confined to Polock until the second half of the 16th C. Apart from ARA:133 where the spelling -mejster may be due to the orthography of the LG original, all of the examples have -mistr. Doubtless this ending has come from Pol. with the hardening of r to be expected in Br. The first example shows the influence of the orthographical practice of the Chancery language of Lithuania with kg to denote a plosive. The Russian word is clearly a Br. loan and cannot be direct from MLG but must be from Pol. which had the forms burgmistrz, burmistrz. This is well illustrated by the form of the Latv. word buormeisteris which is clearly direct from MLG bormeister or burmeister. The Pol. word could be from MLG or MHG. The spread of the word from Polock to Novgorod shows the contact that existed between the two trade areas.

Lit.: Akad. I:695, 700; Dal' I:352; Vasmer I:148; Šanskij I:1, 229, 234; Rejčak, p. 127; Gardiner, pp. 70-71; van der Meulen (1944), p. 23; Schiller-Lübben I:456, I:395; Lasch-Borchling I:323; Sehwers, p. 21; Kochman (1967), p. 104.

busa

Novg. I:6927 togo že leta prišed murmaně voinoju v 500 čelověk v busach i v šnekach.

Pskov I:6956 i iněch mnogo ich na mori v busach pogiboša Sb. Muchanova:27, p. 39 a torquet novgorodec s němčinom na rugodevě a budet tovar u nemčina v busě i novgorodcu toj tovar u nemčina dobrovol'no v'jati i s busy čerez kraj v lod'ju (Livonia/Novgorod, 1482).

SRIO:35:33 est' li pri stanišče k žomotskoj zemlě s morja pristavajut li korabli li busy li (1485).

ARA:28 na vašego busnika na kolyvanskogo na nemčina na juska na kesarja a skazyvajut cto paložili v ego busu tovaru četyre lasty (undated but probably 1514-19, Ivangorod/Reval).

ARA:11 čto pošla is kolyvani busa jakova munkova s nekotorym s kupet'ckym tovarom v noravu reku....i velikovo gosudarja naševo ljudi budto tu busu pograbili i ljudej pobili (Ivangorod/Reval, 1517).

AKA:9 a zaderet větrom na morě datckuju busu (1517).

AKA:10 i tvoi ljudi u těch korolja polskogo ljudej otbili dvě busy (1521).

ARA:9 and ARA:71 (both undated) have examples of busa.

RLA:369 a budet tavar u nemčina v buse ino novgorodcu tot tovar u nemčina dobrovol'no vzjati na busy čerez kraj v lod'ju = und hefft de duitsche sine ware in der schute so sall now. van dem duitzschen gutwilich de ware nemen uth der schuten ouer bort in de loding (1521).

Fenne:106 busa - schute.

James 27:2 bussa - quod navigant persae non magnis navigiis quae illi bussa appellant.

Apart from ARA:28, there are further examples of busnik in ARA:9 and 35.

A new loan from Du. buis is attested from 1697 (this is the ship used by the Dutch for catching herring). According to Il'jenko, busa exists in Archangel, Vjatsk, Dnepr and Vologda dialects, where it has spread from Novgorod.

Filin who claims that busa is attested from the 13th C (sic!) supposes that it must have entered R. from a Scandinavian source at an earlier date. Vasmer derives it from either ON bussa, búza

or MLG bûse. Rejcek accepts a Sw. source but cautions that the word may be earlier than its first attestation in Novgorod chronicle. Thörnqvist demonstrates that the fact that busa appears beside šneka in Novg. I:6927 is inconclusive, since a) šneka was a much older loan, first attested in 1142, and b) bussa is not mentioned as a warship in OWN literature after the 13th C. Similarly there is nothing against a loan from OSw., but the word is rare there. She notes that the word is an internationalism in the Baltic and therefore one cannot come closer to its source in Russian.

Our examples point to two different ships. The chronicles are talking about some warship, while all the other examples are alluding to a coastal craft, used for bringing goods from Reval and Narva to Ivangorod, before being transferred to a lod'ja (a river boat). The boats may have been used by Russians and Germans, although the term busnik invariably applies to a German sailor. For the Hanseatics there was no essential difference between warships and trading ships. Vogel says that the busse comes from ON buza, a warship, but from the 13th C designates a trading ship. From the 15th C the word busse takes on the meaning of a small freight ship, a yacht for envoys and a fishing boat. This latter meaning had ousted the others by the end of the century. This explains why R. busa is glossed in LG in RLA:369 and Fenne by schute.

A loan from Scandinavian cannot be excluded particularly in view of the Chronicle examples. Nevertheless a more likely source is MLG bûse, busse. The evidence suggests that the loan took place in the early 15th C and became so deep-rooted in Russian that it continued in use even after the word was no longer used to designate a coastal craft by the Hanseatics. The widespread use of the word in Russian dialects and its use on the Caspian in the early 17th C further attested to the fact that the word became part of the living language.

If it is not simply a scribal error, there exists also in OR a word buča recorded in Novg. I:6712. This is an account of a western naval fleet attacking Constantinople. Thörnqvist suggests that this may be of Byzantine origin, coming indirectly from MLat.

bucca, bucia. It is possible however that it represents the MLG form butse with čokan'e.

Lit.: Il'enko (1958), p. 19, 27; Unbegaun (1935), p. 12; Bogorodskij p. 201; Filin, p. 266; Vasmer I:152; Thörnqvist, pp. 142-148; Kruaze van der Kop, p. 13; Gardiner, p. 72; Wanstrat, p. 34; Rejcek, p. 241; Hagedorn, p. 92ff.; Heinsius, pp. 207-8; Vogel, p. 503; Sreznevskij I:195, 509; Thomas (1971a), pp. 176-7; Schiller-Lübben I:458; Lasch-Borchling I:376; SRNG III:302.

busat'

This is a dialectal word, widespread in thieves' cant, meaning 'to drink, to carouse'. It is not recorded in OR.

Vasmer says it is probably loaned from MLG bûsen 'to revel, riot and carouse'.

In discussing the origin of this word, it is not without interest that the widespread English word booze 'drink' (noun and verb), first recorded around 1300 as a verb, is loaned from Middle Flemish or MDu. bûsen. It was common in thieves' cant and then passed into colloquial English on both sides of the Atlantic. The similarity in meaning between all these words is striking. It is not too fanciful to suppose that the word entered R. in much the same way that it entered English. It is just as possible that the word was loaned from Du. as LG. The absence of any early examples and the vagueness of its geographical distribution prevent any clearer statements about its origin in Russian.

Lit.: Dal' I:355; Vasmer I:152; Bense p. 18; Lasch-Borchling I:378; OED I:1026; SRNG III:303.

bušman

SRIO:38:6, p. 225 i čto daval naem karabelnomu pisarju i bušmanom kotorye zimovali na karablě....i čto daval bušmanom liška (1588). No other examples of this word have been found, although a fresh loan (boatsman) entered Russian at the time of Peter.

Gardiner derives the word from LG bôzman, noting that close ô of LG has been rendered in R. as u.

The examples refer to sailors on ships, i.e. to general crew members. In MLG the normal form of the word is bôzman, bôtsman and bôtesman being less common. MLG o and ô regularly give u in Russian, cf. R. snur, ludit', latun', as we shall point out below, this was probably because o and ô were closer than their Russian counterpart and were therefore often rendered as the only comparable sound u. Clearly Gardiner's explanation of the origin of this word must be accepted.

Lit.: Gardiner, p. 73; Schiller-Lübben I:403; Lasch-Borchling I:331 Thomas (1971a), pp. 182-3.

vachmistr

ARA:110 žaloba gosudarě na vašich na vach'městov i na berdyšč'někov (Novgorod and Pskov to Reval, undated but after 1598).

The kartoteka gives no further examples of the word until 1650. From 18th C it is an NCO rank in the tsarist cavalry regiments.

Vasmer derives the word from Du. wachtmeester or Pol. wachmistrz, but he is unaware of any examples before Peter. Rejcek says the word entered Russian from the LG area in the form vachmest(r), cf. LG wach(t)meester. Gardiner sees the word as a loan from NHG Wachtmeister via Pol. wachmistrz and Br. vachmistr. She

points out quite rightly that consistently ě in ARA:110 has the sound value [i], cf. the suffix -nik represented by něk in berdyšč'někov above.

The word *wachmester is not recorded in Schiller-Lubben. If the example in ARA:110 is indeed to be reconstructed as vachmistr, then clearly Gardiner's derivation is fully justified. That the first evidence is in correspondence between Novgorod and Pskov with Reval might of itself suggest a LG source, yet by the end of the 16th C we are probably dealing with a HG word here. Gardiner's etymology is further supported by the fact that the word appears alongside berdyšnik, which must have been loaned into Russian by the same route.

Lit.: Dal' I:413; Akad. II:64; Vasmer I:174; Korbut, p. 468; Smirnov, p. 71; Gardiner, p. 77; Rejcek, s. v., Bond, p. 48.

vachter

First attested at the time of Peter, this word has primarily a military meaning, though it is also recorded in the 19th C as a bailiff, a university post, a naval storekeeper. The word is still very much in use as anyone will know who has tried to sneak into the living quarters of Moscow State University without a propusk.

Vasmer gives as its source MLG wachter, NHG Wachter MHG wahtaere. Van der Meulen points to Du. wachter as the source of the word in its naval meanings.

A loan at such a late date precludes the possibility of deriving it from MLG. The Polish form wachtarz, itself from G., suggests that it was not the intermediary, rather that the word was directly borrowed from NHG or in its nautical use from Du.

Lit. Dal' I:413; Akad. II:65; Smolensk, p. 53; Morsk. slov. I:105; Vasmer I:174; Ohienko, p. 80; van der Meulen (1909), p. 233; Korbut, p. 488; Bond, p. 36.

vačik

This word, not attested in OR, is a dialect word meaning 'travel bag' or 'leather hunting bag'.

Vasmer derives it from NHG Watsack, MLG watsak, dismissing the possibility of a connection with R. dial. vačega.

The German word, which has precisely the same meaning has been loaned widely in the European languages, of cf. Cz. vacek. Not enough information is available for more satisfactory comment on this word. Presumably it would have to have entered R, through a dialect with čokan'e for the change c to č to have taken place. Lit.: Vasmer I:174; Schiller-Lübben V:617; Hupel, p. 255; SRNG III: 77-8.

verkoper

AKA:20 a meklirem i verkoperom na obě storony otnjud' u nich ne byti (1562).

AKA:21 a maklerem i verkoperom na obě storony otnjud' u nich ne byti (1562).

There are no other examples of this word in Russian.

Rejcsak derives the word from LG or Du. verkoper. She points to the possibility that this is a "slučajnoe slovo."

Both of these examples refer to German traders in Denmark. It was illegal to act as entrepreneur in Novgorod. The practice became widespread in the 16th C especially in the Livonian cities where there were people who specialised, because of their knowledge of Russian, in acting as go-betweens.

Since the word is found alongside makler, itself a certain MLG loanword (see below), and because the reference is to German traders we can safely posit a loan from MLG vorkoper, vörköper.

Lit.: Rejcek, p. 248; Schiller-Lübben V:381; Lasch-Borchling I:848.

vodmol

A. V. Arcychovskij, V. I. Borkovskij, Novgorodskie gramoty na bereste (iz raskopok 1953-4 g.) (Moscow, 1958), p. 66, Text No. 130 u vaivasa u vajakšinal2 lokti vodmolu i polotreti janacate lokti chëri (Dated as borderline between 14th and 15th C).

Rydzevskaia mentions the following use of vodmol as a nickname: Novg. V: 6724 a v smolen'skom polku odin byst' ubit grigor' vodmol, muž' pred'nii a inii vsi schraneni byša syloju čestnago kresta i pravdoju (Novg. IV:6724 has in the place of vodmol the following variants: volod imen, volodimer, vodomol, v"d'mol).

Rydzevskaia explains the first two variants in Novg. IV as attempts to bring the name vodmol into line with the Russian personal name. She compares vodmol with ON watmâl, OSw. wa[m]mâl, MLG wâtmâl, Latv. wadmala, Est. wadmal all with the meaning 'thick coarse woollen cloth'. She notes that phonetically Norse a can give R. a or o quite normally, but the second o is not so easy to understand since a long close á (later â) is usually reflected in R. as a. She admits that there might have been a scribal error in writing down later a word which no longer had any meaning for a Russian. She thinks that the person alluded to was a foreigner, more specifically a Gotlander or Swede, but not a German since the name given does not correspond to MLG wâtmâl. No other linguist has tried to determine the origin of this word so precisely, though it has attracted the attention of historians.

As an item of trade to Russia it is mentioned by Seeger and Goetz. Both point out that such rough cloths represented a much more important part of Hanseatic trade than the finer ones. Goetz points to a mention of wâtmâl in the Fourth edition of the schra.

Choroškevič explains that the cloth was mostly from German home production and was imported prior to the end of 13th C. She notes that some scholars (unspecified) consider it a Russian word, but prefers herself to see it as a loan from G. watmal.

Rydzevskaja's derivation of the word was of course written before the discovery of Birchbark Text No. 130. Its evidence shows incontrovertably that vodmol is not the result of scribal error. Thus any discussion of this word must be based on an acceptance of vodmol as the proper form of the word. Though we have no evidence of stressed texts, it is likely that the word was stressed on the first syllable. It is interesting that the Novgorod Chronicle report mentions a muž pred'nii, presumably a merchant. I cannot accept Rydzevskaja's hypothesis that he was a foreigner. Indeed to do so completely negates her argument that we are dealing here with a Russian word. It must be accepted that the word must have been loaned into Russian as the name of the object before it could be used as a nickname. To date the loan on the basis of the chronicle evidence is no easy matter. It is not impossible to conclude on the evidence of the chronicle that the word had entered Smolensk speech where akan'e could be expected. Novogorodians might then have carried out a sound substitution of a putative vodmal to vodmol. Another striking fact has been omitted from the discussion namely the fact that the word has also entered Estonian and Latvian. Sehwers derives vadmala from MLG wâtmâl without comment. Among the Baltic peasantry these cloths were woven at home as we are told by Hupel. His evidence shows that by 1705 the Latvian word had been reborrowed into German as wadmal. Russian speech in Riga in the 19th C also had vadmal from Latv. wadmals -- a home-made cloth. It is an extraordinary fact that Latvian and Estonian domestic cloth was imported to the West. Johansen and von zür Mühlen give the following example from a text of the Bruges staples of 1525: "quatre timbres de watermales, au prix qu'il les a achetés à Reval en Lieflandt" (the purchasers were Italian merchants in Bruges). They conclude: "Es ist sonderbar, dass man in einer Gegend, die Europas beste Tuche fabrizierte, auch

Interesse für estnische Wollstoffe zeigte und so nannte, wie einst die Deutschen das aus dem Westen mitgebrachte fremde Tuch zu nennen pflegten: 'watmal'." The possibility exists then that the R. word is not borrowed direct from MLG but has come via Estonian or Latvian. If it is the latter the substitution of Latv. a by R. o would be quite normal. In parenthesis it might be noted that the birchbark text contains references to a number of people with whom the Russians are trading whose names are apparently of Baltic Finnic origin.

In conclusion one can say that the origin of this word in Russian is by no means as clear as might at first appear. A direct loan from a Scandinavian language is a remote possibility; more likely is a loan from MLG, possibly via Estonian or Latvian, from the end of the 14th C. It should not be forgotten that the second syllable in MLG was probably shortened as evidenced by spellings like watmel. For more discussion see below under votola.

Lit.: Rydzevskaja, passim; Vasmer I:212; Seeger, p. 154; Goetz (1922), p. 279ff.; Choroškevič, p. 189; Sehwers, p. 150; Hupel, p. 256; Johansen/von zur Mühlen, p. 393-4; Želtov, p. 10; Schiller-Lübben V:617.

vojt

RLA:250 susědom i prijatelem našim panu bur"mistru i voitom i rjadcam i vsěm ratmanom rizkogo mesta poklon (Polock/Riga, 1465).

RLA:259 panom byr'mistrom i voitom i vsěm ratmanom rizkogo mesta (Polock/Riga, 1470).

RLA:263 panom i prijatelem i susedom našim panu vojtu i burmistrom i rjadcam i meščanom i vsěmu pospol'stvu riz'kogo města (Polock/Riga, probably 1475).

RLA:264 panu bur'mistru i voitu i rjadcjam i vsëm meščanom riz'kogo města (Polock/Riga, perhaps, 1476).

ARA:110 gospodam velikim goroderžacam kolyvanskim burmistam i ratmanam i voitam i kolyvanskim posad'někam (Undated, but after 1598 Novgorod and Pskov with Reval).

Sreznevskij has an example in 1351 from Galicia. The kartoteka has an example from relations with Poland/Lithuania from 1490, otherwise there are no further examples before the 17th C. It continued in use in Belorussia and the Ukraine.

Vasmer and Sobik derive the word from Pol. wojt, MHG voget, going back to Lat. vocatus. Gardiner agrees but points to Ukr. vijt or Br. vojt as intermediaries. Ohienko states that it has entered R. from the south, i.e. Ukr. Sobolevskij also favours Ukr. as the immediate source.

All of the early examples refer to Riga, but since they appear in Polock texts, which by this time are already heavily Polonised, we should look to Pol. influence rather than a direct loan from MLG voget, voit. If we consider Russian in its narrow sense then the example from ARA:110 is the only evidence of the word in R. before the annexation of the Ukraine in 1654. Since the word there appears alongside gorododeržacam, clearly a calque of MLG stattholder, it is not improper to ask whether the word is not a direct loan from MLG.

Clearly the word entered Russian afresh in the latter half of the 17th C. It is an open question whether the examples in RLA are to be regarded as Polonisms or since they refer to German officials in Riga whether we should not regard them as loans from MLG. The Novgorod example could have resulted from the spread of the word from Polock or could be an independent loan from MLG. Compare too the loan fogot' below.

Lit.: Sreznevskij I:288; Dal' I:566; Akad. II:603; Sobik, p. 197; Smolensk, p. 77; Vasmer I:216; Korbut, p. 381; Gardiner, pp. 78-79; Sobolevskij, p. 120; Ohienko, pp. 58-59; Kochman (1967), p. 150; Schiller-Lübben V:296.

vostočnoe more

RLA Anhang Ia) knjazju ljubo i rizanom vsem i vsemu latineskomu jazyku i vsem' tem' kto to na ustoko morja chodit'.

b) na v"stok morja

c) na ustok morja

(a)-c) are all "Gotland" redactions, 1229).

d) po v"stočnomu morju

e) po v"stočnomu morju

f) po v"stočnomu morju

g) po v"stočnomu morju

(c)-g) are all "Riga" redactions, 1229).

There are no further examples of this phrase.

Vasmer regards it as a calque of MLG ostersee. Kiparsky agrees that this has been translated straight out of German with the result that in a)-c) makes no sense in Russian. He uses this as proof that the writer of redactions a)-c) was a German. Redactions d)-g) were then, according to his theory, turned into something more comprehensible to a Russian. He refutes completely the theory suggested by Obnorskiĭ and Barchudarov among others that the phrase in a)-c) means the Baltic provinces, i.e. literally the east of the sea.

Leaving aside the doubts concerning the Russian authorship of these texts, there is no problem in accepting this phrase as loan translation of MLG osterse.

Lit.: Vasmer I:232; Kiparsky (1939), pp. 83-87; Kiparsky (1960), p. 245; Schiller-Lübben III:245.

votola

Sreznevskij has the following examples:

(i) as upper clothing:

Pečerskij paterik: edin vzlěz gorě nača rvati jabloka jasja za vėt' ona že otlomisja si že lětja zapjasja votoloju za druguju vėt' i udavisja (13th C, but 15th C copy).

DDG:12 a snu moemu knjazju jur'ju...pojas zolot syškina děla votola sažena (Moscow, 1389).

(ii) type of cloth:

PVL:6582 isakii oblečesja v vlasjanicju i na vlasjanicju svitu votoljanu i nača urod'stvo tvoriti.

(iii) blanket, coarse cloth woven from linen:

The kartoteka has:

Novg. V:6579 glěb že vozolja topor pod votolu privek volchvu i reče emu čto choščet' utro byti čto li do večera (16th C copy).

The word is preserved in Russian dialects as votola, vatula, vatola for thick coarse cloth and outer garments made of such cloth (Rjazan', Tambov, Voronež).

Vasmer and Wanstrat derive the word from ON wad̄māl, MLG wātmāl, yet both realise the problem that the loss of m is difficult to explain. Wanstrat notes that Est. watel has also lost the m, which gives ground for thinking that MLG had an unrecorded form without m. This etymology is also accepted by Rydzevskaja and Choroškevič, the latter accepting that vodmol (see above) and votola signify the same thing. This word and its relation to cloths and clothing has been the subject of a detailed examination by Poppe. He comes to 4 main conclusions:

- 1) in mediaeval Russia there was in use in all layers of society a garment for men votola.
- 2) In 11th C and perhaps even earlier there was produced by peasants a coarse thick cloth of flax called votola.
- 3) It was made of linen and had nothing in common with wadmal (vodmol) a coarse domestic cloth imported by the Hansa.

4) The origin of the word is uncertain. He excludes a loan from MLG and suggests a connection with the Slavonic verb tuliti 'to comb'.

The derivation of this word from tuliti encounters a number of problems. Firstly what is the prefix? Secondly what is the precise relationship between o and u? Is not the u in vatula, votula secondary? A loan from MLG is also made very doubtful by the complete absence of the word in NW Russian dialects as noted by Filin. It is hard to see the connection between the meanings in the examples given above. The example from the Pečerskij paterik surely does not refer to the same kind of garment that would merit inclusion in a Grand Prince's will to his son. Our third example refers explicitly to a hair-shirt, worn by monks. The possibility, in view of the chronology of the word, that it is loaned from ON wát (or less likely MLG wât) cannot be totally excluded. Lit.: Sreznevskij I:307; Dal'I:618; Vasmer I:232; Rydzevskaja, passim; Choroškevič, p. 193; Wanstrat, pp. 101-2; Schiller-Lübben V:612, 617; Filin, p. 240; Kluge, p. 842; A. Poppe, "K istorii drevnerusskoj tkani i odeždy votola" (Acta Balto-Slavica, II, pp. 135-153).

galeja

Novg. I:6712 korable ich i galée ich stojachu nazade.

SRIO:38, p. 233 tri galei (1586).

Sreznevskij has an example from the Hypatian Chronicle under the year 6690, and Gardiner lists a further 3 examples from the second half of the 16th C appertaining to the Baltic.

According to Vasmer from Lat. galea, Gr. γαλεα . Gardiner refutes Vasmer's etymology on the grounds that the word is found in texts relating to the Baltic. She posits a loan from MLG galîe,

noting the regularity with which MLG-te gives R.-eja. She suggests, though it is not clear why, Pol. as a possible intermediary.

In MLG the word is attested as galei, galeide, galee. It indicates a long narrow ship used for transport and war. All of the references are to a mediterranean ship. The fact that the MLG word does not designate a Baltic ship considerably weakens Gardiner's argument. The existence of the word in the Hypatian Chronicle further renders MLG origin doubtful, although the reference to Constantinople in Novg. I may be inconclusive. Of the two possibilities -- a loan from MLG or from a mediterranean source (Gr. γαλεα or Lat. galea, derived it would seem, from Arab. chālia ('young camel' to 'small ship')) -- neither can be ruled out, but the latter alternative is the more likely.

Lit.: Sreznevskij I:509; Gardiner, pp. 82-3; Vasmer I:253; Schiller-Lübben II:6; Lasch-Borchling I:2:4; Thomas (1971a), pp. 177-8.

gvozdika

Af. Nik. 1.381 a roditsja v nem perec da zen'zebil' da cvět da moškat da kalafur da korica da gvozniki.

1.382 v lekote že roditsja perec da moškat gvozdniki da fufal da cvět (15th C).

SRIO:35:7 ignat' verbljud ěxal ot kieva k smolensku da nočeval podo mstislavlem vzjali u nego poltret'ja kameni gvozdiki (Grand Prince to Kasimir with a list of robberies, 1489).

Torg. Kn. 85(72) gvozdika celaja šeraja f. 20 al. bez mēloči.

SRIO:38, p. 91 grivenka gvozdiki (1601).

SRIO:38, p. 223 roman ze dal ul'jan sčitajut' na nem 13 rublev deneg za šefran da za gvozdiku a tot šefran da gvozdiku vzfali na gdrja pod"jačei ofanasei michajlov (1588).

SRIO:38, pp. 433-6 maslo gvozdišnoe (in a list of wares brought from England by the apothecary Jacob, 1603).

James 12:41 gβosedic - cloves.

Paris Dictionary:337 du clou de girofle - gvoessenicqua.

Fenne:121 gvostci - Negelken.

The kartoteka has another early example:

Krym. D. poslal iz azova mustasip azovskoj... šest' grivenok percu da šest' grivenok gvozdiki (1509).

The word has been retained in modern Russian.

gvozdika is generally regarded as a calque of MLG negelken, MHG negelkin, NHG Naglein, Nelke via Pol. gwoździk, goździk.

Šanskij however, noting the spellings with n in Af. Nik., suggests that it may be an independent neologism. He admits that in either case the word has arisen from the obvious similarity between the shape of the clove and mediaeval nails.

Our first two examples come from contact with the East -- the travels to India and Persia of the Tver' merchant Afanasij Nikitin. The third example refers to a merchant robbed in Lithuania (on his way back from L'vov?). He is given the nickname verbljud, perhaps a reference to some unfortunate personal affliction or more likely to the fact that he met camel caravans when trading in the East. The fourth example also concerns the sending of the spice from the East, namely from Azov. We have little concrete evidence of the importation of cloves by the Hanseatic League. We do know that the cloves were imported to Reval from the West, but do not know whether the Hansa supplied Russia as well.

The historical evidence, though admittedly scanty, suggests that Šanskij's etymology might have some substance, since if the spice was not imported from the West there is little reason for supposing that the impulse for its name came from the West. This word well illustrates the problems of determining the origins of calques or identifying calques and distinguishing them from autochthonic words. Linguistic science has also not decided whether words like gvozdika are loanwords with sound substitutions

or calques proper. Against Šanskij's hypothesis it can be argued: 1) that the forms with n are far outweighed by those without; 2) that the forms with n might be later adaptations of gvozdika with the suffix -nik (since all examples of the word with n (except the evidence of the Paris Dictionary) are in nom. pl. we cannot reconstruct its nom. sg.); 3) the Pol. and German words are themselves calqued on Fr., It. or Lat. An alternative possibility is that the examples in Af. Nik. were autochthonic, while the form gvozdika which becomes regularised is from Pol. or MLG direct. If Pol. is the immediate source it is not altogether clear why Russian should not have *gvozdik. Perhaps it worth noting that MLG has served as the source of Latv. nēgelkēne.

Lit.: Dal' I:852; Akad. III:51; Vasmer I:263; KĚS, p. 74; Šanskij I, 4:41; Schiller-Lübben III:169; Thomas (1971c), pp. 99-100; Sobik, p. 201; Kochman (1967), p. 32; Sehwers, p. 83.

domaška/adamaška

ARA:83 barchatu dveste lokot' i šest'nacat' lokot' i četvertina lokti da domaški devjanosto lokot' i polšesta lokti da otlasu sto lokot' (Pskov/Reval, 1568).

ARA:103 barchat i domaška i kitalka i otlas....da domaske dvoeslišnc s odnym (Pskov/Reval, 1568).

Torg. kn., p. 103 adamaška lenjaet uzor mělok na nej ton'ka. p. 112 ni s adamaškoju i ne kuchteren ni s karmazinom.

Fenne:125 damaška - Damast.

(James 40:19 camka - Damaske).

The kartoteka has many examples from the 17th C but the earliest example given is:

Pol'sk. D. III:24 u tarasa u odamoviča u armenina vzjato do kazny car'skogo velicestva akamity i perstni zolotye i adamaški (1570).

The word is generally derived from Pol. adamaszek from MLat. adamascus, It. damasco from the place name Damascus, i.e. it is a cloth originating in Damascus (an originally Arabic word). No attempt has been made to explain the form domaška of our examples.

This was a smooth silk cloth, probably not particularly expensive or of very high quality. According to Choroškevič it was introduced by the Hansa and was used on fur coats. Fenne also gives the word in a list of Hanseatic imports.

There is no difficulty in accepting a loan from Pol. adamaszek for the form adamaška. Nevertheless it is not immediately obvious why we encounter the form without initial a. It could be the result of an incorrect word division or by analogy with domašnij. Since however the examples occur in texts which concern trading relations with LG-speaking merchants in Livonia, it is much more reasonable to regard this as an independent borrowing from MLG damask, damasch, damas(t), damaschk, cf. too MLG as source of Latv. damašku.

Lit.: Vasmer I:5, Leeming, p. 239; Sobik, p. 169; Lokotsch, p. 476; Seiler II:192; Savvaitov, p. 1; Choroškevič, p. 163; Schiller-Lübben I:478; Lasch-Borchling I:393; Sehwers, p. 25; Kochman (1975), p. 28.

drjagil'

ARA:30 a tě na nem velěli den'gi dopraviti naměsniki drjagilem za kup"čin čto vozili drjagili na kup"čin tovar (to Reval, undated 16th C).

The kartoteka has the following examples:

SGGD II:58 a kotorye kupcy novgorodskie i pskovskie i vsjakie inozemcy počdyt iz novagoroda vo pskov i němcy i v litvu i kudy nibudi i tamožnikom velěti beremjana vsjakija korob'i i bočki svitati i svjazyvati drjagiljam pred soboju zapečatyvat' pečat'ju

kakova pečat' dana tamožnikom s moskovskija pečati obrazcom
(Customs treaty for Novgorod, 1571).

Pri-rasch. kn. vol. No. 2 drjaqilem dano med vėsili 7 altyn (1573-4).

Lav. kn., p. 188 i ivanka drjaqilja (1583).

The form drjaqil'skij is also given from 1598.

The word is now archaic in Russian, with the meaning 'porter'.

Rejcek suggests that the word was only spread in north west Russia and is borrowed from LG drager, with dissimilation of the two r. Vasmer posits Du. or LG as its source. Van der Meulen derives it from Du.

In view of the fact that the word is only attested in north west Russia, we can assume that it arose from trade contact with Livonia and is to be derived from MLG dreger, drager, cf. too MLG loan in Latv. drēgeris. The ending il' is by dissimilation as suggested by Rejcek or from a confusion of r and l which is to be seen in Du. and LG loans in R., see beliza above.

Lit.: Dal' I:1237; Akad. III:1140; Vasmer I:375; Rejcek, p. 249; Schiller-Lübben I:570; Lasch-Borchling I:471; van der Meulen (1944), p. 25; Sehwers, p. 28.

dukat

Dracula a) i povelě ego na kol posaditi prochodom a drugomu povelě dati n dukat zlata

b) a sam spaše v polatě a prised někto ukrade s voza dukat zlata.

SRIO:38, p. 217 španskie dengi dukat v russkie dengi perevest' (1588).

The kartoteka has examples for the 17th C. The word persists as an historicism in modern Russian.

Vasmer derives dukat from It. ducato perhaps via NHG Dukat. Leeming notes that the example in Dracula is due either to German or Ruthenian influence but derives it from Pol. dukat from Lat. ducatus. He compares this word with the direct loan dokutan from It. or Fr. He also mentions another form dukit, dukic in the late 16th C loaned from Eng. duckette, ducket.

As we have seen above (p. 46) the idea that Dracula is a translation from LG or indeed any other written source has now been rendered invalid. It is now accepted that it derives from an oral source in Transylvania or Hungary. The second example of the word refers specifically to Spanish coins. Nevertheless it is worth noting that the coin was known internationally. Δουκατος, the family name of Constantine X, Emperor of Byzantium 1059-67, was stamped on the gold coins issued in his reign. The word can also be derived from MLat. ducatus 'princedom, dukedom' which appeared on coins in Italy in the 12th C. With the striking of coins in Florence in 1254 and Venice in 1284 the popularity of this gold coin spread. Thus it is It. ducato which has given the word and the coin to the rest of Europe. Fedorov notes that the most famous of these ducats were those minted in Hungary in 1325. The coin was introduced into Germany in 1559. Dutch ducats played an important role in international commerce in 16th and 17th C. The coins were also minted in small numbers from 16th C in Riga, Tallinn, Narva and the Duchy of Kurland.

In view of the source of the Dracula legend and the importance of Hungarian ducats it is likely that the word was first heard by Russians in Hungary, though the ethnic complexities of the region render impossible any attempt to identify the exact source language for the word. It is however possible that this was an isolated loan and that the word was reborrowed in 1588, when it might have been loaned from MLG, Du., NHG or Pol. The absence of the word in Russo-Hanseatic texts makes a loan from MLG dukâte unlikely, even though MLG is the source of Latv. dukāts. The only reference to dukaten in this area is in Schrove's Hanseatic Mission to Boris Godunov in 1603. As is so often the case with internation-

alisms, the exact source of the word cannot be more closely defined. Lit.: Akad. III:1154; Vasmer I:379; Leeming, p. 236, Kluge, p. 146; Seiler II:170; Fedorov, p. 370; Sehwers, pp. 29 and 177; Lasch-Borchling I:492; Blümcke, p. 248; for Hungarian I received a personal communication from G. F. Cushing.

djužina

Torg. kn. 110 a v djuzině 12 (weights and measures in Muscovy). Gardiner has an example from 1581. The kartoteka has examples from the middle of 17th C. In modern R. it is retained as 'dozen'.

Vasmer and Šanskij derive the word (which they date from 1720) from Fr. douzaine, It. dozzina from Lat. duodecim perhaps influenced phonetically by analogy with djužij. Öhmann compares the word with MDu. dosîne, dusîne and MLG dossîn, dosîn, dusîn. He notes that i tends to diphthongise in Du. from 13th C, while it remained unchanged in LG. He concludes that in view of the late entry of the word LG intermediary is probable, especially since LG is also the source of Sw. dussin and Dan. dusin. He adds that some analogy with djužij is still necessary to explain the phonetics of the R. word. Gardiner points out that Fr. influence without German intermediary in 17th C can be ruled out, as can Pol. or Br. intermediary (cf. Pol., Br. tuzyn). She accepts Öhmann's derivation from LG, particularly since the example from 1581 is in a list of goods carried by merchants from 'Lithuania'.

As an international word it is difficult to ascertain its exact source. Its presence in Torg. kn. narrows the choice to Du., Flemish or LG, as does the impossibility of Pol. or Br. intermediary. In Latv. the word ducis is the present word for 'dozen' but it has replaced an earlier duzins, recorded in 1695, which is clearly loaned from LG. Two problems confront a loan from

MLG. Firstly MLG s normally gives z between vowels (cf. karmazin); secondly -a in the ending is closer to Du. dusine, although there could be analogy of gender with other measures e.g. měra, svjazka, kipa etc. dju- could equally well come from Du. or LG du-, cf. djujm from Du. duim and tjuk from LG tuch, but it should be noted that dossin predominates as the LG form.

Lit.: Gardiner, pp. 101-2; Akad. III:1214; Vasmer I:387; E. Öhmann, "Bemerkungen zu russischen Fremd- und Lehnwörtern" (Festschrift für Max Vasmer zum 70. Geburtstag, Veröffentlichungen der Abteilung für slavische Sprachen und Literaturen des Osteuropa-Instituts (Slavisches Seminar) an der freien Universität Berlin, Vol. 9, 1956, p. 360); Schiller-Lübben I:556; Kluge, p. 150; Sehwers, p. 423; Šanskij I, 5:228.

erenga

Torg. kn. 16 erenga bolšaja

75 vloskie a imye zovut italskim erengoju po nemecki ital'skaja karza a kupili v rugodivě...erengi bolsie po nemecki schotche karzaj a kupili v rugodivě polovinku po 15 efimkov... men'šie eren'gi po nemecki angel's karzaj a kupili v rugodive polovin"ku.

