JULIA VERKHOLANTSEV

Et nata ex etymo fabula: Cosmas of Prague, the Medieval Practice of *Etymologia*, and the Writing of History

Abstract

This article represents a larger project that seeks to understand the function and implications of the use of etymologies in the writing of history in the Middle Ages. I examine the strategy of historians to etymologize within the framework of grammatical theories and historiographic methods of Latin scholarship. I conclude that, contrary to the traditional view that medieval etymologies are literary tropes and wordplay in all contexts, medieval historians used etymology as an epistemological instrument of discovery that helped them verify anecdotal information from oral tradition in order to adapt it to Christian historical discourse. This article focuses on the earliest annalistic narrative about the history of Bohemia, the *Chronica Boemorum* (*c*. 1125), and examines how its author, Cosmas of Prague, utilizes etymologies in the legendary sections of his masterpiece, and what role he ascribes to them in the mechanism of story-telling. Close reading and formal analysis of selected passages with etymological content show that etymologies are used as evidence to recover reality outside language (*i.e.* discover origins), and in that capacity they motivate the story itself and expand the narrative.[1]

In a prefatory letter to his *Chronica Boemorum*, addressed to Master Gervasius, Cosmas of Prague, an early twelfth-century dean of the cathedral church in Prague, like many historians before and after him, laments the inadequacy of his verbal art:

> Cum acceperis hanc scedulam, scias, quod tibi transmiserim Boemorum chronicam, quam ego nullo gramatice artis lepore politam, sed simpliciter et vix latialiter digestam tue prudentie singulari examinandam deliberavi, quatinus tuo sagaci iudicio aut omnino abiciatur, ne a quoquam legatur

aut, si legi adiudicatur, lima tue examinationis ad unguem prius elimetur aut potius, quod magis rogo, per te ex integro latialius enucleetur. Nam id solum opere precium duxi in meo opere, ut vel tu, cui a Deo collata est sapientia, vel alii potiores scientia, sicut Virgilius habuit Troe excidia et Stacius Eacidia, ita ipsi hoc meum opus habeant pro materia, quo et suam scientiam posteris notificent et nomen sibi memoriale in secula magnificent. (Cosmas 2–3)

When you receive this small leaf of paper, know that I have sent you a chronicle of the Czechs. Although it is not polished by any grace of grammatical art but is composed simply and barely in Latin, I have resolved that it should be examined by your exceptional wisdom, so that by your perceptive judgment it might either be entirely rejected and so that nobody could read it, or, if judged worthy of reading, that it might be first perfectly polished by the nib of your criticism; or rather, for which I pray more, that it might be reworked by you afresh in better Latin. For the only value I see in my work is that it may provide material either for you, on whom God has bestowed wisdom, or for others who are more gifted with wisdom [than I], who could use my work to make their art known to posterity and forever glorify their names, just as Virgil did with the *Destruction of Troy* and Statius with the *Achilleid*.[2]

Even though Cosmas's composition and style have been described as not at all lacking in the rhetorical and grammatical sophistication shown by the most erudite of his time (Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika* 130; Pabst 870–75; Švanda), let us not rush to see in Cosmas's words a mere convention of authorial self-depreciation and modesty. From his revisions and his prefaces, we learn that Cosmas indeed took the quality and precision of linguistic expression to heart: he continuously worked on the language of his text and circulated revised versions among the local learned for feedback.[3]

The 'linguistic' and the 'narrative turns' in the theoretical study of historiography have drawn more scholarly attention to the inherent connection between the content of the historical narrative and its form – language (Stein; Spiegel, "Revising the Past" and "Theory into Practice;" Toews; Ankersmit). Medieval authors themselves of-

2. All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are mine: since I worked with the original Latin text it felt appropriate to translate relevant passages into English the way I understand and use them in my close reading. For the most recent Czech translation, see Hrdina, Bláhová, and Moravová. For an English translation, see Wolverton, *The Chronicle*.

3. For a description of the literary environment in which Cosmas worked and the chronicle's supposed readership, see Třeštík, *Kosmova kronika* 44–49; Bláhová, "Historická paměť."

ten speak of rhetoric and grammar as the necessary tools of a historian, and they expressively comment on the paucity and deficiency of their own styles. Looking past the humility topos allows us to recognize that this anxiety is indicative of the special role that historians assigned to language as a locus of historical discourse in its capacity not only to teach, amuse, and affect but also to recover the past accurately.[4] Unlike modern historians, who strive for the possibility of an unbiased historical narrative, medieval authors may have come to terms with the fact that history is trapped in "the prison-house of language" (Jameson) and that such truth-claims are fully predicated on linguistic representation and reflection.

Etymologia and the Writing of History

From medieval theories of grammar and rhetoric, we know that *etymologia* – a heuristic and metaphysical interpretational tool with its own set of principles and reasoning – was approached by the learned as the foundation of all verbal expression. However, let us not make any direct connection between the medieval practice of *etymologia* and the contemporary scholarly principles and uses of etymology as a sub-field of historical linguistics. While modern historical and comparative linguistics determines genetic relationships between words on the basis of regular phonological change, the medieval theory of *etymologia* is grounded in the a priori axiom that any sound similarities in human language are not coincidental but providential, and, therefore, meaningful and revealing. If modern etymology is a historical discipline, medieval *etymologia* is ahistorical (in our understanding), its object of study being considered ontologically outside of time.[5]

The traces of intuitive etymological thinking are already found in the oral tradition of ancient societies and are described by anthropologists (Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*). As a scholarly concept, the idea of the non-arbitrariness of names, or what we call 'linguistic naturalism', is not the invention of medieval theorists but rather dates back to classical and late antique thought. It is questioned in Plato's *Cratylus* (Joseph 1–89; Sedley 25–50; Baxter); developed philosophically by the Greek Stoics (one of whom – Chrysippus – likely coined the very term *etymologia*);[6] explained formally by the Roman Stoic Marcus Terentius Varro in the *De lingua Latina*; criticized, but also applied to Christian discourse by Augustine in *De dialecti-*

4. Following the principles of classical rhetoric established by Cicero and Quintilian, medieval historians strived to teach, amuse, and affect (*docere, delectare, movere*) the reader: see Kempshall 8–9.

5. For a quick overview and bibliography, see Tsitsibakou-Vasalos. For a succinct account and collection of primary sources, see Copeland and Sluiter, 339–66. For a more detailed history of the development of etymological method in late antique and early medieval grammatical thought, see Klinck; Amsler, *Etymology;* Opelt.

6. See: Allen; Colish 56–60; Long; Struck 131–39; Domaradzki.

7. Amsler, *Etymology* 24–29; 44–55, 100–18; Taylor, *Declinatio* 23–28, 65–73; Făgărăşanu; Den Boeft. For case studies of the use of *etymologia* as a tool of Christian exegesis, see, for instance, Hill; Major.

8. "…a strong genealogical line of linguistic theory runs from the ancient Stoics through the Middle Ages" (Badzell 110).

9. In the chapter "*De etymologia,*" Isidore explains the main principles of etymological technique, which is based on both semantic and morphological criteria. Semantically, etymologies may be motivated by: (i) a cause, reason (*ex causa*), such as *reges* (kings) from *regendum* (ruling) and *recte agendum* (acting correctly); (ii) an origin (*ex origine*), such as *homo* (man), who is from *humus* (earth); (iii) an antithesis (*ex contrariis*), such as *lutum* (mud), which needs *lavandum* (washing); and (iv) names of places, cities or rivers (although Isidore speaks about this derivation separately it may be considered as a subcategory of [ii]). Morphologically, etymologies may be derived from: (i) other words (such as *prudens* from *prudentia*); (ii) other sounds (such as *garrulus* from *garrulitas*); (iii) words in Greek and other languages (*domus*) (*Etymologiae* 1.29.3–5).

10. Fontaine; Engels; Amsler, *Etymology* 133–72; Irvine 209–43. For a more recent bibliography on Isidorian thought and works, see Barney *et al.*

11. "Haec disciplina ad Grammaticam pertinent, quia quidquid dignum memoria est litteris mandatur" (*Etymologiae* 1.41.2). Rabanus Maurus also speaks about grammar as a science of interpreting poets and historians alike: "Grammatica est scientia interpretandi poetas atque historicos et recta scribendi loquendique ratio" (*De institutione clericorum* 3.18).

12. "Historia est narratio rei gestae, per quam ea, quae in praeterito facta sunt, dinoscuntur" (*Etymologiae* 1.41.1). According to Isidore, "*Disciplina* takes its name from 'learning,' whence it can also be called 'knowledge, science, skill' (*scientia*): ("Disciplina a discendo nomen accepit: unde et scientia dici potest." *Etymologiae* 1.1.1). Isidore, and the Latin scholarship after him, make a distinction between *ars* and *disciplina,* the former translating the Greek *technē,*

ca, De doctrina Christiana and *De Trinitate*; and put into biblical exegetical practice by Jerome.[7] In the Christian discourse, the biblical narrative of Creation of the world through naming certainly played a significant inspirational role. Although medieval philosophers and grammarians seemed to know some of the Stoic ideas,[8] most literati learned about *etymologia* from one of the fathers of Latin medieval scholarship, Isidore of Seville (*c.* 560–636), who had passed on to them much of classical and late antique learning. In the twenty books of his encyclopedic *Etymologiae sive origines*, Isidore not only explains in theory[9] but also demonstrates in practice how one can arrive at the knowledge of the ontological nature of things and concepts in human life through interpreting their linguistic signification.[10] Importantly, Isidore discusses *etymologia* as a part of grammar, not as a part of rhetoric, and thus his primary interest in etymological examination is not its ability to be used for enhancing oratory skills but its epistemological potential.

Isidore's approach to language as a repository of human memory influenced the way that all those schooled in the Latin tradition thought about and used language for the next several centuries. Following Isidore, they imagined letters as having symbolic significance and mystical ability to open up the archive of human history, and in their minds, just as Isidore taught, the 'discipline of history' depended solely on the study of language or 'grammar' "because whatever is worthy of remembrance is committed to writing."[11] Noteworthy is that although *historia* does not appear in medieval curricula as a special subject of study, Isidore recognizes it as a distinct field of knowledge and calls it a *disciplina* – "a narration of what happened, by means of which the things that occurred in the past are discerned."[12]

If etymological interpretation started as an erudite method, fit primarily for Christian exegesis, Isidore's *Etymologies* made it a versatile scholarly linguistic tool for centuries to come. Theoretical principles of medieval *etymologia* have been primarily studied in the framework of grammatical theory and related discourses of interpretation and rhetoric; that is, in discourses in which an etymon refers to language, and not to reality outside of language. Besides uses in Christian exegesis, medieval etymologies have earned the reputation of a trope of figurative language and homonymic wordplay, as well as of a mechanism for creating terminology and mnemonic aids.[13] Influenced by the modern notion of correctness of etymological analysis based on words' genetic relationship, modern linguistic and historiographic scholarship largely ignores and even dismisses the se-

the latter corresponding to *epistēmē* (Hadot 193–99). For the semantic transformation of the term *disciplina* from the classical to early medieval tradition, see Marrou, and for the

perception of *disciplina* as a body of knowledge, see Copeland 141–44.

