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On Adam Stanisław Krasiński's Forgotten *Słownik synonimów polskich* and Its Predecessors

Synonyma … Rozmáyte słowá, ále yednę rzecz známienuyące – Jan Mączyński (1564)
(most likely the first Polish definition of a synonym)

In 1989 Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe (WAiF) published a reprint of the two-volume dictionary *Słownik synonimów polskich* by Adam Stanisław Krasiński, first issued in 1885 (Krasiński, 1989a; Walczak, 1991). The same publishing house had also published a reprint of the so-called *Słownik wileński* ('the Vilnius dictionary') (*Słownik języka polskiego*, 1986). We would like to express our utmost gratitude to WAiF for saving the dictionaries from oblivion and bringing them to a wider audience, because these lesser known dictionaries constitute important evidence of the development of Polish lexicography in the times of the Partitions.

Słownik synonimów polskich was written by a man whose life and work deserve "recognition and respect" (Klemensiewicz, 1985, p. 633) – Adam Stanisław Krasiński (1810–1891) was the bishop of Vilnius and held a doctorate in theology. During his life, he cared for the poor, wrote numerous poems and translations, and authored *Gramatyka polska dla dzieci* (Wilno 1837). Later, he became a "martyr for the Polish cause," was deported from Poland, and remained in exile from 1863 to 1882. Also in exile, in Vyatka, in the European part of Russia, he began to write his *Słownik* (Żywczyński, 1970). Having returned to Poland, Krasiński

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spent the rest of his life in Cracow, and it was there that he published *Słownik*. The publication earned him "the membership of the Akademia Umiejętności ['Academy of Learning'] and a doctorate from the Jagiellonian University," and "his great contribution was lauded at Krasiński's funeral (12 May 1891) by Prof. Kazimierz Morawski" (Żywczyński, 1970, p. 167).

Krasiński later said that at the beginning it had been really difficult to write *Słownik*: "I stayed in exile in Vyatka for twenty years, a long way from any libraries or academic institutions. Although I did not feel perfectly adequate to undertake such a task, I began my work on the dictionary of synonyms" (Krasiński, 1989b, p. X). Krasiński's biographer wrote that "[the work] was really difficult, because he did not have an adequate library, and had to obtain a permit from the ministry if he wanted to import a book" (Żywczyński, 1970, p. 167). Taking that into consideration, it is all the more astonishing how large the number of entries and references is.

Despite his great contribution to the field of lexicography, the author, as well as the book, are not widely known today.[1] Therefore, Krasiński deserves

[1] More information about Krasiński's *Słownik* can be found in the following handbooks: S. Kania, J. Tokarski, *Zarys leksykologii i leksykografii polskiej* (Kania & Tokarski, 1984, p. 235); Z. Klemensiewicz, *Historia języka polskiego* (Klemensiewicz, 1985, pp. 633–634); S. Skorupka, *Z zagadnień leksykografii. Synonimika* (Skorupka, 1953, pp. 8, 11); S. Urbańczyk, *Dwieście lat polskiego językoznawstwa (1751–1950)* (Urbańczyk, 1993, p. 131); idem, *Słowniki i encyklopedie. Ich rodzaje i użyteczność* (Urbańczyk, 1991, p. 61); B. Walczak, *Zarys dziejów języka polskiego* (Walczak, 1995, p. 231); P. Żmigrodzki, *Wprowadzenie do leksykografii polskiej* (Żmigrodzki, 2009, pp. 147, 181, 290). On the other hand, a number of other handbooks do not mention Krasiński's *Słownik*: W. Miodunka, *Podstawy leksykologii i leksykografii* (Miodunka, 1989); T. Piotrowski, *Z zagadnień leksykografii* (Miodunka, 1994); R. Przybylska, *Wstęp do nauki o języku polskim. Podręcznik dla szkół wyższych* (Przybylska, 2003). *Słownik* was also mentioned in bibliographies: J. Czachowska, R. Loth, *Przewodnik polonisty* (Czachowska & Loth, 1989, p. 34); P. Grzegorczyk, *Index lexicorum Poloniae. Bibliografia słowników polskich* (Grzegorczyk, 1967, p. 43).

Krasiński's *Słownik* was used as a source in a number of dictionaries. In *Słownik języka polskiego* ed. by W. Doroszewski (1958–1969), it is listed as an additional source. It appears twice in the list of abbreviations (which is very likely to be an error): p. CXXV: „SSP* = Adam Stanisław Krasiński (1810–1891): Słownik synonimów polskich. Kraków 1885 Akademia Umiejętności," and p. CXXVI: „SSynon* = Stanisław Krasiński (1810–1891): Słownik synonimów polskich. T. 1–2. Kraków 1885 Akademia Umiejętności." Krasiński's *Słownik* is also listed as a source in such dictionaries as: *Słownik wyrazów bliskoznacznych*, ed. by S. Skorupka (1985, p. V); S. Szober, *Słownik poprawnej polszczyzny* (Szober, 1966, p. 40); R. Zawiliński, *Dobór wyrazów. Słownik wyrazów bliskoznacznych i jednoznacznych do praktycznego użytku* (Zawiliński, 1926, p. VIII).

more attention. We would like to begin by quoting Klemensiewicz (1985), who briefly described the situation before *Słownik* was written, and found Krasiński's work very good. Klemensiewicz emphasised that even though two contests had been held to motivate scholars to write a good dictionary [the first was held in the 1820s by Warszawskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk ('Warsaw Society of Friends of Science'),[2] the other in 1858 by *Biblioteka Warszawska*[3]], their results were unsatisfactory. "The task was difficult, and even in France, Italy, Germany and England, the first important dictionaries of synonyms did not appear until the 19th century. Hence, **the first work of this sort in Poland, and in Slavic countries** [our emphasis], namely *Słownik synonimów polskich* by A. S. Krasiński (issued by Akademia Umiejętności in Cracow in 1885), deserves even more recognition. The author gathered more than 3,000 synonymous words and categorised them into more than 700 groups […] Every definition contains examples drawn from the work of our greatest writers […] such as Rej, Kochanowski, Górnicki, Krasicki, Śniadecki and many others" (Klemensiewicz, 1985, p. 633). As regards the sources used by Krasiński, this issue deserves a separate article; however, the number and the selection of works deserve highest praise, even more so if we take into consideration the conditions in which Krasiński worked.

Moreover, Żywczyński (1970, p. 167) noticed that "although he [Krasiński] did not have any formal education in this matter – inspired only by Brodziński's research – he pioneered Polish semasiology, because he considered in the dictionary: '1º etymology, 2º related languages, 3º the writers' renown, 4º colloquial language.'"

The work of the Polish authors who wrote dictionaries of synonyms in the 19th century has received much academic attention (cf. footnote 4), therefore we will not

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Recently, the importance of Krasiński's *Słownik* was recognised by the authors of articles in a book on humanism and the Polish language (Janowska, Pastuchowa & Pawelec, 2011, pp. 84, 115, 143, 145, 267, 291, 404, 412, 451, 456). They used its definitions to describe various changes in the meaning of such words as: *godność*, *honor*, *rozum*.

[2] Cf. Guzek, 1991, pp. 240–244. Guzek (1991, p. 243) wrote that "in 1827 people considered holding a contest to create a dictionary and offering a 1000-zloty prize for the winner." Cf. also Goliński, 1991, pp. 99–104. He wrote that "[a]t the beginning of the 19th century, a large-scale project (inspired by the Warsaw Society of Friends of Science) was commenced to compile a dictionary of Polish synonyms, involving multiple scholars. Parts of the research were published in magazines, mainly in 'Pamiętnik Warszawski'" (Goliński, 1991, p. 103–104).

[3] Cf. also Gajkowska, 1991, pp. 424–428. Gajkowska (1991, p. 428) wrote: "The contest for a dictrionary of synonyms in 1858 (initiated by E. Rastawiecki) also provoked much discussion and controversy."

describe them in much detail. We will, however, try to provide an overview of the older "synonymaries," the lesser known predecessors of Krasiński's *Słownik*.

Prior to Krasiński's work, there had been some attempts to create a dictionary of synonyms in Poland. Klemensiewicz, whom we have already quoted in this work, briefly mentioned the ones undertaken in the early 19th century. In the recent years, many scholars have become interested in the 18th- and 19th-century "vogue" for collecting and recording synonyms,[4] a movement for which Warszawskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk tried to create academic standards. Some of the well-known Polish writers of the time played an important role in this endeavour, including Kazimierz Brodziński, duchess Maria Wirtemberska, Klementyna Tańska, and Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz.

Earlier still, attempts to create a dictionary of synonyms were made in Renaissance- and Baroque-period Poland and in Bohemia. The earliest ones were usually created for purposes of teaching Latin, and were therefore collections Latin synonyms, based on the work of ancient writers. Some dictionaries, however, contained predominantly Czech, German or Polish vocabulary, which was only accompanied by Latin synonyms.

Hence, A. S. Krasiński had had many predecessors not only in the 19th century. In the 18th and the early 19th century (e.g. in London, 1819), publishers regularly printed re-issues of the Baroque *Gradus ad Parnassum* (mentioned by Krasiński in the preface to his *Słownik*). Only once was it published with a Polish (as well as Czech and German) version: in 1732, for a Jesuit college in Wrocław (Grzegorczyk, 1967, p. 95). This edition was very popular in Bohemia and elsewhere. Krasiński, describing the earliest Renaissance dictionaries of Latin synonyms, mentioned only "*Simonis Pelegromii synonymorum sylva*, 1546 and *Johannis Serrani Synonymorum libellus*, Nuremberg, 1551 – reprinted multiple times" (Krasiński, 1989b, p. VIII) and went on to add that "[o]ne should not include *Gradus ad Parnassum*, which was used in schools to write poetry in Latin. It contained synonyms under each entry, but it did not give any explanations for them" (Krasiński, 1989b, p. VIII). Nevertheless, due to its great popularity, this dictionary deserves more attention. Its name, *Gradus ad Parnassum*, which translates as 'the entrance/step/road to Parnassus,' refers to the entrance to the home of Apollo and the Muses, the symbol of poetry. The earliest known Bohemian edition, with Czech and German language versions, comes from 1699; subsequent editions were published in Bohemia throughout the entire

[4] Cf. Aleksandrowicz, 1978, 2001; Grzegorczyk, 1967, pp. 42–43; Kloch, 1993.