Fenne:129 erenki - kyrseÿ.

The kartoteka has widespread examples of the word from 17th C mostly in the form erenok (nom. sg.), erenku (gen. sg.), erenkov (gen. pl.)

Vasmer derives the word from MLG haren, harenkleid, although he admits that this does not explain the ending. To derive the word from Mongolian eriŋge is impossible because the word clearly denotes an item of western trade. Gardiner suggests the possibility of a loan from MHG Herrengra(w), a grey cloth made for the Teutonic Knights, and recorded in documents of the Order. A

third etymology is suggested by Savvaitov and Šmeleva, namely that the word is derived from the name of the original place of production Erin (the old name of Ireland). Wanstrat suggests that it is possibly from LG herringbone, itself apparently loaned from Eng. herringbone, 'a woollen cloth striped like the bones of a herring'.

All of the Russian examples refer to a western trading article, which Wanstrat identifies with watmal. The references point to a similarity with kersey cloth (cf. karzaj below) and to its place of production as Italy, Scotland and England.

None of the etymologies suggested can be readily dismissed, except a derivation from herringbone, not attested in Engl. before 1659. The evidence of Fenne suggests that the LG word is no longer used in this particular meaning. It would seem that an ending -ga or -ok may have been added to a truncated form of harenkleid, herringbone or herrengra(w). That none of these was widespread in Hanseatic usage suggests that we should seek the source of this word rather in MLG yren 'Ireland', with the addition of a native R. suffix.

Lit.: Vasmer:401; Gardiner, pp. 102-3; Savvaitov, p. 139; Šmeleva, p. 197; Wanstrat, pp. 91-2; Schiller-Lübben II:207 and II:391; OED V:249.

zakon

In addition to its usual meaning of 'law' and 'rules of faith' we have three examples of zakon referring to an order of knights:

RLA:265 knjazja kon"drata ot Vin'tikyof' meš'terja lifljan'skoe zemli i nemeč'kogo zakona (Polock/Riga, 1478).

Sb. Muchanova 27, p. 39 poslove nemeckii ot knjazja bernata vanderborcha maistra německogo zakona iže v lifljantěch (Livonia to Novgorod, 1482).

RLA:369 Duitzschen ordens tho lyff meister van sinen kumturen =
magistra nemetckogo zakona iz v liflente i ot ego kumenderev
(Moscow/Livonia, 1521).

It is clear that the word is a semantic calque of MLG orden.
Lit.: Schiller-Lübben III:231

zamša

Paris Dictionary 335 du chamoys - semchon.

zamša is also recorded in Torg. kn., but otherwise is not found
before 17th C. In modern R. the word is retained for 'deer hide,
chamois leather'.

Vasmer derives it from Pol. zamsz, zamesz from OHG
saemisch(leder), MLG semesch from Fr. chamois. Gardiner gives a
more precise picture of the route of the loan, viz. via Br. or Ukr.

zamša

In Latv. the form recorded since 1685 is ziemiškis, a loan
from MLG semesch. We would expect a loan from MLG to be *zemeš,
therefore it is likely that the R. word is a borrowing from Pol.
via Ukr. or Br.

Lit.: Akad. IV:697; Dal' I:1513; Vasmer I:441; Sobolevskij, p. 130;
Gardiner, p. 106; Korbut, p. 387; Schiller-Lübben V:187; Sehwers,
p. 164.

il'ka

This word is not attested in Old Russian. It presently has the
meaning 'American polecat', from which a very valuable fur is made.

Vasmer derives it from MLG ilke, illeke, LG ilk, noting that the MLG word has also penetrated the Scandinavian languages.

The fur is mentioned in Alexander's Privilege of 1498 as an item of trade in the Dvina Area. Polecat furs also figured in the imports from Riga to Lübeck and were traded widely in Livonia.

Vasmer's derivation is certainly phonetically well motivated. The MLG word is widely attested. No alternative etymology has been suggested and yet this would be a rare example in our experience of where a Russian export article was given a MLG designation.

Lit.: Akad. V:290; Dal' II:94; Siewert, p. 196; Vasmer I:479, Falk-Torp I:461; Goetz (1922), p. 514; Schiller-Lübben II:350.

inbir'/imbir'

SRIO:35:2 a v nověgorodkě v sěverskom knjazju semenu knjažu ivanomu synu senjakina velikogo knjazja gosti pomínok nesli...da funt inbirju da funt percu (in Lithuania, 1488).

Torg. kn. 85 (60) in'berju funt 4 ali 6 al.

(66) sachar na inbire f. 10 al.

(68) bočka inbirju 3 al.

107 těch ovoščov i inběr' kupjat f. 3 al.

Paris Dictionary 334 du gingembre - imber

Fenne 121 inber - Ingever

James 12:52 ingbire - ginger

Ludolf 86 zinziber - inber - Ingwer.

The kartoteka has the following examples before 1600:

Pol'sk. D. II i medu davali po dvěnatcati veder i pivo po dvěnatcati veder da muskateli po pogrebcu kak v cetvert' vedra da i percu i inbiri a nedoěžnsajuči vilni (1554).

Pri.-rasch. kn. Vol. 95 poslano s starcem jakimom k semenu k demidovu 3 rubli denege za pereg i za inbiri i za gvozdigu (1573-5).

In modern Russian 'ginger' is imbir', while inbir' is regarded as prostorečie.

Vasmer derives the word from NHG Imber, Ingwer, MHG ingewer, ingeber via Pol. imbier. Rejczak, who explains the forms with n and m as reflections of two competing NHG prototypes, disposes of Polish as intermediary on accentual grounds. Gardiner accepts Vasmer's derivation adding Ukr, and Br. as further intermediaries. She accounts for n in examples before 1600 as a result of dissimilation with the following labial.

Afanasij Nikitin (l. 381) talks of zen'zebil' (from Arab. zenġebil), which suggests that Tver' was supplied with ginger from the East. Ginger was exported from Lübeck to the east and was known in the Dvina area and in Novgorod.

The traditional derivation of this word through Pol. is not without certain difficulties. Laying aside the question of stress, which is probably inconclusive in any case, it is striking that the dominant form in Pol. has m, while there are no examples with m in Russian until late in 17th C (if one ignores the evidence of Paris Dictionary (1586) where the spelling is almost certainly contaminated by French). If dissimilation has taken place (and Gardiner does adduce similar instances in trunbiter and stanpor), it is far from clear why this dissimilation should later have been reversed. More likely is that the forms of the Russian word are the result of two separate loans. The later loan is from Pol. via Ukr. imbir', but Ukr. and Br. intermediary can be ruled out for the earlier form, especially since Br. has the ending er. In view of the fact that the spice was imported to Russia by the Hansa it is possible to propose as the source of the word MLG, which has a variety of forms: ingever, engever, incheber, ingeber, ingver, engfer. MLG is also the source of Latv. engveris, ingveris. The word for 'ginger' is of eastern origin and has migrated to western Europe:

SSK sragavera > Arab. zenġebil \ Gr. γινγίβερις. Lat. zingeber (later gingeber) > MHG zinzebraten, gingebere, ingiber etc., MLG ingever etc.

Lit.: Dal' II:100; Akad. V:292; Vasmer I:479; Rejcek, p. 337; Gardiner, pp. 107, 210, 200; Choroškevič, p. 209; Goetz (1922), pp. 328, 516ff.; Schiller-Lübben II:362, 664; Lasch-Borchling I:543 and II:432; Siewert, pp. 432, 444; Korbut, p. 490; Sehwers, pp. 33, 42; Thomas (1971c), pp. 94-95 ; Seiler II:185; Lokotsch, p. 1930; Kochman (1967), p. 32.

ipskoj

DDG:68 dati mi ondrěju šixovu tritcat rublev a moi u nego postav ipskoi švetlozelen (1472).

SRIO:35:7 s nimi ruchljadi vzjali dvě odnorjatki ip'skie (Grand Prince to Kasimir with a list of robberies, 1489).

ll a toě poloviny tovara vzjal u nich ivaški dobynina da odnorjatku ip'skuju lazorevu lazorevu a ivaša kozicina tovaru da odnorjatku ip'skaja (Embassy of Grand Prince to Kasimir with complaints, 1490).

DDG:87 da šuba červ'čataja ip'skaja (Julanija's will, 1503).

Fenne:129 ip"skoe - ippersche

The kartoteka and Sreznevskij have the following examples:

Krym. D. I, p. 129 tvoj knjaz' šamansyr' vzjal u nego silno odnorjatku ip'skuju da druguju trekyn'skuju (1492).

p. 307 da sukno luskoe dobro da ip'skoe (1500).

p. 537 sukno ipskoe rudožolto da sukno ipskoe červčjato da sukno luskoe bagrovo da postav sukna novogonskoj (A present to the Crimean Tartars, 1504).

SRIO:95, p. 16 šubu chrěbty bělinny gola da sukno ibskoe čerleno (a present to Tartars, Moscow, 1508).

Novg. II:6984 darov ot nego 30 zolotych korablenych da krečet 3 postava ipskogo sukna rudoželtych.

SGGD:II, p. 89 a s sukna s brjukiša i s lunskich i s nastrafilej i s anglinskih i s polubrjukišev i s koltyrov s postava po tri dengi a s nevo ipskogo (1586).

The word has not been retained.

All scholars are agreed that the name of this cloth derives from the name of its original place of production, the Flemish weaving town Ypern.

This cloth formed a substantial part of Hanseatic trade both in Novgorod and in Polock. In Novgorod it is first mentioned in 1327 and in Polock, in 1412. Until the 16th C all western cloths were imported into Muscovy from Novgorod, when trade direct with Lithuania begins to develop.

Since it has been established that the Hansa monopolised the importation of this cloth into Novgorod, we should seek the source of the word in MLG ipers(ch) with elision of r in a difficult consonant cluster.

Lit. Sreznevskij I:1110; Vasmer I:486; Savvaitov, p. 135; Choroškevič, p. 179; Goetz (1922), pp. 279-282; Schiller-Lübben II: 390; Lasch-Borchling II:465.

kabak

SRIO:38, p. 366 među patočnogo i knjažogo velěli b este postaviti na kabakě narokom i piva svariti dobrogo.

p. 372 međ i pivo imati s kabakov (and other examples from Boris Godunov's preparation for an English embassy, 1600).

James 10:17 cobac - Rus taverne

30:20 cobacke

61:29 copack

The kartoteka has the following examples before 1600, after which it is encountered very frequently:

Nik. L.:7053 i v"evody velikogo knjazja semen s tovarišči prišed k gorodu kazani ljudej kazań"skych mnogich pobili i kabaky carevy pož'gli.

AAE:307 da i togo by esi bereg nakrěpko čtoby na tom ves'skom torgu priězžie torgovye i tutošnie ves'skie ljudi kabakov ne činili i korčem ne deržali (1564).

Rimsk. D. II:47 a budet na kabakě dobrogo među i piva nět (1595). Opis'Grekova No. 27 l. 33 v velikom nově gorode byli dva kabaka na sofějskoi i na torgovoi storoně i ot těch kabakov nougorodcom gocam i lutčim i seređnim i vsjakim torgovym posackim ljudem nuža i tesnota i ubytki i oskuděń učinilos' (1598). In Tsarist Russia a kabak was a drinking house, a vodka shop, often with bad associations.

The origin of this word is far from clear and is hotly disputed among etymologists. Vasmer, Wanstrat and Rejčak on balance opt for a loan from LG Kaback(e) 'a delapidated house'. Otherwise the word is to be derived from Turkic, cf. Chuvash XubaX 'bottle'. The most detailed treatment of this word is that of Gardiner, who notes that LG kabacke would have given Pol. and R. *kabaka although there may have been analogy with the Sl. suffix -ak. She says that it is difficult to imagine the semantic development 'tumble-down, miserable hut' to 'inn', although the reverse is quite possible. On the other hand the Turkic etymologies are far from satisfactory. She points out that the foreign sources ignore the word, although in fact it is attested in James. Brückner derives the Pol. word (attested from 1607) from R.

As the examples above attest, the kabak was a drinking place controlled by the tsar. None of them hints at any pejorative meaning. Only one example relates to Novgorod, otherwise the word is clearly Muscovite.

The word is not attested in MLG and is not recorded in any German dialect before Olearius in 1647. It has certainly not arisen from the Hanseatic presence in north west Russia. Thus, if Pol. intermediary is considered unlikely, the only possible western source of the word is the group of German artisans working in

Moscow. There is not the slightest shred of evidence for a G. source of the word. In view of the special aura which surrounds the tavern in society, an emotive word from the East may well have been introduced in the 16th C, but a more thorough examination of the possible eastern sources is required before the origin of the word can be stated with more certainty.

Lit.: Dal' II:166; Akad. V:614; Wanstrat, p. 92; Vasmer I:494; Rejčak, p. 258; Gardiner, pp. 109-113; Hupel, p. 102; Kluge, p. 272; Brückner, p. 210.

kavalok/okovalok

Attested in Modern Russian as 'okovalok' 'piece of meat, carcass around the pelvis'. Dal' lists the word in southern, central and western dialects (Kursk, Voronež, Tver') as kavalok, which also occurs in Archangel with the meaning 'a big piece of something edible'.

Vasmer, dismissing the possibility of a derivation from kovat 'to forge', sees it as a loan from Pol. kawałek, kawał 'small piece, piece' (attested since the first half of 15th C according to SSP) from MLG, Du. kavel.

In MLG kavel is a piece of wood used for casting lots. It has found its way into Eng., where cavel is attested from 1300.

Vasmer's etymology is quite possible, but the absence of further information precludes any statement on the route or antiquity of the loan.

Lit.: Akad. VIII:790; Dal' II:170, 1714; Podvysockij, p. 61; Vasmer I:497; Schiller-Lübben II:436; Bense, p. 40.

kanselar'

ARA:6 ot bergomesterov i ratmanov i ot vsěch kupcov i ot kupeckich detej svoich poslov iz ljubka ivana ruda kanselarja gradskogo (Livonia to Novgorod, 1512).

SRIO:53:2 ses' spisok prinesl i skembork da melchior da christofor kanselar' po soveršanii vsega děla (Embassy to Grand Master from Moscow, 1517).

4 kak vaše veličestvo v vašej kanselarii i rukami kanselarii ili sekretarej (Prussian embassy to Moscow, 1517).
 SRIO:38:2, p. 68 a smotrit' tobě eě veleno zděs' v lunde u svoego sovětnika u kanslera u knjazja tomosa brumleva.... v sudno sědši počchali ch kansliru i kak priěchali na kanslirov dvor (1581).

The kartoteka has:

Rimsk. D. I:142 livonci i takž magistra pruskago kanselar' i vsě knjazi molili moego gosudarja kralja maksimiliana (1506).

Gardiner has examples of kancleŕ' from 1454 and 1503, but the first of these texts has Br. features, the second was composed in Lithuania.

In Modern Russian there exist kancler and kanceljar(ski).

Vasmer derives kancler from NHG kanzler, Lat. cancellārius. Il'enko states that kanselar' has come via Poland-Lithuania, i.e. Br. or Ukr. are to be regarded as intermediaries. Gardiner derives the word from MHG kanzelaere through Pol. kanclerz, Br. kancler (attested from 1430). She dismisses the possibility of LG influence (because the word has entered from Br.) to explain the forms with s, preferring to see c to s as assimilation of the dental element in the affricate by the preceding dental. Rejczak, on the basis of 877 examples taken from the 16th and 17th C is more cautious, considering the variety of forms of the R. word a reflection of a number of different prototypes (NHG kanzler, Sw. kansler, MLHG (sic!) kanzelaere).

Our examples refer to the Chancellery of the Teutonic Order, the chancellor of Lübeck and the Lord Chancellor of the court of Elizabeth Sir Thomas Bromley (not William Cecil, Lord Burghley,

or his son Thomas, as suggested by Gardiner). The word is totally absent in Polish-Russian diplomatic literature (e.g. SRIO:35). The correspondence between the Teutonic Order and Muscovy was translated by the office of the Livonian master in Reval.

In the latter half of the 16th C and in the 17th C, the forms with c prevail and forms with s disappear altogether. While Gardiner's explanation of s for c is plausible, it is still open to question, if the word is to be regarded as a loan from Br., why the already established Br. spelling should have been disregarded and one with s substituted. It is surely more probable that the forms with s represent an independent loan from MLG kanseler, which requires no phonetic explanation. The context of the early examples makes MLG even more likely as their source.

Lit.: Akad. V:765; Vasmer I:520; Il'enko (1958), p. 12; Gardiner, pp. 113-4; Rejcek, p. 131; Kaestner, P. 7; Lasch-Borchling II:539; Schiller-Lübben II:446.

kaplan

Malinin XV na s'borě ze sěde rim'skii papa eggēnii a s nim vi gardinalov i arcybiskupy i biskupy i kaplany.... čto proč kaplanov i diakonov (Council of Florence, 1438-9, 16th C copy).

Novg. I:6949 povelě v ljačskych božnicach ruskym popom svoju službu služiti a v ruskych cerkvach kaplanom (Isidor on his return from Rome).

Sobolevskij:44 kakze to nad svoimi kaplany čest' dělaete (Simeon, Bishop of Polock, to Riga, undated, middle of 15th C).

SRIO:35:73 a byl u velikogo knjazja s korolevymi rečmi tolmac' korolev jur'i apovskoj voevodka da kaplan ditrich.... i velikomu knjaz ju aleksandru čto on vzjal pisarja svoego ditrocha kaplana

(Envoy from the King of Hungary, 1503).

ARA:6 ... ot bergomesterov i ot ratmanov i ot vsech kupcov i ot kupeckich detej svoich poslov iz ljubka ivana ruda kancelarja gradskogo... pisarja kaplana jur'evskogo (Embassy of Grand Master from Moscow, 1512).

The kartoteka has the following examples before 16th C, after which it is met frequently:

AI:I:118 a kaplanove ego ot božnici sretiti posvoemu s svoimi križy (arrival in Riga from Rome, 1459).

L'vov L. I:7008 priide posol na moskvu ot datckogo korolja ivana kaplan imenem ivan.

According to Vasmer via Pol. kapłan from Lat. capellānus. Il'enko adds that the word is from Pol. or Lat. through the intermediary of Br. or Ukr., since the word has entered Russia through Poland-Lithuania. Sobik derives the word from Pol. (though she has no examples before 1610), which has in turn borrowed the word from Cz.

Our examples show the word in use for the first time in the mission to the Council of Florence, thereafter in relations with the bishops of Riga and Dorpat, and with the Kings of Hungary and Denmark. The sources show kaplan not only as a Catholic priest but also as a scribe or administrator.

The most probable source for R. is via Br. from Pol. due to contact with Poland-Lithuania, though a loan direct from MLG kappelân, which covers precisely those meanings illustrated in the examples above, should not be completely ruled out in view of the contact with Livonia.

Lit.: Vasmer I:522; Il'enko (1958), p. 12; Sobik, p. 235; Schiller-Lübben II:427; Lasch-Borchling II:518.

kap'

Smol. Gram. i se daju na posvět stěi bci iz dvora svoeg osm kapii vosku (1150, but in a 16th C copy).

RLA Anhang Ia) latineskomu dati ot dvoju kapiju v'su věscju kuna na smol'neskaja aže kap' čim' vesjatě izl'ml'na buděte.

(Smolensk/Riga Treaty, 1229; redactions b) to g) have kap'ju or kapiju and kap').

RLA:16 i němc'm i gt'm i vsemu latin'skomu jazyku platiti po dvě kuně ot kapi i ot vsjakogo věsnago tovara čto kladut' na skalvi (Novgorod treaty with the Germans, undated but 1257-63).

Sb. Muchanova 27, p. 39 a čto s nim s torquet ino tomu ukolupiti malo i voščano i ves' kapi spustiti s novgorodskimi kapmi (Livonia/Novgorod, 1482).

RLA:369 a voščanoj vės spustiti s novgorodckimi kapmi = de wassz wichte sal menn myt den now. wichtlode the samen latten (Moscow/Livonia, 1521).

This was a measure for wax corresponding to 8 Livonian pounds.

This word has been variously interpreted as a MLG loanword or as the source for the word in MLG. The latter view is held by Vasmer and Kiparsky, while Wanstrat and Černych advocate a MLG loan. If not from MLG, the word is generally derived from Turkish, Crimean Tatar, Kirghiz kap 'sack, bag, vessel'.

In MLG kap is first attested in 1350 in Lübeck. In MLG it could be a measure not only for wax but also for flax, hemp and hides. In R. the word is only found as a measure of wax, except for one 16th C example cited in the kartoteka which refers to "5 tysjašč' kapij srěbra". The difficulties surrounding a derivation from Turkic are that the word is confined to north west Russia, whereas the MLG word is more widespread. On the other hand the R. word is attested 200 years earlier than in MLG. The etymology of the MLG word would be far from clear without deriving it from R. The fact of a measure for wax, an important Russian export item, lends further support to a loan from east to west, though it must be admitted that a loan in the opposite direction can still not be

ruled out.

Lit.: Vasmer I:525; Kiparsky (1936), p. 157; Černych, p. 105; Wanstrat, p. 93; Choroškevič, p. 142; Berežkov, p. 159; Unbegaun (1935); p. 12; Stieda, p. 124; Schiller-Lübben II:426; Goetz (1922), p. 270.

karzaj

Torg. kn. 75(15) vloskie a inye zovut ital'skim eren'goju po nemecki ital'skaja karza a kupili v rugodive.

(16) eren'gi bolšie po nemecki šhotche karzaj

(17) men'šie eren'gi po nemeci angel's karazaj

These are the only examples given in the kartoteka before 1635.

The word was still in existence as karazeja 'course woollen cloth' in the 19th C.

Vasmer derives the word from Pol. karazja or Du. karsaai from the English PN kersey in Suffolk. Meulen considers the word of Du. origin but admits the possibility of Pol. influence on the later form karazeja.

Kirsey was the main type of English cloth exported in the first half of the 15th C. The importation of the English cloths into Russia was often prohibited in the 15th C since they were of low quality, but they continued to arrive in Novgorod, especially when Hanseatic embargoes on Flemish trade were in operation. The Hansetaq of 1476 allowed the import of English cloths via Narva, but the practice of disguising the cloths as those of Ypern continued. These woollen cloths were taken to Colchester, an important port for the Hansa. It should not be forgotten however that the Dutch had a large share in the carrying trade of English cloths. This said, it is clear from our examples that kirsey was not necessarily an English cloth, let alone a cloth exclusively from

Kersey, a village near Hadleigh in Suffolk (not Kent as maintained by Savvaitov and Šmeleva). The name had become divorced from the place of production and was now a term descriptive of a particular quality of cloth.

The absence of kirsey from earlier Russian texts is difficult to explain, though it is true that coarser cloths are not mentioned as often in some sources (DDG for instance) as the more exclusive kinds. It remains a possibility that English cloths were known by other names, perhaps koltyr' and nastrafil'. Such information as we have on karzaj suggests a loan from Du. karsaai or less likely MLG kirsey, karsey.

Lit.: Dal' II:222; Vasmer I:526; van der Meulen (1944), p. 44; Rejčak, p. 367; Goetz (1922), p. 279ff.; Šmeleva, p. 211; Savvaitov, p. 139; Choroškevič, pp. 198-201; Schiller-Lübben II:466; Lasch-Borchling II:563.

karmazin

ARA:48 i kamok karmazinu i inymi cvetami (undated but first half of 16th C, Novgorod merchant in Moscow to a relative).

Torg. kn. 103 (217) karmazin melkoj uzorne lenjaet

112 ni s adamaskoju i ne kuchteren ni s karmazinom.

The kartoteka has no further examples before 17th C, but Sreznevskij has an example from the clothing of Boris Godunov, 1589. It was still in use in 19th C as bright scarlet cloth and in Smolensk karmazynyčka was a light shirt.

Vasmer derives it from NHG karmesin or Pol. karmazyn from It. carmesino, Arab. germazī, girmazī 'scarlet coloured', from Sanskrit kr̥mis 'worm'. Gardiner considers it a loan from late MHG or early NHG karmezin, via Pol. and Ukr. karmazyn. She thinks it is an isolated borrowing caused by the importation of Polish fashions.

The example from Novgorod, much earlier than the others, allows us to suggest that the cloth may have been introduced to Novgorod by Hanseatic merchants, in which case one may posit a loan from MLG karmesin.

Lit.: Sreznevskij I:1197; Dal' II:229; Akad. V:821; Savvaitov, p. 52; Smolensk, s.v.; Šmeleva, p. 203; Vasmer I:533; Gardiner, p. 118; Sobik, p. 238; Lasch-Borchling II:522.

kartuz

The first examples of this word according to Gardiner and Rejčak are from 1667 and 1682, from Smolensk and Kiev respectively. The earliest Russian examples in the narrow sense are from the 18th C. In modern R. the word means 'paper bag, tobacco pouch, bag for gun powder, type of hat with a peak.'

Vasmer derives it from (M)LG karduse, kartuse, Du. kardoes. The hat was probably introduced by German colonists on the Volga. Smirnov points to Pol. kartusz, Fr. cartouche. Ohienko, who dates the word from the time of Peter, considers it a loan from Du., as does van der Meulen, who supports the change d to t by reference to the fact that Du. onder has become unter in R. (sic!). Rejčak dismisses Pol. as a possible source on phonetic grounds and supports a loan from LG or Du. Gardiner points to Ukr. and Br. as the immediate source of the R. word, which would make a loan from MLG unlikely.

As Gardiner points out, the word is attested in Ukr. and Br. earlier than in R. Since Pol. can clearly be dismissed there exists the strong possibility that the word entered Russian and Br. via the Baltic, though the absence of a similar word in Latv. speaks against this. It is possible in view of word's meaning that it was introduced by German or Dutch mercenaries. It has clearly not arisen

from the Russo-Hanseatic connection.

Lit. Gardiner, p. 120; Rejcek, p. 204; Dal' II:234; Akad. V:844; Vasmer I:537; Smirnov, p. 136; Ohienko, p. 80, 84; van der Meulen (1909), p. 91; Schiller-Lübben II:432.

kvit

The kartoteka has this solitary example before 18th C:
Pol'sk. D. III:759 a čto pisali este o litvině o boriskě ondreevě
čto u nego vzjal pristav fedor nagoj kabalu kvit na pjat' rublev
čto byl emu vinen ivan zubatoj i mel by to zyskavši otdati (1570).
In modern Russian the word is preserved in colloquial speech as
settling up of accounts, evens etc.

Unaware of the example cited above, most scholars have
attributed the adoption of this word to the time of Peter and de-
rive it from NHG quitt, Fr. quite, Lat. quiētus, perhaps via Pol.
Vasmer also mentions the possibility of MLG quīt as the source.

The example suggests that this may be a special word
known only to merchants. It could be then that the word was known
long before it was recorded in written sources. A loan from MLG,
arising from Russo-Hanseatic trading practice, would then become a
possibility, though on balance one should probably opt for a loan
from Pol. Latv. kvīts, a LG loanword, is recorded from 17th C.
Lit.: Akad. V:917; Dal' II:258; Vasmer I:547; Smirnov, p. 140; KĒS,
p. 146; Schiller-Lübben III:407; Sehwers, p. 62.

kipa (I)

SRIO:35:7 i tot pisar' prišedši u nego užica na kipach izrězal da ego pograbil (Grand Prince to Kasimir with a list of robberies, 1489).

ARA:78 last železa bitogo da kipa sukon roslovskich (Narva/Reval, 1566).

Torg. kn., p. 74 (9) serednjaja cena kipa 100 rub.

(10) zavitaja pečat' v kipě... sered'njaja cena kipě 40 rub.

p. 75 (17) a kupili v rugodivě... kipu i na moskvě kupjat kipu 25 rub.

SRIO:38:3, p. 176 prodajut i menjajut svoi tovary mestnym dělom sukna kipami i postavy (1583-4).

:4, p. 229 da eščo ja klal u karabelščika u petra uteja dvenatcat' kip sukon nastrafili.... da v tom že korable dzan konratus klal v ljubke desjat kip roslavskich sukon.... a chočju klasti na njas' sorok kip roslovskich da sorok lastov seldej a okolo tvoich kip obverčeno osmatcat' postavov stanbrědu (1583-4). James 26:5 kipa -- a packe.

The kartoteka has the following examples before 1600, whereafter it is found commonly:

Krym. D. 1:138 otdal s kip tamgi na 10000 atmanskich (1492).

SGGD II:58:1 i tamožnikom u nich vozy rozbivati da u sundukov i u korodej da u jaščikov i u kip pečati smotriti (Customs treaty for Novgorod, 1571).

The word has been preserved as a 'bundle, package or measure of goods'.

All scholars are agreed that the word has entered R. as the result of trade in the Baltic. Vasmer and Šanskij derive it from MLG, LG or Du. kip, the -a being explained as by analogy with měra and svjazka. Rejcek considers this a strong possibility particularly in view of ties with the Hansa, but admits also that it could be from Sw. kippa. Thörnqvist, Sobolevskij and Wanstrat find OSw. kippa acceptable as a source on phonetic grounds, but Thörnqvist

notes that LG has the form kippe which could equally well have provided the source.

All of our examples point to a bundle of cloths of standard size, used widely in Russo-Hanseatic trade. A similar word was in use in England from 1525 -- kip 'bundle of hides', probably a loan from LG.

In view of the trade links between the Hanseatic League and Novgorod it is proper to consider this word a loan from MLG kip, kippe, which can be used as a package for dry wares, a unit of measurement or package of furs. The word has been borrowed at too early a period for Du. to come into the reckoning, and probably too late for OSw. to be considered a likely source. Lit.: Dal' II:270; Akad. V:953; Morsk. slov., p. 294; Vasmer I:558; Rejcek, p. 298; Thörnqvist, p. 150; KES, p. 147; Wanstrat, p. 37; Sobolevskij, pp. 136-7; Choroškevič, p. 169; Šmeleva, p. 137; Bense, p. 165; Schiller-Lübben II:465; Lasch-Borchling II:563.

kipa (II)

Found in coastal dialects, this word has the meaning of 'fishnet'.

Both Vasmer and Thörnqvist dismiss the possibility of any connection with kipa (I) on semantic grounds. They prefer to derive it from G. kiepe, LG kiepe, MLG kipe 'basket carried on the back'. The lack of any evidence of the word in OR makes it difficult to state its source with any certainty. A coastal word would more likely from LG than NHG, but even then the semantic development from 'basket' to 'fishnet' is unclear.

Lit.: Dal' II:270; Thörnqvist, pp. 151-2; Vasmer I:558; Schiller-Lübben II:465.

kirmaš

This word is attested only in western dialects and in Russian speech in Riga as a 'fair, bazaar, market'.

Vasmer advocates a loan from Pol. kiermasz (from an older kierchmasz from MHG kirmesse, rejecting the possibility of a loan from MLG kermisse, kermesse).

The word appears to have entered R. dialects and Br. from contact with Poland rather than with Livonia. There is no justification, phonetic or otherwise, for considering this a loan from MLG.

Lit.: Dal' II:273; Želtov, p. 13; Vasmer I:561; Korbut, p. 391; Schiller-Lübben II:450; Lasch-Borchling II:547.

klaret

Fenne, p. 84 klaret - Klaret (in a list of types of wine imported by the Hansa).

The kartoteka has no examples of this word. The same word (klaret) exists in Modern Russian, almost certainly a reborrowing from Eng. claret 'wine from Bordeaux'.

In the Middle Ages klaret was the most famous of the spiced wines, produced by mixing saffron, ginger, honey etc. with ordinary (usually Spanish) wine, the whole mixture then being squeezed through a sack and drunk as a "cup". Here is a recipe for klaret from Rostock (15th C):

"Claret make aldus. Nym enen verding kanels, engeuers, paradijskorn, negelken jewelikes 11 lot, spikenardi 1 lot, safferans 1 qwentin, honniges der druddendeel van eneme quarte men da honich schal ersten geschumet sin unde gesuuert uppe dem vure unde eyn verndel zuckers vnde 11 stuueken wines".

This wine is attested among those imported into Livonia from Lübeck, but we have no evidence outside of the example from Fenne for the importation of klaret to Russia, although it is known that Russians had a predilection for sweet wines. It is however mentioned in the reports of the Hanseatic mission to Moscow in 1603.

On the basis of such scanty evidence we can do no more than point to MLG klaret (also klarete, clareyt, clareit) as the probable source of the Russian word.

Lit.: Akad. V:991; Hartmeyer, p. 118; Goetz (1922), p. 320; Lasch-Borchling II:570; Schiller-Lübben II:473; Seiler II:141; Blümcke, p. 194.

klejmo/klejno/klejnot/klejnody

ARA:78 a čto na ondrěeve toware vita i na timofěeve sego boda klejno i to klejno napisano v sej že našej gramote (Rugodiv/Reval, 1566). SRIO:38:6, p. 227 kleino prikleeno k u sego lasta (translation of an English letter written in Hamburg, 1588).

p. 258 čto de turetckomu dostalos' ot eš velva vsjakogo narjadu bol'šogo pušeki s klejnami aglinskimi (translation, 1598).

The kartoteka has the following examples:

SGGD:I:408 da kovš... polka na četyre ugly skan'ju delana a vnutri klejno s finiftom (1509).

RIB:III:266 a na nej klejno mesto (on a document, Novgorod, 1565 in a 17th C copy).

RIB:VI:660 prinese že k nam i ot rimskago papy pisanie s ego pečat'mi i so carevym klejnom (1460-1, 17th C copy). Sreznevskij has an example from 1509 in a Moscow testament and another from a Novgorod customs book of 1577. Examples of klejmo do not predate the 17th C. The kartoteka has one example of klenoty from 1595,

otherwise all the examples are from 17th C.

klejnody has the meaning of 'valuables' or 'jewellery'.

klejno and klejmo mean 'sign, seal, insignia, maker's mark, merchant's mark'. In Modern Russian klejmo is a 'brandname, a mark on goods'. In the Archangel dialect the form klejno is preserved together with the verb klejnat 'to stamp, put on a seal'.

We have treated these words together because a number of scholars (Thörnqvist, Mikkola, Sreznevskij) suggest a connection. They derive all from German kleinod. Gardiner considers this unlikely and prefers to see klejnody as a separate loan from Pol. klejnot, possibly via Ukr. klejnody. This separation seems completely justified as does the derivation. Therefore we shall now concentrate our attention on klejno and klejmo.

Vasmer derives klejmo from Germanic *kleim, OE clam, Eng. cloam, MLG klem, MLG, OHG kleimen. The Soviet editors of Vasmer explain OR klejno as a loan from MLG kleinoe, kleinode with supporting evidence from Thörnqvist. Wanstrat derives klejmo from OIcelandic kleima, ON kleima, Norw. kleima, OSw. klema, klena. Because of the early evidence (1509!), she plumps for Pol. intermediary. She also accepts Nordic origin for the 'isolated' Archangel dialect form klejno. Thörnqvist dismisses Scandinavian as a possible source on semantic grounds. She also considers the Pol. word a loan from R. rather than vice versa. She does not think the change from klejno to klejmo so unusual. She suggests the absence of t as perhaps by analogy with tavro or pjatno, yet it could be equally explained by the influence of the MLG form kleinoe. Gardiner also favours MLG as the source of klejno, noting that it may have come via Br. where it is attested in the Chancery language from 1506-1523. Rejcek favours a loan from Sw. kleima, explaining the form with n as "prostaja nedoslyška".