13. See: Klinck 138–84; Culler; Badzell; Paul Taylor; Reynolds 80–87; O'Hara 102–11; Del Bello; Rydel; Carruthers; Kann.

14. One of the first to dismiss the epistemological use of etymologies was Ernst Robert Curtius, who considered most cases of etymologizing as "insipid trifling" and "ornament of poetry," although he admits that Isidore himself proceeds "from *verba to res"* (Curtius 495–500, esp. 496–97).

15. Among studies that approach etymologizing in etiological and metaphysical terms, see, for example, Mark Amsler's examination of Isidore's and Vico's use of etymology in the interpretations of names (Amsler, "Literary Onomastics"), as well as a series of articles by Rolf Baumgarten on etymology in Irish tradition (Baumgarten, "Placenames, Etymology," "Etymological Aetiology in Irish Tradition," "Creative Medieval Etymology and Irish Hagiography," and an entry "Etymology" in *Medieval Ireland*). In his *Etymologies and Genealogies*, R. Howard Bloch turns to *etymologia* to argue that medieval history, grammar, and theology are conceived in genealogical terms.

16. I have previously written on the use of *etymologia* as an epistemological device in a number of historiographic works of medieval Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary in Verkholantsev, "Etymological Argumentation," and "Language as Artefact."

miotic power of medieval etymologies to perform functions other than emotive and decorative and embody thought of their own.[14] However, the denial of the epistemological objectives in the use of *etymologia* in historiography can hardly be justified, especially given that the largest concentration of etymologies is usually found in passages that deal with the ancient past and questions of origin when other authoritative sources are unavailable. Among practitioners of *etymologia* in the historiographic context are Bede (*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*), Widukind of Corvey (*Res Gestae Saxonicae*), Adam of Bremen (*Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*), 'Gallus Anonymus' (*Gesta Principum Polonorum*), Saxo Grammaticus (*Gesta Danorum*), and Anonymous Notary of King Béla (*Gesta Hungarorum*), to name just a few. While individual studies point out that *etymologia* has life outside of literary wordplay and Christian exegesis, a comprehensive history of its epistemological usage in medieval historical discourse is yet to be written.[15] This essay is a contribution to a larger project that examines whether medieval historians understood the practice of etymologizing along the lines of Isidore's *Etymologiae sive origines* (that is, as a method of discovering the origins of things), and whether historiographic etymologizing has a function that goes beyond didactic and allegorical.[16]

Specialists in medieval historiography know that no medieval source can be read without critical lenses and that narratological and rhetorical constructs shape and structure the knowledge of the past. Psychologists and cognitive scientists who study mind-relevant aspects of how storytelling works have long established that the human brain perceives and represents its experiences as stories: our mind is programmed to structure events into narratives, choose relevant facts that work logically with each other, and arrange them in space and time. Philosophers of history and literary scholars have argued that historians, too, make sense of the past, indistinct and unstructured as it first appears to them, by applying the logic of a story, or, rather, a sequence of stories. Therefore, to understand how *etymologia*-driven narrative works, I turn to formal textual analysis and to a mind-oriented approach to storytelling. Using Cosmas's *Chronica Boemorum* as an example, I propose that etymologizing shapes not only the language of storytelling but affects the storyline itself, suggesting narrative twists and lively details. In its capacity to motivate, explain, and expand narratives about origins, it serves as an epistemological device in writings about the past.

Between Virgil and the Oral Tradition

Cosmas's *Chronica Boemorum* is the earliest attested annalistic narrative about the history of Bohemia, which became a source and inspiration for all historians who wrote about Bohemia after him.[17] Most of what we know about Cosmas (*c.* 1045?–1125) we know from his own testimony. Born in a clerical or noble family in Prague and educated at home and in Liège, he served first as a canon and then as a dean of the Prague cathedral church. Although Cosmas seems to be well read and possesses a gracefully simple style, the *Chronica Boemorum*, which he started writing at the end of his life, is his only attested work. It begins with the Flood and the Tower of Babel narratives, outlines Bohemia's legendary times, and ends by describing the events of Cosmas's own time, revealing his own particular interest in the history of the Přemyslid dynasty. The *Chronicon* by Regino of Prüm is considered to have been Cosmas's model, although not for the legendary past.[18] The generically diverse concept of the *Chronica Boemorum* – world chronicle, *gesta*, *historia* – makes it similar to other narrative works of its time, such as *Gesta Principum Polonorum* by an anonymous author (*c.* 1115), or slightly later *Gesta Danorum* by Saxo Grammaticus (*c.* 1208) and *Gesta Hungarorum* by an anonymous author (early thirteenth century). Of its three books, our primary focus in this essay is the first, which was finished around 1119 and covers the events of the Bohemian past from the legendary times up to the year 1038.

Everyone who writes about Cosmas's legendary stories is immediately entangled in a complex dispute about Cosmas's sources and historiographic concept. Cosmas's allusion to Virgil and Statius in the preface to his chronicle has been attributed to his ambition to create a work of epic (Kolář), and medievalists generally agree that Cosmas used biblical and classical models to a great extent, both from original works and from florilegia and commentaries.[19] But, did he adjust myths from local oral tradition to Christian historical discourse with the help of these models, or did he entirely invent his legendary stories? Are they sourced from his research, or are they inspired by his imagination and ideological agenda? Cosmas's own reference to the oral tradition as a source for his work has caused animated academic debate:

> Igitur huius narrationis sumpsi exordium a primis incolis terre Boemorum et perpauca, que didici senum fabulosa

20. František Palacký, one of the most influential figures of the nineteenth-century Czech national revival, called Cosmas "the Czech Herodotus", while twentieth-century historians, such as Václav Chaloupecký, František Graus, Záviš Kalandra, Zdeněk Nejedlý and Václav Novotný, focused their study on identifying historical and mythological layers in Cosmas's narrative. See, for instance, Graus, *Lebendige Vergangenheit* and *Dějiny*; Kalandra; Nejedlý. Recently, Dušan Třeštík, who devoted many of his earlier studies to Cosmas, has offered a revised and more nuanced look at Cosmas's legendary narrative, which benefits from Dumézilian comparative mythological approach. (Třeštík, *Mýty*). Also see, Golema, *Stredoveká literatúra*, 31–100 and "Medieval Saint Ploughmen;" Banaszkiewicz, "Slawische Sagen;" Krappe. Among skeptics, Vladimír Karbusický argues that Cosmas, inspired by classical epic models and contemporary events, has invented the whole "Přemyslovská pověst" ("The Tale of Přemysl"), and that any archeological or mythological examination of it is "grotesque" (Karbusický, *Báje*, esp. 157–77). A revisionist look at official Czech historiography, including the interpretation of Cosmas's chronicle, has been cast by Petr Šimík on the Internet website of the *Moravia Magna project*. Lisa Wolverton has argued that the search for sources that inform Cosmas's legends is of secondary importance because having been composed by Cosmas, the legendary stories are a part of his overall authorial design and cannot be interpreted outside of the whole chronicle text (Wolverton, *Cosmas* 19–21).

21. Describing oral tradition as a process, Jan Vansina talks about "popular etymologies" as "the interpretation of experience" and sees in them commentaries and explanations that "arise *ex post facto*." Analyzing examples from African oral traditions, he observes that etymologies go hand in hand with tale creation (Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* 10–11).

relatione, non humane laudis ambitione, sed ne omnino tradantur relata oblivioni, pro posse et nosse pando omnium bonorum dilectione. (Cosmas 3)

And so, I have begun my narrative with the first inhabitants of the land of the Czechs, and I relate for the pleasure of all good people a few things that I learned from the fabled stories of old men, to the extent of my ability and knowledge, not striving to receive human praise but to prevent the stories from entirely falling into oblivion.

Historians disagree about what exactly Cosmas means when he says that he has learned about the early times of Bohemia from "the fabled stories of old men" (*senum fabulosa relatio*). Although most specialists share the view that Cosmas draws some inspiration from the local folk tradition, the extent of its survival in his literary adaptation is questioned. Many studies have contributed to this tricky philological and historiographic question, and the intensity of the scholarly debate is proportional to the extraordinary imaginative force and peculiarity of the stories themselves. If Czech nationalist (Romantic and Marxist) historians were eager to see Cosmas as a mouthpiece of ancient Czech mythologies, scholars who emphasize the agency of literary adaptation consider the folk pedigree of Cosmas's stories more cautiously, and some even attribute them entirely to his imagination. The solution, as it often happens, may lie somewhere in the middle. On the one hand, evidence of comparative mythology and anthropology speaks strongly and convincingly in favor of the argument that Cosmas may have indeed used ancient mythological motifs that are shared by other cultures and are genetically connected to ritual and cult. On the other hand, more diagnostic work is necessary to identify and sift them through the filters of literary and historiographic practices and, not the least, to examine them against Cosmas's authorial design.[20] While my primary goal in this study is to understand how *etymologia* is used to construct a learned historical narrative, my analysis would be inadequate without taking into account the manner in which oral tradition informs the work of a medieval historian, such as Cosmas. What further complicates my task is that even though medieval historians viewed *etymologia* as a scholarly and analytical method, the relationship between the etymological mindset and storytelling seems to be an inherent feature of the oral tradition itself, as Jan Vansina convincingly shows.[21]

22. Literature on the interaction of orality, memory, and literacy is abundant. Some classical works include Ong; Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*. Scholars working on historical writing across Europe ask methodological questions of how to study the adaptation of oral tradition in the writing of history. See, for example, Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*; McKitterick; Clanchy; Goffart; Doane and Pasternack; Mundal and Wellendorf; and, specifically, on Central Europe, Adamska. An important matter in this debate is the question of how anthropologists who study oral traditions can help historians who study written records. See Goody, "What does Anthropology Contribute to World History?" Methodologically related to the questions asked by medievalists are theoretical and practical challenges of history writing in modern societies that have developed literacy only recently. See, for instance, Ajayi and Alagoa.

23. On Virgil's influence, see Ziolkowski and Putnam.

24. The theory of three types of narration (*genera narrationis*) goes back to the anonymous treatise *Ad Herennium* (1.8.12–13) and Cicero's *De inventione* (1.19.27), and is of course explained by Isidore in *Etymologiae* 1.44. It distinguishes between *historia* (account of factually verified events), *argumentum* (verisimilar story), and *fabula* (story with no veracity). For the definitions of *historia*, *argumentum*, and *fabula* by classical and medieval authors, see Mehtonen 149–56.

