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Egda žena otročęmъ xoditъ. On the 5th prescription in the Old Church Slavic *Folia medicinalia*

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Summary: The interpretation of prescription No 5 of the Old Church Slavic *Folia medicinalia* crucially depends on the reading of the two phrasemes *otročęmъ xoditъ* and *ne puštaetъ sę kry*. In this paper, we present hitherto unnoticed evidence from East and West Slavic that confirms the earlier reading of *otročęmъ xoditъ* as ‘is pregnant’. As for the second phraseme, we explore both a middle (‘blood does not release’) and a passive reading (‘blood is not let’). Invoking philological evidence from ancient and medieval sources, we conclude that both readings allow for plausible interpretations. We suggest that regardless of whether the middle or the passive reading is preferred, the purpose of prescription No 5 can be identified with providing cleansing of the female body during pregnancy. Finally, we discuss the ingredients occurring in the prescription. We conclude that existing identifications of the phytonym **osъtъ* are problematic and suggest that the characteristics of the plant described in the prescriptions as well as the adjective attribute *velikъi* could provide clues for identifying it in future research.

Keywords: Old Church Slavic, medieval medicine, phraseology, instrumental case, Slavic phytonymy



Im Gedenken an Heinz Miklas

1 Introduction

Among the Old Church Slavic manuscripts discovered in 1975 at Saint Catherine’s monastery on the Sinai Peninsula there was a small booklet inserted between folia 144 and 145 of the so-called *Psalterium Demetrii Sinaitici* (3/N). Under the heading *Vračъba kozminaа* ‘Kozma’s medicine’, it contains the oldest collection of medical

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prescriptions compiled in a Slavic language.¹ First published by Tarnanidis (1988: 99), the glagolitic manuscript has since inspired a significant number of studies dealing mainly with the exceptional vocabulary of the text (cf. Dobrev 1989–1990, 1990; Rosenschon 1991, 1993, 1994; Velčeva 1988, 1991, 1999; Šišková 1992; Mareš 1993, 1994, and others). However, a complete photographic reproduction has been prepared only in the facsimile edition of the *Psalterium Demetrii Sinaïtici* by Miklas et al. (2012) and a critical edition of the text followed only in 2021 (cf. Miklas et al. 2021).² Although Tarnanidis's (1988) reading was largely confirmed in these new publications, the editors were also able to make some corrections.

Nevertheless, neither the protograph nor the provenance nor the dialectal attribution of the manuscript has been established. As regards the latter two aspects, different parts of the Bulgarian-Macedonian continuum were suggested by Velčeva (1988: 128; 1991: 96; 2003: 418) and Šišková (1992: 177, 185), whereas western traits were given more prominence by Rosenschon (1991: 254; 1993: 139; 1994: 314), Mareš (1993), and, especially, Miklas et al. 2012 (125–126), Miklas & Hürner (2015a: 310–312), Miklas et al. (2021: 104). It has also been suggested that the diverse features of the manuscript could point to an international environment as it existed in Jerusalem or St Catharine's monastery (Tarnanidis 1988: 99–100; Miklas & Hürner 2015a: 310–312). In any case, the presence of features associated with different regions of the Slavic speech area indicates that there are at least two layers in the transmission of the text.

The time of the creation of the manuscript is also contested. Rosenschon (1991: 254), invoking Tarnanidis (1988), proposes that it could have been written around 1200. Elsewhere, she points to the early 12th c. – early 13th c. (Rosenschon 1993: 139; 1994: 314), and this dating is deemed reasonable by Miklas et al. (2021: 105) considering reflexes of the changes *y > *i, *ě > e, *ę > e vel sim. On the contrary, paleographic and graphematic features, according to Miklas et al. (2012: 126) and Miklas and Hürner (2015b), situate the manuscript in the 11th c. Dobrev (1990) treats the *Folia medicinalia* jointly with the *Psalterium Demetrii Sinaïtici* and, similarly, points to the 12th c. On the other hand, Velčeva (1991: 96) suggests the manuscript's relation to the oldest period of the Old Bulgarian literary tradition. Elsewhere, she surmises an earlier protograph, from north-eastern Bulgaria (Velčeva 2003: 418).

1 Note that according to Angusheva (2005: 8, with reference to Konstantinova & Popkonstantinov 1987), “[h]ealing recipes and incantations translated from the Greek penetrated the South Slavic domain no later than at the end of the ninth or the early tenth century, as the lead amulets found in northeastern Bulgaria prove.” Cf. also Miltenov (2022).

2 Apart from Tarnanidis (1988: 99) and Rosenschon (1991; 1993; 1994), the text of the *Folia medicinalia* has also been printed in Dobrev (1989–1990: 168–170; 1990: 13–16), Velčeva (1991), Slavova & Dobrev (1995: 66–67), and Dimova (2014).

Despite the interest the *Folia medicinalia* have provoked among philologists, many details of the text are still unclear. One part of the manuscript that has remained enigmatic is prescription No 5. It contains a recipe which is intended for women who “walk with a child”.³ In the literature, this phrase has been interpreted as referring to either pregnant women or women who have just given birth. In this paper, we present hitherto unnoticed philological evidence which supports the former reading. After introducing medical prescription No 5 in Section 2, we provide an analysis of its content in Section 3: Section 3.1 discusses earlier attempts at an interpretation of the text, while Sections 3.2 and 3.3 are dedicated to two phrases which are crucial for understanding the prescription. In Section 4, we then present some considerations about the ingredients occurring in the recipe. A summary of the paper as well as its conclusions can be found in Section 5.

2 Medical prescription No 5: preliminaries

Medical prescription No 5 is found on folio 141ar, which is equal to the first page of the manuscript. The text starts in line 13 and ends in line 19. In (1), we give a transliterated and glossed version of the text based on Miklas et al. (2021: 481) (“/” marks line breaks). The main difference to the original edition concerns the sequence <žena> which was interpreted as consisting of the emphasizing particle *že* and the preposition *na* ‘on(to)’ by Tarnanidis (1988: 99; thus also Velčeva 1991: 96; Dobrev 1989–1990: 168, 1990: 13; Slavova & Dobrev 1995: 66; Dimova 2014: 459). In our opinion, the latter segmentation does not, however, allow for a plausible interpretation of prescription No 5 (see below in this section). Therefore, in this paper, we adopt the reading *žena* ‘woman’ (Rosenschon 1991, 1993, 1994; Mareš 1993; Miklas et al. 2021), which, as we will show in Section 3.2, can be substantiated at the phraseological level by parallels in other Slavic languages. Since the correct interpretation of the prescription is the main concern of our contribution, a translation will only be given step by step in the subsequent sections.

³ Angusheva’s (2005: 8) statement that the *Folia medicinalia* do not contain any specific texts related to women’s health is based on the misinterpretation of <žena> as *že na* (see the next section).

(1)	<i>Egda</i>	<i>žena</i>		<i>otročęmъ</i>		13
	when	woman-NOM.SG		child-INS.SG		
	<i>ходитъ</i> . ⁴	<i>to</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>puštae/tъ</i>		14/15
	walk-PRS.3SG	then	NEG	let-go-PRS.3SG		
	<i>сę kry:</i>		<i>osъta</i>	<i>veli/kago.</i>		15
	REFL blood-NOM.SG		sowthistle-GEN.SG	big-GEN.SG.M		
	<i>сęмę</i>	<i>estъ</i>	<i>въ</i>	<i>гла/vaxъ:</i>		16
	seed-NOM.SG	be-PRS.3SG	in	head-LOC.PL		
	<i>да тоgo:</i>		<i>ġ:</i>	<i>сътлъ/kъše</i>		17/18
	that this-GEN.SG.N	30		pestle-CONV		
	<i>въ винę</i>	<i>dati:</i>	<i>ispj/ti</i>			18/19
	in wine-LOC.SG	give-INF	drink-INF			

In this section, we discuss the linguistic features of the prescription that are the most relevant to our interpretation of its content at the phraseological and syntactic level (cf. Section 3). These pertain mostly to the peculiar morphology of two forms, *otročęmъ* ‘child’ and *kry* ‘blood’, but require that some related phonetic and graphic issues be taken into consideration as well.

The lexeme *otročę* belongs to the class of *nt*-stems, which mostly denote young living creatures (cf. Diels 1963[1932]: 174; Vaillant 1948: 108–110, Lunt 2001: 75; Petrov 2020). However, the instrumental singular form, which is most commonly suggested for *otročęmъ* (see below for references), does not seem to be attested for this inflectional class elsewhere in Old Church Slavic. Considering the other forms of the paradigm, cf. OCS GEN.SG *otročęte*, DAT.SG *otročęti*, LOC.SG *otročęte/otročęti*, GEN.PL *otročętъ*, we would expect the instrumental singular to be *otročętъmъ* or *otročętemъ* (cf. INS.SG *otročęte^m* in the later copies of the Old Bulgarian translation of the Book of Genesis, Mixajlov 1901: 143; the variant *otročętemъ* appears in Petrov 2020: 117). The accusative reading of <otročęmъ>, as though *otročę* (cf. Slavova & Dobrev 1995: 66), is implausible, regardless of whether <žena> is read as *že na* or some other changes in the text are assumed (see below for the discussion). Similarly, it would be difficult to substantiate the implicit suggestion, attributed to Rosenschon (1991: 253) by Miklas et al. (2012: 36), that *otročęmъ* may be a dative plural form of an *a*-stem.⁵

Miklas et al. (2021: 481) explain the attested INS.SG *otročęmъ* as shortened from *otročętъmъ*, cf. **otročętъmъ* > **otročъmъ*. The nasal vowel letter (*jus*) in the penultimate syllable, according to their interpretation, presents a scribal error. Both *ъ* in strong position and *ę* are assumed to have merged with *e* in this manuscript (cf.

4 For the colon, which is missing in the edition by Miklas et al. (2021: 481), see Section 3.3.1.

5 This confusion resulted from the incorrect reading of <privęzati> (141br4–5) as *privazati*, which has been disproven by Miklas et al. (2012: 299). Cf. the subsequent footnote.

pesъ ‘dog’ 141ar20 < *рѣсъ*, *běsenъ* ‘mad’ 141ar20 < *бѣсѣнъ*, and the replacement of *e* by *ę* in *koręnъe* ‘root’ 141bv13).⁶ The form under discussion, is thus supposed to be read as **otročęmъ*. This explanation seems rather complicated. It remains unclear how the supposed shortening proceeded and whether it presented a phonological or a morphological change. Moreover, even though a merger of *ę* and *e* is likely to have happened in the dialect, the only example suggesting such a change, i.e., *koręnъe* ‘root’ (141bv13), can also be explained differently. Considering *korę* ‘root’ (141bv9), which presents the base for the derivation of *korenъe*, the nasal vowel in <*koręnъe*> could also be due to an influence of this word.⁷ Moreover, <*korę*> and <*koręnъe*> occur on the same page, which means that the latter could simply be the result of a *lapsus calami* of the scribe.⁸

According to another explanation, *INS.SG otročęmъ* presents an archaic instrumental singular in which the ending PSI **-mi* attached directly to the stem formative **-nt-*. The resulting cluster **-tm-* would subsequently be simplified to **-m-* according to a regular sound change (see Shevelov 1964: 164–165; Arumaa 1976: 171): pre-Sl **-int-mi* > **-inmi* > **otročęmъ* (see Mareš 1993: 129; Wandl 2019: 270 fn. 34). Similar forms are attested in formations in **-jan-*, which denote people with regard to the environment they live in, cf. pre-Sl “Transponat” *ДАТ.ПЛ *-jān-mu* > **-jamъ* > Oštk *građam* ‘Dubrovnikian’, where the ending also attached directly to the stem-final consonant (see Bräuer 1969: 41).⁹

Apart from these explanations, the peculiar instrumental form could also be explained as resulting from the reanalysis of *НОМ.СГ *otročę* as a morphological zero form (Koch 1995). The earlier *INS.SG form *otročęmъ/*otročętemъ* could then have been replaced with *otročęmъ* due to a proportional analogy involving a neuter *o*-stem, e.g., *čędo* ‘child’ : *čędomъ* = *otročę* : *x*; *x* = *otročęmъ*.¹⁰ Within Old Church Slavonic, a similar remodeling can be posited for the masculine noun *plamy* ‘flame’ (SJS 3: 47), cf. *ognъ* ‘fire’ : *ognъmъ* = *plamy* : *x*; *x* = *plamymъ* (Supr 366,22) (next to the expected *plamenъmъ*, as in Bes 38,290β 21). A parallel within the inflectional class analogous to that of OCS *otročę* can be identified in Ukrainian, cf. *INS.SG teljam* ‘calf’ instead of

⁶ Note that the new edition (Miklas et al. 2012: 299) disproves the assumption of a development *ę* > *a* in *privęzati* ‘attach to’ 141br4–5 (thus Rosenschon 1991: 252; 1993: 138; 1994: 313 and Mareš 1993: 129 based on Tarnanidis 1988: 99).

