

LISTY
FILOLOGICKÉ
FOLIA
PHILOGICA

138/2015/1–2

SOME REMARKS ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE *ITINERARIUM ANTONINI PLACENTINI*

GIOVANBATTISTA GALDI (Ghent)

1. Introduction

This paper is concerned with palaeographical and linguistic issues related to the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini*, the anonymous account of a pilgrim to the Holy Land.¹ Very little is known about this work and its composition. The author has been identified for a long time with Antoninus, martyr of Placentia, or more simply with an Antoninus of Placentia, but the evidence is not compelling. Although the exact chronology both of the travel and of the text are uncertain, scholars tend to date it between 560 and 570 AD.² The work has attracted notice among

¹ The author is greatly indebted to James Noel Adams who gave him access to part of his book “*Informal*” *Latin: An Anthology of Texts with Commentary, 200 BC – AD 900* while it was still in preparation.

² For a general introduction to the text, see CELESTINA MILANI, *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini. Un viaggio in Terra Santa del 560–570 d.C.*, Milano 1977, pp. 31ff., and LUDOVICUS BELLANGER, *In Antonini Placentini itinerarium grammatica disquisitione*, Paris 1902, pp. 13ff. On the possibility of assigning the place of origin of the text on linguistic evidence, see JAMES NOEL ADAMS, *Regional diversification and the Latin language*, Cambridge 2007, p. 513. He comes to the conclusion that “it is possible that this text is of Italian provenance, but the evidence is not decisive”. The work enjoyed some popularity in later literature. Gregory of Tours, for instance, used it as a source in his *Historia Francorum* (perhaps in other works too) and close textual parallels emerge in the later *Hodoeporicon* of Saint Willibald and the *De locis sanctis* of Peter the Diacon. See CELESTINA MILANI, *Itinerarium*, pp. 41–44.

linguists and philologists for its language. Apart from the obvious influence of Christian Latin, especially in vocabulary,³ the text is characterized by a high frequency of sub-standard and late features,⁴ such as the spread use of the present participle (in nominative and ablative case), which occasionally seems to replace finite verbal forms.

The discussion will be divided into two main sections. The first one will be devoted to the transmission of the text and, more specifically, to the first manuscript family. The second one will investigate linguistic questions, concentrating on two ‘deviations’ of the first declension (the accusative sing. *-a* and the nominative plur. *-as*) and their significance in connection with the late development of the language.

2. The text of the *Itinerarium*

As it is often the case with late Latin sources, the degree of linguistic correctness of the *Itinerarium* varies consistently according to the manuscripts that one chooses to follow.⁵ The *stemma codicum* of the work has

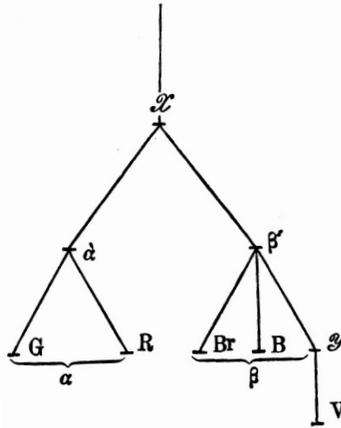
³ See PHILIP BURTON, *Christian Latin*, in: *A Companion to the Latin Language*, (ed.) JAMES CLACKSON, Malden – Oxford 2011, pp. 485–501 (particularly, pp. 498–500).

⁴ See for instance CARMEN ARIAS ABELLÁN, *Itinerarios Latinos a Jerusalén y al Oriente Cristiano*, Sevilla 2000, pp. 218f.: “La lectura más detenida del texto nos pone a la vista todo un elenco de hechos que [...] nos permiten hablar de él no ya como documento con vulgarismos sino como documento plenamente vulgar.” A similar view is found in LUDOVICUS BELLANGER, *In Antonini Placentini itinerarium* (n. 2), p. 27: “Haud scio, an ullus sexti saeculi scriptor luculentius exemplum sit sermonis tabescentis et rusticitatem olentis cum quibusdam loquendi modis Christianorum societati praesertim accommodatis.” Gildemeister assumed that the author took some notes (“Tagebuchnotizen”) during his travel, which he then inserted, often without changes, in the final account. See ANTONINUS JOHANN GILDEMEISTER, *Antonini Placentini Itinerarium im unentstellten Text mit deutscher Übersetzung*, Berlin 1889, p. XIX.

⁵ A similar problem emerges for instance in the works of Chiron, Benedict of Nursia, Jordanes and Gregory of Tours. See JAMES NOEL ADAMS, *Pelagonius and Latin Veterinary Terminology in the Roman Empire*, Leiden – New York – Köln, 1994, pp. 7f., n. 36; GERD HAVERLING, *On Variation in Syntax and Morphology in Late Latin Texts*, in: *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif VIII. Actes du VIII^e Colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif*, (ed.) ROGER WRIGHT, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2008, pp. 351–360, and GIOVANBATTISTA GALDI, *Syntaktische Untersuchungen zu den Romana des Jordanes*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2013, pp. 12–18 with further references.

long been established by Gildemeister.⁶ He distinguishes two main families, α and β , whose archetype, x , was already a copy of the original. Below, we reproduce the schema proposed by Geyer, which directly bases on Gildemeister's intuition:⁷

Original text



This schema has been unanimously accepted by later scholars, although Milani suggested a much more accurate distinction within the second family.⁸ Admittedly, the best extant testimonies are the *Sangallensis* 133, G (8th/9th cent.) the *Rhenaugiensis* (today *Turicensis*) 73, R (9th cent.), namely the only two codices of the first family, and the *Bru-xelliensis* 2922, Br (9th cent.).⁹ The text of α , normally referred to as ‘recensio prior’, abounds in non-standard linguistic features, whereas β , or ‘recensio altera’, is written in a much more correct Latin. The differ-

⁶ JOHANN GILDEMEISTER, *Antonini* (n. 4), pp. IIIff.