25. Wright 72–77; McNamara. See Cubitt for a discussion of other works of Anglo-Saxon history that engage with folklore.

26. Reference to Ezekiel, 13.2.

27. "Itaque de his, quae scribo, aliqua per scedulas dispersa collegi, multa vero mutuavi de hystoriis et privilegiis Romanorum, pleraque omnia seniorum, quibus res nota est, traditione didici, testem habens veritatem nihil de meo corde prophetari, nihil temere definiri; sed omnia, quae positurus sum, certis roborabo testimoniis, ut, si mihi non creditur, saltem auctoritati fides tribuatur" (Adam 3).

The interpretation of legendary stories that draw upon oral tradition in medieval chronicles is a notoriously persistent historiographic challenge, which has attracted specialists in a variety of disciplines, including literary theorists, historians, and anthropologists.[22] It is useful to bear in mind that we have trouble identifying the position of folk material in medieval histories precisely because its integration into scholarly discourse was an equally perplexing task for medieval historians. Those who write about the origins of people and dynasties (referring to them as *gens*) and frame these origins in biblical history, inevitably find themselves grappling with the delicate task of making an adequate transition from biblical antiquity to the events of the recent past. Some immediately jump from the biblical genealogy to the present; those who take up the challenge turn either to the classical tradition, tracing their roots from the Trojans, or to the local oral tradition. But, while classical authors, such as Virgil, Ovid, and Sallust, impart authority to the medieval historian's account, stories about former heroes told by local *seniores* lack credibility and must have presented a methodological problem to a learned scholar who has to decide what historical value these folk stories possess and how to rationalize and cast them in a coherent and linear historical narrative.[23] In questions of verisimilitude, medieval historians operated within the three generic kinds of narration of the Ciceronian triad *historia, argumentum, fabula*.[24] But was oral tradition even understood within this nomenclature? If they were to use folk legends, they would need a mechanism to verify the veracity of these tales.

Cosmas was by no means the first to face this methodological problem. Several centuries earlier, the Northumbrian monk and historian Bede (672–735) was similarly forced to rely on the stories of old men when he wrote his *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[25] Cosmas's nearly contemporary, eleventh-century historian and ethnographer, Adam of Bremen, admits in the preface to his *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* that along with "scattered records" and "histories and charters of the Romans," "by far the greatest part" of past events he learned "from the tradition of old men who knew the facts," calling truth as his witness that he "prophesized nothing from his own heart"[26] and "asserted nothing without due consideration." Despite the fact that his information comes from *seniores*, he declares that his account is backed by trustworthy authority.[27] As did his European contemporaries schooled in the tradition of Latin grammar and rhetoric, for what Cosmas cannot find in evidence he compensates in in-

vention, recognizing verisimilar tales as compatible with historical truth.[28] Cosmas's concern that his readers may not see his work as trustworthy seems to be more than just a traditional topos: his unease about his failure to provide chronology for the legendary times betrays a conviction that otherwise, at least, he has conformed to current standards and best practices of history writing:

> Continet autem hic liber primus Boemorum gesta, prout mihi scire licuit, digesta usque ad tempora primi Bracizlai, filii ducis Odalrici. Annos autem dominice incarnationis idcirco a temporibus Borivoy, primi ducis catholici, ordinare cepi, quia in inicio huius libri nec fingere volui nec chronicam reperire potui, ut, quando vel quibus gesta sint temporibus, scirem, que ad presens recitabis in sequentibus. (Cosmas 3–4)

> This first book contains the deeds of the Czechs, to the extent that I could learn about them, arranged up to the time of Břetislav I, the son of Duke Oldřich. But the years of the Lord's incarnation I began to indicate only starting with the time of Bořivoj, the first Christian duke, because I neither wanted to make up [chronology] at the beginning of the book, nor could I find any chronicle in order to learn when or during what time these deeds, about which you will now read in what follows, had taken place.

Let us, therefore, take Cosmas's words about his commitment to historical truth critically but in good faith, and assume that whatever he does "invent" does not fall, in his mind at least, in the semantic field of the Latin term *fingere*, a parent to the modern term 'fiction'. Despite the acknowledged lack of sources, Cosmas accepts the challenge of discovering the origins of Bohemia and its social order. Where he draws from the oral tradition, he approaches its anecdotal tales equipped with the fact-finding tools of medieval practice of historical typology – the supply of archetypes from biblical history and works of classical authors – capped with the etymological method. If the oral tradition provides the raw material for a story, then the role of etymologies in Cosmas's shaping of a coherent historical narrative is to test its veracity. Before we turn to the examination of how Cosmas uses etymologies in his narrative, let us reflect on the formal relationship between etymology and storytelling.

Et nata ex etymo fabula

From the earliest times, historians have claimed that their primary goal is to tell the truth. Credibility being their objective, they turn to the etymon – literally, a linguistic "true fact" (Greek ἔτυμος means "true") – as an ally in their search for veracity, and employ it as a litmus test to validate legendary and anecdotal tales. Frequently, the function of etymons is just to verify information that names carry about their signified. But even a minimally explicated etymon possesses an inherent narrative energy due to its orientation towards the world outside of language. This generative ability of an etymon to lead to a story is already noticed by the German classical scholar Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812) in one of the excurses to his edition of Virgil's *Aeneid*. Commenting on the origin of the mythical gemstone *Lyncurium* that is associated with amber, Heyne connects its name to a belief that Lyncurium solidifies from the hardened urine of a lynx ('lyncum'):

> Lingurium ex ea, quam supra posuimus, Λιγγεῖς, pronuntiatione nasci potuit; factum adeo Lyngurium et Lyncurium, quod nomen ad lapidis genus translatum, et nata ex etymo fabula de nato lapide ex lyncum urina. (Heyne 8: 4259).

> Lingurium may derive from the pronunciation of Λιγγεῖς, which we have quoted above; even becoming Lyngurium and Lyncurium, and this noun translates as a gemstone, thus the story [*fabula*] has been born from the etymon [*ex etymo*] about the origin of amber from the urine of a lynx.

As Heyne puts it, the *fabula* of Lyncurium's origin from lynx's urine is born from the etymon *lynx*. Incidentally, the explanation of how exactly the *fabula* of a gemstone-producing lynx has come to life is provided by none other than Isidore of Seville himself, with some interesting observations about lynx's behavioral psychology:

> Lyncis dictus, quia in luporum genere numeratur; bestia maculis terga distincta ut pardus, sed similis lupo: unde et ille λύκος, iste lyncis. Huius urinam convertere in duritiam pretiosi lapidis dicunt, qui lyncurius appellatur, quod et ipsas lynces sentire hoc documento probatur. Nam egestum liquorem harenis, in quantum potuerint, contegunt, invidia

quadam naturae ne talis egestio transeat in usum humanum. (*Etymologiae* 12.2.20)

The lynx [*lyncis, i.e. lynx*] is so called because it is reckoned among the wolves [*lupus*] in kind; it is a beast that has spotted markings on its back, like a leopard, but it is similar to a wolf; whence the wolf has the name λύκος and the other animal, 'lynx.' People say that its urine hardens into a precious stone called *lyncurius*. That the lynxes themselves perceive this is shown by this proof: they bury as much of the excreted liquid in sand as they can, from a sort of natural jealousy lest such excretion should be brought to human use. (Barney et al. 252)

The earliest record of this legend is by the Greek philosopher Theophrastus (*c.* 371–285 BCE), and already many medieval prosaic and versified lapidaries and bestiaries that include entries on amber feature this story with many 'invented' details (Walton 368–72).

At the core of medieval etymologizing is the art of finding and matching connections between etymons. The capacity of the combinations of etymons to generate a story appeals to authors of histories and they gladly turn to *etymologia.* Etymologies not only verify a fact in question but they can occasionally extend their influence further into the narrative itself and serve as its motivator. An insight into this mechanism can be gained from the formal analysis of narration and, specifically, from applying the Russian Formalists' suggestion to differentiate between the two elements of narration – the *fabula* and the *siuzhet.* The Formalist theorists distinguish between the content of the story, its matter ('*fabula*'), and its construction – the manner in which that content is organized and communicated, which they have called '*siuzhet*', often translated into English as the 'plot'. This distinction grows from the observation that a story can be told in many different ways using various literary techniques and that the art of narration is largely the art of arrangement and organization.[29] Although the Formalist principles have been criticized as not being able to account for all types of narratives,[30] the *fabula-siuzhet* dichotomy provides a productive model for the study of the relationship between etymologizing and storytelling in medieval chronicles.

In our model, a situation, act, or quality that are suggested by the etymons become a core of the 'etymological *fabula*'. For example, the sound similarity between the two etymons – the Latin words for

29. For a short discussion of this idea, developed by the 'Opoiaz' group, and especially by Viktor Shklovskii and Boris Eikhenbaum, see Erlich, 239–43.

30. See, for instance, the critique by Frederick Jameson, 43–98.

"lynx" and "amber" – suggests a situation of the physical connection between the two signified objects and generates the emergence of the story about the amber-secreting lynx – the 'etymological *fabula*.' The author then emplots this *fabula* in a narrative in an 'etymological *siuzhet*.' His choices for a *siuzhet* would depend on the context and the goals of his composition. If a tale is borrowed from the oral tradition (such as some of Cosmas's tales might be), we may deal with two equally possible scenarios: (1) the original tale already contains some etymological content that the author develops further, or (2) the original tale does not contain any etymological information and the author identifies an etymon that fits the tale's purpose. In the former scenario, we do not know whether the etymon had inspired the tale or vice versa because the original connection between the etymon and the etymological *fabula* is unknown. Taking into account both cases of causality, our model looks like this:

$$(etymon \leftrightarrow \text{etymological } fabula) \rightarrow \text{etymological } siuzhet$$

Armed with this approach, let us now analyze the use of etymologies in three of Cosmas's most famous narratives – the story of the forefather Boemus; the story of the prophetess Libuše's marriage to Přemysl, who becomes the first duke of Bohemia; and the prophecy of Prague's foundation. In Cosmas's literary adaptation of what seem to be traces of oral tradition, the emplotment of etymologies is one of the loci of his authorial invention. While we will only gloss over the questions of Cosmas's sources, our main goal is to observe how he uses *etymologia* in order to investigate and rescue historically problematic legends from oral tradition.

