

INTRODUCTION

I EXCAVATING GLOSSES

(1) A Curious New Text

I was introduced to the text here published for the first time on a summer evening long ago, when I met Louis Holtz, indomitable editor of Donatus' grammar, as he emerged from the Bodleian Library in Oxford, cheerfully exhausted from an uninterrupted day absorbed in manuscripts. Among those he had been working on was a large grammatical collection (Add. C.144), copied in central Italy in the eleventh century: it includes, mechanically copied from its exemplar, a prosy verse epitaph for one Maroza, mother of a bishop of Fermo, who died in 996.¹ Knowing that I was interested in glossaries, Holtz drew my attention to the fact that one of the unidentified items in this MS, under the laconic heading *Expositio Notarum*, was a substantial collection of Latin glosses, a decidedly peculiar one that might warrant inquiry. No one, in fact, seemed ever to have said anything about it. With Holtz's generous encouragement I set about working on the text, to see what sense might be made of it. For it was apparent, even from the first patchy gleanings, that one could not just feed this text into the existing history, such as it is, of Latin glossaries; it will not fit. But nor will it just sit apart and mind its own business. It clearly belongs in the tradition of Latin glossaries, but it raises awkward questions about the nature and sources of many of those glossaries.

Quite apart from glossaries, however, this *Expositio*, though unprepossessing as a continuous read, constantly teases our knowledge of the Latin language and of Roman institutions of the classical period and beyond, posing all manner of questions large and small.

¹ The MS is described by Holtz 409–12, and Munk Olsen 1 344–5, and now in detail by M. De Nonno (2013). The epitaph was published and discussed by B. Bischoff in *MGH Poetae v* (Berlin, 1937–9), 351.

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Answers, of course, are a different matter: my aim throughout has been, as far as I could, to open up the various possibilities of the text, even though some are inevitably more possible than others. I offered a taster years ago, as part of an overview of Latin glossaries that had become unavoidable in the course of working on it.² In this introduction I have tried to avoid repetition, at least by using different examples, and have given cross-references to the article where it seemed useful. To the kind people who have at different times inquired about my progress, I would here like to offer my apologies for the long delay, and warm thanks for their interest.

(2) First Impressions

What then is this *Expositio Notarum*? Plate 1 offers a specimen. It is quite nicely written in two columns, and the whole thing consists of just under thirty-six pages like this (ff. 114v–132r).³ It is divided into numbered sections (Pl. Ia: EXPLICIT XI, INCIPIT XII; Ib: EXPLICIT XII, INCIPIT XIII). These sections vary greatly in length, from less than a column to over seven columns, and we are never told what they are, what the numbers refer to: whether books or chapters, whether parts of a single work or a numbered series of separate works.⁴ There are twenty-three such sections altogether. This number might suggest the medieval Latin alphabet; but, as is clear from this page, and it is true of the whole thing, there is no trace of any alphabetical order. Indeed, for much of the text, it is hard to see any order at all.

The text itself is a series of lemmata, generally followed by a note or explanation. Many of them are like those one would find in any glossary: simple synonyms, like *Amfractus: circuitus*

² ‘On the Nature and Transmission of Latin Glossaries’, published in J. Hamesse ed., *Les manuscrits des lexiques et glossaires de l’antiquité tardive à la fin du moyen âge* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996), 204–252, and reprinted in Franzen; hereafter *Transm.*

³ Not 132v–144r as I said by mistake in *Transm.* 229 (corrected in Franzen).

⁴ All in all, a single work did seem more likely, but cf. the Leiden Glossary, ed. J. H. Hessels (Cambridge 1906), which is made up of word-lists from quite different works numbered in a single sequence, though in that case titles are also given.