The examples show the word to have the meaning 'mark' or 'crest on a document, the maker's mark on silver and pewter wares and a trademark.' It is a word which appears to have arisen in trade contacts. One of our examples refers expressly to Russo-Hanseatic trade, while three others are connected with the Baltic or Novgorod.

It is clear that examples with n considerably predate those with m. For that reason alone a loan from MLG klem and ON kleima should be excluded. Semantically such a derivation has little support. The existence of the form with n in Archangel can only be the preservation of the earlier pronunciation. In view of the semantic correspondences one should view this word as a loan from MLG kleinoe, which is a company mark, a traders' mark used to identify property. Such marks also figure quite frequently on Russo-Hanseatic documents. It should not be forgotten however that the same word may have been borrowed at different times along different routes, but since the time span is short, the possibility of contamination cannot be excluded.

Lit.: Dal' II:290; Akad. V:1012; Podvysockij, s. v.; Sreznevskij I:1217; Thörnqvist, pp. 179-183; Clara Thörnqvist, pp. 181-3. J. Mikkola, "Die älteren Berührungen zwischen Ostseefinnisch und Russisch" (Suomalaisugrilaisen Seuran toimatusia, LXXV (1938), p. 58); Gardiner, pp. 123-7; S. C. Gardiner, "Russisch klejmo, klejnot, klejnody" (ZslPh., XXVIII (1959), pp. 150-5); Vasmer I:567; Fasmer II:246; Wanstrat, p. 38; Rejcek, p. 315; Korbut, p. 421; Lasch-Borchling II:576; Kochman (1967), p. 114; Sobik, pp. 240-1.

kojka

An example of kojka is given in the kartoteka for 1583, but it is clearly a mis-spelling of kojga. Otherwise kojka 'a hammock or bunk-bed' is not attested until the 18th C.

Vasmer derives it from Du. kooi or (M)LG koje, possibly themselves derived from Lat. cavea.

In view of the lateness of the loan and its nature Du. is the more likely source.

Morsk. reč. slov. I:162; Morsk. slov. I:302; Akad. V:1125; Dal' II:336; Vasmer I:592; Schiller-Lübben II:514; Lasch-Borchling II:608.

koltyr'

Torg. kn. 13 koltyr'

75 koltyr po-nemecki nordjars an'gels a kupili v rugodive 30 efimkov.

Fenne: 129 koltorskoe - fitzen

The kartoteka has:

Akty odnosjaščiesja do graždanskoj raspravy drevnej Rossii (Fedotov-Čechovskij eds.), I vzjali odnorjadku koltyrskuju lazarevu da šubu běluju obmečnu (1535).

Vlad. sb. 129 s ženčugu čto koltyrja smažeš dati mi (1535).

Pol'sk. D. II:138 da odnorjatku koltyrskuju želtu da kaften zendenin (1542).

:168 i on 40 postavov sukna luns_kovo i koltyrju (1542).

This is the name of a type of mediaeval cloth, which has not survived into modern Russian.

Vasmer and Rejčak derive the word from MHG kolter 'gefütterte Steppdecke', from OFr. co(u)ltre, Lat. culcitra. Choroškevič and Gardiner suggest a connection with the name of Flemish cloth-weaving town Courtrai. Gardiner suggests MLG kortrisch, cortryk as the immediate source, since even though the word is unattested in dictionaries of MLG it is found in the documents of the Teutonic order. A further etymology is posited by Savvaitov and Šmeleva -- from the PN Colchester.

The example in Torg. kn. refers to koltyr' as an English cloth. Fenne glosses the word with fitzen, which Gardiner says is given without any meaning. In fact Schiller-Lübben has an

example of "blaw schottische vytze" and Lasch-Borchling describes fitze as a type of English cloth. Thus both of these references support the claim that koltyr' was an English, rather than a Flemish cloth. Colchester was an important centre in the English wool-cloth trade (being amongst other things the export centre for the products of Kersey and the other wool centres of Suffolk and north Essex). We have evidence of cloth in Reval for 1440 and it is likely that the cloth was imported into Russia. In any case the evidence of Torg. kn. and Fenne points to an item of Russo-Hanseatic trade.

Vasmer's etymology can be quickly dismissed on semantic and word-geographical grounds. Gardiner's suggestion is also problematical, because a) the references are not to Flemish cloths, b) one would expect MLG kortrisch to give Russian kortryš. The nearest to this is kostryš/koltryš, attested only in the 17th C and clearly an independent loan. Even so one has to explain why koltyr' not *kortyr' (dissimilation of sonants?). More satisfactory on all counts is a derivation from MLG kolsesser, kolsester, kolsestersch, a noun denoting cloth from Colchester. With syncope to *kolster it remains to explain the loss of s by simplification of the difficult consonant cluster lst. This is supported by the evidence of Pol., where SSP gives koltrysz, kolsztrych, kolczystr from the 15th C. This shows that Pol. had similar problems of articulation.

Lit.: Vasmer II:605; Rejcek, p. 376; Choroškevič, p. 175; Gardiner, p. 130; Savvaitov, p. 139; Šmeleva, p. 198; Kluge, p. 389; Goetz (1922), p. 284; HUB VII:1, 602; Schiller-Lübber II:520; Lasch-Borchling II:617.

konopatit'

The following is the earliest example given in the kartoteka, after which it is found frequently in the late 16th C and in the 17th C:

Choždenie kupca vasilija poznjakova po svjatym mestam vostoka (Pravosl. palest. sb. Vol. VI, vyp. 3, StP, 1887). p. 61 a sěru emljut i prodajut kupcom a kupcy toju sěroju konopjatjat' korabli kotorye chodjat po čermnomu morju (1561 in a 17th C copy).

The word has survived into modern Russian with the meaning 'caulking'.

It is clearly to be derived from the internationalism represented by It. calafatare, Fr. calefater, Du. kalfaten, G. kalfatern, MLG kalvâten from late Gr. καλαφατης from Arab. kalafa. Van der Meulen derives the R. word from a form *kalafatit' from Du. kalefaten. He says a change of n to l intervocalically is "geen ongewoon verschijnsel". Vasmer claims that van der Meulen's etymology loses much of its validity in view of the evidence of the word from the 16th C in Russian. Dutch activity in instructing the Russians in ship-building techniques begins in the 17th C. He posits instead a loan from It. Lokotsch mentions the fact that the R. word has been contaminated by konoplja 'hemp'.

Clearly the interference caused by konoplja prevents us from seeing the original form of the loan. Knowledge of the extent of Russia's links with the Mediterranean is limited, but it is instructive that the early evidence of the word is confined to the Mediterranean and the Holy Land.

Lit.: Akad. V:1302; Dal' II:385; Morsk. slov. I:313; Kluge (1911), p. 414; Lokotsch, p. 1022; Vasmer I:614; van der Meulen, p. 87; Lasch-Borchling II:504.

koper

The kartoteka has only one example before 1600:

Pri-rasch. kn. Vol. 1028 kupil na voloce rezvec kopru na altyn (1575-6).

In modern Russian the word means 'piledriver'.

Vasmer derives it from NHG Kapfer, Lat. caper (cf. Pol. kafar). He dismisses the possibility that the Lat. and R. words are cognate. He discusses the possibility also of a loan from Du. keper or MLG kepere 'battering ram'.

The absence of any further evidence precludes any valid statements about the origin of this word.

Lit.: Morsk. slov. I:318; Morsk. reč. slov. I:168; Dal' II:402; Akad. V:1388; Vasmer I:619; Schiller-Lübben II:447.

korinka

Torg. kn., p. 107 a kiškec korinka.

It is not attested according to the kartoteka until 1633, whereafter it is found frequently. It is preserved in modern Russian as the word for 'currant'.

Vasmer suggests a loan from MLG caentken, Du. corente or NHG Korinthe from Fr. corinthe. The ultimate source of the word is the PN Corinth, from where small raisins were imported (cf. Lat. corinthiacae uvae, Fr. raisins de Corinthe). Kluge says that the word in its shortened form penetrated German from the lower Rhenish towns. Leeming derives the word from Pol. koryntka, although he suggests that the currant was first brought to Archangel by English merchants. Rejcek favours a loan directly from Du. or NHG, with substitution of a native suffix -ka. Van der Meulen posits a loan from Du., probably in the form korint, which

is closer to the Russian form. Ohienko says the word came straight from G., possibly from use in the Nemeckaja sloboda in Moscow.

Currants formed part of the trade to Riga from Lübeck, but we do not know whether the article was carried further.

The MLG form given by Vasmer is taken from Cologne in 1495. The more usual MLG spelling is korint(h)e, which could quite well have served as the source for the R. word. In MLG it appears to have been an unassimilated foreign word. In view of the better evidence of Du., whence the word had spread into German it seems safer to posit a loan from MDu. corente, carint, Du. corent(h)e, caentken.

Lit.: Dal' II:417; Akad. V:1426; Vasmer I:627; van der Meulen (1944), p. 51; Rejčak, p. 334; Leeming, p. 252; Kluge, p. 394; Siewert, p. 431; Ohienko, p. 80; Thomas (1971c), pp. 96-7.

korfa

This word denoting 'basket' is not attested in OR nor is it included in Dal' or Akad. It was spoken in Riga in the 19th C.

Vasmer derives it from MLG korf, korv, from which also Dan. korv, Sw. dial. korf. Est. korv, itself a loan from LG, could have provided the source, but this is seen as less likely than a direct loan.

Parenthetically one may note that Eng. corf, not recorded before 1400, is considered a MLG loanword, as also is Latv. kurvis. It is unlikely that korfa has resulted from Novgorod/Livonian trading links, but arises more probably from the bilingualism of certain speakers in Livonian cities in the 18th and 19th C. If the word is from LG, the -a ending is presumably to be explained by analogy with native korzina.

Lit.: Želtov, s.v.; Vasmer I:636; Sehwers, p. 62; Bense, p. 44; Schiller-Lübben II:544.

koča

James 43:18 koche - a little sort of boat with which they go from Archang. to Mangazi over manie lakes and rivers, these boats they do many times draw over some parts of the land.

The kartoteka has the following 17th C examples:

G. F. Miller, Istorija Sibiri (Moscow/Leningrad, 1937-41), I:394 zdelali četyre koči morskich (1601); II:232-3 sdelav koči, posli na promysel v reku v pesidu... a volokom itti i koči taskati versty s poltory a perevolokši s voloku spustitsja kočami v zelenuju reku (1616).

DAI V:172 dlja ryb'ich i běluž'ich promysliškov ne chodim my na more i sudov u nas morskich lodej i kočej nět čto dělat' ne uměem (1667).

DAI VIII:65 i pod tě velikogo gosudarja chlēbnye zapasy velěl sdělat' koči i doščaniki i barki (1678).

In modern Russian the word is preserved in the forms koča, koč, kača in Siberian dialects as a two- or three-masted boat used on rivers and in Archangel dialect as a one-masted sea-going sailing vessel.

Vasmer considers it a new formation based on *koka, *kočka, a loan from the root: MLG kogge, MHG kocke, OHG kocko, Du. kog, kogge. He is unable to ascertain the route of the loan into Russian.

The kogge was the principal sea-going ship of the Hanseatic merchant fleets. Flat-bottomed, with a high stern and prow, capable of sailing well to windward and of carrying large cargoes, the kogge gave the Hanseatic fleets an advantage throughout the Middle

Ages. It came to be used in England and France and even figures on shields of a number of north European towns. Towards the end of the 17th C the kogge was superseded by the round-bottomed hulk. As is often the case with ships, the design continued in use for smaller boats (some of which may still be seen today in north Germany). The name continued also for a time to designate smaller vessels. Then it dropped out of use almost entirely except as an historicism.

The MLG word has been borrowed into English as cog and cock, Icelandic, and Latvian as kugis 'sea-going ship', first attested in 1685. One would assume therefore that the kogge must have been known to Novgorodians trading on the Baltic coast. Yet the word koča is not attested in Novgorod or the area abutting onto the Baltic. For this reason one might be tempted to see koča as a loan from Du. kog, kogge or Eng. cog through trading links with the White Sea area. Yet it is surely unlikely that a word which was already obsolete in western Europe at the end of 16th C and may well have been unknown to Dutchmen or Englishmen trading in the area could have become so firmly established that it is still recorded 3 centuries later without any significant change in form. One is forced therefore to accept Elizarovskij's theory that koča is an example of the Novgorod influence on the vocabulary of the White Sea area. Before examining this theory, a few words should be said about the semantic development of the R. word.

In Siberia the koča is clearly a boat which can be readily portaged even for long distances. Yet the example in DAI·V talks specifically of a sea-going vessel. In Archangel it is still a sea-going vessel. It seems probable therefore that the semantic development of the word is from 'sea-going craft' to 'river boat'. This would conform to the usual trend in the semantic development of ships' names. It then becomes more likely that the word was taken to the White Sea by Novgorod settlers as a designation of a 'sea-going craft'. The most probable source of the 'Novgorod' word is MLG kogge, kog in the 14th or 15th C. The word may then have received diminutive endings as suggested by Vasmer, with koča being

a back-formation from kočka, a form actually recorded by Dal'. The source of the MLG word is disputed, being either derived ultimately from Gr. κόχχη 'mussel' or being considered a Common Germanic word.

Lit. Dal' II:461; Bestužev, p. 168 (a model appears on p. 54); Podvysockij, p. 73; Vasmer I:648; Heinsius, pp. 70-75, 113. Hagedorn, pp. 22-4; Winter, p. 13; Goetz (1922), p. 221; Schrader, p. 10; Bense, p. 50; Sehwers, pp. 188-9; Seiler II:200; Elizarovskij, p. 77; Schiller-Lübben II:513; Lasch-Borchling, II:607; Thomas (1971a), pp. 178-9.

kružka

Fenne 195 kruska - de kannen

James 8:24 cruska

The kartoteka has the following examples before 1600:

Archiv Stroeva I:332 da v kazne olovjanik da tri kruški (1551).

Kn. pri-rasch. Vol. 1028 da krušku da stopu nemeckogo dela (1575-6).

Piscovye knigi moskovskogo gosudarstva I:330 6 kružek kruglych s noski 3 kruški s noski glatkie stopami 2 kruški s noski malych (1577-8).

Kn. pri-rasch. Ant. 1 kružka (1584).

AJuB III:28 a kružka emu nositi v trapezu po cetvergom da po subotam da po neděljam a v ponedělnik i v sredu i v pjatnicu kružek s medom v trapezu ne nositi (1584). Sreznevskij has an example from 1478 in a manuscript of 15th or 16th C and in early 16th C testament, copied later in 16th C.

In modern Russian the word is preserved as 'drinking vessel with a handle and often a lid, a mug'.

Vasmer says the word has come via Pol. kruž or straight from MHG, MLG krūse, formed from Gr. χρυσός. He notes that the same

word has entered Latv. as krūze. He dismisses a loan from G. krug on grounds of gender. Gardiner shares this opinion, pointing out that G. Krug would have given *krug, kruk. She says that kružka is probably from Pol. krużek or Br. kružok. Rejcek, on the basis of 353 examples encountered between 1595 and 1700, claims that the original meaning of the word is not 'cup for drinking' but 'cup of a defined measure'. Rejcek and Šanskij derive the word from krug, possibly through Pol. intermediary. She considers a loan for MHG or MLG krūse difficult to explain on phonetic grounds.

The examples above point to a mug for drinking, not to a liquid measure. The suggestion by Rejcek that the meaning of drinking vessel is secondary is thus invalidated. All of the examples point unequivocally to feminine gender thus supporting Vasmer's and Gardiner's rejection of krug as a source. Curiously though Gardiner introduces Pol. and Br. as possible intermediaries, but both of these languages have a masculine form. To accept this route one would still need to explain the cause of the change of gender in R. More probable is that the word has been loaned into Russian independently, directly from MLG krūse, which would give a form *kruza from which kružka can be readily derived. In Latv. we have kruogus, attested from the 17th C but only in the meaning of tavern, and krūze, kruoze 'earthenware mug' from 1683, a loan from MLG krūse. Est. kruus, kroos appears also to be a MLG loan. On this evidence it is very likely that the word entered R. from contacts with Livonia.

Lit.: Sreznevskij I:1334; Akad. V:1728; Dal' II:517; Vasmer I:670; Gardiner, pp. 137-8; Kiparsky (1975), p. 106; Rejcek, p. 299; Sehwers, pp. 60, 188; KÉS, 170; Grimm V:2093.

kumender'/kundor etc.

This word is attested often and in two strikingly different forms. We shall give first the examples of kumender' and then of kundor and related forms. For the treatment of uškunder' see below, s. v. Novg. I:6876 togo že lěta prichodiša němci rat'ju velikoju sam biskup i mester' i kumenderě pod izboresk.

6928 toi že oseni priicha v nov"gorod iz němec' ot mesterja selivestra posol velijad'skyj kumender' gostilo.

ARA:II:2 ot posadnika ivana oleksandroviča ot tysjäckogo onan'i konstantinoviča i ot vsego velikogo novagoroda kumenderju i k posadnikam i k ratmanam kolyvanskim (Novgorod to Reval, undated but before 1417).

GVNP:60 se priěchaša poslově velikii nov'gorod ot mesterja selivestra gostěla kumender' velejad'čkyi.... valeravene lam'maskalk. velejad'čkěi kumender' gostila, kolyvaneskei kumender' timofii.... a budet za mesterem ili u ego kunderev ili u ego zemli (Novgorod with the Livonian Order, 1421).

GVNP:72 na tom s'ezdě na norově na rěkě byti knjazju mesterju samomu i ego kumenderem čestnym ljudem v dvu sot čelovek = unde up den dach schal komen de Narwe beke de vorste mester sulven und sine cumtur erwerdige lude mit tween hundert mannen.... a na tom s'ezdě knjazju mesterju i ego kumenderem dati isprava velikomu novgorodu vsjakim obidnym delam = unde up dem dage den vorsten meister und sine kumpter scolen recht geven Grote Nowgarden allen kligeligien saken (Novgorod with the Livonian Order, 1448; LG version is taken from Bunge X:421).

Sb. Muchanova 27, p. 39 poslove německii ot knjazja bernata vanderborcha maistra německogo zakona iže v lifljantěch i ot ego kumenderov (Livonia/Novgorod, 1482).

RLA:369 Duitzschen Ordens tho Lyff meister van sinen kumpturenn = magistra nemetckogo zakona iže v liflente i ot ego kumenderev (Moscow with Riga and Livonia, 1521).

RLA:153 meži ljubo kun'dorev ljubo ridelev ljubo dvorjaninov na obě storone (Riga/Polock, 1405).

Novg. I:6918 i ubiša mesterja i moršolda i kuntury pobiša i vsju silu němeču izbiša (Report on the Battle of Tannenberg).

RLA:279 dokol gramota ischodit' da nevginska kuntyrja (Polock/Riga, 1492-3).

ARA:17 velěl tobě kunderju kolyvanskomu i posadnikom i ratmanom govoriti (Grand Prince to Reval, 1525).

RLA:384 knjaz' kuntor nevginskii do nas (Polock/Riga, 1553).

SRIO:53:18 vměste s kunturom

12 a livonskogo magistra getmanov vzjali jur'ja skunderja byl naměstnik rizkoj da kundyrja goldenskogo (Alexander to Grand Prince, 1520).

23(a) i jaz posylal melchera pruskago ch kunderju k rizkomu (1520).

RGA:II, a text from circa 1417, has the forms zumber', zuber', which Choroškevič likens to kundor etc.

Vasmer considers the word a loan from MHG kommendûr. Il'enko states that the word has entered R. through Poland-Lithuania, i.e. Ukr. or Br. have acted as the intermediary. Rejcak points out that the differences in spelling in the R. examples are caused by the variation in the Middle German prototype.

All but one of the examples relate to the regional commanders of the Teutonic Order in Livonia. The commanders (as we have seen, cf. p. 44) stood next in importance to the master of the Order. The one exception to Livonian examples is the report in the Novgorod chronicle of the battle of Tannenberg. The form kumender' is found in Novgorod and Moscow texts only, while the shorter form is found in Moscow, Novgorod and Polock. The form kumender' is spelled consistently, while kundor is found in a great variety of forms even within one text. There is only one instance (GVNP:60) where kumender' and kunder' occur in the same text. Both forms must go back to MLG originals: kumender' from MLG kummendûr, kundor etc. from the MLG syncopated form kumpter, cumtur etc. with assimilation of m to the following dental.

The MLG words are from OFr. commendeur, Lat. commendator.

Lit.: Vasmer I:692; Il'enko (1958b), p. 12; Rejcek, p. 124; Seiler II:153; Schiller-Lübben II:594, 596.

kumka

This word is not attested in the kartoteka or elsewhere before 18th C. In modern Russian it is preserved only in the dialects of Novgorod, Tver', Smolensk and Archangel as a teacup. In Archangel it is a 'cup from which vodka is drunk'.

Vasmer derives it from NHG kumme, MLG kum(m)e. Van der Meulen claims that because of the very special meaning of the Du. word ('teacup') it is more likely that this is a loan from Du. than from HG or LG.

In MLG the word has the meaning 'deep, round vessel', therefore van der Meulen's suggested etymology can be accepted. This is not contradicted by the word's geographical distribution in the Russian dialects.

Lit. Dal' II:559; Podvysockij, p. 78; Vasmer I:693; van der Meulen (1944), p. 50; Schiller-Lübben II:593.

kumskij

RGA:II:3 a zumus' porubile zumber' 10 novgorod'cev a vzjale u nich ševnice da postav kum'skii na rugodive u kup'cev (Novgorod, circa 1417).

The kartoteka has a further example:

Let. Arch. 6977 i lunskich i novgonskich i tre kumskich da 300 sermeg.

The word is otherwise unattested in R.

Choroškevič considers this word to be derived from the PN Comines, a town famous for cloth manufacture on the R. Lys.

The Novgorod Schra lists the forms comensch, kumersch, kumesche, showing that the cloth was imported into Novgorod. It is also known to have been imported to Pskov. HUB V:480 gives further examples of the cloth in Novgorod and Pskov in 1401. In view of the import of the article by the Hanseatic League we must assume that the word was borrowed in its MLG form kommensch, kumesche, kumersche etc.

Lit.: Choroškevič, pp. 186-7; von der Osten-Sacken, p. 61; Lasch-Borchling II:620.

kupor

Attested since the beginning of the 18th C as a 'cooper'.

Vasmer derives it from Eng. cooper or MLG kûper from Lat. cūpārius. Van der Meulen admits the possibility of a loan from Eng. but claims that Du. kuiper is a more likely source since the R. word occurs first in Peter's Sea Regulations. Smirnov also derives it from Du., Eng. cooper (first in 1415) is not, according to Bense, an English word but is from MDu. cuper, cuyper or MLG kuper.

Contacts with Germans or Dutchmen in Livonia could have brought about a loan in Russian, but the absence of the word before Peter the Great suggests that it was borrowed during his reign and then probably from Du.

Lit.: Dal' II:567; Vasmer I:696; van der Meulen (1944), p. 117; Bense, p. 53; Smirnov, p. 170; Schiller-Lübben II:602.

kuporos

- Torg. kn., p. 85 (82) kuporos zelenoj
 (83) kuporos zelenoj
 (84) kuporos inej.

Fenne 123 kuproš' - kopperosch.

The kartoteka has the following examples before 1600:

Kn. pri. rasch. kir. 5 da oně že konjušemu starcu perfirju kupili suleny i kanfary i kuporosu na 7 altyn (1582).

Tr. L. kuporos.

The word is still attested as 'vitriol'.

Vasmer and Šanskij derive it from Fr. couperose, from Lat. cupri rosa. Vasmer notes that Ukr. kopervas and Pol. koperwas are phonetically too distant to have played a role. He also dismisses NHG Kupferoxyd as a possible source. Leeming derives it from Pol. kuperos.

In view of the evidence of Fenne and the fact that the word first appears in a herbal translated by Nicolaus Bulow (see pp. 45-6 above), one might expect MLG as the source of the R. word. The form kopperosch given by Fenne is not found in the dictionaries of MLG, which have only kopperrok, kopperrot, kopperrust. For HG Grimm has kupferrauch, kupferrusz, Kupferrose. The Pol. word koperwas is a loan from G. Kupferwasser. It is possible that the form used by Fenne is a LG-ised version of HG kupferrose. A direct loan from Fr. is out of the question; a loan from Lat. kuperosa, copparosa, a possibility, though one would expect it to yield feminine gender in R. It is likely that the R. word has been formed as a result of a number of competing influences. It is not possible to single out MLG as the sole source.

Lit.: Akad. V:1851; KES, p. 174; Vasmer I:696; H. Leeming, "Polish and Polish-Latin medical terms in pre-Petrine Russian" (SEER, XLII (1963), p.); Schiller-Lübben II:531; Lasch-Borchling II:633-4; Grimm V:2767.

last

This word is found very frequently in Russo-Hanseatic documents (e.g. ARA) of the 16th C. We shall give only two of them.

GVNP:69 a na tom tovarě vzjati kuzmě larivonovičju u vašego brata u ivana u am"bura decjat' lastov molodogo 14 lasty žita 3 pun"dy pšeničy (Novgorod/Reval, not later than 1439).

RGA:II:10 last soli (Polock, 1480).

ARA:15 na ontaně na ontanove pjat' lastov soli (Novgorod/Reval, 1522).

ARA:17 a v sudně bylo tri lastu soli.... da dva lastu rži (Grand Prince's envoy to Reval, 1525).

Pskov I:7051 v ljubki po lastu sali na bočku na rož'.

SRIO:38:6, p. 220 da seldej kupiti bylo v amborche 150 lastov po 6 pund last.

p. 224 a priěchav v amborg vzjali svoi najmy ot vsjakogo lastu spolna u ego prikazščikov.

p. 227 tvoj sobinnoj karabl' podoimet sto lastov i tot tvoj sobinnoj karabl' pošol iz ljubki (1588).

Torg. kn. 70 v laste 12 boček.

110(a) a v laste 12 boček vsjakaja bočka po 6 pud i vsego v laste 72 puđa.

Fenne 58 lastov- last, pollastov - Halberlast.

The kartoteka has the following examples:

Rimsk. D. I:95 prichodit v novgorod sol' i med' ot nemeč ne polno togo dělja čto v nověgorodě vēsu nēt v lastu prichodit devjanosto pudov moskovskich (1492).

SGGD V a učnet nougorodec v nemečkich gorodech kupiti čto ili prodavati v last (1514).

The word has been retained as a measure of capacity for cereals, though it is now probably obsolete.

Vasmer derives it from NHG Last, but Unbegaun, noting that it is exclusively a Novgorod word, suggests that it has been borrowed from one of the Germanic languages of the Baltic. Rejčak considers it a MLG loan.

All of the examples above, with the single exception of Torg. kn., which is not specific, refer to the use of last in Russo-Hanseatic trade. In view of this and the total agreement of meaning, the word is doubtless from MLG last.

Lit.: Akad. VI:74; Dal' II:617; Morsk. slov. I:347; Vasmer II:16; Unbegaun (1935), pp. 12, 109; Schiller-Lübben II:631; Šmeleva, p. 130; Rejcek, p. 302.

latuk

This word is not well attested in Russian. The kartoteka has only this example before 1600:

Tr. L. s travoju lattukovoju sirec' s salatoju

laktuka prijata

laktukovu travu (1534, but in a copy of 1616).

The word is then found in lists of medical terms in 17th C and is preserved in modern R. as latuk 'lettuce', though the word is probably unknown to most Russians.

Vasmer derives it from Lat. lactuca via Pol. laktuka or MLG lattuke. Leeming clearly sees it as one of the many pre-Petrine medical terms which have been borrowed from Pol.

Polish intermediary cannot of course be ruled out, but three factors point rather to MLG as the source. Firstly the first example is a translation of a LG work Gaerde der suntheit (see pp. 44-5 above) by Nicolaus Bulow of Lübeck. Secondly the examples show variations in spelling which correspond exactly to the forms attested in MLG: lattuke, lactuke. Thirdly MLG has provided the source of Latv. latukas, probably from the end of 16th C or early 17th C. The change of gender which the word has undergone in R. is probably attributable to the change of salata to salat.

Dit.: Dal' II:619; Akad. VI:81; Leeming, pp. 477, 543; Vasmer II:18; Schiller-Lübben II:640, 615; Sehwers, p. 190.

latun'

The kartoteka has no examples before 1672, while Rejcek has one instance from 1664 in Russo-Swedish relations. In modern Russian it is a mixture of brass and zinc.

Vasmer derives the word either from NHG Latun or MLG laton, alternatively it could be straight from It. lattone, but scarcely from MiGr. λατόνι. Trebbin considers it a loan from NHG via MLG. Rejcek sees no basis for postulating a loan from It. and opts instead for MLG intermediary. She expressly mentions the role of contact with the Hanseatic towns. She claims that the word was probably known only among some small circles and possibly only in NW Russia.

Brass is specifically mentioned in the Polock privilege of 1498. The metal came to Russia mostly from Hungary and Silesia via Lübeck.

The historical evidence points to a loan from MLG laton, but the absence of the word in R. before 1664 suggests it could be from another source. The fact of its first appearance in a document of Russo-Swedish relations is a fair indication that it may be from Sw. latun, laton, itself probably from MLG. It seems likely that the article was known in Novgorod before 1664 as měd'.

Lit.: Dal' II:619; Akad. VI:82; Vasmer II:18; Rejcek, p. 292; Trebbin, p. 16; Sobolevskij, p. 104; Schiller-Lübben II:639; Choroškevič, pp. 307-318; Goetz (1922), p. 517.

liver

Attested in modern Russian as 'liver, entrails used for food'. There are no examples predating the 18th C.

Vasmer derives it from MLG, LG, Du lever or Eng. liver. Van der Meulen quotes the forms liver and lever for R. and claims that Du. is a more likely source than Eng. or LG.

As a type of food Du. or LG could have furnished the loan, but on such scanty evidence no firmer conclusions are possible. Lit.: Akad. VI:212; Dal' II:647; Vasmer II:39; Wanstrat, p. 93; van der Meulen (1944), p. 56.

lifljant/lifljanskij

This word is attested very frequently throughout the 16th C in AKA and ARA. The earliest occurrences are:

RLA:265 knjazja kon"drata ot vin'tikyof' mesterja lifljan'skoe zemli i německogo zakona (Polock/Riga, 1478).

Sb. Muchanova 27, p. 39 poslove německii ot knjazja bernata německogo zakona iže v lifljantech (Novgorod/Livonia, 1482).

RLA:369 duitzen ordens tho lyff = nemetckogo zakona iž v liflente (Moscow with Livonia and Riga, 1521).

Pskov I:7027 verst oto novogorodka ot nemeckogo pečerskoi monastyr' vifljan'skuju peščeru bogom sotvorenuju.

SRIO:35:73 čtoby gosudar' naš dal list svoj opasnoj poslom maistra liflenskogo (1503).

ARA:36 po majstrove dr'žave i arcybiskupli v jur'ev v rugodiv na rigu v kolyvan' i vo vse gorody liflenskie zemli ezditi dobrovol'no (Ivangorod/Reval, 1535-55).

The adjective is found in a wide variety of forms showing various degrees of assimilation and dissimilation: lifljan'skoe,

viŕljan'skuju, liŕljanskoj, viŕlanskoj, viŕlenskie, viŕljamskie, viŕlamskie, liŕlenskoj. It usually appears in the tautologous phrase liŕljanskaja zemlja.

Vasmer derives both noun and adjective from MLG lifland, from the Baltic Finnic tribal name liv + MLG land.

Clearly there can be little doubt that this is a MLG loan.
Lit.: Vasmer II:47; Schiller-Lübben III:707.

lobec

Novg. I:6918 togo že lěta načaša novgorodci trgovati promeži sebe lop'ci (in some redactions lobci) i groši litov'skymi i artugi němečkymi a kuny otložiša.

Tolstoj also quotes a text of 1494 from Novgorod:

pamet' kak trgovale doselě novgorodci pjat' lobcov četveretca a 10 lobcov dvě četveretci.

GVNP:78 čotyre ljubeckich.

Vasmer is reluctant to derive lobec from PN Lübeck, or the adj. lübisch, since we normally find ljub'k, ljub'čanin etc. He favours instead a connection with lob 'Stirnläppchen der Eichhörnchen'.

Choroškevič identifies lobec and the later form from GVNP:74 with the Lübeck wittenpfennig or albus, called white because it was made with silver. During the years 1410-1420 it served as one of the official coins of Novgorod, but was used intermittently throughout the 15th C. Molvygin considers it not to have been a Lübeck coin, but rather a Livonian coin minted mostly in Dorpat. There is no archaeological evidence for Lübeck coins in Novgorod. It is more likely to be a Livonian imitation of a Lübeck original.

The Livonian coin is normally known as lubesch in MLG. Therefore, while admitting that there is some difficulty in explaining the phonetic correspondences (perhaps the word was pronounced unumlauted in Livonia), we must accept MLG as the source of the R. word.

Lit.: I. N. Tolstoj, Russkaja dopetrovskaja numizmatika (StP., 1884-6), Vyp. I, pp. 13-17; Vasmer II:50; Choroškevič, pp. 292-3; Molvygin, *passim*.

lodar'/lodyr'

Paris Dictionary 385 ung larron - tayt ladre.

The word is otherwise unattested in pre-Petrine Russian. Its occurrence in Pamva Berynda's dictionary cannot be taken, as Rejčak does, as proof of its existence in the SW regions of Muscovy. In modern Russian the word means 'good-for-nothing, lazy fellow, ne'er-do-well, joker, vagabond'. It appears as lodar', lodyr' and glodar' (a folk-etymology based on glodat'). In the southern dialects one also encounters lodyga, lotryga.

The word is commonly derived from (M)LG lodder, loder, which corresponds exactly in meaning and is often used to describe minstrels and jesters. Šanskij suggests that the word entered the literary language in 19th C from dialectal usage.

The absence of the word in NW Russia does not suggest that the word entered R. from Livonia. More probable is the suggestion that the Russians first heard the word in Moscow to describe the jesters who entertained the artisans in the nemeckaja sloboda in the 16th C.

Lit.: Dal' II:678; Akad. VI:323; Rejčak, p. 416; Vasmer II:52; Kopetz, p. 56; KĚS, p. 184; Schiller-Lübben II:712.

locman

This word is not found in any of the texts studied nor is it attested in the kartoteka before 18th C. Rejcek has an example from 1683.

On this evidence one would expect a loan from Du. loodsman or LG lotsman, which is also the source of Latv. luocmanis (first recorded in 1782).

A complication arises however from the fact that some scholars (Filin, Bogorodskij, Wanstrat) cite an example of the R. word from 1270 in a Novgorod text. Wanstrat, who alone names her source, gives I. Andreevskij, O dogovore Novagoroda s nemeckimi gorodami i Gotlandom zaključennom v 1270 godu (StP., 1855), p. 24. This text is a LG version or possibly a translation of a Russian original. The MLG text reads: "'unde dhe lodienman, dhe gewunen is toter nu unde wedher up dhe schal haebben vor sine spise 5 marc cunen ofte enen baken" (GVNP:31). The MLG lodienman (translated as locman by Valk in GVNP:31) is a neologism based on lodie, a loan from R. lod'ja.

There is therefore no evidence to suggest that the word was known in Russian before the end of the 17th C. Filin's assertion that this was an early MLG loan in Russian, which never left the boundaries of the NW dialects, has no basis in fact.