18th century. We do not know who the author was (the dictionary was published anonymously). Czech scholars find it likely that its authorship should be attributed to Franz Wagner (1675–1748), a German Jesuit. We know that *Gradus* was used in Jesuit colleges (and published by the monastery printshops). The Bohemian editions (Cf. *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků od doby nejstarší až do konce XVIII století*, 1946, pp. 276–278), beside the Latin version, contained also Czech and German versions. The dictionary was very large – it counted 950 pages (of a small octavo format, as in the 1699 and 1707 editions published in Prague). A Czech-language version can also be found in the editions from the years 1714, 1721, 1727, 1732 and 1746, and in another edition, which according to Jungmann (1849, p. 260), was published in 1771: *Tyrnaviae cum significatione ungarica, germanica et slavonica*. Due to the popularity of the dictionary and the fact that it was known to A. S. Krasiński, as reflected in his words from the preface to *Słownik*, we will briefly introduce its content, the construction of the entries, etc. This information will be necessary for the comparison of *Gradus* with the earlier and the later dictionaries of synonyms, including Krasiński's *Słownik synonimów polskich*.

Gradus ad Parnassum (1699 edition, the library of Charles University in Prague, cat. no. 54 S 326) contains more than 950 pages in a small format, with entries under the letters from *A* to *Z* (the last entry is "*Zythum*, Piwo, Bier," and the dictionary concludes with an overview of Latin poetic meters). The long and convoluted title contains a description of the dictionary's content: *Gradus ad Parnassum, sive novus synonymorum, epithetorum et phrasium poëticarum thesaurus: Elegantias, Flavissas Poëticas, Parnassum Poëticum, Thesaurum Virgilii, Smetium, Januam Musarum, aliosque id genus Libros ad Poësim necessarios complectens. In quo singulis etiam Phrasium Syllabis, ac Nominum et Verborum Crementis, appositae sunt Notae Quantitatis Indices, una cum Poëtarum testimoniis, quorum authoritate singularum vocum Quantitas comprobatur. Accedunt, quae ex Historia, Fabula et Geographia ad Poëticam Artem conferunt. Inseruntur Descriptiones et Comparationes plurimae ex optimis Poëtis excerptae. Opus emendatissimum pariter, politiori elegantia excultissimum, Bohemica et Germanica ad quodvis vocabulum significatione addita auctum. Ac in gratiam Studiosae Juventutis per Provinciam Bohemiae Societatis Iesu denuo recusum. Cum privilegio Sac. Caes. Regiaeque Majestatis. Pragae, Typis Universitatis Carolo – Ferdinandae, in Collegio Soc. Jesu ad S. Clement. Anno 1699.*[5]

[5] Included in the title is the proclamation that it is "a thesaurus of synonyms, epithets and poetic phrases. The work contains treasures from Virgil, Smetius [a Neo-Latin poet – LJ, EK]

The entries in the dictionary differ in their size and the details they contain. The main principle is that first the Czech and German equivalents of a Latin word are given, followed by a range of Latin synonyms (introduced by the abbreviation *syn.*), usually accompanied by quotations from ancient authors (with an abbreviation of the author's name). Some entries also contain "epithets" (abbrev.: *epith.*), e.g. Latin adjectives in the case of nouns. The abbreviation *metaph.<orice>* occurs less frequently; it introduces the "poetic" equivalent of a given word. Some entries include the abbreviation *phr.* (= *phrasis*), which introduces usage examples of the entry word. Sometimes, one can also find the abbreviation *v.* (= *vide*), which refers the reader to synonyms beginning with a different letter. The dictionary contains mainly common nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs and conjunctions (e.g. *Ac*, a [Cz.], *und* [Ger.], Syn. *et*). Some proper nouns are also included, especially ones derived from ancient literature (*Achilles*, *Achillea* 'island,' Abydos 'a town in Asia'), but also from the Bible, e.g. *Abraham*. The authors quoted include: Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Martial, Lucretius and Juvenal but also the Christian Tertullian (quoted in the Biblical entry: *Abraham*). The dictionary contains also some very long entries, with longer quotes, e.g. the four-verse description of the hawk from Virgil's *Aeneid*, included in the entry *Accipiter*.[6]

Thus, the entries in *Gradus ad Parnassum* differ in their size and the amount of detail they contain. Their basic construction, however, is consistent throughout the dictionary: the entry includes a range of Latin synonyms. The material presented in the dictionary is very extensive, and, without doubt, it was very useful for students or fledgeling writers. They would find there not only a collection of synonyms, but also some specific usage examples drawn from literature.

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and other poets, so valuable for the creation of poetry … To be used by the youth of the Bohemian province of the Society of Jesus."

[6] Example entries: 1) *Absimilis*, Nerovný, Ungleich. SYN.: *Dissimilis*, *haud similis*, *dispar*, *impar*. 2) *Absentia*, Nepřítomnost, Abwesenheit. EPITH.: *Longa*, *brevis*, *dura*, *tristis*, *incesta*. [As an exception, this entry does not contain any Latin synonyms – LJ, EK]. 3) *Absilio*, *-is*, Odskakugi, Davon springen. *Aut procul absiliebat, ut acrem exiret odorem, Lucr.* SYN.: *Exilio*, *transilio*, *resilio*, *salio*. 4) *Accingo*, Připasugi, sich umbgurten, *Paribusque accingitur armis, Virg.* SYN.: *Cingo*, *munio*, *instruo*, *armo*. METAPH.: *paro*, *praeparo*, *comparo*. PHR.: *Hic ferro accingor rursus, clypeoque sinistram aptans. Lorica induitur, fidoque accingitur ense, illi se praedae accingunt omnes operi*. V.: ['*vide*'] *Praeparo*. [No "epithets" in this entry]. 5) *Accipiter*, *-itris*, Gestřáb, Raubvogel … *Avis rapacissima … Accipitris descriptio*: *Quam facile Accipiter saxo, sacer ales, ab alto … ab aethere plumae*. Virg. Aen. [Hawk has as many as 16 "epithets" here, e.g. *rapax*, *ferus*, *velox*, *audax*, *impius*, but no synonyms].

For instance, the entry *Achilles* contains a number of synonyms that can be used to replace the name: *Pelides*, *hero*, *Nereius*, *Thetidis proles*, *progenies*, *filius*, *natus*, etc. Beside the synonyms, the entry contains also more than twenty words that can be used to describe the features of Achilles, e.g. *cristatus*, *magnus*, *superbus*, *animosus*, *pugnax*, *ferox*. Such extensive entries were of a great value, especially for poets. Unfortunately, we did not have access to the later, 19th-century editions of *Gradus ad Parnassum*, e.g. the English ones (e.g. London, 1819). Krasiński's description of *Gradus…* in the preface to his dictionary is too brief, hence, we were unable to ascertain exactly which editions he knew. We also do not know why he decided to exclude *Gradus…* from the category of "synonimaries," even though he was aware of its existence. Was it only due to the lack of explanations?

Krasiński does not name any other Renaissance collections of Latin synonyms, beside two thesauri from the 16th century (Serranus, Pelegromius, which we were unable to find; cf. Krasiński, 1989b, p. VIII). He mentions some Italian, French, German and English dictionaries from the 18th and 19th century. If only because the authors were Polish, we hypothesise that Krasiński might have also known the works of Ł. Brzezwicki, G. Knapski and A. Calagius, although he does not mention them explicitly in his *Słownik*.

Łukasz Szymon Brzezwicki (or Brzeźwicki, cf. Vrtel-Wierczyński, 1937, p. 44) authored the collection titled *Synonyma Latina ex variis authoribus collata, Polonice et Latine*, issued in Cracow, 1602, and subsequently in 1639 and 1645. He also wrote the dictionary *Puerilia puri idiomatis Latini promptuaria*, Cracow, 1625 (an adaptation of Volckmar's dictionary published in 1596; Brzezwicki was criticised, e.g. by Grzegorz Knapiusz for repeating mistakes made by Volckmar, who was a foreigner).[7]

[7] Klemensiewicz (1985, pp. 325–327) does not make any mention of Brzezwicki's dictionary. Plezia (1959, p. XVII) writes: "synonyma… ex variis authoribus collecta [our emphasis]."

Grzegorczyk (1967) adds also the 1628 edition (following Estreicher's bibliography XIII 395). Gruszczyński (2000, pp. 83–85) claims that "Łukasz Szymon Brzezwicki wrote two alphabetical Polish-Latin dictionaries: *Synonyma Latina ex variis authoribus collata Polon. et lat.*, Cracow 1602 (a unique copy in Biblioteka Kórnicka [the Kórnik Library], under signature 11397); with subsequent editions also in Cracow: 1628, 1639, 1645; most likely, no copy survived until today (there is no entry in the Centralny Katalog Starych Druków ['The Catalogue of Early Printed Materials'] of the National Library of Poland in Warsaw) [and] *Puerilia puri idiomatis latini promptuaria.* 1st ed. Cracow, 1625 …; subsequent editions also in Cracow: 1632 (a copy of this edition is kept in Biblioteka Kórnicka), 1639, 1646 (a damaged copy of this edition is kept in Biblioteka Jagiellońska [the Jagiellonian Library]; no copies of previous editions have

Grzegorz Knapski (Knapiusz, Knap) was the author of the most famous dictionary in the 17-century Poland: *Thesaurus Polonolatinograecus…* (first ed.: Cracow, 1621; second ed.: 1643, posthumously; in 1626, the second volume was published, with Latin-Polish synonyms; the third volume, *Adagia continens*, was published in 1623). In 1643, an abbreviated version of the dictionary was published: *Synonyma seu Dictionarium Polono Latinum ex Thesauro collectum*,[8] which, according to Plezia (1959, p. XX), "was immensely popular – 37 editions were published in Cracow, Kalisz, Poznań, Gdańsk, Lwów, Sandomierz and Warsaw between 1643 and 1793."

J. Puzynina (1961) devoted an entire monograph to Knapiusz's *Thesaurus*;[9] her book popularised Knapiusz's work among historians of the Polish language. Unfortunately, there are no such monographs about the Brzezwicki's dictionary or Calagius's thesaurus, which was the first true "synonymary" of Polish.