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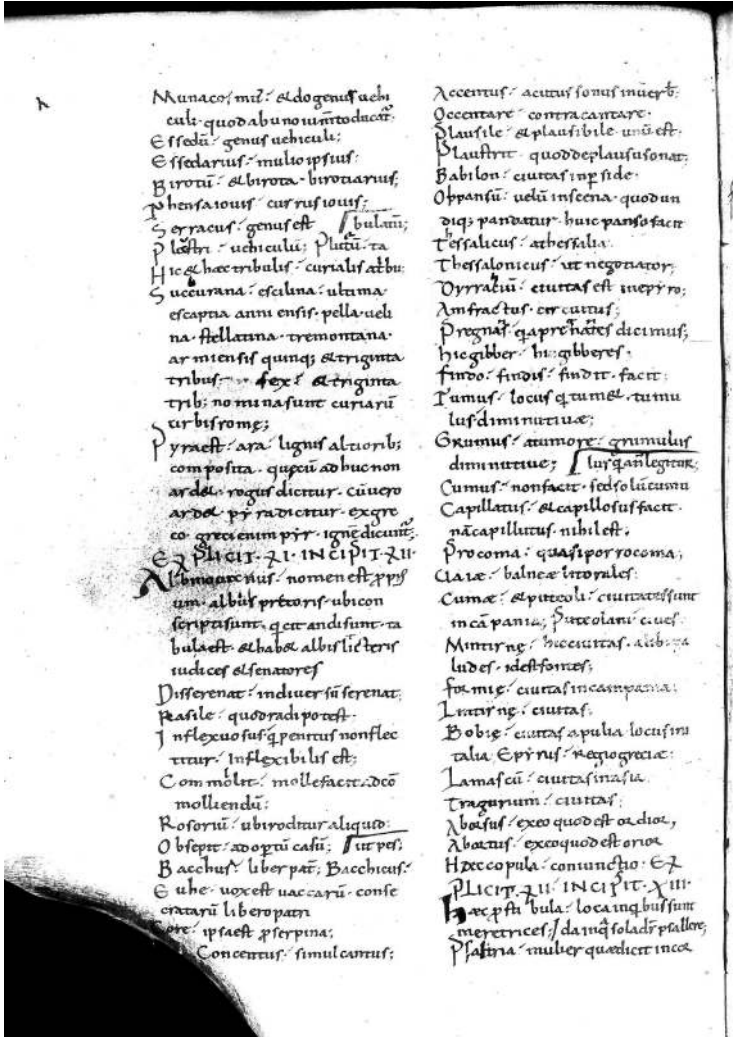


PLATE I Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add.C.144, f. 125v,
 columns (a) and (b)

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(Ib.11, L.22),⁵ or definitions, like *Accentus: acutus sonus in verbis* (Ib.1, L.13); often, the explanation is based on etymology, like *Occentare: contra cantare* (Ib.2, L.14), or *Procoma: quasi porro coma* (Ib.21, L.30).⁶ Sometimes we have fuller, more encyclopaedic notes, as on the praetor's album: *Albus praetoris: ubi conscripti sunt qui citandi sunt; tabula est et habet albis litteris iudices et senatores* (Ia.24, L.2), 'where those who are to be summonsed are written down; it is a table and has in white letters the <names of> judges and senators'. Less frequent in glossaries, but plentiful here, are proper names: either roughly described, like *Babilon: civitas in Perside* (Ib.5, L.17), or, if personal names, merely defined as such, like *Albinovanus: nomen est proprium* (Ia.23, L.1), or even just e.g. *Lamia: nomen est* (M.19). Normally, the scribe distinguishes a lemma from its explanation by giving it a capital letter and following it with an upside-down semi-colon. But he can get it wrong. So, for instance, *Albinovanus* and the *album praetoris* have been merged into one lemma. Further up, we find *Serracus: genus est*, followed by *Plaustri: vehiculum* (Ia.7, K.179), where clearly *plaustri* goes with *genus est*, 'serracus is a kind of wagon'.⁷ Probably many such mistakes were already in the scribe's exemplar or its ancestors, for on occasion they have led to rash emendation of the text, not perceptibly a vice of this scribe. For instance, we find *Arruntius: stellae nomen est* (M.47). So far as I know, there has never been a star called Arruntius; but at least two prominent Romans were called Arruntius Stella, so presumably the original gloss was *Arruntius Stella: nomen est*.

Another kind of note rather rare in the glossaries, but ubiquitous here, is comment on the morphology of words rather than on their meaning. These can take the form of a simple statement, like *Findo findis findit facit* (Ib.14, L.25) – as we would say, 'the verb *findo* goes *findis*, *findit*', or 'is of the third conjugation'. The demonstrative *hic*, *haec*, *hoc* is often used to indicate the case and gender of nouns, as in *Haec supellex huius supellectilis*

⁵ In brackets I give the Plate number, column and line, followed by the number of the item in the edition.