Lit.: Rejcek, p. 303; Vasmer II:63; Ohienko, p. 84; van der Meulen (1944), p. 58; Filin, p. 267; Bogorodskij, p. 201; Wanstrat, pp. 93-4; Lasch-Borchling I:417; Kluge, p. 447; Dal' I:1084; Morsk. slov. I:363; Sehwers, p. 74; Thomas (1971a), pp. 183-4.

ludit'

Fenne:120 lužonye udly, lužona železa.

The kartoteka has the following examples:

Prichodno-raschodnye knigi sofjjskogo doma 1593-1600:

dano zamočniku ...vosm' deneg za gvozd'e i za lužen'e a ludil polosy i gvozd'e mitroličju stulu.

Knigy raschodnye aleksandrovskogo monastyrja 1615-1631:

v 29 ogo i julja delal isak master kotelnoi 3 kotla da k červetomu dno podděl da ludil 12 čaš.

The kartoteka has further 17th C examples. Sreznevskij has one example from Boris Godunov, 1589.

In modern Russian it still has the meaning 'to tin, to put on a thin strip of pewter, tin or other metal to prevent rusting', while in OR it also has the meaning of 'weld'.

Gardiner points out the word cannot be from NHG lōten, because of d not t, and because u is more likely to come from G. o. Both Gardiner and Vasmer accept a loan from MLG loden. Gardiner considers it possible that lužonnyj is not a past participle but an adj. formed from a noun *luda (cf. poluda), cf. kožannyj from koža. The verb ludit' would then be a back-formation from this adj. taken for a past participle. She adds that the formation would be a strange one, since one would expect ludovat' (cf. Pol. lutować.)

Naturally, in formulating this rather complicated theory, Gardiner was not aware of the examples from the kartoteka, for the evidence of the verbal noun lužen'e and the past tense ludil before the examples in Fenne is a clear indication that the lexeme was borrowed as a verb. The source of ludit' is MLG loden (which has precisely the same meanings), probably borrowed in the middle of the 16th C. MLG has also furnished Latv. with luõdēt.

Lit.: Sreznevskij II:49; Akad. VI:388; Dal' II:702; Gardiner, pp. 143-4; Vasmer II:66; Elizarovskij, p. 78; Schiller-Lübben II:714; Sehwers, p. 74; Kiparsky (1975), p. 106.

lundyš/lunskoe

While it is convenient to discuss these two forms together, we shall list examples of them separately:

ARA:48 da polovinka postavu sukna lundyšu svetlozelenovo (Undated, first half of 16th C, Novgorodian in Novgorod to a relative).

SRIO:38:6, p. 223 roman že dal ul'jan deržat za soboju šesdesjat' rublev deneg v suknoch v lundyšach po kizyvašskomu ščetu.

p. 228 a drugoi karabl' ležit u menja tovaru sto sorok boček seldej da šezdesjat postavov sukna da desjat' postavov lundyšu (1588).

Sreznevskij has an example from the clothing of Boris Godunov (1589). The kartoteka gives no further examples before 1600, whereafter it occurs frequently and as an adjective lundyšnyj.

SRIO:35:7 da inomu serebrjanu da odnorjatku lun'skuju (Grand Prince to Kasimir about stolen goods, 1489).

DDG:87 da šuba svetlozelena lunskaja (1503, will from Volok).

Torg. kn. 7 lunskoe tože i aglin'skoe i koim cvětom prodati

73 lunskoe i giljan'skie tož smotri po tomuž čerčatyje želty.... a měrnye prichotjat lunskie vyše 40 aršin po nemecki blanketench a lunskie aglin'skie tože a dlina pisana im i širina lun'skim a po nemecki zovut blan'ken.

Fenne:129 lunskoe - engelsch

The kartoteka has:

SRIO:41, p. 537 sukno ipskoe rudožolto da sukno ipskoe červčato da sukno lunskoe bagravoe da postav sukna novogonskoj (Present to the Tartars, 1504).

SRIO:95, p. 17 šubu chrepty bělilny gola da sukno ipskoe čerleno da dva sukna lunskich (Present to the Crimean Tartars, 1508).

D'jakonov: da šuba lunskaja zelena 2 rublja (1514).

AJu dve odnorjadki lunskie goluby da kaftan lunskoj červlen (1547).

SGGD:II, p. 89 a brati emu dvorovaja pošlina s ty sjači bělki šuvanskija i ustjužskija po četyre dengi a s ševny po denge.... a s sukna s brjukiša i s lunskich i s nastrafilej (1586, Novgorod).

A number of possible etymologies for this word have been suggested, all of them based on the supposed place of production or distribution of the cloth. Savvaitov suggests Lund (in Sweden) or England as the place of origin. Korbut derives Pol. lundysz or falendysz from "fein holländisches Tuch". Schiller-Lübben suggest that the MLG word lundisch, lindisch might designate Dutch, London or Lynn (in Norfolk) cloths. Vasmer, dismissing Leiden as a possible source of the Russian word, opts instead for MLG lundisch or MHG lündisch "London". Vasmer's etymology is also shared by Unbegaun, Šmeleva and Gardiner, who points to the possibility of Pol. and Br. as intermediaries.

According to Choroškevič, the import of English cloths began to increase at the end of the 15th C. The highest quality was the so-called London cloth. Most of the English cloths passed through Lithuania on their way to Russia at the beginning of the 16th C.

There is no support for a derivation of the word from the name of any of the other centres of production. Historical evidence alone rules out the possibility of Lund. The evidence of Fenne rules out all but English cloths. Lynn cannot have provided the basis for a form lunskoe. In view of this lundyš and lunskoe must both be derived from the MLG lundisch, Lunden 'London'. The fact that Pol. has lunskie and Br., ljunskoe suggests that they have not acted as an intermediary, in view of the constantly attested hard l in Russian. The question of the possibility of Br. intermediary for lundyš remains open. Choroškevič's contention that cloths came via Lithuania is inconclusive.

Lit.: Sreznevskij II:54; Savvaitov, p. 74; Korbut, p. 406; Schiller-Lübben III:748; Unbegaun (1935), p. 110; Gardiner, p. 144; Vasmer II:69-70; Choroškevič, pp. 197-202; Šmeleva, p. 199.

ljuk

This word is first attested in 1720. In modern Russian it means 'hatch, hatchway'.

Vasmer derives it from Du. luik, MLG lūke, not NHG Lücke. Wanstrat points out that the early spellings with ljujk indicate Du. rather than MLG.

Two further factors speak against MLG origin: 1) the lateness of the word's attestation and 2) the MLG form might have been expected to give R. *ljuka.

Lit.: Vasmer II:78; Schiller-Lübben II:748; Wanstrat, p. 109; Morsk. slov. I:365; Dal' II:738; Akad. VI:446.

makler'

The only examples before 1700 are:

AKA:20 a meklirem i verkoperom na obě storony otnjud' u nich ne byti (1562).

21 a maklerem i verkoperom na obě storony otnjud' u nich ne byti (with reference to German traders in Denmark, 1562). Vasmer gives an example of the family name moklokov in Moscow in a 15th C text. The word has been preserved as 'entrepreneur, go-between, middle-man'.

Most scholars assume it to have been loaned at the time of Peter. It is interpreted by Ohienko as a G. loan; by Sobolevskij as a NHG, LG or Du. loan. Rejčak derives it from LG mäkler, which explains the R. variant meklir'.

Much the same arguments could be advanced for regarding this word a loan from MLG as were used in the case of verkoper. It seems very probable that this was a loan from MLG. What remains doubtful is whether the word was widely known and whether it continued to be

used or was reborrowed from G. or (less likely) Du. at the time of Peter. MLG has also supplied the source of Latv. mēkleris (attested from 18th C); mäkler is one of the LG elements in NHG.

Lit.: Vasmer II:90; Schiller-Lübben III:60; Grimm VI:1490; Rejcek, p. 251; Akad. VI:512; Dal' II:756-7; Ohienko, p. 80; Sehwers, p. 194.

marmazeja/malvazija

Fenne 60 marmazēja - marmasie.

The kartoteka has the following two examples before 1600:

Stat. spis.: privezli k nam ot maistra počest' bočku romanei da četvertinu marmazei (1564).

Rimsk. D. II, p. 497 kubok bastru kuboku alkanu kubok marmazěi kubok vina ugarskogo (1597).

All of the 17th and 18th C examples have malm- with the sole exception of the writings of Kurbskij which have malv-.

Leeming derives the forms malmazija, malvazeja from Pol. małmazia (attested according to him from 1532 though SSP gives an example from 1406), itself a loan from Lat malvazia, malvasetum, malmaticum. Gardiner considers it a loan from MLG malmasie (ultimately from Ital. Malvasia, a place in Morea). She explains the spelling of the LG in Fenne word by influence of the R. word. She suggests also that Br. acted as intermediary, and that r has replaced l.

Less well attested than the other types of wine, malmsey is known to have formed part of the Hanseatic wine trade and to have been used for blending to make claret. It is variously considered to have been a Spanish wine (Hartmeyer) or Greek (Choroškevič). The wine was not only known in Livonia but was also imported into Russia though it does not occur with the same frequency as the names of some other wines.

Eng. malmsey was probably a word of MLG origin, due to the fact that the wine-carrying trade was in the hands of Low Germans and Dutch. In favour of MLG as the origin of the Eng. word is the fact that in Du. the form malvazeja predominates. Schiller-Lübben consider it likely that the wine and its name reached England via the London Steelyard. The fact that all the evidence of the Russian word points to a form with r does not support a loan from Pol. or Br. A non-Slavonic source would be more acceptable. In view of the involvement of the Hanseatic League in the wine trade in general and the specific mention in Russian texts which appertain to Baltic trade, it would not be too speculative to suggest MLG as the most likely source of the word. The later R. form with v could have arisen either from MLG malwasie or more likely from Pol. małwaziya. Lit.: Leeming, p. 257; Gardiner, p. 148; Schiller-Lübben III:16; Hartmeyer, p. 45; Choroškevič, p. 330; Goetz (1922), p. 330; Bense, pp. 206-7; Blümcke, p. 25; Siewert, p. 474-5.

martyška

Ridley:47 mortyška - an ape.

James 10:21 martiska - a monkey.

The earliest example of the word outside a foreign language source is, according to Rejcek, 1698. It has been retained in modern Russian as the standard word for a small monkey.

Gardiner and Šanskij both derive the word from MHG or Du. marten, martijn, adding that the change n/š can be seen in remen'/remešok, kamen'/kamešek. Vasmer says it is from Lat. Martinus via MLG martel or MDu. martijn. The fullest treatment of the word is by Unbegaun, who considers it the diminutive of martyn with the usual n/š alternation, the ending a for expected o being by analogy with obez'jana. He admits that it is rather less clear why the name of

Martin should have been used, but points out that the name became common in Flanders and Holland as a name given to monkeys perhaps by analogy with MLG merkätte, markätte 'monkey'. Unbegaun supposes that the word entered R. in the White Sea area, where towards the end of the 16th C the Dutch and Flemings were already beginning to provide some competition to the previous English monopoly. A literary route is excluded, since the popular story Renke de Vos did not penetrate Russia as early as the 16th C. It is likely that the name arose when a present of monkeys was given to the Russians in the 16th C.

Unbegaun's thoughtful etymology is sound on all counts and is preferable to regarding the word as having arisen from Russo-Hanseatic contacts in the Baltic.

In Fenne and Ridley there is attested another word for monkey morskoj kot, which presumably is to be regarded as a calque of MLG merkätte.

Lit.: Rejčak, p. 342; KĚS, p. 194; Vasmer II:100; Dal' II:784; Akad. VI:647; Schiller-Lübben III:75; Unbegaun (1953), pp. 187-199).

marcypan

The kartoteka has one 16th C example from Kurbskij and examples from 17th C only in medical books.

Like Pol. marcypan, Cz. marcipan, Vasmer derives the word It. marzapane via NHG Marzipan. It goes back ultimately to Arab. manthaban. Leeming with considerable justification gives Pol., where it is attested from 1532, as the source of the R. word. Rejčak dismisses Pol. influence on accentual grounds and sees it as a direct loan from NHG.

In 1438 Isidor's party stopped in Lübeck on its way to the Council of Florence. According to Ludat, the Russians speak of sweets eaten in a monastery. Ludat points to a possible connection between this event and the fact that Lübeck later became famous as the marzipan centre of the world. These sweetmeats could have been marzipan, but since we have to wait more than a century for the documentation of the word and then in a writer heavily influenced by Polish, it is scarcely likely that the word in Russian goes back to 1438 and is from MLG marzapaen. Leeming's explanation is the most probable. The article was not unknown in Russia in this period, since in Torg. kn. p. 107 we find reference to "chlěbcy min'dalovye čto krupčatye i bělye zapach dobr a ěsti čto sacharnaja sladost'." Lit.: Vasmer II:100; Seiler II:230; Lokotsch, p. 1452; Leeming, p. 259; Rejcek, p. 383; H. Ludat, "Lübeck in einem russischen Reisebericht des Spätmittelalters" (ZVLGA, XXXV (1955), p. 82).

master

The form master is attested in the Smolensk-Riga treaty of 1229 but it refers to the Master of the Livonian Order. We shall treat that example below under mester. Otherwise master is attested as follows:

Pskov I:6873 založiša cerkov' svjatuju troicu i daša masterom za dělo 400 rublev i dobrě počestivachu ich (The chronicle has 10 further examples before 1531).

Novg. I:6776 izyskasa mastory poroc'nyja.

6808 togo ze lěta pridoša iz zamorija svěja v silě velicě v nevu privedoša mastery iz svoei zemli iz velikago rima ot papy master privedoša naročit i postaviša gorod nad nevoju na ust' ochty rěky (the chronicle has 5 further examples up to 1433).

DDG:13 a kogo sobě vymem' ogorodnikov i masterov (Moscow, 1390).

DDG:27 a kog sobja gsne vymem ogorodnikov i masterov (Moscow, 1433).
 GVNP:65 poslalě esm' k vam slugu svoego petra mastera dělja kolokolnogo i vy susědě naši posadnikě i ratmaně i vsi dobryi ljudi nas dělja mastera dobrogo kolokolnogo k nam prišlite... a masteru my po tom že penjaze dadim (Novgorod and Pskov with Riga, 1435).
 ARA:4 čto chočet k nam ěchati služít' na naše žalovanie ivan risinberg němčin serebrjanoj master.... čtoby jeste togo mastera ivana i s ego učeniki otpustili k nam neizderžav (Moscow/Reval, 1488)
 Dracula, p. 121 učiniša emu masteri bočky železny on že nasypa ich zlata v rěku položi a masterov těch posěšči povelě da niktož uvěst' s"delannago im okaanstva tokmo tezoimenity emu diavol.
 Paris Dictionary, p. 269 ung chaussefier - portenoy maestro.

Fenne:51 master - meister

54 vstanliv master - lustich meister

James 58:8 masterich - a work woman.

8:38 porcmaster - a tailor.

The word is abundant in 16th C texts: SRIO:35, SRIO:38, AKA, DDG:89 etc.

Sreznevskij gives the following examples:

Povest' vremennyh let:6497 pomysli (volodimer) sozdati crkv' prstyja bca poslav privede mastery ot grek.

Kievo-pečerskij paterik: i videv preslavnaja čjudesa kako masteri pridoša ikonu nosjašče.

Ipat'evskaja letopis':6767 nača prizyvati prichodaě němčě i rus' inojazyčniki i ljachy idjachu den' i vo den' i unoty i masterě vsjácii běžachu is tatar sědělnci i lučnici i tulnici i kuznicě želězu i mēdi i srebru.

His remaining examples are from Pskov and Novgorod.

The word has remained continuously in use until the present day.

The kartoteka has examples of the word designating all the following craftsmen:

kettlemakers, stonemasons, tailors, cobblers, silversmiths, miners, doctors, architects, town planners, wheelwrights, bellmakers, gunsmiths etc.

In modern Russian the word can be used to denote 'a master craftsman' 'an expert'. From it have been formed masterskij, podmaster'e etc.

Vasmer dismisses a loan from It. maestro or Eng. master because of the early attestation of the word. He accepts Pol. majster as its source but notes the phonetic difficulties involved in such derivation. According to Gardiner, Pol. is not the source, since the R. form majstr to which it corresponds is attested first in the 17th C. She does not offer an exact source for the word but points to some central European source. She denies any contamination with master in the Smolensk/Riga treaty of 1229. Šanskij alone suggests that the word is an OR loan from Gr. 'master craftsman', no later than the 10th C.

In the instances of the word before 1500, a number of professions are mentioned more frequently than any others: architects (stonemasons), painters, bellmakers. The examples from Povest' vremennyh let and Kievo-pečerskij paterik would suggest Greek craftsmen. All the other examples appear to point to craftsmen imported from the West. Berežkov says it is extremely probable that bellmaking and other metal work was carried out in Novgorod by German craftsmen. Inviting western artists was quite normal in northern Russia. He concludes by saying that many Russian bells of the Middle Ages carry foreign inscriptions and that in all probability the art of casting bells was imported from the West.

Crucial to any discussion of the etymology of this word is the role of Sreznevskij's examples. All of them are in texts which were copied at a later period. Consequently it is difficult to decide whether the word has been interpolated at a later date. It is unthinkable that the word was borrowed from the end of the 10th C as suggested by Šanskij. Speaking against their antiquity is the fact that they are only isolated examples in the Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles. The word is on the hand well attested in Novgorod, Pskov and Moscow texts, which can be dated with some certainty. This would suggest that the word was borrowed in the 14th C.

Taken alone, the examples in Sreznevskij would point to a Gr. source. Bulgarian and Serbo-Croat have majstor, apparently a loan from modern Greek $\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\rho\alpha\varsigma$. On this basis we should expect R. *majstor. The Bulgarian and Serbian words may in any case be later loans. It is striking that the word is not attested in Old Church Slavonic. The fact that the word is so well attested in Novgorod and Pskov and then in Moscow suggests that the word could have come from MLG. This is strengthened by the specific examples (e.g. GVNP:65) and the knowledge that Russo-Hanseatic trade also led to the importation of craftsmen. A derivation from MLG mêster is also not without its difficulties. Despite the variation in the pronunciation of \hat{e} in MLG, it is doubtful that it would have approximated to a. A clue to the loaning process is given by the instance of master in the Smolensk/Riga treaty. This word can only come from MLG mêster. As we shall see below, the spelling master in this instance is to explained by contamination with Latin magister. It is quite possible that a similar explanation underlies the a in master 'craftsman'. It is remarkable that mester and master are never confused in OR. It may well be that the identity of the vowel serves to reinforce this semantic differentiation.

Clearly neither Gr. nor MLG can be excluded as possible sources for this word. Neither is without its difficulties. However the existence of the word in examples with certain dates in Moscow, Novgorod and Pskov from the end of the 14th C together with the evidence that Germans were concerned with introducing many crafts into Russia, helped by the close contact that obtained between the Hansa and Novgorod leads one to take MLG as the more likely source for the word.

Lit.: Sreznevskij II:115-6; Dal' II:790 ff.; Akad. VI:677; Vasmer II:102; Kiparsky (1975), p. 106; Ohienko, p. 59; Gardiner, pp. 152-4 K&S, p. 194; Berežkov, p. 166; H. Striedter-Temps, Deutsche Lehnwörter im Serbokroatischen (Slavistische Veröffentlichungen, 27, Berlin, 1963), p. 158; M. Vasmer, Die griechischen Lehnwörter im Serbokroatischen (Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse Nr. 3, Berlin, 1944),

p. 93; Thomas (1971b), *passim*. Schiller-Lübben III:81.

mester/mester'/mešter'/maistr

As the word for the Master of the Livonian Order of Teutonic Knights it is very common in NW Russian texts throughout the period under review. There follows a select list of examples, including the first attestation for each form and each geographical area:

RLA Anhang I (a) mast'r, (b) mestor, (c) mastor (Gotland redactions), (d) master, mastere, (e) master, mastere, (f) master, mastere (g) master, mastere (Riga redactions) (Smolensk/Riga treaty, 1229).

RLA:25 (a) mir esmi stvorili promeži mesterja i s ratmany riž'skymi (Polock/Riga, 1263-5).

Novg. I:6876 togo že lěta prichodiša němci rat'ju velikoju sam biskup i mester' i kumendere pod izborsk.

Pskov I:6890 slyšavše mestěr zemlja rizskija mužestvo knjazja dovmonta.... priide mester s němcy k polot'sku na vzjatie.

GVNP:57 žaluetsja na vašu brat'ju na inču zašembaku i na ego brata na ortem'ju na mestereva tolka (Novgorod/Riga, 1418-21).

GVNP:72 se pričchaša poslovi němečkyi v velikii nov'gorod ot knjazja ot mestrja inci vinki = da sind gekomen de duschen boden to grote nowgarden van dem vorsten meyster heidenrik vinke (Novgorod with the Livonian Order, 1448; the translation is in Bunge X:421).

RLA:164(a) a ljubo mešter' zadvin'skii v rizě (Polock/Riga, 1407).

ARA:2 k mesterju k riskomu.... i ty čestnyi mester' imi věru našim sud'jam (Novgorod to the Livonian Order, in Riga, 1417).

Janin:I i vy este obyskali s mesterem po krsnomu celovan'ju (Novgorod/Riga, 1413-1420).

GVNP:78 a po knjazi mistre (Novgorod and Pskov with Dorpat, 1474).

Malinin:XV s svoi mistry nemeckimi (Council of Florence, 1439 in a 16th C copy).

XVIII majstr rodostrožskij v temnicach nužnych zatvori (ibid.).

SRIO:35 has the forms maistr, mistr, mestery, mester for the Livonian Order and Master of the Teutonic Order.

Sb. Muchanova:27, p. 39 poslove nemeckii ot knjazja bernata vanderborcha a maistra německogo zakona iže v lifljantěch... posly mesterovy.... tolmač' knjazja mistra (Livonia/Novgorod, 1482).

For the 16th C majstr is the commonest form, cf. examples in ARA and AKA. The commonest forms of the earlier period are mester' and mešter'. In the Pskov Chronicle only mester' appears while the Novgorod Chronicle shows greater variety. Apart from Sb. Muchanova and Malinin XVIII the form majstr, which is undoubtedly through Pol. from HG, is not attested before 1500. mistr, probably due to Br. intermediary from Pol. mistrz, appears from the end of the 15th C.

Almost all the earlier examples refer to the Master of the Livonian Order. The sole exception is a reference in the chronicles to the Prussian Master in the description of the Battle of Tannenberg, 1410.

The forms mester', mešter', mester are naturally to be derived from MLG mêster, meyster. The form master, which occurs in the Smolensk/Riga treaty and two further texts from the middle of the 13th C is harder to explain. Most probably it results from the contamination of MLG mêster by Lat. magister. That the Latin word was known to the Russians is attested by frequent examples of magistr in the Russian texts.

Although the word designated a person living outside Russia, it is certain that the word would have formed part of the active vocabulary of the inhabitants of Pskov, Novgorod, Smolensk and Polock, since they must have had considerable contact with the Master of the Livonian Order.

Lit.: Gardiner, pp. 150-4; Schiller-Lübben III:81; Wanstrat, p. 94; Leeming, p. 162; Thomas (1971b), *passim*.

milja

Malinin XV a ot brun'ziga da batmera grada 11 mil' ot ljubka da durbecha 9 mil' (and then in frequent examples from this text, 1439, 16th C copy).

SRIO:53:12 a ěchati gosudar' nně skazyvaet v suděch k memlju a v sudy gosudar' skazyvaet sěsti za grebinom dvě mili na livě rěkě a konem gosudar' nasim byti na livě že rěkě (Notes to Moscow about the Embassy to Prussia, 1519).

SRIO:53:23(c) koi uže blizko vrat s polmili s vojskom opolčilis' pred gorodom našim korolevcom mnogie škoty učinilis'.... i oni opjat' otstupili nazad ot korolevca dvě mili.... ot rigě dvě mili (Arrival in Moscow from Riga, 1520).

ARA:20 i za četyre mili ot kolyvani na nemeckom beregu.... i kak ot'ečhal ot kolyvani četyre mili v zemlju i na pjatoj mili (Ivangorod/Narva, undated, according to Rejcek 1530).

Nandriš notes the word in Dracula but only in a much later edition; Gardiner has an example from 1489 (PDS I:65); the kartoteka has no other early examples; Rejcek has collected 493 examples referring to Livonia, Sweden, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, France.

The word has been preserved in Russian as a measurement of distance in foreign countries.

Vasmer derives it from Pol. mila or MLG, MHG mīle from Vulgar Latin milia. Gardiner adds Br. as a further intermediary. Leeming says it is direct from Pol., which he derives from Lat. Rejcek, discounting the improbable derivation in Akad. VI:999 (from Eng. mile), considers MLG a probable source since the first attestation of the word is in the Kirilo-Belozersk Monastery, which is situated very close to the LG-speaking area.

The word is clearly an internationalism, which makes the search for its ultimate source in Russian almost impossible. The absence of the word in early editions of Dracula suggests that it did not come from contact with the SW. All the early examples refer specifically to Prussia, Livonia, and north Germany. In view of this fact it is not improbable that MLG mīle has supplied the source of

the word, though a Br. loan cannot be excluded either.

Lit.: G. Nandriş, "The Historical Dracula: the theme of his legend in the western and in the eastern literatures of Europe" (Comparative Literature Studies, III (1966), No. 4, p. 386); Gardiner, p. 154; Leeming, p. 231; Kiparsky (1975), pp. 99, 100, 102; Kochman, (1967)p.121; Dal' III:853; Sreznevskij II:141; Rejcek, p. 59, 423; Schiller-Lübben III:91.

mindal'

SRIO:35:7 da poltret'ja tcat' grivenok mindal'nych jader (Grand Prince to Kasimir with a list of robberies, 1489).

Torg. kn. 107(17) chlébcy min"dalovye čto krupčatye i belye zapach dobr a ěsti čto sacharnaja sladost'.

114 a sachary dobre na ovoščach i na limonach i na mindal'nych jadrach.

Fenne:122 mindalino jadro - mandelkernn.

The kartoteka has:

Novg. IV:7041 knjaz' že veliki vkusi edinya mindalnya kaši malo.

Kn. pri-rasch. Kir. 1581-2 kupil mindalnych jader 15 funtov dal 2 rublja s četvert'ju

Pri-rasch. kn. Vol. 1587-8 kupleno polgrivenki jader mindalnych da ovi grivenki izjumu da vesnych dano grivna.

Choždenie Trifona Korobejnikova 1593-4 (Pravosl. palest. sb. T. IX, vyp. 3, StP, 1889, 17th C copy) bě velmi prediven i velik i mnogo v nem vinogradu i mindalov i gruš i jablok.

Tr. L. 130 jadra mindalnye.... jadr migdalnych

132 sladkaja migdaly son izvodjat

486 maslo sladkich mindal (1534, but in a 17th C copy).

The word is preserved in the form mindal' 'almond' in modern Russian.

Vasmer derives the word from Pol. migdał with secondary nasalisation, under the influence of the initial m. He mentions too the possibility of the influence of G. Mandel. He dismisses a direct loan from Gr. as posited by Šanskij and others. Leeming and Sobik also accept Pol. as the ultimate source of the form migdal and suggest secondary nasalisation to explain mindal'.

Apart from the evidence of Tr. L. we have no evidence of migdal before the 17th C. In Tr. L. this could well be a polonised Br. form. Our texts include some where there was considerable contact with the Baltic and Livonia. Goetz was unable to ascertain whether almonds formed part of Hanseatic trade in Novgorod, although the exportation from Lübeck to Reval is well attested. He notes that almonds are expressly mentioned in Alexander's privilege for Polock in 1498.

It is remarkable that this word is first attested as mindal' (or it could be mindal, as the examples do not give any conclusive clues to the ending) and only later and then temporarily is the word attested as migdal. In view of the strong Pol. and Br. influence to which R. was subjected at the time it is strange that R. should have formed a word in a different form. Not only has R. "substituted" nd for gd but also has a soft l, which contrasts with Pol., Br. and Ukr. To seek the explanation of the presence of n in secondary nasalisation is to proceed without any supporting evidence. It would be more reasonable to examine those possible sources which have n. Vulgar Latin amendola can scarcely have provided the source of R. and requires that one explain further the loss of initial a. This Latin form has however provided the G. and MLG word mandel. The R. word corresponds quite well to these German models, especially if we suppose that there has taken place a metathesis of the two vowels possibly under the influence of the competing Br. migdal. Examples of soft l from MLG l are not uncommon, cf. stal', lifljant. A loan from MLG is much more likely for a word borrowed into R. at least as early as the 15th C.

The most probable explanation for this word is that it is a contamination of two contrasting models Br. migdal and MLG mandel. No adequate explanation of the origin of the word is possible without reference to MLG influence.

Lit.: Dal' II:853; Vasmer II:135; KĚS, p. 201; Sobik, p. 272; H. Leeming, "Polish and Polish-Latin Medical Terms in pre-Petrine Russian" (SEER, XL (1963, p. 106); Schiller-Lübben III:22; Goetz (1922), pp. 326, 517; Thomas (1971c), pp. 98-99.

moršold /maskalk/maršalk

The word 'marshall' is attested in R. in a variety of forms: Novg. I:6918 i ubiša mesterja i moršolda i kuntury pobiša i vsju silu nemeckuju izbiša (report on the Battle of Tannenberg). GVNP:60 i na vsem na tom chrest celoval mester' selivestr riskēi valeravene lam"maskalka velejad'čkēi kumender' gostila kolyvaneskēi kumender' timofii (Novgorod/Livonia, 1421).

SRIO:53:3 p. 32 a poslal gosudar' maistr k tobe posla svoego moršalka dvornogo melchiora.

These words were later superseded by maršalok and maršal from Pol. and NHG respectively.

Gardiner derives the third of our examples from MHG marscal(l)k via Pol. marszalek, Br. maršalok. The ending is explained by analogy with the substitution of -ok for Pol. -ek in native Slavonic words; the o of the first syllable is possibly due to akan'e. Maskalk has not been treated before; moršold is noted by both Vasmer and Rejcek as an earlier form but has received no closer attention.

The first example refers to the Battle of Tannenberg and therefore describes a 'marshall' in the Teutonic Order. The second example refers unequivocally to the Livonian Order.

The first example is probably from MLG marschalk with confusion of the final plosives and MLG a giving R. o, cf. vodmol. The second example must be derived from MLG lantmarschalk with omission of the final dental in the first part of the compound and the assimilation of n to m before m. MLG sch is rendered as sk, which is more normal for MLG loanwords in R. than š; r has been omitted. The differences in the R. form of these two examples which must be from the same source demonstrate how much care is needed in extrapolating any rules for the correspondences between MLG and R. sounds. MLG has also provided the source of Latv. mārschalkis.

These isolated early examples prevent us from concluding how widespread these words were. It is possible that they were well used locally, but are probably to be regarded as unassimilated foreign words.

Lit.: Dal' II:784; Vasmer II:101; Rejcek, p. 158; Gardiner, pp. 148-150; Schiller-Lübben III:38; Sobik, p. 268; Sehwers, p. 78.

mum

This word is not attested before 1724 in the Ustav morskoj. It is a type of beer brewed in Braunschweig.

Vasmer derives it from NHG Mumme, Du. mom, Eng. mum.

The Eng. word is attested in 1531; in G. it is known from 1492 and is apparently derived from the name of the brewer, Christian Mumm.

In view of the later attestation of the word and the fact that there was never a regular beer trade between the Hanseatic towns and Russia in the Middle Ages, one must accept that the word was borrowed in the 18th C from G. or LG.

Lit.: Vasmer II:173; OED, s.v., Bense, pp. 236-7; Kluge, p. 492; Grimm VI:2661.

mušeli

This word is recorded in the dialect of Archangel as 'mussel'.

Vasmer derives it from Dan., Norw. mussel, which go back to MLG mussel(e) OHG muscula, Lat. musculus.

The existence of a word in the Archangel dialect may point to a very old word in Russian, but hardly part of the Novgorod vocabulary of Archangel. A direct loan from MLG is thus excluded. Norse origin should be posited for this R. word. It is clear that the Scandinavian word is itself derived from MLG.

Lit.: Podvysockij, p. 94; Vasmer II:181; Kluge, p. 495.

muškat/moskotil'/muškatel'

Af. Nik. a roditsja v nem perec da zen'zebil' da cvět da moškat... v lekote že roditsja perec da moškat (1466-72).

Sb. Muchanova:27, p. 39 a priědet novgorodec na rugodev s voskom ili s bělkoju ili s moskotil'noju (Livonia/Novgorod, 1482).

SRIO:38:6, p. 228 da eščo jaz poslal k tebě dvatcat' dvě bočki bereměnych romaněi da trinacat' bočok bereměnych muškatěli (1588)

pp. 433-6 maslo muškatnoe maslo cvětu muškatnavo (in a list of wares brought by the apothecary Jacob from England).

Lav. kn.:14 lav pusta levka ivanova moskotil'nika.

:65 da gavrilka jakovleva moskotinnika.

Torg. Kn., p. 85 (75) muškatu orechov svežogo f. 5 al i 1 rub.

(76) cvětu muškatnogo 2 četi rub.

p. 114 muškatil

p. 101 (6) pit'e muškatěl' cvětom žel'ta slat'čae

ramanei.

Paris Dictionary 335 de la muscatte - muscatte (1586).

336 du masis - sevitta mouscatenicq

Fenne:121 muskotěl' - muschaten; muskotyí cvětí-muschaten blomen.

James:13:11 muškata - muscatte (1618-9).

The kartoteka has in addition the following evidence:

Pol'sk. D. II:454 a medu davali po dvěnatcati veder a piva po dvěnatcati veder da muškateľi po pogrebcu (1554).

Pri-rasch. kn. vol.:1028 kupil muškatu funt (1575-6).

Rimsk. D. II:497 s sytnago dvorca kubok romanei kubok renskogo kubok muškateľi kubok vina franovskogo bělogo (1597).

Rimsk. D. II:372 po 40 orěškov muškatnych (1596).

Domostroj p. 123 muškaťcu.

Examples from the 17th C are numerous.

In modern Russian muskat/muškat is 'a liqueurwine', 'nutmeg'.

Dal' gives muskat/muškat for 'nutmeg' and muskatel'/muškateľ' for the wine. For 15th and 16th C Russian we are dealing with three separate words which have become a little confused. We shall treat them separately.

(i) The word for 'nutmeg', attested as moškat, muškát (and muskatnyj in Fenne which may reflect Pskov pronunciation; Fenne's form muskotěl' is puzzling) is usually derived from Pol. muszkat, a loanword from MHG muscat. Gardiner sees Br. muškát as a further intermediary.

Although nutmeg is mentioned in Alexander's privilege for Polock of 1498 and is well attested in Reval, we have no certain evidence that it was imported into Novgorod by the Hansa. Its presence in a list of spices in Fenne and mention of muschatenblumen in the report of the Hanseatic mission to Moscow of 1603 make it likely that the spice was a Hanseatic import item.

A loan from Pol. is not supported by historical evidence. The evidence of the word in Af. Nik. suggests that the word was borrowed at least in the early 15th C. The presence of o in the Af. Nik. example is troublesome. It could have been influenced by an earlier hypothetical *moskot' (see section (iii) below) or it may come from MLG muschaten, since MLG u can yield u or o in R. The case for MLG is strengthened by the fact that the phrases muškátnyj orěch, muškátnye cvětí are almost certainly calqued on MLG muschatenkern, muschatenblomen. In any case this is an

internationalism, going back through Lat. muscum, muscatus to Persian musk.

(ii) The name for a particular type of wine muškatel' is normally derived from Pol. muszkatela (attested from 1532).