⁷ See PAULUS GEYER, *Kritische und sprachliche Erläuterungen zu Antonini Placentini Itinerarium*, Augsburg 1892, p. V. Cf. also CELESTINA MILANI, *Itinerarium* (n. 2), pp. 59ff.

⁸ CELESTINA MILANI, *Itinerarium* (n. 2), p. 68. She also recognizes the existence of a ‘recensio breviata’ (pp. 57f. and 69), which though has no relevance for the reconstruction of the text for it draws on a manuscript of the second family.

⁹ See PAULUS GEYER, *Itinera Hierosolymitana saeculi IIII–VIII*, Pragae – Vin-dobonae – Lipsiae 1898, pp. XVIIff.

ences between the two families are so deep, that it is common usage to specify the tree of reference when quoting the text (rec. A or rec. B). See the following instances:¹⁰

(1) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 11,1

G *tenui autem theophanie in Iordane, ubi talis fiunt mirabilia in illa nocte in loco, ubi baptizatus est Dominus*

R *tenui autem theofaniam in Iordane, ubi talia fiebant miracula in illa nocte in loco, ubi baptizatus est Dominus*

β *tenuimus theophania iuxta Iordanem, et ibi fiunt mirabilia, ubi baptizatus est Dominus, in ipsa nocte*

(2) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 28,3

G *suauitudo ad bibendum innarrabiles, dicens eo quod sancta Maria fugiens in Egyptum in ipso loco sedit et sitiuit, et sic egressa esset ipsa aqua*

R *suauitudo ad bibendum innarrabilis, dicitur eo quod sancta Maria fugiens in Aegyptum in ipso loco sedit et sitiuit, et sic egressam ipsam aquam*

β *et est suavis ad potandum. et dicunt quod fugiens beata Maria in Aegyptum sederit ibi cum puero et sitiens orauit, et continuo ipsa aqua emanauit*

Scholars agree that the discrepancies between the two families are due to a later reworking of β in accordance with the well-known precepts of the Carolingian reform.¹¹ Therefore, barring a few cases, the ‘recensio prior’ is considered much closer to the original. It is though nearly impossible to reconstruct its archetype because G and R usually diverge from each other and one barely finds a sentence transmitted in exactly the same way by the two codices (see also the passages above).¹² Most of the differences involve a number of phonological and morpho-syn-

¹⁰ The text is quoted according to the edition of CELESTINA MILANI, *Itinerarium* (n. 2) and β refers to the ‘recensio altera’ as printed in this edition.

¹¹ See particularly CELESTINA MILANI, *Un esempio di normalizzazione linguistica: la ‘recensio altera’ dell’Itinerarium Antonini Placentini*, in: *Scritti in onore di Salvatore Pugliatti*, V, Milano 1978, pp. 678–703.

¹² In her latest edition of the work, CELESTINA MILANI, *Itinerarium* (n. 2), did not even attempt to establish the archetype of G and R but printed their text separately, next to β.

tactical features that are paralleled throughout the late period, such as the confusion *ae/e*, the palatalization of /t/ before front vowel, the drop or hypercorrect use of *h-* or *-m* and the alternation between accusative and ablative, e.g.:

- (3) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 5,4 G *gracia mulierum Aebraeis*, R *gratia mulierum Hebreis*
 (4) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 22,12 G *uidi testa ... inclausa in locello aurum*, R *uidi testam ... inclausam in lucello aureo*

One also meets with in divergences at a deeper level of the language, such as the variation between present participle and present indicative, singular and plural, indicative and subjunctive, as in the following passages:

- (5) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 37,5 G *et ascendimus in monte ... et uenimus ad locum*, R *et ascendi in montem ... et uenientes ad locum*
 (6) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 15,2 G *exeuntes porta de Hierico, ab orientem contra occidentem uenientes*, R *exeuntes portas de Hierico, ab oriente contra occidentem ueniens*
 (7) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 15,3 G *eo quod minuatur*, R *eo quod minuetur*

Particularly striking are instances as (8), where an alternation of both tense (present / future) and lexicon (*non / ne*, *spuo / sputo*, *et / te*) is found:

- (8) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 8,6 G *non sputis, et si sputaueris, scandalum generas*, R *ne spues te, si spuieris scandalum generas*

Such examples show how crucial is the choice of the manuscript in a linguistic investigation of the text.

In far most of the cases, R tends to adhere to the classical canons, whereas G displays non-standard forms or constructions, as in (3), (4) and (6). The key question is thus whether the original text is better preserved in G or in R. Specifically, given the anteriority of the former, one can assume either that G retains the correct reading, which later underwent a (partial) regularization in R, or, conversely, that R reproduces the text of the archetype, earlier ‘vulgarised’ in G. Unfortunately, it is nearly impossible to assess which of the two solutions is to be followed, also

because, even assuming that one manuscript is closer to the original, it is highly unlikely that it systematically transcribes the original reading. However, two relevant arguments can be advanced in support of a later standardization of R.

First, whereas the scribe of G is unknown, R was transcribed by Reginbert, who held the office of librarian of Reichenau for twenty-five years and represents one of the most prominent figures of the Carolingian period.¹³ It is hence likely that if he often changed the Latin of the source text in agreement with the standard orthographical and grammatical rules.

Second, in a number of passages Reginbert did not understand or recognise the text he was copying and deliberately altered it according to ‘good Latin’, as in the following passages:

(9) *Itin. Ant. Plac. 2,2 G cenaculus ille, qui factus fuerat Heliae, R caena cuius illa, quae facta fuerat Heliae, β (2a.3) caenaculum illud, quod factum fuerat Heliae*

(10) *Itin. Ant. Plac. 47,4 G uenimus in ciuitate Suras, R uenimus ciuitatem foras, β uenimus in ciuitatem Suran*

In (9), R misunderstood the term *caenaculus* (which β corrected to *caenaculum*) and reanalysed it as *caena cuius*. This entails a morphological switch of the three masculine forms *ille qui factus* in the corresponding feminines. Since this change in gender is only found in R, it is very likely to result from a correction of its scribe. Similarly, in (10), due to the confusion between <f> and <s>, the toponym *Suras* (*Suran* in β) is read as *furas* and consequently adapted to *foras* (‘forth, out’), based on standard orthography (this form, too is only attested in R).