⁷ A less probable option would be the phonetic influence of the following nasal consonant.

⁸ A possible example for the denasalization of a nasal vowel in the manuscript could be *mokъ* > *mokъ* (141br3) (see Miklas et al. 2021: 105). However, considering that the first part of the glagolitic letter rendering the back nasal vowel is identical to the letter <*o*>, a scribal error cannot be excluded.

⁹ This parallelism concerns mainly the morphological level since the simplification of different consonant clusters may not have been accomplished simultaneously. Note, besides, the development of a nasal vowel in one case but not in the other.

¹⁰ Note also the segmentation in pronouns, e.g., *INS.SG.N i-mъ* ‘it’.

the expected **teljatem* or **teljatom*. Again, the vocalism of the ending can be explained from the ending of the nominative singular, cf. *telja* (see Vaillant 1958: 293 for this account of the Old Church Slavic and Ukrainian forms).

Finally, the form could also present a scribal error. This seems to be the interpretation by Slavova & Dobrev (1995: 66), who without further comment emend the form to *otročę* (see also Dimova 2014: 455).¹¹ In this regard, it is important to note that the authors read <žena> as *že na*, based on Tarnanidis's (1988: 99) transcript (cf. also Velčeva 1991: 96, who puts *na otročęmъ* in parentheses). Since the preposition *na* 'on(to)' governs either the accusative or the locative case, it would seem natural to suspect one of these cases in the unusual form *otročęmъ*.¹² However, even if one were willing to accept the reading *že na* and the conjecture *otročę*, the resulting passage would be far from transparent. The main problem is that, as a consequence of the segmentation *že na*, the clause *egda že na otročęmъ xoditъ* lacks a subject. Dobrev (1989–1990: 168–169), therefore, assumes that it refers to *tręsavica* 'fever' in the previous prescription and hence translates *egda že na otročęmъ xoditъ* as 'but if the fever attacks children' (cf. also Dobrev 1990: 13 with the Bulgarian translation '[n]o kogato treskata xodi po decata'). Such an interpretation requires, however, substantiating the assumption of a phraseme *tręsavica xoditъ na otročę* by parallel constructions in Slavic. Unfortunately, Dobrev (1989–1990) does not provide such evidence. Considering this as well as the fact that his interpretation depends on further nontrivial assumptions (conjecture of *otročęmъ*, subject from the previous prescription), it must ultimately be regarded as unconvincing.

If one wanted to reconcile the reading *žena* with the idea that an accusative form has for some reason been replaced with the instrumental *otročęmъ*, one could assume that <xoditъ> 'walks' presents a misreading of *roditъ* 'give birth'. Since the latter is transitive, it would make sense to emend the form of the noun to acc.sg *otročę* in parallel and thus obtain a syntactically and semantically transparent verbal phrase *<otročę roditъ> 'gives birth to a child'. While the edition by Miklas et al. (2012) clearly shows that the first letter of the verbal form is <x> not <r> (cf. Fig. 1),¹³ a similar scribal error has been posited for another passage of the *Folia medicinalia* (cf. Dobrev 1989–1990: 171, 1990: 26; Rosenschon 1991: 254; Šišková 1992: 184; Mareš 1993: 128–129; Miklas et al. 2021: 130). Nevertheless, the entire scenario seems unlikely, especially if one assumes that <otročęmъ xoditъ> was intended as a scribal correction: Whereas the motivation for scribal corrections is to clarify the content, it is unclear how correcting *<otročę roditъ> to <otročęmъ xoditъ> by the copyist

¹¹ Elsewhere, however, Dobrev (1990: 13) states that the case of the form in question is unclear.

¹² The assumption that *na* is a corruption of *nadъ* 'above, over', which would govern the instrumental beside the accusative, would make the entire argumentation even more complicated.

¹³ Both strings are reproduced in the same scale. This applies to Figure 2 below as well.

should have had this effect. We thus believe that an interpretation of prescription No 5 which takes the text as it is, including a peculiar instrumental form rather than a distorted accusative one, is to be preferred (cf. *lectio difficilior potior*).

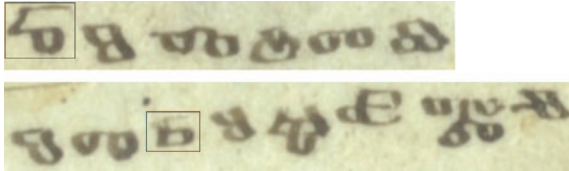


Figure 1: Letter <x> in *xoditъ* 141ar14 and letter <r> in *otročęmъ* 141ar13 (Miklas et al. 2012: 298)

The other unique form in the prescription, <kry>, presents the only attestation of the original nominative singular of Common Slavic **kry* ‘blood’ in Old Church Slavonic (Dobrev 1990: 22; Rosenschon 1991: 253; Birnbaum & Schaeken 1997: 147; Schaeken 1998: 361).¹⁴ Elsewhere in Slavic, it is attested in Čakavian, Kashubian, Old Polish, Polabian, and Slovenian, cf. Čak *krī*, Ka *krĕ*, OPo *kry*, Plb *k(ā)rāi*, Sln *krī* (ERHSJ 2: 216; SEJDP 2: 241; SEK 3: 89; Snoj 2016: 349; SStp 3: 382). Miklas et al. (2021: 104) interpret the form as a Slovenism that points to a possible origin of the scribe. However, we may likewise be dealing with an archaism in any early Slavic dialect, since there seem to be no unequivocal features which point to a Slovene scribe. In any case, the occurrence of this archaic form in the prescription might lend credibility to the interpretation of *INS.SG otročęmъ* as an archaism (see above).

Having discussed the relevant graphic, phonetic and morphological peculiarities of medical prescription No 5, in the next section we turn to the content as well as the syntax and phraseology of the text.

3 Interpreting medical prescription No 5

The main problem prescription No 5 presents to the philologist is determining the kind of illness that it is intended to cure. Since it belongs to the group of disease-oriented prescriptions, as opposed to several ingredient-oriented ones (cf. Section 4), it is basically the first part of the text that should contain the key informa-

¹⁴ While it has traditionally been viewed as the reflex of the Proto-Indo-European root noun **kruh₂-s* ‘blood outside the body’, a connection with the parallel *s*-stem has recently been proposed (Furlan 2011; Repanšek 2016, and see NIL: 444–448 for forms reconstructible for Proto-Indo-European).

tion: *egda žena otročěmъ xoditъ to ne puštaetъ sę kry*. Another potential clue for identifying the health problem addressed in prescription No 5 could come, albeit indirectly, from its ingredients. However, as we discuss in Section 4, it has proven difficult to determine the plant designated by the phytonym *osъtz*. For this reason, the interpretation of the prescription crucially depends on the interpretation of two phrases: *otročěmъ xoditъ* and *ne puštaetъ sę kry*.

3.1 Earlier accounts

The first author to provide a deeper analysis of the content of the *Folia medicinalia* was Rosenschon (1991; 1993; 1994). According to her, medical prescription No 5 contains a treatment of bleedings during pregnancy, i.e., against a threatening miscarriage (*abortus imminens*). Therefore, she interprets the phrase *otročěmъ xoditъ* as having the meaning ‘is pregnant’. Unfortunately, she does not discuss this unusual expression any further. From the perspective of contemporary Slavic, the use of a comitative instrumental is unexpected without a preposition (cf. Section 3.2). If the original meaning of the expression was ‘to walk with a child’, one would expect to find the preposition OCS *sъ* ‘with’ preceding the noun. Moreover, Rosenschon does not substantiate the claim that the meaning ‘to be pregnant’ can indeed develop from the meaning ‘to walk with a child’ in Slavic or in any language that can be surmised as original for the *Folia medicinalia* or prescription No 5 alone. With regard to the remainder of the text, Rosenschon’s interpretation runs into some further problems, since it does not directly indicate the health problem, as *ne puštaetъ sę kry* ‘blood does not release’(?) is a normal situation during pregnancy (see Section 3.3.1).

Miklas et al. (2021: 481 fn. 3) also interpret *otročěmъ* as an instrumental singular form (see Section 2), asking, however, whether the preposition *sъ* has been lost when copying the text. As regards the interpretation of the passage, they consider Rosenschon’s (1993: 132; 1994: 307) proposal unlikely without, however, providing any argument (Miklas et al. 2021: 105 fn. 13). Instead, they translate *otročě* as ‘new-born’ and interpret the prescription as a means to induce menstruation after birth. This could be supported by the fact that the milk of *Sonchus oleraceus* and *Sonchus asper* is said to have a menstruation-promoting effect. Unfortunately, the only resource the authors provide to substantiate this claim is a non-scholarly personal website¹⁵ which does not give precise references for the information given.

15 <https://heilkraeuter.de/lexikon/gaensedistel.htm> (last accessed on 15 February 2023)

While Miklas et al.'s (2021) interpretation allows for a straightforward translation of the phrase *ne puštaetŝ sę kry*, as 'there is no menstruation', it remains unclear why birth-giving is expressed in such a complicated manner. This would be plausible if it could be shown that 'to walk with a child' is an idiomatic expression for 'having given birth to a child'. Otherwise, one would be prone to interpret *xoditŝ* 'walk' as a scribal error for *roditŝ* 'give birth'. However, as has been argued in Section 2, the latter is not an attractive option from a philological point of view.

Thus, the existing interpretations mainly lack parallels that would allow to substantiate them. In the remainder of this paper we, therefore, first of all bring forward evidence from different areas of Slavic that corroborates the phrase *otročęť xoditŝ* as a prepositionless expression meaning 'to be pregnant' (Section 3.2). We then go on to discuss alternative interpretations of the phrase *ne puštaetŝ sę kry* (Section 3.3).

3.2 *otročęť xoditŝ*

In Old Church Slavic, the expression *otročęť xoditŝ* does not occur outside the *Folia medicinalia*. Therefore, the Old Church Slavic corpus does not help us with determining its meaning. However, both textual evidence from other Slavic languages and modern dialects provide us with parallel expressions. In 3.2.1, we will discuss the most telling examples we have identified. On this basis, we then turn to the origin of the construction in 3.2.2. Intermediate conclusions are presented in 3.2.3.

3.2.1 Parallels for *otročęť xoditŝ*

The oldest examples of the expression 'to walk with a child' meaning 'to be pregnant' that we were able to detect come from Old Polish.¹⁶ The earliest one occurs in the *Gniezno Sermons*, from the early 15th c. (Vrtel-Wierczyński 1953: 25). Cf. the glossing in 2.

(2)	Maria	geft	ona	brzemęna	była
	Mary-NOM.SG	AUX-3SG	3-NOM.SG.F	pregnant-NOM.SG.F	be-PRF.PTCP-NOM.SG.F
	a	fvim	ŝinkem	milim	
	and	REFL.POSS-INS.SG.M	SON-DIM-INS.SG	beloved-INS.SG.M	
	geftcy	ona	bila	chodzila	
	AUX-3SG-AFF	3-NOM.SG.F	be-PRF.PTCP-NOM.SG.F	walk-PRF.PTCP-NOM.SG.F	
	'Mary was pregnant and (had?) walked with her beloved son'				

¹⁶ Cf. Sławski (1961: 307–308) for a brief discussion of these examples.