Brzezwicki's dictionary and Knapiusz's *Synonimy* are not typical thesauri, even though they contain Polish and Latin synonyms. In contrast, the trilingual dictionary by the Silesian Andrzej Calagius's (1549–1609),[10] published in Wrocław in the late 16th century, can be treated as a typical thesaurus. Issued in 1579, it was the earliest dictionary of this sort to include a Polish version. Its title is: *Synonyma Latina vocum phrasiumque, orationis tam prosae, quam ligatae, ex classicis selecta autoribus inque iuventutis scholasticae usum publicata, studio atque opera Andreae Calagii Vratislaviensis*. The title page informs the reader that the thesaurus includes a Polish language version (*Accesserunt*

survived to date)." Gruszczyński (2000, p. 84) goes on to write: "the latter was an adaptation … of Volckmar's thesaurus … of 1596 … . Certainly, both [our emphasis] thesauri written by Brzezwicki complemented each other and because of that, the last edition – printed in 1646 – might have comprised both [our emphasis] thesauri in one book." Gruszczyński then (2000, p. 84) provides evidence to support this claim [entries quoted include, for example: Part I (*Puerilia…*) "Godny *et* gnuśny *vide syn.* …"; in Part II (*Synonyma…*) "Godny *Dignus, idoneus* …, godność *dignitas*, *convenientia* …"]: "In many entries of the 1646 edition, from *Brzez* to *Puer* we can find references to Part II – labelled with the abbreviation *syn*. These references sometimes constitute the entire content of the entry … The examples quoted here show that each thesaurus was a Polish-Latin dictionary, sorted alphabetically."

[8] Cf. Klemensiewicz 1985, p. 325; Gruszczyński (2000, p. 181) makes use of the 1703 edition.

[9] "There were multiple editions of the Latin-Polish vol. II of *Thesaurus* as well as of excerpts from vol. I, prepared for schools and entitled: *Synonyma seu dictionarium Polono-Latinum* and *Idiotismi Polonici*" (Puzynina, 1961, p. 11, fn. 36).

[10] Cf. Kędelska, 1995, pp. 10–16, 23–24; Ogrodziński, 1937, p. 189.

et voces atque phrases Polonicae), however, it does not mention the German version, which in fact comes first. Calagius's work should be classified as German-Polish-Latin thesaurus (approx. 600 pages in octavo format) – it is a collection of Latin synonyms to German words. Technically, Calagius wrote only the German-Latin version of the thesaurus; the Polish version was created by a "father Wawrzyniec," whose name is mentioned in the Latin poem that opens the dictionary. What is novel in Calagius's work is the alphabetical index of Polish words: *Index Polonicarum vocum* (approx. 1600 entries on 30 pages). Another trilingual edition of Calagius's work appeared in 1595. In 1592, a different edition was published in Goerlitz; it contained only Latin entries and synonyms, without their Polish and German equivalents.

Calagius's thesaurus of 1579 contains mostly Latin words synonymous to German entry words. Calagius did not give references to the sources of his data. In some places, the thesaurus gives an array of synonyms for a given entry, mostly Latin.[11]

There are some instances, whereby Polish synonyms are similarly aggregated,[12] whereas German synonyms of German items appear very infrequently; when they do appear, however, they are usually just "empty" references: Gebrechen *vide* Mangeln; Menge *vide* Hauff; Mengen *vide* Vermischen; or Mörder *vide* Todschlager *et* Rauber, etc.

Calagius's thesaurus – the first dictionary of synonyms to have a Polish-language version – was written later than analogical dictionaries in Bohemia. Hence, it is likely that Calagius, who lived and worked in Wrocław, was inspired by the Bohemian thesauri (for instance, the Polish index might have been inspired by the Czech-Latin thesaurus of 1573, which we will discuss later). Slavonic dictionaries of synonyms might have been based on their German predecessors – e.g. on a 1551 dictionary published in Nuremberg (unavailable these days), mentioned by Krasiński. Below, we will offer an overview of the lesser known Czech-Latin thesauri.

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[11] E.g. Entlehnen. Pożyczyć. *Mutuare. Rogare nummos in dies aliquot. Rogare quem pecuniam. Rogare mutua sestertia. Petere mutuo. Sumere alicunde. Reperire. Invenire. Conficere. Corradere. Exprimere a quo nummulorum. Auferre. Emungere*; or: Acker. Rolá. *Ager, agellus, campus, arvum. Cultum, iugerum, pratum, humus, tellus, rus, fundus.*

[12] E.g. Mild. Szczodry et vczynny. *Liberalis, largus … . Benignus. Bonus …*; Mitarbeiter. Społ prácownik. Towárzysz w pracy. *Collaborator. Administer … Consors laborum, operum*; Mauerbrecher. Tárań. Káfar, co nim mury tłuczono. *Aries, testudo. Tormentum murale. Machina, balista. Onus balistae. Phalarica, Pluteus*; Marter. Męká. Trapienie. Kátowánie, *Cruciatus, tormentum … . Poena*; or *Todtschleger.* Zábijak. Mężoboycá, Głownik. *Occisor, percussor, homicida … .*

The earliest known Czech thesaurus, referred to in the literature as *Synonyma Rokyčanová*, is a small medieval manuscript; thus described by J. Jungmann (1849, p. 60): "*Vocabula per Mag. Rokyczanum piae memoriae rubrica scripta polysema Bohemica, quibus priore loco latina respondent.* Rkp. w bibl. Wid. dworské … Obnáší toliko 5 listů."

V. Flajšhans – the publisher of the medieval Latin-Czech dictionaries by Claret – also briefly mentioned *Synonyma Rokyčanova* in the preface to his book (1926): "Synonymáře jsou v naší lexikografii zastoupeny až velmi pozdě, kolem roku 1500. Jsou to *Synonyma Rokycanova* w rkp. víd. knih. č. 4272, a tištěný *Synonymář* ze začátku XVI. stol. … *Synonyma Rokycanova* v rkp. víd. … *Vocabula post Mg. Rokyczanam pie memorie*, fol. 80–95; napřed jsou podány překlady frázi (ukázku podal 1789 Durich Dobrovskému …; zprávu Dobrovský v 'Geschichte' 307 a Jungmann III, 14), a k nim přidán překlad synonym; *incipit Ceremonie* poklony … *cecitatem expellit scientia*" (Flajšhans, 1926, p. XX). J. Gebauer – another eminent historian of the Czech language – put the following abbreviation in the bibliography of his dictionary of old Czech (1903): "Slov. B. = … rkp. kn. dvor. ve Vídni, c. 5154, Synonymarius … z poč. XV, částečně ze XIV století" (Gebauer, 1903, p. XXV).[13] Nevertheless, he did not supply any details; most likely, he referred to the same manuscript: the one held in Vienna.

For obvious reasons, the medieval manuscript could not have influenced the Czech dictionary of synonyms printed later, that is in the 16th century. Both scholars quoted above mentioned the first dictionary of synonyms printed in Bohemia: Flajšhans wrote about "the first printed *Synonymary* from the beginning of the 16th century" (see above) and (aptly) added that it was "at the same time the first Czech-Latin dictionary."[14]

Gebauer also mentioned this dictionary among the sources for his dictionary (1903): "Synon. = Synonymář … je tisk XVI stol., ukázka z něho v ČČMus. 1877, 636–637" (Gebauer, 1903, p. XXV). The date refers to Ferdinand Menčík, who was the first to inform about this edition in 1877. Menčík wrote that the book – unknown to Jungmann and at that time kept in Vienna – was damaged: it lacked the title, date and place of publishing as well as the author's name. Menčík thought that it was a book published in the early 16th century, probably

[13] Cf. also *Staročeský slovník. Úvodní stati, soupis pramenů a zkratek*, 1968, p. 108: "SlovRok. lat.-čes. synonymický slovníček, tzv. Rokycanův (*Vocabula post Mg. Rokycanam pie memorie*); z konce 15. stol. Rkp. Vídeň, NK 4272, fol. 80a–95b."

[14] "první zároveň slovník česko-latinský" (Flajšhans, 1926, p. XX).

in Basel; he briefly described the thesaurus (it consisted of approx. 60 sheets) and its content (more than 800 items), and he also quoted a selection of Czech entries (Menčík, 1877, pp. 635–637). The description and material published by Menčík allowed Kędelska to establish that: "The Czech-Latin Synonymary was not written – contrary to the generally accepted opinion – in the beginning of the 16th century. It was created by Matouš Collinus (1516–1566), who most likely wrote it after 1540 … The damaged copy discovered by Menčík … might in fact be a copy of the 1551 edition" (Kędelska, 1986, p. 108). This would mean that the copy did not come from Basel but from Prague, and that it was created by the well-known Czech scholar, Matouš Collinus, who is certainly the author of the earliest Czech-Latin dictionary of synonyms that survived undamaged until today: *Libellus synonymorum Latinorum, una cum vacabulis Bohemicis, iuxta seriem literarum alphabeti dispositis*, Praha 1551, printed by Jan Hada (copy at the British Museum, London, sign. 12.935.aa8). In 1540, having returned to Prague after completing his studies in Wittenberg, Collinus (a friend of Melanchton's) took up literature (cf. *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků od doby nejstarší až do konce XVIII století*, 1946, p. 267) writing in Latin, Greek, Czech and German, and a teaching (he even established a private school). His dictionary of synonyms had another (revised and extended) edition in 1573, also printed by Jan Hada in Prague. The second edition – titled *Libellus synonymarum* – was compiled by Collinus's friend, Petr Codicillus of Tulechov (as attested to by an inscription on the title page: *Castigatus per Petrum Codicillum*). Both versions share a number of features: Czech entries and their Latin synonyms are sorted alphabetically, some advertisements appear inside the books and the fact that both editions were printed in a small format. Moreover, both versions share most of the entries, albeit the second edition was significantly extended and improved. The Latin poem by Collinus, which opens the 1551 version of *Libellus synonymorum*, gives important information as to the source of inspiration for the dictionary. It appears that *Libellus…* was based on some earlier German thesaurus:[15]

M. Matthaeus Collinus lectoribus.
Extant libri Synonymorum, pluribus
Qui res easdem vocibus, Quiritium
Efferre lingua commode docent, quibus

[15] This was already stipulated by Josef Hejnic in 1964, cf. Kędelska, 1986, p. 34.

Interpretatio additur Germanica.
Ex his ut unum quodpiam componerem
Volumen addita Bohemica phrasi,
Typographus rogabat …
Laboribus mihi statim descendere,
Collegit ipse quaepiam Synonyma
In ordinem redacta, iuxta patriae
Linguae Alphabetum, promptius Bohemice
Ut invenire, quod volet pubes, queat
Sermonis affectans Latini copiam … .