¹³ Cf. MATTHIAS MARTIN TISCHLER, *Reginbert-Handschriften, mit einem Neufund in Kloster Einsiedeln*, in: *Scriptorium* 50, 1996, p. 76: “Zu den interessantesten Schreiberpersönlichkeiten der karolingischen Zeit zählt zweifellos der Reichenauer Schreiber, Skriptoriumsleiter, Bibliothekar und Lehrer Reginbert, unter dem die Schreibschule und Büchersammlung des Bodenseeklosters während des ‘Goldenen Zeitalters’ ihren ersten Aufschwung erlebten.” On the personality and importance of Reginbert within the Carolingian reform, see also FELIX HEINZER, *Klosterreform und mittelalterliche Buchkultur im deutschen Südwesten*, Leiden – Boston 2008, pp. 17 to 31, and KARL PREISENDANZ, *Reginbert von der Reichenau. Aus Bibliothek und Skrip-*

On the other hand, one barely meets with in certain instances of G ‘vulgarising’ the text. An interesting case is found at (11):

- (11) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 29,2 G in ipso os speluce, R in ipsore spelunce,
 β in ipso ore speluncae

The comparison between the two families clearly shows that the original reading was *in ipso ore*. R misread the text and copied it as *in ipsore*, which makes no sense and cannot hence be regarded as an attempt to regularize the text. G, instead, has *in ipso os*, where the deviating accusative must be a scribal change probably reflecting the late extension of the accusative in the inflectional system.

A further point to consider is that the archetype of G and R contained many abbreviations. This emerges from a number of unexpanded shortenings found in the two manuscripts, as *ciuitem*, *ascentibus*, *Salomis* in (12):

- (12) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 8,6 G *in ciuitatem*, R *in ciuitem*; 16.1 G *ascendentibus nobis*, R ascentibus nobis; 23,2 *secus portico Salomis*,
 R *secus porticum Salomonis*

Furthermore, from time to time some forms are erroneously interpreted as abbreviations and consequently expanded, as *nupnitias*, *basidem* in (13). This circumstance provides a hint that the scribes were ‘expecting’ to find contracted forms in the original:

- (13) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 4,4 G *ad nupnitias fuit Dominus*, R *ad nuptias fuit Dominus*; 25,6 G *neque basidem habit*, R *neque basem habet*

It is hence possible that alternations of the type reported under (5), (6) (*ascendimus / ascendi*, *uenimus / uenientes*, *uenientes / ueniens*) are due to an abbreviation in the archetype that has been differently expanded in the two testimonies.

2. The language of G

This section will focus on the Latin of the *codex Sangallensis 730* (G). The choice of this manuscript results from the fact that it is the oldest preserved testimony of the *Itinerarium* (there are about 200 years between its writing and the composition of the *Itinerarium*). Furthermore, as emerged from the discussion above, given the prominence of the first family with respect to the second, it is likely that the original text is better preserved in G than in R. The discussion will be concerned with two issues, namely (a) the treatment of final *m* in noun declension and the alternation of accusative and ablative after preposition, (b) the use of the morpheme *-as* in place of *-ae* in the nominative plural of first declension nouns. In both cases, we shall discuss statistical figures collected in some tables.

2.1. The treatment of final *m* and the accusative-ablative alternation after preposition

The data concerning the frequency of final *m* and the distribution of accusative and ablative after preposition have been presented in table 1 to 4. The first table refers to noun endings after prepositions that classically govern the accusative case (*ad, ante, circa, inter, per, propter, subtus*). We only reported here the instances in which the ablative occurs in place of the accusative. Table 2 collects the wrong uses of the accusative after prepositions usually followed by the ablative (*a, ex, de, cum, pro*). Table 3 and 4 consider the cases in which an ablative and accusative, respectively, are erroneously used after *in, super* and *sub*. In all tables a distinction is drawn between both singular and plural and, in the second declension, masculine and neuter. In square brackets, the occurrences of the form at issue are related to the global instances of each morpheme and the result is indicated as a percentage outside the brackets. For instance, in the masculine singular of *o*-themes (table 1, column 2) there are 32 instances of a noun following a preposition classically constructed with the accusative, and in 3 of these (namely 9% of 32) the ablative is found. Note that the data presented in the tables take into account each single occurrence of a given form. For example, in a passage like *Itin. Ant. Plac. 47,4 G per qua ciuitate media descendit fluius* two instances of *-a* for *-am* were noted.

TABLE 1
Ablative in place of the accusative after monocasual prepositions
(the percentage bases on the overall occurrences of each case)

| | Singular | Plural |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1st decl. | -a [31/37] 84% | -is [1/11] 9% |
| 2nd decl. (mas.) | -o [3/32] 9% | -is [2/16] 12% |
| 2nd decl. (neu.) | -o [5/28] 18% | -is [0/18] 0% |
| 3rd decl. (mas./fem.) | -e [12/26] 46% | -ibus [1/13] 8% |

TABLE 2
Accusative in place of the ablative after monocasual prepositions

| | Singular | Plural |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1st decl. | -am [0/52] 0% | -as [6/13] 46% |
| 2nd decl. (mas.) | -um [2/29] 7% | -os [2/8] 25% |
| 2nd decl. (neu.) | -um [4/23] 17% | -a [5/5] 100% |
| 3rd decl. (mas./fem.) | -em [7/46] 15% | -es [3/25] 12% |