The word is not attested until the middle of the 16th C and the context does not give any clues as to its source. Clearly it is sweet desert wine, sweeter than romaneja (see below). There is no evidence for this wine forming part of the Hanseatic wine trade to Novgorod.

A loan from Pol. remains the most likely possibility, though a loan from G. is not out of the question, particularly since the Pol. form might suggest R. *muškatelja. The word derives ultimately from Lat. muscatellum vinum, It. mucatello.

(iii) The words moskot' and moskotil'nyj seem to designate 'drugs'. From them is derived moskotil'nik, possibly 'apothecary' or 'haberdasher'.

This group of words is derived by Vasmer from Du. muskaat or NHG Muskate, from MLat. muscatus.

The example in Sb. Muchanova speaks unequivocally of Russians importing drugs into Livonia. The extent of Russian trade in drugs and other exotic goods from the East is not known. The word is clearly confined in the examples to North West Russia.

In view of the historical evidence and the fact that the word must have been loaned early in the 15th C Du. and NHG are much less likely sources than MLG. The loan may even have been earlier since sk within a word for sch is usual in MLG loanwords before roughly 1400. In addition it is hardly likely that such a considerable semantic development as that from 'nutmeg' to 'drugs in general' could have taken place overnight.

Lit.: Dal' II:942; Akad. VI:1377; Sreznevskij II:176, 180, 1378; Vasmer II:162,181; Leeming, p. 254, 257; Sobik, p. 276; Gardiner, p. 158; Lokotsch, p. 1515; Seiler II:156; van der Meulen (1944), p. 61; Schiller-Lübben III:139; Goetz (1922), pp. 328, 517; KĖS, p. 209; Blümcke, p. 182; Siewert, pp. 456-7; Thomas (1971c), pp. 98-99.

narva/narov

The kartoteka has the following examples:

Žitie antonova novgorodskog, p. 8 u car'skich dverej iže est medjan romanist rekše narov v nju že zamyčajut i zaključivajut zajskija dveri tu že narod nakladyvajut u vrat muž i žen da ašče kto budet jad zmiinyj směl ili otravlenie kakovo to ne možet ego vynjati izo r'ta dondeže zloba izydet slinami izo ust (1200 in 16th C copy). Pskov I v tuju že zimu priěcha vladyka eufimej vo pskov ne v svoj pod'ězd ni v svoju čeredu no narovoju.

In modern Russian narva, narvina is a 'cross-beam, plank'.

In Archangel it is a 'key with which are held the upper boards of a table'.

Vasmer says it is a Germanic loanword from MLG narve, Bavarian narb, narw, Norw. norwe. Wanstrat derives the R. word from Norw. dial. norwe, narwe. Thörnqvist says that it cannot be an ancient Germanic loan since we have a for Germanic short a. The word is also lacking in Cz., while in Pol. it is confined to the meaning 'Narbenseite'. She distinguishes between narov 'bolt on a door' and narva 'cross-beam'. She notes that narov occurs as a gloss of a foreign word romanist and must consequently have been normal to Novgorodians around 1200.

A loan at such an early date favours a derivation from a Scandinavian source rather than MLG, which in any case does not have this meaning for the word.

Lit.: Vasmer II:198; Thörnqvist, pp. 68-74; Wanstrat, p. 42; Dal' II:1199; Podvysockij, p. 98; Schiller-Lübben III:158.

ovr'

RLA:74 a v rizě ruskomu kupcěvi ot věsa dati emu ot berkov'ska pol ovrja - vortmer so schal de rusche coopman to Righe van dem schippunde up der schale gheven enen halven ore van allerleye gude (Polock/Riga, 1330).

The word is otherwise unattested.

Vasmer derives it from MLG (Baltic G.) ore, from OSw. ore from Lat. aureus. Thörnqvist accepts this derivation, since the R. example refers to a Riga coin.

According to Fedorov this is (i) a monetary unit and unit of weight equal to 1/8th of a pound (ii) a silver coin, minted from 1522 in Sweden, minted in Tallinn and Narva in the 17th C. In MLG ore was a small coin used in Sweden and Livonia.

We can conclude little about the extent of use of this word in Russian, but it is safe to assume that this constitutes a borrowing from MLG.

In the same text (RLA:74) we also encounter:
a nemcem dati vėsčego ot berkov'ska zaušnja ot vosku ot mědi ot olova.

Berežkov notes the existence of the forms uško and poluška, corresponding to LG halv-oehr.

It would seem that uško, zaušnja, poluški have arisen as calques of ore 'ear' under the mistaken impression that it is identical with MLG ore 'Livonian coin'. The form zaušnja must already have become normal in Polock, since the LG version has simply zausen, indicating that the G. scribe saw no connection between zaušnja and ore. The existence of such forms as uško is a strong indication

- a) that the word had penetrated into popular speech and
- b) of the extent of the interaction between LG and R. in north west Russia.

Lit.: Vasmer II:250; Thörnqvist, p. 194ff.; Fedorov, p. 372; Schiller-Lübben III:233; Berežkov, p. 167.

pansyr'

Malinin XV na podvoiskie papiny chožachu v pansyrěch srebrjanych (1439, in a 16th C copy).

ARA:28 tovaru svincju tri berkovska da tri pansyri (undated, but probably 1514-19, Ivangorod to Reval, in a list of goods stolen in Narva).

Paris Dictionary, p. 118 jacque de maille - pansero.

The kartoteka has a number of examples:

Krym. D. II:25 pansyr' kotoroj byl legok a strěla by ego injala . (1508-9).

RIB:32:238 pugvici kralki da šubu bel'ju chreptovuju da šolom da pansyr' (1568).

Krym. D. II:375 da bil esmi čelom velikomu knjazju pro sil pansyrja dobrogo knjaz' velikij ko mne prislal solomjanoj pansyr' (1517).

Oružie Borisa Godunova:36 pansyr' německoj tonkoe kol'co na gvoz' rukava po zapjas'e (1589).

Posol'stvo v Persiju kn. Amareja Dmitrieviča zvenigorskogo a pomikov ot slugi i konjušego bojarina ot borisa fedoroviča k abbas šachu so knjazem ondreem poslano:3 krečety pansyr' vooružen (1594-6).

Psk. peč.:548 po smerti z ego obrětoša na nožě těl eg pansyr kol'čaty (16th C copy).

Pskov III:6985 a sam knjaz' jaroslav p'jan že i v pansyri vysed počal strěljati.

Sreznevskij II:875 has an example from the Gennadij Bible and Novg. II:7080.

In modern Russian the word for 'cuirass' occurs as pancir', but the form with c does not appear until the second half of the 17th C and is almost certainly due to Pol. influence.

The earlier forms with s are derived by Vasmer, Gardiner and Sobik from MLG panser, though Gardiner suggests also the possibility of Br. influence, since Br. has forms with s and c.

It is probable that the Russians would first have seen chain mail during their encounters with the Livonian Order. The article was imported by the Hanseatic League despite the constant

prohibitions concerning the export to Novgorod of weapons and armour. As Choroškevič points out, it is remarkable that Novgorod was dependent on imported chain mail because of the paucity of metalworkers in Novgorod even in the 16th C. The example in ARA refers specifically to the importation of cuirasses by Hanseatic merchants.

It is possible that the word is borrowed from Pol. pancerz with the dental element of the affricate being lost after n. However in view of the historical evidence, the attestation in NW Russian texts and the close phonetic similarity, it is far more likely that this represents a direct loan from MLG panser, itself from It. pancera.

Lit.: Akad. IX:127; Dal' III:31; Gardiner, pp. 162-3; Vasmer II:311; Sobik, p. 288; Kluge, p. 529; Seiler II:167; Choroškevič, pp. 315-6; Schiller-Lübben III:298.

pemza

Attested in the kartoteka only from 1670. It has been preserved in modern Russian as 'pumice stone'.

Vasmer favours a loan from Cz. pemza. He dismisses the likelihood of a loan from NHG Bims or Du. pums. Wanstrat derives it from MLG peemse.

There is no evidence to support a loan from MLG. In view of the fact that Hungary was one of the main sources for mining pumice stone, a loan from Cz. or Slk. pemza from OHG pumiz is more likely. The MLG word may itself be a borrowing from a Slavonic language.

Lit.: Akad. IX:371; Dal' III:68; Schiller-Lübben III:316; Vasmer II:333; Wanstrat, p. 95.

persik

The kartoteka has only the following examples before 18th C:

V. M. Istrin, Chronika ioanna malaly v slavjanskom perevode, kn. 2 xv-xvii vv.: i nasadich ovošč' pr^msika i prozva iže est' praskovie ne točiju že tu noi v egipetsky strany i nasadi sr'sěja na pamjat' sobě.

Tr. L.:577 persikovu plodu

196 drevo parsikovo

266 persikova trava (1534, in a 17th C copy).

The word is preserved in modern Russian as persik 'peach'.

Vasmer derives the word from MLG persik, MHG pfërsich, from Lat. malum persicum. Šanskij says it is loaned via MHG from Lat. Van der Meulen questions a loan from MLG on the grounds that the word is not so old in Russian. He also rejects a direct loan from Latin and proposes instead a derivation from Du. perzik or persik.

We have only translated evidence for the word in Russian before 18th C, but it is surely not improbable that the peach was imported to Russia by sea by Hanseatic merchants.

The fact that Tr. L. is a translation from LG by Nicolaus Bulow strengthens the argument for MLG origin for this word. A further pointer that LG is the source is the spelling parsikovo, since in MLG er often becomes ar before another consonant. Otherwise a direct loan from Latin would have to be posited.

Lit.: Akad. IX:1050; Vasmer II:343; KĚS, p. 248; van der Meulen (1944), pp. 68-9; Thomas (1971c), pp. 101-2.

piligrim

The kartoteka has no examples before the second half of the 17th C.

Vasmer says the word has entered R. via early NHG, east

Middle German pilgerim, MLG pelegrime, OHG piligrim from It. pellegrino, Lat. peregrinus.

Polish pielgrzym can be discounted as an intermediary on phonetic grounds. It must be viewed as an old loan from It. pelegrino, OHG piligrim or (M)LG pelegrim(e), pelegrin(e). That in Russian a form piligrin is also recorded speaks for a LG source where there was a similar alternation. However, much work needs to be done on the early evidence of the word and the motivation for the loan process before any clear statement can be made for its source and date of borrowing.

Lit.: Vasmer II:357; Dal' III:278; Akad. IX:1186; Korbut, p. 370; Schiller-Lübben III:315.

pion

SRIO:38, pp. 433-5 sema pioni.... koren' pionie (1603, in a list of wares brought by the apothecary Jacob from England). No other examples are found in OR apart from some 17th C herbals.

Vasmer, who dates the word from the time of Peter, derives the name of this flower via MLG pione, Pol. piwonja from Lat. paeonia, Gr. παονία. He does not support the possibility of Sw. intermediary.

The roots, flowers and seeds of this plant provided a spice, and were used for medicinal purposes.

Since the first evidence is in a list of medicaments brought to Muscovy by an Englishman a loan from Eng. peony could be regarded as a possibility. However it should be remembered that the word is an internationalism and could be derived in Russian from a number of possible sources.

Lit.: Akad. IX:1199; Vasmer II:359; Leeming, p. 568; OED, s. v.

provst

RLA Anhang Ia) pod piskupom rizkim provst jagan.

b) prov^hst

c) pruvst. (1229, Smolensk/Riga treaty, Gotland redactions; the Riga redactions, which, according to Kiparsky, show an attempt to make the manuscript more understandable to a Russian, have substituted popě).

RLA:38 poklon i blaslovlěn'e ot jakova episkupa polot'skogo brovstovi namestniku piskuplju i detem moim ratmanam (Polock/Riga, 1298).

Since Peter the Great other forms have entered Russian prochvost, provos, probst from Du. and G. These have no connection with provst of our examples which refer to a priest acting on behalf of the Bishop of Riga.

Vasmer derives it from MLG provest, prôst, itself from Lat. praepositus.

Vasmer's explanation is clearly acceptable on historical and phonetic grounds. It remains uncertain how widespread the use of the word was and whether it was confined to the Dvina area of trade. It was probably a foreign word in Russian rather than a loanword. Lit.: Vasmer II:438; van der Meulen (1944), p. 73; Schiller-Lübben III:381; Kiparsky (1960), *passim*; Goetz (1916), p. 330.

pund

GVNP:69 a na tom tovarě vzjati kuzmě larivonovičju u vašego brata u ivana u am"bura desjat' lastov molodogo 14 lasty žita 3 pun"dy pšenicicy (Novgorod/Reval, undated but not later than 1439).

SRIO:35:2, p. 10 da šest' puntov percu.... da grivenku šafranu da pjatnatcat' puntov percu (1488). SRIO:35 has otherwise only funt.

pund was replaced by funt from MHG phunt from the beginning of the 16th C. The form pund is only recorded again in SRIO:38, where it refers exclusively to the English Pound Sterling.

This is a unit of measure used in Hanseatic trade, cf. liespund, schippund.

Historical circumstance and phonetic similarity both support a loan from MLG punt, pund. It is not clear how widespread this word was in Russian. Because of closeness of spelling one can surmise that R. puđ was often used as the equivalent of MLG pund. Lit.: Gardiner, p. 223; Rejčak, p. 326; Schiller-Lübben III:387.

ratman

This word is found more commonly in our sources than any other word treated. A selection of examples showing the variety of forms it exhibits follows:

RLA:25a) and b) mir esmy stvorili promeži mesterja i s ratmany riž'skymi (Polock/Riga, 1263, 1265).

RLA:50 k piskomu riž'skomu i těraku i k lombratu i k vsěm ratmanom i k vsěm rižanom (Novgorod/Riga, 1299-1307).

RGA:4 i malim"sja mesterju i vsem ratymanom (Polock/Riga, second half of 14th C).

RLA:153 my rat'mane riz'kii (Riga/Polock, 1405).

GVNP:72 da ignat ratmanin = unde hildebrand eyn ratman (from Bunge X:421, Novgorod/Livonian Order, 1448).

RLA:265 i oni bur"mistrove i ratmonove.... pan janus krysnyj ratmonin (Polock/Riga, 1478).

SRIO:53:3 ot vsech semi desjat' gorodov bergomestry i ratmany s'ezžajutsja v ljubok sovětovati (1517).

RLA:369 van den borgerneister radtmannenn = ot bergomagistrov i ot ratmanov (Moscow/Livonia, 1521).

Fenne:38 ratman - rahdsmann.

All of the examples refer to aldermen or councillors from Hanseatic towns - Riga, Reval, Dorpat, Lübeck, Danzig or, as in SRI0:53, to a meeting of councillors from all 70 Hansa towns at a Hansetag in Lübeck. The word comes to be used from the time of Peter as a member of the town council of some areas of Russia and remained in use in this capacity up to the 19th C.

Most of the examples of the word are in the plural, instances of the singular normally referring to specific named holders of the post. Considering the wealth of examples variations in spelling are small (-mon for -man; t' for t; addition of -in suffix), which suggests that the word was very much part of the active vocabulary of the inhabitants of Novgorod, Pskov and the Dvina towns.

Clearly the word is from MLG ratman, not MHG as suggested by Gardiner. The MLG word has plural forms ratmanne and radeslude; R. copied only the former.

Sreznevskij III:105 points to an example in Pskov I:6749, where rat'nik is employed instead of the expected ratman. This is probably an instance of folk etymology resulting from confusion with rat'nik 'warrior'.

Lit.: Dal' III:1659; Akad. XII:1020; Schiller-Lübben III:437; Gardiner, p. 179.

raja

This word is attested in just one example in OR:

Novg. I:6712 i zamysliša jakoze i preže na korablich rajami na š'glach na inych že korablich is'ciniša poroky i lěstvicja.

Later editions of the chronicles have raina and rejno, under the influence of Du. ree. At the time of Peter there appears the word raa a pure transliteration of Du. raa.

Smorgonskij regards the word as a result of Novgorod/German contacts. Thörnqvist has given the word detailed treatment. She says Norw. raja 'yard' corresponds with the R. word semantically and phonetically. She also considers MLG râ a possible source, since the Germans are attested as being in Novgorod in the second half of the 12th C. An argument for Norse origin is that raja occurs beside š'gla, which must be from ON sigla 'mast'.

On balance one should accept Norse rather than MLG origin for this word. Nevertheless it should not be forgotten that Latv. rāja is from MLG râ.

Lit.: Vasmer II:507; Dal' III:1671; Akad. XII:1172; Morsk. slov. II:175; Korbut, p. 399; Ohienko, p. 84; Smorgonskij, p. 4; Thörnqvist, pp. 152-5; Thomas (1971a), pp. 185-6; Schiller-Lübben III:410; Sehwers, p. 98.

rebela

ARA:17 a nas v vašej deržavě protiv zemskogo dvora nad morem rebela lailli i kamen'em šibali.... vy by manja ot těch rebely oboronili (1525, Grand Prince's envoy to Reval).

ARA:36 na melnickogo na ondrějka da na rebelu kotorye živut' na melnicě (Ivangorod/Reval, undated, 1535-1555).

The word, attested in no other texts, seems to have the collective meaning 'brigands, bandits'.

Unbegaun views the word as an item of Novgorod vocabulary as opposed to that of Moscow in the early 16th C. He assumes it to be a loan from G. Rebellen. Rejčak derives the word from MLG rebel, revel.

In view of the fact that it is not only an exclusively Novgorod word but is only found in Russo-Hanseatic texts, the source must be regarded as being MLG rebel. To this has been added the

usual Russian collective ending -a.

Lit.: Schiller-Lübben III:429; Rejčak, p. 101; Unbegaun (1935), pp. 12, 270.

regel'

This word is not recorded in the kartoteka or elsewhere before Peter the Great. In modern Russian it is an old-fashioned word for 'support, prop, rafters, rest, cross-beam, stay' and in the plural 'long thing battens used in ship-building'.

Vasmer derives the word from MLG regel or Du. regeling both from Vulgar Latin regula 'splint'.

The word has clearly entered Russian as a naval term and has secondarily developed fresh meanings connected with the construction of buildings. It must be from MLG or Du. regel. If it was loaned at the time of Peter, then Du. is a more likely source than MLG.

Lit.: Dal' III:1668; Morsk. slov. II:172; Vasmer II:502; Schiller-Lübben III:448.

red'ka

Lav. kn., p. 181 gorčica morkov' ret'ka.

James 7:36 redka - raddige.

The kartoteka has the following early examples:

Pol'sk. D. III:174 prislal...list s oršany s jakovcom s redkoju (1563).

Pri. -rasch. kn. Vol. No. 2 1573-4 priěchal starec makarec zaecov s moskvy deneg u nevo v roschode na gorški dal 2 dengi.... dal ot ryby ot podemu 2 dengi luku kupil na den gu retki da chrěnu na dengu.

No. 7 1588-9 i chrenu i retki na altyn.

DAI:I:223 v poneděl'niki sredy pjatki...sucho jadenija l rědka v soku li kapusta krošena (1590).

Stolovyj obichodnik volokolamskogo iosifa monastyrja (ČO IDR, 1880 kn. 3 pp. 5-23): na toj ze 5-j neděli i 6-j byvaet red'ka krošenaja s sokom i ne krošenuju za kapustu kladut že (end of 16th C).

Tr. L. 535 retka gorjača i sucha.

This word has been retained as 'radish'.

Šanskij considers it a loan from G. (MHG redik, retih from Lat. radicem. Sobolevskij says it is a CS loan from Germanic. Černych also thinks it a very old loan from the Germanic linguistic zone. Vasmer points out that a CS source for the word is not likely since no basic form can be established. He suggests that the R. form may be of LG origin, cf. MLG redik.

The importance of the radish in Russia was largely determined by its widespread use in fast times. It may not be coincidental for instance that a number of our references above concern monasteries and fasting provisions. The eating of radishes during fasts is also noted by Englishmen travelling in Russia in the 16th C.

Černych mentions another form r'd'ky gen. r'd'k"ve, which could be of ChS origin. None of our examples has the ū-stem endings. One might on the whole have expected to find red'ka earlier than the 16th C, allowing the supposition that this is a fairly old loan from Germanic. Thus the chronology of the word would support a loan from MLG, although there is no historical evidence which would lend any credibility to such a derivation.

Lit.: Dal' III:1763; Akad. XII:1131; KĚS, p. 285; Sobolevskij, p. 41; Černych, p. 61; Vasmer II:504; Hakluyt I:265; Schiller-Lübben III:447.

ren'

The kartoteka has the following examples:

Ipat. L. 6496 izverže i větr na rěn' i ottolě proslu perunja ren' jakože i do sego dne slovet'.

Radz. L. 6496 i izverže i větr na rěn' jako i do sego dni slovet' perunja rěn'.

According to Sreznevskij it means 'sandbar, low bank'.

Thörnqvist says that the word is found only in Ukr. as rin'.

Vasmer says the word could be cognate with, or loaned from, ON reim, Sw. ren, Norw. rein, OHG, MHG rein, MLG rên. Thörnqvist suggests that the word may be derived from the same common source as rěka.

Not only is there no historical foundation for a MLG loan, but it is hard to see any semantic connection between 'sandbar' and MLG rên 'canal, channel'. It seems more likely that this is not a Russian but a Ukrainian word and is to be connected with rěka.

Lit.: Sreznevskij III:221; Thörnqvist, pp. 243-5; Dal' III:1768; Schiller-Lübber VI:244.

ris

The word for 'rice' is attested in the kartoteka only from the middle of the 17th C and even then it is not common.

Vasmer derives the word via MLG, LG ris, Du. rijs from Romance (It. riso, OFr. ris, Vulgar Latin oryza). Šanskij also sees the word as a loan from Romance, but does not suggest any route or intermediary.

A direct loan from Romance in the 17th C is not likely. A loan from Du. or LG would be possible, with the former the more likely. The absence of any firm historical information prevents any

more plausible explanations being made.

Lit.: Akad. III:1322; Dal' III:1688; Vasmer II:523; KĚS, p. 287; Schiller-Lübben III:487.

romaneja

Torg. kn. 106 (3) pit'e ramaněja bělaja kak gorělka mutnaja cvětom a koja prjani ta i lutče.

(4) pit'e romaněja krasnaja pokrasněe bělye i deševle bělye.

(5) pit'e kanarěja slatčae romaněi.

(6) pit'e muškotěl' cvětom žel'ta slatče ramaněi.

(7) bastr slatčae romaněi.

SRIO:38:6, p. 217 na tě bylo dengi španskie kupiti tovaru španskogo 600 boček vina španskovo alkatu romaněi krasnoj i běloj (1588).

p. 241 dvě beremeni bočki romaněi ot ereměja busa (1588).

There are many other examples from SRIO:38 covering the years 1588-1601.

ARA:110 ino i pevo i věno i met i romamaněju (sic!) i bastru (Novgorod and Pskov/Reval, undated but after September, 1598).

James 15:28 romania - sacke.

Fenne:84 romanija - rummanie.

The kartoteka has the following examples:

Domostroj 3:182 romaneja

Stat. spis. i protiv stanov maistrovovych privezli k nam ot maistra počest' bočku romanei da četvertinu marmazei.

Rimsk. D. II pit'ja poslu i dvorjanom i ljudem ich poslu kružka romanei ili renskogo peremenjaja davati (1595).

Examples from the 17th C are frequent.

It is mediaeval type of wine, variously identified as French, Spanish or Greek.

All scholars are agreed that this word goes back to Mediaeval Latin romania but are divided on the route of the loan. Leeming sees Pol. rumania, first attested in Cracow in 1391, as the intermediary, while Gardiner favours MHG romanie or LG rommenie, romnie.

This wine was clearly drier than some of the other wines of the period, e.g. bastr, muškotel'; this is supported by the English gloss 'sacke' given by James. It was probably a fortified and spiced wine and could be red or white. The wine is known to have formed part of Hanseatic trade with Livonia and Russia in the Middle Ages. The historians have not managed to determine the extent of the trade in this item or whether the wine was introduced to Russia by any other route. Fenne and ARA:110 provide evidence that the wine was imported by the Hansa. Our other examples do not give any indication of the trade routes. However they do point to the fact that by the second half of the 16th C the wine is met in quite widespread examples.

The absence of any examples in the form *rumanija suggests that Pol. has not served as the intermediary. Even though the knowledge we have of the Hanseatic wine trade and of trade in this particular item is limited, it is still sufficient for us reasonably to posit MLG romanîe, rumanie, romenîe as the most likely source. Lit.: Akad. XII:1444; Vasmer II:534; Leeming, p. 257; Gardiner, p. 184; Hartmeyer, pp. 45, 116; Goetz (1922), p. 320; Choroškevič, p. 33P; Schiller-Lübben III:528.

roch/rocha

This word for 'skate' is first attested in Peter's letters. It is found in modern Russian as rochlja.

Vasmer derives it from Du. rog, MLG roche. Smirnov suggests

Pol. roch as intermediary.

The absence of any further information on this word precludes any firmer statement.

Lit.: Smirnov, p. 267; Dal' IV:1724; Vasmer II:540; Schiller-Lübbers III:493.

rochmistr

Pskov I:7026 i němcy ot sysarja makim^aana rimskogo byli ljudi mudrye rochmistry arichtytany aristoteli (another redaction has romistry)

ARA:100 v kolyvan' bujmistrom i ratmanom i rochmistrom i polatnikom (Pajde/Reval, 1574).

ARA:101, 102, 134, 135 have similar instances written at the same time in same circumstances.

ARA:133 da ot vsěch ritmistrov (Russian translation of a Livonian note to Pajde, 1574).

The kartoteka has the following examples from the 16th C:

Rimsk. D. I:632 ot rubeža verst za dvadcat' ždut nas dija vstrěči dochtor s rochmistry a s nimi konnych ljudej čelovek s dvěstě (1576).

Rimsk. D. II:84 i kak naši rochmistry raneny byli dva polka ich pobilisja ot nevoli i pobivsja sami ušli i koš ich turskie ljudi vzjali (1595).

The word is very common at the beginning of the 17th C, particularly during the Time of Troubles. Most investigators choose to treat the forms rochmistr, rotmistr, ritmistr as one word. Until the Revolution this word continued in use as an officer rank in the cavalry corresponding to the rank of captain.

All investigators derive the word ultimately from Lat. rotae magister 'master of a squadron'. Vasmer, who notes that rotmistr is

also found in Ukr., says the word has come either via Pol. rotmistrz from NHG Rottmeister or via MLG rotmêster. Gardiner views it as a loan from Br. rotmistr, Pol. rotmistrz from Early NHG rottmeister. Leeming, who dates the word from the correspondence of Ivan and Kurbskij, derives it from Pol. romistrz. Rejcek also derives the form rochmistr from Pol., but views ritmistr as a hybrid loan with mistr from Pol. and NHG Rittmeister. Sobik sees the earlier form rochmistr as an example of dissimilation.

Apart from Sobik's unconvincing explanation, none of the investigators has treated the reason for the form rochmistr, rather surprisingly in view of the fact that rochmistr is found to the exclusion of rotmistr. Gardiner views it as an independent word but does not offer any etymology. The meaning of the word in the examples of ARA corresponds exactly with that of MLG rotmêster 'leader of town department or quarter'. It is instructive however that ARA:133 has ritmistr with no change of meaning. Whatever may be the origin of the first component of this word, it is clear that the second component is from Br. -mistr, Pol. -mistrz. If not by dissimilation, the -ch- might be due to some confusion with vachmistr. This may have been assisted by the fact that Pol. has not only rotmistrz but also romistrz. For the early examples in ARA and Pskov I a loan from MLG is not out of the question. Latv. has rotmeisteris from 1625. The form ritmistr is certainly from MLG rittmêster. On balance though Br. and Pol. are a more likely source for rochmistr.

Lit.: Dal' III:1722; Akad. II:1489; Vasmer II:540; Leeming, p. 199; Sobik, p. 328; Korbut, p. 488; Gardiner, p. 185; Rejcek, p. 162; Sehwers, p. 102; Johansen/v. z. Mühlen, pp. 293-4; Kiparsky (1975), p. 103; Schiller-Lübber III:514.

rydel'

Aleksandr Nevskij: byst' mnogo množestvo polonu v polku ego vedjachu podlě konii iž imenuetca rydeli (13th C, but in a 17th C copy; another redaction has ritor.)

Bunge II:332 se jaz' knjaz'... dokončal esm' s bratom' svoim' s městerěm' s riz'skim' i s piskupom s ryděli i s ratmany i so vsemi rižany (After 1313, perhaps between 1330 and 1359).

RLA:153 meži... ljubo kun'dorev ljubo ridelev ljubo dvorjaninov na obě storoně (Riga/Polock, 1405).

RLA:154 chočem s toboju knjaž' mesterju ljubov' deržati i tvoeju brat'eju so vsemi rideli.... k vsem ridelem i ko vsem rat'mjanom (Polock with the Livonians from 1405).

Sreznevskij has an example from Moscow from 1395.

Attempts have been made to link this word with rynda 'bodyguard of the tsars', but these need not concern us here.

All of the examples of rydel' refer to the Livonian knights.

Vasmer and Gardiner derive the word from MLG ridder with substitution of er by el'; Gardiner regards it strictly speaking not as a Russian word but Br. She views ritor attested in Nevskij as a genuine R. word, but offers no source for it. Černych simply regards rydel' as an earlier form of rycar'.

It is difficult to understand why Gardiner refuses to accept rydel' as a Russian word, since it is attested in the Life of Nevskij and in a Muscovite example of 1395. It is true that the other examples refer to the Dvina area. Since all the references but Sreznevskij's example are to the Livonian knights, the word must be from MLG ridder 'knight' with dissimilation of the two r's and/or the substitution of the native -el' agent suffix. It may be instructive that Latv. has rihtelis and Est. rüdel, both from MLG. The form ritor may be from the secondary MLG form ritter.

Lit.: Sreznevskij III:210; van der Kop, p. 20; Černych, p. 123; Gardiner, pp. 187-8; Vasmer II:555; Schiller-Lübben III:476; Sehwers, p. 393; Trusman, s.v.

sajan

The kartoteka has the following example:

AJuB III:260-1 sajan aloj taftjanoj (13th-17th C).

There are further examples of sajanskij, sajanec from 17th C.

It has been retained in modern Russian in the dialects of Tver' and Smolensk as a 'type of dress'.

Vasmer considers it a loan from Pol. sajan from It. saione, but notes also the possibility of MHG sei(e)n, MLG sagen from Fr. sayon as an intermediary.

There is no evidence to support a direct loan from MHG or MLG. The geographical distribution of the word in R. rather suggests Pol. as the most probable source.

Lit.: Akad. XIII:210; Dal' IV:38; Dobrovol'skij, p. 873; Vasmer II:584; Schiller-Lübben IV:10; Lasch-Borchling III:8.

skalva

RLA:16 a skalvi postavichom.... platiti po dvě kuně ot kapi i ot vsjakogo tovara čto kladut na skalvi (Novgorod with Germans, undated, 1257-63).

RLA:74 tako chočem my gorožane s měšterem' pereže kako vēsiti vosk na skalvach = dit is de wille des mesters van lifland unde des stades van der Righe dat men to Ploscowe mit ener schalen weggen schal.... tot tovar kotoryi vēsiti na skalvach = vortmer dat gud dat men up der schalen wegghet (undated, Polock/Riga; Goetz gives 1338).

RLA 164(a) takže u polocku sol' vēsiti na skalvach tymže vēsom.... protože sperva rižjanom poslati svoi kolokoly i skalvy k polocku na svoju istravu.... a vēscju otstupiti proč' ot skalv (Polock redaction);

(b) takžě u polocku sol' vėsiti na skalvach tymže vėsom pri tož' ispěruva rižanom poslati svoi kolokoly i skalvy.... a veščemu otstupiti proč' ot skalv (Riga redaction, 1407). The same forms appear in RLA:165.

GVNP:78 a veščoe pskovičom u jurev'cov u gostei imati ot mecha po cet'ver't'ce ot skolovogo vesa po den'ze.... a ot skalovogo vesa imati po četyry ljubeckich (Novgorod and Pskov with Dorpat, 1474). Sb. Muchanova 27, p. 39 a imati ot vozdyma ot skalovogo kak idut škiliki protiv trejdenogo (Livonia/Novgorod, 1482).

DDG:98 a v čepi v vesu četyre grivenki s četvert'ju skalovyx (Testament of the Prince of Volok, 1506).

RLA:369 a vėsčee imati ot vzdyma ot skalovogo i s duškili protivu trech deneg po starine = men sall vor de dracht de wichte vor dre denning schillinge up dat olde (Moscow/Livonia, 1521).

Fenne:58 skalva - schale.

Sreznevskij gives some further examples, all emanating from Novgorod. There exists too another form, attested from the 16th C:

ARA:54 nemčina tatebnye škali pokupali a inyi rekši škali ukrali oni (16th C, Ivangorod/Reval).

The word usually appears in the plural with the meaning 'weighing scales'. In the singular it means 'cup'.

Vasmer and Kiparsky derive the word from ON skal. Thörnqvist dismisses a loan from OHG scāla, since, although there was a Regensburg-Prague-Cracow-Kiev trade route, the word is not found in Ukrainian. She considers MLG the most likely source, with R. sk reflecting MLG s+ch in word initial position. The form škali Rejczak derives from Du. schaal, rather than NHG Schale, since the Du. form is more likely to render R. šk.

These scales assumed great importance in German-Russian mediaeval trade. One of the first problems the Hansa faced was the introduction into its factories abroad of those measures and weights used in German towns. The first proof that we have of their being introduced in Russia is in RLA:16. They were used for weighing a variety of goods: wax, silver, salt etc.

The word must have occurred first as a \bar{u} -stem noun, even though only RLA:16 gives us any indication of that. The word came to be reinterpreted as an a-stem noun. Due to the correspondence of form and meaning and the overwhelming evidence of the examples from both areas of Russo-Hanseatic trade, the source of the word must be MLG schale 'cup, drinking vessel and scales'. The word continued in use in Novgorod and the Dvina area throughout the period of Russo-Hanseatic trade. The form škal' could be a reborrowing of the same word, or, more likely in view of the ending is from Du. schaal. Latv. skāle, attested since 1685, is also from MLG.

Lit.: Sreznevskij III:363-4; Vasmer II:631; Kiparsky (1975), p. 96; Thörnqvist, pp. 199-201; Berežkov, pp. 104, 158; Rejcek, p. 310; Schiller-Lübben IV:40; Goetz (1916), p. 337; Sehwers, p. 106.

skafer'

RLA:60 a kupečkěm dělám i obidnym dělám ot sučta mestereva skafer'va (Novgorod with the Livonian Order, 1421).

There are no further examples of the word. Much later there appears the word šifer from NHG Schaffer.

It is possible to reconstruct the form skafer' from the adjectival form of the example. Clearly it alludes to the man responsible for carrying out the orders of the Livonian Master.

We cannot determine how widespread this word was from a single example. On phonetic, contextual and semantic grounds the word must be derived from MLG schaffer. From the same source comes Latv. skaperis.

Lit.: Schiller-Lübben IV:38; Sehwers, p. 105.

skorlat

RLA:49 a dali emu skorlata port žo čator (Riga/Vitebsk, undated, but 1298 according to Goetz).

DDG:1 snu moemu bugai sobolni s naplečki s velikim ženčugom' tom s kamen'em' skorlatnoe portišče saženo (Moscow testament, 1339).

DDG:4 s kamen'em opašen' skorlaten sažen (Moscow testament, 1358).

SRIO:35 i privez ot velikogo knjazja voz velikoj knjažne voz obločen skorlatom a podložen aksajmit zelen (Marriage of Elena to Alexander, 1495).