⁶ For this etymological use of *quasi*, see Index s.v. (though other uses of *quasi* can overlap) and n.85.

⁷ See also *ad loc.*

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facit (M.13), ‘the feminine noun *supellex* has genitive *supellectilis*’. More interestingly, our text quite often lays down the law as to what is or is not Latin. So for instance *Tundit contundit: tusit contusit latinum non est sed tudit contudit* (M.36), or *Capillatus et capillosus facit; nam capillutus nihil est* (Ib.20, L.29), which seems to mean ‘*capillatus* and *capillosus* are the possible forms, for *capillutus* is not a word, does not exist’.⁸

Notes like this may be reminiscent of the so-called *Appendix Probi*, a list of words in which a grammarian prescribes ‘You say X, not Y, *auris, non oricla*’ etc., delighting Romance philologists, for whom the disqualified words often appear to be early evidence of precisely the forms that survived into the vernaculars. But although our text does offer some evidence of this kind, it will need careful handling, because the situation is more complicated than in the *Appendix Probi*.⁹ Many of the forms declared not to be Latin are indeed not Latin, but neither are they words that anybody is ever likely to have used. Consider *Secus: aliter; insecus latinum non est* (M.20): did anybody ever say *insecus*?¹⁰ Elsewhere we are likewise solemnly told that *Intolerat*, ‘he intolerates’ (J.78), and *Invacuus*, ‘unempty’ (J.34), are not Latin. On the other hand, quite often, words that do not seem much like Latin to us are calmly glossed; for instance, *Amanet: extra manet* (G.91) or *Disdonat: per diversa donat*, ‘he makes gifts in different directions’ (G.99). Yet the text also strengthens the case for many words that, though strange or very rare, are perfectly plausible.

Altogether this is quite a puzzling document. The absence of any alphabetical or grammatical order, and the occasional clustering by subject (like the kinds of vehicle, Ia.1–8, or the sequence of place-names Ib.23–33), suggest glosses on a particular text. In fact, there is some explicit evidence to this effect: *Cumus non facit, sed solum cumulus, qui ante legitur* (Ib.19,

⁸ For the grammatical terminology, see further below, Part II 3(a).

⁹ Not that the status of the *Appendix* is exactly clear: see the new edition by S. Asperti and M. Passalacqua (Florence, 2014), with full bibliography discussed in the introduction.

¹⁰ Admittedly, in the Latin–Greek glossary known as Ps.Philoxenus, the Latin half of which is often archaic or literary, there is *Insecus*: εἰς ἐγγύς (CGL II 86.47); cf. Heraeus (1902) 92 on *possecus*. But in the list of *in-* + adverb compounds at TLL 7.1.799.39ff., none is negating. In this text, cf. F.69.

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L.28), ‘there is no form *cumus*, but only *cumulus*, which is read above’, presumably earlier in the text that is being glossed, for it does not in fact occur previously in these notes. Of course the notes may not be complete in our manuscript, and a malign fate could have nullified the work’s one cross-reference; but just below we have *Minturnae: hic civitas, alibi paludes, id est fontes* (Ib.26, L.33), ‘here it means a city, elsewhere it refers to swamps, that is springs’. ‘Here’ can only mean ‘here in our text’;¹¹ if the note had originated in a glossary it would have said ‘*Minturnae modo / vel* means a city, *modo / vel* swamps’. And how does the glossator know that ‘here it means a city’? Presumably from the context, which was therefore not just a random list of words.

So the glossary has two levels: a text or texts, no longer surviving (for nothing extant fits), represented by the lemmata; and a commentator or glossator, whose date, place and language may be quite different from those of the text.