TABLE 3
Ablative in place of the accusative after *in*, *super*, *sub*

| | Singular | Plural |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1st decl. | -a [36/45] 80% | -is [0/0] — |
| 2nd decl. (mas.) | -o [27/37] 73% | -is [2/2] 100% |
| 2nd decl. (neu.) | -o [6/8] 75% | -is [0/0] — |
| 3rd decl. (mas./fem.) | -e [31/42] 74% | -ibus [1/3] 33% |

TABLE 4
Accusative in place of the ablative after *in*, *super*, *sub*

| | Singular | Plural |
|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1st decl. | -am [1/95] 1% | -as [6/12] 50% |
| 2nd decl. (mas.) | -um [10/81] 12% | -os [2/22] 9% |
| 2nd decl. (neu.) | -um [5/42] 12% | -a [5/5] 100% |
| 3rd decl. (mas./fem.) | -em [8/49] 16% | -es [3/14] 21% |

As a preliminary, it has to be noted that the global figures in the plural are much lower than in the singular. Therefore, even one or two deviations may result in high percentages of error (see for instance *-ibus* for *-es* in table 3, column 3). Remarkable is however the consistently high percentage of *-as* and *-a* in table 2 and 4, on which we shall return later. As for the singular, the average percentage of error is considerably high in table 1 and 3, while in 2 and 4 it does not even reach 20%. This has to do with the fact that in manuscripts of late sources the drop of final *m* is much more frequent than its hypercorrect uses. However, the data of table 3, which involve directional expressions, are probably to be given a syntactical explanation, for they confirm the general late trend to replace the notion “whither” (classically expressed by the accusative) through “where” (normally associated with the ablative).¹⁴

Table 5 to 9 compare the figures above with those presented by Löfstedt in his monograph on Langobardic laws.¹⁵ In the treatment of final *m*, Löfstedt confines himself to the oldest codex of the Rothari’s edict (Sangallensis 730, second half of the 7th century). For our purposes, the analysis of this manuscript is particularly interesting because it was written a few decades after the *Itinerarium* (643 AD) and (assuming that the *Itinerarium* was written in Placentia) approximately in the same geographical area (Pavia). Figures about the plural are only given in table 6, because in the other cases Löfstedt restricts his discussion to the singular.

¹⁴ See GIOVANBATTISTA GALDI, *Syntaktische Untersuchungen* (n. 5), pp. 137f. with further literature.

¹⁵ BENGT LÖFSTEDT, *Studien über die Sprache der Langobardischen Gesetze. Beiträge zur frühmittelalterlichen Latinität*, Stockholm – Göteborg – Uppsala 1961, pp. 226f. and 235.

TABLE 5
Ablative in place of the accusative after monocasual
prepositions (singular)

| | Sang. 730 | Codex G |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1st decl. | -a [22/32] 69% | -a [31/37] 84% |
| 2nd decl. (mas.) | -o [16/32] 50% | -o [3/32] 9% |
| 2nd decl. (neu.) | -o [3/27] 11% | -o [5/28] 18% |
| 3rd decl. (mas./fem.) | -e [8/61] 13% | -e [12/26] 46% |

TABLE 6
Accusative in place of the ablative after monocasual prepositions
(singular and plural)

| | Singular | | Plural | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | Sang. 730 | Codex G | Sang. 730 | Codex G |
| 1st decl. | -am [6/106] 5% | -am [0/52] 0% | -as [17/29] 58% | -as [6/13] 46% |
| 2nd decl. (mas.) | -um [7/84] 8% | -um [2/29] 7% | -os [26/40] 65% | -os [2/8] 25% |
| 2nd decl. (neu.) | -um 29/65] 44% | -um [4/23] 17% | -a [8/9] 89% | -a [5/5] 100% |
| 3rd decl. (mas./fem.) | -em [19/87] 22% | -em [7/46] 15% | -es [41/50] 82% | -es [3/25] 12% |

TABLE 7
Ablative in place of the accusative after *in* (singular)

| | Sang. 730 | Codex G |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1st decl. | -a [10/12] 83% | -a [33/39] 85% |
| 2nd decl. (mas.) | -o [4/8] 50% | -o [27/35] 77% |
| 2nd decl. (neu.) | -o [3/20] 15% | -o [6/8] 75% |
| 3rd decl. (mas./fem.) | -e [10/19] 52% | -e [31/42] 74% |

TABLE 8
Accusative in place of the ablative after *in* (singular)

| | Sang. 730 | Codex G |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1st decl. | -am [2/30] 6% | -am [1/91] 1% |
| 2nd decl. (mas.) | -um [2/24] 8% | -um [10/81] 12% |
| 2nd decl. (neu.) | -um [25/36] 69% | -um [4/41] 10% |
| 3rd decl. (mas./fem.) | -em [11/20] 55% | -em [8/48] 17% |

The comparison between the two manuscripts reveals significant differences. G exhibits a stronger tendency to replace the accusative with the ablative after prepositions, especially *in* (the middle frequency is here 77% as against 50% of the Sang. 730). Furthermore, in the Rothari's edict the accusative of the neuter *-um* is much more frequently found in place of the ablative (table 6, 8, column 2, 3). This phenomenon has no connection with spoken language but, as observed by Löfstedt, is probably a hypercorrection reflecting the will of the scribe to preserve, at a purely graphic level, a distinction between neuter and masculine names.¹⁶ Conversely, in the *Itinerarium* the confusion between the two genders is fairly common, whereby usually it is the neuter that changes to masculine (see also section 2.2). A look at the plural (table 6) confirms in both texts the spread use of *-as* for *-is* in the feminine and *-a* for *-is* in the neuter (see also table 2). A further common feature is the very frequent use of *-a* for *-am* in the singular (table 5, 7). The percentages are remarkably high in G (84% and 85%, respectively). On the contrary, the use of *-am* for *-a* (table 6, 8) is in both manuscripts nearly non-existent (G only has one instance after *in*). The tendency emerging from these figures is confirmed by a morphematic analysis of the accusative object in the singular (table 9 below).