Father Bo(h)emus

Our first story is an archetypal myth of origin and migration. Cosmas writes that primordial men, ancestors of the Czechs, having wandered across many lands after the Tower of Babel disaster, arrive at the foot of the mountain Říp.[31] The elder delivers a speech to his companions (*socii*), and tasks them with selecting a name for their "destined land" (*terra fatalis*), to which he has led them:

> Sed cum hec talis, tam pulchra ac tanta regio in manibus
> vestris sit, cogitate, aptum terre nomen quod sit.' Qui mox

31. Cosmas does not use the term 'tribe' or 'nation' to refer to the group of drifters who find themselves at the foot of the mountain Říp, as was customary to do. In his version of the *confusio linguarum* at the Tower of Babel, the humanity separates into seventy two men, who each speak a different language and who beget their respective ethnic and linguistic groups. For detailed interpretation, see Třeštík, *Mýty* 66–67.

quasi ex divino commoniti oraculo: 'Et unde', inquiunt, 'melius vel aptius nomen inveniemus, quam, quia tu, o pater, diceris Boemus, dicatur et terra Boemia?' Tunc senior motus sociorum augurio, cepit terram osculari pre gaudio gaudens eam ex suo nomine nuncupari. (Cosmas 7)

'But now that so beautiful and vast a land is in your hands, think of an appropriate name for it.' And then they, as if moved by a divine oracle, said: 'And whence will we find a better or a more suitable name? Since your name, O father, is Bo[h]emus, let the land then be called Bo[h]emia.' Then the delighted elder, moved by the divination of his companions, began to kiss the land, overcome with joy that it was to be named after his name.

The mythological basis – a story of wandering and discovering a 'promised land' – is common to many national narratives and reveals clear biblical allusions. Two key generic narrative devices power Cosmas's adaptation: the act of naming of a country and the aid of the divine agency in the process of naming. Berthold Bretholz, whose 1923 edition is still a 'go to' source among those who study the *Chronica Boemorum*, provides many useful and insightful annotations and literary parallels. His references to verses from the *Aeneid*, which describe how Romulus founded a nation and gave it his name, have established the tradition of seeing in Boemus's speech a mere emulation of Virgil.[32] Virgil's influences are not to be downplayed, of course, but neither should the etymological method. Many classical Greek, Roman, and Byzantine historians viewed the historical process as a succession of epochs defined by a ruling leader and they organized their narratives around the reigns of their respective emperors. Keeping with this tradition, Isidore shows that ever since biblical times the origin of nations has often been associated with their leaders, while their names derive from their progenitors: Madai was the progenitor of the nation of Medes (*Etymologiae* 9.2.28), Persians are called so after King Perseus (9.2.47), the Hebrews after Heber, the great grandson of Shem (9.2.51), and Romans after Romulus, who founded the city of Rome (9.2.84). And thus the name of the elder Bohemus becomes an etymon, a building block of the historical narrative. Isidore's *ex origo* etymological model of "the naming of the land after its leader" suggests the etymological *fabula*, in which the newly found land is being named 'Bohemia' af-

32. Cosmas 7; Hrdina, Bláhová, and Moravová 218, Wolverton, *The Chronicle* 36.

ter its forefather, Bohemus. In order to transfer this etymological *fabula* of naming into historical narration, Cosmas emplots it into an etymological *siuzhet*, utilizing a familiar biblical template of a speech act assisted by divine agency that evokes the story of Creation and Adam's choice of names for the created. Cosmas's description of early Czechs as primordial people, who lived close to nature and without social organization, shows that he understood the process of naming in the same vein as the Stoics. The centrality of the speech act in the *siuzhet* takes care of the performative mode: the ancestors of the Czechs utter the name of their leader as they decide that it should be used to name their newly-found homeland. Their utterance happens "as if" (*quasi*) impressed upon them by a divine medium (*ex divino commoniti oraculo*). Incidentally, this episode illustrates a crucial aspect of Isidorian thought about national origins: "ex linguis gentes, non ex gentibus linguae exortae sunt" ("Nations originate from languages, not languages from nations") (*Etymologiae* 9.1.14). The plot of an archetypal story is thus enhanced by the etymological method.

It is quite possible that Cosmas worked out of the existing oral tradition, most likely in Czech, which reflects the ancient intuitive etymological thinking. This is supported by the fact that in a number of later Czech sources, the leader is called by the endonym Čech, not by the Latin exonym Boemus, preserving the etymological correlation between the name of the ruler and his land, Čech – Čechy, Bohemus – Bohemia.[33] Cosmas's meta-language – Latin – most likely motivates his choice of a Latin etymon in his Latin chronicle, although we will further see that he easily moves from Latin to Czech and back to Latin in his etymological reasoning. His primary goal is to authenticate the oral legend as he subjects it to the mechanism of etymological emplotment.

Prophetess Libuše and Plowman Přemysl

Legend has it, narrates Cosmas, that after the death of their leader and judge, Krok (*Crocco*),[34] the people of Bohemia made his youngest daughter, Libuše (*Lubossa*), their judge on account of her fairness and gift of prophecy. Libuše, a fair judge and a trustworthy oracle (*phitonissa*), is one of the most complex characters in Cosmas's legendary narrative, with links to both biblical personages and mythological figures in other heathen traditions. Her remarkable role in the

33. The name for Bohemia seems of Germanic mediation and draws on the testimony of Roman geographers, who described this region as inhabited by the Celtic Boii tribe (Green, 160–61).

34. See discussion below.

story about the conflict of the sexes and the emergence of law and order has inspired sizeable research. Studies aim at identifying Libuše's mythical roots and hypothesize about Cosmas's literary and ideological choices in adapting this myth to express his views on the place of gender inequality in the formation of Bohemia's first legal state and royal power. She has been connected to the Old Testament's Deborah, a *phitonissa* of King Saul, Cumaen Sybil, Roman nymph Egeria, Norse goddess Gefjun, Polish maiden warrior Wanda, Irish queen Medb (Maeve), and even to Cosmas's own contemporary – Matilda of Tuscany (1046–1115).[35] The etymological and linguistic dimension in Cosmas's narrative strategy, however, has been left largely unnoticed, even though it is in the language that the main conflict and action are played out. Several etymons and etymological *fabulae* inform the plot of the story.

Let us begin with Libuše's name as an etymon, which is rendered in the chronicle as *Lubossa* (variants *Lybussie, Libusse*) and is related to the Indo-European root *leubh- that carries the semantics of 'love, like, care for' (cf. Old Czech *l'úbiti, l'ubý*, 'to love,' 'beloved'). Although Cosmas does not formally explain his etymology, the semantics of adoration and love is plainly embedded in his description of Libuše and can hardly be accidental – Libuše has a loveable nature and is universally loved by the people:

> Tercia natu minor, sed prudentia maior, vocitata est Lubossa, que etiam urbem tunc potentissimam iuxta silvam, que tendit ad pagum Ztibecnam, construxit et ex suo nomine eam Lubossin vocitavit. Hec fuit inter feminas una prorsus femina in consilio provida, in sermone strennua, corpore casta, moribus proba, ad dirimenda populi iudicia nulli secunda, omnibus affabilis, sed plus amabilis, feminei sexus decus et gloria, dictans negocia providenter virilia. (Cosmas 11)

> The third, younger by birth but older in wisdom, was called Libuše, who also built a most powerful city next to a forest that stretches towards the village of Zbečno, and named it Libušín after her own name. She was a truly unique woman among women, prudent in judgment, clever in speech, chaste in body, virtuous in character, unmatched in resolving people's disputes, likeable by all, but even more loveable, an honor and glory of the female sex, governing the affairs of men wisely.

The whole passage is composed in an etymological key, starting with the name of Libuše's fortress and ending with the wordplay based on the semantics of "liking" that is inscribed in her name and, consequently, explains her character. While the former etymology is fairly transparent, the latter is only understood by those who know both Czech and Latin: Cosmas uses Libuše's name in Czech as a seed for the etymological *fabula* about a likeable and lovable female judge that he tells in Latin. He further converts this *fabula* into an etymological *siuzhet* in which he acts out the content through etymological discourse.

Praising Libuše's talents and qualifications as a wise and fair arbiter in judicial affairs, Cosmas calls her "a truly unique woman among women" (*inter feminas una prorsus femina*), adding another etymon to the *fabula* that would drive the narrative further. A fateful decision changes her life and the balance of gender power among the early Czechs after she resolves a land dispute between two prominent and wealthy fellow citizens, who consider themselves leaders of the people. One of them – the discontented loser of the argument – challenges Libuše's authority as a woman to judge men. If Libuše has successfully judged men before without contest, what evidence does he have now to advance his case? Continuing the narrative thread 'Libuše is a woman of women', Cosmas identifies the evidence for Libuše's gender-based disqualification through etymologically motivated discourse when he describes her during the trial:

> Illa interim, ut est lasciva mollicies mulierum, quando non habet quem timeat virum, cubito subnixa ceu puerum enixa, alte in pictis stratis nimis molliter accubabat. Cumque per callem iusticie incedens, personam hominum non respiciens tocius controversie inter eos orte causam ad statum rectitudinis perduceret. (Cosmas 11–12)

Meanwhile, with unconstrained[36] softness (*mollicies*) characteristic of women (*mulierum*) who have no man to fear, she was very gently (*molliter*) reclining high on an embroidered bed, leaning on her elbow as if she had given birth to a child. Stepping on the path of justice and taking no notice of the men's rank, she brought the whole controversy that had arisen between them to the state of rightness.

36. The Latin *lascivus* is polysemantic, producing meanings from 'sportive, playful, frolic, unruly' to the negative 'wanton, lustful, mischievous,' to neutral 'relaxed, free from restraint, unchecked.' In my translation, I have decided to go with the neutral connotation.

The mode of Libuše's behavior in Cosmas's description is iconically feminine, from the way she carries herself to the connotations of her pose. The word *mollities* designates 'softness, tenderness, weakness, effeminacy,' while the word *molliter* that describes Libuše's demeanor, has the meaning of 'calmly, quietly, softly, gently, easily' and is connected to the word *mulier*, 'a woman.' *Mulier* and its derivatives act as etymons and add the themes of feminine softness and weakness to the story. Through this etymological thread Cosmas foreshadows what is about to happen: it is precisely Libuše's gender and her 'softness' that provoke and empower the loser in the argument to challenge her suitability to judge and, therefore, rule men:

> O iniuria viris haud toleranda! Femina rimosa virilia iudicia mente tractat dolosa. Scimus profecto, quia femina sive stans seu in solio residens parum sapit, quanto minus, cum in stratis accubat? Re vera tunc magis est ad accessum mariti apta quam dictare militibus iura. Certum est enim longos esse crines omnibus, sed breves sensus mulieribus. Satius est mori, quam viris talia pati. Nos solos obprobrium nationibus et gentibus destituit natura, quibus deest rector et virilis censura, et quos premunt feminea iura. (Cosmas 12)

> Oh injustice, intolerable to men! This crackbrained woman handles trials of men with a wily mind. We certainly know that a woman, even when she sits or stands on a throne, has little understanding. But how much less of it must she have when she reclines on a bed? Isn't it then in fact more suitable for her to receive a husband than to dictate laws to warriors? For certainly, all women [*mulierēs*] have long hair, but short sense. It is better for men to die than suffer such things. We alone have been forsaken by nature and bear shame among nations and tribes because we lack a male leader and manly [*virilis*] judgment, and because we suffer under the woman's law.