If taken at face value, the second clause expresses an event preceding Mary's pregnancy, since the verb is put in the pluperfect, which does not make any sense whatever the meaning of the expression 'walk with one's beloved son' would be. This is but one of the famous stylistic peculiarities of the *Gniezno Sermons*, adding to their extreme redundancy (cf. Stieber 1952). Therefore, the form *bila* should not be taken into account when analyzing the passage in question, like it is the case with numerous other instances in that text.¹⁷ The two events can then be treated as simultaneous and, moreover, the two coordinated clauses as synonymous, with both denoting pregnancy, cf., again, numerous similar tropes in that text.¹⁸ What is more, the birth of Jesus is described in the subsequent periodic sentence, in an even more redundant way, so that the meaning 'give birth' can be ruled out for the passage cited in 2. The only problem in comparing this example to the Old Church Slavic one is that here the preposition *s* could simply be omitted before the word-initial *s* of *swym* <řvim> (Nepokupnyj 1964: 73; Twardzik 1997). However, numerous other examples, only some of which are discussed below, show that a construction without a preposition was possible in this context.

The same problem concerns the example from the *Song of Annunciation*, written in the first half of the 15th c. and preserved in two 15th-c. copies that do not differ in the grammatical interpretation of the relevant passage (Maciejowski 1852: 124; Lubicz 1893: 594). The glossing of the older variant, published by Lubicz, is given in 3.

- (3) Elzbjętha synem chodzi řwjęęthęgo Jana
 Elizabeth-NOM.SG son-INS.SG walk-PRS.3SG saint-ACC.SG.M John-ACC.SG
 porodżę
 PRF-give.birth-PRS.3SG
 'Elizabeth walks with a son, she will give birth to John the Baptist'

Here, the meaning of the expression is clear, since what was and might have been said by Gabriel to Mary follows from Luke 1:36. Accordingly, in the song's text, he speaks about Elizabeth currently "walking with a son", i.e., being pregnant, and John the Baptist still going to be born, in the future.

The third Old Polish example occurs in a translation of the *Rule of the Third Order of Saint Francis*. Whereas the translation itself goes back to the late 15th c., the

¹⁷ Cf., for example, *byla* in the following part of the next periodic sentence: <tedy vōcz ona geft byla řvego řinka milego porodżyla> 'and then she had given birth to her beloved son' (Vrtel-Wierczyński 1953: 25), with the peculiar combination of *tedy* 'then' and the pluperfect. Note, however, that some of these superfluous words were added to the text later, in superscript.

¹⁸ E.g., <Abifcze vy tefe ne kradly any řlodżęmy byly> '(so) that you also do not steal nor be thieves' (Vrtel-Wierczyński 1953: 23).

copy in question may be somewhat later (Twardzik 2005: 153). The variant attested in that copy (Łopaciński 1893: 712) is glossed in 4.

- (4) syosthry kthore dzyathkamy chodzą albo brzemiennie
 sister-NOM.PL REL-NOM.PL.F child-INS.PL walk-PRS.3PL or pregnant-NOM.PL.F
 ‘sisters who walk with children or [in other words] pregnant’

While the coordination seems at first glance to complicate rather than facilitate the interpretation, it must be noted that it is not paralleled in the Latin original included in the manuscript, cf. <Sorores grauide> ‘pregnant sisters’ (Łopaciński 1893: 712).¹⁹ We are therefore dealing with a doublet translation, which is a common strategy in medieval texts, reflected among others on the same page of the manuscript.²⁰ All these facts point to the interpretation of <dzyathkamy chodzą> ‘walk with children’ as ‘are pregnant’. Importantly, the omission of the preposition would be unmotivated in this case, so it can be considered an entirely reliable parallel to the Old Church Slavic *hapax legomenon*.

Attestations for the expression ‘to walk with a child, son, etc.’ in the meaning ‘to be pregnant’ continue into the Middle Polish period. For example, it occurs several times in Mączyński’s dictionary (Maczinsky 1564: 121d, 133d, 149c, [390]c, 509d) and is still noted in Cnapius’s (1621: 67; 1626: 327) dictionary and Mesgnien’s (1649: 132) grammar. The material from the 16th c. (SPXVI 3: 281) shows that the preposition *s > z* was used only optionally at that time, having possibly been introduced hypercorrectly, as though deleted (simplified) only before the *s-* of *syn* ‘son’ (cf. the Old Polish examples above). Apart from the words for ‘child’ or ‘son’, the construction occurs with other words referring to unborn children as well as animals. Interestingly, while the lexemes *syn* ‘son’, *dziewka* ‘girl, daughter’, *plód* ‘foetus’, and *brzemie* ‘burden’ as well as pronouns and personal names are normally put in the singular (cf. the examples in SPXVI 3: 281; Sławski 1961: 308), *dzieci* and *dziatki* ‘children’ usually occur as plural in spite of a single pregnant woman being referred to (not necessarily with multiples), and the collective *bydło* ‘cattle, livestock’ is attested in reference to a single animal.²¹ The expression clearly begins to decline no later than the second half of the 18th c., cf. *Chodzi Synem* ‘walks with a son’ as an entry in Włodek’s (1780: 6) dictionary of obsolete expressions. Nevertheless, it was attested in the 20th c. in Pol-

19 Cf. also the variants of two other copies: (i) <Syostri mązatkı brzemiienne> ‘pregnant married sisters’, (ii) <Szyostrij ktore ssą brzemyanne> ‘sisters which are pregnant’ (Maciejowski 1852: 82, 84).

20 Cf. <dla nyektorey pospolithey potrzeby albo przyczyny> ‘for some common necessity or cause’ vs. <ex causa communiter indicta> ‘for a publicly declared cause’ (Łopaciński 1893: 712).

21 Cf. *Forda, Bos pregnans, Która bydłem chodzi* ‘cow in calf, pregnant cow, which walks with cattle’ (Maczinsky 1564: 133d).

ish and Kashubian dialects, without the preposition in Mazovian (e.g., Example 5) and with the preposition *z* as well as *o* (with the locative) elsewhere (SGP 3: 623).

- (5) *χοζί* *dvunastém* *žecákém*
 walk-PRS.3SG twelfth-INS.SG.M child-INS.SG
 ‘walks with the twelfth child’

Mention should also be made of *chodzić* as a bare verb meaning ‘be pregnant’ and as adjoining various manner or time expressions. The former possibility is reflected in a single citation for the Greater Polish dialect: *Įag χοζίυαm* ‘when I walked’, i.e., ‘when I was pregnant’ (SGP 3: 623). Manner expressions, involving adjectives in the nominative or the instrumental, are characteristic of the Middle Polish period, cf. NOM.SG *brzemienna*, INS.SG *-ą* ‘pregnant’, NOM.SG *ciężka*, INS.SG *-ą* ‘heavy’ (SPXVI 3: 281), and can co-occur with nominals denoting or pronouns referring to offspring, cf. (i) (*plód*) *którym brzemienną chodźilá* ‘(the fetus) with which she was walking pregnant’, (ii) *choćby nim náten czás mátká brzemienną chodźilá* ‘even if the mother were then walking pregnant with him’ (SPXVI 2: 468).²² Also time expressions may co-occur with such nominals in the 16th c. The independent use, reflected in *gdy iuż nadedniem chodzq* ‘when they already walk over the day’ meaning ‘when they are shortly before the child’s birth’ (SPXVI 3: 281; cf. s.v. *dzień* SPXVI 6: 396), is paralleled in modern dialects in the north, e.g., *kobiya χοζι jedenáśce mészęzi* ‘a mare walks eleven months’ meaning ‘a mare’s pregnancy lasts eleven months’ (SGP 3: 623).

The Czech material is virtually limited to expressions including the preposition *s* ‘with’, as in the single Old Czech record known to us, from 1484: *s dětmi našimi, s Michalem, s Štěpánem, s Margaretú i s tiem, s kterýmž chodí* ‘with our children, with Michael, with Stephen, with Margaret, and with that with which she is walking’ (Kniezsa and Király 1952: 50).²³ Worth mentioning are some related expressions without the verb *choditi* but including the noun in the bare instrumental, attested since the 14th c., cf. *dítětem těžka bieše* ‘she was heavy with a child’, *počala jest dítětem* ‘she conceived with a child’.²⁴

For Middle Czech, cf. *s dítětem choditi* ‘walk with a child’ s.v. *Počti* ‘conceive’ and *Těhotnau býti* ‘to be pregnant’ in Adam Velešlavín’s dictionary (Adamus 1598: 1061, 1568). Importantly, the same work includes a German equivalent, cf. *die mit eynem kind gehet, mit eynem kind gehen* (Adamus 1598: 1568–1569, and see Section 3.2.2 on the German material). *Nedochodila s tim dítětem* ‘she did not make it to

²² For the latter citation, see Czechowicz (1575: 141). Such phrases show up also as not adjoined to the verb *chodzić*, e.g., *brzemienna dwoygiem dzyeći* ‘pregnant with two children’ (SPXVI 2: 468). Note that the preposition *z* in similar constructions indicated the father (SPXVI 2: 468).

²³ We are grateful to Hana Kreisingerová for providing us with this example.

²⁴ Cf. *Radosti svatě Mařie* (65v) and *Život Krista Pána*, ms. A (16r), respectively (Vokabulář 2023).

walking with this child' is one of several expressions recorded in Rosa's 17th-c. dictionary that denote (un)successful delivery by combining the noun *dítě* 'child' with various, mostly participial, forms of the perfective verb *dochoditi* 'make it to walking' (cf. Rosa 2008).

Later lexicographers usually follow Adam Veleslavín but sometimes add related examples, e.g., *kráva chodj 40 neděl* 'a cow walks for 40 weeks' (Tham 1805: 40). Jungmann (1835: 809) includes a translation of one Polish example, and it is probably this quotation that gave him an opportunity to lemmatize the expression with the preposition as only optional, cf. *DJTĚTEM neb S DJTĚTEM CHODITI* 'walk (with) a child or with a child'. Whether with or without the preposition, the phraseme shows up extremely rarely in literary works, into which it may have been artificially introduced from dictionaries, e.g., *počawši synem chodila k sedmemu měsíci* 'having conceived, she walked with a son until the seventh month' in Vlček's translation of the Iliad (Wlčkovskj 1842: 327).²⁵ Ultimately, one may suspect that it has never been used in colloquial language (possibly except for the Old Czech period), having been calqued for lexicographic purposes, from German, by Adam Veleslavín.²⁶

The preposition is obligatory in Upper Sorbian, cf. *z džěšćom zakhodzić* 'to start walking with a child' meaning 'to be pregnant for the first time' (Pful 1866: 966), probably also: *Tehdy sym ja z přěnim džěšćom khodžila* 'then I walked with the first child' (Radyserb-Wjela 1905: 115). However, since bare instrumentals were ousted by prepositional phrases in Sorbian (Stone 1993: 614), *z džěšćom chodžić* may have replaced an earlier **džěšćom chodžić*.

Apart from Old Church Slavic and West Slavic, we find corresponding examples in the East Slavic group. For Belarusian, Mjaceł'skaja & Kamaroŭski (1972: 77) note the phraseme *dzicem xadzic* 'walk with a child', paraphrased as *byc' cjažarnaj* 'to be pregnant', from the dialect of Savoni in the Stowbtsy District. For Ukrainian, analogous expressions are attested in Hrinčenko's dictionary as *xodyty dytynoju* (*divčynoju*) 'walk with a child (girl)', paraphrased as *byt' beremenoj* 'to be pregnant' (SUMH-rin 3: 407). The examples come from dialectal records from the Borzna and Chernihiv areas in North Ukraine, a work by Hanna Barvinok (born in or near Borzna in 1828), and a story recorded near Dnipro (then Ekaterinoslav) in South East Ukraine by Hrinčenko's wife (before 1897). Finally, we find parallel constructions in Russian dialects, lemmatized as *xodit' (s) kem-l[ibo]* 'walk with somebody' (SRNG 51: 78–79). The prepositionless variant appears beyond the Ural Mountains, namely in the Priuralsky District (Tyumen Oblast; 1946–1965) and the Tomsky District (Tomsk Ob-

²⁵ Alternatively, and even more plausibly, the noun *synem* can be referred to the preceding participle *počawši* 'having conceived', cf. Old Czech *počala jest dietětem* above.