We know that in 1540 Collinus returned to Prague from Germany, where he could have become acquainted with German dictionaries of synonyms; we are reminded of the fact that Krasiński also mentioned German dictionaries of synonyms as the earliest "synonymaries" he knew (printed in 1546 and 1551 in Nuremberg).

When we compare the 1551 and the 1573 edition of *Libellus synonymorum*, it becomes clear that all items in the thesauri are constructed according to the same system: there are Czech words sorted alphabetically and followed by their Latin synonyms. In the first (1551) edition by Collinus, the names of ancient Latin authors (e.g. Cicero) are hardly ever abbreviated, whereas the second edition (1573) by Codicillus presents the names of more than a dozen authors as abbreviations; also, the authors' names are more frequently provided in the 1573 edition. It is one of the chief reasons why Codicillus should be regarded as the actual author of the 1573 edition. According to our calculations, the most frequently quoted authors are: Cicero (the author of *De oratore*; quoted approx. 50 times), Terence (10 times), Pliny (7 times), Virgil (6 times) and Plautus (5 times). There are more authors whose works are quoted, albeit not so frequently: Horace, Aristotle, Ovid, Seneca, Aulus Gellius (author of the *Attic Nights*), Livy, Quintilian (among others). Codicillus does not provide the titles of the works quoted, apart from two abbreviations: *apud Ciceron. in Tus.* (i.e. *Tusculanes disputationes*; cf. the entry *Bláznowstwij*) and *Cic. ad Att.* (i.e. *Letters to Atticus*; cf. the entry *Procházka*).

Beside Latin synonyms (whose number amounts to more than a dozen at times), both dictionaries provide Czech synonyms to a number of words. Codicillus also introduced many new entries, which significantly expanded the 1573 edition in relation to the original 1551 edition, and it is the new lexemes introduced by Codicillus that often contain quotes taken from ancient authors.

Below, we provide some examples to illustrate the differences in the construction of entries in the two versions of the thesaurus:

1551 edition	**1573 edition**
Czech entry: Laupežnik / Lotr *Spoliator*, *Latro …*, *Pirata* [altogether 11 Latin synonyms]	Lúpežnik/Lotr *Spoliator*, *Latro …*, *Pirata*, *Trifur*, Plaut. [altogether 15 Latin synonyms]
Mám w paměti *Non excidit*, *Memoria teneo …*, *Habeo in memoria*. [altogether 8 Latin synonyms]	Mám w paměti *Non excidit mihi, Memoria teneo …, Habeo in memoria*, Teren. [altogether 8 Latin synonyms]
Misterný / neb diwný *Mirabilis, Admirabilis, Intractabilis …, Difficilis* [altogether 7 Latin synonyms]	Misterný / neb diwný *Mirabilis*, *Admirabilis*, *Intractabilis*, *Intolerabilis*, *Difficilis*, *mirandus*, Plaut. *Cerebrosum dixit*. Horat. *Felicem cerebri*. [altogether 8 Latin synonyms]
Brzy / hned / bez messkánÿ *Cito*, *Brevi*, *Ocyus*, *Prope diem*, *In brevi*, *Vide supra* Bez bez messkánÿ [altogether 5 Latin synonyms]	Brzy / hned / bez messkánÿ *Cito*, *Brevi*, *Ocyvs*, *Propediem*, *In brevi*, *Oppido*, *Mature*, *Quamprimum*, Cicero, *Primo quoque tempore*. [altogether 7 Latin synonyms]
No entry	Plawiti se *Navigare, Sulcare aequor navigio. Dare vela ventis. Remigare. Committere se mari. Oram solvere.* Quint.
No entry	Nedomniwey se / Neweř tomu *Cave putes. Cave existimes.* Cic. *Cave, si me amas.*
No entry	Procházka *Ambulatio*, *Ambulacrum*, *Deambulatio*, *Ambulatiuncula*, Cic. Ad Att.
Prospijwati *Prodesse*, *Conferre*, *Expedire*, *Conducere*, *Commodare*, *Proficere*, Cic. *Nulla res tantum ad dicendum proficiet*, *quam scriptio*	Prospijwati *Prodesse*, *Conferre*, *Expedire*, *Conducere*, *Commodare*, *Proficere*, Cic. *Nulla res tanum ad dicendum proficiet*, *quam scriptio*
Chtiwost *Cupiditas*, *Cupido. Aviditas*, *Ardor*, *Concupiscentia. Avaritia. Alacritas. Libido. Voluntas. Amor. Studium*, *desiderium*, *sitis. Ignis*, *flamma.*	Chtiwost / chtijč *Cupiditas*, *Cupido*, *Aviditas*, *Ardor*, *Concupiscentia*, *Alacritas*, *Libido*, *Voluntas*, *Amor*, *Studium*, *Desiderium*, *Sitis*, *Motus animi*. Gell. *Animi Adfectio*, Cic. *Affectus*, Quint. *Pathos*. Arist.

To sum up, we can say that Codicillus significantly expanded the content of Collinus's 1551 edition of *Libellus synonymorum*.[16] He also added an index of Czech words – the index in the 1573 edition contains more than 1300 Czech entries, whereas the 1551 edition (which did not include an index) contained only 800 entries. In 1573, Codicillus added a number of quite comprehensive entries (e.g. *Plawiti se*, quoted in the table above), as well as shorter entries, which did not contain any quotations of ancient literary works (e.g. "Perla" with only 4 Latin synonyms: *Unio*, *Gemma*, *Lapillus preciosus*, *Gemmula*; or "Pijsař knieh," whose synonyms are: *Librarius*, *Bibliographus*, *Librorum scripto*). Moreover, Codicillus would often modify some entries of the 1551 edition or supplement them with additional Latin synonyms and quotations (e.g. "Chtiwost," cf. the table above). Obviously, there are some entries that are identical in the 1551 and the 1573 edition (e.g. "Taužiti," which contains more than 20 Latin synonyms, almost identical in both editions), as a rule, however, the number of Latin synonyms for most entries is greater in the 1573 edition (e.g. "Hádanij / hadrowánij / hadrunk / hádka" has 10 Latin synonyms in 1551, compared to 16 in 1573, cf. also the table above).

Apart from altering and expanding a number of entries as well as compiling an index, Codicillus added some more new elements to Collinus's dictionary of synonyms:

1) Minor additions to the three Latin poems concluding the thesaurus. Codicillus added only the place of birth of three authors: "Ioannes Rodericus, *à* Dubrava," "Ioannes Orpheus, à Choterina" and "Ioannes Ssentygar [= Šentygar, a well-known humanist] à Choterina" [our emphasis]. These authors recommended the thesaurus to students and encouraged them to learn Latin synonyms; Orpheus and Ssentygar were born in Chotěřina, which was the hometown of Collinus (the author of the 1551 dictionary), moreover, both of them were friends with Collinus.

2) Codicillus modified the Latin poem that serves as the preface to the thesaurus, introducing minor but significant modifications. The poem in the 1573 edition

[16] The greatest Czech lexicographer of the 16th century, Daniel Adam Veleslavín, also mentions Codicillus's thesaurus and emphasises its usefulness for students. In the preface to his 1598 thesaurus, he writes the following: *Sylva quadrilinguis*: "Item alio Synonimico libello exiguo, qui multis annis adelos [a Greek word – LJ, EK] Scholas omnes pervagatus, novissime vestitus nomine M. Petri Codicilli a Tulechowa bonae memoriae, viri … doctissimi, et praeceptoris mei colendi, fortassis ut vendibilior esset, ex officina Colubriana nobis prodiit." Cf. Wižďálková, 1966, p. 44.

(published after Collinus's death in 1566) contains 34 lines (in comparison to 25 lines in the 1551 edition). In his version, Codicillus removed the fragment that indicated a German thesaurus as the basis for this dictionary of synonyms (which we quoted before). Codicillus's version reads:

> M. Matthaeus Collinus a Choterina, professor in Academia Pragensi,
> discenti puero S. D. P.:
> Prosunt libri Synonymorum, pluribus
> Qui res Latiis [!] easdem vocibus
> Efferre commode docent: puer quibus
> Vsus Latina possit scripta fingere.
> Ex his ut unum quodpiam componerem
> Volumen addita Phrasi Boemica,
> Coluber Ioannes me petiit …

The last line of the poem is almost identical in both editions: *et aptiore lege quandoque edere* (1551) – *et aptiore lege in vulgus edita* (1573), however, the new version of the poem is not only longer but it also underwent many modifications. Yet, the new version still attributes the authorship of the dictionary of synonyms to Collinus, which was done at the request of Jan Hada (Coluber) of Prague.

Codicillus (1573) also added a poem, which served as an advertisement for the thesaurus:

> M. Petrus Codicillus pueris discentibus linguam Latinam S. D. P.:
> Prima Synonymiae proponit regula voces,
> Quae plures unam rem variare solent …
> Isodynamusas voces quod si applicet illis,
> Mutus erit nunquam, res ubi verba petent …
> Officii est nostri studiis prodesse iuventae,
> Et pius est pueros recta docere labor.
> Ergo ades, Ausoniae discens modulamina linguae,
> Hoc, ubi res poscet, promito verba penu.
> Sunt ea de libris autorum sumta probatis …
> Propria sunt tenerae discenda vocabula pubi,
> Impropria, ut scopuli, sunt fugienda, maris.
> Haec ubi cognoris, plura his apponet Erasmus,
> Quo duce verborum copia larga fluit [our emphasis].

The poem mentions Ausonius – a poet, rhetorician and grammarian, who lived in the 4th century A.D. – as well as *isodynamusas* (i.e., the acc. sing. of the adjective *isodynamusus* 'equivalent, synonymous'), which is the Latinised

version of the Greek word related to the study of synonyms. The Latin form of the word will appear again in Codicillus's thesaurus in another, very important, fragment that precedes the thesaurus itself. The fragment in question contains two new quotations (not present in the 1551 version) that Codicillus added to the preface. The two Latin quotations demonstrate who was the greatest authority for the writers of "synonymaries" in the Renaissance, as well as who initiated the development of this branch of lexicography in the 16th century. The first quotation comes from an author who was also quoted inside the thesaurus (see the table). Namely, the quotation was taken from a work by Marcus Fabius Quintilian, a Roman rhetorician and pedagogue, entitled *Institutio oratoria*. This 12-volume textbook, rediscovered in 1416, played an important role in the science and education of the Renaissance period.[17] The quotation demonstrates the nature of synonymy and provides examples (emphasised by us below), which can also be found in many other thesauri written in Renaissance times: "Sunt alia huius naturae, ut idem pluribus vocibus declarent ita, ut nihil significationis, quo potius utaris intersit, ut ensis, gladius; alia, quae, etiamsi propria rerum aliquarum sint nomina, tropicos tamen quasi ad eundem intellectum feruntur, ut ferrum et mucro. Nam per abusionem Sicarios etiam omnes vocamus, qui caedem telo quocunque commiserint" (*Quintilianus lib. X.* [I, 11–12] de *Synonymis*).

