Dicuil, Epistula censuum

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Introduction

- 1 Commentary
- 1.1 Acknowledgements
- 1.2 The text
- 1.3 The manuscripts
- 1.4 The sources and models
- 1.5 The edition
- 2 Bibliography
- 2.1 Primary sources
- 2.2 Secondary sources

1 Commentary

1.1 Acknowledgements

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1.2 The text

The *Epistula censuum* ('Letter of dues') is a treatise on weights, measures, homonyms, and synonyms. It was written by the Irish scholar Dicuil, who also authored several other scientific, geographical, and grammatical texts in the Carolingian Empire during the first quarter of the ninth century. His *Epistula censuum* can be dated to 818 CE, probably in or around March, by Dicuil's reference to the end of the twice four hundredth and twice ninth year of the Conception of the Lord right at the beginning of the main text (for Annunciation dating, see Dicuil, *De cursu*, III iiii, ed. and trans. Schweizer 2023, ii, 209–10).

Right after this, Dicuil speaks of the duty to bring dues to the king, which implies that the text is a further annual gift for Louis the Pious: Dicuil had highlighted clearly that the first two books of *De cursu solis lunaeque* were such gifts or dues in 814 and 815; in Book IIII (816), he had again addressed the 'king' (Dicuil, *De cursu*, ed. and trans. Schweizer 2023, ii, 29–34 (I vi); 49–56 (I viii); 127–8 (II xiii); 237–8 (IIII iiii)). There also is a certain thematical proximity to *De cursu solis lunaeque* because measurements could be regarded as part of *computus* (cf., for instance, Bede's discussion of the fractions of ounces, his justification thereof, and their application to time-reckoning in his computistical textbook of 725, *De temporum ratione*, iv, ed. Jones 1943, pp 184-6). This renders the *Epistula censuum* some kind of sequel to *De cursu solis lunaeque*. However, the new title, both in the table of contents and the text, shows that it is more than simply a Book VI of *De cursu solis lunaeque*, or even an appendix to it (as suggested by

Cordoliani 1960, p. 331, and rightly rejected by Pabst 1994, i, 345, n. 130; see Schweizer 2022, pp 244-6). While units of measurement were also discussed in computistical treatises of the time, Dicuil himself noted that the topic was 'not unrelated to grammar' – a point that is validated by his reliance on Priscian as a principal source and his focus on homonyms and synonyms.

In a similar vein, the letter is not least a poetic exercise, with around two thirds of the text being hexameters. A key challenge was expressing the required numbers metrically. This already was a predilection of Dicuil in *De cursu solis lunaeque*, but it is also a notable feature of his stated model, the poem on weights by Remus Favinus (Geus 2007, p. 65, n. 198). This raises the question whether Dicuil already knew this text or even started working on the *Epistula censuum* before 814.

Dicuil referred back to the Epistula censuum twice in his De prima syllaba of 825: he stated that he was writing this treatise on metrics 'After speaking on the course of the Sun and Moon and writing about many weights and measures' (Postquam de cursu solis luneque locutus, Ponderibus multis mensuris atque notatis, 'De primis syllabis', ed. Manitius 1911/2, p. 125), and he justified a metrical liberty taken in the epistola censuum ('De primis syllabis', ed. Manitius 1911/2, p. 174). In the Epistula censuum itself, he referred back to his poem on Priscian's Partitiones in a subtle but unequivocal way: Grammaticus docet haec immo auctor grammaticorum / Diuisum cuius nomen metro ante peregi. ('A grammarian teaches these things, indeed the father of grammarians, whose divided name I have stated in metre before'). As the preceding text is based on Priscian, this refers beyond reasonable doubt to the following sentence in Dicuil's poem on Priscian's Partitiones duodecim versuum Aeneidos principalium: Prisci canit pueris haec ani cuncta libellus ('Prisci – an's booklet recites all this for boys'; Keil 1859, iii, 390-1, here 390, is based on a better manuscript than Dümmler 1884, p. 667; albeit aware of Keil's edition, Dümmler apparently did not take it into account; the only substantial difference is Dümmler's consequential addition of tales to fill a gap in his manuscript, Valenciennes, Médiathèque Simone Veil, 394 (377), f. 54v, where Keil's manuscript, Leiden, UB, Voss. Lat. Q. 33, f. 112, has a perfectly reasonable libros). Dicuil's cross-reference shows that he must have published the so far undated poem before the Epistula censuum. It might even indicate a temporal proximity, especially as both texts engage closely with Priscian. Dicuil's cross-references highlight the proximity of the Epistula censuum to his poetic and grammatical texts.

