

halten ist, steht hier im Nominativ zwar, dafür aber ist es als ganzes richtig überliefert. Es heißt *persursio*. Wir stützen uns nämlich darauf, daß in den Abhandlungen über die Figurenlehre in der Mehrzahl der Fälle auf den griechischen Namen die lateinische Übersetzung folgt und erst dann eine Definition oder Begründung und schließlich Beispiele. Wir stützen uns ferner darauf, daß das gesuchte Wort auch in der Korruptel *morationis* mit *-io* endet, genauso wie in der Korruptel bei Cassiodor *rotatio*, und daß es, wenn man an die Situationen in der Unziale denkt, mit einem ähnlich aussehenden Buchstaben beginnt, denn in der Unziale sieht ein P kaum anders als ein R aus. In der Unziale wird zudem auch S oft in der Minuskel geschrieben und sieht dann zur Verwechslung einem I oder T ähnlich. Und war die eine oder andere Silbe in der Vorlage des Anecdoton Parisinum abgekürzt geschrieben, so z.B. P für *per-* oder C für *-cur-*, so war das ganze Wort dann z.B. mit PCURÍIONIS fast so lang wie das falsch überlieferte MORATIONIS, bzw. mit PERCÍIONIS so geartet, daß es durch Mißverständnis -ORATIONIS gelesen werden konnte. Das übriggebliebene P ist dann zum voranstehenden CONTRA geschlagen worden und da ein anderes nicht möglich schien, als M gelesen worden. Sieht ja ein P der Unziale etwa so aus wie die rechte Seite eines Unzial-M. Wir schlagen deshalb vor zu lesen:

epitrochasmus est contra percursionis figura, quoniam breuiter et subcincte ea quae sunt dicta perstringit.

In ähnlicher Weise muß man aber auch die beiden Stellen bei Cassiodor verbessern, und hier schlagen wir vor zu lesen:

quae figura dicitur epitrochasmus id est dicti percursio.

The Vocabulary of the Annales Regni Francorum

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This paper deals with some neglected evidence for regional differentiation in early Medieval Latin. The *Annales Regni Francorum*, an annalistic account of Merovingian and Carolingian affairs, survives in two editions, the first of which was scarcely affected by the Carolingian renaissance. The vocabulary of this edition frequently foreshadows early Gallo-romance. The Romance elements, as well as the various other elements which contribute to the lexical mixture of the work, are discussed here.

Medieval Latin was an artificial language, in that much of it belongs to the period when the early Romance languages must have diverged so far from Latin as to be new languages. But it should not be thought of exclusively as classical Latin artificially reproduced by scholars centuries after the classical period. Some writers (e.g. Einhard, who imitated Suetonius) were indeed capable of composing neo-classical Latin, but other texts, particularly from the area of Francia, show a close connection with early Romance: they consist to some extent of latinised Romance vocabulary, with a smattering also of Romance syntax. Latin enjoyed such prestige as a written language that writers of all types aspired to use it rather than the vernacular languages, which existed mainly in the form of speech. But writers not thoroughly familiar with the classics took as their basis not the language of Cicero and others, but on the one hand the Latin of the Vulgate and of Medieval works influenced by it, and on the other the Romance vernacular which they themselves spoke. The latter in turn was based not on classical but on Vulgar Latin. It would perhaps be misleading to suggest that all Latinists of Medieval Francia latinised their own speech. There seems to have existed for some time a traditional latinised Romance (subject of course to other influences as well as Romance vocabulary) which had higher status than Romance itself. Each writer might in different degrees draw on this standard, introducing such learned Latin as he knew. The learned element increased markedly after the Carolingian revival. The most distinctive regional feature of texts from Francia is probably the frequent use made of Germanic (Frankish) words which were to survive exclusively or mainly in Gallo-romance.

The first edition of the *Annales Regni Francorum* (otherwise known as the *Annales Laurissenses*, because the oldest MS was found in the monastery of Lorsch; the work was probably written at the court of Charlemagne¹) was put together by at least three authors. The first part, covering the years 741–95²), was written by someone untouched by the Carolingian revival. His Latin constantly foreshadows the emerging Romance languages, most notably Gallo-romance; the text is a particularly good example of late

¹) See B. W. Scholz and B. Rogers, *Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories* (Ann Arbor, 1970), 2.

²) Scholz and Rogers, 4. For the view that this section ends at 788, see G. Monod, *Études critiques sur les sources de l'histoire carolingienne* (Paris, 1898), 109ff. It makes no difference for our purposes where the break is put.

Latin with regional characteristics. The second and third parts (796–807, 808–829) reveal a higher degree of classical learning, and are of little interest linguistically. We shall be concerned here only with the first part.

Part of the first edition was revised in a second edition which may have been produced shortly after Charlemagne's death in 814³). This edition was used by Einhard as the chief source of his life of Charlemagne. The reviser to some extent altered the content of the original, which had tended to play down disasters and internal dissensions, and he also modified its style. He writes classicising Latin with none of the vernacular influence seen in the original, again and again removing a word with Romance reflexes and replacing it with a learned word unrepresented in the modern languages. The avoidance in the second edition of a word used in the first can often be interpreted as evidence for its currency (in a Romance rather than a Latin form) in ordinary speech. The two editions will frequently be compared in the following pages.

Wherever the first part of the first edition was written, it is the work of an author who was in contact with early Gallo-romance. In it are some usages typical of that region, as well as numerous proto-Romance usages in general. The lexical mixture characteristic of Gallo-romance is well represented: in Old French and Provençal Frankish and Celtic words exist side by side with the stock of Vulgar Latin words; so Germanic and substrate elements are found in the first edition. I deal below first with the regional features of the work.

I

The Franks gave numerous words relating to warfare to Gallo-romance⁴). So in the first edition the Frankish word *scara* (cf. Germ. *Schar*) is constantly used of a troop of soldiers: e.g. p. 24 (766) 'in Bituricas Francorum scaram conlocavit' (= 'disposito . . . in Biturica ciuitate Francorum praesidio')⁵); p. 40 (774) 'mittens quatuor scaras in Saxoniam: tres pugnam cum Saxonibus ini-

³) Scholz and Rogers, 7.

⁴) See W. D. Elcock, *The Romance Languages* (London, 1960), 244ff.

⁵) Quotations from the second edition will usually be given in brackets after quotations from the first. The text used is that of G. H. Pertz and F. Kurze, *Annales Regni Francorum inde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829* (in *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi*, Hannover, 1895).

On *scara* in the *Annales*, see W. Stach, 'Wort und Bedeutung im mittelalterlichen Latein', in A. Öttenfors (ed.), *Mittellateinische Philologie, Beiträge*

erunt . . . quarta uero scara non habuit pugnam' (= 'tripertitum in eorum regiones misit exercitum'); p. 66 (784) 'cum scara' (= 'cum parte exercitus'). Cf. pp. 36 (773), 48 (776), 52 (778), 68 (784). The last example of the word appears under the year 784. It is always avoided in the second edition, no doubt because it had the status of a vulgarism. Indeed its tone is commented on by Hincmar *Epist. ad dioec. Rem. episc.* 3 'bellatorum acies, quas uulgari sermone scaras uocamus, dispositas'. It was at first specialised in meaning: all examples in the first edition are applied to Frankish troops. *Scara* also turns up in official documents and in other annals from the same area⁶): e.g. *A. Lauresh.* p. 39 (803) 'excepto quod scaras suas transmisit'; *A. Guelferb.* p. 45 (793) 'transmisit scara sua'. It is rare elsewhere⁷).

Scara survived in Old French (*eschiere, esciere, eschiele, eschele*) (cf. OPr. *esqueira*). The form *eschiere* was borrowed by Italian, in which *schiera* was frequent until the twelfth century⁸).

Another Germanic word which appears in the first edition is *wadius* (Frank. **waddi*): p. 46 (667) 'reddiderunt patriam per wadium omnes manibus eorum'. (it is avoided in the corresponding passage in the second edition). The Reichenau Glosses, another source for the Latin of the area, contain the item *pignus: wadius*. Cf. *A. Mett.* p. 47 'per wadium reddidit et xxx milia solidorum'; *Capit. Harist.*⁹) 19 'in wadio pro seruo semetipsum comiti donet'¹⁰).

zur Erforschung der mittelalterlichen Latinität (Darmstadt, 1975), 323ff (the article was originally published in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 9 (1952), 332ff.).

⁶) Most of the annals quoted in this article are to be found in G. H. Pertz (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores I* (Hannover, 1826). The following text will also be quoted from time to time in the following pages: B. de Simpson (ed.), *Annales Mettenses Priores* (Hannover and Leipzig, 1905) (published in the series mentioned in the preceding note).

For the use of *scara* in Carolingian official documents, see H. Tiefenbach, *Studien zu Wörtern volkssprachiger Herkunft in karolingischen Königsurkunden* (Munich, 1973), 85f.

⁷) For a few examples in Italian texts (which will be used here to provide a check on texts from Francia), see F. Arnaldi-M. Turriani-P. Smiraglia, *Latinitatis Italicae Medii Aevi inde ab a. CDLXXVI usque ad a. MXXII Lexicon Imperfectum*, 4 vols. (Brussels, 1939-64), III-IV. 106. This work will henceforth be referred to by the name of the first editor.

⁸) W. von Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bonn, 1928-66), XVII. 95f.