¹⁶ See BENGT LÖFSTEDT, *Studien* (n. 15), pp. 229–231.

TABLE 9
Accusative object in the singular

| | | |
|-----------|---------------|----------------|
| | -am | -a |
| Sang. 730 | [92/177] 52% | [85/177] 48% |
| Codex G | [12/36] 33% | [24/36] 67% |
| | | |
| | -um (mas.) | -o (mas.) |
| Sang. 730 | [102/125] 81% | [23/125] 19% |
| Codex G | [23/28] 82% | [5/28] 18% |
| | | |
| | -um (neu.) | -o (neu.) |
| Sang. 730 | [24/209] 95% | [1/25] 5% |
| Codex G | [24/25] 96% | [1/25] 4% |
| | | |
| | -em | -e (mas./fem.) |
| Löfstedt | [146/165] 87% | [19/165] 13% |
| Codex G | [24/27] 89% | [5/28] 11% |

In the second and third declension, the percentages of error are almost identical in the two codices. In the first declension, instead, *-a* is considerably more common in G. Two in three accusative objects exhibit here the loss of *-m*. The large spread of *-a* for *-am* as compared to *-o/-u* for *-um* and *-e* for *-em* is already documented in Pompeii and finds numerous parallels in substandard and late sources.¹⁷ This phenomenon can be put down to two not mutually exclusive causes. For one thing, *-a* was influenced, both at the graphic and spoken level, by the large use of *-a* in

¹⁷ For an overview, see JAMES NOEL ADAMS, *The Text and Language of a Vulgar Latin Chronicle (Anonymus Valesianus II)*, London 1976, pp. 51ff., and BENGT LÖFSTEDT, *Studien* (n. 15), pp. 227f. and n.1, 232.

place of *-is* in the plural of neuters. Table 2, 4 and 6 show that this phenomenon is very common in our two manuscripts, and in G *-a* has entirely replaced *-is*. For another, in all western Romance languages the ending *-a* represents the *Universalkasus* in the singular of feminine names, whereas in the second and third declension a distinction is mostly kept between a ‘casus rectus’ and a ‘casus obliquus’. It is hence likely that the wide extension of *-a* reflects a morphological feature of spoken language.

If we now turn to R, the other codex of the first family, we notice that it exhibits the regular *-am* in exactly one third of the instances of *-a* in G. How are these figures to be interpreted? Are we dealing with a vulgarisation of G, or has R regularized the text? In section 2 we saw that although neither of the two manuscripts is likely to reproduce the archetype faithfully, there is reason to think that the text of G is closer to the original. This view also holds in connection with the use of *-a* for *-am*, and this for several reasons. First, there are, as seen, numerous parallels of the morpheme in both literary and non-literary coeval sources. This hints at a large diffusion of *-a* in the late period. Second, in 20% of the instances of *-a* for *-am*, the reading of G is confirmed by the Bruxellensis (Br), best codex of the second family, e.g.:

- (14) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 47,4 G *per qua ciuitate media*, Br *per qua media ciuitate, R per quam ciuitatem mediam*

These passages are of special interest, because the deviation must go back to the common archetype of the two families. Third, a couple of instances in which G modifies its source text give us relevant hints:

- (15) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 6,1 G *mons exiuit in medio campestre, terram uiuam tenens in circuitu milia sex*, R *monis (sic!) exiuit in medio campestri, terra uiua, tenens circuitum milia sex*, β *mons exiit in medio campestri, terra uiua, tenens circuitum milia sex*
- (16) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 44,1 G *est modo eclaesia, cuius unam regiam reclusit*, R *est modo basilica, cuius una regia se clausit*, β *est modo ecclesia, cuius una porta se clausit*
- (17) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 10,2 G *est ibi fons, aquam abens dulcissimam, quae pro castico bibitur*, R *et ibi fons, aqua dulcissima, quae pro catarticum bibitur*, β *est dulcissimus aquae fons, quae bibitur pro catarcio*

In (15) R and the ‘recensio altera’ read *mons exiuit / exurgit in medio campestri, terra uiua, tenens circuitum milia sex*: ‘the mountain came out / rose up in the middle of the plain; (it is) a good land, which extends six miles round the foot of it’. In G *terra uiua* (presumably) becomes the object of *tenens* and *circuitum* turns into a prepositional phrase (*in circuitu*): ‘the mountain came out in the middle of the plain, keeping a good land (soil) for six miles round the foot of it’. These changes do not find parallels in other manuscripts and can thus only be ascribed to the writer of G. Interestingly, the syntactic reinterpretation of *terra uiua* as object of *tenens* entails the addition of the regular accusative mark *-m*. Comparable is the case of (16) and (17). The reading of R, *una regia se clausit* (‘one of the main doors was closed’) and *ibi fons, aqua dulcissima* (‘there is a fountain, the water is very sweet’) is confirmed by the second family, which though has *porta* and *aquae fons* in place of *regia* and *aqua dulcissima*, respectively. G misreads the archetype and changes *se clausit* in *reclusit*, adding *abens* after *aquam*. Consequently, the nominatives *una regia* and *aqua dulcissima* are turned into regular accusatives (‘he/it closed one of the main doors’, ‘a fountain having very sweet water’). These and analogous instances provide us clear-cut evidence that the scribe of G knew the regular accusative ending *-am* and was able to use it properly when changing the text. There is hence no compelling reason for assuming that he so frequently dropped it when he faithfully transcribed its archetype.

In the light of this evidence, one can be confident that in most of the cases of *-a* for *-am* G preserves the form of the archetype, while R normalizes, as in other matters, according to standard rules.