In his speech full of gendered clichés and insults, the challenger switches from the neutral *femina t*o the semantically marked *mulier*, which, as Cosmas has already given us to understand, is etymologically compromised by the concepts of softness and weakness. This switch does not seem to be purely stylistic but is rhetorically purposeful and semantically significant. In classical, and even more so,

37. In classical usage, the word *mulier* is fairly common and is preferred when an opposition of man and woman (*vir* and *mulier*) is implied without any moral judgment or socially marked attitude. The word *femina* is less common but often fulfills the function of expressing respect. In Ciceronian language, for instance, the word *femina* is used rarely but always with laudatory adjectives or in contexts that denote respect, whereas the term *mulier*, often found in unmarked contexts, may be accompanied by pejorative connotations. If the word *femina* parallels *vir* in that it represents aristocratic moral qualities of a referent, the word *mulier* parallels homo in its tendency to indicate referents belonging to lower classes. The same rhetoric that characterizes Ciceronian language is observed in the comedies of Plautus, in the works of Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, Pliny the Younger and others (Santoro L'Hoir, especially the chapter "The Obscene *Mulier* and the Not-Heard *Femina*: Cicero's Feminine Terminology and Comic Prototypes" 29–46). From the Augustan period onwards, the usage of *femina* as a neutral term is preferred over *mulier* in poetry, as well as in educated language in general (Adams; also see Hiltbrunner; Polo de Beaulieu; Passera). For example, in her Marian lyrics and the visionary illustrated work *Scivias*, Hildegard of Bingen praises the Virgin Mary for having redeemed Eve's culpability and having made the feminine form an ideal for humanity. When contrasting the two women Hildegard uses the term *mulier* to refer to Eve and *femina* to refer to Mary. Rebecca Garber explains this stylistic choice by the preference of *mulier* to be used in discussing sexual or marital matters and the tendency of the more refined *femina* to mark the subject when it is theological in nature (Garber 50–53). This observation is echoed by the fact that the Latin *mulier* is used with the meaning 'wife' in a number of Romance languages, replacing the former Latin *uxor* (Adams 249–51).

38. A number of biblical and etymological allusions are at play in the use of the *virga ferrea*: Isidore connects *virga* to *vis*, 'vigor' and *virtus*, 'strength' (*Etymologiae* 17.6.18), while it has also been connected to the biblical symbol of authority in Revelation 2:27. Banaszkiewicz has shown that the names of leaders and law-givers in a number of Lithuanian, Polish, Rus, and Serbian legends (*e.g.*,

in medieval usage, the more refined noun *femina* tends to describe women in a theologically and poetically dignified sense. In contrast, the word *mulier* appears in contexts that discuss sexual or marital matters and emphasize the gender and social position of women.[37] In his authorial voiceover, Cosmas's attitude to Libuše seems to be quite impartial, but in direct speech, he has the challenger choose the word *mulier* to suggest that, as a woman-wife, *Libu*še's social position is incomplete without a man-husband. The word *mulier*, acting as an etymon, pushes the story to a new narrative twist, forcing Libuše respond to the challenge by offering to get herself a husband.

As a wise judge and leader, Libuše accepts the demands laid at her door. However, in her reply she rejects the word *mulier* and insists on referring to herself as *femina*:

> 'Ita est,' inquit, 'ut ais; femina sum, femina vivo, sed ideo parum vobis sapere videor, quia vos non in virga ferrea[38] iudico, et quoniam sine timore vivitis, merito me despicitis. Nam ubi est timor, ibi honor. Nunc autem necesse est valde, ut habeatis rectorem femina ferociorem.' (Cosmas 12)

> 'It is as you say,' she said, 'I am a woman [*femina*] and live as a woman [*femina*]. I seem to you to have little sense because I don't judge you with a rod of iron, and since you live without fear you rightly look down on me. For where is fear, there is honor. Now it is indeed necessary that you have a leader harsher than a woman.'

Libuše agrees that she should marry a man and lets people choose her a husband. The 'choice of the people', which Libuše manipulates using her prophetic skill and the magic powers of her sisters Kazi and Tetka, falls on a certain plowman, Přemysl by name, whose location and even name she herself foretells. All of these plot details work to create the idea of predestination. Likewise, both the occupation and name of the bridegroom candidate are revealing and justify the choice and occasion. The mythological and anthropological implications of the future ruler's agricultural pedigree and his connection to myths about a sacred deity-plowman have been well analyzed;[39] let us, therefore, focus on the etymological makeup of the story, that is, Přemysl's predestination as a suitable ruler as substantiated by his name, another etymon, the meaning of which Cosmas explicates in detail:

Krok, Krak, Kii, Klukas), are etymologically related to the word for a 'curved stick' or a 'stick, baton,' which in ancient societies belonged to a leader and represented sacral-judi-

cial authority (Banaszkiewicz, "Slavonic Origines Regni" 127–31).

39. See for example, Třeštík, *Mýty* 99–167; Golema, "Medieval Saint Ploughmen;" Oexle; Krappe.

Viro nomen est Primizl,[40] qui **super** colla et capita vestra iura **excogitabit** plura; nam hoc nomen latine sonat **pre**meditans vel **superexcogitans**. Huius proles postera hac in omni terra in eternum regnabit et ultra. (Cosmas 15)

The name of the man, who will contrive [*excogitabit*] many laws upon [*super*] your necks and heads, is Přemysl, for this name means, in Latin, 'he who thinks over' [*premeditans*] or 'he who thinks upon' [***superexcogitans***]. His future descendants will rule over all this land forever and ever.

This is one of Cosmas's most elegant and inventive etymological constructions, in which he weaves together Czech and Latin etymons. In the name Pře-mysl, the Czech root *mysl-* carries the semantics of 'thinking,' which Cosmas renders in Latin by the verb *meditor*. The prefix *pře-* (*per-) introduces the semantics of 'over, above, through, again' and adds the meanings of 'a greater extent', or 'doing something anew' to the primary semantics of the verb.[41] Thus, the Latin verb *prae-meditor* that Cosmas uses to interpret Přemysl's name as 'he who thinks over' (*premeditans*) seems like a straightforward choice. However, Cosmas goes beyond a simple task of explaining the meaning of the ruler's name; he embeds it etymologically into the narrative: because the future ruler contrives (*excogitabit*) many laws upon (*super*) the necks and heads of the Czechs, Cosmas suggests that Přemysl's name should also be interpreted as 'he who thinks upon' (*super-excogitans*). In this way, Cosmas etymologically proves that Přemysl's very name predetermines him as a lawgiver.[42]

41. For the range of meanings and examples of usage, see Kopečný 1:162–69.

As predestined by Libuše's prophecy and the etymology of his name and his gender, when Přemysl becomes Libuše's husband he installs a truly manly rule in the country:

Hic vir, qui vere ex virtutis merito dicendus est vir, hanc efferam gentem legibus frenavit et indomitum populum imperio domuit et servituti, qua nunc premitur, subiugavit atque omnia iura, quibus hec terra utitur et regitur, solus cum sola Lubossa dictavit. (Cosmas 18)

This man, who indeed deserves to be called a man [*vir*] on account of his strength [*ex virtutis*], restrained this savage people with laws and subdued the untamed people by his rule, and subjugated them to the servitude, by which they are

42. Noteworthy, after his death, Přemysl is succeeded by Nezamysl, whose name, contrasting that of Přemysl, means "not thinking". This has inspired a hypothesis that Přemysl and Nezamysl personify mythological twins, cultural heroes, who are related to the theme of fertility (cf. Přemysl is a plowman who works the land), and often differ in intellect (Ivanov, Ward). The names also suggest a possible parallel with Titans Prometheus and his twin brother Epimetheus, whose roles in Greek mythology are similar (intelligent and dim-witted), and whose names mean 'forethought' and 'hindsight' respectively (Třeštík, *Mýty* 154).

still oppressed. All the laws, which this land uses and by which it is ruled, he alone with only Libuše composed.

Now let us recap and see how all these etymons work together in the etymological *fabula* and are arranged in the *siuzhet*: by the nature of her name, Libuše is a loveable and extraordinary woman with a prophetic gift, which distinguishes her as a judge. However, Libuše's shortcoming as *mulier* (a woman vis-à-vis a man) comes from her quality of *mollities* (softness and weakness). As such, she is deemed unfit to be a leader-judge, and has to be joined by a man (*vir*) as a husband, whose legitimacy and power come from his manly strength (*virtus*). She thus teams up with Přemysl, who not only stands as an archetype of a man (*vir, qui vere ex virtutis merito dicendus est vir*), but also possesses extraordinary intellectual abilities, necessary for a law-giver, as is predestined in his name.

No need to look far for Cosmas's inspiration in his handling the gender theme in the Libuše-Přemysl etymological *fabula*. It comes from Isidore's *Etymologies* 11.2.17–19, in which the distribution of gender roles is explained through the interpretation of the nouns '*vir*' and '*mulier*':

> A man (*vir*) is so called, because in him resides greater power (*vis*) than in a woman – hence also 'strength' (*virtus*) received its name – or else because he deals with a woman by force (*vis*). But the word woman (*mulier*) comes from softness (*mollities*), as if *mollier*, after a letter has been cut and a letter changed, is now called *mulier*. These two are differentiated by the respective strength and weakness of their bodies. But strength (*virtus*) is greater in a man (*vir*), lesser in a woman (*mulier*), so that she will submit to the power of the man; evidently this is so lest, if women were to resist, lust should drive men to seek out something else or throw themselves upon the male sex. (Barney et al. 242)

Thus, the gender motifs and terminology that Cosmas uses to support the mythological Libuše-Přemysl story come from Isidore: the weakness of a wife due to her softness and the power of a husband because of his strength.

The Foundation of Prague

My last pick – out of many etymology-infused tales in Cosmas's chronicle – is an episode in which Libuše prophesizes the foundation of Prague. Like her other predictions, it is etymologically motivated and features a recognizable performative ritual of naming. No sooner than Přemysl gets to his lawmaking activity, Libuše has a vision of a future city:

> Urbem conspicio, fama que sydera tanget,
> Est locus in silva, villa qui distat ab ista
> Terdenis stadiis, quem Wlitaua terminat undis.
> Hunc ex parte aquilonali valde munit valle profunda rivulus
> Bruznica; at australi ex latere latus mons nimis petrosus, qui a
> petris dicitur Petrin, supereminet loca. Loci autem mons
> curvatur in modum delphini, marini porci, tendens usque in
> predictum amnem. Ad quem cum perveneritis, invenietis
> hominem in media silva limen domus operantem. Et quia ad
> humile limen etiam magni domini se inclinant, ex eventu rei
> urbem, quam edificabitis, vocabitis Pragam. (Cosmas 18–19)

> I see a city, whose fame will reach the stars,
> The place is in the forest, thirty stades from this village,
> The Vltava marks the boundaries with its waves.
> From the north, the deep valley of the stream Brusnice
> greatly fortifies the place; from the south, a wide and very
> rocky [*petrosus*] mountain rises above it. It is called *Petrin*
> from the word 'rock' [*a petris*]. In that spot the mountain is
> curved like a dolphin, a sea pig, stretching up to the afore-
> mentioned stream. When you reach that place, you will find a
> man working on a threshold [*limen*] of a house in the middle
> of the forest. And since even mighty lords bend over a lowly
> threshold, because of this event you will call the city that you
> will build *Praga*.