²⁶ While proofreading the paper we came across the phrase *mit eynem kind gehen* in Emmel's dictionary (Emmelius 1592: Hh iijj). On Emmel's influence on Adam Veleslavín, see Vajdllová (2019).

last; 1986, 2002). One example which includes the preposition was recorded in the European part of Russia, in the Solikamsky District (Perm Krai; 1973). Apart from regular personal nouns denoting children (*mal'čikom* 'boy', (*s*) *devkoj* 'girl'), a nominal employed in the expression can refer to the number of children carried, cf. *odnem* 'one', *dvojniki* 'twins', or the number of previous pregnancies, cf. *četverimi* 'four'. Some nouns in the instrumental – without a preposition – refer to the woman's body, either directly or metaphorically, cf. *brjuxom* 'belly', *košělkoj* 'braided bag' (cf. SRNG 15: 144), or as manner expressions, cf. *goroj* 'as a mountain'.

In Russian dialects, the verb *xodit'* can also stand alone as expressing pregnancy, cf. *kotora ženščina xodit* 'which woman is walking' meaning 'a woman that is pregnant' (SRNG 51: 78), and can be adjoined with time and manner expressions (SRNG 51: 78–79). The only example combining a nominal in the instrumental case denoting offspring and a further adjunct is attested within the material from the Priuralsky District, cf. the prepositional phrase *v položenii* 'pregnant' (originally: 'in condition') in *Ja xodila ej [dočkoj] v položenii* 'I was walking pregnant with her (a daughter)'.²⁷ Among various adjuncts occurring independently, adjectives are used not only in Russian dialects, cf. *nom.sg čežela* 'heavy', but also in standard Russian, cf. *ins.sg beremnoj* 'pregnant' (BAS 1: 552–553), and standard Ukrainian, cf. *nom.sg važka*, *ins.sg -oju* 'heavy' (SUM 1: 279). For time expressions, cf. *dolgo* 'long', *devjat' mesjacev* 'nine months', in Russian dialects (SRNG 51: 78).

We can conclude that expressions of the type 'walk with' in the meaning 'to be pregnant' are well attested in East and West Slavic. This clearly speaks for interpreting also *otrěčěť xodit'z* in the *Folia medicinalia* in this sense. Since the presence of a (seemingly) comitative instrumental without a preposition is unexpected from the perspective of attested Slavic, the question arises whether it must indeed present an archaism or whether it can be explained as resulting from a secondary development. In Section 3.2.2 we present some ideas about the origin of the construction under scrutiny.

3.2.2 A genuine Slavic construction?

There are in principle two ways of explaining the expression *otrěčěť xoditi* as genuine Slavic. First, it might contain an archaic comitative instrumental without a preposition. The meaning of the construction would thus originally have been 'to walk with a child', as we have assumed for the sake of simplicity in the previous

²⁷ A somewhat similar phrase occurs in standard Russian as not adjoined to the verb *xodit'*, cf. *ja Irkoj byla beremenna* 'I was pregnant with Irka' (BAS 1: 552).

sections. Second, the construction could also have originated as the result of ellipsis in a longer construction, in which case the semantics of the instrumental would not necessarily have to be comitative. In this section, we first of all intend to evaluate the plausibility of these two explanations. Following that, we explore the possibility of the construction being a loan translation from another language.

According to Luraghi (2001: 387), a “[p]rototypical Comitative involves an animate agent performing an action together with another animate individuated entity, conceived as performing the same action”.²⁸ The expression *otročęm xoditi* does not entirely fit this definition since the unborn child, while probably still conceived as animate,²⁹ does not perform the same action as the mother. In the same way as we cannot paraphrase ‘Mary goes to school with her books’ as *‘Mary and her books go to school’ (Luraghi 2001: 387), we cannot paraphrase ‘The woman walks with an unborn child’ as *‘The woman and the unborn child walk’. Therefore, the OCS expression would belong to a group of less prototypical comitative constructions.³⁰ The validity of the assumption of a comitative precursor for *otročęm xoditi* ‘to be pregnant’ thus depends on whether it is plausible to posit bare instrumentals with the same semantics for Old Church Slavic or an earlier stage of Slavic.

As mentioned in Section 3.1, bare instrumentals with prototypical comitative semantics do not occur in contemporary Slavic as a productive formation. And even at older stages they are extremely rare. Of the 16 OCS examples for bare comitative instrumentals cited by Staniševa (1958: 42–43) and Vondrák (1928: 277), only five approximate the prototypical comitative.³¹ It should be noted, however, that four of these denote groups, sometimes metonymically (cf. 2× *vsěm domomъ* ‘with the entire house’), rather than individuals, and in the single remaining example the

²⁸ Cf. also Bernštejn (1958), Stolz (2001: 591), Danylenko (2016), Janda (1993: 182–185), and others.

²⁹ Note that Saint Augustine, following Aristotle, assumed that psyche ‘animation’ entered the child once it had formed recognizable human features and that this view was adopted by the Greek Church father Gregory of Nyssa (Bullough & Brundage 2010: 265). While we have no information about the status of the fetus in Slavic pagan belief, we can at least say that it was perceived as animate by the church of the time. Note, on the other hand, that even if these ontological considerations were paralleled grammatically, the position of unborn children on the animacy scale might still be submaximal.

³⁰ Note that, according to Schlesinger (1979), comitative and instrumental meanings form a semantic continuum.

³¹ Examples from Old Church Slavic are (in simplified orthography) *nužda jemu běaše iti voi* ‘he was forced to go with the troops’ (Supr 215,6–7), *jedînъ že nekyj sŕveŕtyimъ močęnikomъ vasileemъ byvyi* ‘a certain person that was with the martyr Basil’ (538,7–8), *radovaše sę vsěmъ domomъ* ‘they were joyful with the entire household’ (537,12–13), *i veselěaxo sę vsěmъ domomъ* ‘they were joyful with the entire household’ (541,16–17), *kmotrami svoimi i dъšterymi. iže otъ svętago krъštęnyě. ne směšati sę* ‘one should not mingle with their godmothers and daughters once they have been baptized’ (Cloz 2a,20–21) (Staniševa 1958: 42 and Vondrák 1928: 277).

omission of the preposition *s(ъ)* could be either phonologically conditioned or instigated as a scribal error by the initial letter *s-* of the following abbreviation. The situation is similar in Old East Slavic as well as in the older attestations of Polish, Czech, and BCMS, which leads Staniševa (1958: 43) to the conclusion that bare instrumentals with prototypical comitative semantics were ousted by constructions with the preposition *sz* ‘with’ already in Proto-Slavic.³² Bare comitative instrumentals in the broader sense largely suffered the same fate in most Slavic languages.³³ While BCMS deviates to some extent from the overall picture (cf. Staniševa 1958: 43–45; Nepokupnyj 1964: 75–76), the constructions attested there do not reflect the prototypical meaning either.³⁴ Ultimately, if a bare comitative instrumental is assumed for *otročęmъ xoditi*, it seems most convincing to explain it as an archaism preserved in an idiomatic expression.³⁵

The second possibility to account for *otročęmъ xoditi* as a genuine Slavic construction is to assume that it is based on a construction which apart from a word for child and the verb *xoditi* contained a manner expression or a similar adjunct. As noted in Section 3.2.1, ‘to walk with a child’ is sometimes attested together with adjectives, like Middle Polish *brzemienna* ‘pregnant’ (originally: ‘burdened’), or adverbial prepositional phrases, like Russian dial. *v položenii* ‘pregnant’ (originally: ‘in condition’), cf., respectively, (*plód*) *którym brzemienną chodźilá* ‘(the fetus) with which she was walking pregnant’ (SPXVI 2: 468); *Ja xodila ej [dočkoj] v položenii* ‘I was walking pregnant with her (a daughter)’ (SRNG 51: 78–79). Therefore, it is possible that expressions of the type ‘to walk with a child’ resulted from ellipsis in structures such as ‘to walk *ADJ* because of a child’, with the instrumental of cause.³⁶

The most widespread and possibly inherited adjectival terms for pregnancy occurring with an instrumental case and/or the verb ‘to go’ can be reconstructed as

32 Mechanisms of introducing secondary comitatives without a preposition in modern Slavic dialects are discussed by Nepokupnyj (1964: 73–76).

33 Since Old Church Slavic examples almost exclusively stem from *Codex Suprasliensis*, Staniševa (1958: 43) concludes that most Bulgarian and Macedonian dialects had lost bare comitative instrumentals (in the broader sense) by the 11th c. In this regard it is noteworthy that *Codex Suprasliensis* has been found to be a treasure trove for archaic syntactic constructions (Holzer 2019).

34 Be that as it may, if the decline of the prepositionless comitative proceeded in BCMS slower than in other South Slavic languages, one might use it as an argument in the discussion on the scribe or the translator’s origin (cf. Section 1).

35 In this regard, it is interesting to note that, as shown in Section 3.2.1, the corresponding expression flourishes in Old and Middle Polish despite the lack of a productive prepositionless comitative.

36 Cf. the use of instrumentals of cause with verbs of motion and physical states, among others, as well as in nominal predicates with adjectives in older Slavic (Xodova 1958).

CSL. **bermen(ьn)a*³⁷ and **tężyćka*³⁸ (cf. SD 1: 160). Furthermore, the residual adjective **berd'a* (ÈSSJa 1: 188; SP 1: 202) should be mentioned, whose reference to women's rather than animals' pregnancy is largely limited to BCMS (cf., moreover, with further reservations concerning Croatian, RHSJ 1: 622) and the earliest occurrences in RuCS (SRJaXI-XVII 1: 330).³⁹ The unabridged Common Slavic prototype might therefore be reconstructed as INS.SG + **berd'a/bermen(ьn)a/tężyćka xoditi* 'to walk pregnant/burdened/heavy because of (a child)'. Obviously, the possible variants would differ in redundancy, e.g., **otročę(ть)мъ berd'a xoditъ* 'she walks pregnant because of a child' vs. **synъмъ bermen(ьn)a xodęjaše* 'she was walking burdened because of the son'. In the former, the present tense must have ruled out the knowledge of the child's sex, and since *berd'a* 'pregnant' was probably monosemic, the noun **otročę* 'child' could not add to the meaning of the phrase. In the latter, the noun **synъ* 'son' is less redundant, in the context of the past tense (imperfect), as it helps specify, first, the past pregnancy being referred to and, second, the meaning of the polysemic adjective **bermen(ьn)a*. In our opinion, the phraseologism would be more likely to originate in the latter type of expressions.

It follows from the above remark on redundancy that if the meaning 'pregnant' of a given adjective has been conventionalized, the noun may not have been an obligatory part of the expression, e.g., Middle Polish *chodziła brzemienna* 'she was walking burdened/pregnant' (SPXVI 2: 468; 3: 281). However, given that pregnancy is not infrequently tabooed and referred to euphemistically in the Slavic languages (cf. SD 1: 160), a Common Slavic expression of this type may have been subject to various modifications. And since expressive potential is inherent in qualitative adjectives, it is their omission (as well as the potentially redundant inclusion of nouns) that could serve to moderate the expressivity of the entire phraseme, e.g., Old Polish *dzыathkamы chodzq* '(they) walk with children' (Łopaciński 1893: 712).

Last but not least, the verb of motion seems not to have been obligatory either, e.g., Old Czech *dietětem těžka bieše* 'she was pregnant with a child' (Vokabulář 2023), Middle Polish *była brzemienna dwoygiem dzyeci* 'she was pregnant with two children' (SPXVI 6: 239). While it is difficult to determine the original conditions for using or omitting the verb **xoditi*, its inclusion could be conventional, helping to

³⁷ The potentially archaic form **bermena* may be reflected in BCMS, Macedonian, and Slovene (ÈSSJa 1: 195–196; SP 1: 206). The reflexes of the suffixed formation **bermenьna* appear already in OCS, but they exhibit the relevant meaning later, e.g., in Old East Slavic and Old Polish (ÈSSJa 1: 195–196; SP 1: 206).

³⁸ Cf. 14th c. – Czech (Vokabulář 2023); 15th c. – Polish (SStp 1: 306); 16th c. – Russian (SRJaXI-XVII 30: 286), Slovak (HSSJ 6: 30); 17th c. – BCMS (RHSJ 1: 625, s.v. *bremenita*), Slovene (Snoj 2006: 369); 19th c. – Upper Sorbian (Pful 1866: 100); 20th c. – Bulgarian (Gerov 1904: 401), Lower Sorbian (SDR 2: 715).