DDG:87 dvě šuby skorlat červ'čet.... da opošek skorlat čevčet bez pugvic' (will from Volok, 1503).

SRIO:38:2, p. 34 a na dvorě ot vorot do polaty korolevniny po obe storony kak fedor i neudača šli stojali s oruž'em čelověk s četyresta i bol'ši a na vsěch plat'e šarlatno a na inych skorlatno (1581, visit to the court of Elizabeth I).

p. 52 a na nich plat'e šarlatno na inych i skorlatno (ibid.).

:6, p. 320 a pěše mnogie ljudi da korolevninych dvorovyh ljudej drobantov čelověk so sto s rogatinami z zoločenymi i skordy v skorlatnom červatom plat'e (1588).

Paris Dictionary:481 delescarlatte - escarlato

Fenne:129 skorlat - scharlaken

Choroškevič has an example from 1288:

PSRL II:903 a selo esm' kupil berezoviče u (ju)r'eviča u davydoviča fedorka a dal esm' na nem' 50 griven kun 5 lokot skorlata da brone doščatye.

The kartoteka has the following examples:

Rimsk. D. I:65 a pominki gospodine nam skazyval tvoi s soboju postav skorlatu da postav kamka červ'čjata na zolotě i velikoj kneině fermapot (Russian envoys writing to the Grand Prince about the Emperor's ambassador, 1490).

PDS:I:69 edin postavec skorlatu i jedin postavec adamaški (1492).

Krym. D. II:13 da prislal b'e mi esi skorlat sukno (1508).

Epifanij premudryj, Žitie svjatogo stefana permskogo (St. P., 1897)

skorlaty i otlasy mnogo i pročaja vešči (Beginning of 15th C, in a copy of the late 15th-early 16th C).

L'vov. L. II da skorlaty i otlasy mnogie.

In addition the kartoteka has numerous examples for the adj. skorlaten from 16th C. From the second half of 16th C there exists another word šarlat.

All of the examples testify to skorlat as a particular kind of mediaeval cloth.

Vasmer derives it from Pol. szkarlak, It. scarlatto, mediaeval Lat. scarlatum. Rejcek considers skorlat a pronunciatory variant of šarlat and that it is influenced by Du. scharlaken, Eng. scarlet. Gardiner suggests that skorlat may be due to indirect LG influence. She notes that the cloth occurs in Hanseatic records as panni scarlatici, while the MLG form was scharlaken, the second element by analogy with laken 'cloth'.

This is a rich type of cloth, red or purple in colour. It is known in Novgorod from 1288. Its reputation can be gauged by the fact that it is mentioned in Princes' wills. The main centres of its production were Bruges and Ghent.

The name of the cloth is international, going back ultimately to Persian sakirlat 'red coat', which has given Lat. scarlatum, It. scarlatto, MHG scharlat, Du. scharlaken, G. Scharlach. The source of the R. word can hardly be Du. or Eng. for a word already recorded in the 13th C. The Pol. derivation is phonetically unacceptable. On historical grounds alone we should seek the origin of the word in MLG. However, as Gardiner has pointed out, MLG has scharlaken, though the form scharlot is also attested. Two possibilities present themselves. Firstly the word may have resulted from the Latin usage of Hanseatic merchants. Secondly, and more probably, the R. form is the result of a confusion of plosives t/k, cf. the confusion of d/k in moršold. Lit.: Sreznevskij III:381; Vasmer III:376, II:633; Gardiner, pp. 233-4; Rejcek, p. 378; Lokotsch, p. 1794; Choroškevič, pp. 180-2; Schiller-Lübber IV:51; Lasch-Borchling III:54.

skurtojka

This word is not attested in OR, but is found in the Archangel dialect as 'a woman's wadded, close-fitting jacket'.

Vasmer compares it with ON skyrta, Anglo-Saxon scyrto, MLG schorte. He says that phonetically the LG form is closest. He notes that LG loanwords on the Upper Volga and in north Russia can be explained by the influence of Novgorod and its Hanseatic connections.

The usual meaning of the MLG word is 'part of the armour'. Thus while MLG may be closer phonetically, the difference in meaning and the absence of the R. word in mediaeval texts render the possibility of a loan from MLG rather doubtful.

Lit.: Podvysockij, p. 158; M. Vasmer, "Germanische Lehnwörter im Russischen" (Annales academiae scientiarum fennicae, Series B, XXX, pp. 30-31); Schiller-Lübben IV:121; Lasch-Borchling III:126.

sljuz/šljuz

There are no examples in the kartoteka before Peter, when forms with sljuz outnumber šljuz.

Vasmer derives it from Du. sluis or LG slūse; van der Meulen and Rejčak favour Du., although the latter admits some influence of NHG Schleuse on the form with initial š. Smirnov considers LG or Sw. sluss as its source. Ohienko thinks it has come via Pol. sluz, sluza.

Except that one would expect *slujz, the word's likeliest source is Du., which has also loaned the word to English, LG and the Nordic languages.

Lit.: Akad. XVII:1477; Morsk. slov. II:391; Vasmer III:412; van der Meulen (1944), p. 86; Rejčak, p. 246; Smirnov, p. 330; Ohienko, p. 70; Schiller-Lübben IV:253; Lasch-Borchling III:284; Bense, p. 411.

smak

The word is not attested in Russian before the second half of the 17th C. It is found in Berynda and in a Ruthenian text of 1599. It means 'taste'.

Thörnqvist refutes a derivation from Sw. smak and gives Pol. smak as the source in view of the evidence of the word in Ukrainian. Most other scholars accept a loan from the Polish, which is itself probably derived from MLG smak.

There seems little reason for not accepting a loan from Pol. There is no basis for supposing a direct loan from MLG for the Russian word, even though Latv. smaka is a LG loanword. Lit.: Dal' IV:280; Akad. XIII:1321; Vasmer II:670; Thörnqvist, pp. 201-2; KĚS, p. 309; Rejcek, p. 421; Sobik, p. 338; Sehwers, p. 112.

snur/snor/snurok

Fenne:55 snur - lunte.

James 59:18 snuiroke - a lin, a stringe.

Gardiner gives examples in Russian sources of šnur and šnurok from the second half of the 17th C. The modern Russian forms snur and snurok are not attested until the 18th C. This is from Pol. sznur, sznurek, MHG snuor.

Vasmer derives snur from MLG snor, ON snori. Van der Meulen rejects a loan from MLG on the grounds that it is not sufficiently old a loan. He together with Rejcek favours Du. snoer. Gardiner accepts MLG as the source but admits also the possibility of a loan from a Polish form snur.

I have argued elsewhere that this may have been borrowed as a naval term. It was, to judge by its inclusion in James and Fenne,

already well established in Russian in the 16th C and qualifies to be considered a loan from MLG. There is no difficulty about the phonetic correspondence of MLG o and R. u. Latv. snuõre is also from MLG.

Lit.: Gardiner, pp. 193-4; Dal' IV:459; Akad. XVII:1495; Morsk. slov. II:395; Korbut 504; Vasmer II:683, III:417; KÈS, p. 383; Rejcek, p. 374; van der Meulen (1944), p. 87; Thomas (1971a), p. 186; Schiller-Lübben IV:278; Sehwers, p. 113.

stabel'/ščabel'

This word is attested in the kartoteka from the middle of the 17th C in herbals. In Archangel it is a means of putting salted and dried cod in barns, where they are placed in rows. Apart from this rather specialised meaning, Thörnqvist says the word ščabel' has the meaning of 'staple'.

Vasmer derives stabel' from Du. stapel, NHG Stapel, while Meulen favours Du. stapel, noting the form stabel in West Flemish dialects. The Archangel form stabel' he derives from Norw. stabel. Šanskij considers štapel' a 20th C loan from G. Stapel. Thörnqvist derives stabel' from Norw., where it is loaned from Danish. The form ščabel' is to be seen as a loan from MLG stapel. She notes that p gives b internally in LG. The šč she explains as by analogy with Church Slavonic words. In other words Thörnqvist views this as one of the words which Novgorodian colonists have spread to other parts of Russia.

The fact that MLG stapel was known throughout the Hanseatic trading area persuades one that for the general meaning of staple MLG is the source of the R. word and that this word was subsequently transferred to the White Sea by Novgorod settlers. The meaning of fish staple could have developed secondarily, but it is more likely to have been a Norw. loan.

Lit.: Podvysockij, p. 194; Akad. XVII:1546; Dal' IV:1471; Thörnqvist, pp. 83, 161-2; Vasmer III:428; van der Meulen (1944), p. 91; KES, p. 384; Schiller-Lübben IV:363.

stal'

The kartoteka has the following examples:

Oružie Borisa Godunova 28 sablja ugarskaja stal'naja (1589).

AI:II:201 a po tri kuli nabit' stalnuju i železnuju i tretjuju otnennuju (1609).

Miller II:232, p. 325 i na moskve to železo pereplavivali i to železo dobro budet iz nego stal' (1625).

Examples of the word in the second half of the 17th C are extremely frequent.

Gardiner has an example from Duchovnaja knjazja Ivana Michailoviča Glinskogo of 1586.

The word for 'steel' is derived by Vasmer and Šanskij from Pol. stal, where the word is attested since the 15th C. Vasmer also points to the possibility of a direct loan from NHG Stahl, LG, Du. staal. Van der Meulen supports a loan from Du., pointing out that a loan from NHG would have given štal'. Gardiner derives the word through Pol. stal and Br. stal from MLG stal. She suggests that it is not possible to tell whether the OR form is stal or stal' since documents of the period do not distinguish hard and soft consonants finally or before another consonant. Rejcek favours a loan from Sw. stål since Sweden enjoyed such a high level of metallurgy. She admits however that it is difficult to explain Sw. å (phonetically o) giving R. o. She suggests the influence of Du. or LG pronunciation. She also admits that one should not forget the close trade relations with the Baltic towns in the LG-speaking area.

Rejcek's etymology is somewhat confused and the derivation from Sw. unsubstantiated. The evidence of soft l in Miller is sufficient to show that Br. cannot have served as the intermediary. The initial st and the evidence of German-Russian trade in metals renders MLG stal the most probable source of the R. word. It probably dates from the end of the 16th C.

Lit.: Vasmer III:2; Gardiner, p. 198-9; KĚS, p. 318; Rejcek, p. 287; van der Meulen (1944), p. 89; Schiller-Lübben IV:355; Lasch-Borchling III:410.

stamed

The kartoteka has the following as its earliest example:

Opis': sukno stamed (1608).

After 1632 it is attested regularly. This is a type of woollen cloth, still attested today sometimes as stamet.

Vasmer derives it either via NHG Stamet or Du. stamet or direct from It. stametto. Van der Meulen dismisses a loan from NHG because of the initial st. He explains the change t to d in the borrowing of Du. stamet on the influence of the preceding nasal. Gardiner says it is from NHG Stamet or LG stamet possibly through Pol. stamet.

Information on the history of this item of trade is sparse. Choroškevič says that sammet was exported from Cologne and that the word is attested in the byliny as stamed.

It is not easy to judge the source of the R. word on this evidence. NHG and Pol. intermediary can be dismissed on the basis of the initial consonant, since the usual form in Pol. is sztamet. Du. or LG are to be regarded as the probable sources.

Lit.: Dal' IV:501; Akad. XIV:715; Vasmer III:3; Gardiner, p. 199; Rejcek, p. 377; van der Meulen (1944), p. 90; Choroškevič, p. 194; Schiller-Lübben IV:359.

stopa

In modern Russian stopa occurs with 7 meanings: (1) foot, (2) step, (3) measure of length (English foot), (4) foot in scansion of poetry, (5) ream of paper, (6) pile of objects, (7) old, large vessel for wine. The first two meanings are recorded from the 12th C and have a CS source. (3), (4), (5) and (6) are the result of secondary semantic development. (7) cannot be linked with stopa 'foot etc.' and should be viewed as a completely independent lexical unit.

ARA:110 da ne tok'mo čto tovary ino i pěvo i věno i met i romamaněju i bastru i vsjakija prodajut vo stopy i v čjarki (Pskov and Novgorod with Reval, after September 1598).

The kartoteka has the following 16th C examples:

Pri-rasch. kn. Vol. No. 1028 da krušku da stopu nemeckovo děla (1575-6).

SGGD II:141 i otvěsit i v stopy tu sol' položiti (1598).

Dal' gives stopa, stopka, stopočka for modern Russian.

Wanstrat derives the word from MLG stôp, the ending being by analogy with OR kapa from LG kap. Van der Meulen considers a loan from LG less probable, since LG stôf has given R. šťof. He prefers a loan from Du. stoop.

Our examples attest to stopa as being a measure of contents, which would equally satisfy a loan from Du. or LG. The basis of van der Veulen's dismissal of LG as a source is far from clear. In either case the -a ending could be attributable to analogy with kružka or more likely with the already existing stopa. While Du. could have served as the source of this word, a number of factors lead us to prefer MLG:

1. One example refers specifically to German manufacture.
2. The first example occurs in a text pertaining to the Russo-Hanseatic wine trade.
3. A loan in the 16th C is much more likely to be from MLG than Du.
4. MLG has served as the source of Latv. stuõps and Est. toop 'liquid measure', 'measure of volume'.

Lit.: Akad. XIV:945-6; Dal' IV:549-550; Vasmer III:19, III:431; Sreznevskij III:521; Wanstrat, p. 95; van der Meulen (1944), p. 94; Schiller-Lübben IV:413; Sehwers, p. 127.

stul

This word has been treated in great detail by Gardiner and there seems little point in repeating her remarks in full. I shall merely confine myself to a few comments on this admittedly troublesome word.

Vasmer and Thörnqvist derive it from ON stóll or LG stuhl. Wanstrat supports a loan from Norse, since a German loan would give *štul'. She notes too that for a German loan we should expect to find the word in Pol. also. Gardiner sees difficulties with a loan from MLG since st of MLG normally gives št. This is hardly consistent with the facts presented in this book, cf. our etymologies of stopa, stamed, stal', stjurman, štripka. It is true that MLG l tends to give soft l at the end of words, but cf. vodmol.

There is therefore little phonetically against a loan from MLG. While ON can be eliminated since this word is hardly older than the late 16th C, the R. word could equally well be derived from Du., Eng. or LG. Indeed all the first 4 examples given by Gardiner refer to England and the court of Elizabeth I. There is no justification for a derivation from LG in any of the examples cited by Gardiner.

Lit.: Vasmer III: 34 ; Thörnqvist, p. 156; Wanstrat, p. 46; Kiparsky (1975), p. 106.

styr'

Fenne:106 styr' - mast.

Sreznevskij III:583 has the following example:

Vypiska iz Belozerskoj piscovoj knigi pis'mo i mery Andreja Efimoviča Saltykova: dva brevna semi sažen da šestnecat' tesin semi sazen da styr' da palica (1585).

The kartoteka gives these examples:

Čudesesa Zosimy i Savvatija v pripiske 1624, p. 212 slomisja i styr na lodii našej.

Ložnye i otrečennye knigi russkoj stariny, sobr. A. N. Pypinym (Pamjatniki staroj russkoj literatury, IV, StP., 1862): byst' že den' 3 i reče k nim car' oblečetesja v oružija svoja i vsjadete na konja svoa i vozmete koždo styr svoj na ruku (13th C but in an 18th C copy).

In modern Russian styr', štyr' is 'an axis on which something turns' and in the Pskov dialect 'an axle, bolt or cocking piece'. Our examples (except the last where the meaning is far from clear) show it to be the tiller or perhaps steering oar of a boat or ship. The gloss given in Fenne must be the result of some misunderstanding between Fenne and his informant.

Vasmer derives it from ON stýri, MLG stûre. Van der Meulen says it is from Du. stuur. In Pol. ster is from an earlier styr, which goes back to Du. stör or LG stür according to Borchling and Korbut.

A derivation from MLG or Du. must be dismissed because we should expect R. *stjur/stjura. Latv. stûre, which is doubtless from MLG, has precisely the form which would correspond to R. *stjura. A Scandinavian loan is chronologically unacceptable. Therefore the source of the R. word must be sought in Pol. styr possibly via Br.

Lit.: Dal' IV:1479; Vasmer III:36; Meulen (1944), p. 95; Borchling, p. 90; Korbut, p. 488; Schiller-Lübben IV:452; Thomas (1971a), pp. 186-7; Sehwers, p. 127.

stjurman

ARA:78 iz gollanskje zemli karabl' a škiper dej na tom korablě byl korniles petrov da stjurman vulfert lutman.... a prikazal dej timofěj mejěr stjurmanu vulfertu lutmanu (Rugodiv/Reval, 1566). There are no other examples before Peter. The word means 'navigator, captain's assistant'. It has been replaced by šturman, which in modern Russian has developed its meanings to include the navigator on aircraft.

Vasmer, Gardiner and Rejčak derive stjurman from Du. stuurman or MLG stūrman. As with stul Gardiner inexplicably states that st is rare in a LG loan. She also points out that ju corresponds more closely to Du. ue than LG û, but notes that the different articulation of dentals in MLG could have led to their being realised as soft in Russian.

It is probable that the word was in use in Russian before 1566. Therefore it is not necessary to argue whether the boat in question was Dutch or not. In view of the numerical superiority of Germans trading in Livonia, MLG seems a more likely source than Du. Latv. stūrmanis is also from MLG.

Lit.: Akad. XVII:1589; Morsk. slov. II:401; Vasmer III:432; Gardiner, p. 203; Rejčak, p. 223; Kluge (1911), p. 754; Heinsius, p. 235; Schiller-Lübben IV:454; Sehwers, p. 127; Thomas (1971a), p. 203.

takel'

There are no examples of this word before the 18th C. It designates 'tackle on a ship'.

Vasmer derives it from Du. or LG takel. Van der Meulen posits only Du. as the source, while van der Kop says that the word

is found in accounts of Riga and Hamburg and may consequently be from LG.

It is difficult to determine whether this is to be regarded as a LG or Du. loan. However it is almost certainly a loan from the time of Peter and therefore can scarcely be regarded as arising from Russo-Hanseatic trading relations.

Lit.: Vasmer III:70; van der Kop, p. 15; van der Meulen (1909), p. 208; Schiller-Lübben V:505.

trekat'

This word is not recorded in OR but is attested in the dialects and in naval speech with the meaning 'to sing in rhythm with one's work

Two etymologies have been suggested: (1) from Du. or LG trek 'pull, drag!' or (2) from tri or even Eng. three, cf. Fr. onne, ton, tri used in hauling. Either etymology depends on a further semantic development.

The fact that the word is also recorded in the form trikat' speaks in favour of a derivation from tri, but a Du. or LG source cannot be entirely ruled out.

Lit.: Dal' IV:828; Morsk. slov. II:308; Vasmer III:135; van der Meulen (1944), p. 100; Schiller-Lübben IV:607; anonymous article in Morskoj sbornik, 1852, No. 8.

trompat'

This word is not recorded in Old Russian but is attested in the dialect of Archangel. It has the meaning 'to trample down dry goods (usually cereals) on ships'. Podvysockij describes this activity as one normally carried out by women, first with their feet, then on their knees and finally on their stomachs. There exists too the verbal noun trompan'e.

Thörnqvist suggests that the word has come from Sw. trampa, Dan. trampe or MLG trampen, the ultimate source of the Scandinavian words. In favour of Norwegian origin, she says, is that "dark" a of Norw. could easily have been rendered by R. o. On the other hand she points out, admittedly with due caution, the possibility of a loan from MLG, which has the distinctive meaning 'to stamp with the feet'. In the area around Schleswig short a is pronounced "dark", i.e. like o. Vasmer accepts Thörnqvist's argumentation without further comment.

Crucial to any proper study of the origin of this word is its word geography. As a word attested only on the White Sea coast, a Norw. dialect seems a more likely source. A Norse word which entered Russian along with the majority of Nordic loans would almost certainly have been more widely distributed. The word can only be seriously regarded as a direct loan from MLG if it is posited that the word arose in the trading milieu of Novgorod and was taken by Novgorodian settlers to the White Sea coast.

Lit.: Podvysockij, p. 174; Thörnqvist, pp. 157-8; Vasmer III:140; Schiller-Lübben IV:606.

tros

The kartoteka has just one example before Peter:

V. I. Sreznevskij, Opisanie rukopisej i knjig sobrannyh dlja imp. Akademii nauk v oloneckom krae (StP., 1913, p. 487) v tom more vymu tros ugovorju kost' i otimu bolez vsjakuju i ščepotu (17th C copy). This word which means 'rope going from running tackle' is found in the Olonec and Archangel dialects. In recent times it has extended its meanings to include synthetic cord and steel wire. In Archangel it has the specialized meaning of a 'long strap used in the walrus industry'.

Vasmer, van der Meulen and Smorgonskij derive the word from Du. tros.

A loan from the related MLG form trosse, trotze also derived ultimately from Fr. trousse, Mediaeval Latin tortiare is possible but unlikely since a MLG loan would surely render *trosa in R. Du. therefore remains the probable source.

Lit.: Dal' IV:848; Akad. XV:1008; Morsk. reč. slov. II:217; van der Meulen (1909), p. 217; Vasmer III:141; Smorgonskij, p. 116; Podvysockij, p. 174; Schiller-Lübben IV:616; Thomas (1971a), p. 187.

tjuk

ARA:44 a budet svjazana po poltret' jaceti nitok i tot tjuček zoesja kupjat' po 5 altyn (Novgorod, undated but early 16th C).

ARA:81 poslal dej on zacharej za more na karablě u škipera armana u drjagera četyre bočki sala vorvananja da v golganskom korablě s škiperom z grot echimom šesnatcat' tjukov konopli.... da dvatcat' četyre tjuki želěza prutovogo da tritcat' odnu bočku želěza ožmonta da dvě tyseči opojkov Rugodiv/Reval, 1567).

ARA:84 četyre bočki sala vorvanja da šesnatcat' tjukov konopli (Rugodiv/Reval, 1568).

This word means 'package or bundle of goods' and hence is also a measure. It is attested frequently in the 17th and 18th C according to the kartoteka. It is still in use.

Wanstrat favours a loan from Tu. tjük. Lokotsch derives Bulg. juk, R. v'juk, tjuk, Ukr. vuk, Pol. juki from Tu. jük. Vasmer, Šanskij and Rejčak say it is a loan from Du. tuig 'instrument, tool', so that it must have undergone a semantic change in Russian.

The existence of this word only in Hanseatic texts before 1600 suggests that it is not a Turkic loan, but rather a loan from Du. tuig or MLG tuch. Phonetically there is no difficulty about accepting a loan from Du. or MLG, for the soft t would be similar to the t in stjurman. The only difficulty is the lack of direct semantic correspondence. It is possible that tuig and tuch had a meaning similar to modern German 'Stück', but that this has not been recorded in the dictionaries. That the word is first recorded as a diminutive suggests that the loan could be older. In view of Russo-Hanseatic trade MLG is a more likely source than Du.

Lit.: Dal' IV:893; Akad. XV:1212; Wanstrat, p. 76; Lokotsch, p. 964; Vasmer III:163; KĚS, p. 346; Rejčak, p. 307; Schiller-Lübben IV:623.

uškunder'

We dealt above (pp. 130-2) with the word kumender'/kundor.

uškunder'/uskunder' is found in only two texts:

SRIO:53:18 i ot magistra gosudar' ot pruskogo vstrĕtil menja ego uskun'der' i knjaz' s bol'shego gorod s korolevca namĕstnik.... i jaz gosudar' magistrovu čelověku uskunderju govoril....

vyšerečennomu poslu svoee milosti gus'kuntura korolevceva (1519).

ARA:20 javil svoj grabež posadnikom i ratmanom i uškunder emu i gramotu podorožnuju dal (Ivangorod to Rugodiv, undated 16th C).

Gardiner derives the word from HG Hauskomtur or more probably LG hûskomtur. Rejčak, conscious only of the ARA:20 example, looks to MLG huskummendurer for the source. She suggests that one of his functions may have been to issue travelling passes.

The form gus'- looks as if it has come via Br., though it is also possible that folk etymology is involved. Nevertheless it is striking that the word should be attested in such a radically different form within one text. This suggests that the word may not have been very familiar to a Russian. The first example refers to an official in the office of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in Königsberg; the second unquestionably to an official in Livonia. While HG cannot be ruled out for the first example, it certainly can for the second. In any case it has to be remembered that the Livonian Order was responsible for translation and interpreting between Russia and the Teutonic Order. It is therefore to be derived from MLG hûskumtûr.

Lit.: Gardiner, p. 33; Rejčak, p. 130.

filenka/filenga

This word meaning 'panel of a door' is absent from OR.

Vasmer says it is from LG Füllung, MLG vullinge. Šanskij and Bulič accept this derivation and point to the word's morphological adaptation in Russian.

Little can be added to this explanation except to suggest that a loan from LG would probably have come through North German artisans working in Moscow.

Lit.: Dal' IV:1140; Akad. XVI:1373; Vasmer III:208; KÉS, p. 356; Bulič, p. 13; Schiller-Lübben V:556.

fogot'

RLA Anhang la) albracht fogot'

b) fogot'

c) fogot' (Smolensk/Riga treaty, 1229).

The word is not attested elsewhere. The other redactions of the treaty have replaced fogot' with a form more comprehensible to a Russian - sud'ja.

Vasmer derives it from MLG voget, OHG fogat, Lat. voċatus.

There is no evidence that this word was ever anything but a foreign word in Russian, irrespective of whether one accepts the first redactions of the Smolensk/Riga treaty as having been written by a German or a Russian. Nevertheless the source is clear enough - MLG voget.

Lit.: Sreznevskij III:1356; Gardiner, p. 79; Vasmer III:213; Schiller-Lübben V:296; Kiparsky (1960), *passim*.

francozskaja bolest'

SRIO:35:58 v vjazmu kto priezžival li bolen iz smolenska toju bolěst'ju čto boljaki mečjutsja a slovet francozskaa budto v vině ee privezli (Ivan's embassy to Elena, 1499). There are no further examples apart from a form frencuga attested in Domostroj.

Modern Russian has the forms chranec, chrjanec, francy, prancy 'syphilis, manges, scabs etc.', which appears to be derived from Du. frans.

Vasmer derives francuzskaja bolezn' from Pol. francozy, which has the meaning 'syphilis' already in 1530-40.

Our example is the first evidence of a 'French disease' in Russia. There has been considerable debate over the years whether syphilis was brought back by Columbus' sailors in 1493 or

whether it was already established in Europe. In this regard the fact of its first attestation in 1499 in Russia may be significant. It is clearly some new phenomenon, which the writer wrongly attributes to French wine. It is just possible that the writer is being coy or mischievous. Clearly the disease spread to Smolensk with foreign traders or sailors. In the Hanseatic area syphilis is first mentioned in Hamburg in 1498: "Anno 1498 is erstmals de grusame plage hervorgekomen de men de Franzosen nomet".

It is not improbable, especially since the first Russian instance is only a year later, that Hanseatic merchants or sailors were responsible for its introduction. This suggests an intimacy of contact, which could not otherwise be inferred from Russo-Hanseatic documents.

In view of the above and the fact that the word is attested in Pol. only later, the most likely source of francozskaja bolest' is MLG franzos, franzesesch.

Lit.: Dal' III:997, IV:1230; Vasmer II:424, III:218, III:270; van der Meulen (1944), p. 27; Pagel, pp. 235-6; Lasch-Borchling I:986; Schiller-Lübben IV:518.

šalon/šalun

The kartoteka has an example of šalun from 1765. It is a type of fine woollen cloth, no longer used. In the Smolensk and Archangel dialects it is recorded as a type of sarafan made from the above material.

Scholars are agreed that the name of the cloth goes back ultimately to the name of its place of production Châlons-sur-Marne. Vasmer suggests MLG salun, schalun as a possible intermediary.

There is evidence for trade in this cloth in the Baltic from the middle of the 14th C, but specific evidence for its importation to Russia is lacking.

There seems little enough basis for considering it an old loan from MLG. It may be instructive that the word is not recorded in English before 1616.

Lit.: Dal' IV:1393; Akad. XVII:1248; Smolensk, p. 153; Podvysockij, s.v.; Vasmer III:369; HUB III:682; Schiller-Lübben IV:18.

šafran

SRIO:35:2 vzjal u nego da dvě grivenki šafranu (goods stolen on entry into Chernigov, 1488).

7 u borisa u ukkladnika vzjali dvatcat' njug šafranu da otlas.... a u ivaška u vasil'eva syna lupina u tveritana da dvě litry šafranu (Grand Prince to Kasimir concerning robberies, 1489). Torg. kn., p. 85 (78) šafran muravskoj ploskoj suhoj lutčej f. 2 rub.

SRIO:38, p. 223 roman že da ul'jan sčitajut na nem 13 rublev deneg za šefran.... a tot že šefran (1588).

p. 228 da bočečka ne velika šafranu (1588).

p. 391 grivenka šefranu grivenka gvozdiki grivenka inbirju grivenka koricy 2 grivenki percju (in a list of food to give to English envoys in Moscow, 1601).

Paris Dictionary 339 du safran - safren

Fenne:121 šafran - Saffran.

The kartoteka has the following 16th C examples, whereafter the word appears frequently:

Pri-rasch. kn. Vol. kupil šafranu grivenku (1575-6).

Kn. pri-rasch. Kir. kupil 5 funtov šafranu (1581-2).

Xoženie gostja vasil'ja (published in: Pravoslavnyj palestinskij sbornik, StP., 1844, Vol. II, vyp. 3, pp. 1-14): na edinom na kameni roditsja šafran (1465-6, in a 16th C copy).

Tr. L. has numerous examples of šafran and one of šafrajan.

This word is international, going back through Mediaeval Latin safran to Arabic zaefarān. Vasmer dismisses the possibility of a direct eastern loan in Russian and posits a loan from MHG saffrân, MLG safferân. With more precision Gardiner points to Pol. szafran and Br. šafran as further intermediaries. Rejcek dismisses Pol. as a possible source on accentual grounds.

Saffron is mentioned as an item of Hanseatic import in Alexander's privilege for Polock of 1498. Apart, however, from the evidence of Fenne, we have no further indication that it formed part of Russo-Hanseatic trade.

The word cannot have come via Ukr., which has the forms šachvran and šapran. The most likely source remains Br. or Pol., Rejcek's comments notwithstanding. A further possibility is a loan from MLG safferân, sefran, safran, which would be phonetically acceptable.

Lit.: Dal' IV:1408; Akad. XVII:1302; Vasmer III:380; Gardiner, p. 237; Sobolevskij, p. 104; Rejcek, p. 340; Lokotsch, p. 2178; Goetz (1922), p. 516; Schiller-Lübben IV:33; Lasch-Borchling III:6; Thomas (1971c), pp. 102-3.

ševnica

RGA:II:3 a zumus' porubile zumber' 10 novgorod'cev a vzjale u nich bocku ševnice (Novgorod, 1417).

The word ševnja is attested in the kartoteka in the following examples before 1600, whereafter it occurs regularly:

Torg. kn. 85 (94) ševen' 1000.

SGGD II:89 i brati emu dvorovaja pošlina s tysjači bělki šuvanskija i ustjužskaja po četyre dengi a s ševny po dengě (1586).

The word designates a type of fur.

Choroškevič suggests that ševnica is derived from ševnja 'squirrel fur' or 'sewn-together pieces of squirrel fur'.

MLG schevenissen is considered by Schiller-Lübben as derived from schaven, scheven, 'to shave' while most scholars regard the MLG word as a loan from R. (see above p. 12).

These furs were already famous in Europe in the middle of the 13th C. but they are first mentioned in texts pertaining to Novgorod in 1343. They were usually sold in large numbers and derived their popularity from their low price. There is no clear agreement as to what type of fur they designated. Some consider them to have been rough, unfinished pelts; some as furs with leather side outside; some references speak of 'lighter, i.e. less hairy' furs; most scholars accept that the furs were scraps sewn together to make one article.

Schiller-Lübben's etymology is supported by the references to 'less hairy furs'. A corollary of considering schevenissen a native MLG word would be to accept it as the source of R, ševnica. This is unacceptable phonetically since MLG sch- initially might give sk or šk in R. but not š. In any case there is no adequate explanation of the derivation of the ending in MLG. Indeed the MLG nisse ending must be from R., cf. too doyenissen and troyenissen also types of fur. The fact that the word is better attested in the west than in Russian is in this case inconclusive. It is clearly a Russian loan in MLG. It is interesting for the linguist that scholars had posited the existence of the word ševnica long before it was recently found by Choroškevič in a text preserved in the Riga city archive. Through ševnja the word goes back ultimately to šiti 'to sew'.

Lit.: Choroškevič, p. 81; Schiller-Lübben IV:84; Berežkov, p. 173; Schlüter IV:107 and Wortregister; Koppman, p. 63.

šida

Af. Nik.:385 da nad nim terem šidjan s makoviceju zolotoju (1466-72)
 DDG:80 soročka šidena sažena z drobniceju (Belozero testament, 1486)

The kartoteka has the following examples:

Nik. L. 6897 (PSRL II:102, 16th-17th C) vsi ubo ženskago polu stojachu na polatach za šidjanymi zaponami.

Choždenie ignatija smol'janina 1389-1405 (S. V. Arsen'ev (ed.) (Pravoslavnyj palestinskij sbornik, StP., 1887, Vol. IV, vyp. 3, pp. 1-33 in a copy from 16th-17th C) rukava že riz ich široci a dolzi ovi kamčati ovi i šidny naplečti s zlatom i s kruživom.... stojachu za šidnymi zaponami.

Genn. Biblija:poslach bo tebě muža mudra... iže věst' dělati v zlatě i srebrě v purpurěze i jakinf i bissino na poč i šida i krasky (Novgorod, 1499).

Krym. D. I:397 da poltret'jacat' aršin šidy červčatye (1502).

Sreznevskij III:1592 has a further example from the 16th C.

This word is now old fashioned with the meaning 'silk'.

Vasmer says it is from Mediaeval Latin seta, via OHG sîda, MHG sîde. Wanstrat derives it from MLG sîde, sîden despite the phonetic problem of MLG s giving R. š.

Choroškevič mentions silk as one of the few fabrics to be exported by the Russians from the east to merchants of the Hanseatic League. It is first mentioned in Hanseatic documents from 1356.

Most of our examples relate either to Moscow or its relations with the east. There is no hint that this is a Novgorod word. Nevertheless MLG seems a possible source. This would be a rare example of MLG furnishing the name of an article which was being exported from Russia.

Lit.: Dal' IV:1432; Vasmer III:397; Wanstrat, p. 96; Savvaitov, p. 175; Choroškevič, p. 203, 261; Goetz (1922), p. 278; Schiller-Lübben IV:204.

škap

The word is attested in the kartoteka from the middle of the 17th C. It is considerably older than škaf 'cupboard' (from NHG Schaff) which has replaced it in all but peasant speech.

Vasmer, Thörnqvist accept a loan from MLG schap, rather than Sw. skap.

The fact that the word is attested so late makes the derivation of this word rather difficult. However in view of the fact that the LG word is attested early in the Novgorod Schra and that MLG has also provided the source of Latv. skapis a loan from MLG can be accepted, though presumably for MLG sch to have been rendered by šk it must have been a relatively late loan.

Lit.: Dal' IV:1446; Akad. XVIII:1441; Vasmer III:405; Thörnqvist, pp. 209-210; Sehwers, p. 106; Schiller-Lübber IV:47.

škilik

Sb. Muchanova 27, p. 39 a imati vozdyma ot skalovogo kak idut škiliki protiv trejdenogo (Livonia/Novgorod, 1482).