But was it not obvious from the start that such a jumbled list of lemmata could only be drawn from an independent text? Yes and no. The characteristic symptom of glosses drawn from a text (and we have many collections of them) is that they include lemmata in oblique forms, as they occurred in the text, like *Ab oris* or *Conticuere*; lemmata which indeed often survived even when such word-lists were fed into alphabetical dictionaries meant for general reference. Here there are some lemmata of this kind, but so few and mysterious that they only underline a paradox: namely that, on the one hand, we find a number of features – the disordered mixture of lemmata, the elliptical manner of many of the notes and some explicit statements – which seem to suggest glosses at a stage still close to exposition of a text; but, on the other hand, virtually all the nouns are in the nominative, virtually all the verbs in the first or third person singular present. Either it was a very strange text, or the commentator’s aim was

¹¹ For instance, *Hic ... alibi ...* contrasting meaning, usage or prosody is found twenty-six times in DServ. (not in Servius). Among glossaries, *hic* (without alternative) is found repeatedly in the unpublished Sang. 908, 75–137 (see *CGL* 1 307), an A-order heavily Virgilian glossary palimpsested s.viii over uncial s.vi–vii copies of Christian texts (so much for monks scrubbing out the classics).

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not to help you read it, but to draw out and elaborate linguistic and other information from it; or indeed both.

(3) *Notae*

Back to square one, namely the title of the text: *Expositio Notarum*. A *nota* in Latin is an abbreviation or sign, anything from C standing for Caius or M for 1,000, to the highly complicated system of squiggles that made up Roman shorthand, known as Tironian Notes (because Cicero's secretary Tiro was reputed to have invented them). Traces of their actual use in antiquity are scarce, unsurprisingly since, then as now, shorthand was mostly used for rough drafts.¹² But they are found on documents from the seventh century onwards, and from the Carolingian period we have a few texts completely written in this shorthand, while quite often, in literary as well as documentary manuscripts of this time, one meets annotations wholly or partly written in this way.¹³ This is a science quite beyond my ken; our manuscript mercifully has no such signs, so initially I assumed that what the title meant was a 'setting out', or transcription into longhand, of annotations originally written in shorthand round a text. But when, in chasing particularly strange lemmata, like *plausile* or indeed *intolerat* and *disdonat*, I found myself rather often referred to 'Not.Tir.', I realised that I had better grit my teeth and have a look at these.

(4) *CNT*

Most of what we know about Roman shorthand, apart from a paragraph in Isidore (*Etym.* 1.22) which modern scholarship has treated with remarkable seriousness,¹⁴ depends on a collection of signs quite widely diffused in the Carolingian period (over sixteen manuscripts survive), and edited in 1893 by Wilhelm

¹² See Vindol. 122–5.

¹³ A list is given by M. Hellmann, *Tironische Noten in der Karolingerzeit* (Hannover, 2000), 219–64, updated on his website martinellus.de.

¹⁴ Admittedly because it is thought to derive from Suetonius; cf. n.43.

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Schmitz under the title *Commentarii Notarum Tironianarum*.¹⁵ This collection (hereafter *CNT*) consists of 120 *tabulae* like Plate 11, with various appendages in different manuscripts. It is a list of words, some 13,000 of them altogether, each with its *nota*. One can see two principles of order, loosely applied. Firstly, whatever can be analysed as a basic element in a word, often but not necessarily etymological (e.g. on Plate 11, 11–14 *dives*, *divitiarum*, *divinus*, *praedivinat*, or from 56 *pendit* down to the end of the column); this was most important, because the actual shorthand signs are usually built on it. Secondly, and often of course in conflict with the first, there is a rough grouping of words by topics, like family and kinship, political offices, agriculture, waterways and shipping etc.; so Plate 11 is mostly to do with money and the spending of it, and it shows the relationship between the *Expositio* and the *CNT* at its closest: all the items underlined on Plate 11 recur as lemmata in the *Expositio*.¹⁶

But the kind and extent of relation between the two texts can best be shown by a sample in this form (the table below gives (a) reference in the *Expositio*, (b) reference (*Tabula* + item number) in *CNT* if any, (c) lemma + gloss in the *Expositio*):

(a)	(b)	(c)
E.69	41.41	Salarium quod datur magistris sive medicis quasi cibaria publica
F.1	40.91	Nummularius et nummarius unum est, sed nummularius diminutivum est
F.2	41.2	Peculatus furtum publicum est; de peculatu de furto publico
F.3	41.20	Pollens potens de greco tractum est
F.4	41.21	Opulens ab opibus, id est opibus plenus
F.5	41.26	Lucretius nomen est

¹⁵ Leipzig, 1893 (repr. Osnabruck, 1968), and now blessedly online, searchable and much easier to use. The work was very usefully reviewed by G. Gundermann in *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* 15 (1895), 617–22, 652–5; Schmitz's *Beiträge zur lateinischen Sprach- und Literaturkunde* (Leipzig, 1877) is an essential companion to his edition.