⁹) Frankish *capitularia* are to be found in A. Boretius (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio II. 1* (Hannover, 1883).

¹⁰) For the use of the word in Italian texts, see Arnaldi, III-IV. 377.

**Waddi* is reflected only in Gallo-romance (Fr. *gage*) and certain Italian dialects (into which it would have been transmitted by the Lombards). In other areas it is found as a borrowing from French. In S. Francia *pignus* at first retained some currency (OPr. *penh*), but was then rivalled by **waddi* (OPr. *gatge*, probably a borrowing from Old French)¹¹).

A third Frankish word, **alod* ('possessions'), occurs at p. 48 (777): 'illorum omnem ingenuitatem et alodem manibus dulgtum fecerunt' (it is eliminated from the second edition: 'si ulterius sua statuta uiolarent, et patria et libertate priuarentur'). Elsewhere the word is found in the Salic law, the *Formulae Marculfi* and in other Merovingian and Carolingian documents¹²), but it is not confined to French texts¹³). It lived on as Fr. *alué* and OPr. *alo* (other forms are also attested). As a result of the conquest of the Spanish march, it passed into Catalan (*alou*). Certain other Romance forms (It. *allodio*, Sp. *alodio*, OPr. *alodi*) were learned borrowings from Medieval Latin *allodium*¹⁴).

At this time the avoidance of Germanic words seems to have been a stylistic affectation of more elegant narrative prose (both in Francia and Italy). The second edition of the *Annales*, but not the first, reflects this affectation. It was only in law codes and legalistic documents, both before and after the Carolingian revival (e.g. the Salic law, the *Lex Ribuarica*, Merovingian and Carolingian *capitularia*: note, e.g. *Capit. Harist.* 19 *bannos* (> Fr., Prov. *ban*), 20 *brunias* (> OFr. *broigne*, Prov. *bronha*)) that such words were used freely. Einhard avoids them (except at *Vita Caroli Magni* 29, when naming the months of the year), as does Nithard, though he does quote the Strassbourg Oaths in Germanic as well as Romance form (pp. 36f.). Paul the Deacon largely restricts Lombard words to relative clauses giving the Germanic equivalent of a Latin word used in the narrative (e.g. *Hist. Lang.* p. 59. 10 'uexillum, quod bandum appellant'; p. 156. 18 'cum comite Baioariorum, quem illi grauionem dicunt')¹⁵). Note also the remarks at Greg. M. *Dial.* 2. 18 'ligna uascula, quae a uulgo flascones uocantur' (> It. *fiasca*, etc.), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* p. 173. 13f. 'quod me esse inertem et inutilem dixeris et uulgari uerbo arga uocaueris', and compare Hincmar's comment on *scara* quoted above.

¹¹) von Wartburg, XVII. 446f.

¹²) A. Uddholm, *Formulae Marculfi: Études sur la langue et le style* (Uppsala, 1953), 199; Tiefenbach, 97ff.

¹³) For its use in Italian texts, see Arnaldi, I. 50. Cf. O. Prinz (ed.), *Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert I* (Munich, 1967), 494ff.

¹⁴) von Wartburg, XV. 17f.

¹⁵) For further examples, see L. J. Engels, *Observations sur le vocabulaire de Paul Diacre* (Nijmegen, 1961), 82ff.

The Celtic word *uassus* (originally = 'man'; but it came to indicate one who stood in a feudal relationship to the king)¹⁶) and the corresponding abstract *uassaticus* are both used a number of times in both editions: e.g. p. 16 (757) 'fidelitatem promisit . . . sicut uassus recta mente et firma deuotione per iustitiam, sicut uassus dominos suos esse deberet' (both these examples are avoided in the second edition; but see p. 80 (788) 'sicut et ceteri eius uassi' = 'sicut et ceteros uassos suos'). Derivatives of *uassus* (but not *uassus* itself) are reflected only in Gallo-romance: *uassallus* > Fr. *vassal*, OPr. *vasal* (note that at p. 80 (788) some MSS have *uasalli* or *uassalli* instead of *uassi*); *uassus uassorum* > Fr. *vavassor* (-ur, -our, -eur, etc.), OPr. *va(l)vassor*. Both words were taken over from Gallo-romance by various other Romance dialects¹⁷).

Firmitas (which is always abstract in meaning in classical Latin) is sometimes used in the concrete sense 'fortress' in the first edition: e.g. p. 16 (758) 'firmitates Saxonum per uirtutem introiuit' (= 'Saxonibus ualidissime resistentibus et munitiones suas tuentibus'). Cf. pp. 46 (776), 54 (786) twice, 88 (791). This was obviously a regional usage: the word is reflected in this sense only in Old French (*ferté*) and Provençal (*fermetat*). It is scrupulously avoided in the later parts of the first edition and in the second edition. *Munitio*, which is sometimes substituted in the second edition, leaves no trace in Romance and was no doubt a learned word.

Firmitas is employed almost exclusively in the text of Saxon or German fortifications rather than of fortifications in Francia (of which *castrum* and *castellum* are used). This specialisation would be explicable if the usage arose as a calque on OHG *festinunga*.

Firmitas also survived in the abstract sense 'surety, assurance' in Old Provençal (and nowhere else). In this meaning the word occurs at p. 76 (787): 'non ausi fuissent de eorum parte ullam firmitatem facere'.

Firmitas = 'fortress' is used extensively in other annals from the same region, but it is very rare in texts from other areas¹⁸). Cf. *A. Pet.* p. 17 (785) 'destruxit Saxonorum cratibus siue eorum

¹⁶) On the semantic development, see von Wartburg, XIV. 202. Cf. C. E. Odegaard, *Vassi and Fideles in the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945), 14ff.

¹⁷) For the use of *uassus* in Italian texts, see Arnaldi, III-IV. 337.

¹⁸) For a few examples in Italian texts, see Arnaldi, I. 224 (for its use in reference to Saxon fortifications, see Ben. Adr. p. 82.12 'firmitas Saxonum introiuit').

firmitatibus'; *A. Lauresh.* p. 37 (797) '... in Saxonia, et peruenit ad pagum . . . ubi firmitas eorum facta fuit, et ipsa firmitate interrupta . . .'; *A. Mett.* p. 48 'ipsum uallum uel firmitatem, quam Langobardi firmauerant, destruxit' (note that here *firmitas* is glossed by *uallum*, an indication perhaps that the author was aware of the regional character of the usage); *ib.* p. 41 'Saxones . . . firmitatem statuerunt'. The particular frequency of the word in reference to Germanic, and especially Saxon, fortifications is also apparent in these annals. For the abstract sense, see *A. Mett.* p. 47 'pro firmitatis causa dedit . . . xl obsides'.

Synodus is commonly used in the first edition with the meaning 'assembly', whether ecclesiastical (e.g. p. 24 (767) 'habuit . . . synodum magnum inter Romanos et Grecos de sancta Trinitate uel de sanctorum imaginibus') or political (describing an assembly of magnates of the realm): e.g. p. 24 (767) 'ibi synodum fecit' (= 'conuentum . . . egit'); p. 30 (770) 'habuit synodum' (= 'habuit populi sui conuentum generalem'). Cf. pp. 32 (771), 32 (772), 40 (775), 46 (776), 48 (777), 54 (779). In the second edition the word is largely avoided.

Synodus survived only as OFr. *sene*, *sane*, etc. and OLyón. *seyno*. It usually refers to a religious or ecclesiastical assembly in Old French¹⁹), but can occasionally indicate an assembly of another kind²⁰).

Synodus is by no means confined to the Latin of Francia (note, e.g. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* p. 168.27). It does, however, turn up repeatedly in annals from this area (for the two senses see, e.g. *A. Lauresh.* p. 32 (786) 'apud Wormaciam sinodum episcoporum ac conuentum magnificum coire fecit'; *A. Mett.* p. 60 'sinodum tenuit in Ianua ciuitate'), whereas in (e.g.) Italian texts it is unusual²¹).

A word which is partially synonymous with *synodus* is *placitum*. It is frequent in the first edition but occurs only once in the second (p. 7 (747)). *Placitum* has two meanings in the text, both of which stayed with its reflexes in Gallo-romance: (a) 'agreement, arrangement' (cf. OFr. *plaid*, *plait*, OPr. *plag*): e.g. p. 4 (743) 'in eodem anno et coepit castrum . . . per placitum'; p. 7 (747) 'proelium non est inter eos commissum, sed ex placito discesserunt'; (b) 'meeting, assembly'. There are some 11 examples of this usage down to A. D.

¹⁹) A. Tobler and E. Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin, 1925-), IX. 455f.

²⁰) von Wartburg, XII. 497.

²¹) See Arnaldi, III-IV. 245.

795 in the first edition, but none in the second. See, e.g. p. 14 (757) 'rex Pippinus tenuit placitum suum in Compendio' (= 'ubi tunc populi sui generalem conuentum habuit'); p. 16 (758) 'polliciti sunt . . . honores in placito suo praesentandum usque in equos ccc' (= 'promitterent . . . ad generalem conuentum equos ccc pro munere daturus'). The most closely corresponding use of the Old French reflexes is more specialised in sense (= 'judicial hearing, assise, court of the king or a magnate', i.e. a meeting held for judicial purposes)²²). *Placitum* scarcely survived elsewhere except in borrowings from Gallo-romance²³). It is constantly found in the annals of Francia (see, e.g. *A. Amandi cont.* p. 10 (763), *A. Mett.* p. 46), but is not restricted to that area²⁴).