In the text, Dicuil referred to the treatise as *Epistula census*; van de Vyver has pointed out that this was due to the metre, and Dicuil otherwise – in the table of contents and *De prima syllaba* – preferred *Epistula censuum* (van de Vyver 1935, p. 32, n. 3). The word *Epistula* ('letter', in contrast to the *libelli* – 'booklets' of *De cursu solis lunaeque*), might imply that Dicuil was not in the same place as Louis at that time. The lack of a clear address at the beginning of the letter or proper regards at the end, however, indicate that the word *epistula* is rather to be understood as 'treatise', unless these elements were omitted by the copyist.

I am currently preparing a translation and analysis of the text.

1.3 The manuscripts

There is one known extant manuscript of the *Epistula censuum*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAL 1645 (Libri 88), ff 7v–14v (from here: P). P consists of two gatherings, which were removed from Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 803 ii (T) by Guglielmo Libri in the 1840s. In this witness, the *Epistula censuum* is preceded by Dicuil's *De cursu solis lunaeque* (T, ff 58r–103v, and P, ff 1r–7v). At the beginning of the latter, there is a table of contents for both texts, plus Dicuil's *De prima syllaba* (825), which is not extant in these two manuscripts. Presumably, it never was included, as f. 14v of P contains considerable blank space below the end of the *Epistula censuum*. This table of contents enabled André van de Vyver to discover the ending of *De cursu solis lunaeque* and the *Epistula censuum* in P (van de Vyver 1935, pp 25-47).

T was dated to the tenth, P even to the eleventh century, until E. K. Rand suggested the end of the ninth and Bischoff even the second quarter or middle of the ninth century; since then, the ninth century is generally accepted. Rand implies Tours as the place of origin, Bischoff only (not southern) France; Godden, Jayatilaka, and Love criticise Rand's suggestion (Delisle 1888, pp 78–9, no. XLVIII; Dorange 1875, pp 375–6; Collon 1900, pp 604–5; Rand 1929, i, 192–3, no. 191; Bischoff 2014, iii, 244, after no. 5110 and p. 368, nos 6141–2; Troncarelli 1987, pp 194–5, no. 51; Love 2012, p. 94; Mirabile; Godden, Jayatilaka, Love 2024, pp ccxxix-ccxxxi, esp. p. ccxxix, n. 451).

The folios measure circa 285×195 mm. P was rebound in modern times, with paper covering some small parts of the text. Against the light, these parts can mostly still be read in situ. A detailed description and analysis of T and P can be found in my PhD thesis (Dicuil, *De cursu*, ed. and trans. Schweizer 2023, i, LIX-LXXIII) and will be published along with the edition.

1.4 The sources and models

Although *De cursu solis lunaeque* is around ten times longer than the *Epistula censuum*, the latter arguably contains more direct source references: Dicuil referred to a book called *Calculus* in the table of contents, which can be identified with Victorius of Aquitaine's *Calculus*. In fact, however, Dicuil referred to some tables that had been added to the *Calculus* in the manuscripts (edited in Abbo, *Commentary*, ed. Peden 2003, pp 52-3, Additional texts 8-9). Dicuil defended making a poem about units of measurement by pointing to the late antique author Remus Favinus (ed. Geus 2007) and he accurately credited Priscian and Donatus in the prose part. Moreoever, he indirectly acknowledged Priscian as a central source in the metrical part, by referring to an *auctor grammaticorum* whose name he could not use in a hexameter, as discussed above. The respective text is taken from Priscian's *De figuris numerorum*, partly also known as *De ponderibus* (ed. Passalacqua 1987, i, 1-18). A reference to Varro in the same context is apparently adopted from Priscian, as well as those to Dardanus and Livy. In contrast to these, Isidore of Seville, referred to as a 'Spanish bishop', was quite certainly directly and repeatedly consulted by Dicuil. It is also believable that Dicuil came across a synonym for silver coins directly in the biblical epic of Juvencus: his desire to demonstrate his wide reading and to find information that he could add to the common handbooks is obvious throughout his works. His obscure references to Seneca and Palaemon might be related to his desire to drop interesting names, which he might have come across, for instance, in glosses to his actual sources.