The people immediately set out to find the prophesized place in old forest, and, having found it, they build the city of Prague, "the mistress of all Bohemia."[43] In this story, the etymon 'threshold' for the Old Czech *prag* forms a motivating narrative nucleus in an etymological *fabula*.[44] Quite literally, it metonymically symbolizes the foundation of a new home and the establishment of a new city. In the

43. "Continuo itur in antiquam silvam et reperto dato signo in predicto loco urbem, tocius Boemie domnam, edificant Pragam." (Cosmas 19)

44. It is hard to tell if Cosmas was aware of an alternative meaning of the Czech *prag*, "rapid," from which the Czech capital is more likely to derive its name, as do a number of other Slavic toponyms, such as Praga, a neighborhood in Warsaw, Praga, a name for Chotin near Kamenets, or the name for the tenth-century rapids of the Dnieper. As a mystical border and an entry into a new world, the concept of a threshold figures prominently in the semiotics of space across ancient societies. For the Slavic case, see for example, Baiburin. Importantly, the concept of liminality has been connected with the rites of passage. Following the conceptualization of the "liminal phase" in the rites of passage by Arnold van Gennep, Victor Turner has focused on the role of liminality in the rituals of passage (Van Gennep; Turner 94–111). In our story, the foundation of Prague quite literally signifies a liminal phase.

siuzhet that Cosmas invents, the etymology enters narrative through the act of Libuše's prophecy, which she utters "in the presence of Přemysl and other elders from the people" ("presente viro suo Primizl et aliis senioribus populi astantibus"; Cosmas 18).

The same etymological *fabula* is emplotted in the *Chronica Bohemorum* of Přibík Pulkava of Radenín, Cosmas's fourteenth-century successor in shaping the representation of Bohemia's past, a court historian of Holy Roman Emperor and King of Bohemia, Charles IV.[45] Pulkava takes up Cosmas's *fabula* of the foundation of Prague and develops it into his own etymological *siuzhet:*

45. Pulkava; Bláhová, *Kroniky* 572–77.

> 'Ad quem locum cum perveneritis, primum hominem, quem inveneritis, alloquamini, et id, quod vobis pro primo verbo responderit, ex eiusdem verbi nomine locum eundem vocabitis, idemque castrum eodem nomine instaurabitis et edificiis consumare debetis.' Qui missi implentes domine sue iussa pervenerunt ad dictum locum, in quo invenerunt hominem lignum fabricantem, quem, quid operaretur, interrogare ceperunt, qui respondens dixit: Limen. Nunccii vero missi locum statim signantes eundem, preparaverunt edificia castri, quod Prag, id est limen lingua slauonica, vocaverunt. (Pulkava 8)

> 'When you get to that place, speak to the first man whom you come upon, and the very first word with which he responds to you, with that same word name this place, and erect a castle of the same name and complete it with buildings.' Following the order of their mistress, the messengers reached the said place, where they found a man, who was working the wood, and they started to ask him, on what he was laboring. He said in response: 'a threshold'. Surely, the sent messengers, immediately marking that place, prepared to build a castle that they called *Prag,* that is, 'threshold' in the Slavic language.

46. Incidentally, Pulkava seems to be partial to the invention technique that uses a speech act: in another episode in his chronicle, he transforms a psalm quote into a "voice from Heavens" to show divine intervention in support of Sts. Cyril and Methodius's defense of the liturgy in the Slavic language (Verkholantsev, *Slavic Letters* 84–85).

Pulkava's etymological *siuzhet f*eatures a double speech act performance: in the first speech act, Libuše creates a narrative frame for the second speech act to reveal the name of Prague – the first word spoken to the envoys is the etymon.[46] Both versions, Cosmas's and Pulkava's, grow out of the same etymological *fabula*, according to which Prague receives its name from the Czech word for threshold.

Both authors construct their etymological *siuzhets* with the help of the verbal agency of Libuše's prophetic gift in order to dramatize the *fabula* and enact etymology.

Origin Stories in the *Legenda Christiani*

47. A revised Latin edition and a Czech translation is by Ludvíkovský; English translation: Kantor 163–203. Christian's composition is dated to 992–94 and his dedicatory note is addressed to the second bishop of Prague, Saint Adalbert. However, its peculiar chronicle-like narrative, which stands out among other documents from that period, as well as its idiosyncratic ideological agenda, make some scholars doubt the text's authenticity and suggest a later date. The relationship between Cosmas's chronicle and the *Legenda Christiani* is one of the most debated issues in Czech historiography, which is also connected to the question of dating. See, for instance, Kalhous, *Legenda Christiani*; Třeštík, *Mýty*, esp. 109–10; Kølln; Karbusický, *Báje* 48–53; Králík; Chaloupecký.

48. Ludvíkovský 16, 18 (ch. 2).

The plot twists and details of Cosmas's etymology-infused narrative are especially striking when compared to the only other, and presumably earlier, account of Bohemia's past, which belongs to one Brother Christian, a member of the Přemyslid family. This late tenth-century composition, known as *Legenda Christiani* and fully titled *Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmile ave eius* (“*The Life and Passion of St. Wenceslas and His Grandmother St. Ludmila*”), tells a factually similar but conceptually different story.[47] In *Legenda Christiani*, the early Czechs (*Sclavi Boemi*), who live like “horses unrestrained by the bridle” without law, a city, or centralized autocratic rule, ask a nameless female oracle (*phitonissa*) for prophetic advice on how to overcome a terrible plague. The oracle tells them to build a city and get a ruler. Having built a city and named it Praga, the people find a wise and resourceful plowman Přemysl (spelled *Premizl*), make him a duke and marry him to the oracle.[48]

Christian's account is characterized by a noticeable indifference to the meaning of names and their etymology: he does not mention *phitonissa*'s name and, although he names *Praga* and *Premizl*, he shows no etymological curiosity. The reverse sequence of events in *Legenda Christiani* (*i.e.*, the foundation of Prague precedes the discovery of Přemysl and his marriage to the oracle), as well as the themes of primordial uncultured people and the golden age in these accounts make historians hypothesize that both authors borrowed from the political theory of the city (polis) as a pre-condition of the state that was received from classical antiquity. Specifically, they point to Cicero's *De inventione* (1.2), which was well known as a rhetoric manual in Christian's and Cosmas's times (Chaloupecký 336; Třeštík, *Mýty* 111).

In contrast to Christian, for Cosmas the meaning of Libuše's name as a beloved leader provides an important narrative element: he makes her the epicenter of an etymologically driven account of the social history of gender relations, embedding it in the story of the beginning of the Přemyslid dynasty. He justifies the choice of Přemysl as a wise ruler and lawmaker etymologically, and shows that both the

location and the name of the political center of Bohemia are likewise etymologically preordained. Through etymologically driven narrative Cosmas not only provides a storyline depth to his account but he also justifies his role as a historian who has to verify "*senum fabulosa relatio*" and support his narration with evidence.

Conclusion: Etymon as a Historiographic Fact and a Narrative Device

In this essay I have undertaken to test the use of *etymologia* as a narrative device in Cosmas's *Chronica Boemorum.* Using Cosmas as a case study, I argue that medieval historians use the etymological method epistemologically and, as a result, it helps them tell a story. I suggest that dismissing passages with etymological content as 'false etymology' or 'trifles of style' deprives us of a valuable tool to analyze narrative strategies in medieval historical discourse.

Etymologies most often occur in the stories of origin that relate the legendary past, often supplied by the "*senum fabulosa relatio*" and obscured by conjecture. We should thus consider how medieval historians approach the oral tradition as a source in general. History being understood as an interconnected sequence of archetypal plots and stories, historians feel the pressure of assimilating oral legends into a narrative that fits the learned historical discourse. The resulting product is an ultimate case of intertextuality: it integrates a multiplicity of texts and is a melting pot of the linguistic mechanisms of orality and literacy. The analysis of narrative elements and structures in such complex intertext must likewise be multidimensional. The mythological layer that reflects a narrative stock of personages, places, and themes is itself intertextual and comes from an array of oral forms – myths, beliefs, rituals, riddles, songs, and sayings that the author has used as source material for his account. All these co-exist, interact, mutate, and sometimes superimpose each other even before they reach the historian writer. It is thus hard to establish which versions the writers of histories encounter. This is when comparative anthropological and mythological analyses prove to be effective. When oral myths and folk legends do reach the medieval historian they are often plain and flat (like the one recorded in the *Legenda Christiani*) and in the learned historian's eyes they require a literary mesh and fretwork to come to life in historical discourse. This is why the historian examines them with the language of knowledge and

frames them in a literary matrix that holds all "true facts" together. Among other devices, the historian turns to *etymologia* especially when other reliable evidence is lacking and language remains the only witness vis-à-vis the oral tradition.

Identifying the role of Cosmas's etymologies in his narrative should also acknowledge what they are not. They are not metaphors or allegories. They are not poetic "trifles of style." They are not employed to create terminology or a mnemonic aid. They do not inform theological exegesis. A close reading of Cosmas's use of the etymological method suggests that he perceives language not simply as a literary means of account-giving but also as an analytical investigative tool of historical scholarship. Cosmas enhances the narrative fabric of oral tales with the emplotments of etymons, resorting, where necessary, to models and archetypes that come from the Bible and classical authors: in the discussed episodes, we have seen that Cosmas borrows from the Old Testament, Virgil, and Cicero. The etymologically motivated narrative thus verifies the truthfulness of the oral tradition, in which language is a locus of legitimacy. Moreover, in two of the above discussed emplotments, the etymon is performed as a speech act, which further emphasizes the Christian belief in the capacity of language to create, act, and effectuate action.

In the question of a source language for his etymological inquiries, Cosmas does not observe any hierarchy in his choice of the vernacular or Latin. As we have seen above, he moves with ease between Czech etymons and Latin narration, and calls on both languages to provide etymological evidence, when appropriate. This is consistent with the Stoic ideas about the linguistic insight of early people and is also characteristic of the etymological behavior of other contemporaneous historians (Verkholantsev, "Language as Artefact").