The standard Latin term for 'pope' which passed into all of the Romance languages was *papa*. In Old French, however, *apostoile* (< Lat. *apostolicus*), a Church borrowing rather than part of the inherited stock of Latin vocabulary, was also frequent alongside *pape* until the fourteenth century (cf. OBéarn. *apostoli*). *Apostolicus* alternates with *papa* in the first edition: e.g. pp. 12 (754), 34 (773), 72 (787), 76 (787). On the other hand *apostolicus* is rare in Italian texts²⁵), in which *papa* is common.

Fluuuus passed almost exclusively into Gallo-romance. It is reflected as OFr. *fluie*, and was later borrowed as a learned term by Old French (*fluvie*, *fluive*, *flueve*) and Old Provençal (*fluvi*) (cf. OCat. *fluvi*)²⁶). *Fluuuus* is the usual word for 'river' in the first edition: e.g. pp. 34 (772), 40 (775), 42 (775), 52 (778), 54 (779), 56 (780), 64 (783), 66 (783), etc. *Flumen*, which has reflexes in Old French (*flun*) and Old Provençal (*flum*) as well as Italian (*fiume*), also occurs a few times: e.g. pp. 30 (769), 40 (775), 46 (776). *Fluuuus* is mentioned here because the Romance evidence makes it possible that its use in the first edition represents a latinisation of the compilers' speech, but it has to be pointed out that the word is common in texts from other areas at this time (e.g. Italy). Taken on its own the presence of the word in the *Annales* could not be claimed as a regional usage²⁷).

In classical Latin the deponent *consilior* was usually intransitive, = 'deliberate' (*TLL* IV. 440.4ff.), though it is occasionally attested with a transitive meaning, = 'advise' (*TLL* IV. 440.23ff.). It is

²²) Tobler-Lommatzsch, VII. 1067ff.

²³) von Wartburg, IX. 9.

²⁴) See Arnaldi, II. 528f.

²⁵) For a few examples in Italian texts, see Arnaldi, I. 62.

²⁶) von Wartburg, III. 644f.

²⁷) It is worth pointing out in passing a regional usage belonging to the same semantic field which is found in the Italian Erchempert (pp. 257.37, 261.46, 262.8, *riuulus*, > It. *riuolo*, Friul. *riuul*).

the transitive sense which is reflected extensively in Romance (e.g. It. *consigliare*, Fr. *conseiller*). In Old French, however, *conseillier* also possessed the intransitive sense 'deliberate'²⁸). *Consilio* is used thus in the first edition: p. 34 (773) 'Carolus rex consiliauit una cum Francis, quid perageret'; p. 80 (788) 'confessus est postea . . . in uitam eorum consiliaisse'. For the other meaning see p. 82 (788) 'ista omnia supradictus dux Tassilo seu maliuola uxor eius . . . per fraudem consiliauit'. The use of the word in our text corresponds to the use of its reflex in Old French²⁹).

At p. 14 (756) *mentior* is used with the curious meaning 'break (a promise)': 'cupiebat . . . Haistulfus . . . mentiri, quae antea pollicitus fuerat' (= 'cum meditaretur, quomodo sua promissa non tam impleret'). This sense was also possessed by the Old French and Old Provençal reflex *mentir* (*sa foi, son serment, sa promesse, sa parole*, etc.)³⁰. Cf. OFr. *foimenti*, = 'one who has broken his oath'. The usage is common in texts from our area, but not in those from other areas³¹. Cf., e.g. *A. Pet.* p. 18 (792) 'Saxones mentiti sunt fidem quam polliciti fuerunt'; *A. Lauresh.* p. 31 (778) 'mentientes fidem'; *A. Alamann.* p. 40 (782) 'postea Saxones mentiti sunt' (absolute = 'break one's word'); *A. Lauriss. min.* 24 (p. 117) 'Weiferius sacramenta mentitus'; *Decretum Vermeriense*³² 9 'cui fidem mentiri non poterit'. The transitional stage in the transitivisation of the verb may have been its use with internal neuter accusative pronouns (*hoc, illud, istud mentior*).

Twice in the first edition *homo* means 'vassal' (with a dependent genitive expressing the object of the vassal's loyalty): p. 16 (757) 'sic et eius homines maiores natu, qui erant cum eo, firmauerunt, sicut dictum est' (following closely upon two examples of *uassus*); p. 80 (788) 'homines suos, quando iurabant, iubebat ut aliter in mente retinerent et sub dolo iurarent'³³). This sense is also borne by Fr. *homme* (Roland) and OPr. *ome*. Cf. *A. Laubac.* p. 15 (846) 'homines Caroli'; *A. Pet.* p. 17 (783) 'cum suis hominibus'; *A. Mett.* p. 53 'ab hominibus Vulfardi'.

²⁸) Tobler-Lommatzsch, II. 726.

²⁹) For a few examples of the intransitive use in Italian texts, see Arnaldi, I. 132.

³⁰) von Wartburg, III. 504 n. 6, VI. 1.743.

³¹) It is scarcely found in Italian texts: see Arnaldi, II. 337.

³²) This text is found in *MGH, Legum Sectio II. 1*, pp. 40f.

³³) For further examples, see J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 1954-), 493. See also Odegaard (see n. 16), 52ff.

Ingenium is sometimes used with the meaning 'trick, plan'. This usage in itself is not significant, but twice (p. 20 (763) 'per malum ingenium se inde seduxit'; p. 44 (776) 'per mala ingenia . . . Francos exinde suadentes exiundo') the word is preceded by *malum*, a collocation which anticipates OPr. *malgenh* = 'fraud'³⁴). Cf. *Dipl. Merov.* 57 (688) 'per iniqua cupiditate seu malo ingenio . . . abstractos'.

Iuxta meaning 'near, alongside' is reflected only in Gallo-romance (OFr. *joste*, OPr. *josta*)³⁵). It is not surprising therefore to find it with this sense in the first edition: pp. 38 (773), 68 (784). However *iuxta* is frequent in texts from other areas at this period, and hence in this case too (cf. on *fluuius*) there are two possible determinants of the author's word choice: the spoken language, or the conventions of Medieval Latin narrative.

The intensive *ualde*, which had once been common in colloquial Latin (e.g. the letters of Cicero), retained its currency only in parts of the Gallic area³⁶). Just as it is attested in the Reichenau Glosses (*optimum: ualde bonum; pergrandis: ualde grandis*), so it occurs in the first edition (pp. 52 (778), 72 (787)). Again, however, it has to be pointed out that the word is frequent in texts of the same period from other areas.

It cannot be claimed that all or even most of the usages discussed above are unattested in texts from other areas (Italian texts have been used to provide a comparison), but some at least of them are very rare in Italian texts and frequent in those from Francia (notably *scara, firmitas, apostolicus, mentior*). Some usages which were commonplace in the writings of one area were naturally picked up and used occasionally by writers from other areas, without becoming part of the written standard outside their area of origin. Mobility may have been limited at this time, but the educated class were great travellers, and manuscripts were often sent from one monastery to another. The court of Charlemagne in particular was visited by numerous foreigners. It is the quantity of examples of usages which anticipate Gallo-romance found in the one relatively short text that is remarkable. Though it might be possible in Italian texts considered as a whole to parallel most of the above usages, in no one Italian text known to me is there such a profusion of them.

³⁴) von Wartburg, IV. 685.

³⁵) von Wartburg, V. 97. In the sense 'according to' there are reflexes elsewhere (e.g. Log. *yusta*).

³⁶) See von Wartburg, XIV. 128f. for dialectal reflexes. Cf. Elcock, 71. The currency of the word was, however, limited in Old French. In an Old French translation of the Dialogues of Gregory the Great (see W. Foerster (ed.), *Li Dialogue Gregoire lo Pape I* (Halle-Paris, 1876)) *ualde* is always rendered by *mult* (e.g. p. 20.22 *mult uilz = ualde uilis*).

II

All of the above words or usages are reflected exclusively, or in a few cases almost exclusively, in Gallo-romance. But there are also many other usages in the first edition which, though foreshadowing Gallo-romance, also turn up in other Romance languages. In these cases one cannot speak categorically of Gallo-romance characteristics, but it is nevertheless likely that the author had picked up the usages concerned in the Gallic area. Some of the more striking examples are worth discussing. I confine myself to usages surviving in Romance which had not been typical of classical Latin.

Certain expressions containing *uice* in a new sense in the first edition anticipate West Romance: e.g. p. 4 (744) 'captus est Theodericus alia uice' (= *iterum*); p. 32 (772) 'et inde perrexit partibus Saxoniae prima uice' (cf. Fr. *première fois*; see also p. 48 (777)). This type of expression (cf., e.g. *una uice* = *semel*, *une fois*, OFr. *une faiz*, OPr. *una vetz*) is found in Gallo-romance and the Iberian peninsula (whereas in Italian use was made of the past participle of *uoluere* (*volta*) for equivalent expressions)³⁷. The first example of *uice* in the new sense is in a document of A. D. 710³⁸. In the Reichenau Glosses *semel* is glossed by *una uice*, and *iterum* by *alia uice*. Cf., e.g. *A. Til.* p. 8 (728) 'secunda uice pugnavit'; *A. Amandi cont.* p. 12 (769) 'prima uice fuit in Wasconia'; *A. Lauresh.* p. 24 (731) 'uastauit duas uices ultra Ligara'; *A. Mett.* p. 36 'Theodericum . . . altera iam uice ceperunt'; *ib.* p. 41 'Theodericum . . . tertia iam uice . . . comprehendit'; *Capit. Harist.* 19 'tantas uices bannos soluat quanta . . .'. The new usage may also have had some currency in Italy before being replaced by *volta*³⁹, for it does appear in Italian texts fairly often: e.g. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* p. 180.17 'qui cum prima et secunda uice . . . ultus esset', Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rau.* p. 311.2 'Leo multas uices . . . Constantinopolitanam urbem misit'.