The words of Quintillian (who appears under the name 'Fabius') are also invoked by the author of the other important quotation – the one that immediately precedes Codicillus's dictionary of synonyms. This quotation comes from a book that enjoyed a great popularity in the 16th century: Erasmus's *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii* (Basel, 1511; extended editions were published in 1526 and 1534). *De copia* was a treaty about the diversity and richness of vocabulary, it was also a collection of examples of synonyms. By the end of the 16th century, *De copia* had been published more than 130 times all over

[17] Quintilian – the author of multiple court orations and other works – was mentioned in many great Renaissance lexicons, e.g. in Calepin's *Dictionarium* of 1585: "Quintilianus, ortus in Hispania … scripsit declamationes … . Laurentius Valla eum in praeceptis Ciceroni praefert: quam recte, ipse viderit, doctrinae certe eius, styloque non immerito plurimum tribuit. Meminit huius aliquoties Martialis, item Iuvenalis, nonnunquam etiam Plinius in epistolis"; as well as in D. A. Veleslavín's *Dictionarium* of 1579: "Quintilianus, M. Fabius …, Hispanus fuit, Romae Rhetoricen, docuit annis multis summa cum laude." Erasmus, in the quote from *De copia* we cite below, refers to Quintillian as "Fabius."

Europe. W. Szelińska claimed that Erasmus wrote "his treaty on the multitude of words and things […] in order to help educate students who were beginning to learn the difficult art of rhetoric; he looked to achieve his aim by presenting the students with a variety of expressions relevant to and appropriate for a given subject, e.g. he provided fifty synonyms to the expression: 'your letter has brought me much pleasure'" (Szelińska, 1990, p. 59).

Erasmus's work was used as teaching material in Akademia Krakowska ('the Cracow Academy') and other institutions; a number of renowned Polish scholars possessed a copy of *De copia* and "[it] was read in Cracow … at public as well as private meetings … as early as the first half of the 1520s, in July 1523, Erasmus's work was published by Hieronim Wietor, a typographer working in Cracow, as *De rerum verborum copia*. The book found its way also into the stocks of the bookshops owned by Maciej Szarfenberg and Florian Ungler" (Szelińska, 1990, pp. 60–61). Beside them, Szelińska lists other people who owned a copy of Erasmus's book: the Cracow Jesuits (as evidenced in the library catalogue of 1594) and Canons Regular as well as the Tyniec Benedictines. Yet another piece of evidence that indicates that many scholars held Erasmus's *De copia* in great esteem is the following quote, included in the preface to the Codicillus's dictionary of Czech-Latin synonyms of 1573 alongside a quote from Quintilian's text:

D. Erasmus Roterodamus de copia cap. IX

> Prima ac simplicissima variandi ratio in his verbis sita est, quae, diversa cum sint, eandem omnino rem declarant ita, ut ad significationem nihil referat, hoc, an illo malis uti. Quae quidem Synonyma Grammaticis dicuntur: contraria his, quae dicuntur homonyma. Illa quidem audent dicere aequivoca, haec univoca: licet haec cognomina iuxta Dialecticos magis congruam rebus ipsis, quam vocabulis. Nam voces diversas rem eandem significantes rectius dicemus "isodynamusas," et his contrarias "polysemus." Prioris generis sunt: ensis, gladius; domus, aedes; liber, codex; forma, decor, pulchritudo. Horum itaque maxima vis undecunque e bonis autoribus contrahenda, varia comparanda suppellex, et, ut Fabius [i.e. Quintillian] ait, divitiae quaedam extruendae, quibus ubicunque desideratum fuerit, possit nobis constare verborum copia.[18] [our emphasis]

The quote is followed by the Czech "Ačkoli" with six Latin synonyms, which is the first entry in the Codicillus's thesaurus (as well as in the 1551 version of the thesaurus).

[18] The words in quotation marks were originally written in the Greek alphabet.

Certainly, *De copia* profoundly influenced the authors of other collections of synonyms in Renaissance Europe and, subsequently, the authors of textbooks, used predominantly to teach Latin. As we have seen, Erasmus's book also provided help for the authors of Czech-Latin thesauri.

In the 16th to 18th centuries, "synonymaries" were usually used to teach the Latin language and literature to students and to develop elaborate writing style, e.g. in poetry; Krasiński wrote the following in the *Preface* to his thesaurus: "therefore, the first dictionaries of synonyms could only have been Latin" (Krasiński, 1989b, p. VIII). Krasiński also mentioned several treatises on synonyms by ancient and medieval authors.

Subsequent collections of synonyms were written in vernacular languages. Their authors set out to achieve different objectives – a point which was also made by Krasiński in his description of the works by his 18th and 19th-century predecessors, whod authored French, German, English and Italian thesauri (Krasiński, 1989b, p. VIII).

European Renaissance scholars, such as Erasmus or Lorenzo Valla, drew on the works of ancient authors, e.g. the rhetoricians we mentioned previously (Quintilian, Cicero, etc.). Their books sparked an interest in the very "essence" or definition of synonymy. In the above quote from *De copia*, Erasmus, referring to the work of Quintilian, mentions also the opposite phenomenon: homonymy. The interest that Renaissance scholars vested in these phenomena was also reflected in the 16th-century lexicons and general dictionaries. There, we can also see that the examples given by Quintilian (*ensis*, *gladius*, *ferrum*, *mucro* for 'sword'; cf. the quote above) were still used and expanded. Moreover, there are "echoes" of *De copia*, i.e. the synonyms to the word 'book': *liber*, *codex*, etc., which are derived from Erasmus's work.

To illustrate these aspects of 16th-century lexicons, below we present (emphasising the significant fragments) some selected examples drawn mainly from Czech and Polish works. The first quote, however, comes from the Latin thesaurus written by the German humanist Johannnes Reuchlin: *Vocabularius breviloquus* (1488 edition), which in 1511 appeared as a Latin-Czech dictionary *Lactifer*, edited by the Czech author and scholar Jan Vodňanský. *Lactifer* was the first printed Latin-Czech dictionary (Kędelska, 1986, pp. 16–19). Hence, the first two books we quote were published before Erasmus's *De copia*.

1) J. Reuchlin, *Vocabularius breviloquus*, 1488: "Synonymus […] Synonymum nomen est illud, quod idem cum alio nomine significat. Sunt autem synonyma, que et multivoca et univoca dicunt nomina, i. diversa nomina principaliter

idem significantia et appellantia. Inde hec synonymia i. univocatio. Sed quandoque ponitur pro ononymia hac similitudine, quia sicut synonymia est, quando idem sub diversis vocibus signatur, ita ononymia est, quando una voce diversa signantur. Et describitur sic synonymum. Synonyma sunt plura nomina idem significantia, tam in propriis, quam in appellativis. In propriis, ut Publius Cornelius Africanus, [=] Scipio. In appellativis Latinis, ut mucro, gladius, spata, ensis."

2) *Lactifer*, 1511: "Sinonimia, id est univocacio *Gednohlasnost*. Sinonima sunt plura nomina eandem rem significancia, tam in propriis, quam in appellativis. In propriis, ut Publius Cornellius Affricanus, [=] Cipio [!]. In appellativis, ut mucro, gladius, spata, ensis."

3) Tomasza Rešl's Latin-Czech dictionary, *Dictonarium Latinobohemicum*, Olomouc, 1560: "Synonyma, gen. neut., plurale, *Mnoha slowa gednu wěc wyznamenáwagijcý*. In singulari synonymum."

4) Jan Mączyński, *Lexicon…*, 1564, cf. the motto of our article (and probably the oldest Polish definition of a synonym).

5) D. A. Veleslavín, *Dictionarium linguae Latinae*, Prague, 1579: "Synonyma, vocabula sunt plura, rem eandem significantia, ut Liber, codex, volumen etc. Synonymia, prima ratio variandi,[19] quae synonymis, id est, vocibus diversis idem significantibus constat. In locutionibus simile quiddam est Isodynamia; haec aequipollentia. Vide lib. 1. Copiae Erasm."

6) Ambroise Calepin, *Dictionarium Latinae linguae*, 1585 edition, Lyon: "Synonyma … dicuntur, quae sub diversis vocibus idem significant, ut ensis, mucro, gladius. Synonymia … figura, quae communio nominis interpretatur. Utimur autem eo genere eloquutionis, quoties uno verbo non satis videmur dignitatem, aut magnitudinem rei demonstrare. Ideoque in eandem significationem plura conferuntur: ut si dicamus: prostravit, afflixit, perculit."[20]

* * *

Krasiński's *Słownik synonimów polskich* (1885 ed.) consists of two volumes: Volume I *A–P* (643 pages + 23 pages of introduction) and Volume II *R–Ż* (479 pages). Volume I opened with a *Preface* by the author (pp. IV–XVI), a list of 123 "old Slavonic" words with their equivalents in Polish (*Starosłowiańskie*

[19] Cf. the quote from *De copia*.

[20] For more information on the dictionaries, cf. Kędelska, 1995.

wyrazy, które do dziś dnia powszechnie są używane w języku polskim, chociaż w rosyjskim wyszły z użycia 'Old Slavonic words that until this day are widely used in the Polish language, but have already gone out of use in Russian,' pp. XVII–XIX) as well as the list of references and sources of examples.[21] As the title says, it is merely a *List of more relevant authors, sorted chronologically* (*Spis celniejszych autorów przytaczanych w chronologicznym porządku*, pp. XXI–XXIII). Altogether, Krasiński listed 74 different sources and sorted them according to the century in which they were published (between the 15th and 19th centuries). There are: 4 sources from the 15th century (*Biblia Królowej Zofii* 'Queen Sophia's Bible,' *Psałterz floriański* 'Sankt Florian Psalter,' as well as books written by two Christian priests: father Jędrzej and father Maciej of Różan, the latter the scrivener on the court of the Dukes of Mazovia and the translator of *Ustawy mazowieckie* 'The Masovian Laws'); 25 sources from the 16th century (e.g. works by Marcin Bielski, Mikołaj Rej, Erazm Gliczner and Łukasz Górnicki); 12 sources from the 17th century (e.g. books by Sebastian Petrycy, Krzysztof Opaliński and Jan Chryzostom Pasek); 17 sources from the 18th century (e.g. books by Franciszek Dmochowski, Fr. Krzysztof Kluk and Fr. Franciszek Bohomolec); and, finally, 16 sources from the 19th century (e.g. works of Alojzy Feliński, Jan Śniadecki, Juliusz Słowacki and Zygmunt Krasiński).