³⁹ For the use with the instrumental in BCMS, see RHSJ 1: 622.

avoid unintended expressivity or literality. Note the bare reflexes of the verb as well as constructions including time expressions as denoting pregnancy in Czech, Polish, and Russian (Section 3.2.1).

Thus, the core element of the phraseme in question seems to be the verb **xoditi*, whereas the other constituents, i.e., the noun in the instrumental and the adjective (denoting pregnancy independently), might have been optional. Incidentally, it cannot be ruled out that the supposedly unabridged reflexes of the phraseme resulted from contaminations of previously separate expressions, e.g., the bare verb **xoditi* and syntagmas of the type **otročě(ť)ťь berd'a/bermen(ьn)a/těžьka byti*. Be that as it may, the variant of the phraseme that includes the noun and omits the adjective seems to go back to the Common Slavic period.

Apart from treating *otročěť xoditi* as a genuine Slavic construction, the possibility that it presents a calque from another language should be taken into account. Considering that the expression occurs in East, West, and South Slavic, the loan translation would have had to occur at an early stage. Since *otročěť xoditi* can be treated either as a syntagma with a comitative instrumental or as resulting from ellipsis (see above), the construction in the source language could have been either of the type 'to walk with a child' or of the type 'to walk (pregnant)/burdened/heavy because of a child'.

So far, we have only been able to detect possible examples for the loan in relatively recent German. An expression of the type 'to walk with a child' meaning 'to be pregnant' is attested in the 15th-c. pharmacopoeia of Erhart Hesel, cf. *so get si volkenlich mit ainem kind* 3r (Haage 1972: 40; Leidig 2004: 404), and a construction in which the instrumental could be interpreted as an instrumental of cause is reported from Middle High German, cf. *Sich dîn mûme Elizabeth / ouch grôz mit eime kinde gêt* which can be translated literally as 'go big with a child' (Erlös 2782) (14th c.) (Jesko 2006: 244). Since this evidence is too scarce to convincingly argue for a calque, we, however, believe that at least in the current state of research an explanation that interprets *otročěť xoditi* as a genuine Slavic construction is preferable. Of the two alternatives discussed above, the one assuming the ellipsis of an adjective seems more justified.

3.2.3 Conclusion on *otročěť xoditъ*

In this section we have brought forward hitherto unnoticed evidence for constructions consisting of bare instrumentals and the verb 'walk'. Examples from East and West Slavic clearly suggest that the expression *otročěť xoditi* is to be translated as 'to be pregnant'. Thus, it confirms Rosenschon's (1991; 1993; 1994) original reading and refutes the alternative interpretation by Miklas et al. (2021) (cf. Section 3.1).

As regards the function of the instrumental, we suggested that it may either present an archaic bare instrumental with comitative meaning – the semantic shift would then have been from ‘to walk with a child’ to ‘to be pregnant’ – or that it was originally an instrumental of cause and that the expression resulted from ellipsis in a construction such as ‘to walk heavy because of a child’. The latter hypothesis was based on the occurrence of similar structures in Slavic. While we cannot rule out any of these hypotheses, we believe that the second may be more convincing considering that the type of ellipsis in question seems to be reflected in historical languages whereas the evidence for prepositionless prototypical comitative instrumentals is very scarce.

Finally, we also considered the possibility that *otročęmъ xoditi* presents a calque from another language. Since we have so far only found similar expressions in German (starting from Middle High German), we, however, concluded that there is currently not enough evidence to substantiate such a claim. Therefore, we believe that in the current state of research it is most convincing to treat *otročęmъ xoditi* as a genuine Slavic construction.

Having determined the meaning of *otročęmъ xoditi* in this section, in the next section we explore whether there are alternative readings for the remaining parts of the prescription. As it turns out there are at least two possible readings for *ne puštaetъ sę kry*.

3.3 *ne puštaetъ sę kry*

This section elaborates on Rosenshon’s interpretation of prescription No 5 as intended for pregnant women. Having corroborated in Section 3.2 her reading of the expression *otročęmъ xoditъ*, we now proceed to the subsequent part of the text, i.e., the main clause (*to*) *ne puštaetъ sę kry*. In Section 3.3.1, we scrutinize Rosenschon’s own analysis, according to which the clause refers to lack of bleeding during pregnancy, and propose a slight modification by referring to lack of menstruation instead. The results achieved also allow us to posit a different interpretation in Section 3.3.2, which relates the clause to the prohibition of bloodletting (phlebotomy) during pregnancy. In both cases, the prescription can be understood as providing purgation.

3.3.1 Blood release

Rosenschon (1993: 132; 1994: 307) glosses the clause *to ne puštaetъ sę kry* in German as *so lässt sich das Blut nicht los* ‘then blood does not release’ and further explains it

as *kommt es nicht zu einer Blutung* ‘bleeding does not happen’. Thus, she analyzes the verb as grammatically middle. Considering her interpretation of the prescription as providing a treatment for *abortus imminens*, i.e., threatened miscarriage associated with bleeding during pregnancy (Rosenschon 1993: 144; 1994: 319–320), the entire clause would therefore merely imply the possible health problem (as though “blood may release”) by stating what is expected (“blood does not release [during pregnancy]”).

Indeed, the semantics of the verb assumed by Rosenschon is corroborated within the Old Church Slavic canon, e.g., <puštei potъ svoi na zemljo aky krъvъ> ‘releasing his sweat onto the ground like blood’ (Euch 47a21). Another parallel, moreover, involving a reflexive form of the verb, comes from 15th-c. Old Czech medical texts, e.g., *tehdy se jie pustí krev z nosa* ‘then blood will release from her nose’.⁴⁰ The fact that these examples could present calques from a foreign original does not seem to impair Rosenschon’s interpretation – at the linguistic level, it seems fully acceptable. As regards another, more specific type of non-intentional blood release, assumed by Miklas et al. (2021: 105–106, 110–111), i.e., menstruation, the only alleged example of *pustiti kry* referring to it that we have come across is based on a questionable interpretation of a passage in the Old Serbian *Hodoški miscellany* by Angušheva (2005: 13), on which see Section 3.3.2.

The problem with reading (*to*) *ne puštaetъ se kry* as ‘blood does not release’ in Rosenschon’s interpretation is that this clause, first, does not directly state the relevant health problem (rather, the reader has to infer that the unwanted condition consists in the opposite of what is stated, which seems unusually complicated when compared with other prescriptions) and second, does not fit the general structure of the prescriptions in the *Folia medicinalia*. The conjunction *to*, if present, introduces curative instructions recommended to the reader, usually rendered by active verbs denoting intentional actions. The objection may be raised, in order to defend Rosenschon’s interpretation, that *to* in the relevant part of the text is not preceded by a colon, whereas it is so elsewhere in the manuscript when introducing instructions (cf. the transcription in Miklas et al. 2021: 481); accordingly, the conjunction might have some other function here. However, if one consults the facsimile edition (Miklas et al. 2012: 298) and especially the digital images appended to the critical edition (Miklas et al. 2021), one recognizes a colon, albeit somewhat fainter, also before this *to* (cf. Fig. 2). A reading of *ne puštaetъ se kry* amounting to an instruction is therefore to be preferred.

40 Cf. *Sbírka pojednání z oboru ženského a dětského lékařství* (10v) (Vokabulář 2023).

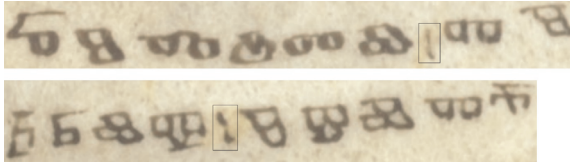


Figure 2: Colon in 141ar14 compared to that in 141ar15

The structure of the prescription can be explained more plausibly if the middle construction *ne puštaet̃ sę kry* is read as referring to lack of menstruation rather than a pathological blood release. Crucially, in the Middle Ages, menstruation was considered purgative (cf. the use of Latin *purgatio* ‘purgation’ with the meaning of menstruation, Green 2005: 52; Hewera 2012),⁴¹ as reflected, for example, in Trotula’s (11th–12th c.) influential works (Green 2001: 73). Now since it is unavailable and undesired during pregnancy, it might possibly be substituted, for example, by administering a cathartic.⁴² The prescription might therefore be read as follows: “if a woman is pregnant, blood does not release [she has no purging menstruation]; [to salvage this,] give her a cathartic potion to drink”. Although, in this interpretation, *to* still remains not followed by an instruction proper directly, at least the health problem (i.e., lack of menstruation) being addressed in a more explicit way arguably makes the connection between the two parts of the prescription more comprehensible.

One possible explanation for why the health problem is not stated explicitly is that it is implicitly expressed in the first two clauses of the prescription. The conditions that come to mind here are the typical attendant symptoms of pregnancy. According to humoral theory, *molimina gravidarum* – especially, nausea, vomiting, and appetite – are a direct consequence of the relocation and qualitative change of bodily fluids, in particular of blood (Diepgen 1937: 158). Referring to the lack of menstruation during pregnancy could thus be an efficient way to address these symptoms. Recipe No 5 could then be interpreted as providing a treatment for pregnancy-related discomforts, possibly, but not necessarily, through purgation: “if a woman is pregnant, blood does not release [which causes *molimina gravidarum*]; [to treat these,] give her (...)”.

One problem with this proposal is that it assumes a fairly specific meaning of the collocation *ne puštaet̃ sę kry*, which makes its corroboration, e.g., with Slavic

⁴¹ “In medieval Europe, menstruation was seen as the end result of a whole bodily process of purification, one unique to the female body” (Green 2005: 53).

⁴² Note that Leidig (2004: 298, 365, 404) cites German sources from the 15th c. which express the need to protect the child in the mother’s womb from superfluous menstrual blood. However, the prescribed treatment is bloodletting which, according to other physicians, causes abortion (see Section 3.3.2).

cognates, more difficult (cf. above). We will address this issue in Subsection 3.3.2, where we suggest an alternative account that refers the phrase to bloodletting.

3.3.2 Bloodletting

In Section 3.3.1, we have tentatively rejected Angusheva's (2005: 13) reading of *krъvъ pustitъ* in an Old Serbian manuscript as 'menstruates' but did not rule out that this collocation might shed light on the meaning of the clause *ne puštaetъ se kry* occurring in prescription No 5. In this section, we will argue that the Old Serbian phrase should be read as 'to let blood, phlebotomize' and that this is also a possible interpretation for the Old Church Slavic expression in question. Paired with the doubtful segmentation of <žena> as *že na* (see Section 3.1), this reading appears already in Dobrev's (1989–1990: 169) translation of the *Folia medicinalia* ("do not let blood"). To our knowledge, it has, however, never been substantiated.

Angusheva refers to the following passage from the Old Serbian miscellany (15th c.) stored in the National Museum in Prague (IXF10): <Reče bo Ipokrat(ъ): žena imušti vъ črěvě ašte krъv(ъ) pustit(ъ), iznemagaet(ъ), vědušti jako krъv(ъ) es(ъ) pišta mladěncu i pače ašte budet(ъ) velěi ml(a)d(ě)n(ъ)c(ъ)> (IXF10: 147b) (Katić 1990: 60) 'as Hippocrates says: a woman having in the belly – if she lets blood – falls ill, considering that blood is food for a baby, and all the more so if the baby is big'. In our view, contrary to Angusheva,⁴³ it echoes Hippocrates's aphorism V.31: Γυνή ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα, φλεβοτομηθεῖσα, ἐκτιτρώσκει· καὶ μᾶλλον ἥσι μεῖζον τὸ ἔμβρυον 'A woman with child, if bled, miscarries; the larger the embryo the greater the risk' (LCL 150: 166–167). The similarity of the parts referring to the child is especially straightforward. There are, however, some obvious differences as well, cf. the active, finite form *pustit(ъ)* as opposed to the feminine passive participle φλεβοτομηθεῖσα 'to bleed sb', the unspecific meaning of PRS.3SG *iznemagaet(ъ)* 'falls ill' as opposed to PRS.3SG ἐκτιτρώσκει 'bring forth untimely', and the inserted clause *vědušti jako krъv(ъ) es(ъ) pišta mladěncu* 'considering that blood is food for a baby'. Nevertheless, analyzing the collocation *krъv(ъ) pustit(ъ)* as denoting bloodletting (phlebotomy, bleeding) seems fully justified by ten other occurrences of related expressions (including the imperfective verb *puštati* and the compound noun *krъvo-puštenie*) in the same manuscript, relating to the intervention in question (cf. Katić 1990: 65, 69, 71–72, 76).