SRIO:53:5 i šimborko govoril v našego gosudarja zemlě škili livonskie ne chodjat' a chodjat' svoi penjazi (Embassy to Moscow from Prussia, 1517-8).

SRIO:35:8 i tot groš' razdělitsja v škili tri koi škili s"tvorjat groš' a šest' penjazej deneg sotvorjajut škil' (return to Moscow from Prussia, 1518).

ARA:20 da 50 griven škilikov da dvě grivny škilikov bez věrnika (Ivangorod/Rugodiv, undated, first half of 16th C).

Sreznevskij III:1596 has another example of škili (škily) from Novgorod in 1571. Rejcek has 55 examples from 1637 in Russo-Swedish texts.

On the basis of her examples from Russo-Swedish texts Rejcek derives the word from Sw. skile, skell. Wanstrat takes škilik (which is for her a reconstructed, hypothetical form) as the original form of the word. škil' is to be seen as a back-formation of a supposed diminutive. The most likely source is in her opinion LG schillink rather than MDu. schillinc, which does not seem to have been very common. The nasal has simply dropped out.

Berežkov maintains that western coins, including shillings, found their way in large numbers into western Russia via German trade, were in use alongside Russian coins, and are attested in Russian sources. Fedorov informs us that in the Hanseatic towns of northern Germany and in Prussia the shillings began to be minted in the second half of the 14th C. In Livonia they remained a unit of the monetary system until 1422-6, whereafter the name was used to designate coins which had been formerly known as artigs. These were the basic coins minted in Livonia in the period of the 15th-18th C. All of the texts cited above refer explicitly to Livonian coins.

The word is clearly to be derived from MLG schillink, schildink, schillinc, schellinc. It is interesting to note that the MLG word is often attested without the nasal, e.g. schillic, schillich. A shorter form schille, which could have formed the basis of škil', is also attested. Nevertheless Wanstrat's suggestion of a back-formation from škilik is more likely. MLG is also the source of Latv. škiliņš, škiliņģis attested since 17th C. Lit.: Rejcek, p. 331; Wanstrat, p. 96; Berežkov, p. 167; Fedorov, p. 372; Lasch-Borchling III:95; Schiller-Lübber IV:91; Sehwers, pp. 132, 428.

škiper

ARA:77 s škiperēm s lavrēncom na bojarki (Russian traders in Copenhagen to Ivangorod, 1566).

ARA:78 v gorod v rugodiv iz gollanskije zemli korabl' a škiper dej na tom korablě byl korniles petrov da stjurman vulfert lutman (Rugodiv/Reval, 1566).

ARA:81 poslal dej on zacharej za more na karablě u škipera armana u drjagera četyre bočki sala vorvanja da v golganskom korablě s škiperom z grot echimom.... a ivan dej krjušman poslal iz rugodiva za more v korablě u pomorskogo škipera u genrikema schuita.... a michajlo dej kromyšov poslal v gorod v vismer v korablě u antropskogo škipera u armanja drjagerja (Rugodiv/Reval, 1567).

There are also examples from ARA:84, 87, 93 for the years 1567, 1568, 1569 respectively. Gardiner gives some later 16th C examples. From the time of Peter the Great are attested the forms šchipor, ščipor, šiper. In Dal' škiper, šchiper is given as 'captain of a merchant ship', 'naval rank'. In modern Russian it is archaic as 'captain of a commercial vessel', 'commander of a dependent river vessel,' 'person responsible for the setting of sails on ships.'

Ohienko, Sobolevskij, van der Meulen, Smirnov and Smorgonskij derive the word from Du. schipper. Gardiner regards it as a loan from LG schipper through contacts with Livonia and the Hansa. She points out that the Russian word may not have been known outside of the coastal regions and that the word was later reborrowed from LG or Du. Rejcek dismisses a derivation from Du. on the grounds that Du. sch- would give R. sch-. Illogically she maintains that the form šiper is from Du. or LG. škiper, škiper', škipar' she takes to be a loan from ON skipari, Sw. skeppare, noting that Sw. ski- regularly gives R. ški-. Further the form -ar' is influenced by the corresponding Scandinavian agentive suffix.

The role of the schipper has already been briefly described (see pp. 34-35). Our examples refer to both German and Dutch captains involved in Russo-Hanseatic trade.

The evidence of the word does not support a loan from a Scandinavian source. It is probable that the word becomes more well known in the middle of the 16th C as Russian trade moves to the coast and to the Livonian towns. On historical evidence a good case can be made for a loan from Du. or MLG, though the stronger links with Livonia would rather support LG as the source. Another factor also speaks in favour of LG. In ARA:81 the Dutch name Schuit is transliterated as ŷchuit in R. This suggests that Du. sch- would be rendered as ŷch- in Russian (not sch- as given by Rejcek without any basis). MLG sch- is rendered by ŷk- in all later loans, cf. ŷkilik, ŷkal'. A loan from MLG schipper, which is also the source of Latv. ŷkiperis, is clearly the most acceptable explanation of the origin of the R. word.

Lit.: Gardiner, p. 241; Vasmer III:407; Dal' IV:1448; Akad. XVII:1445; Morsk. slov. II:393; Morsk. reč. slov. II:265; Ohienko, p. 84; Sobolevskij, pp. 136-7; van der Meulen (1909), p. 181; Smirnov, p. 329; Smorgonskij, p. 128; Rejcek, p. 231; Schiller-Lübben IV:101; Thomas (1971a), pp.184-5; Kiparsky (1975), p. 107; Sehwers, p. 133.

ŷkot

This is a naval term for the rope which controls the bottom of a sail, 'sheet'. It is not attested before Peter.

Vasmer derives it from Du. schoot, MLG schōte. Van der Meulen and Smorgonskij consider it a Du. word.

In view of the late attestation of the word, its inclusion as the second element in a whole series of compound words which betray clear Du. origin, and the correspondence of syllables, Du. appears as far more likely a source. In this regard it is interesting to note that Latv. has ŷkuote from MLG.

Lit.: Dal' IV:1449; Morsk. slov. II:393; Akad. XVII:1455; Vasmer III:407; van der Meulen (1909), p. 181ff., Smorgonskij, p. 128; Lasch-Borchling III:129; Sehwers, p. 134.

škuta

ARA:136 položil ch tomu predipomjanutomu jur'ju na škutu... gotov ja byl sam ehati na toj škute (to Reval, 1651).

Rejcek has a further 14 examples before 1700, which refer to various countries.

The word is preserved in the Vitebsk dialect. Since Peter it has been largely superseded by the forms škut, ščut and škot, most probably loaned from Du. It is a flat-bottomed river boat.

Vasmer derives the word from Du. schuit, MLG schûte. Van der Meulen considers Du. the source, while MLG origin is favoured by Gardiner. She points out that a 17th C word is more likely to be from LG than Du. She further notes that škut is recorded in a Br. text from 1500 but does not suggest that the word, which was also known in Pol., has entered R. via Br.

Gardiner's inference that škuta may have been known in Novgorod and the Baltic coast much earlier than 1651 is not supported by the evidence of Fenne. We would have expected the word's inclusion in his list of ships. Instead, we encounter busa glossed by LG schute. We may therefore safely take ARA:136 as an indication of the probable date of the loan. A Du. loan is rendered unlikely by two phonetic factors: 1) the extra syllable of the R. word, 2) the fact as mentioned above (p. 209) that ARA:81 has the Du. name Schuit transliterated as ščuit. There is no historical basis for either a Polish or a Scandinavian loan. A loan from Swedish skuta as posited by Rejcek is also phonetically

unacceptable. The word is clearly a late loan from LG schûte, which satisfies phonetically, semantically and historically. Lit.: Rejcek, p. 238; Trusman, s. v.; van der Meulen (1909), p. 183ff.; Heinsius, p. 205; Vogel, p. 504; Fenne, p. 106; Dal' IV:1449; Gardiner, p. 243; Vasmer III:407; Schiller-Lübben IV:154; Lasch-Borchling III:165; Thomas (1971a), pp. 179-180.

šljapa

SRIO:38, p.22 dvorjanin govoril fedoru i neudač' snjav šljapu;
p.28 i priěchav govorili ot korolevny fedoru i neudače
knjaz' sar gari nevel' da tomos randolf snjav šljapy (1581).

SRIO:38 has many examples all referring to Englishmen removing their hats when greeting Russians.

James 7a:5 slapa - a hat.

Ridley 121 ščlapa - an hatte.

The kartoteka has the following two examples from the late 16th C together with numerous instances from the account books of monasteries:

Pol'sk. D III:346 a posly s sebja šljapy stojali (1556).

DAI:206 dělali gosudaryni caricě velikoj knjagině irině šljapu bolšogo narjadu (1584-5).

In the 17th C it is a regular item of Russian apparel. In modern Russian the word is used for all kinds of men's headgear.

All investigators are agreed that this word is from German. Vasmer gives Bavarian Schlappe or MHG slappe; Wanstrat has NHG Schlappe or MLG slappe; Gardiner favours early NHG Schlappe, maintaining that it is a direct loan from Germans working in the nemeckaja sloboda in Moscow.

It is clear from the examples that the word is known throughout Muscovy and is not a Novgorodian element in the vocabulary. This, combined with the fact that the MLG word means 'helmet', renders MLG an improbable source. More likely is a loan direct from NHG.

Lit.: Dal' IV:1454; Akad. XVIII:1482; Vasmer III:412; Wanstrat, p. 97; Gardiner, p. 245; Rejcek, p. 373; Ohienko, p. 79; Sobolevskij, p. 79; Schiller-Lübber IV:230; Savvaitov, p. 175.

šmelt'

The kartoteka has the following earliest example:

DAI:6, No. 43 šmelti polfunta (1672).

The word for 'enamel' is derived by Vasmer and Gardiner from LG schmelt, smelt, in a dialect in which the change sm- to šm- has taken place.

This etymology seems perfectly reasonable. The Latv. verb smeltēt and English smelt are from the same source.

Lit.: Vasmer III:460; Gardiner, p. 246; Bense, p. 417; Sehwers, p. 112; Schiller-Lübber IV:261.

šneka

Aleksandr Nevskij: sej naěchavše na šnjaku viděv (late 13th C in a 16th C copy).

Novg. I:6650 v to že léto prichodi sv'iskei knjaz' s episkopom v 60 šnek na gost' iže izamor'ja šli v"z lod'jach.

6672 prišli bo bjachu v polu šestad'sjat šnek izmaša 43 šnek.

6698 prišli bo bjachu v 7 šnek i oboločilisja okolo poroga v ozero i udariša na pl'skovici i ne upustiša ni muža a šneke privezoša pl'skovu v gorod.

6792 togo že léta voevoda němeč'skoi trunda s nemci v loivach i v šnekach vnidoša nevoju v ladoskoe ozero rat'ju.

6927 togo ze léta prišed murmaně voinoju 13500 čelověk v busach i v šnekach....a zavoločaně.dvě šneki murman izbiša inii izbegoša na more.

Pskov I:6927 togo že léta ne na dolzě vremeni němcy ěhavše u šnekach i v lodijach vo p'skovskuju zemlju v norovu rěku (Another redaction has snekach).

6971 i po tom vremeni minuvši neděli i němcy priechavše v šnekach (snekach) i v lodijach.

6988 i pskovičam bog pomogaše i sneku boevuju u nemec otnjaša a němcy proč' pobegoša i inuju sneku izsekoša pskoviči pod svjatym spasom na doibina monastyrja a nemec v toi v sneke izsekoša 30 celovek.

James 73:15 snake - a ship boate.

In the 17th C and at the time of Peter the form šnjaka is very common. In modern Russian the word designates 'one or two-masted fishing boat in the White Sea', 'trading boat'.

Vasmer, Wanstrat, Ohienko, Podvysockij and many others derive this word from ON snekkja, Sw. snäcka, OSw. snoekkja. Thörnqvist is a little more circumspect. She maintains that the palatalisation of Norwegian kkj would have been reflected in R. She deems it possible that the -ja of šnjaka anticipates the Norse palatalisation. She notes also that Russian chroniclers are unable to distinguish the various kinds of foreign craft, with the result that the word appears to have become a stylistic cliché. She is prepared to accept MLG snicke as a possible source of the word.

In Old Russian the word is not attested outside Pskov and Novgorod and in all instances designates a foreign craft, either a

sea-going warship, or a river boat. The first evidence of the word's being used for a domestic craft is in Richard James, where it has the meaning of ship's boat or tender. The modern dialectal meaning of small fishing boat, normally rowed, but also equipped with a sail, is not attested. Such semantic change in words associated with boats is not unknown however.

The earlier examples in their historical context and in their semantic correspondence support a derivation from ON or OSw. The later examples speak of river boats and are to be identified with the MLG snicke 'small warship', 'a fast sailing ship, which could also be rowed'. It was used for communications and policing usually in the company of larger boats like the kogge. The meaning given in James corresponds exactly to the MLG word's meaning. If one accepts the early examples from Novg. I as evidence that the word was borrowed in the mid-12th C, then ON origin is clearly to be preferred to MLG, since German penetration into the eastern end of the Baltic was scarcely beginning at this time. The 15th C examples could either be the result of internal semantic development or, more likely, have been influenced by MLG snicke. If one accepts that the words should be dated according to the time of copying of the redactions of the Novgorod Primary Chronicle, then MLG could have served as the source even of the early examples. The Archangel examples are unlikely, particularly in view of their meaning, to be direct loans from Norwegian but are rather to be regarded as Novgorodian elements in the vocabulary of the White Sea dialects. One point which has hitherto been ignored is the fact that initial sn- of MLG is more likely to have been reflected by sn- in R. (cf. snur above). It is possible that the alternative spellings of some redactions of the Pskov Chronicles reflect MLG pronunciation. In this case it would be more reasonable to accept Scandinavian as the source of the Russian word with MLG influencing its later phonetic form and semantic development.

Lit.: Akad. XVII:1494; Morsk. slov. II:395; Elizarovskij, p. 77; Podvysockij, p. 193; Smorgonskij, p. 4; Filin, p. 267; Vasmer III:417; Wanstrat, p. 47; Thörnqvist, pp. 89-90, 159-161; Ohienko,

p. 42; Durov-Vinogradov, p. 174; Bogorodskij, p. 201; Dal' IV:1459; Vogel, p. 504; Stieda, p. 62; Hagedorn, p. 32; Heinsius, p. 206; Schiller-Lübber IV:274; Lasch-Borchling III:310; Thomas (1971a), pp. 180-1; Kiparsky (1975), p. 97.

špar

This word is not attested in OR, but is found in the Archangel dialect, where it has the meaning of 'spruce boards'. In Riga speech it means 'rafters'.

Vasmer derives it from NHG Sparren, MLG spâre, Du. spar. Van der Meulen accepts NHG or Du. as possible sources.

English spar, attested since the 12th C, is loaned from MLG. The word is probably much later in Russian. MLG origin is unlikely on phonetic grounds, since (1) we should expect sp- initially not šp- and (2) the ending should be -a, cf. Latv. spâre which corresponds exactly to MLG spâre.

Lit.: Podvysockij, p. 193; Dal' IV:1466; Želtov, p. 25; Vasmer III:424; van der Meulen (1944), p. 87; Bense, p. 47; Schiller-Lübber IV:304; Lasch-Borchling III:536; Sehwers, p. 114.

špil'man

Sreznevskij has an example of š'pileve from the 12th C, špil'manom (dat. pl.) from Rjazanskaja kormčaja (1284). He also has some 15th and 16th C examples mostly from church literature. Černych

also notes a form špyn' in the 17th C with the meaning 'joker, vagabond'. The Stoglav has a verbal derivative špilmaniti. The word appears in Akad. XVII:1529 as a 'wandering musician in mediaeval Europe'.

According to Vasmer the most probable source is MLG spêlman. Miklosich takes the view that the word entered Russian via Serbian ChS (where špil'man is recorded in the 13th C) from MHG spilman. He assumes that the word was passed to the Serbs by German miners.

The existence of the form špil', which can only be an abbreviation of špil'man in a collection of sermons from the 12th C suggests that the word is somewhat older than would be possible for a loan from MLG. Initial šp- does not reflect MLG pronunciation, cf. Latv. spēlmanis which is certainly from MLG. The fact that it is rarely found outside church literature suggests that the word is not of popular origin and therefore was hardly passed on by Hanseatic merchants. Two possibilities remain: (1) a loan from Serbian ChS, (2) a direct loan from merchants plying the Regensburg-Kiev trade route. Of these the former appears more likely, but in either case MHG, not MLG, is the ultimate source of the word.

Lit.: Sreznevskij III:1598; Akad. XVII:1529; Černych, pp. 157, 239; Vasmer III:426; Schiller-Lübben IV:314; Miklosich, p. 342; Sobolevskij, 126; Sehwers, p. 115.

štripka

This word for 'garter' is not attested in OR.

Vasmer derives it from LG, NHG Strippe. Kluge notes that the G. word Strippe has spread from LG, which is cognate with English strop, strap.

A direct loan from MLG is inadmissible in view of the initial št- unless, as suggested for šmelt', it is a LG dialect where s

becomes š initially before consonants. In any case it is unlikely that the word is so old. Thus NHG must be regarded as its source. Lit.: Akad. XVII:1577; Vasmer III:431; Schiller-Lübben IV:438; Kluge, p. 758; Dal' IV:1476.

jachta

ARA:21 ich vaši ljudi pobili i jachty i puški i piščali u nich poimali... i vy by jachti i puški i piščali nam poddavali (Ivangorod/Reval, 1527).

Fenne 107 jachty - Jacht.

The kartoteka has one 17th C example and the following example from the 16th C:

Šved. D., p. 59 čto bylo kotorye nedrugi němcy iz livonskie zemli sobralisja v odno město i s karobljami i s' jachtami i takim delom čto oni chotěli učiniti (1559).

In modern Russian this is a sailing boat used for sporting or recreational purposes. In the above examples it appears to designate small boats used in warfare, more precisely German boats on the Livonian coast. According to Gardiner the word is first used to designate a Russian boat in 1667-8.

Vasmer derives it from Du. jacht or possibly NHG Jacht. Van der Meulen posits a direct loan from Du. or via Eng. yacht. Ohienko variously gives G. or Du. as the source. Rejcek, who has collected 40 examples between 1527 and 1700, claims that the word was first masculine jacht and adopted its final form jachta by analogy with lodka, barka, škuta etc. It was known only in NW Russia and is probably a loan from Du. or NHG. Gardiner's treatment of the word is somewhat incoherent, but it seems she favours Du. origin but notes the ARA:21 example, after which she makes some

general remarks about LG influence in the areas bordering on Livonia without actually suggesting MLG as a possible source of the R. word. She also claims Du. jacht to be a loan from LG jagd (schip).

Since all the early examples of the word are in the plural, it does not seem to us possible to distinguish the gender of the word. The instrumental plural in -ami tends to support feminine gender. Whatever the word's source it must be posited that it joined the a-stem class by analogy with busa, šneka, loiva, koča, lodka, barka, škuta. In view of the evidence of the 16th C examples, which refer unequivocally to Livonian craft, this word must be from MLG jacht.

Lit.: Dal' IV:1587; Akad. XVII:2117; Morsk. slov. II:425; Vasmer III:500; Gardiner, pp. 257-9; Ohienko, pp. 80, 84; Christiani, p. 40; Smorgonskij, p. 138; Rejcek, p. 240; van der Meulen (1909), p. 84; Schiller-Lübben II:395; Thomas (1971a), p. 182.

LINGUISTIC CONCLUSIONS

1. Phonetics

Almost all the MLG loanwords in R may be considered to have entered R directly. Therefore it should be possible to demonstrate some general correspondences between MLG sounds and those in R words. In view of the smallness of the sample and the lack of certainty of some of the loans these conclusions should be viewed with caution.

MLG a, â - R. a (stamed, marmazeja, makler', latun', pansyr', jachta, last).

MLG a - R. o (skorlat, vodmol, domaška, moskot', moršold).

MLG e, ê (ey, ei) - R. e (rebela, persik, mester', but note klejno).

MLG i, î - R. i (persik, karmazin, kipa, ipskoi, biskup, anis, škilik).

MLG o - R. o (fogot', ovr', koča, lodar', romaneja, provst but also pruvst).

MLG o - R. u (latun', arcybiskup, artug, skurtojka, kuporos, ludit').

MLG ô - R. o (stopa, bot).

MLG ô - R. u (snur, bušman).

This evidence suggests that MLG o and ô were closer than R. o. In MLG orthography o and ô might sometimes be replaced by u.

MLG ö - R. e (bergomester, verkoper).

MLG u - R. u (pund, lunskii, busa, muškat, tjuk, stjurman).

MLG u - R. o (moskot', moškat).

MLG u - R. u (škuta, busat', burlak, buk, kružka).

MLG ü - R. u (brjukiš).

MLG b - R. b (rebela, burlak, bergomester, busa, bot, but patec; not stabel' if from MLG stapel).

MLG d - R. d (lodar', drjagil', domaška, kumender').

MLG f/v - R. f (fogot', skafer', lifljant, filenka, šafran).

MLG g - R. g (fogot', artug, bergomester).

MLG ch - R. ch (jachta)

MLG j - R. j (jachta).

MLG k - R. k (makler', burlak, kanselar', tjuk, kipa, bekar', persik).

MLG l - R. l (makler', kanselar', lunskii, škilik, vodmol, last, mindal', stal', lifljant).

If we ignore those cases where the hardness or softness of l is phonemically irrelevant, i.e. before i and e, we see that MLG can give either hard or soft l in R. In final position there is a tendency towards softness, but not in vodmol, possibly also stul. The hardness in these two words might be an internally motivated feature, i.e. o and u are followed by hard l.

In marmazeja we have the replacement of l by r, (cf. too the replacement of er by il' below).

MLG m - R. m (stjurman, makler', romaneja, master, ratman, kumender', domaška).

MLG n - R. n (stjurman, pansyr', inbir', pund, klejno).

MLG p - R. p (pund, persik, škiper, stopa, pansyr').

MLG r - R. r (stjurman, rebela, verkoper, artug, drjaqil', moršold, ratman, kružka).

MLG s - R. s (i) after consonants (persik, kanselar', pansyr' but note karzaj); (ii) finally (anis).

MLG s - R. z intervocalically (karmazin, marmazeja, but note busat').

MLG s - R. š (bušman, šafran).

MLG ss - R. s (busa).

MLG sn - R. sn (snur, sneka).

MLG st - R. st (stjurman, stamed, stopa, bastr, bergomester, stal', stul, master, mester' but also mešter').

MLG sch - R. šk (skafer', arcybiskup, biskup, maskalk, moskot', skalva, skorlat, skurtojka).

MLG sch - R. šk (škuta, škilik, muškat, škiper, domaška).

The pronunciation of sch varied from dialect to dialect in MLG. We can further assume a different pronunciation before i from that before other vowels. It is also posited that the combination underwent a change of pronunciation: from s + ch to some combination beginning with š. This historical development is

reflected clearly in the treatment of sch in MLG loanwords in Russian. The earlier loans (roughly before 1400) have sk, while the later ones have šk.

MLG sch - R. š in word final position (brjukiš, lundyš).

MLG t - R. [t] (škuta, latun', klaret, jachta, ratman, bot).

MLG t - R. [tʃ] (fogot', moskot', tjuk, stjurman).

MLG tz - R. c (arcybiskup, francozskaja).

MLG w/v - R. v (verkoper, vodmol).

The MLG suffix -er, whether native or in a loanword, is realised in a number of ways:

(i) -er' (mester', skafer', makler', kumender')

(ii) -er (verkoper, bergomester, master, mester, škiper, but also škiper')

(iii) -ar' (bekar', lodar', kanselar').

(iv) -el'/-il' (rydel', drjagil').

(v) -yr' (pansyr', koltyr', lodyr').

(vi) -ir' (meklir', inbir').

These different forms reflect the unstable character of the -er ending in R. The two words in which l replaces r might be displaying dissimilation from an earlier r. The variety of these forms is at variance with Gardiner's statement that words direct from German have -er in every instance. There is even considerable variation within one lexeme, e.g. škiper, škiper'. verkoper and makler' occur side by side in one text. There is no discernable chronological development, thus mester' and master are 13th C, while makler' and verkoper are 16th C.

2. Morphology

(a) Parts of speech

Most of the MLG loanwords in Russian are nouns. Some of these were adjectives in MLG, e.g. lundyš, brjukiš. With the addition of the adjectival suffix 'n' their adjectival status is restored. A number of other MLG adjectives were taken over as adjectives, the -sch being replaced by -sk, e.g. kumskii, ipskoi,

francozskaja. There are also just a very few verbs: bučit', konopatit', trompat', busat', trekat'. Of these only ludit' can be included in any list of certain MLG loans with any degree of confidence.

(b) Category of gender in nouns

Gender in MLG loanwords as for most other words in Russian is determined by declension type, which in turn depends to a large extent on the ending of the nominative singular. The following 5 possibilities were observed for MLG loans:

(i) MLG loanwords ending in a consonant become o-stem masculines, e.g. anis, ratman, tjuk, snur, stjurman, pund, artug, vodmol, last, bot, biskup etc.

(ii) MLG words ending -e (irrespective of their gender in MLG) join the Russian hard a-stem class and are consequently feminine, e.g. škuta, latuka, busa, balka, kipa, koča etc.

This concurs with the findings of Gardiner (cf. particularly pp. 265 and 281) and is not contradicted by any of the refinements to Gardiner's position in H. Wissemann, "Einige Beobachtungen über die Auslautsbehandlung westlicher Lehnwörter im Russischen" (ZfslPh, XXXVI (1972), pp. 360-372).

(iii) MLG words ending in a consonant may join the a-stem feminines because of:

a) analogy with words in the same semantic group, e.g. djužina (kipa), stopa (kružka), jachta (busa etc.).

b) a difficult consonant cluster at the end of a word, e.g. jachta.

(iv) Russian nouns borrowed from MLG and ending in a soft sign may be assigned to the soft o-stem (masculine) or the i-stems (feminine). Their number is too small for any closer discussion of this problem.

(v) the single word ending in -o (klejno) is assigned to the o-stem neuter class.

An interesting case of morphological adaptation is that of rebela, where a plural noun of MLG rebellen has given a form in R, which is treated as a-stem feminine collective, which has plural agreements těch and kotorye.

(c) Declension and conjugation

MLG loanwords do not differ in their declension and conjugation from native words. The following points may be worthy of note:

- (i) Most o-stem loans denoting items of trade have genitive singular in -u, e.g. anisu, bastru, karmazinu, koltyrju etc.
- (ii) brovstovi is the only example of the -ovi ending for the dative but is probably in any case a proto-Belorussian form.
- (iii) master, which now has nom. pl. in -á exhibits masteri/master for the nom./acc. pl.
- (iv) rydelev displays gen. pl. in -ev.
- (v) Verbs belong either to conjugation of the -aju, -aeš' type or -ju, -iš' type. Gardiner's claim that the -it' type is no longer productive in the 16th C is not substantiated. Interestingly we have no evidence of the later very productive -ovat' class.

(d) Suffixation

The MLG ending ĭe is represented in R as eja, e.g. marmazeja, romaneja, galeja.

The following native R suffixes are added to words of MLG origin:

- (i) *k, e.g. snurok.
- (ii) -'nik, e.g. busnik, botnik.
- (iii) -'k, e.g. tjuček (with palatalisation of k to č).
- (iv) -ka, e.g. filenka, kočka (koča), kumka, kružka.
- (v) -ojka, e.g. skurtojka.

3. Semantic Classification

MLG loanwords fall into the following fairly well defined semantic groups:

a) Items of trade

This is the largest section and can be subdivided as follows:

(i) Cloths and Fabrics

These include most of the words current in the Russo-Hanseatic textile trade. They range from the richest cloths to those of the coarsest kind. The latter are represented by vodmol, votola and the English cloths koltyr', erenga and karzaj. The more refined cloths of western Europe include kumskii, brjukiš, ipskoi, skorlat from Flanders, stamet from Germany, lundyš (lunskii) from England, karmazin, domaška and šida from an unspecified area. The very nature of the textual material means that the better kinds of cloth are rather better attested than the coarser kinds. This is because the better kinds were used by the clergy for vestments, by the aristocracy and by the rich merchant classes of Novgorod and Pskov. The coarser English cloths are attested only from the 16th C but were probably widespread in the previous century when the demand for cheap English cloth reached its peak. Vodmol may have entered Russia at a very early stage of trade relations. It is interesting that this is the only word which may originate in MLG. Most of the other words derive ultimately from a place name, associated with the original place of production. We should not however be led into assuming that a particular cloth was necessarily the product of the town whose name it bore. This is obviously not true for domaška and probably not for erenga, koltyr' and karzaj (of which only the latter's connection with a particular place of production is in any case undisputed).

(ii) Clothing and Haberdashery

Russians were unlikely during this period to adopt items of western apparel, and we find very few MLG loanwords in this section. Perhaps only šljapa and skurtojka can be considered as belonging to this section.

The word for haberdashery in OR, moskot' (cf. too moskotil'nik 'haberdasher' and moskotil'nyj rjad 'street of haberdashers'), goes back to the MLG word for 'nutmeg'. There is little doubt that the Hanseatic merchants imported nails, scissors, needles etc., but haberdashery is represented by only one certain loan snur, snurok 'string, twine'.

(iii) Spices, Herbs and Tropical Fruits

(for a fuller discussion, see Thomas (1971c), passim).

It is difficult to gauge the importance of spices in Russo-Hanseatic trade with any precision. A number of routes existed for the carriage of spices to Russia; (1) direct from the Orient, (2) along the Regensburg/Kiev route, (3) Russo-Hanseatic trade.

inbir', anis, mindal' can be considered as fairly certain MLG loans on phonetic grounds alone. šafran, muškat and qvozdika might equally have come via Br. and Pol. or direct from MLG. With the exception of anis all of these words are attested in the 15th C.

It is interesting to note that, although Muscovy bordered on Tartary, and carried on trade with Persia, none of the words for types of spice in Russian can be attributed to a direct eastern source. Perec is a somewhat older loan from Gr. and zen'zibil' (which is directly derived from Arabic) is the word for 'ginger' encountered in Afanasij Nikitin's writings. All other words for spices have entered Russian from western languages.

Herbs are not well represented in our material. An exception is the learned word latuka.

Similarly there is little evidence for trade in tropical fruit. Possible MLG loanwords in this area are persik and korinka.

(iv) Wine

The Russians appear to have been supplied in the late Middle Ages with most of the major kinds of European wine. The Torgovaja Kniga and Fenne list Spanish, French, German, Canaries wine. The sweeter, heavier, fortified and spiced wines found particular favour among the Russians. Apart from alkant and muškatel' which should be attributed to Pol. influence, most of the recorded types of wine are to be derived from MLG - marmazeja, romaneja, bastr, renskoe vino.

(v) Metals, Metalworking and Metal By-Products

In northern Europe metallurgy was most advanced in Germany and Sweden. It is therefore mostly from those two countries that metals and techniques of metal-working derive. latun', stal' and

kuporos could be of Swedish or MLG origin. Also of MLG origin is ludit' the process of coating iron with a layer of tin or pewter.

(vi) Mugs

Earthenware mugs, with or without metal covers, and pewter tankards, often richly decorated, were imported from north Germany. Many of them can still be seen as exhibits in Soviet museums. Both of the words to describe mugs in mediaeval Russia - stopa and kružka - are MLG loanwords.

In conclusion one can say that MLG played a particularly important role in the sphere of words for cloths, wines and spices, but rather less so for other items of trade.

b) Foreign Titles, Ranks and Offices

This constitutes the second largest section (about 14 items). Since all these words designate foreign persons, they may be considered as foreign words rather than fully assimilated loanwords. Nevertheless many of them figure very prominently in the Russian texts and must have been in constant use by Russians throughout the Middle Ages.

(i) Livonian Order

Most of the important ranks of the Livonian Order are represented:

mester', morsold, lam^mmaskalk, kumender'/kuntor/uškuntor, skafer', kanselar', rydel'/ritor.

(ii) City Officials

The officials of the Hanseatic cities, in particular those of Livonia, were in constant contact with Novgorod. Of these fogot' and provst are mentioned marginally; vojt and burmistr are loaned from Br.; bergomester, rochmistr, ratman are MLG loans. ratman is the most commonly confronted MLG loanword in mediaeval Russian texts. This testifies to the great importance of this office and the work of the city councils in the regulation of Russo-Hanseatic trade.

(iii) The Church

The Russians of Novgorod and the surrounding area had considerable contact with the Roman Catholic Church in Livonia. It seems probable that biskup, arcybiskup and kaplan are MLG loanwords, which entered Russian as a result. Of the early loanwords kardinal is to be regarded as more probably of Pol. original.

c) Weights, Measures and Coins

This is an important section comprising 12 words. All of them are representative of the desire on the part of the Hansa for a regularisation of the weights, measures and monetary system in use throughout the Baltic trading area.

skalvy 'scales' were introduced by the Hansa to increase the fairness of the weighing system. kipa and tjuk served as measures of cloth; bekar', stopa and kružka as measures of liquids and volume. The usual unit of weight in Russo-Hanseatic trade is the puđ which probably stood for MLG liespund and schippund. In later texts pund is also attested. As a measure of goods to be conveyed last was used.

Coins were introduced into Russo-Hanseatic trade in a systematic way at the beginning of the 15th C, thus spelling the end of what had previously been basically a barter system. The coins introduced included Livonian coins artug, ovr', škilik and lobec (apparently also a Livonian rather than a Lübeck coin as its name would suggest). The later texts also bear testimony to the introduction of efimok (Joachimstaler). Some texts also have dukat, which although known in Livonia, probably derives in Russian from a southern source. Penjaz' encountered in the Novgorod and Pskov Chronicles refers to Livonian penning.

d) Naval Terminology

(For a fuller account see Thomas (1971a), *passim*).

This is the only other important semantic category, comprising roughly 10 items. It includes the names of most of the types of ships used by the Hansa - škuta, busa, jachta, bot, koča,

possibly also šneka, galeja and barka. German coastal and river craft are better represented in this list than sea-going vessels. This is consistent with the fact that the Russians ventured to sea very little and were rather better acquainted as a consequence with those local boats which travelled between the Livonian ports and the north west Russian cities.

Three loans designate the crew of these vessels - škiper, stjurman and bušman. botnik and busnik are derived from busa and bot. There is no evidence to support locman as a loan from MLG!

The superficiality of the Russians' knowledge of sea-faring is reflected in the absence of any names for the parts of the Hanseatic vessels. raja and šč'gla are from Old Norse or OSw., while parus is from Gr. The later loans in this area are either from Pol. (styr', mačta) or more usually direct from Du. (škot etc.). Three activities connected with the sea may also derive from MLG - konopatit' 'to caulk' (but probably not beliza 'caulking iron'), trekat' 'to sing rhythmically when hauling' and busat' 'to revel, carouse'.

e) Persons Directly or Indirectly Connected with Trade

Three words are directly connected with trade - drjagil' 'porter' and the two words for jobber makler' and verkoper. burlak and lodar', which might be MLG loans, have no obvious connection with trade but may have arisen from the organisation of work by Hanseatic merchants. One word with many implications for the relationship between trade and handicrafts is master. If our supposition that this is a MLG loan is right, then support is added to the argument that Russo-Hanseatic trade brought craftsmen and artists to Russia. (For the fullest and most recent statement of this argument, see Angermann (1977), *passim*.) The historical circumstances of adoption of one certain MLG loanword rebelá still await investigation.

f) Miscellaneous

Those words which could not be readily assigned to any of the above categories are pansyr', the only military term, two building terms balka and filenka, klejno probably loaned in the sense of merchant's mark or stamp, and buk, bučit' etc., perhaps introduced through the observation of laundering in Livonia or the Hanseatic factories.