Along with the sources from the 16th to the 19th centuries, Krasiński also lists the abbreviations under which they will subsequently appear in his thesaurus. Moreover, he provides a short biographical note about each of the authors cited: usually their birth and death years (often, the biographical notes contain only such dates, especially with the 19th-century authors), sometimes the function they performed, their achievements, and, quite seldom, the title of their work (e.g. "**Fr. Baltazar Opeć**, mistrz Akad. Krakow., tłumacz Żywota Chrystusa drukowanego pierwszy raz 1522 r.").

Among the authors cited by Krasiński one can find: writers (e.g. Jan Kochanowski, Wespazjan Kochowski or Adam Mickiewicz), translators, often those of the Bible (e.g. Fr. Walenty Wróbel and Fr. Jakub Wujek), lexicographers (Fr. Grzegorz Knapski), scholars (e.g. Józef Majer, Jan Śniadecki and Fr. Krzysztof

[21] Krasiński wrote that the source of the Old Church Slavonic entries in his thesaurus were the works of Miklosich, Vostokov and Kopitar. He based his dictionary also on Linde's dictionary and the so-called *Słownik wileński* (*Słownik języka polskiego*, 1986; cf. the *Preface* and, for instance, the entry II/224 *wpływowy*: "WPŁYWOWY wyraz XIX wieku, nie tylko u LINDEGO, ale nawet w Słowniku Wileńskim nie znajdujący się …").

Kluk). If an author published more than one piece of work, Krasiński's indication does not inform us which one he used.

In the *Preface* to Volume I, Krasiński outlined his outlook on the nature of language: synonyms (words of similar, but never identical, meanings, which always differ from one another, even if it is only a small detail, e.g. the emotive aspect) emerge in a language at a later stage of its development,[22] and it is difficult to master their proper use. Krasinski also listed the publications (ranging from those written by ancient authors to works of his contemporaries) that pertained to and/or collected synonyms, trying to prove why so far (i.e. by the year 1885) no Polish dictionary of synonyms had been written, even though they had existed in other modern languages. Moreover, he gave a brief overview of the principles guiding the composition of his *Słownik*; however, he did not do it in as much detail as we will do in the next part of the article.

In Volume II, after the entries that contained strings of synonyms, Krasiński put three more sections: *Omyłki druku* ('Typographic errors'; p. 383), *Spis synonimów* ('Index of synonyms'; pp. 385–477) in alphabetic order, and a sort of statistical overview (*Liczba synonimów* 'The number of synonyms'; p. 479), where he provided the exact total numbers of synonyms under each letter of the alphabet as well as in the entire thesaurus (2993 in total).

The main part of Krasiński's thesaurus – the one containing the synonyms – is sorted alphabetically. The headwords are given in capital letters. In his dictionary, Krasiński included two types of entries: standard lexical entries, which gave strings of synonyms, and entries that referred to other entries, e.g. I/2 "**Afront**, patrz: zniewaga." At times, a reference entry is put within a string, at the end of the synonym being described, e.g. I/3 KATEDRA: "Katedra, jako synonim kościoła, patrz: kościół."; I/128 ŚCISŁY: "Ścisły w znaczeniu surowego, patrz pod *srogi*."

Strings of synonyms, printed in bold type, are ordered alphabetically according to the initial letter of the first synonym, e.g. I/1 **Abecadło, Alfabet, Hieroglify, Runy**. Usually, only the first item in the string begins with a capital letter, whereas the remaining words begin with a lower case letter, e.g. I/251 **Kłaść, położyć, stawiać, umieszczać.**

In most cases, strings of synonyms are composed of words that belong to the same part-of-speech category, predominantly nouns (e.g. I/126 **Dochód,**

[22] For more information on Krasiński's definition of a synonym, cf. Jankowiak, 2012.

przychód, intrata, budżet). Beside nouns, Krasiński collected also synonyms to verbs (e.g. I/248 **Kłamać, łgać, zmyślać, polować, udawać**; I/196 **Godzi się, wolno**), adjectives (e.g. I/128 **Dokładny, ścisły, akuratny, punktualny, skrupulatny, wszechstronny**) and other parts of speech (e.g. I/133 **Dopóki, dokąd**; I/149 **Dwa, oba, dwoje, oboje**; I/244 **Każdy, wszelki**; I/245 **Kiedyś, niegdyś**; I/400 **Nikt, żaden**; II/371 **Żeby, gdyby**). The dictionary also includes strings of synonyms consisting of different parts of speech (or at least parts of speech that we could interpret differently), e.g. I/56 **Chory, cierpiący, pacyent, niezdrów, chorowity, chorobliwy, schorzały, zbolały, defektowy**.

Krasiński follows the string of synonyms with a description of each synonym under the entry. Some entries, however, do not include all the described lexemes in the initial string, which most likely occurred due to an error, albeit not an infrequent one, e.g. I/127–128 **Doczesny, czasowy, ziemski, znikomy,** lacks: *tymczasowy* – this item was instead included under: CZASOWY i TYMCZASOWY; I/361–363 **Mnóstwo, tłum, ciżba, natłok, nawał, napływ, tłuszcza, rzesza, rój, miryada, masa,** lacks: *bezlik*; I/490–491 **Pieśń, śpiew, hymn, psalm,** lacks: *pienie*; II/202–203 **Urząd, godność, dostojeństwo, ranga, urzędowanie**, lacks: *dostojność*.

Furthermore, in some entries, Krasiński does not include the prefixed forms of a verb (e.g. I/197 under **Godzić, jednać** he did not list *pogodzić,* included below together with *godzić, zgodzić,* as well as *pojednać*, listed together with *jednać*); finite and non-finite verb forms (e.g. II/327 **Zdradzać, przeniewierzać się, zawodzić,** Krasiński added: *zawieść* to: ZAWODZIĆ, ZAWIEŚĆ); different phonetic variants of synonyms (e.g. II/152–154 **Szukać, szperać, wartować, gmerać, tropić, drabować, przetrząsać, rewidować**, Krasiński put: *gmyrać* under: GMERAĆ i GMYRAĆ); different spelling variants of synonyms (e.g. II/65–66 **Sklepienie, stolowanie, sufit, pułap, strop, ściel,** Krasiński put *półap* under: PUŁAP i PÓŁAP). Krasiński's *Słownik* contains also strings of synonyms where the omission concerns at least two of the types given above, e.g. I/547–548 **Poranek, świt, przedświt, doświtek, okurek, brzask,** Krasiński added: *ranek* (under: PORANEK i RANEK) and *świtanie* (under: ŚWIT, ŚWITANIE); II/92–93 **Spać, sypiać, drzemać, chrapać**, Krasiński added the (jointly described) words: ZASNĄĆ i USNĄĆ and the phonetic variant *drzymać* under: DRZEMAĆ i DRZYMAĆ.

As we can see in the aforementioned examples, the number of synonyms in a string ranges from two (e.g. I/26–27 **Bohatyr, rycerz;** I/147–149 **Duch, dusza;** II/277–278 **Wyobrażać, przedstawiać**) up to about a dozen (e.g. I/27–30 **Bojaźń, strach, przestrach, obawa, trwoga, popłoch, przelęknienie, przerażenie,**

bojaźliwość, lękliwość, tchórzostwo; II/203–205 **Uspokoić, uciszyć, ukoić, utulić, uśmierzyć, uskromić, umiarkować, uśpić, ułagodzić, udobruchać, rozbroić**).

The length of the entries in Krasiński's thesaurus varies from half a page (e.g. II/277 **Wynurzyć się, wylać się, wywnętrzyć się**) to more than two pages (e.g. I/48–50 **Chcieć, żądać, życzyć, pragnąć, potrzebować, wymagać, pożądać, domagać się**; I/305–307 **Liczny, mnogi, gromadny, tłumny, setny, niezliczony, rzęsisty**).

In some entries, after giving a string of synonyms, Krasiński provided a general definition of a given entry (e.g. I/50 **Chciwość, łakomstwo, skąpstwo, sknerstwo, łapczywość:** "W ogólności namiętność czyli nieporządna chęć mienia"; II/327 **Zdradzać, przeniewierzać się, zawodzić:** "Nie dochowywać wiary"). However, this does not apply to every entry, because the thesaurus offers quite a number of strings without a definition (e.g. I/2–3 **Akademija, Uniwersytet, Wszechnica, Szkoła główna;** II/45–46 **Rzeka, strumień, potok, struga, ruczaj, ponik**).

Usually, Krasiński gives the description of each synonym in the order of its appearance in the given string of synonyms. Yet, there are some exceptions to that rule, which most likely occurred due to an error, e.g. in I/48–50 **Chcieć, żądać, życzyć, pragnąć, potrzebować, wymagać, pożądać, domagać się**, Krasiński placed the description of *pożądać* between: *pragnąć* and *potrzebować.* In some cases, the different order is justified by the fact that some synonyms are discussed jointly, e.g. I/4–5 **Autor, Pisarz**.

Each of the synonyms is presented in capital letters (in normal font type). In many entries, Krasiński also gives Slavonic equivalents in parentheses, e.g. II/46 RUCZAJ (ros. *ручей*), II/152 SZUKAĆ (czesk. *šukati* u Chorwatów *szukati*), II/180 UCHO (słow. i ros. *yxo*, czes. *ucho*), or equivalents in other languages, e.g. I/2 UNIWERSYTET (łać. *Universitas*), I/167 HYDRA (z grec.), I/194 SZYLD (niem. *Schild*), I/390 RYZYKA (włosk. *risico*). Sometimes the information in parentheses refers to the language the lexeme was borrowed from, e.g. I/56 RECYDYWA (z łac.), I/194 EMBLEMA albo EMBLEMAT (z greck. ozdoba), I/307 RACHOWAĆ (z niem. *rechnen*), II/203 RANGA (z niem. *der Rang*).