⁴³ Angusheva (2005: 13) relates the Old Serbian passage to Hippocrates's aphorism V.60, which seems less attractive to us: Γυναίκε ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἢν αἱ καθάρσεις πορεύωνται, ἀδύνατον τὸ ἔμβρυον ὑγιαίνειν 'If a woman with child have menstruation, it is impossible for the embryo to be healthy.' (LCL 150: 174–175).

The above reading of the Old Serbian collocation is, moreover, paralleled in 15th-c. manuscripts written in other Slavic languages, cf. Old Czech *krev pušťaeti*,⁴⁴ Old Polish *puszczayq krewy*,⁴⁵ and Old Russian *крьвь пуштати*.⁴⁶ All these facts suggest that Old Church Slavic *ne puštaetъ sę kry* might refer to bloodletting. If so, the first part of prescription No 5 could be analyzed in the spirit of Hippocrates's aphorism V.31: 'if a woman is pregnant, blood is not let'.

This interpretation clearly implies the passive value of the verb *ne puštaetъ sę*. While passives in *se* do occur in Old Church Slavic writings,⁴⁷ they are distributionally marked, being one of two options for translating Greek synthetic passives (cf. Večerka 1996: 219–220).⁴⁸ This suggests that we may be dealing with a translation – and possibly a calque – from a language that uses the latter type of formations. Expressions corresponding to (*ne*) *puštaetъ sę kry* are attested already in ancient treatises written in both Greek and Latin, cf. Greek αἷμα ἀφίεται/ἀφαιρεῖσθαι 'blood is let' in Hippocrates (Ermerins 1859: 582; LCL 477: 232–233) and Latin *sanguis (e)mittitur* 'blood is let' in Celsus (Daremborg 1891: 52, 54, 233, 251; LCL 292: 154–165). Note also that both Greek ἀφιέναι 'send forth, let go' and Latin (*e*)*mittere* 'send (forth), let go' could be translated with OCS *pustiti* (SJS 3: 510). And since "[t]he Byzantine and Latin medieval codices concerning women's health drew mainly on the Hippocratic medical tradition, which was later reworked by the late Hellenistic medical practitioners" (Angusheva 2005: 8), both Greek and Latin seem possible original languages of prescription No 5.

The question now is how the new reading can be linked to the remainder of the prescription's text. If we consider that, according to the interpretation discussed here, the phraseme *ne puštaetъ sę* is to be read as 'blood is not let', the prescription can only be understood as providing a treatment for health problems that would otherwise be treated by bloodletting. In this regard, it is interesting to note that Hippocrates in his aphorisms IV.1 and V.29 prescribes purging as a therapy that, with some restrictions, could be prescribed during pregnancy: Τὰς κούσας φαρμακεύειν, ἢν ὄργῃ, τετράμηνα καὶ ἄχρι ἑπτὰ μηνῶν, ἥσσον δὲ ταύτας· τὰ δὲ νήπια καὶ τὰ πρεσβύτερα εὐλαβεῖσθαι χρή 'Purge pregnant women, should there be

44 Gebauer (1896: 339; 1898: 332, 341), Šimek (1911: 106). For some further Old Czech material, see *Lékařský sborník z knihovny knížat Czartoryských* (139–141, 173–179, 201, 206–208, 214) and *Sbírka pojednání z oboru ženského a dětského lékařství* (10r, 13v, 19v, 45r, 50r, 68r) (Vokabulář 2023).

45 SStp 7: 402.

46 Proxorov (2003: 125–126, 141).

47 The passive value is not paralleled elsewhere in the *Folia medicinalia*, as the only other verbal form with *se* occurring there is middle, cf. *I ašte se ezva zapečet* 'and if a wound becomes inflamed' (141av16–17).

48 Old Church Slavic periphrastic passives, employing passive participles, co-occur in this function and, furthermore, translate Greek periphrastic passives; they are thus distributionally unmarked.

orgasm, from the fourth to the seventh month, but these last less freely; the unborn child, in the first and last stages of pregnancy, should be treated very cautiously' (LCL 150: 134–135); Τὰς κούσας φαρμακεύειν, ἦν ὄργᾳ, τετράμηνα, καὶ ἄχρι ἑπτὰ μηνῶν ἦσσον· τὰ δὲ νήπια καὶ πρεσβύτερα εὐλαβεῖσθαι 'Purge pregnant women, if there be orgasm, from the fourth month to the seventh, but less in the latter case; care is needed when the unborn child is of less than four months or of more than seven' (LCL 150: 165–168). Thus, while bloodletting was to be avoided during pregnancy, purging could be performed with certain restrictions.

Now, considering that according to humoral theory, bloodletting and purging presented the usual therapy for treating the misbalance of humors responsible for an illness (Magner 2005: 101, 188–189; Stanford 2015a: 723), it seems possible that prescription No 5 provides a cathartic potion that could be used as an alternative to bloodletting during pregnancy. It could then be applied in case of a health problem that would under normal circumstances be treated by bloodletting to avoid a miscarriage.

The custom of treating illnesses caused by an imbalance of humors by both bloodletting and purging could also be responsible for an interesting distortion of Hippocrates's aphorisms IV.1 and V.29 (see above) spreading in medieval medical texts. For instance, in Trotula's influential works a corresponding passage refers not only to purgation but also to phlebotomy (Green 2001: 99), and this modification is also attested in a 15th-c. Old Czech manuscript, cf. *Die Ipokras, jest li ženě třeba počiščenie bráti aneb krev púšťeti, nemá před čtyřmi měsíci púšťeti ani bráti počiščenie a takéž po sedmi nedělích nemá toho učiniti*⁴⁹ 'Hippocrates says: if a woman needs to take a purge or let blood she is not to let (it) nor take a purge before four months and neither is she to do that after seven weeks(sic!)'. We believe that the inclusion of phlebotomy into the passage could have been facilitated by the common practice of prescribing the two treatments as a means to reestablish eucrasia, i.e., a balance of the basic humours.

According to this interpretation, the first part of the prescription can therefore be read as follows: 'if a woman is pregnant, blood is not let; [instead,] give her a laxative potion to drink'. This reading seems supported by collocations of the type

⁴⁹ Cf. *Sbírka pojednání z oboru ženského a dětského lékařství* (10r) (Vokabulář 2023). A partly corrupted and partly extended version of this passage occurs later in the same manuscript: *Die Ipokras, jest li ženě třeba počiščenie bráti neb krev púšťeti [...] ani bráti počiščenie a také po sedmi nedělích nemá toho učiniti. Ale štvrtý a pátý měsíc i šestý muož skrovně to s opatrností učiniti* (45r-v) 'Hippocrates says: if a woman needs to take a purge or let blood [...] nor take a purge and also she is not to do that after seven weeks (sic!). But in the fourth and the fifth month and the sixth she can sparingly do that with caution'.

**krъvъ pustiti* ‘let blood’ occurring in medieval medical texts translated to other early Slavic languages and justified by Old Church Slavic passives in *sę* (as a feasible translation strategy). As regards the narrative structure of the *Folia medicinalia*, a prohibitive, habitual passive construction following the conjunction *to* seems to be in line with the composition of the prescriptions.

However, it should be mentioned that in all other instances where *to* occurs in the manuscript, it is followed by an instruction containing an infinitive (or an imperative, unless the lack of <t> in <nasipai> 141bv14 in prescription No 15 is due to a scribal error), not by a present tense form. Moreover, the prescription remains vague in addressing the relevant health problem in this reading. Despite these issues, we believe that ‘blood is not let’ presents a plausible reading of the clause *ne puštaetъ sę kry*.

3.3.3 Conclusion on *ne puštaetъ sę kry*

In this section, we have examined various readings of the clause *ne puštaetъ sę kry*. In Section 3.3.1, we have concluded that Rosenschon’s ‘middle’ interpretation (‘blood does not release’) is plausible in linguistic terms but lacks motivation unless one specifies the meaning as ‘menstruation does not occur’. The prescription could then be interpreted as providing a treatment of the discomforts accompanying pregnancy due to the lack of the cleansing effect of menstruation. In Section 3.3.2, it has been argued that the alternative, ‘passive’ interpretation (‘blood is not let’) is reliable as well. While not allowing for an identification of the health problem addressed in prescription No 5, the reading of the verb *puštati* as referring to bloodletting can be substantiated by parallel examples in Slavic medical texts from later periods. Moreover, it seems to match the narrative structure of the *Folia Medicinalia* better. Thus, both readings have their advantages and disadvantages and there seems to be no clear reason for favoring one of them over the other.

Regarding the purpose of the prescription, we have suggested that in both cases it could be related to purgation. In Section 4 we will now address the problem of the ingredients of prescription No 5.

4 Considerations about the ingredients of prescription No 5

The last major problem faced by the philologist when dealing with prescription No 5 concerns its ingredients. Rosenschon (1991: 255; 1993: 144; 1994: 319–320) identifies *osęť* as *Sonchus* (G *Gänsedistel*), one of the plants designated by etymologically related names in contemporary Slavic (cf. also Miklas 2021: 105, 110–111). However, this meaning is limited to East Slavic languages (ĚSSJa 36: 77–79), which suggests that it presents an innovation of this group. Moreover, as Rosenschon notices herself, *Sonchus* is hardly ever mentioned in medieval herbal books and has not made its way into folk medicine. Only rarely ‘wise women’ prescribe it against toothache while ancient authors mainly apply the plant’s leaves externally. An internal application of its seeds with wine against *abortus imminens*, on the other hand, has not been reported (Rosenschon 1993: 144; 1994: 319–320).⁵⁰

Some other species of the family *Asteraceae* proposed so far, viz. *Onopordum acanthium* (Velčeva 1988: 128), *Carduus acanthoides* (Dobrev 1989–1990: 170; 1990: 26), and *Carduus collinus* (Šišková 1992: 181), seem more reliable as candidates for an early South Slavic or even Common Slavic meaning of *osęť*, at least if the areal distribution of the relevant reflexes is concerned (cf. ĚSSJa 36: 77–79). Unlike *Sonchus*, these three plants belong to the subfamily *Carduoideae*, which is reflected in their similarity. However, as in the case of *Sonchus*, it has not been demonstrated that any of these species was used in a way that is described in prescription No 5. In view of this difficulty, the question is worth addressing what exactly is attempted to be identified as “the ingredient” and on what assumptions this is done. Two basic possibilities come to mind, depending on whether the text was originally written in Slavic or translated.

If the Slavic text is considered genuine, the meaning of the phytonym (or another term for the ingredient), as corroborated by Slavic cognates, might speak for itself. Unfortunately, there seems to be no criterion for ruling out a foreign origin of the *Folia medicinalia* at the current stage of research. Notwithstanding this, it seems probable that the earliest medical texts written in a Slavic language were translated,

⁵⁰ Note that Rosenschon’s (1993: 144; 1994: 319–320) reservation regarding the use of *Sonchus* in folk medicine does not seem justified. The plant is, for example, discussed by Guarrera (2003) and Guarrera & Savo (2013) in the context of the folk traditions of Italy. However, with regard to the interpretation of prescription No 5, it should be noted that only the leaves and the latex of *Sonchus* are mentioned as ingredients of popular medical prescriptions.

presumably though not necessarily from Greek or Latin.⁵¹ In this case, our task should consist in identifying the original, which would directly point to the real ingredient. It should be noted that the exact semantic correspondence between the original and the translated phytonyms cannot always be taken for granted, considering that confusion of phytonyms does not seem to be uncommon in older manuscripts (cf. the Polish examples below). Problems arise when neither the meaning of the phytonym is self-evident nor the supposed original can be identified. In theory, some circumstances might at least support the assumption of a translation. For example, the use of some specific constructions might be viewed as an indication of a foreign origin. However, one may argue that such constructions could simply be imitated from other (either original or translated) prescriptions or that they are trivial or somehow imposed by the genre: e.g., the recurrent schema *egda/ašte... to... 'when/if... then...'* possibly imitates Hippocrates's prescriptions beginning with "Hv..." 'if' and the use of the infinitive in the 'consequent' part (cf. *dati* in prescription No 5) could be inspired by Greek (cf. Večerka 1996: 85); importantly, however, similar constructions show up in genuine Slavic prescriptive texts too, like the *Russkaya Pravda* (Pičxadze 2010: 17). Also the role of loanwords and calques may not be entirely secure (note *ne puštaet' sę* as a possible calque in prescription No 5, see Section 3.3.2).⁵² Ultimately, in our view, neither of the two basic interpretations (viz. "original" vs. "translated") has proven to be superior in light of the previous studies, and settling this issue must remain beyond the scope of this paper as well, since it would require a holistic treatment of the entire manuscript, instead of the detailed discussion of a single prescription offered here, as well as an examination of the critical editions of numerous older pharmacopoeias and medical treatises of other types (including those written in Arabic).