1.5 The edition

The text is a transcript of the only known manuscript, P (respectively T for the table of contents). The text is emended where necessary, in which case the manuscript readings are noted in the apparatus. If in doubt, the text follows the manuscript readings. The folio numbers are indicated in the margin.

The punctuation and paragraph structure have been modernised to improve readability. Capitalisation at the beginning of sentences has been slightly adapted accordingly. Otherwise, the capitalisation follows the manuscripts: the heading of the table of contents is capitalised throughout, the first letter of a verse is capitalised, while proper names and *nomina sacra* are not.

This is the first edition of the *Epistula censuum*. The table of contents has been transcribed before by van de Vyver (van de Vyver 1935, p. 32), Alfred Cordoliani (Cordoliani 1960, p. 327, n. 13), and in my edition of Dicuil's *De cursu solis lunaeque* (Schweizer 2023, ii, 7). In contrast to the latter edition, the present one does not note all variant readings in the existing transcripts. Two of van de Vyver's emendations have been adopted.

Source and bible references, as well as cross-references to other parts of the text, are provided in footnotes. Source references are provided where Dicuil referred to sources (often without name or with one that is mentioned by another author) and where the direct use of a source is clear and important for the understanding of a text. The individual weights, measures, homonyms, and synonyms discussed by Dicuil often occur in several older texts, which

are not usually listed. They might be worth studying elsewhere nevertheless, but rather in the form of a comparative table of the units given by various authors and their specifications than by extensive notes to the edition.

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CAPITULA EPISTULĘ CENSUUM, QUAE IN FINE ALIENA NON EST A GRAMMATICA^[1]

- $1\mid$ i De notis libelli qui calculus nominat $ur^{[2]}$ ac de multis aliis ponderibus metallorum. $^{[3]}$
- folio 58v l. 5 (T)

- 2 ii De mensuris frugum *et* ciborum ac potuum.^[4]
- 3 iii De tractatu per prosam facto in septem uersus.
- 4 iiii De omonymis ac sinonymis cum interpretatione eorum.
- 5 v De omonymis solummodo in diuersis causis inuentis.

Apparatus

ciborum] ciborurum MS potuum] potum MS

- 1. This main title, the chapter numbers, and the first capital 'D' of the headings for Chapters ii and iiii are rubricated.
- 2. Dicuil referred to tables that he regarded as part of the *Calculus* of Victorius of Aquitaine, but which are now regarded as later additions; they have been edited (along with Abbo, *Commentary*) by Peden 2003, pp 52-3 (additional texts 8-9). See also Friedlein 1871, pp 42-79, esp. 49-52 and 69.
- 3. For the table of contents, cf. the edition and translation in Dicuil, *De cursu*, ed. and trans. Schweizer 2023, ii, 7-8. Cf. also the transcripts by van de Vyver 1935, p. 32, and Cordoliani 1960, p. 327, n. 13. See the notes above in the introduction.
- 4. These emendations have been suggested by van de Vyver 1935, p. 32.

i <De notis libelli qui calculus nominatur ac de multis aliis ponderibus metallorum>

1 | Annus bis nonus post centum bis quatter annos

folio 7v l. 15 (P)