2.2 The nominative plurals in *-as*

The use of *-as* for *-ae* in the nominative plural of the first declension represents a characteristic feature of G. The manuscript displays 21 instances, as against 39 of *-ae*. Furthermore, there are in our view two very likely occurrences ‘hidden’ by the loss of *-s*:

- (18) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 11,3 G *Gallo quarto aut quinto fiunt matutina. completo matutinas eqs.* R *fiunt matutini. completo matutino si eqs., β fiunt uigiliae. completis matutinis eqs.*

- (19) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 12,1 G *spelunca, in qua cellola sunt septem uirgines que ibi infantole mittuntur*, R *in qua sunt cellule septem, ubi infantuli mittuntur*, β *in qua sunt cellulae VII cum septem puellis, quae ibi infantulae mittuntur*

In (18) Geyer¹⁸ edits *fiunt matutinas*, and he is probably right. In view of the frequent confusion between <s> and <c> in manuscripts, we may assume the loss of -s in *matutinas* due to a sort of haplography (*matutina completo*). More difficult is (19), also because part of the text (*uirgines que*) is not extant in R. Geyer changes the text in a radical way: *in qua sunt cellulae cum septem uirgines*. This solution appears very dubious also because it bases on a sort of compromise between the reading of G *sunt septem uirgines* and that of β *sunt cellulae VII cum septem puellis*. We believe that the original reading is to be found in G alone. Assuming the loss of -s in *cellola* (also here as a result of haplography) and the use of *que* as an enclitic, the text would read: *spelunca, in qua cellola<s> sunt septem, uirginesque ibi infantole mittuntur* ('a cave, in which there are seven cells and maids are sent there since their youngest age').¹⁹

The debate on the origin and use of -as is notoriously very long.²⁰ The ending is attested since the 2nd cent. BC in both literary and non-literary sources (Cato, Pomponius, curse tablets).²¹ During the late Empire, its use increases remarkably. Löfstedt, for instance, referring to the late extension of the accusative to the detriment of the nominative, observes: "[Es] scheint ... in den meisten Fällen besonders die Endung -as,

¹⁸ PAULUS GEYER, *Itinera* (n. 9), p. 167.

¹⁹ The shift from the hypotactic (relative) syntax to the paratactic one (*in qua ... sunt ... uirginesque ibi*) finds several parallels in the language. See for instance JOHANN BAPTIST HOFMANN – ANTON SZANTYR, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, München 1972, p. 466. For the use of *ubi* with the function of *quo*, see JOHANN BAPTIST HOFMANN – ANTON SZANTYR, *Lateinische Syntax*, p. 277.

²⁰ For an overview on the morpheme and the possible causes of its origin, see JAMES NOEL ADAMS, *Social Variation and the Latin Language*, Cambridge 2013, pp. 251f., and GIOVANBATTISTA GALDI, *Again on as-nominatives: A New Approach to the Problem*, in: *Variation and Change in Greek and Latin*, (eds.) MARTTI LEIWO – HILLA HALLA-AHO – MARJA VIERROS, Helsinki 2012, pp. 139–152, with further references.

²¹ Cf. GIOVANBATTISTA GALDI, *Again on as-nominatives* (n. 20), p. 144, and JAMES NOEL ADAMS, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, Cambridge 2003, pp. 118f. with literature.

also der Typus filias, zu dominieren.”²² A quite systematic collection of the occurrences of *-as* in late literary sources has recently been made by Rovai.²³ He discusses the use of the morpheme in eight texts. According to his figures, the *Itinerarium* exhibits the third highest frequency of *-as* after the *Lex Curiensis* and the *De observatione ciborum*.²⁴ Rovai gives a semantic-syntactic explanation of the ending, which he includes within the more general question of the late use of the accusative in place of the nominative. According to his data, the latter phenomenon is generally found (independently from the inflectional class) with grammatical subjects that either display a (very) low level of agentivity (the predicate is thus *esse*, an anticausative, an intransitive verb with inactive or inagentive subject, a verb of movement or a passive),²⁵ or are inanimate. Rovai claims that the reason why *-as* in place of *-ae* is considerably more spread than *-os* for *-i* (or *-um* for *-us*) lies in the fact that *-as* tends to be used with inanimate subjects, which were, in the second declension, already ‘lexicalized’ by the neuters. In other words, since the semantic opposition ‘animacy vs inanimacy’ was already morphologically codified, in the second declension, by the distinction ‘masculines vs neuters’, there was no real need to use the accusative in place of the nominative as a marker of inanimacy.²⁶

This view does not find support from our analysis. Although semantic or syntactic factors may have occasionally fostered the choice of *-as*, its use must be put down in the first instance to morphological grounds. Table 10 compares the occurrences of *-ae* and *-as* in codex G. The first row comprises the instances with animated subjects. Row 2 to 5 refer to the predicate typologies identified by Rovai. Row 6 includes predicates with a clearly agentive force.

²² EINAR LÖFSTEDT, *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins. Zweiter Teil*, Lund 1933, p. 330. See also DAG NORBERG, *Beiträge zur spätlateinischen Syntax*, Uppsala 1944, p. 27.

²³ FRANCESCO ROVAI, *L'estensione dell'accusativo in latino tardo e medievale*, in: *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 90, 2005, pp. 54–87, particularly pp. 71ff.

²⁴ See his tables at p. 73. Note that Rovai's figures are considerably lower than ours (he counts nine instances in the *Itinerarium*) because he does not consider separately each single occurrence of *-as*. In addition, his analysis bases on the text of Geyer, who deletes some instances of the morpheme transmitted in G.

²⁵ For an explanation of these categories, see FRANCESCO ROVAI, *L'estensione dell'accusativo* (n. 23), pp. 59ff. with literature.

²⁶ See FRANCESCO ROVAI, *L'estensione dell'accusativo* (n. 23), pp. 75f.