At times, along with the information about equivalents in other languages, Krasiński includes the information on how to pronounce a given foreign word, e.g. in I/48 ŻĄDAĆ, I/102 MĄŻ. In some cases, in doing so, Krasiński refers to research conducted by non-Polish scholars, e.g. to Jungmann's studies.

Often, Krasiński includes also information about the etymology of a given entry word, e.g. I/104 WRAŻENIE (od słowa wyrazić się), I/250 ŁGARSTWO

(od łgać), I/570 OGOŁOCIĆ (od goły), II/181 ZMYKAĆ i UMYKAĆ (od mknąć), II/303 ZAMACH (od machać). In some cases, Krasiński indicates the lexemes derived from a given synonym, e.g.. I/49 POŻĄDAĆ: "Ztąd teraz pochodzi wyraz pożądliwość."

Sometimes, Krasiński includes the etymology within a synonym's definition, e.g. I/218 "ROCZNIKI, wyraz dosłownie tłumaczący łacińskie *annales* …"; I/218 "PAMIĘTNIKI historyczne tłumaczą dosłownie francuzki wyraz *memoires* …"; I/547 REPAROWAĆ "… wyraz potoczny, wzięty wprost z łacińskiego …," and even provides information about the person who coined the term in question, e.g. I/2–3 "WSZECHNICA, wyraz wymyślony przez JACKA PRZYBYLSKIEGO, a wyszydzony przez DMOCHOWSKIEGO, jest tłumaczeniem łacińskiego wyrazu Uniwersytet. Chociaż przez niektórych pisarzy użyty został, jednak dotąd utarty nie jest"; I/548 "PRZEDŚWIT, wyraz nowy utworzony przez ZYGMUNTA KRASIŃSKIEGO, który napisał poemat pod tytułem *Przedświt*."

As far as the history of the words is concerned, it is often connected with the history of the designatum, e.g. in I/416 PASZKWIL: "Wywodzą zwykle ten wyraz od szewca rzymskiego Pasquino, który na początku wieku XVI znany był z jadowitego dowcipu. Pierwotnie też paszkwil oznaczał tylko ostrą przymówkę, lub złośliwy koncept. W roku 1544 drukowane były Satyry na Rzym pod tytułem: *Pasquillorum tomi duo*. Z Włoch ten wyraz przeszedł zaraz do Polski: bo we cztery lata później już biskup Samuel Maciejowski na sejmie mówił: 'I o mnie piszą paszkwiliusze; a gdzie tego miejsce, nic nie mówią. Dyaryusz. Sejm. 1548.'"

Frequently, Krasiński supplements the definitions of synonyms with additional information regarding the period in which a given word was coined and/or used (e.g. I/105 TKLIWY "… wyraz XVIII wieku …"; I/250 ZMYŚLENIE "Wyraz ten zjawia się u nas dopiero w drugiej połowie ośmnastego wieku."; II/303 PRZEDSIĘBIERSTWO "… wyraz XIX wieku …"; II/355 "ŻYJĄTKO, wyraz nowy, utworzony około połowy XIX wieku …"). Alternatively, he provides information concerning some variant of a synonym [e.g. I/336 "MANOWCE w XVI wieku manowie, (KNAPSKI nie ma tego wyrazu, czes. manina JUNGMAN)"]. In some cases, Krasiński provides information on the changing usage of one meaning of the synonym in the Polish language, e.g. I/103–104 "UCZUCIE (w XVI wieku zwano z łacińskiego affektem, a w XVIII wieku z francuzkiego sentymentem) oznacza nie fizyczne, ale moralne czucie, które przenika do głębi serca, nie zależąc od woli. Czucia doznaje każda istota organiczna, i każda część należąca

do składu żywego organizmu. Uczucie samemu człowiekowi jest właściwe; a jak za siedlisko myśli bierzemy głowę, tak uczucia mieścimy w sercu. Różnicy téj nie zachowywali pisarze nasi do piérwszych dziesiątków XIX wieku. JAN ŚNIADECKI rzadko używał wyrazu uczucie, a najczęściéj pisał w témże samém znaczeniu *czucie*. Różnica ta ustaliła się dopiero od czasów MICKIEWICZA, który uczuciem przewyższył wszystkich starożytnych poetów." As we can see, the comments are quite extensive; among other type of information they give the centuries in which the word's meaning and usage changed.

In some entries, the date of coinage is given indirectly – it is indicated through a reference to texts where they were used or the authors of such texts (e.g. I/363 "BEZLIK, wyraz nowy, używany przez Małeckiego, … ."; II/250 CZUPRYNA "… zam. czubryna od czub, u Reja szupryna."), or, alternatively, through a reference to works where they had not been used, e.g. II/92 "ZNĘKANY (od nękać, którego jeszcze KNAPSKI nie znał) … ."; II/327 ZDRADZAĆ: "W formie zaimkowej mówi się: zdradzać się z czém … . Lecz zdradzać co w formie czynnej w znaczeniu wykazywać jestto germanizm (niem. *verrathen*), u LINDEGO jeszcze nie znajdujący się."

Hence, the definitions of particular synonyms can be very extensive. As we can see, beside the definition and the etymology, a given entry may also contain a brief history of its designatum. Moreover, some entries also contain information about important (and not solely first known) texts in which particular synonyms can be found, e.g. I/166 GAD: "MICKIEWICZ mówi przenośnie: krzyżacki gad"; I/245 **Kiedyś, niegdyś**: "Jednak przysłówek kiedyś znajdujemy u GORNICKIEGO i KNAPSKIEGO w zastosowaniu do czasu przeszłego. Niegdyś zaś do czasu przyszłego nigdy się nie stosuje."

Yet another addition to definitions in Krasiński's dictionary are descriptive qualifiers of sort. We can distinguish a few different types of qualifiers,[23] and each of them is referred to with a number of different symbols. Since the qualifiers in Krasiński's thesaurus have been in detail elsewhere (Jankowiak, 2013a, 2013b), we will only briefly mention selected qualifiers and some examples; we will also add emphasis to the most important fragments: a) chronological qualifiers, e.g. I/571 "POZÓR, dawniej oznaczało spójrzenie, widok, lecz to znaczenie prawie całkiem wyszło z użycia. Dzisiaj pozór znaczy wzięcie

[23] Cf. e.g. Walczak, 1988, pp. 413–422.

powierzchowności za istotę rzeczy;[24] …"); I/250 ZMYŚLENIE: "Dawniej zaś jak i teraz jeszcze bardzo często używamy w tém samém znaczeniu łacińskiego wyrazu *fikcya*, którego zmyślenie jest dosłowném tłumaczeniem, e.g. fikcya poetyczna"; I/1 ABECADŁO: "W staréj polszczyźnie pisano niekiedy obiecadło, czego teraz nie używamy"; b) frequency qualifiers, e.g. I/56 NIEMOC: "… jest wyrazem raczéj książkowym, który w potocznéj mowie rzadko się używa"; I/147 PODWOJE: "Bierze się téż niekiedy ten wyraz w znaczeniu odrzwi, czyli uszaków"; I/105 AFEKT: "Dzisiaj używa się dość rzadko …"; c) geographical qualifiers, e.g. II/66 PUŁAP i PÓŁAP: "Wyraz ten nie we wszystkich prowincyach jest używany," I/307 RZĘSISTY i RZĘSNY: "Rzęsny zaś mówi tylko o owocach, lub jagodach, gęsto okrywających drzewa, i to jako prowincyonalizm"; II/66 ŚCIEL: "… wyraz prowincyonalny, używany na Wołyniu i Podolu …"; I/307 LICZYĆ: "Liczyć na kogo, zamiast polegać na kim, jestto gallicyzm chociaż dosyć upowszechniony"; d) normative qualifiers, e.g. I/27 RYCERZ: "Rycerz i bohatér nie jest jedno. Mówimy: bohaterowie greccy, ale nie rycerze; rzemiosło rycerskie, ale nie bohatérskie; …"; I/245 WSZELKI: "Mówi się: wszelki duch chwali Pana Boga (nie zaś każdy)"; II/371 GDYBY: "Religija chrześcijańska zaleca, gdybyśmy za złe dobrem płacili (jessto błąd, bo trzeba mówić: żebyśmy za złe dobrem płacili)"; e) stylistic qualifiers, which indicate that a given lexeme should be used in a particular register, e.g. 1) in literary language, e.g. I/102 "ŚMIERTELNIK, w języku książkowym oznacza śmierci podległego człowieka"; I/102 CZOŁGAĆ SIĘ: "Mówiąc o poetach, czołgać się znaczy być poziomym, i nie umieć podnieść się nad ziemię"; I/491 "PIENIE, wyraz poetyczny w potocznej mowie nie używany, …"; 2) in spoken language, e.g. I/56 DEFEKT: "… używa się niekiedy w potocznéj mowie …"; I/249 "POLOWAĆ, właściwie zajmować się polowaniem, ale w języku potocznym znaczy opowiadać rzeczy zmyślone na wzór myśliwych … ."

Morevoer, Krasiński indicates both literal (he sometimes marks those as *we właściwem znaczeniu, właściwie*) as well as metaphorical meanings of words, which he qualifies with e.g. *przenośnie* [e.g. I/134 "POBIEŻNY (dawniéj znaczył szybko biegający), dzisiaj używa się tylko przenośnie …"]; *w przenośném znaczeniu* (e.g. I/75 NOC). He also distinguishes what he terms *moral meanings*

[24] In this groups of examples, we decided not to reproduce the pecularities of typeset used by Krasiński.

('znaczenia moralne') of lexemes, e.g. II/202 GODNOŚĆ: "W znaczeniu moralném, godnością nazywamy poczucie wysokiej wewnętrznej wartości, e.g. godność osobista … ."

The qualifiers included in definitions are placed next to one another, often inside one sentence, which can be seen in the examples above. Using his qualifiers, Krasiński did not make use of the system of abbreviations already present in lexicography (e.g. in Linde's dictionary, which he consulted when writing his thesaurus). Instead, what he did was to allude (we do not know whether this was deliberate or not) to the descriptive mode used in older thesauri and dictionaries.

Beside quantifiers, Krasiński sometimes includes derivational or phonetic variants of synonyms, e.g. I/337 BEZDROŻE: "W tém drugiém znaczeniu mówi się w potocznej mowie: bezdroż".