- 2 Conceptu domini fugiens modo cuncta creantis;
- 3 Post illos prorsus succedit epistula census:
- 4 Debemus christo famulari corde fideli,
- 5 Terrestrem censum terreno reddere regi.
- 6 Subditus ac dominus propter haec mentem sagaci^[5]
- 7 Debet uterque simul magnum numerare pusillo.
- 8 Seminibus modicis mensurae exordia dicam,
- 9 Ut memores notulae quot signant nomin^e cuncte
- 10 Quasque uolumen habet quod nomine calculus^[6] instat.
- 11 | Quod nomen calci diductum^[7] ab origine credo,
- 12 Nam calcus minimus mensuris quippe lapillus: [8]
- 13 Speltae granum unum aut calcus lentisuae gemellum
- 14 Aequant semoboli semissis iura metalli.
- 15 Semobolus binos calcos pensare ualebit,
- 16 Semobolus duplex plene metitur obellum,
- 17 Ac scripulus duplo sic mensuratur obello.
- 18 Sextula dimedia scripulis geminis uelut instat;
- 19 Bis bino scripulo pensatur sextula simpla.
- 20 Sicilicus duplae pendens examine dragmae;
- 21 Illa duella manet dum duplex sextula const^eat.
- 22 Sicilico bino impletur semuntia certa,
- 23 Uncia nam ternis stat mensurata duellis,
- 24 Ut sexcumx seno aequatur didragmatis auro.
- 25 Uncia bis fuerit, si sextas^[9] inde manebit,
- 26 Addita que supplet sectantia nomina dena:
- 27 Sextanti aucta, manet quadrans cognomine uero,
- 28 Bina triens, trina et quincunx, semisque quaterna,
- 29 Septunx, bes dodransque, decunces atque deunx, as.
- 30 Mirari noli posui quod talia dicta,
- 31 Nam nihil institui nisi quę metro ante uidebam.
- 32 Quae possum monstrare tibi inter uerba poettae,
- 33 Si cupis, ut uideas, ne incredulus esse quaeraris,
- 34 Has bene nam statuit notulas remus ante fauinus.^[10]
- 35 Si uis ipse notas rursus dictabo retrorsum:
- 36 | Libra, deunx, dextans, dodrans, bissis cumulantur,
- 37 Et septunx, semis quincusque, triens retinentur.
- 38 Post quadrans, sextans, sexcuncia et uncia constant;
- 39 Post semuncia subuenit, dehinc sextula duplex;
- 40 Sicilicus sequitur, succedit sextula simplex,
- 41 Sextula, dimedia scripulusque, pusillus, obellus;
- 42 Semobolus bino libratur semine speltae

folio 8r (P)

folio 8v (P)

- 43 Siue rotali uno tristis semente lupini. [11]
- 44 Semoboli semis calcus remanere uidetur
- 45 Aut unum speltae lentis seu grana gemella.
- 46 Ad quae perueni integra libra incipiendo
- 47 Paulatim minuens mensuras ordine certo.
- 48 Omonyma ponderum inchoant:
- 49 Praedictis notulis iam cetera pondera dicam.
- 50 En mina bis modulis binis his greca repletur,
- 51 Uncia nam nouies scripulus tot habet mediocrem,
- 52 Una minam mediam decies plene uncia pensat,
- 53Pondo aliam librat semel et semuncia nostra;
- 54 Has libras memini quas attica terra retentat.
- 55 Tum quater ac nouies praestat quartam uncia pensa
- 56 Cum trinis scripulis ductis super aera profata.
- 57 Quam populis grecis communem legimus esse;
- 58 Sic fuerat grecos aput ala quaterna minarum,
- 59 Quas pro nostra una graii tenuere libella.
- 60 Dum post libram unam dixi modo iura minarum,
- 61 | Nunc narrare paro plene iam sena talenta;
- 62 Nam modicum, medium fuerat magnumque talentum
- 63 Romanum, grecum paruum seu grande statutum.
- 64 Quinque libris decies primum fecere latini,
- 65 Per libras octo nouies tenuere secundum,
- 66 Postremum centum uiginti habuere talentum.
- 67 Cicropidae paruum primum posuere talentum
- 68 Sexaginta minas dans aut sex milia dragmas.
- 69 Idem thesidae maius statuere talentum
- 70 Centum quippe minas octo uel milia dragmas
- 71 Efficiens, mediae certo moderamine librae;
- 72 Namque minam minimam uel quam narrauimus amplam
- 73 Pensatum legimus nullum fecisse talentum.
- 74 Dardanus adfirmat mensuras esse minoris.^[12]
- 75 Liuius est auctor maioris porro talenti.^[13]
- 76 Nostra talenta loquens hispanus episcopus insit. [14]
- 77 Est aliud sextum, quod nunc narrabo, talentum:
- 78 Quod commune solet fore romae sicut athenis;
- 79 Quod libras habet integre octoginta latinas.
- 80 Dum sicel hebrei scripulis bis quinque profantur,
- 81 Siclum sicilicum greci fieri atque latini;
- 82 Nam sicel et siclus diuerso nomine signant
- 83 Pondera diuersa hebrea greca atque latina.
- 84 Sinonyma uel polionyma ponderum incipiunt:
- 85 Coclear aut scripulus nec non obolusque fuerunt
- 86 | Mensura equati, docuit ceu dardanus ante. [15]