Both the expressions quoted above from the *Annales* are dropped in the second edition.

Villa acquired the sense 'town, village' (Fr. *ville*, OIt., Cat., Sp., Pg., *villa*) because the country house (*villa*) would often have been surrounded in a village-like complex by a group of more humble

³⁷) von Wartburg, XIV. 412.

³⁸) von Wartburg, *loc. cit.*

³⁹) Cf. von Wartburg, XIV. 412 n. 9.

dwellings occupied by various types of retainers. The large estates (*uillae*) of the Merovingian period must have been indistinguishable from villages. The new sense of *uilla* is clearly indicated at p. 42 (775) ('in uilla, quae dicitur Sclddistat') by the second element of the Germanic compound. The name of the original owner of an estate was showing a tendency to coalesce with *uilla* to form a compound village name anticipating French place names of the *-ville* type (note especially p. 34 (773) 'in uilla, quae dicitur Theodone uilla' (cf. p. 64 (782)), where the repetition of *uilla* shows that it was inseparable from the proper name (= *Thionville*)).

The position of *uilla* (and of Fr. *-ville*) in this last name and in many other place names in the text (cf., e.g. p. 20 (761) 'in Carisiaco uilla', p. 20 (762) 'in Gentiliaco uilla', p. 22 (765) 'in Aquis uilla', p. 24 (766) 'in Salmontiagum uilla', etc.) is by Latin standards curious: we should expect the proper name to follow. It is worthwhile to digress briefly to explain the order.

The majority of French place names based on *uilla* show *-ville* as the second element of the compound (contrast, however, examples of the type *Villeneuve* alongside *Neuville*). This order is not unusual when the first element is a descriptive adjective of the type which in Latin usually preceded the noun (e.g. *Belleville*, *Bonneville*, *Longueville*)⁴⁰. On the other hand the order is abnormal for Latin when the first element is either an ethnic adjective (e.g. *saisne*, 'Saxon', in *Sainneville*, *Senneville*)⁴¹; contrast the Latin order *ciuis Romanus*), or a proper name, whether standing in apposition to *uilla* (e.g. *Aquis uilla* above; cf. *urbs Roma* for the Latin order) or having a genitival relationship to it (the position of the genitive in late Latin was after the noun)⁴². In Normandy, for example, there are many place names comprising a (Scandinavian) man's name + *uilla* (in that order): e.g. *Karl* + *uilla* > *Calleville*, *Krakr* + *uilla* > *Crasville*⁴³. The abnormality of place names in which *-ville* is in second position must be put down to Germanic influence: in Germanic the determinative regularly preceded *-stat*, *-dorf*, *-feld*, *-burg*, etc.⁴⁴. The inconsistency mentioned

⁴⁰ For these place names, see A. Longnon, *Les noms de lieu de la France* (Paris, 1920-9), 294.

⁴¹ See Longnon, *loc. cit.* for these names.

⁴² On genitive position, see J. N. Adams, *The Text and Language of a Vulgar Latin Chronicle (Anonymus Valesianus II)* (London, 1976), 140.

⁴³ For the evidence, see Longnon, 296ff.

⁴⁴ Cf. Longnon, 227f.

above in French names (*Villeneuve/Neuville*) is due, first, to the influence of two different determinants which were operating at roughly the same time (the influence of the Germanic order on the one hand, and of the Latin-Romance order on the other), and secondly to the fact that certain Latin adjectives (e.g. *novus*) did not achieve a stable position before or after their noun.

Ciuitas and *villa* are the standard words for 'town' in the text, but they are not interchangeable. Certain places are habitually described as *ciuitates*, others as *villae*: e.g. *Vienna ciuitas* pp. 12 (755), 24 (767), *Wormatia ciuitas* pp. 30 (770), 46 (776), 54 (779), 58 (781), *Papia ciuitas* pp. 12 (755), 36 (773), 38 (774), 40 (774), 56 (780), *Carisiacum villa* pp. 20 (761), 22 (764), 40 (774), 58 (781), *Dur(i)a villa* pp. 18 (761), 30 (769), 40 (775), 54 (779), *Attiniacus villa* pp. 32 (771), 70 (785).

The distinction between the two words is as follows. *Ciuitas* indicates a large and important old town (usually fortified), *villa* a small unfortified town of less importance. The major towns of Italy, France and Spain are invariably called *ciuitates* (e.g. *Suessionis* (Soissons) pp. 10 (752), 28 (768), *Rodomus* (Rouen) p. 28 (768), *Mogontia* (Mainz) p. 30 (770), *Autosiodorum* (Auxerre) p. 52 (778), *Pampilona* p. 50 (778), *Mediolanum* p. 56 (781), *Florentia* p. 72 (786), *Beneuentum* p. 74 (787).

This distinction was undoubtedly that which obtained generally in Francia at this time. The two words are differentiated in this way by Einhard, *Vita Caroli Magni* 17 'a Mogontiaco ciuitate, iuxta uillam cui uocabulum est Ingilenhaim' (Ingelheim was a small village), and in the Reichenau Glosses a *villa* is defined as smaller than a *ciuitas*: *uicis minores ciuitatibus*⁴⁵).

There is a distinction between *ecclesia* and *basilica* in the first edition which is typical of that between their reflexes in Old French (as well as in certain other languages)⁴⁶. *Ecclesia* is used as a general term of the Church as an institution (p. 34 (773) 'inuitando . . . regem . . . pro Dei seruitio et iustitia sancti Petri seu solatio

⁴⁵) On the distinction between the reflexes of *villa* and *ciuitas* in Old French, see von Wartburg, XIV. 452 (*cit * often indicates the old fortified part of a town, *vill* the newer part). In Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan also the words are differentiated in much the same way: see J. Corominas, *Diccionario cr tico etimol gico de la lengua castellana* (Bern, 1954), IV. 739.

⁴⁶) For a comprehensive discussion of *basilica* and *ecclesia*, see J. van der Bosch, *Capa Basilica Monasterium, et le culte de saint Martin de Tours.  tude lexicologique et s masiologique* (Nijmegen, 1959), 68ff.

ecclesiae'; p. 36 (773) 'propter defensionem sanctae Dei Romanae ecclesiae'; p. 88 (791) 'malitiam . . . quam fecerunt Auari contra sanctam ecclesiam', as well as being employed a few times of specific churches (p. 46 (776) 'supra ipsam ecclesiam'; cf. p. 52 (778)). *Basilica* on the other hand is only used of a specific edifice, notably one consecrated to a martyr: p. 38 (773) 'uenerunt ad quandam basilicam . . . quam sanctae memoriae Bonifacius nouissimus martyr consecrauit' (the word occurs another five times in the same chapter in reference to the same church).

So in early Gallo-romance the reflex of *basilica* was not used of the Church as an institution, but rather of buildings usually erected as memorials on the graves of martyrs. OFr. *basoche* has a specialised meaning (indicating the basilica of St. Martin at Tours). The frequency of the word in place names, particularly in West Francia, reflects its original use in reference to individual churches⁴⁷). It is only on the fringes of the Romania (e.g. Rumanian) that *basilica* survives as the general term⁴⁸).

The exact meaning of *domus ecclesiae* at p. 44 (776) ('apparuit manifeste gloria Dei supra domum ecclesiae, quae est infra ipsum castrum') is unclear, but the expression is nevertheless worthy of comment. *Domus (ecclesiae)* was in use in Christian communities in both Italy and Germany (It. *duomo* (> Fr. *dôme*), OHG, MHG *tuom*, Dutch *dom*) with a variety of specialised senses ('dwelling of clergy, parish hall, bishop's house, cathedral chapter', and finally 'episcopal church'⁴⁹), one of which it must bear here (the context is uninformative). The expression would be natural in the mouth of a Frank (the location of the action described is Germany). Here is a linguistic hint (albeit not an absolutely decisive one) that the author, though in contact with the early Romance of the area of Gaul, was either of Germanic (Frankish) origin (a likely hypothesis), or at least familiar with Christian communities in Germany.

Another specialised ecclesiastical term with reflexes in Romance is *sedes* = 'episcopal see' or 'cathedral' at p. 12 (755): 'Stephanus papa reductus est ad sanctam sedem per missos domni regis Pippini'. Cf. OFr. *sié*, Cat. *seu*.

Caesa (a substantivised past participle) is twice misunderstood by Scholz and Rogers. At p. 46 (776) ('nimia festinatione Saxonum caesas seu firmitates subito introiuit') they appear not to translate

⁴⁷) It is also frequent in place names in Italy.