TABLE 10
Nominative plural of the first declension

| | -ae [39/60] 65% | -as [21/60] 35% |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1 animated subjects | 10 | 2 |
| 2 esse | 18 | 11 |
| 3 fieri | 5 | — |
| 4 intransitives with inactive or inagentive subject | 4 | 5 |
| 5 passives | 12 | 3 |
| 6 predicates with agentive force | 0 | 2 |

Two main results emerge from these data. On the one hand, *-as*, as opposed to *-ae*, is very rarely found with animated subjects (raw 1), which is in agreement with Rovai's findings. The only two exceptions are given below:

(18) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 40,6 G *octoginta condomas militantes in puplico cum uxoribus suis* (R *octingentas condomas militantes in opilium cum uxoribus suis*)

(19) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 43,3 G *ciuitates, quas dicunt filias Loth fabricassent*²⁷ (R *ciuitates, quas dicunt filiarum Loth*)

On the other hand, the typology of the predicate tells us little or nothing about the choice of either morpheme. They are both generally found with low agentivity verbs, and interestingly enough there are no instances of *-ae* within a purely agentive construction (raw 6), as against two of *-as* (see [18] and [19]). Remarkable is also the strong predominance of *-ae* over *-as* with passive verbs, which semantically exhibit the

²⁷ It must be noted that this instance is uncertain, because *filias* may also be due to a conflation of the two syntactic types *quas, dicunt, filiae Loth fabricassent* and *quas dicunt filias Loth fabricasse* (the latter construction is found in β *quas aedificasse dicunt filias Loth*).

lowest degree of agentivity (raw 5). Within other declensions, the use of the accusative for the nominative is extremely rare. There only are four instances, all in the second declension:

- (20) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 9,6 G *multos languores sanantur in ipsis locis*
(R *multi languores sanantur in ipsis locis*)
- (21) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 18,6 G *ornamenta infinita: ... capitulares, cingella girata, balteos, coronas imperatorum* (R *ornamenta infinita: ... capitulares, cingella grata, balteos, coronas imperatorum*)
- (22) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 11,4 G *usque dum baptismum perficiatur*
(R *usque dum baptismum perficiatur*)
- (23) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 20,2 G *in atrium ipsius basilicae est cubiculum*
(R *in atrio ipsius basilicae est cubiculus*)

Examples (20), (22) and (23) display, in line with Rovai's explanation, a low degree of agentivity (the subject is inanimate and the verb is passive or *esse*). Dubious is instead (21), where *balteos*, as the following *coronas*, can readily be put down to the case variation between nominative and accusative in lists, a phenomenon which is often documented in late and sub-standard sources.²⁸

On the whole, since the use of the accusative in place of the nominative is barely attested in other inflectional classes, the ending *-as* (whatever its origin) has to be regarded as a specific morphological trait of feminine names.²⁹ These data, along with those of table 2, 4 and 6, which show a spread use of *-as* for *-is* in the ablative plural, suggest the gradual generalization of a 'casus unicus' *-as* in the plural of feminine names.³⁰

²⁸ See JAMES NOEL ADAMS, *Social Variation* (n. 20), pp. 229ff.

²⁹ Rovai's explanation of *-as* nominatives is furthermore strongly weakened by an analysis of the epigraphic material, which he excludes from his investigation. Christian inscriptions from the 4th century onwards, exhibit several instances of the morpheme, and most of them involve both animated subjects and agentive predicates, e.g. *CIL* 6,17959 *Flavianae filiae bene [merenti]*, *Macriae Hilarae matri bene merenti ... filias in pace fecerunt* (Rome, late), *CIL* 3,13374 *Prisca et Probilla filias et eredes posuerunt* (Pannonia Inferior, 3rd/4th cent.). For further instances, see GIOVANBATTISTA GALDI, *Again on as-nominatives* (n. 20).

³⁰ This view finds support from the recent investigation of JAMES NOEL ADAMS, *Social Variation* (n. 20), pp. 341ff., in which a clear extension of *-as* with feminine plural place names emerges (it may display locative, ablative and directional functions).

Also in connection with neuters, our study revealed a predominance of the morphological factor. The text of G exhibits in the singular of the second declension 55 masculines and 76 neuter forms, of which 2 and 27, respectively, have shifted to the opposite gender. Rovai's theory may explain the switch of the two masculines to neuters, both found with inanimate subjects and low agentivity predicates (see (22) and (23) above). This solution, however, does not hold for the inverse phenomenon (the change of neuters to masculines), which regularly emerges with inanimate names and with *esse*, that is, in contexts, where one would expect the accusative (or neuter) to occur, e.g.:

- (24) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 37,4 G *qui monasterius circumdatus muros munitis* (R *quod monasterium circum datum muris munitis*)
 (25) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 41,2 G *in quo loco est castellum modicum, quae eqs.* (R *in quo loco est castellum modicum, qui*)

The switch from neuters to masculines can hence only be put down to a morphological process which occurs several times in coeval and earlier sources and will later generalize in Romance.

Finally, also for *-as* nominatives the question arises whether they go back to the author himself or must be interpreted as a change of the scribe. As in the case of *-a* for *-am*, at least three arguments can be advanced in favour of their authenticity. First, as seen above, the ending finds numerous parallels in the late period, not only in literary but also in non-literary texts, in which obviously a scribal change is excluded. Second, the half of the instances is extant in at least one manuscript different from G, and six are even found in the 'recensio altera', which tends to regularize the text systematically, e.g.:

- (26) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 14,4 G *uuas cestas plenas uenalis ... propouuntur*, R *uuas cistra plenas uenales ... proponuntur*, β *plenas cistras racemis ... uenales sunt, et inde... proponuntur*

In two cases, the ending only features in R:

- (27) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 6,3 G *in circuitu diuerse ciuitates* (R *in circuitum diuersas ciuitates*)
 (28) *Itin. Ant. Plac.* 40,6 G *octoginta condomas militantes in puplico* (R *octingentas condomas militantes in opilium*)

Furthermore, as in the case of *-a*, two passages altered by R may provide relevant indications:

- (29) *Itin. Ant. Plac. 7,1 G in ciuitate Tiberiade, in qua sunt termas sex lauantes salsas* (R *in qua termis ex se leuantes salsis*, β *in qua sunt termas salsae*)
- (30) *Itin. Ant. Plac. 7,6 G sunt aquas calidas, quae appellantur termas Heliae* (R *sunt aquae calidae, quae appellantur termes Heliae*, Br *sunt aquae calidae, quae appellantur termas Heliae*)

In (29), a nominative form within the relative clause is to be assumed because of both the predicate *sunt* and the comparison between G and β . The original reading may well have been *termas ex se lauantes salsas*, as suggested by Geyer.³¹ G altered it to *termas sex lauantes* due to dittography of <s> and deletion of <se>. The scribe of R, probably misled by the awkward expression,³² changed *lauantes* to *leuantes* and *termas ... salsas* to *termis ... salsis*. The fact that he chose a form with final *s* (*termis salsis*) supports the hypothesis of the presence of *-as* in the archetype. Similarly, in (30), both G and Br display the nominative *termas*. R attempts to ‘normalize’ the form with *termes*, which, though itself non-standard, retains the original sigmatic ending.

Conclusions

Our study has shown the centrality of two aspects related to the language of the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini*. First, concerning its transmission, it is very difficult (at times impossible) to reconstruct the original archetype. Even leaving aside the second family, which nearly systematically normalizes the text, the two testimonies of the first family, G

³¹ PAULUS GEYER, *Itinera* (n. 9), p. 163.

³² The meaning of *termas ex se lauantes salsas* is dubious. JOHANN GILDEMEISTER, *Antonini* (n. 4), pp. 5 and 39, who edits *termas ex se lauantes salsae*, translates: “Heisse, von selbst (*ohne künstliche Erhitzung?*) abwaschende salzige Quellen.” PAULUS GEYER, *Kritische und sprachliche Erläuterungen* (n. 7), p. 18 suggests a more convincing explanation: “Heiße Salzbäder, die von selbst sich hüllen; denn (vom See können sie nicht gespeist werden) das Wasser des See’s selbst ist süß.” This solution is also accepted by LUDOVICUS BELLANGER, *In Antonini Placentini itinerarium* (n. 2), p. 120, n. 5.

and R, which admittedly represent the best testimonies, mostly diverge from each other. This must warn us of the arbitrariness and, in some way, the danger of linguistic studies that merely rely on the edition of Geyer. From our palaeographical investigation important evidence emerged in favour of a higher reliability of G as compared to R.³³ This hypothesis is strengthened by the circumstance that the scribe of R, Reginbert, was a prominent personality within the Carolingian reform and is hence likely to have regularized the ‘aberrations’ of the original text. However, generalization cannot be done on the entire text. Each linguistic phenomenon has to be analysed on its own and relevant hints may be found in the way in which copyists alter the text. Second, the analysis of G revealed the clear tendency to extend the endings *-a* and *-as* in the accusative singular and nominative plural, respectively, of the first declension. The spread of these morphemes is confirmed by the oldest manuscript of the Rothari’s edict as well as by many late sources. Both linguistic features, though possibly fostered in single cases by semantic or syntactic factors, must be accounted for morphologically and are likely to reflect the generalization of a *Universalkasus* in the singular and plural of feminine names. An analogous view applies to the frequent change of neuters into masculines, which can only be put down to morphological grounds. One cannot assess with certainty whether or to what extent these forms go back to the author himself. There is though reason to think that the great majority of them was extant in the original text. If this is true, we may gain important indications about the state of the language in the second half of the sixth century AD.³⁴

³³ This outcome is in line with the view of other scholars. Cf. CELESTINA MILANI, *Itinerarium* (n. 2), p. 59; LUDOVICUS BELLANGER, *In Antonini Placentini itinerarium* (n. 2), pp. 14f.; PAULUS GEYER, *Itinera* (n. 9), p. XXVII.

³⁴ In particular, given the possible place of origin of the text (Placentia), the large diffusion of *-as* may provide supporting evidence to the theory that the plural of (north) Italian feminine names *-e* derives from the original ending *-as*. On this view see VINCENZO FARAONI, *La formazione del plurale italo-romanzo nella documentazione notarile altomedievale*, in: *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif X. Actes du X^e colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif*, (edd.) PIERA MOLINELLI – PUERLUIGI CUZZOLIN – CHIARA FEDRIANI, Bergamo 2014, pp. 99–117, and MARTIN MAIDEN, *Morphological Persistence*, in: *The Cambridge History of the Romance Languages, I: Structures*, (eds.) MARTIN MAIDEN – JOHN CHARLES SMITH – ADAM LEDGEWAY, Cambridge 2011, p. 164 with further literature.

Summary

The text of the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini*, the anonymous account of a travel to the Holy Land dated to ca. 570 AD, is transmitted by two main families of manuscripts: the *recensio prior* (α), represented by the *Sangallensis* 133 (G), 8th–9th cent., and the *Rhenaugiensis* (R), 9th cent. and the *recensio altera* (β), preserved in several manuscripts. There is broad consensus among scholars that the Latin of (β) largely results from a later normalization in Carolingian times. It is disputed, instead, whether the original text is better preserved in G, which often ‘deviates’ from standard Latin, or in R, which is much closer to classical canons. In our paper, we will concentrate on noun morphology and on the treatment of final *-m*. Through the presentation of statistical data and the discussion of selected examples, we shall show that, although G occasionally modifies the text of its archetype, several morphological errors occurring in it may be put down to the author himself. Conversely, R displays a clear tendency to correct the text. Additionally, we will claim that the frequent use, in G, of the endings *-a* and *-as* in the accusative singular and nominative plural, respectively, of feminine names are likely to reflect the gradual extension of a *casus unicus*, which is also found in Romance.

Keywords: *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini*; Late Latin; Vulgar Latin; manuscripts; accusative; nominative

GIOVANBATTISTA GALDI, University of Ghent, Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, Blandijnberg 2, 9000 Gent, Belgium, giovanbattista.galdi@ugent.be.