What seems probable to us is that the *Folia medicinalia* are a compilation of – possibly translated – prescriptions rather than a translation of an excerpt from a single work.⁵³ This is evidenced by the mixing of two approaches, the "Dioscoridian", i.e., ingredient-oriented one in the prescriptions 1–4, 9b, and possibly 13 (according to the numbering in Miklas et al. 2021) and the "Hippocratic", i.e., disease-

51 Incidentally, Daiber (2021) recently suggested that the Old Church Slavic Live of St. Cyril contains a hitherto unnoticed quotation from Galen.

52 The only unambiguous and possibly *ad hoc* loanword in *Folia medicinalia* is *tem'ěň* 'thyme' (141br9/10) in prescription No 10.

53 In this regard, note also Angusheva (2005: 9): "In short, in the South Slavic tradition the texts concerning the health of the woman appeared rarely and predominantly as part of manuscripts containing various other works unrelated, or only remotely related, to medicine. This fact suggests that the South Slavic manuscripts were not produced for particular medical schools or exclusively for medical practitioners, but rather appeared as a branch of other activities of the literate part of the monastic or lay population."

oriented one in the remaining 16 prescriptions.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the manuscript contains at least one veterinary prescription, dedicated to horses (No 14 and possibly 15 and 16, which do not mention separate addressees), and one magical formula (16). While these facts are not decisive for the origin of the Slavic text, we find it rather improbable that it might have been created without any reference to older traditions. Ultimately, we deem it probable that even an individual prescription of the *Folia medicinalia* can comprise (possibly translated) parts of earlier texts. In the subsequent paragraphs, we would like to complement this rather vague conclusion with two further desiderata pertaining more specifically to prescription No 5.

The first is connected to identifying plants (apart from the main denomination itself, which might be ambiguous or unknown to the reader). Since none of the two pre-Linnean practices, viz. comparative description and synonymy (cf. Earle 1880: xvii), are applied in prescription No 5, we are left with only a short passage that provides us with further information about the plant: *sęmę estъ vъ glavaхъ* ‘the seed is in heads’.⁵⁵ Given its exclusive descriptive value within the relevant prescription, we believe that an identification of the plant can be deemed plausible only under the following conditions.

If the Slavic origin of the text were assumed, one would have to justify that OCS *glava* or its early Slavic cognates could describe the part of a given plant in which the seed (singular? collective?) is contained. In view of the lack of early attestations of this type, one might invoke later cognates, which are well attested as botanical terms (cf. SP 8: 58–59). One serious difficulty in solving this problem by relying on later cognates is, however, the possible influence of the modern Latin terminology, in which *capitula* denote, among others, flower heads of *Asteraceae*, including *Carduoideae*. Probably, dialectal sources should therefore be preferred to scholarly works. While the available synthetic dialectal dictionaries do not corroborate the existence of cognates of OCS *glava* as simplex nouns with the relevant meaning, they contain some compound phytonyms denoting *Carduoideae*, cf. Polish dial. *barania głowa* (literally: ‘ram head’) ‘*Centurea jacea*’ (SGP 8: 438); Russian dial. *Adamo-va golova* (literally: ‘Adam’s head’) ‘various plants of the genus *Centaurea*; *Echinops*

⁵⁴ The tentative reference to the names of the two Ancient Greek scholars is proposed here in connection with the structure of the prescriptions contained in Hippocrates’s *De natura muliebri* (LCL 520) and Dioscorides’s *De materia medica* (Wellmann 1907). Cf. also Miklas et al. (2021: 103) who, with regard to the disease-based structure, point to medieval texts known as *Iatrosophia*.

⁵⁵ One may argue that the function of this passage is rhetorical rather than descriptive, i.e., that it mainly introduces the seed as the ingredient (regardless of it being in heads), which will be referred to anaphorically in the subsequent part of the prescription, cf. *togo in togo ġ sętlъkъše* ‘having ground up 30 of this’. This interpretation is, however, contradicted by the general conciseness of the prescriptions in the *Folia medicinalia*, wherein superfluous rhetorical effects are avoided.

ritro, *sobač'ja golova* (literally: 'dog head') '*Centaurea jacea*' (SRNG 6: 289–300). This, however, does not rule out some other botanical meanings of OCS *glava*, e.g., spherical capsules, like those of *Linum usitatissimum* (flax) and *Papaver rhoeas* (common poppy), attested for Slavic cognates and their suffixed derivatives (ÈSSJa 7: 8–9; SP 8: 58–68). If, on the other hand, the text was to be recognized as translated, it would suffice to identify the (non-Slavic) word in the presumed original text that denotes both the human or animal head and the part of a given plant in which the seed is contained. In any event, this passage should not be ignored in future studies.

The second feature of the text that, in our view, has not been given enough attention is the attribute *veliki* 'large', cf. GEN.SG *osęta velikago*. It would be rather unconvincing to assume that it was used *ad hoc*, i.e., as pointing to a large specimen of *osęta* (regardless of the latter's meaning). Furthermore, a binomial term has most probably not been inherited from Common Slavic. Rather, the syntagma reflects a strategy of naming a less familiar plant by invoking a similar but more familiar one (as though the *genus*) as well as the most notable difference between the two (as though the *differentia specifica*). Let us inspect, for the sake of illustration, the Old Polish uses of *oset* (the cognate of OCS *osęta*), both with and without attributes. The Old Polish data (collected in SStp 5: 639–640) seem sufficiently relevant, since it is in this language that early reflexes of CSL. **osęta* were attested as denoting specific plants the most frequently, and, moreover, as modified by adjectives, including *wiel(i)ki* (the cognate of OCS *veliki*).

The bare noun *oset* occurring in 15th-c. manuscripts has been related by scholars to five or six different plants, three of which do not belong to *Carduoideae*, nor even *Asteraceae*, cf. *Crataegus oxyacantha* L. (i.e., *Crataegus monogyna*), *Delphinium consolida* L. (i.e., *Consolida regalis*), and *Dipsacus* (SStp 5: 639). In our opinion, only the latter genus is similar to thistles. Two other Old Polish botanical meanings of *oset* are 'gall on the fruits of a wild rose' and 'thorn bush'. Eight plants were denoted by Old Polish *oset* modified by an adjective, three of which pertain to the adjective *wiel(i)ki* 'large' (SStp 5: 639–640). It is worth noting that among these (both all the instances of *oset* modified by an adjective and the subset of cases with *wiel(i)ki*), only one species belongs to *Carduoideae* (and *Asteraceae*), namely *Arctium lappa*. In most cases, it is even difficult to determine which feature enabled the association with the subfamily in question.⁵⁶

Whereas the way Slavic phytonyms corresponding to OCS *osęta veliki* have been coined in the modern period is more straightforward, both in later stages of

56 Cf. ADJ *mały* 'small' – *Lavandula*; ADJ *psi* 'dog' – *Leonurus cardiaca*; ADJ *wiel(i)ki* 'large' – *Triticum repens* L. (i.e., *Elymus repens*), *Arctium lappa*, and *Andropogon lanifer* (*laniger*?) Desf. (i.e., possibly, *Cymbopogon jwarancusa*); ADJ *wilczy* 'wolf' – *Tithymalus* (i.e., *Euphorbia*); ADJ *wodny* 'water' – *Trapa natans*, *Stratiotes aloides* (SStp 5: 639–640).

Polish⁵⁷ and in other Slavic languages,⁵⁸ the situation faced by medieval Slavic translators must have been quite different.⁵⁹ In our view, Old Polish may therefore present the closest parallel and suggests that OCS *osęť veliki* could describe a plant whose relationship or even similarity to *Carduoideae* was not self-evident.

Alternatively, if the entire text of prescription No 5 were viewed as translated word by word, one may argue that OCS *veliki* stands for, e.g., Latin *magnus* or *maior*, which both occurred frequently as attributes within compound phytonyms long before Linnaeus. If so, the Slavic translation of the name of the ingredient might be hybrid: *osęť* would replace a noun, which might well refer to a species not belonging to *Carduoideae*, and *veliki* would literally translate an accompanying adjective. In any event, future studies should somehow account for the presence of the adjective in the Slavic text, and this holds for some other prescriptions of the *Folia medicinalia* too.

Before concluding the paper, we would like to mention three different Ancient Greek prescriptions that match some of the features of prescription No 5. While they cannot be considered the direct sources for the latter, due to significant deviations in the texts, it cannot be excluded that at least one of them is reflected in prescription No 5 in a less direct way. As we have seen on the example of the Old

57 While most of the plants called *oset wielki* (*wielgi*) in the Middle Polish period do belong to *Carduoideae* or resemble one or another species of this subfamily, the phytonym's polysemy and the foreign origin of some species denoted by it must be acknowledged. Marcin of Urzędów (Vrzędow 1595: 72) translates the synonyms *Carduus sylvestris*, *Scolymus*, *Strobilus*, *Cicinara*, *Cinaria* (i.e., probably, *Cynara cardunculus*) as *Ofet wielgi*, but the headline contains the adjective *wyfoki* 'high'. Cnapius (1621: 689) attributes *Ofet wielki* as a name for *Paliurus* (considered incorrect in the second edition, Cnapius 1643: 663) to Marcin of Urzędów. In two works attributed to Wiczorkowicz (1719: 21, 25, 488, 522; 1724: 191), *ofet wielki* is mentioned alongside synonyms: *Labrum Veneris*, which might render *Dipsacus* (cf. SPXVI 10: 428 s.v. *knapi*), and *Carduus Mariae*, *Oftropeft* (i.e., *Silybum marianum*). Krupiński (1775: 206) includes only the latter species (cf. the synonyms *Oftropeft*, *Carduus Mariae*, etc.) but changes the adjective to *wyfoki* 'high' in the register (Krupiński 1775: [1077]). It is unclear what plant is meant by Kluk (1780: 231).

58 Kashubian *v'elgi ost* has been recorded in two localities as a term for *Carduus crispus* (SGK 3: 342). Middle Ukrainian *osotъ velykyj*, occurring in a mid-18th c. manuscript (Peredrijenko 1984: 63), is irrelevant, since it translates Polish *oset wielki* (*Silybum marianum*) from Wiczorkowicz (1724: 191), cf. the previous footnote. As regards Slovene, we have come across *veliki osat* as a term for *Arctus lappa* in a regional magazine (Fitomedicina 2019: 26). According to Marko Snoj (p. c.), it occurs only since the 20th c. as a technical term.

59 Two important differences are due to manual copying, as the sole medieval practice, as opposed to printing in later times: the low availability of works that might be consulted and the accumulation of errors in subsequent handwritten copies and translations. Another one can be posited in connection with the Renaissance methodological revival, cf. the critical approach to the transmission of older texts, advocated by Leonicensio (Nutton 2022: 101). Last but not least, the level of education as well as the general knowledge of various plants must have increased over time.

Czech manuscript in Section 3.3.2, the transmission of medical recipes was susceptible to distortions, and it seems possible that several prescriptions were (accidentally or not) merged into one.