⁴⁸) von Wartburg, I. 270. See also W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*³ (Heidelberg, 1935), 972; C. M. Carlton, *Studies in Romance Lexicology (University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 54, Chapel Hill, 1966)*, 76f.

⁴⁹) Meyer-Lübke, 2745; von Wartburg, III. 135. For *domus* used alone, see Nithard, p. 47.24 'omnes in eadem domo conuenerunt' (= *basilica*).

it at all, and at p. 72 (786) ('multos Brittones conquesierunt una cum castellis et firmitates eorum locis palustribus seu et in caesis') they give it the sense 'forests'. *Caesa* (and also **cisa*, a back-formation from the compounds) is extensively reflected in French and Italian dialects and in Rhaeto-romance with the meaning 'boundary hedge, palisade'⁵⁰). In the *Annales* it must indicate a barrier of trimmed bushes employed as a fortification.

At p. 38 (773) ('apparuerunt . . . duo iuuenes in albis') Scholz and Rogers translate 'two young men on white horses . . .'. It is true that *albus* was one of the colour terms technically applied to horses (*Mul. Chir.* 960), but the substantival use posited here is unattested. *Alba* (sc. *uestis*) is often substantivised with the sense 'white robe', and the expression *in albis* is particularly common (e.g. *Vulg. Ioh.* 20: 12)⁵¹). Moreover *alba* is reflected in Romance (including Gallo-rom.), where it has a specialised ecclesiastical meaning (= 'priest's surplice': Fr. *aube*, OPr. *alba*; so there are reflexes in Italian, Spanish and Portuguese)⁵²). The young men here have been sent by divine agency, and their cloaks may indicate their divine calling⁵³). Cf. *Ann. Fuld. a. 774* 'duo namque iuuenes in uestibus albis basilicam ab igne defendebant', a passage which establishes the sense decisively.

Missus is frequently used as a substantivised past participle = 'messenger' in the first edition, but it is avoided in the second. It is therefore not surprising that *missus* survives as OFr., OPr. *mes*, It. *messò*, whereas *legatus*, which is often substituted in the second edition, was a learned word which did not find its way into the modern languages. Note, for example, p. 18 (760) 'misit missos suos' (= 'missa ad regem legatione') (cf. p. 30 (769)); p. 34 (773) 'ibique ueniens missus domni Adriani apostolici' (= 'eum, quem miserat, legatum' (cf. p. 58 (781)). Cf., e.g. *A. Guelferb*, p. 45 (801) 'transmisit missos suos'; *A. Mett.* p. 46 'illi uero missi promittebant . . .' (picking up an example of *legatos*); Nithard p. 15.21 'missus ab Aquitania uenit nuntians quod . . .'. There is an isolated example of *missus* in Caesar (*Gall.* 5.40.1), but then it is found only in later Latin⁵⁴).

Virtus sometimes has not its classical senses in the first edition but means 'physical strength': p. 16 (758) 'firmitates Saxonum per

⁵⁰) von Wartburg, II. 1.38.

⁵¹) Cf. *TLL* I. 1509.59ff. Note also Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* p. 169.10.

⁵²) von Wartburg, I. 63. See *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch* (see n. 13), I. 433 for both secular and religious examples.

⁵³) So at Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rau.* p. 305.22 an apparition is clad in white: 'cui astitit uir in candidis uestimentis'.

⁵⁴) *TLL* VIII. 1191.49ff.

uirtutem introiuit'; p. 44 (776) 'coeperunt pugnas et machinas praeparare, qualiter per uirtutem potuissent illum capere'; *ib.* 'praeparauerunt etiam clidas ad debellandum per uirtutem ipsum castellum'. This sense is found in Old French (*vertu*) and elsewhere. *Virtus* took on the meaning of *uis*, *wires* (as a malapropism), which does not survive.

At p. 36 (773) the first edition has an example of *auunculus* which refers to a paternal uncle. The second edition duly corrects to *patruus*. This use of *auunculus* is appropriate to a text composed in Francia (cf. Nithard p. 31.5). In Gallo-romance *auunculus* displaced *patruus* (Fr. *oncle*, Prov. *ouncle*), as too in Catalan and Rumanian. Another word (*thius*) survived in the Iberian peninsula and most parts of Italy (note, e.g. *Cat. Comitum Capuae* p. 498.34 'proiectus est de eadem ciuitate a Pandone, thio suo')⁵⁵.

At p. 84 (789) *caput* has the meaning 'end': 'ibique duos pontes construxit, quorum uno ex utroque capite castellum ex ligno et terra aedificauit'. In earlier Latin the word is often applied metaphorically to the extremity, tip or chief point of an object (e.g. to the source of a river, the peak of a mountain). In reference to plane surfaces it came to denote the end point (e.g. Cic. *Fam.* 10.18.4, Veg. *Mil.* 3.7, indicating the end of a bridge). This latter usage is well represented in Romance, including French (OFr. *chief*, Sp., Pg. *capo*)⁵⁶.

Under the year 772 (pp. 34f.) both editions have usages which are worthy of mention. The first edition has *media die* for the more usual *meridie* of classical Latin. This expression, attested sporadically in CL (e.g. Catull. 61.111, Plin. *Nat.* 6.212) survives in most Romance languages (e.g. Fr. *midi*). The second edition has *tempore meridiano*, a usage which had a basis in ordinary speech but which has been modified slightly to produce a more learned expression. *Meridiana* (sc. *hora*) lived on as (e.g.) OFr. *meriene*, OPr. *meliana*, Pied. *maridzana*. The author has given the noun its original adjectival status by supplying a noun other than that which had been dropped by ellipse (cf. Greg. M. *Dial.* 1.3).

Sacramentum survived in OFr. (*sagrament*, *serement*, etc.) and OPr. (*sagramen(t)*) and elsewhere, whereas its classical synonym *ius iurandum* leaves no remains. The first edition makes frequent use of *sacramentum*, which the second often changes to *ius iurandum*, though after the early years *sacramentum* tends to be preferred in both editions. See p. 12 (755) 'cum sacramenta firmata reuersus est in Franciam' (cf. p. 13 'promissisque iure iurando firmatis'). Cf. p. 14 (756). For the synonymy of the two words, see p. 17 (757) 'fidelitatem . . . iure iurando supra corpus sancti Dionysii promisit; . . . simili sacramento fidem se . . . seruaturum est pollicitus'. For similar alternation, see p. 58 (781). *Sacramentum* is common elsewhere in Merovingian and Carolingian Latin.

⁵⁵) For this text, see *MGH, Script. Rer. Lang.* II. On words for 'uncle', see G. Rohlfs, *Die lexikalische Differenzierung der romanischen Sprachen* (Munich, 1954), 16ff.

⁵⁶) von Wartburg, II. 1.336ff.

In the first edition down to A. D. 795 two nouns are used = 'fear', *pauor* (pp. 38 (773), 46 (776) (3 times)) and *timor* (pp. 46 (776), 74 (787)), both of which are reflected in Old French (*pavor*, *paor*, etc. (cf. NFr. *peur*), *temor*; cf. Pr. *temor*). *Metus*, which lived on only in the area of Gascony and the Iberian peninsula (OGasc. *met*, Arrens *mét*, Béarn. *met*, Sp. *miedo*, Pg. *medo*), does not occur. These facts, if they were worth considering on their own, would suggest that the text originated in Francia to the north of Gascony. This hypothesis is on other grounds plausible.

Rocca, a word of unknown origin, has a meaning at p. 24 (767) (it denotes a castle built on a high rock or cliff) which it often has in place names in Gallo-romance⁵⁷): 'multas roccas et speluncas conquisiuit, castrum Scordiam, Torinnam, Petrociam'. The primary sense of the word was probably 'rock, crag, cliff' (note that in the Old French translation of the Dialogues of Gregory the Great (see n. 36) *roche* renders *rupes* (p. 66.10)). It is reflected in Gallo-romance, Catalonia and N. Italy.

Campus largely displaced *ager* in Romance (for the new meaning note, e.g. *Admonitio Generalis* 81 'nec in uinea colenda nec in campis arando'; *Capit. de uillis* 36 'campos de silua increocere non permittant')⁵⁸). It seems to have this meaning a few times in the first edition. At p. 82 (788) the expression of place *in campo Ibose* suggests Germanic place names of the -feld type (cf. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* p. 61.26 'perge . . . in campo Asfeld'). At p. 96 (794) ('in campo qui dicitur Sinistfelt') the second element of the Germanic compound points to the sense of *campus* (cf. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* p. 57.16 'in campis patentibus, qui sermone barbarico "feld" appellantur'). Cf. p. 24 (767).

A substantivised (neuter?) plural adjective *montana* (sc. *loca*) is used at p. 36 (773) as an equivalent of *montes*: 'mittens scaram suam per montanis'. In Vulgar Latin a feminine singular *montana* made its appearance. This sometimes occurs, for example, in the *Vetus Latina* in contexts in which the Vulgate has either *mons* or the neuter plural (e.g. *Ios.* 13: 6 (Lugd.)).⁵⁹ The gender here cannot of course be determined.

Montana itself did not survive, but it formed the basis of various reflexes. In late Latin it was rivalled by *montaneus*, which must have been formed from it by means of a change of suffix. The existence of a neuter plural, and then of a feminine singular **montanea* can be established from the Romance evidence. **Montanea* is reflected in much of the Romania, including Old French (*montaigne*), in which it began to eliminate *mons*.