folio 9r (P)

folio 9v (P)

87 Quod nunc non sequimur, scripulus sed duplus obelli.

88^[16]Dimedium dragmae quidam fore coclear aiunt.^[17]

89 Denarius, clemes, dragma, olce eadem fore signant,

90 nam ternos scripulos haec singula iura receptant

91 Aureus et solidus nummusue argenteus atque

92 Sextula siue nomisma aeque, sed nomine distant:

93 Bis binos scripulos his quisque^[18] tenere uid*et*ur.^[19]

94 Denaris tempus fuerat haec quando tenebat.^[20]

95 Argenti legimusque minas ita teste iuuenco.^[21]

96 Ac tribus in scripulis argenteus ante fiebat,

97 Diuersum ut uarias mensuras tempus habebat,

98 Quod uariae gentes adhuc seruare uidentur.

99 Francorum solidus triplus uelut esse probatur,

100 Denarii scripulo donant qui nomen habendum,

101 Denarium legi scripuli sed nomen habere,

102 Denarii ut decima nummus pro parte manebat.

103 Res eadem, uarium est nomen: sex^cuncia, sexcunx.

104 Ea est a ter ministrum, semuntia nomina trina,

105 Sed nil mensurae distant ratione metalli.

106 Sic sextans, ciatus, sic dextans atque decunces,

107 Sed ciatus dragmam decies reperitur habere.

108 Pondo, as, libra tenent inter se talia iura,

109 Bissis^[22] idem ut monstrant, bessis, bes nomine trino.

110 Nomina pauca aliis que sunt ignota sequuntur:

111 | Bis septem numero quae monstrant aera monetae.

112 Terna notata tamen multis ipsa ante sed ibunt:

113 Quadrilibris, trilibris, bilibris, quas libra figurat,

114 Ex uno numero ueniunt at quattuor usque,

115 Libra dupla, ut dussis, tressis, quadrassis adhaerent.

116 Inde nouem libris pariter nonusis aenis,

117 Ecce, decussis, uigesis, trigessis habentur;

118 Hinc quadragessis^[23] quinquagessisque manebunt;

119 Sexagessis septu- quide<m> -agesisque^[24] sequuntur;^[25]

120 Post octogessis, nonagessis numerantur;

121 Postremum libris pondus centussis aenis

122 Ipse minas aeris centum pensare notatur.

123 Nullum aeris pondus maius hac uoce uocatur.

124 Grammaticus docet haec, immo auctor grammaticorum,

125 Diuisum cuius nomen metro ante peregi. [26]

126 Cum post quem numerum haud pondus componitur a se,

127 Postremum est pensum sed hoc uarrone docente.^[27]

Apparatus

mentem] mente MS minimus] mini'mus MS ponderum] ponderũm MS obolusque] obólusque MS folio 10r (P)