The first passage comes from Hippocrates's *De natura muliebri*: Αἷμα ὡσαύτως ἐξελάσαι ἐκ μητρέων· ροῦ τὸν καρπὸν, ὅταν ἐρυθρίσῃ, τρίβων κόκκους τριήκοντα χλωροὺς καὶ κυνὸς ρόδα ἐρυθρά, περιλέγων τὸ ἐρυθρόν, αὐτὰ τρίβων ἐν οἴνῳ διδόναι πιεῖν ἔστ' ἂν τὸ αἷμα ῥαγῇ 'To drive blood out of the uterus in the same way: grind sumac fruit that is already red, thirty green (sc. Cnidian) berries, and red dog roses from which you separate the red part: grind these in wine, and give to drink until blood breaks out' (LCL 520: 320–321). Most notable here are the gynecological and purgative context, the quantity of 30 seeds, and the phrase τρίβων ἐν οἴνῳ διδόναι πιεῖν 'grind these in wine, and give to drink' (cf. *da togo ġ sztlɛkɔʒe vɛ vinɛ dati ispiti* FolMed 141ar17–19). Furthermore, it is worth noting that Hippocrates often starts prescriptions from the condition, e.g., Ἦν γυνή 'if a woman', which is similar to OCS *egda žena* 'when a woman' (FolMed 141ar13); this is, however, not reflected in this particular prescription. Pregnancy is not explicitly mentioned here – rather, one can infer from the previous three prescriptions that this one is concerned with cleansing the uterus after a miscarriage. Furthermore, the three ingredients do not match the description *sěmę estɛ vɛ glavaxɔ* and the compound phytonym *osɔtɛ velikɔ*.

The other two passages come from Dioscorides. As already noticed by Ronschön (1993: 141; 1994: 316), 30 seeds of *Arum dracunculus* (dragon arum) drunk with vinegar, according to Dioscorides, induce a miscarriage: ποθέντες δὲ ὅσον τριάκοντα κόκκοι μετ' ὄξυκράτου ἐξαμβλώσκουσι, καὶ τὴν ὄσμην δὲ φασὶ κατὰ τὸν μαρμασμὸν τῆς ἀνθήσεως τῶν ἄρτι συνειλημμένων ἐμβρύων φθόριον εἶναι 'A quantity of thirty seeds, drunk with sour wine mixed with water, causes miscarriages and they say that the smell of its fading flowers is destructive to newly conceived embryos' (II,166; Wellmann 1907: 231; Beck 2005: 163). Again, we find a correspondence in the quantity of the seeds and in the fact that it is drunk with a potation, in this case, however, sour wine (vinegar).

The last passage that we would like to mention here is Dioscorides's description of *Ricinus communis* (castor beans) as a laxative: καταρθέντες δὲ ὅσον τριάκοντα κόκκοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ποθέντες λεῖοι ἄγουσι κατὰ κοιλίαν φλέγμα καὶ χολὴν καὶ ὕδωρ· κινουῦσι δὲ καὶ ἔμετον 'About thirty seeds in number, cleaned and drunk ground up drive through the bowels phlegm, bile, and water; they also cause vomiting' (IV,161; Wellmann 1906: 306; Beck 2005: 311–312). In this case, the similarity to prescriptions No 5 consists in the quantity of the seeds and the fact that they are ground up and drunk. A gynecological context, on the other hand, is lacking from Dioscorides's prescription, although the general formulation of the latter does not exclude it either. There is, moreover, no mention of the type of potation with which

Ricinus communis is supposed to be drunk. Possibly, the latter was of minor importance for the effect of the medicine. Considering that certain types of wine were known to have a purgative effect (Jouanna 2012: 190), it seems assumable that it presented a possible choice. Besides, Dioscorides commonly mentions wine in his prescriptions. There is no passage corresponding to *семеę естръ вѣ главахъ* in Dioscorides's prescription either. However, *Ricinus communis* has spherical capsules, which could be identified with *glava*.⁶⁰ Last but not least, it is interesting to note that *Ricinus communis* was referred to as *Cataputia maior* (as opposed to *Cataputia minor*, designating *Euphorbia lathyris*) at least since the 13th c.⁶¹ Provided that prescription No 5 is based on a Latin original, the adjective attribute *великѣи* could thus be explained as translating Lat *maior*.⁶²

If one compares these three passages with the interpretations proposed for prescription No 5, it might be concluded that Hippocrates's recipe and Dioscorides's description of the effects of *Arum dracunculus* come closest to the interpretation by Miklas et al. (2021) as a means to induce menstruation after having given birth (see Section 3.1 for more details). However, in both cases additional assumptions are necessary. As regards Hippocrates's prescription, we have to assume that it does not only provide a means to cleanse the uterus after a miscarriage but also after a successful delivery. To reconcile Dioscorides's statement about the effect of *Arum dracunculus* with the interpretation by Miklas et al. (2021), one would have to assume that potions causing abortion were also used for inducing menstruation. Considering that drugs inducing menstruation seem to have been used also as abortifacients (Fischer 1927: 8–9), an inverse application of an abortifacient as a means to induce menstruation does not seem implausible. However, as we have shown in Section 3, the reading by Miklas et al. (2021) of the phrase *отроčęmъ ходити* is most likely incorrect. One would, therefore, have to assume a rather dramatic distortion

60 One may also argue, albeit impressionistically, that inflorescences of *Ricinus communis* to some extent resemble those of *Carduoideae*. As regards the geographical distribution of *Ricinus communis*, its appearance in the Mediterranean Basin and in Eastern Africa does not rule out an identification with the plant mentioned in prescription No 5.

61 Below, the 13th c. works, attested in later copies, are ordered chronologically (according to the terminus ante quem), and the information is given which of the compound names is featured in each of them (or rather in the extant copies): (i) *C. minor* (1258, Ventura 2019: 858); (ii) *C. minor* (1264, in Hebrew script; Bos et al. 2017: 53); (iii) *C. minor* (before 1269, possibly 1249–1251, Wickersheimer 1953: 638); (iv) *C. minor* & *maior* (probably the 1270s, Labarta et al. 2004: 23, 337, 347); (v) *C. minor* (before the end of the 13th c., Albertotti 1897: 54–56), (vi) *C. maior* (the end of the 13th c., Arveiller 1999: 199). Note that (v) is frequently related to the early 13th or even the 12th c. (see the entries on Ben(e)venutus Grapheus in LDM 1: 1923; DLM 3: 224–225).

62 Note the curious trace of a Latin inscription in the manuscript (Miklas & Hürner 2015a: 10).

in the transmission of prescription No 5 in order to justify its identification with one of these two passages.

Dioscorides's description of *Ricinus communis*, on the other hand, could be reconciled with the interpretation of prescription No 5 proposed in this paper, cf. the famous laxative effect of this plant. Apart from the features discussed above, further evidence would, however, be needed to render this relation plausible (e.g., lexical parallels corroborating that *Ricinus communis* could be associated with *Carduoideae*; philological evidence for intermediate stages in the textual transmission; the chronological priority of the Latin phytonym *Cataputia maior* over the *Folia medicinalia*).⁶³

To conclude, while the fairly speculative nature of the above considerations must be acknowledged, we hope to have highlighted certain facts that can potentially help to identify the origin of prescription No 5.

5 Summary and final conclusion

Our understanding of prescription No 5 of the *Folia medicinalia* crucially depends on the interpretation of two phrases occurring in its first part: *otročęmъ xoditъ* and *ne puštaetъ sę kry*. In this paper we have, first of all, brought forward hitherto unnoticed evidence that *otročęmъ xoditъ* is to be read as 'is pregnant', as it was originally suggested by Rosenschon (1991; 1993; 1994). We have then explored different explanations of the unexpected bare instrumental case in this construction. Our conclusion was that it is more likely to be explained as resulting from ellipsis in structures of the type 'to walk (pregnant/)burdened/heavy because of...' than as an archaic comitative instrumental without a preposition. As regards the phrase *ne puštaetъ sę kry*, we have considered both the reading as middle ('blood does not release') and as passive ('blood is not let'). The former presents the *communis opinio* while the latter seems to occur solely in Dobrev's (1989–1990; 1990) translation of the text. As we have shown, evidence from Slavic medical manuscripts of later date allows substantiating the passive hypothesis as a plausible solution.

Based on our analysis of the phrases *otročęmъ xoditъ* and *ne puštaetъ sę kry*, we have then suggested two different interpretations of the health issue that is addressed in the manuscript. Drawing on Rosenschon (1993; 1994) and Miklas et al. (2021), the first relies on the middle reading of *ne puštaetъ sę kry* and assumes that

⁶³ To be explicit, in this interpretation, the entire prescription No 5 would amount to a compilation: first, being disease-oriented, it would include a variation on Dioscorides's ingredient-oriented prescription; second, it would put the latter into a narrower, gynecological context; third, the name of the ingredient would follow a then recent innovation in the Latin botanical terminology.

the prescription provides a means to treat women who, in the medical understanding of the time, suffered from a lack of menstruation during pregnancy. Prescription No 5 could then be understood as a treatment of the discomforts accompanying pregnancy. Assuming that the administered drug presents a purgative, the recipe could then be read as follows: “If a woman is pregnant, blood does not release [she has no purging menstruation]; [to salvage this,] give her a laxative potion to drink”. The second interpretation builds on the passive reading. In this case, too, we assume that the prescription is concerned with purgation. It is meant as an alternative to bloodletting, which in the state of pregnancy was believed to cause abortion (though, admittedly, not by all medieval authors): “If a woman is pregnant, blood is not let; [instead,] give her a cathartic potion to drink”.

Both of the above interpretations have advantages and disadvantages. The first interpretation, if read as providing a treatment for discomforts during pregnancy, is the only interpretation that allows for a more or less clear identification of the health problem addressed in the prescription. According to the overall structure of the *Folia medicinalia* we would, however, rather expect an instruction following the conjunction *to* and not a description of the health problem. Moreover, we have not come across clear parallels for collocations combining the verb *pustiti* ‘let’ and the noun *kry* (or *крьвь*) ‘blood’ referring to menstruation. The interpretation of *ne puštaetъ sę kry* as referring to bloodletting, on the other hand, is supported by evidence from other medieval manuscripts. If read as a prohibitive instruction, it furthermore conforms to the composition of the *Folia medicinalia* better than the first reading. However, it should be mentioned that in all other occurrences of the conjunction *to* in the *Folia medicinalia* the following clause contains an infinitive or, in one instance, an imperative. Another disadvantage is constituted by the fact that the second interpretation does not allow for a clear identification of the health problem addressed in prescription No 5. One has to assume that it provides an alternative for any illness that would otherwise be treated by bloodletting.

As regards the ingredients of prescription No 5, we have argued that the geographical distribution of reflexes of **osъtъ* with the meaning ‘Sonchus’ as well as the fact that it is usually the leaves or the latex of *Sonchus* that are used in medical prescriptions speak against the identification of the phytonym occurring in the text under scrutiny with this plant. We have then suggested that the quantity in which the seeds are administered (‘30’; first referred to by Rosenschon 1993; 1994) as well as the presence of the attributive adjective *velikъi* ‘large’ could provide a clue for identifying the plant behind the phytonym **osъtъ*. Interestingly, Dioscorides prescribes 30 seeds of *Ricinus communis* as a laxative. Moreover, this plant is often referred to as *Cataputia maior* in late medieval sources, which would provide an explanation of the use of the adjective in prescription No 5. However, since we cannot substantiate the assumption that the plants which in Slavic were designated by

the phytonym **osъtъ* could be confused with *Ricinus communis* by independent evidence, these considerations must remain speculative. Thus, while we believe to have clarified the reading of *otročęmъ xoditъ* and evaluated two possible readings of *ne puštaetъ sę kry*, the problem about the phytonym occurring in prescription No 5 still awaits a solution.

Abbreviations

Texts:

Bes	Besédy na evangelije papy Grigorija Velikago
Cloz	Glagolita Clozianus
Euch	Euchologium Sinaiticum
IXF10	Hodoški miscellany
Supr	Codex Suprasliensis

Grammar:

AFF	affirmative
AUX	auxiliary
CONV	converb
GEN	genitive
DAT	dative
DIM	diminutive
F	feminine
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
LOC	locative
M	masculine
N	neuter
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRF	perfect
PRS	present
PTCP	participle
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
SG	singular

Languages:

BCMS	Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, Serbian
Čak	Čakavian
CSL	Common Slavic

G	German
Ka	Kashubian
OCS	Old Church Slavic
OPo	Old Polish
OŠtk	Old Štokavian
Plb	Polabian
PSl	Proto-Slavic
RuCS	Russian Church Slavic
Sl	Slavic
Sln	Slovene

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