Characteristic of West Romance is the combination *uxoribus et infantibus* at p. 46 (776). The only reflexes of *uxor* (with the exception of OVen. *uxor*) are found in the West (OFr. *oissour*⁶⁰), Pr. *oisor*, OSp. *uxor*). *Infans* is

⁵⁷) von Wartburg, X. 440.

⁵⁸) These texts are found in *MGH, Legum Sectio II.* 1.52ff., 82ff.

⁵⁹) *TLL VIII.* 1458.63ff.

⁶⁰) For the graphic forms in Old French, see von Wartburg, XIV. 91.

firmly established in Gallo-romance (OFr. *enfant*, OPr. *enfan*), as well as elsewhere (e. g. OIt. *fante*).

At p. 30 (769) *utensilia* (originally a neuter plural) seems to be used as a feminine singular (*cum omni utensilia*). This word (in a modified form **usitilia*) found its way into French, Old Italian (*stiglio*) and Italian dialects⁶¹. The French reflexes are feminine (e. g. OFr. *houtile*).

Partes often has a meaning in the text with which it lives on in Romance. The use of the word in the first edition also illustrates the manner in which a noun may develop into a preposition⁶². *Partibus* is employed frequently in the first edition (but not in the second) with an accompanying genitive in two different functions (the one directional, the other static): (1) = 'to the area of': e. g. p. 8 (748) 'Grifonem uero partibus Niustriae misit'; p. 24 (767) 'iter peragens partibus Aquitaniae'; cf., e. g. pp. 26 (768), 28 (769), 30 (770), 32 (771)⁶³; (2) = 'in the area of': p. 52 (778) 'cum audissent Saxones, quod . . . Carolus rex et Franci tam longe fuissent partibus Hispaniae' (cf. p. 18 (760) 'cernens . . . minime consentire iustitias ecclesiarum partibus, quae erant in Francia', = 'in regions which were in Francia'?). The meaning is easier to explain than the syntax. *Pars* and *partes* were common in later Latin with the sense 'region', and this meaning found its way into Romance (e. g. OFr. *part*)⁶⁴. Syntactically *partibus* may originally have been either a dative or a locatival ablative (without preposition). If it were a dative (indicating direction), it would be hypercorrect against the encroachment by *ad* on the dative inflection. This is a likely possibility, because most examples are directional rather than static in sense. Since there was no distinction in Vulgar Latin between directional and static adverbials (hence the encroachment of *ibi* on *eo*, etc.; note, e. g. p. 34 (773)), it would have tended to acquire a static sense also. If it had originally been a locatival ablative, its acquisition of a directional sense would also have been due to the absence of a distinction between static and directional adverbials. It is less likely that it began as an ablative, partly because of the numerical predominance of the directional use in our text, and partly because the locatival use of the ablative without a preposition would be abnormal for the period.

⁶¹) von Wartburg, XIV. 88.

⁶²) On this process in late Latin, see E. Löfstedt, *Late Latin* (Oslo, 1959), 124 ff.

⁶³) Further examples can be found in the index of Pertz and Kurze.

⁶⁴) See further Löfstedt, *Late Latin*, 113.

Like certain other nouns and nominal phrases in late Latin (e.g. *per gyrum*, *de latus*), *partibus* began by taking a genitive complement, but because in combination with nouns it was felt to have a prepositional function, it is also found (perhaps only in our text?) with the ablative (accusative?): p. 26 (768) 'partibus Petrogorigo perrexit' (cf. p. 8 (748) (quoted above) *partibus Niustria* C1, C2). *Partibus* (whether with the genitive or ablative) is equivalent to *in* (note p. 32 (771) *partibus Italiae*, = *in Italiam* in the second edition).

There remain for mention a few more nouns of non-Latin origin which are more widely reflected than those dealt with at the outset (pp. 257 ff.). *Clida* at p. 44 (776) ('praepauerunt etiam clidas ad debellandum per uirtutem ipsum castellum') is Celtic (= 'hurdle'; cf. OIr. *cliath*, Welsh *clwyd*). Cf. *Lex Rib.* 77 'si quis hominem . . . interfecerit, in clita eum leuare debet'. The word survived in Old French (*cloie*), Old Provençal (*clida*) and elsewhere. Both *sinescalcus* ('steward') (p. 72 (786) 'una cum misso suo Audulfo sinescalco') and *marca* (frequent in both editions) are of Germanic origin (for *sinescalcus*, cf. OFr. *seneschal*, OPr. *senescalco*, It. *siniscalco*; *marca* is reflected in most of the Romania: e.g. Fr. *marche*).

Of verbs *conquiro* is of particular interest. In the first edition it has a number of closely related senses ('capture, conquer, subdue, acquire by force') which it did not possess in classical Latin. It is avoided completely in the second edition, a sure sign of its currency in speech. The following examples are worth quoting: p. 4 (743) 'Theodericum . . . conquisiuit' (= 'in deditionem accepit'); p. 14 (756) 'Rauennam . . . conquisiuit' (the second edition has drastically modified this phraseology); p. 24 (767) 'multas roccas et speluncas conquisiuit' (the second edition has *cepit*); p. 42 (775) 'praedam multam conquisiuit' (= 'acquire by force'); p. 54 (779) 'conquiesierunt eos omnes' (= 'in deditionem accepit'); p. 72 (786) 'multos Brittones conquesierunt una cum castellis et firmitates eorum' (= 'capture').

One of the classical senses of the word was 'gather together'⁶⁵. The meaning 'capture' may have developed in the military language as a result of its use with objects such as *hostes*, *desertores*, *profugas*, etc. (see *TLL* IV. 355.27ff.), the gathering together of whom requires forcible capture. When the object denotes a large body of men or in particular a place, the sense 'capture' runs into 'conquer' (note p. 14 (756) above).

⁶⁵) *TLL* IV. 355.19ff.

The reflexes of the word in Old French and Old Provençal have all the senses listed above⁶⁶). Reflexes are also found in other parts of the Romania.

It is the recomposed form *conquaero* which is reflected in Old French (*conquerre*) and Old Provençal (*conquerre, conquerer, conquerir*; cf. OSp. *conquerir*, Rum. *cucerì*). Only in Italian (*conquidere*) does *conquirere* survive. It is of interest to find that in various places in the MSS of the first edition *e* is written rather than *i* (*e* = [e] < [ae]): p. 4 (743) *conquesiuit* A2, B5, p. 24 (767) *conquesiuit* B4, *conquaes.* D1, p. 54 (779) *conquesierunt* B1, D3. Cf. p. 72 (786) quoted above.

Examples (many of them showing recombination) abound in other Carolingian annals: e.g. *A. Pet. cont.* p. 13 (767) 'conquisiuit Lemouicas ciuitatem'; *A. Lauresh.* p. 28 (762) 'conquesiuit Biduricam'; *A. Guelferb.* p. 29 (761) 'Clarmonste conquesierunt'; *A. Naz.* p. 29 (766) 'conquesiuit Limodiam ciuitatem'.

There is an example of *stare* in the sense 'stay, remain' at p. 34 (772) 'et dum uoluit ibi duos aut tres praedictus gloriosus rex stare dies' (= 'cum in eodem loco per triduum moraretur'). Reflexes with this meaning are found in Gallo-romance⁶⁷) and elsewhere (It. *stare*, Sp., Cat. *estar*). Cf. Eng. *stay* (a borrowing from French).

In Italian the reflex of *iungo* (*giungere*) has the sense 'arrive'. Cf. Lyon. *juindre*, Lang. *jougne*, Fr. *rejoindre, joindre* (with personal complements). The stages by which this meaning was reached can be seen in the use of *iungo* and its compounds in the first edition. *Se iungere cum* with a personal complement means 'meet': p. 28 (769) 'in ipso itinere iungens se . . . rex . . . cum germano suo'. When the preposition is *ad* rather than *cum* (with a personal noun) the verb approaches one of motion (= 'go to meet, go to'): p. 34 (773) 'et inde terreno ad domnum Carolum regem usque periungens'⁶⁸) (= 'eum . . . inde terreno itinere in Franciam fecit *peruenire*. qui cum ad regem . . . *peruenisset*'); p. 70 (785) 'coniunxerunt se ad Attiniacum uilla ad domnum regem Carolum'; p. 84 (789) 'Frisiones . . . ad eum coniunxerunt'. After it was established as a verb of motion (note its association with *uenio* at p. 58 (781): 'ut . . . tunc ad eius ueniret praesentiam . . . et coniungens se . . .

⁶⁶) von Wartburg, II. 2. 1058.

⁶⁷) von Wartburg, XII. 238f., 242.

⁶⁸) Here the reflexive *se* has been deleted, as below, p. 84 (789).

⁶⁹) See further *TLL* VII. 2. 659. 82ff.

in praesentiam piissimi regis' (= 'ad regem uenit')), its overlap with *uenio*, etc. caused it by analogy to be used with local as well as personal complements. This usage is already found in the *Per. Aeth.*: 6.3 'iunximus nos denuo ad mare rubrum'⁶⁹). Cf. p. 54 (779) 'cum se iunxisset domnus Carolus ad locum, qui dicitur Medofulli' (or is there a deleted personal complement here, the sense being 'when he had met (them) at . . .?'); p. 36 (773) 'ambo exercitus ad clusas se coniungentes' (the editor notes that *coniungentes* is equivalent to *peruenientes*, but there is some ambiguity again; the sense may be 'the two armies uniting at . . .'); cf. pp. 30 (770), 50 (778), where there is further ambiguity.