¹⁶ Schmitz's edition largely (and understandably) reproduces a single MS (s.viii/ix): early, but often less correct in its word equivalents.

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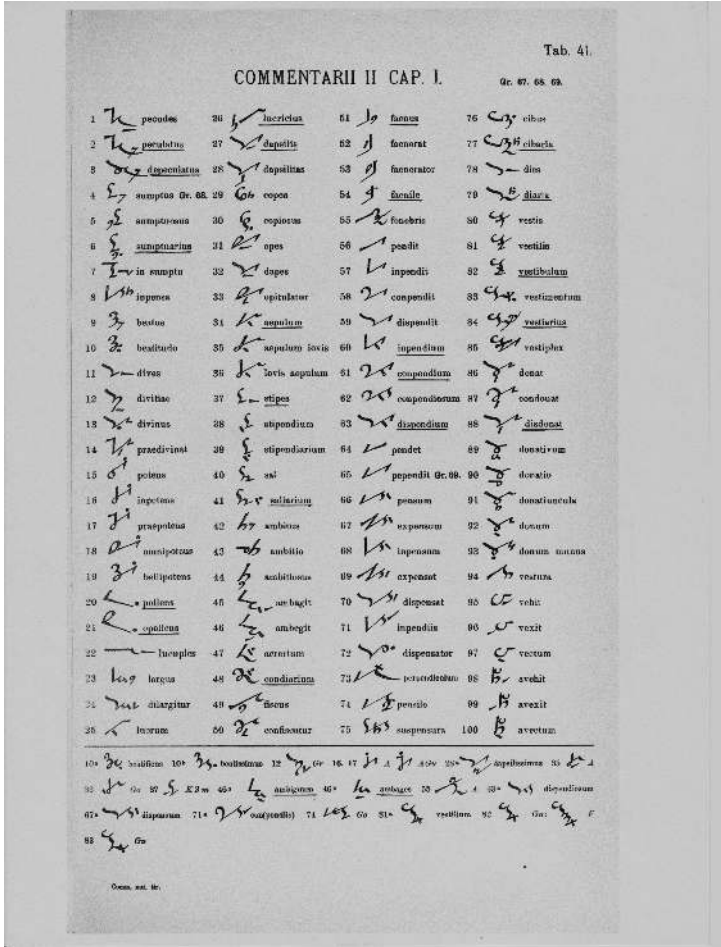


PLATE II W. Schmitz *Commentarii Notarum Tironianarum*,
 Tabula 41 (edited)

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F.6	41.27	Dapsilis a dapibus, qui satis erogat ad escas
F.7	41.34	Epulum a genere neutro numeri tantum singularis est, epulae a genere feminino numeri tantum pluralis est, epula autem non facit, nec in neutro plurali nec in feminino singulari
F.8	–	Epulaticius qui epulis dat operam
F.9	–	Gaza genere feminino, lingua Persarum divitiae significantur
F.10	41.46a	Hoc ambiguum et haec ambigua est hoc dubium et haec dubia, subaudis ut ‘negotia’
F.11	–	Ambiguitas ipsa res est, sicut dubitatio
F.12	41.46b	Ambages circuitus ab ambiendo vel circum-eundo
F.13	–	Obaeratus quasi circumfusus pecunia
F.14	–	Talentum , dragma et tedragma genera sunt pecuniarii ponderis
F.15	–	Kalendarium subaudis aliquid, ut munus quod datur vel fit per Kalendas
F.16	41.6	Sumptuarius qui erogat sumptus, praerogator
F.17	41.77, 79	Cibaria a cibo dicitur generaliter; diaria a cibo sed unius diei; cibaria mensis < demensa >, una pars est orationis, ut hoc demensum et haec demensa; et cibaria anni annona quam accepit miles
F.18	41.84	Vestiarius qui vestibus praeest
F.19	–	Vestiarium dicitur erogatio vestis quam accepit miles
F.20	41.48	Congiarium erogatio vini quod accepit miles per congios
F.21	41.60	Impendium erogatio
F.22	41.61	Compendium lucrum
F.23	41.63	Dispendium damnum
F.24	44.64	Diurnum unius diei