A comparison of this semantic classification with that of Gardiner for German loanwords from 1550 to 1690 reveals clearly the restricted range of the fields covered by MLG loanwords. Military terms, the commonest item in later German loanwords, are absent with the single exception of pansyr'. Foreign titles occupy a proportionally larger part among the MLG loans. This is also the case, rather unsurprisingly, for items of trade. The decorative art transport, entertainment, domestic and medical terms, printing and abstract terminology are not represented in our lists. However naval terminology, weights, measures and coins occupy a proportionately more important place than in the later period. This comparison underlines that MLG loanwords in R are circumscribed by the fairly restricted language contact situation in which they were borrowed. Unsurprisingly, therefore, they reflect basically only items of trade, people involved in the trade, relations with the Livonian knights, naval terminology, and currency, weights and measures used in the trade.

4. The Word Geography of MLG Loans

All MLG loanwords have entered OR in the speech of NW Russians. We shall show here how far these words penetrated the dialects of other areas and the literary language. We shall be concerned here only with the evidence before Peter the Great.

a) Words Confined to NW Russia

Nearly half of the words of LG origin are never found outside Pskov, Novgorod, Smolensk and Polock. To this group belong all the coins, weights and measures and names of Livonian

personages, most of the naval terms, some of the names of cloths (kumskii, domaška), wines (bastr, klaret). rebela, drjagil' and arcybiskup are also specifically Novgorod and Pskov words.

b) Words Found in N and NW Russia

This very small section comprises those words which have migrated from Novgorod to the White Sea coast - snur, karzaj, kumka, buk, buča, bućit'.

c) Words Found in N Russia Only

This small section is made up of koča and three words which may in fact be of Norse origin - trompat', skurtojka, stabel'.

d) Words Found Predominantly in NW Russia

These comprise about a quarter of the total and are mostly words which have entered the literary language. They include cloths (erenga, stamed, brjukiš, lundyš, lunskii, karmazin), spices (mindal', muškat) and other miscellaneous words, mostly concerned with trade (makler', biskup, pansyr', kipa, kuporos, master, kružka, klejno).

e) Universal

About 14 percent of the total is represented as well in other parts of Russia. Most of these words have entered Moscow speech.

The geographical distribution of MLG loanwords further demonstrates how restricted the extent of the influence on Russian was. While many of these words were well known in NW Russia for large periods of the Middle Ages, they penetrated little into other Russian cultural centres. Certain words, confined to the NW area in the 16th C (balka, jachta, tjuk, škiper, last) subsequently entered the Russian literary language.

5. The Obsolescence and Retention of MLG Loanwords

a) Words Attested in OR Only

Roughly 34 of the loans have become obsolete, most of them in the 17th C. Particularly prone to disappear are words concerned with specific mediaeval realities:

- (i) items of trade - marmazeja, bastr, klaret, romaneja (wines), ipskoi, erenga, vodmol, koltyr', karmazin, brjukiš, lundyš/lunskii (cloths).
- (ii) officials - kumender'/kuntor, rydel', fogot', skafer', mester' bergomester, biskup, arcybiskup.
- (iii) measures and coins - škilik, kap', bekar', artug, ovr', lobec

b) MLG Words in OR Which Have Been Superseded by a Similar Word From Another Source

This accounts for some 19 MLG loanwords in Russian. Some of the MLG words are replaced by German loans during the 17th C or at the time of Peter. The forms which can be traced back to German are given in brackets: makler' (makler), kanselar' (kancler), pansyr' (pancyr'), moršold/maskalk (maršalok, maršal), muškat (muskat), domaška (adamaška via Pol.), skorlat (šarlat), stjurman (šturman), snur (šnur).

MLG naval terms are often replaced by Du. words from the time of Peter:

škuta (škut, šchut, škot), škiper (ščipor, only to be superseded again later by škiper), busa (bujs).

c) MLG Loans Preserved Alongside a Later Competing Form

This section comprises only stamed/stamet, inbir'/imbir', the latter becoming the dominant form from the time of its introduction in the 17th C.

d) MLG Words Continuously in Use

About 24 words belong to this group:

persik, latun', anis, drjagil', balka, gvozdika, mindal', jachta, tjuk, skalva, ratman, stal', škiper, last, konopatit', stabel', kipa 'bundle', bot, koča, djužina, stopa, šafiran, kuporos, master, kružka.

Thus almost one third of the MLG loanwords have been retained until the present century. Two fifths became obsolete together with the things they designated. The remainder were swamped by the tide of stronger external influences from Du., Pol. and HG.

6. The Overall Function of MLG Loanwords

a) MLG Loans Classified by Origin

(i) Indigenous MLG Words

About 40 percent of all MLG loanwords make up this section: balka, bot, buk, burlak, šljapa, tjuk, kipa, stjurman, klejno, koča, kružka, last, škilik, snur, jachta, bergomester, busat', bušman, stopa, verkoper, drjagil', skafer', škiper, škuta, stabel', lobec, lodar', ludit', makler', pund, ratman, rydel'/ritor, skalva.

(ii) Words of Romance Origin

This section, the next largest, comprises over 20 words, some of them internationalisms, others fully assimilated MLG words: djužina, kanselar', kaplan, kvit, klaret, fogot', kumender', latuk, latun', master, mester, milja, pansyr', persik, provst, rebela, romaneja, stamed, šafiran.

(iii) Words Derived From Place Names

These are mainly, though not exclusively, the names of cloth: brjukiš, domaška, erenga, ipskoj, karzaj, koltyr', korinka, kumskij, lobec, lundyš, marmazeja.

(iv) Words of Oriental Origin

This small section comprises those migratory words which have spread westwards across the Mediterranean:

barka, galeja, inbir', muškat, karmazin, marmazeja, skorlat.

In addition there are two words which go back ultimately to Gr.:

anis and mindal'.

(v) Words of Scandinavian Origin

The only words which can be considered here are:

artug, busa, vodmol, votola, ovr', šneka.

In general an analysis of words by language of origin confirms the "Hanseatic" nature of the loanword material. That is to say, it is made up almost exclusively of native North German words, followed by that large number of words of Romance origin which have become naturalised in MLG together with a sprinkling of Orientalisms. MLG has also served as intermediary between Russian and the Scandinavian languages in certain instances. It should not be forgotten however that a significant proportion of all the MLG loanwords is made up of internationalisms. This very much parallels the lexical impact of MLG on languages like Danish, Swedish, Latvian and Estonian.

b) The Internal Function of MLG Loanwords

Since MLG loanwords serve mostly to designate realities which were introduced together with the words themselves, it is rarely, if ever the case, that a MLG loan is in competition with a native word. We have shown examples of fogot' being replaced by sud'ja, but such instances are rare.

It is not easy to assess the degree of assimilation of loanwords in OR. Rejčak's attempts to do so for her material are not on the whole very satisfactory. Morphological adaptation is of no significance, since even foreign words are morphologically assimilated. A safer indication is perhaps that a word is a true loanword only if it can designate some domestically used reality

or a native person. It can be assumed that many of the words treated in this book were known only to a small section of Russian society - above all merchants, city oligarchy, the Church hierarchy and the aristocracy. However some of the measures, coins and names of ships, some cloths like vodmol, the names of certain persons e.g. master, drjagil', škiper, perhaps even ratman and bergomester, must have been known to a rather larger cross-section of Novgorod society.

Our analysis of MLG loanwords shows that they were mostly borrowed in the period 1200-1500. While attempts to derive words from MLG before this period are unconvincing, it is true that LG continued to have some impact on the Russian vocabulary, even if at a diminishing rate, right up to the time of Peter. In the table which follows this section we have tried to give the first dating for certain words treated in other studies. If we continue this study for all our material we find that we have the following approximate data for first attestation:

12th C - 2, 13th C - 9, 14th C - 5, 15th C - 29, 16th C - 34;
the rest are recorded in the 17th C or later. A great number of the 16th C examples belong to the first few decades of the century. It is safe to assume that many of them were in fact borrowed in the 15th C. It is instructive that the overwhelming majority of MLG words are attested in the 15th and the early 16th C. The contribution of MLG in the 13th and 14th C when trading links were good is very small indeed, even if we bear in mind the probable time-lag before a word is recorded in written sources. Nevertheless two things should be borne in mind - (1) the number of Russo-Hanseatic documents which survive shows a huge increase for the 15th C over the previous 2 centuries; (2) those 16 loanwords which can be dated from before 1400 are almost the only words to enter Russian during this period from foreign sources.

This last point is an important one in assessing the real contribution of MLG to the Russian vocabulary. From the end of the 12th C well into the 15th C MLG is almost the exclusive source for loanwords. The function of MLG was then to maintain a steady trickle of western words at the time of Russia's greatest isolation

from the West. In the second half of the 15th C and throughout the 16th C MLG loans are competing with Pol. and to a lesser extent direct influences from High German. In the 17th C MLG gives way almost entirely before the pressure of Pol., German and finally even Du.

Viewed against the contribution of Pol. and High German, the MLG impact is numerically insignificant. Nevertheless when one compares the 100 words of MLG origin with the 30 Norse words, which Thörnqvist, perhaps a little conservatively, posits, and which grew out of a much more solidly based language contact, then MLG begins to assume more importance. Against this must be put, as shown already, the limited geographical distribution, the lack of longevity and the restricted semantic sphere of MLG loanwords.

We hope in the course of this book to have demonstrated the possibilities for a close analysis of a specific language contact situation and the interesting relationship that can exist between historical reality and verifiable language inter-action. It is our further hope that the book will provide valuable material for philologists, historians and linguists.

Comparative Table of Dating for the Earliest Attestation of Certain
Words Treated in This Book

<u>Word</u>	<u>Previous Dating</u>	<u>Rejcek</u>	<u>Gardiner</u>	<u>Present Work</u>
barka			1581	1439
bastr			1597	circa 1525
bot	17th C	16th C	1585	1564
drjagil'	1571	1530		early 16th C
karmazin	1589		1589	early 16th C
kvit	18th C			1570
klejno	16th C	1509	1509	1461
korinka		1673		16th C
kuntur	1410	1405		1405
last	16th C	1488		before 1439
lodyr'		1627 (Berynda!)		1586
milja		1530	1489	1439
smak	18th C	1627 (Berynda!)		2nd half 17th C
stal'	1703	1667	1586	1586
tjuk		early 16th C		1567
uškunder		early 16th C		1519
škilik	1571	1637		1482
šljapa	1589	1577	1576	1566

KEY TO THE ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGES

Arab.	Arabic	Norw.	Norwegian
AS	Anglo-Saxon	OCS	Old Church Slavonic
Br.	Belorussian	OFr.	Old French
Bulg.	Bulgarian	OHG	Old High German
CG	Common Slavonic	ON	Old Norse
CS	Common Slavonic	OR	Old Russian
ChS	Church Slavonic	OS	Old Saxon
Cz.	Czech	OSw.	Old Swedish
Dan.	Danish	OWN	Old West Norse
Du.	Dutch	Pers.	Persian
EMG	East Middle German	Pol.	Polish
Eng.	English	R.	Russian
ESl.	East Slavonic	Ro.	Romance
Est.	Estonian	SCr.	Serbo-Croat
Fi.	Finnish	Slk.	Slovak
Fr.	French	Sln.	Slovene
G.	German	SSl.	South Slavonic
Gc.	Germanic	Sw.	Swedish
Gr.	Greek	Tu.	Turkic
HG	High German	Ukr.	Ukrainian
Hung.	Hungarian	US	Upper Sorbian
IE	Indo-European	WSl.	West Slavonic
It.	Italian		
Lat.	Latin		
Latv.	Latv.		
LG	Low German		
Lith.	Lithuanian		
LS	Lower Sorbian		
MiDu.	Middle Dutch		
MGr.	Mediaeval Greek		
MHG	Middle High German		
MLat.	Mediaeval Latin		
MLG	Middle Low German		
NHG	New High German		

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- AI Akty istoričeskie sobrannye i izdannye archeografičeskoju kommissieju (StP., 1841).
- AMG Akty Moskovskogo gosudarstva, N. A. Popov ed. (StP, 1890-1901).
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- Psk.-peč. Povest' o načale pskovsko-pečerskogo monastyrja napisannaja Kornilem.
- Radz. L. Radzivilovskaja ili Kenigbergskaja letopis'.
- Rimsk. D. Pamjatniki diplomatičeskich snosenij a rimskoju imperieju (PDS: 1-8).
- SGGD Sobranie gosudarstvennyh gramot i dogovorov chranjaščichsja v gosudarstvennoj kollegii inostrannyh del (Ml., 1813-84).
- Stat. Spis. Statejnyj spisok rossijskich poslov knjazja Antona Romodanovskogo, Ivana Viskovatova i petra Sovina s tovarišči bytnosti ich v Danii in: Majak, 1841, c. 20, pp. 49-66.
- Stoglav Stoglav, 2nd. ed. (Kazan', 1887).
- Tam. kn. Tamožennye knigi Moskovskogo gosudarstva xvii veka, A. L. Jakovlev ed. (M./L., 1950).
- Tr. L. Sija kniga glagolemaja travnik izložena vračevanija radi ljud'skogo ot mudrych ritorej vračev (a translation by Nicolaus Bulow, 1534, 17th C copy).
- Šved. D. Pamjatniki diplomatičeskich snošenij Moskovskogo gosudarstva so Švedskim gosudarstvom (SRIO: 129).

More bibliographical information on the sources quoted above is given in: Slovar' russkogo jazyka xi-xvii vv., ukazatel' istočnikov (M., 1975).

The following abbreviations are used throughout sections 1 and 2 of the bibliography for series of editions:

PDS	<u>Pamjatniki diplomatičeskich snošenij drevnej rossii s deržavami inostrannymi.</u>
PSRL	<u>Polnoe sobranie russkich letopisej, izdannoe archeograficeskoju kommissieju imp. akad. nauk (StP. (L.), 1841-1949).</u>
RIB	<u>Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka.</u>
SRIO	<u>Sbornik russkogo istoričeskogo obščestva.</u>

3. Dictionaries

Akad.	<u>Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka (M./L., 1950-1965).</u>
Brückner	A. Brückner, <u>Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego (Cracow, 1927).</u>
Dal'	V. Dal', <u>Tolkovyj slovar' živogo velikorusskogo jazyka, (StP. (Pg.)/M., 1912).</u>
Djuvernua	A. Djuvernua, <u>Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka (M., 1894).</u>
Dobrovol'skij	V. N. Dobrovol'skij, <u>Smolenskij oblastnoj slovar' (Smolensk, 1914).</u>
Durov-Vinogradov	I. M. Durov, M. Vinogradov, <u>Opyt terminologičeskogo slovarja rybolovnogo promysla pomor'ja Solovki (Obščestvo kraevedenija, vyp. 19, 1929).</u>
Fasmer	M. Fasmer, <u>Étimologiceskij slovar' russkogo jazyka (M./L., 1964-73); this is a translation with some minor additions of Vasmer (see below) under the editorship of O. N. Trubačev.</u>
Franck	I. Franck, <u>Etymologisch Woordenboek der nederlandsche Taal ('S Gravenhage, 1949).</u>
Grimm	J. and W. Grimm, <u>Deutsches Wörterbuch (Leipzig, 1854-1960).</u>
KÈS	N. M. Šanskij et al., <u>Kratkij étimologiceskij slovar' russkogo jazyka (M., 1961).</u>

- Kluge F. Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (19th ed., Berlin, 1963).
- Kluge (1911) F. Kluge, Seemannsprache, Wortgeschichtliche Handbuch der deutschen Schifferausdrücke älterer und neuerer Zeit (Freiburg, 1911).
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- Miklosich F. Miklosich, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen (Vienna, 1886).
- Morsk. reč. slov. M. I. Černov, Slovar' morskich i rečnych terminov (M., 1955).
- Morsk. slov. V. G. Fadeev, Morskoj slovar' (M., 1959).
- OED Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford, 1933-).
- Podvysockij A. Podvysockij, Slovar' oblastnogo archangel'skogo narečij (St.P., 1885).
- Pskov Pskovskij oblastnoj slovar' (L., 1967-).
- SJS Slovník jazyka staroslověnského (Prague, 1966-).
- SRJa xi-xvii vv. Slovar' ruskogo jazyka xi-xvii vv. (M., 1975-); to date 4 volumes have appeared. I have refrained from quoting

from this dictionary, since I have had direct use of the card index on which this dictionary is based.

- SRNG Slovar' russkich narodnych govorov.
- SSP Słownik Staropolski, S. Urbanczyk ed. (Cracow, 1953-).
- Schiller-Lübben K. Schiller and A. Lübben, Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch (Bremen 1875-81).
- Skok P. Skok, Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika (Zagreb, 1971-4).
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- Šanskij N. M. Šanskij, Ėtimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka (M., 1963-).
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Key to the Abbreviation of Periodicals

ČOIDR	Čtenija občestva istorii i drevnostej
HGbl1.	Hansische Geschichtsblätter
IORJaS	Izvestija otdelenija ruskogo jazyka i slovesnosti
JVnds	Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung
SEER	Slavonic and East European Review
SORJaS	Sbornik otdelenija ruskogo jazyka i slovesnosti
VOIDR	Vestnik občestva istorii i drevnostej rossijskich
WZG	Wissenschaftlich Zeitschrift der Ernst Moritz Arndt Universität Greifswald, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe.
WZR	Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe.
ZSl.	Zeitschrift für Slawistik
ZslPh.	Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie
ZVLGA	Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde.

INDEX OF RUSSIAN WORDS

adamaška, see domaška.

alkant; 225.

anis; 15, 16, 54-55, 219, 220, 222, 223, 225, 232, 233.

artug; 55-56, 219, 220, 222, 227, 231, 233.

arcybiskup; 56-58, 219, 220, 221, 227, 230, 231.

ask, jask, jaščik; 58-59.

atlas, otlas; 59-61.

balka; 13, 61-62, 220, 229, 230, 232.

barka; 16, 62-63, 228, 233, 237.

bastr; 63-65, 220, 222, 225, 230, 231, 236.

bejšlot, bešlot; 65.

bezmen'; 12.

bekar'; 13, 14, 65-66, 220, 221, 227, 231.

beliza, lebeza; 66-67, 228.

bergomester; 14, 31, 67-68, 219, 220, 221, 226, 231, 232, 234.

biskup; 68-70, 219, 220, 222, 227, 230, 231.

bot; 70-71, 219, 221, 222, 223, 227, 228, 232, 236.

bridel'; 71.

brovst, see provst.

brjuki; 13.

brjukiš; 72-73, 221, 224, 230, 231, 232.

buk, buča, bučit'; 13, 73-74, 219, 222, 229, 230, 232.

burlak; 13, 74-75, 219, 220, 228, 232.

burmistr, burgomistr; 13, 16, 31, 75-77, 226.

busa, 13, 14, 77-80, 219, 220, 222, 223, 227, 228, 231, 233.

busat'; 80, 219, 220, 222, 228, 232.

busnik, see busa.

busman; 80, 219, 220, 228, 232.

vachmistr; 81-82.

vachter; 82.

vačik; 83.

verkoper; 83-84, 219, 220, 221, 228, 232.

vira; 13.
 vodmol; 84-86, 219, 220, 221, 222, 224, 231, 233, 234.
 vojt; 86-87, 226.
 vostnočnoe; 88.
 votola; 89-90, 224, 233.
 galeja; 90-91, 223, 228, 233.
 gvozdika; 91-93, 225, 232.
 gorododeržec; 87.
 den'ga; 12.
 domaška; 93-94, 219, 220, 224, 230, 231, 232.
 drjagil'; 16, 94-95, 219, 220, 221, 228, 230, 232, 234, 236.
 dukat; 95-97, 227.
 dvoeslovie; 46.
 dvojnica; 12.
 djužina; 16, 97-98, 222, 232.
 erenga; 13, 98-99, 224, 230, 231, 232.
 efimok; 227.
 zakon; 99-100.
 zamša; 100.
 zaušnja; 164.
 zen'zibil'; 225.
 il'ka; 100-101.
 inbir', imbir'; 101-103, 220, 221, 226, 231, 232.
 ipskoj; 103-104, 219, 221, 224, 231, 232.
 kabak; 13, 104-106.
 kavalok, okavolok; 106.
 kanselar'; 107-108, 220, 221, 226, 231, 232.
 kaplan; 107-108, 227.
 kap'; 12, 13, 110-111, 231.
 kardinal; 46, 227.
 karzaj; 111-112, 220, 224, 230, 232.
 karmazin; 112-113, 219, 220, 223, 224, 230, 231, 233, 236.
 kartuz; 113-114.
 kvit; 114, 232, 236.
 Kipa I; 115-116, 219, 220, 227, 230, 232.
 Kipa II; 116.

kirmaš; 116.
 klaret; 117-118, 221, 230, 231, 232.
 klejmo, klejno, klejnot, klejnody; 118-120, 219, 222, 229, 230, 232,
 236.
 klet'; 12.
 kovjor; 13.
 kojka; 120-121.
 koltyr'; 121-122, 221, 223, 224, 231, 232.
 konopatit'; 123, 222, 228, 232.
 koper; 124.
 korinka; 16, 124-125, 225, 232, 236.
 korfa; 125-126.
 koč; 126-128, 219, 222, 223, 227, 230, 232.
 kružka; 16, 128-129, 220, 222, 223, 226, 227, 230, 232.
 kumender', kundor, uškunder etc.; 130-132, 219, 220, 221, 226, 231,
 232, 236.
 kumka; 132, 223, 230.
 kumskij; 132-133, 221, 224, 230, 232.
 kupor; 133.
 kuporos; 134, 219, 226, 230, 232.
 laska, lastka; 12.
 last; 135-136, 219, 220, 222, 227, 230, 232, 236.
 latuk; 136-137, 222, 225, 232.
 latun'; 137, 219, 221, 225, 232.
 lebeza, see beliza.
 liver; 137.
 lifljant; 138-139, 219.
 lobec; 139-140, 227, 231, 232.
 lodar', lodyr'; 140, 219, 228, 232, 236.
 lod'ja; 12, 79, 141.
 locman; 13, 141, 228.
 ludit'; 16, 142, 219, 222, 226, 232.
 lunscoe, lundyš; 143-144, 219, 220, 221, 224, 230, 231, 232.
 ljuk; 145.
 makler'; 145-146, 219, 220, 221, 228, 230, 231, 232.

marmazeja, malvazija; 146-147, 219, 220, 223, 225, 231, 232, 233.
 martyška; 147-148.
 marcypan; 148-149.
 maskalk, see moršold.
 master; 16, 149-153, 220, 221, 223, 228, 230, 232, 234.
 mačta; 228.
 mester, mester', mešter'; 14, 153-154, 219, 220, 221, 226, 231,
 232.
 metal'nik' 13.
 milja; 155-156, 232, 236.
 mindal'; 156-158, 225, 230, 232, 233.
 morskoj kot; 147-148.
 moršold, maskalk; 158-159, 219, 220, 226, 231.
 mum; 159.
 mušeli; 160.
 muškat, moskot', muškatel'; 160-162, 219, 224, 225, 230, 231, 233.
 naměstnik; 12.
 narva/narov; 163.
 our'; 164, 219, 227, 231, 233.
 otlas, see atlas.
 pansyr'; 165-166, 219, 220, 221, 229, 230, 231, 232.
 panter; 46.
 parus; 228.
 pemza; 13, 166.
 penjaz'; 227.
 perec; 225.
 persik; 167, 219, 220, 225, 232.
 piligrim; 167-168.
 poluška; 164.
 prezviter; 46.
 provst; 13, 169, 219, 223, 226, 232.
 pud; 170, 227.
 pund; 169-170, 219, 220, 222, 227, 232.
 ratman; 16, 170-171, 220, 221, 222, 226, 232, 234.
 rat'nik; 171.
 raja; 171-172, 228.

rebela; 172-173, 219, 220, 222, 228, 230, 232.
 regel'; 173.
 red'ka; 173-174.
 renskoe vino; 225.
 ren'; 175.
 ris; 175-176.
 ritor, see rydel'.
 romaneja; 176-177, 219, 220, 223, 225, 231, 232.
 roch, rocha; 177-178.
 rochmistr; 178-179, 226.
 rybnik; 12.
 rydel'; 13, 14, 180, 221, 223, 226, 231, 232.
 sajan; 180.
 skalva; 181-183, 220, 227, 232.
 skafer'; 183, 219, 220, 221, 226, 231, 232.
 skorlat; 184-185, 219, 220, 224, 231, 233.
 skurtojka; 186, 219, 220, 223, 224, 230.
 sljuz, šljuz; 186-187.
 smak; 187, 236.
 snur, snor, snurok; 16, 187-188, 219, 220, 222, 223, 224, 230,
 231, 232.
 stabel', ščabel'; 188-189, 230, 232.
 stal'; 189-190, 220, 225, 232, 236.
 stamed; 16, 190, 219, 220, 230, 231, 232.
 stopa, 16, 191-192, 219, 220, 222, 226, 227, 232.
 struga; 12.
 stul; 16, 192, 220.
 styr'; 193, 228.
 stjurman; 13, 194, 219, 220, 222, 228, 231, 232.
 takel'; 194-195.
 tolk; 12.
 trekat; 195, 222, 228.
 trojnica; 12.
 trompat'; 196, 222.
 tros; 197.
 tufel'; 13.

tjuk; 197-198, 219, 220, 222, 223, 227, 230, 232, 236.
uško; 164.
uškunder'; 198-199
filenka, filenga; 199, 219, 223, 229.
fogot'; 200, 219, 226, 231, 232, 233.
francozskaja bolest'; 200-201, 221, 222.
šalon/šalun; 201-202.
šafran; 202-203, 219, 220, 225, 232.
švabra; 13.
ševnica; 203-204.
šida; 205, 224.
škap; 206.
škilik; 206-207, 219, 220, 227, 231, 232, 236.
škiper; 13, 16, 208-209, 220, 221, 228, 230, 231, 232, 234.
škot; 209-210, 228.
škuta; 13, 210-211.
šljapa; 211-212, 224, 232, 236.
šmelt'; 212.
šneka; 212-215, 220, 228, 233.
špar; 215.
špil'man; 215-216.
štripka; 216-217.
š'gla; 172, 228.
juft'; 12.
jask, jaščik, see ask.
jachta; 13, 217-218, 219, 221, 222, 227, 230, 232.

INDEX OF MIDDLE LOW GERMAN WORDS

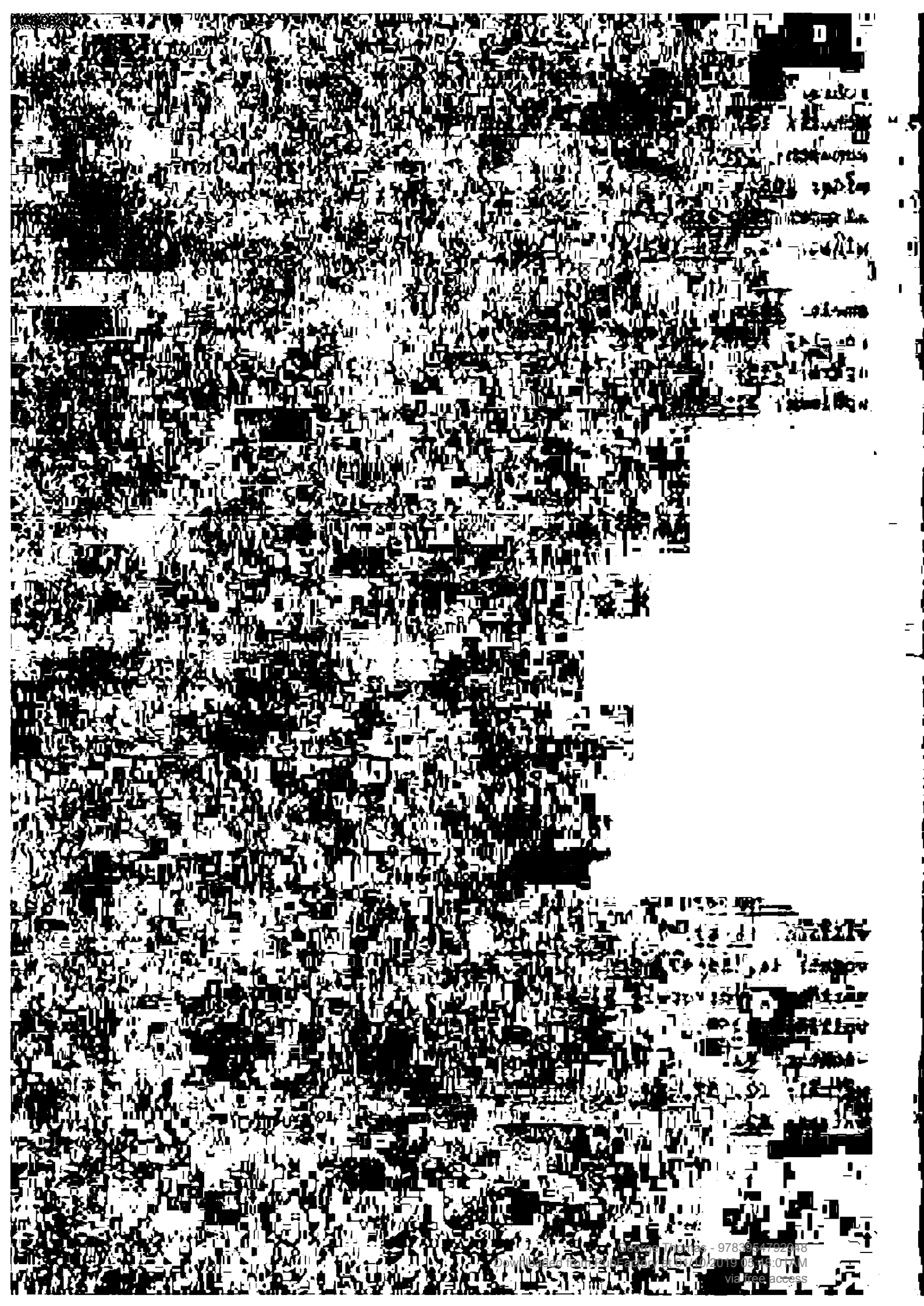
- anis; 54-55.
 artig; 41, 55-56
 asc; 58-59.
 balke; 62-63.
 barke; 11, 35, 62-63.
 barse, bardze; 11, 35.
 bastart; 37.
 beker; 65-66.
 bergomester; 67-68, 75-77.
 besemer; 12.
 besloten, 65.
 bischop; 68-70.
 bôzman, bôtzman, bôtesman; 80.
 bot; 12, 70-71.
 breidel; 71.
 bruggisch; 72-73.
 bûk, bûken; 73-74.
 burlach; 74-75.
 busen; 80.
 busse; 12, 35, 77-80.
 damask, damasch, damas, damaschk; 93-94.
 denge; 12.
 dêplot; 34.
 doinisse; 12.
 dosîn; 11, 97-98.
 drager, dreger; 94-95.
 düffel; 12.
 dukâte; 95-97.
 ertzebischof; 56-58.
 franzos, franzesesch; 200-201.
 galîe; 90-91.
 gloriê; 11.
 graciê; 11.
 harenkleid; 98-99.

herringbone; 98-99.
 hûskomtur; 198-199.
 ilke, illeke; 100-101.
 ingever, engever, ingver; 101-103.
 ippersch, 103-104.
 iren, yren; 98-99.
 jacht; 217-218.
 juchten, jufften; 12.
 kabel; 11.
 kalfatern; 123.
 kanseler; 107-108.
 kap; 12, 110-111.
 kaplan, kappelân; 44, 108-109.
 karavêl; 12.
 karduse, dartuse; 112-114.
 karmesîn; 112-113.
 kavel; 106.
 kepere; 124.
 kermisse; 117.
 kiel; 12.
 kip, kippe; 115-116.
 kipe; 116.
 kirsey, karsey; 111-112.
 klaret; 37, 117-118.
 klem; 118-120.
 kleinoe; 118-120.
 klete; 12.
 kogge; 35, 35, 126-128.
 koje; 120.
 kolsester, kolsesser; 121-122.
 kolter; 121-122.
 kopperrok, kopperrot, kopperust, kopperosch; 134.
 kordewan; 11.
 korf, korv; 125-126.
 korint(h)e, carentken; 124-125.
 kortrisch; 121-122.
 krug; 128-129.

krûse; 128-129.
 kumesche, kommensch, kumersche; 132-133.
 kumme; 132.
 kummendûr; 44, 130-132.
 kumpanîe; 11.
 kunen; 12.
 kûper; 133.
 last; 37, 41, 135-136.
 lasten, lastken; 12.
 laton; 137.
 lattuke, lactuke; 136-137.
 lever; 138.
 lifland; 138-139.
 lodder; 140.
 loden; 142.
 lodie; 12, 141.
 lodienman; 12, 141.
 lotsman; 12, 35, 141.
 lubesch; 139-140.
 lûke; 145.
 lundisch; 143-144.
 makler; 145-146.
 malvasier, malmasîe; 146-147.
 mandel; 156-158.
 marschalk; 44, 158-159.
 martel; 147-148.
 marzapaen; 148-149.
 merkatte; 147-148.
 mester; 44, 149-154.
 mîle; 155-156.
 muschaten; 160-162.
 mussel(e); 160.
 namesnicke; 12.
 narve; 163.
 negelken; 91-93.
 orden; 99-100.

ore; 41, 164
 osterse; 88.
 panser; 44, 165-166.
 panteger; 46.
 peemse; 166.
 pelegrim; 167-168.
 penning; 227.
 persik; 167.
 provest, prôst; 169.
 pund; 169-170.
 quît; 11, 114.
 râ; 12, 171-172.
 rabisen; 66-67.
 ratman; 170-171.
 rebellen; 172-173, 222.
 redik; 173-174.
 regel; 173.
 rên; 175.
 ridder; 180.
 rîs; 175-176.
 roche; 177-178.
 romanie; 37, 176-177.
 rotmêster; 178-179.
 rumenicke; 12.
 safferân; 202-203.
 sagen; 180.
 salun, schalun; 201-202.
 schaffer; 183.
 schale; 181-183.
 schap; 206.
 scharlaken, scharlot; 184-185.
 schevenisse; 12, 203-204.
 schilling, 41, 206-207.
 schipper; 34, 208-209.
 schippspund; 41, 169-170.
 schorte; 186.
 schôte; 209-210.

schra; 12.
 schute; 12, 35, 78, 79, 210-211.
 semesch; 100.
 s^âide; 205.
 slappe; 211-212.
 sl^ûse; 11, 186-187.
 smak; 187.
 smelt; 211.
 snecke, schnigge; 12, 35, 212-215.
 sp^âre; 215.
 sp^êlman; 215-216.
 sprakelerer; 42.
 stal; 189-190.
 stamet; 190.
 stapel; 188-189.
 stattholder; 87.
 st^ôp; 191-192.
 strippe; 216-217.
 struse; 12, 35.
 st^ûre; 193.
 st^ûrman; 35, 194.
 takel; 194-195.
 tolk; 12, 43.
 trek; 195.
 troinisse; 12.
 trosse, trotze; 197.
 tuch; 197-198.
 v^îl^îsen; 66-67.
 voget; 44, 86-87, 200.
 v^ôr^kôper, vorkoper; 83-84.
 vullinge; 199.
 wachter; 82.
 w^âtmâl; 12, 37, 84-86, 89-90.
 watsak; 83.



S L A V I S T I S C H E B E I T R Ä G E

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