Iungo and its compounds are completely avoided in these senses in the second edition.

Neco has its Romance (including Gallo-romance) sense 'drown' at p. 84 (788): 'alii in Danubio fluuio uitam necando emiserunt'.

At p. 8 (749) the first edition has the phrase *regalem potestatem*, which is changed to *potestatem regiam* in the second edition. *Regalis* (with a favoured adjectival suffix)⁷⁰ is well represented in Gallo-romance (OFr. *regiel*, *real*, Pr. *reial*) and in the Iberian peninsula (Sp., Pg., Cat. *real*).

The preposition *super* sometimes means 'against' (= *contra*) in the first edition: p. 34 (773) 'inuitando . . . regem . . . pro Dei seruitio et iustitia sancti Petri seu solatio ecclesiae super Desiderium regem et Langobardos'; p. 42 (775) 'super Saxones cum exercitu irruens' (cf. pp. 60 (782), 64 (783) for this expression). *Irruere super* was almost a cliché in narrative prose at this time: it is particularly common in Italian texts (e.g. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* pp. 56.1, 17, 59.17, 21, 78.17, 101.10, Andreas Berg. pp. 227.37, 229.5, Erchempert pp. 241.3, 254.2), and is also found elsewhere in Frankish annals (e.g. *A. Sangall.* p. 63 (775), *A. Mett.* p. 70). *Super* = 'against', a usage which does not seem to occur in classical Latin, anticipates OFr. *seure* (*sore*) (note in particular *corre sore* = 'attack', and compare *irruere super*), Pr., Cat. *sobre*, Rum. *spre*.

There are many other usages in the first edition foreshadowing Romance usages which are so commonplace in late texts as to need no comment. I list a few: *causa* = *res* (Fr. *chose*, It. *cosa*) pp. 18 (760), 46 (776), 72 (786), 74 (787); *totos* = *omnes* p. 8 (748); *neptas* = *neptes* p. 26 (768)⁷¹; *deintus* (OFr. *denz*, Pr. *dins*) p. 44 (776); *aforis* (OFr. *afors*) pp. 44 (776), 46 (776); *inante* (Pr. *enan(s)*) pp. 78 (787), 84 (789); *germanus* = *frater* pp. 4 (745), 10 (753) twice, 28 (769). It is also worth noting that *occido* (OFr. *ocire*) is used throughout rather than *interficio*, which often replaces it in the second edition: pp. 10 (753), 40 (775), 42 (775), 44 (776).

⁷⁰) On which see G. N. Olcott, *Studies in the Word Formation of the Latin Inscriptions* (Rome, 1898), 226ff.

⁷¹) On the form *nepta*, see V. Väänänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire*² (Paris, 1967), 112.

III

Many other words and usages in the first edition are worthy of mention not because of their Romance reflexes but from various other points of view. In this section I discuss a selection.

Clusae is used twice in the first edition and often elsewhere at this period to indicate a mountain pass: p. 12 (755) 'clusas Langobardorum petiit'; p. 36 (773) 'ambo exercitus ad clusas se coniungentes'⁷²). This word is the substantivised past participle of *cludo* (a doublet of *claudio*, formed from the compounds *includo*, etc.; it is widely attested in inscriptions and survives as It. *chiudere*). It no doubt passed into the feminine from the neuter plural. It obviously enjoyed some currency at this time but did not live on into Romance.

Object clauses complementing verbs of saying and the like are uniformly introduced by *quod* rather than *quia* in the first edition (the second edition usually substitutes the acc. + infin.): pp. 4 (745), 10 (753), 18 (761), 38 (773), 42 (775), 52 (778), 60 (782), 70 (785), 78 (787), 80 (788). This preference for *quod* can be called a regional characteristic. *Quod* is preferred in late texts from the area of Gaul, whereas *quia* is more common in texts from Italy and Spain⁷³).

In Vulgar Latin circumlocutions comprising *facio* + object serving as the equivalent of a more precise verb (without object) had long been common⁷⁴). To judge by their frequency in the first edition (they are usually eliminated in the second) they still remained current: e.g. p. 6 (746) *moram faciens* (cf. pp. 26 (768), 30 (769)) (*commoratus* is substituted in the second edition; *moram facio* is particularly common in the Vulgate and *Vetus Latina*)⁷⁵); p. 6 (747) *iter faciens* (cf., e.g. pp. 10 (753), 26 (768)) (*ingressus* is found in the second edition)⁷⁶); p. 14 (756) *uenationem fecit* (= *in uenatione*); p. 16 (758) *strages factae sunt* (eliminated from the second edition; cf. p. 42 (775) *stragem . . . fecit, stragia . . . facta*; p. 84 (788) *stragia . . . facta est*); p. 18 (760) *consilium fecit* (eliminated from the second edition); p. 26 (768) *orationem . . . fecit* (= *orauit*); p. 42 (775) *pugnam fecerunt*; p. 44 (776) *damnum fecerunt*; p. 48 (777) *confugium fecit* (= *profugerat*; cf. Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* 5.2, 8.6)⁷⁷); p. 60 (782) *mandatum . . . fecerunt*.

⁷²) Niermeyer (see n. 33), 192; *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch*, II. 733.

⁷³) See J. Herman, *La formation du système roman des conjonctions de subordination* (Berlin, 1963), 41f.

⁷⁴) See, e.g. E. Löfstedt, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (Uppsala, 1911), 162ff.

⁷⁵) *TLL* VIII. 1470.28ff.

⁷⁶) Note that in the Old French translation of the Dialogues of Gregory the Great (see n. 36) *fist uoie* translates *iter fecit* at p. 52.7.

⁷⁷) This expression is also found in Carolingian *capitularia* (*MGH, Legum Sectio* II. 1): e.g. *Capit. de partibus Saxoniae* 2 'si quis confugiam fecerit in ecclesiam' (note the change of gender); *ib.* 24 'qui de una comitatu ad alium confugium fecerint'.

There are also some similar circumlocutions in which the verb is *habeo* rather than *facio*⁷⁸): p. 40 (774) *habuit pugnam* (with this compare *pugnam fecerunt* quoted above); p. 42 (775) *victoriam habuerunt*. Neither of these expressions is admitted in the second edition.

Deserto, which is found twice in the first edition (p. 20 (761) 'uastando et desertando supradictam prouintiam'; p. 74 (787) 'ut . . . monasteria non desertarentur'), is not to be confused with the frequentative of *desero* (which is, however, attested in late Latin). It is the (causative) denominative of *desertus*, = 'make deserted'. It is not represented in Romance, but it matches in type a large group of late causatives formed from adjectives (e.g. *angustare* > Sp. *angostar*)⁷⁹).

Rebello is of the same type. The classical verb is intransitive, but in the *Annales rebello* is a causative denominative of *rebellis* (for which see pp. 60 (782), 68 (785)): p. 28 (769) 'uoluit rebellare totam Wasconiam'; p. 42 (775) 'uoluit Italiam rebellare' (cf. pp. 44 (776), 52 (778), 60 (782), 66 (784)).

Biblical influence on the Latin of the first edition can be seen at p. 52 (778): 'tunc praedantes secus Renum et multas malicias facientes' (= 'doing malicious acts, committing outrages'). *Malitiae* is found in both the Vulgate and *Vetus Latina* with much the same sense as *peccata*. Sometimes as here it stands as the object of *facio*: Vulg. Ezech. 20: 43 'in omnibus malitiis uestris, quas fecistis'; *Vet. Lat.* Deut. 31: 18 (Lugd.) 'propter omnes malitias quas fecerunt'. The language of the Vulgate was of course one of the major influences on the Latin of the Medieval period. Though the author was influenced mainly by Gallo-romance, he inevitably recalled a few Biblical expressions⁸⁰).

An elliptical use of *metor* = *metor castra*, 'lay out camp' at p. 36 (773) ('rex una cum Francis contra metatus est ad easdem clusas') may also have been inspired by the Bible. *Metor castra* had been a set phrase in the classical historians (e.g. Sall. *Jug.* 106.5, Tac. *Ann.* 1.63), but it is in the Vulgate that it is used elliptically: Num. 1: 50 'per gyrum tabernaculi metabuntur'; 3: 23 'hi post tabernaculum metabuntur ad occidentem'.

Petraria at p. 44 (776) means 'catapult': 'petrarias, quas praeparauerunt plus illis damnum fecerunt quam illis . . .'. This usage did not find its way into the Romance languages, but it once must have been current, at least in certain areas: cf. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* p. 148.20 'belli machina quam petrariam uocant'; *Chron. Salern.* 113 'machinam belli quam nos petraria nuncupamus'.

The curious verb *dulgo* (*dulgeo*?) which is found three times in the first edition (p. 14 (756) 'cupiebat . . . obsides dulgere, sacramenta inrumpero'; p. 44 (776) 'dixit Saxones rebellatos et omnes obsides suos dulgtos et sacramenta rupta'; p. 48 (777) 'illorum omnem ingenuitatem et alodem manibus dulgtum fecerunt') is described by Niermeyer (*s.v.*) as of unknown etymology. Perhaps it is a simplex based on an interpretation of *indulgeo* as = *in* +

⁷⁸) On such expressions, see Löfstedt, *Per. Aeth.*, 147.