Cosmas's understanding of language as a natural sign and the mode of naming as a speech act has foundations in two important sources: (1) it is informed by the Christian theological notion of the speech act as a divinely inspired mode of naming, which is illustrated in the biblical stories of Creation and speaking in tongues; and (2) it is linked to the Stoic belief in the power of the etymological method to recover the wisdom of primordial people. Cosmas's language of *etymologia* is not simply mythographic, it is etiological and epistemological. He executes in practice Isidore's theoretical postulate that the deeds of the past (*res gestae*), as a core bone of *historia*, come to life through linguistic expression and could only be known through language. Cosmas's concern about his grammatical skill is

then not merely an anxiety of a writer but it is also a concern about his ability to produce a historically competent work.

Modern scholars hypothesize and argue about Cosmas's ideological objectives in his decision to include the legends of Bohemia's origins. Should we understand his 'Tale of Přemysl' as a carefully crafted allegory and critique of the political order of his own time? Or is it simply a scholarly and critical retelling of oral legends? The role that etymons and their emplotments play in motivating Cosmas's narrative demonstrates that an unbiased historical interpretation of Cosmas's work can be obtained only through the careful narratological analysis of all elements that pervade the highly nuanced, multilayered, and intertextual fabric of medieval historical narratives. Whether Cosmas sets a goal to express his political views or not, we should bear in mind that his purpose and imagination are driven and constrained by many literary, historiographic, and epistemological canons and practices of the medieval historian's craft, and not all of his choices are necessarily ideologically motivated.

In one of his presidential addresses to the Royal Historical Society, Richard Southern observed that medieval historians learned from the classics that "the destiny of nations is the noblest of all historical themes" (Southern 23–28). He comments on the trajectory of historical works, in which authors search for national origins in ancient Roman history and find them in the Trojan pedigree, starting with Widukind of Corvey, who wrote about the origins of the Saxons, and all the way to Geoffrey of Monmouth, who is "looked on as a new beginning in literature which helped launch Europe in a wave of romanticism and fantasy" (23–28). Cosmas's chronicle shares many features that Southern points out as characteristic of the type of historical writing that draws inspiration from Roman history:

> In the tenth century several new peoples – Saxons and Normans in the first place, but also Poles and Hungarians – were beginning to achieve political importance and respectability. With this there came the conviction, or perhaps only the hope, that they were no longer barbarians but belonged to the civilized peoples of Europe. This in its turn bred a desire for a past, and a sense of awe at the providential steps which had brought them out of barbarism. In these circumstances the obvious source for a national history lies in the legends and myths of the people. But the new peoples of Europe were largely cut off from their mythological origins

by their conversion to Christianity and by the Latin learning
which stood between the literate part of society and its native
past. Hence it was in Roman history that they found the
broken pieces which they could build into a picture of their
own origins and destiny. (Southern 23–24)

Although Cosmas is undeniably a literary prisoner of Roman history, Southern's observation that the "new peoples of Europe" shunned their mythological origins in their desire for a Christian past can hardly apply to Cosmas's chronicle, or, for that matter, to chronicles written about the Poles and Hungarians at that time. Similarly to Cosmas, the anonymous author of the early twelfth-century *Gesta Principum Polonorum* (often referred to as Gallus Anonymus, on account of his presumed origin) and the anonymous author of the early thirteenth-century *Gesta Hungarorum* (referred to as Anonymous Notary of King Béla) take great interest in pagan mythological origins of their respective peoples and trace their dynasties to legendary rulers (Banaszkiewicz, *Podanie*, "Slavonic Origines Regni," and "Slawische Sagen;" Kristó). In fact, Paul Knoll and Frank Schaer, the editors and translators of the *Gesta Principum Polonorum*, even remark in one of the footnotes: "The anonymous monk places much less emphasis on the 'discontinuity' between pagan and Christian past than most medieval historians do. Rather, some kind of divine approval is granted already to the pagan ancestors of the dynasty" (Knoll and Schaer xxxv). This observation is also true about Cosmas's chronicle. However, even though central European historians did not discount the pagan origins of their peoples and dynasties, Southern's principal point – that they look at that pagan past through the prism of Latin learning and Roman antiquity – indeed applies to all three authors. In his approach to recovering Bohemia's past, Cosmas understands history as inseparable from the canons of Latin rhetoric and grammar. Confronted with the oral tradition, he handles it as a linguist and a playwright: he verifies legends etymologically and emplots etymons with the help of biblical and classical narrative models.

Bibliography

Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*. Ed. B. Schmeidler. Berlin, 1917. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum 2.

Adams, J. N. "Latin Words for 'Woman' and 'Wife.'" *Glotta* 50 (1972): 234–55.

Adamska, Anna. "Orality and Literacy in Medieval East Central Europe." *Oral Art Forms and Their Passage into Writing*. Ed. Else Mundal and Jonas Wellendorf. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2008. 69–84.

Ajayi, A. and E. J. Alagoa. *Oral Tradition and Oral History in Africa and the Diaspora: Theory and Practice*. Lagos: Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilization, 1990.

Allen, James. "The Stoics on the Origin of Language and the Foundations of Etymology." *Language and Learning: Philosophy of Language in the Hellenic Age*. Proceedings of the Ninth Symposium Hellenisticum. Ed. Dorothea Frede and Brad Inwood. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005. 14–35.

Álvarez-Pedrosa, Juan Antonio. "Krakow's Foundation Myth: An Indo-European theme through the eyes of medieval erudition." *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* 37 (2009): 1–14.

Amsler, Mark E. *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1989.

---. "Literary Onomastics and the Descent of Nations: the Eaxample of Isidore and Vico." *Names* 27 (1979): 106–16.

Ankersmit, F. R. *Narrative Logic: A Semantic Analysis of the Historian's Language*. The Hague – Boston: M. Nijhoff, 1983.

Badzell, Jeffrey. *Speculative Grammar and Stoic Language Theory in Medieval Allegorical Narrative: from Prudentius to Alan of Lille*. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Baiburin, A.K. *Zhilishche v obriadakh i predstavleniiakh vostochnykh slavian*. St. Petersburg: Nauka, 1983.

Banaszkiewicz, Jacek. *Podanie o Piaście i Popielu: studium porownawcze nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi tradycjami dynastycznymi*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986.

---. "Slavonic Origines Regni: Hero the Law-Giver and Founder of Monarchy (Introductory Survey of Problems)." *Acta Polonia Historica* 60 (1989): 97–131.

---. "Slawische Sagen de origine gentis (Al-Masudi, Nestor, Kadlubek, Kosmas) - dioskurische Matrizen der Überlieferungen." *Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica* 3 (1993): 29–58.

Baxter, Timothy M.S. *The Cratylus: Plato's Critique of Naming*. Leiden: Brill, 1992.

Bláhová, Marie. "O Kosmovi a jeho kronice." *Kosmova Kronika česká*. Ed. Karel Hrdina, Marie Bláhová, Zdeněk Fiala. Prague: Svoboda, 1972.

---. *Kroniky doby Karla IV*. Prague: Svoboda, 1987.

---. "The Function of the Saints in Early Bohemian Historical Writing." *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (ca 1000–1300)*. Ed. Lars Boje Mortensen. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 2006. 83–119.

---. Rev. of *Cosmas of Prague: Narrative, Classicism, Politics*, by Lisa Wolverton. *The Catholic*

Historical Review 201 (2016): 384–86.

Bláhová, Marie and Martin Wihoda. "Předmluva." *Kosmas. Kronika Čechů*. Translated by Karel Hrdina, Marie Bláhová, Magdalena Moravová. Prague: Argo, 2011. 5–23.

Bloch, R. Howard. *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Carruthers, Mary. "Inventional Mnemonics and the Ornaments of Style: The Case of Etymology." *Connotations* 2.2 (1992): 103–14.

Chaloupecký, Václav. "Přemyslovská pověst a Kristián." *Český časopis historický* 44 (1938): 327–38.

Colish, Marcia I. *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*. Vol. 1. *Stoicism in Classical Latin Literature*. Leiden: Brill, 1985.

Cosmas of Prague, *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum.*. Ed. Bretholz, Berthold. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1923. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum. Nova series 2.

Cosmas of Prague. *The Chronicle of the Czechs by Cosmas of Prague*. Trans. Lisa Wolverton. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009.

Cosmas of Prague. *Kosmas. Kronika Čechů*. Trans. Karel Hrdina, Marie Bláhová, Magdalena Moravová. Prague: Argo, 2011.

Curtius, Ernst Robert, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973.

Den Boeft, J. "Some Etymologies in Augustine's *De civitate Dei*." *Vigiliae Christianae* 33 (1979): 242–59.

Doane, A.N. and Carol Braun Pasternack, eds. *Vox Intexta: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991.

Domaradzki, Mikołaj. "Theological Etymologizing in the Early Stoa." *Kernos* 25 (2012): 125–48.

Dymmel, Piotr. "Traces of Oral Tradition in the Oldest Polish Historiography: Gallus Anonymus and Wincenty Kadłubek." *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*. Ed. Anna Adamska and Marco Mostert. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004. 343–63.

Erlich, Victor. *Russian Formalism. History – Doctrine*. Mouton: The Hague, 1980.

Făgărăşanu, Simona. "St. Augustine and the Issue of Word Origin." *Augustine and His Opponents, Jerome, Other Latin Fathers after Nicaea*. Ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone. Leuven: Peeters, 1997. 78–82. Orientalia Studia Patristica 33.

Garber, Rebecca L. P. *Feminine Figurae: Representations of Gender in Religious Texts by Medieval German Writers, 1100–1375*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Geary, Patrick J. *Women at the Beginning: Origin Myths from the Amazons to the Virgin Mary*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Goffart, Walter. *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800). Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede and Paul the Deacon*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Golema, Martin. *Stredoveká literatúra a indoeurópske mytologické dedičstvo*. Banská Bystrica: Univerzita Mateja Bela, 2006.

---. "Medieval Saint Ploughmen and Slavic Pagan Mythology." *Studia Mythologica Slavica* 10 (2007): 155–77.

Goody, Jack. *The Domestication of the Salvage Mind*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

---. "What does Anthropology Contribute to World History?" *The Cambridge World History*. Ed. David Christian. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. 262–76.

Graus, František. *Dějiny venkovského lidu v Čechách v době Předhusitské*. Vol. 1. Prague, 1953.

---. *Lebendige Vergangenheit: Überlieferung im Mittelalter und in den Vorstellungen vom Mittelalter*. Köln: Böhlau, 1975.

Green, Dennis H. *Language and History in the Early Germanic World*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Hadot, Ilsetraut. *Arts libéraux et philosophie dans la penseé antique*. Paris: Vrin, 1984.

Heyne, Christian Gottlob. *P. Virgilii Maronis Opera Omnia*. Vol. 8. Londini: A.J. Valpy, 1819.