Notes on the grammatical properties of words constitute yet another important type of information. Krasiński distinguished: collective forms ('formy zbiorowe') (e.g. II/249 PRZĘDZIWO: "… wyraz zbiorowy …"), frequentive forms ('formy częstotliwe') (e.g. II/93 "SYPIAĆ forma częstotliwa słowa spać"[25]); plural forms of nouns (e.g. II/249 WŁOS "… i w liczbie mnogiej włosy …"); degree of adjectives (e.g. I/196 CZCIGODNY: "W stopniu najwyższym mówi się: czcinajgodniejszy"); diminutive forms (e.g. II/354 ZWIERZĘ: "Zwierzątko, jest formą zdrobniałą").

The definitions of some lexemes allude to the meanings of other synonyms in the given string. Some definitions indicate, e.g. the synonym with the widest scope of meaning (e.g. I/400 NISZCZYĆ: "… wyraz najogólniejszy …"); differences in the scope of meaning (e.g. the string in I/461 **Padać, walić się, runąć, gruchnąć**: WALIĆ SIĘ: "… wyraz mocniejszy niż padać …"; RUNĄĆ: "… wyraz mocniejszy od obu poprzedzających … ."); stricly stylistic differences (e.g. II/225–226: "DZIĘKI w liczbie mnogiej znaczą to samo co podziękowanie, ale różnią się od niego w użyciu. 1. Dzięki, chociaż nie są wyłącznie wyrazem książkowym, ale zawsze są wyrazem nieco wyższego stylu i nie tak potocznym jak podziękowanie, np. składać dzięki, czynić dzięki. 2. Wyraz dzięki używa się nakształt słowa nieosobistego z domyślném: niech będą …"); similarity or identity in meaning (e.g. II/46 RUCZAJ: "… wyraz prowincyonalny, to samo znaczący co strumyk").

[25] SYPIAĆ was given as a separate entry. Above it SPAĆ is given as another entry.

Moreover, Krasiński relatively often gives information about the collocations of a particular synonym, although many entries do not list any collocations at all, e.g. I/56 MDŁOŚĆ, I/75 ZAĆMIENIE, I/105 EFFEKT, II/126 ZEPCHNĄĆ, II/302 ZAMYSŁ. In Krasiński's dictionary, collocations can appear in two places in an entry. In some cases, they are included in the definition, e.g. I/363 MOC: "… oznacza własność tego, co ma w sobie tyle sił fizycznych, lub moralnych, że może działać skutecznie, lub nacisk znacznej nawet siły wytrzymać, np. moc struny, liny, moc wina, trucizny, moc religii, moc ducha, moc charakteru, moc nałogu, działać na mocy prawa, na mocy danej sobie władzy, czynić wszystko co jest w naszej mocy." Alternatively, they are introduced separately with the use of the following expressions: *mówi się* ('people say'), *może być* ('it can be'), *tak mówimy, mówimy* ('we say'), e.g. WDZIĘCZNOŚĆ: "Mówimy: czuć wdzięczność, czynić co przez wdzięczność, okazać wdzięczność, wymagać wdzięczności, uczucie wdzięczności, dowód wdzięczności, dług wdzięczności, hołd wdzięczności, łzy wdzięczności, ołtarz wdzięczności, niewygasła wdzięczność, na znak wdzięczności, wdzięczność za dobrodziejstwa, nabyć prawa do wdzięczności, poczuwać się do obowiązku wdzięczności." On top of that, collocations are sometimes given in both places, e.g. I/147–148 DUCH: "… oznacza jużto nadprzyrodzoną istotę nie mającą ciała; już pierwiastek niemateryalny nie podpadający pod zmysły. Mówimy tedy: duch Boży, duch święty, duchy niebieskie, duch zły. Przenośnie: duch religii, duch kościoła, duch narodowy, duch języka, duch filozofii, duch praw, duch świata, duch wieku, duch czasu, duch postępu, duch proroczy, duch wieszczy, duch pokory. / Mówi się: oddać ducha Bogu, wyzionąć ducha, podnieść ducha, upadać na duchu, natchnąć duchem."

Many entries also contain quotations. Nevertheless, there is a number of entries that come without any quotations, e.g. I/166 KIEREJA, I/305 ILOŚĆ, II/19 ODDZIAŁYWAĆ, II/226 ZAWDZIĘCZENIE. The number of quotations ranges from one (e.g. I/29 PRZERAŻENIE) to more than a dozen (e.g. I/326 ŁZA); the quotations are put in a chronological order, as stated explicitly by Krasiński in the *Preface* (cf. Krasiński, 1989b, p. XV) to the thesaurus.

As we mentioned previously, in Volume I, Krasiński listed 74 "more relevant" ('celniejszych') Polish authors (from the 15th to 19th century) whose texts he quoted.[26] Even a brief analysis of Krasiński thesaurus reveals that the number is actually higher (it amounts to more than a hundred different authors – their names are

[26] Krasiński also mentions them in the *Preface*, cf. Krasiński, 1989b, pp. XV–XVI.

also given as abbreviations). In some cases, Krasiński did not provide the title of the quoted text, but only the abbreviation of its author's name, e.g. CZAC., LEOPOLITA, MRONG., OSSOL. We think that this issue deserves more in-depth investigation in a separate study. In the *Preface*, Krasiński states that he took some quotations from Linde's dictionary: "Część przykładów wzięliśmy ze słownika Lindego, a najmniej cztery piąte z autentycznych źródeł" (Krasiński, 1989b, p. XVI). This fact explains why Krasiński used abbreviations inconsistently, even within one entry, e.g. WUJ. and WUJEK or JAN ŚN. and JAN ŚNIAD.

In many entries, Krasiński uses proverbs as quotations and marks them with the abbreviation "Przysł." ('Prov.'), e.g. I/389 NIEBEZPIECZEŃSTWO: „Niebezpieczeństwa, nauczą nabożeństwa."; I/547 ŁATAĆ: „Jako tako, połatawszy."; II/125 STOPIEŃ: „Ciekawość, pierwszy stopień do piekła."; II/249 PRZĘDZA: „Jaka przędza, takie płótno."

Quotations conclude the description of strings of synonyms in Krasiński's *Słownik*.

* * *

We find that it was necessary to draw attention to the first Polish, and at the same time first Slavonic, dictionary of synonyms. Krasiński's thesaurus constitutes a truly significant, albeit relatively unknown, publication in the history of the Polish (and Slavonic) lexicography, because it gave rise to an entirely new field: one of Polish dictionaries of synonyms.

When compared to the work of Krasiński's predecessors, *Słownik* displays a full-flegded scientific approach – its function goes beyond that of a school aid (e.g. facilitating the learning of Latin). Worth additionaly emphasis is the significance of the information sources and scholarly instruments used by Krasiński.

Our analysis of the sources used by Krasiński suggests that the first Polish dictionary of synonyms differs significantly from the later (and earlier) lexicons of this type. Most importantly, it contains more information about synonyms – it serves as a source of knowledge not only about language, but also about culture and history.

Perceived in contemporary categories, Krasiński's thesaurus is a combination of a number of different kinds of dictionaries. It contains more than 3.000 synonyms (presented in more than 700 strings), derived from different periods in the history of the language, which additionally renders it a diachronic

dictionary. Moreover, it presents comprehensive definitions of synonyms, often including qualifiers that specify and/or disambiguate the meaning of a given item in comparison to the other words in its string of synonyms. This puts Krasiński's thesaurus on a par with general dictionaries of the Polish language. Another aspect that makes Krasiński's thesaurus similar to general dictionaries is the inclusion of (partial) grammatical information, quotations and collocations. In many entries, the number of quotations and collocations given is so large that if we were to put them in one book, they would yield a collection of quotations or a collocations dictionary. The number of proverbs is also large enough to form a substantial collection. Owing to the amount of stylistic qualifiers, *Słownik* could in turn serve as a style guide or a dictionary of usage. The thesaurus also exhibits features of an etymological dictionary, because many entries include information about the origin of words (noting the language from which a synonym was derived and/or the morphological devices employed to form it). Last but not least, Krasiński's *Słownik* can be viewed as a comparative or multilingual dictionary, owing to the fact that it also offers equivalents of words in different Slavonic and non-Slavonic languages.

Certainly, the thesaurus analysed in this article deserves further studies. Some issues worth analysing are, e.g., the stylistic advice (also in comparison to other stylistic publications of the period) and the etymological information offered by Krasiński.

Słownik synonimów polskich provides much information about small variations in the meaning of words (and the differences between words in a given string of synonyms), including their emotive aspects. Other aspects that require further analysis are the sources used in the dictionary, both Polish and foreign, as well as its reception in the 19th century[27] and later.[28]

Translated by Jarosław Józefowski

[27] Such an analysis could make use of the reviews written by Krasiński's contemporaries (Grzegorczyk, 1967, p. 43). Cf. also A. A. Kryński and K. Appel (*Przegląd bibliograficzny prac naukowych o języku polskim*, „Prace Filologiczne" I, 1885, p. 688; qtd. after Urbańczyk, 1993, p. 131): "It is the first work on synonyms done on such a scale. Krasiński provides synonyms for an array of entries sorted alphabetically; every word in the thesaurus contains a concise and clear description of its meaning … From the point of view of linguistics, Krasiński's work exhibits a number of drawbacks. However, being a result of years of meticulous work, it is a valuable addition to the body of work on the Polish language."

[28] Cf. footnote 1.

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On Adam Stanisław Krasiński's Forgotten *Słownik synonimów polskich* and Its Predecessors

(Summary)

The paper consists of two parts. The first one covers characteristics of dictionaries (dated from XVIth to XIXth century), groups of synonyms regarding mainly the Latin (e.g. *Gradus ad Parnassum*), which also include equivalents of national languages (especially the Calagius three-language dictionary was examined and Czech-Latin dictionaries of synonyms dated XVIth century). The second part of the paper is a discussion over methodology of the first Slavic dictionary of synonyms (*Słownik synonimów polskich* [Dictionary of Polish Synonyms]) by A. S. Krasiński. Not-elaborated in details so far (in the subject-matter literature) the dictionary combines a few types of dictionaries (apart from the dictionary of synonyms): general dictionary of Polish language, dictionary of phrasal verbs, language correctness dictionary, book of quotations and proverbs and translational dictionary.