⁷⁹) For numerous examples, see, e.g. H. Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*² (Marburg, 1875), 162ff.

⁸⁰) On the influence of the Vulgate on Carolingian annals, see Monod (see n. 2), 94.

dulgeo (whereas historically it is possible that the structure was *ind* + *ulgeo*; cf. *indipiscor*⁸¹). A common sense of *indulgeo* (+ acc.) in the imperial period was 'concede, grant' (as a favour). This is roughly the sense of the verb in the third passage quoted above, where Scholz and Rogers translate: 'Many Saxons . . . pledged to the king their whole freedom and property if they should change their minds again . . .' (i.e. they promised to concede or grant to the king certain things if they misbehaved again). In the other two passages the meaning 'grant, hand over' appears to have passed into 'surrender, abandon' (cf. *dedo* in earlier Latin for the semantic change)⁸².

The verbal abstract suffix *-ium* seems to have had a limited productivity in later Latin. Note, e.g. Isid. *Etym.* 6.18.14 'uulgius autem ideo hunc diem *capitilauium* uocant, quia tunc moris est lauandi capita infantium'⁸³; **conuenium* > It. *convegno*, OFr. *couvin*, etc.; *sonitium* in the *Didascalia Apostolorum*⁸⁴; and *App. Probi* 159 *terraemotus non terrimotium*. There are a few such coinages in the first edition: p. 36 (773) *conturbium*⁸⁵; p. 62 (782) *rebellium*. At p. 52 (778) *contumelio* (if it is not a scribal slip) may be a hypercorrect example of *contumelium* (as if the feminine *contumelia* had derived from a neuter plural).

The spoken language and the Vulgate were not the only sources for the Latin of the first edition. Most late and Medieval texts, however vulgar, display attempts at literary elaboration. There are certain elements in our text which could be described as learned, of which I single out two lexical examples. The phrase *fuga labor* (in which the verb is a case of simple for compound, = *elabor*) had a long history in literary prose. It is found in Ammianus (with *per fugam* used for the ablative: 18.6.12), often in Gregory of Tours⁸⁶, and later in annals and even legal texts of roughly our period⁸⁷. It is impossible to trace its precise route into Carolingian historical writings, but it was clearly a traditional learned cliché. A second phrase with antecedents in the classical historians is *uictor exsisto* (pp. 12 (755), 40 (774; cf. Vell. 1.8.2, Iust. 25.5.5). Again the source of the Carolingian annalists is unknown.

⁸¹ See A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*⁴ (Paris, 1959), 316; for *in-* as a semantically empty prefix in late Latin, see A. Ötnerfors (ed.), *Physica Plinii Bambergensis* (Hildesheim, 1975), 34n.

⁸² For the interpretation of *dulgere* as a simplex of *indulgere*, cf. Arnaldi, I. 187. So Boretius (*MGH, Legum Sectio II. 1, 8 n. 6*) tentatively glosses the expression *dulgat seruum* (*Chilperici Edictum* 6) with *indulgeat*.

⁸³ See J. Sofer, *Lateinisches und Romanisches aus den Etymologiae des Isidorus von Sevilla* (Göttingen, 1930), 71f.

⁸⁴ E. Tidner, *Sprachlicher Kommentar zur lateinischen Didascalia Apostolorum* (Stockholm, 1938), 10.

⁸⁵ For this word, see *Capit. de partibus Saxoniae* 29 'si . . . conturbium ortum fuerit'.

⁸⁶ M. Bonnet, *Le latin de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris, 1890), 254; cf. *TLL VI. 1. 1471. 75ff.*

⁸⁷ Note, e.g. Nithard, p. 3.33, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* p. 108.19 (*elapsi*), *Lex Ribuarica* 30.2, 3, 4.

At p. 18 (761) *cogito* has the sense 'show regard for, care about' (= *sollicitus esse*): 'Waifarius . . . minime cogitans de obsidibus uel de sacramentis suis'. This meaning is unambiguously attested in late Latin, often in translation literature. It is particularly common in the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate: e.g. *Vet. Lat. Matth. 6: 31 (k)* 'nolite cogitare' (Vulg. 'solliciti esse'), Luke 12: 26 (e) 'et de ceteris cogitatis?' (Vulg. 'solliciti estis')⁸⁸. A particularly clear example is found at Cassiod. *Hist. Trip.* 10.13 p. 1176A: 'cogitabat enim ne ulla propter illum seditio nasceretur'.

At p. 36 (773) ('attamen ipsi confinales de hac causa solliciti, cumque hoc cernerent, castello sunt ingressi') it is possible that there has been ellipse of *erant* after *solliciti*. If not, the *-que* of *cumque* is semantically empty and the word is equivalent to *cum*. *-que* coalesced in this way with numerous adverbs and conjunctions in late Latin. *Cumque* itself is common in late texts, though elsewhere it is used only at the head of sentences⁸⁹.

Two compound conjunctions in the first edition exemplify an important category of late conjunctions: p. 48 (777) 'undique Saxones conuenerunt, excepto quod Widochindis rebellis extitit'; p. 66 (784) 'uastando usque quod peruenit ad Hucului' (= 'until'). In structure *excepto quod* and *usque quod* can be treated as prepositions⁹⁰ governing noun clauses introduced by *quod*⁹¹.

IV

Syntax and morphology will not be dealt with systematically here, but it is worthwhile to conclude with a few remarks on some points of interest.

The pluperfect subjunctive assumed the functions of the imperfect in late Latin (with important results for the Romance languages). In many late texts the development is scarcely in evidence, but it is very well attested in the first edition (e.g. pp. 4 (745) *uoluisset, direxisset*, 38 (773) *potuissent*, 44 (776) *potuissent*, 66 (784) *introisset*, 68 (784) *fecisset*, 74 (787) *introisset, aduenisset*, 78 (787) *fuisset*, 84 (788) *potuissent*).

Many Latin place names were fossilised in the locative (or locative ablative), and it was often this form which lived on in the Romance languages (including Gallo-Romance). Numerous examples of fossilised forms are found in the first edition: e.g. p. 4 (742) 'in loco, qui dicitur Vetus Pictauis' (note that here the first element of a common combination is uninflected); p. 28 (768) 'in uilla, quae dicitur Aquis' (> *Aix*); p. 52 (779) 'in uilla, quae dicitur Compendio'. Also of note are a few cases of accusatives with locative function⁹²: p. 28 (769) 'in loco, qui dicitur Duasdiues'; p. 34 (773) 'synodum . . . tenuit . . . Ienuam ciuitatem'.

Habeo sometimes combines with a perfect participle to form a perfect active: p. 78 (787) 'quod sub iure iurando promissum habebat'; p. 80 (788) 'sicut iuratum habuit'. But the learned synthetic perfect is usually preferred by the author.

⁸⁸ Cf. *TLL* III. 1474. 25ff.

⁸⁹ See Adams (see n. 42), 77f.

⁹⁰ On the prepositional use of *excepto*, see B. Löfstedt, *Studien über die Sprache der langobardischen Gesetze* (Uppsala, 1961), 215 n. 2.

⁹¹ On compounds of this type, see Adams, 73f. (and bibliography).

⁹² See Adams, 57f.

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Finally, the ablative of the gerund often functions as a present participle in the first edition: e.g. p. 12 (754) 'Bonifacius . . . in Frisia nuntians uerbum Domini et praedicando martyr Christi effectus est' (note that the gerund alternates with a present participle which has the same function as it); p. 20 (761) 'peruenit usque Lemouicas, uastando et desertando supradictam prouintiam'.

V

Enough has been said to establish the lexical mixture of the first part of the first edition. Latin was far from being a fossil in the period before the Carolingian renaissance. We have seen that alongside Biblical and learned expressions there are numerous usages which reflect the close relationship which must have existed between the Latin which was written and early Romance as it was spoken. The latter fertilised the former, at least in the area dealt with here. Nor is it only the influence of early Gallo-romance which makes the language of the first edition different from that of the classical period. Various new words or usages without Romance continuators (e.g. *rebello*, *deserto*) make their appearance, generated by morphological rules which had long been productive in Latin. On the other hand it would be a mistake to assume that Latin was anything other than a written language. But though it would scarcely have been spoken, except by a few scholars, it was not resistant to new influences and to change in its written forms.

The second edition, when compared with the first, illustrates as well as any text extant the influence of the Carolingian revival. The syntax is classicised, and words destined to pass into Gallo-romance are repeatedly eliminated. The compilers also imitate classical authors, and thereby throw light on the availability of classical manuscripts in Carolingian France. Livy is the author most often imitated, and there are also reminiscences of Curtius Rufus (the editors collect the relevant passages in the footnotes: see pp. 41, 65, 69), Velleius Paterculus (pp. 29, 31, 61), Caesar, *Gall.* (pp. 25, 31, 59, 85) and others. The sections of Livy with which the authors were familiar were the first and third decades only. Book 21 is particularly often imitated (pp. 41, 49, 51, 53, 61, 63, 65, 69, 83, 85). The first decade (books 1 and 2) became influential from the year 785 onwards (pp. 69, 73, 75, 105)⁹³.

⁹³) On literary reminiscences in the second edition, see Stach (see n. 5), 323 and bibliography.