Hiltbrunner, Otto. "Mulier oder femina: Augustinus im Streit um die richtige Bibelübersetzung." *Vigiliae Christianae* 62 (2008): 285–302.

Isidore of Seville. *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*. Trans. Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach and Oliver Berghof. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Isidore of Seville, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*. Ed. W. M. Lindsay. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav Vsevolodovich. "Bliznechnye mify." *Mify narodov mira. Entsiklopediia*. Moscow: Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia, 1980.

Jameson, Fredric. *The Prison-House of Language: A Critical Account of Structuralism and Russian Formalism*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Jireček, Hermenegild. *Kosmas a jeho kronika*. Praha – Brno, 1906.

Kalandra, Záviš. *České pohanství*. Prague: Fr. Borový, 1947.

Kalhous, David. *Anatomy of a Duchy: The Political and Ecclesiastical Structures of Early Přemyslid Bohemia*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

---. *Legenda Christiani and Modern Historiography*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Kann, Christoph. "Terminology and Etymology in Medieval Logic." *L'élaboration du vocabulaire philosophique au Moyen âge*. Ed. J. Hamesse and C. Steel. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000. 489–509.

Kantor, Marvin, ed. *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia. Sources and Commentary*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1990.

Karbusický, Vladimír. *Anfänge der historischen Überlieferung in Böhmen: Ein Beitrag zum vergleichenden Studium der mittelalterlichen Sängerepen*. Köln: Böhlau, 1980.

---. *Báje, mýty, dějiny. Nejstarší české pověsti v kontextu evropské kultury*. Prague: Mladá fronta, 1995.

Kempshall, Matthew. *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400–1500*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011.

Klápště, Jan. Rev. of *Cosmas of Prague: Narrative, Classicism, Politics*, by Lisa Wolverton. *Speculum* 91 (2006): 573–74.

Klinck, Roswitha. *Die lateinische Etymologie des Mittelalters*. Munich: Fink, 1970. Medium Aevum 17.

Kolář, Antonín. "Kosmovy vztahy k antice." *Sborník Filozofické fakulty Univerzity Komenského v Bratislavě* 3. Bratislava: FF Univerzity Komenského, 1925. 7–78.

Køllon, Herman. "Přemyslovská pověst v Kristiánově legendě a v Kosmově kronice." *Bibliotheca Strahoviensis* 2 (1996): 111–22.

Kopal, Petr. "Kosmovi ďáblové. Vršovsko-přemyslovský antagonismus ve světle biblických a legendárních citátů, motivů a symbolů." *Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica* 8 (2001): 7–40.

---. *Kosmas a jeho svět: Obraz politického národa v nejstarší české kronice*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Charles University in Prague, 2017.

Kopečný, František. *Etymologický slovník slovanských jazyků. Slova gramatická a zájmena*. Prague: Academia, 1973.

Králík, Oldřich. *Kosmova kronika a předchozí tradice*. Prague: Vyšehrad, 1976.

Krappe, Alexander H. "The Ploughman King: A Comparative Study in Literature and Folklore." *Revue hispanique* 46 (1919): 516–46 and 56 (1922): 265–84.

Kristián, *Kristiánova legenda: Život a umučení svatého Václava a jeho báby svaté Ludmily*. Ed. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský. Prague, 1978.

Kristó, Gyula. *Hungarian History in the Ninth Century*. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1996.

Lake, Justin. "Current Approaches to Medieval Historiography." *History Compass* 13/3 (2015): 89–109.

Long, A. A., "Stoic Linguistics, Plato's *Cratylus*, and Augustine's *De Dialectica*." *Language and Learning: Philosophy of Language in the Hellenic Age*. Proceedings of the Ninth Symposium Hellenisticum. Ed. Dorothea Frede and Brad

Inwood. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005. 36–55.

Loserth, Johann. "Studien zu Cosmas von Prag. Ein Beitrag zur Kritik der altböhmischen Geschichte." *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 61 (1880): 1–32.

Major, Tristan. "Words, Wit, and Wordplay in the Latin Works of the Venerable Bede." *Journal of Medieval Latin* 22 (2012): 185–219.

McKitterick, Rosamond. *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

McNamara, John. "Bede's Role in Circulating Legend in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*." *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archeology and History* 9 (1994): 61–69.

Mehtonen, Päivi. *Old Concepts and New Poetics: Historia, Argumentum, and Fabula in the Twelfth- and Early Thirteenth-Century Latin Poetics of Fiction*. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1996.

Morse, Ruth. *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation and Reality*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Mundal, Else and Jonas Wellendorf, eds. *Oral Art Forms and Their Passage into Writing*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2008.

Oexle, Otto Gerhard. "Die 'sächsische *Welfenquelle*' als Zeugnis der welfischen Hausüberlieferung." *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 24 (1968): 435–97.

Opelt, Ilona. "Etymologie." *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum: Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt* 6. Ed. Theodor Klauser, Georg Schöllgen and

Franz Joseph Dölger. Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1965. Cols. 797–844.

Pabst, Bernhard. *Prosimetrum. Tradition und Wandel einer Literaturform zwischen Spätantike und Spätmittelalter*. Köln, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 1994. 870–75.

Passera, Elsa. "The Semantic Evolution of the Latin Terms *Domina*, *Femina* and *Mulier* in the Italian Language." *Quaderni d'italianistica* 19 (1998): 105–25.

Polo de Beaulieu, Marie-Anne. "*Mulier* and *Femina*: The Representation of Women in the *Scala celi* of Jean Gobi." *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History*. Ed. J. T. Rosenthal. Athens and London: The Georgia University Press, 1990. 50–65.

Přibík Pulkava of Radenín. *Przibiconis de Radenin dicti Pulkavae Chronicon Bohemiae*. Ed. Josef Emler and Jan Gebauer. Prague: Nadání Františka Palackého, 1893. 3–207. Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum 5.

Rabanus Maurus. *De institutione clericorum libri tres*. Ed. Detlev Zimbel. Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1996.

Reynolds, Suzanne. *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Rydel, Courtney. "Interpretive Etymologies in Translations of the *Golden Legend*." *Translation and Authority - Authorities in Translation*. Ed. Pieter De Leemans and Michele Goyens. Turnhout: Brepols, 2016. 289–302. The Medieval Translator *16*.

Sadílek, Josef. *Kosmovy staré pověsti ve světle dobových pramenů (antické a biblické motivy)*. Prague: Petrklíč, 1997.

Santoro L'Hoir, Francesca. *The Rhetoric of Gender Terms: 'Man,' 'Woman,' and the Portrayal of Character in Latin Prose*. Leiden: Brill, 1992.

Sarbin, Theodor R. ed. *Narrative Psychology: The Storied Nature of Human Conduct*. Westport, C.T.: Praeger, 1986.

Sedley, David. *Plato's Cratylus*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Southern, Richard W. "Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing. 1: The Classical Tradition from Einhard to Geoffrey of Monmouth." *History and Historians. Selected Papers of R. W. Southern*. Ed. R. J. Bartlett. Blackwell, 2004. 11–29.

Spiegel, Gabrielle M. "Revising the Past / Revisiting the Present: How Change Happens in Historiography." *History and Theory* (2007): 1–19.

---. "Theory into Practice; Reading Medieval Chronicles." *The Medieval Chronicle*. Ed. Erik Cooper. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011. 1–12.

Spunar, Pavel. "Školy a antická tradice v přemyslovských Čechách," *Antika a česká kultura*. Ed. L. Varcl. Prague: Academia, 1978. 15–32.

Stein, Robert M. "L'Après et son double: Reading Medieval History after the Linguistic Turn.". *Comparative Literature Issue: De Theoria: Early Modern Essays in Memory of Eugene Vance. MLN* 127/5 (2012): 243–266.

Struck, Peter T. *Birth of the Symbol: Ancient Readers at the Limits of their Texts*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Švanda, Libor. "K recepci antiky v Kosmově kronice." *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 14 (2009): 331–40.

Taylor, Daniel J. *Declinatio: A Study of the Linguistic Theory of Marcus Terentius Varro*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1979.

Taylor, Paul Beekman. "Some Uses of Etymology in the Reading of Medieval Germanic Texts." *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture*. Ed. Patrick J. Gallacher and Helen Damico. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1989. 109–20.

Toews, John E. "Intellectual History after the Linguistic Turn: The Autonomy of Meaning and the Irreducibility of Experience." *American Historical Review* 92 (1987): 879–907.

Třeštík, Dušan. "Kosmas a Regino. Ke kritice Kosmovy kroniky." *Československý časopis historický* 8 (1960): 564–87.

---. *Kosmova kronika. Studie k počátkům českého dějepisectví a politického myšlení*. Prague: Academia, 1968

---. *Mýty kmene Čechů (7.–10. století): Tři studie ke Starým pověstem českým*. Prague: Lidové noviny, 2003.

Turner, Victor. *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991.

Van Gennep, Arnold. *The Rites of Passage*. Trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1960.

Vansina, Jan. *Oral Tradition: Studies in Historical Methodology*. Trans. by M. H. Wright. London: Routledge, 1972.

---. *Oral Tradition as History*. University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

Verkholantsev, Julia. *The Slavic Letters of St. Jerome: The History of the Legend and its Legacy, or, How the Translator of the Vulgate Became an Apostle of the Slavs*. De Kalb,

I.L.: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014. Orthodox Christian Studies Series.

---. "Etymological Argumentation as a Category of Historiographic Thought in Historical Writings of Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary." *Medieval East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective: From Frontier Zones to Lands in Focus*. Ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Katalin Szende, Routledge, 2016. 227–42.

---. "Language as Artefact: The Practice of *Etymologia* in the Narratives about the Origin of the Slavs." *Etymology and Wordplay in Medieval Literatures*. Ed. Mikael Males, Leiden: Brepols, 2019. 245–69. Disputatio 30.

Walton, Steven A. "Theophrastus on *Lyngurium*: Medieval and Early Modern Lore from the Classical Lapidary Tradition." *Annals of Science* 58 (2001): 357–79.

Ward, Donald. *The Divine Twins: An Indo-European Myth in Germanic Tradition*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968.

Wihoda, Martin. "Přemyslovský mýtus aneb Kosmův počátek národních dějin." *Dějiny a současnost* 30/12 (2008): 37–40.

---. "Kosmova kronika a počátky českého historického myšlení." *Kosmas. Kronika Čechů*. Translated by Karel Hrdina, Marie Bláhová, Magdalena Moravová. Prague: Argo, 2011. 5–23.

---. Rev. of *Cosmas of Prague: Narrative, Classicism, Politics*, by Lisa Wolverton. *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 72 (2016): 267–68.

Wolverton, Lisa. *Cosmas of Prague: Narrative, Classicism, Politics*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2015.

Wright, C. E. *The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1939.

Ziolkowski, Jan, M. and Michael C.J. Putnam. *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.