- 5. For *mente sagaci*, see Dicuil, *De cursu*, ed. Schweizer 2023, ii, 62 (II i, referring to Pythagoras) and 87 (II v, adressing the king, i.e. Louis the Pious, similar to here). Dicuil's reference to Pythagoras is, in turn, a variation of *vir sagacis animi* in Plinius, *Naturalis historiae lib.*, II 21(19)/83, ed. Mayhoff 1875, i, 154.
- 6. Dicuil referred to tables that he regarded as part of the *Calculus* of Victorius of Aquitaine, but which are now regarded as later additions; they have been edited (along with Abbo, *Commentary*) by Peden 2003, pp 52-3 (additional texts 8-9). These additions have first been analysed and partly edited by Friedlein 1871, pp 42-79, esp. 49-52 and 69. See also the title of the present chapter in the table of contents above.
- 7. = deductum; however, i instead of e is very common in Dicuil's texts in this close witness, usually without changing the meaning. Diductum = deductum occurs twice in this text. Therefore, this spelling is not unlikely to be Dicuil's own.
- 8. Cf., also for the following verse, Isidorus, Etymologiarum lib., XVI xxv 8, ed. Lindsay 1911, ii: Calcus, minima pars ponderis, quarta pars oboli est, constans lentis geminis granis. Appellatur autem calcus quod sit parvulus; sicut et lapis calculus, qui adeo minimus est ut sine molestia sui calcetur.
- 9. Cf. *sextans*, the usual spelling of the word, below in l. 38 and in l. 106. The present spelling, *sextas*, agrees with Dicuil's source, the ninth of the tables that were added to the *Calculus* of Victorius. Peden 2003, p. 53 notes no variant readings in the manuscript witnesses. It is, therefore, most likely that Dicuil indeed had, as stated by him, a copy of the *Calculus* at hand when hew wrote this, even though it is not the only possible explanation: Beda, *De temporum ratione*, iv, ed. Jones 1943, p. 184 notes *sextas* as a variant of *sextans*.
- 10. Remmius Favinus, Gedicht, ed. Geus 2007.
- 11. Cf. *tristisque lupini*, Vergilius Maro, *Georgicon*, I 75, ed. Mynors 1969, p. 31, but also Remmius Favinus, *Gedicht*, v. 12, ed. Geus 2007, p. 24.
- 12. Priscianus, De figuris numerorum, ed. Passalacqua 1987, i, 14-5.
- 13. Livius, *Ab urbe condita lib.*, XXXVIII 38.13, ed. Walsh 1999, p. 177: *talenta Attica ... (talentum ne minus pondo octoginta Romanis ponderibus pendat)* This occurs in the context of specifying tributes, fittingly to the title of Dicuil's *Epistula censuum*. As there do not appear to have been many manuscripts at Dicuil's time (see Walsh 1999, pp vi-xvi), this is certainly an indirect reference through Dicuil's central source, Priscianus, *De figuris numerorum*, ed. Passalacqua 1987, i, 15, where Livius is also discussed along with Dardanus, citing the same passage as this note.
- 14. Isidorus, Etymologiarum lib., XVI xxv 22, ed. Lindsay 1911, ii.
- 15. Priscianus, *De figuris numerorum*, ed. Passalacqua 1987, i, 14 (without mentioning the *coclear*): *Obolus dicitur, ut Dardanus docet, scripulus esse.*
- 16. Gloss: In nomine domini nostri ihesu christi
- 17. Isidorus, Etymologiarum lib., XVI xxvi 3, ed. Lindsay 1911, ii: Mensurarum pars minima coclear, quod est dimidia pars dragmae ...
- 18. ~ underneath *s qu*.
- 19. Isidorus, *Etymologiarum lib.*, XVI xxv 14, ed. Lindsay 1911, ii: while all of the synonyms are listed there, the four *scripuli* are not directly specified. Isidore mentions, however, that one ounce consists of six *sextulae*, and shortly afterwards (in XVI xxv 19) that an ounce equals twenty-four scruples. Remmius Favinus, *Gedicht*, vv 17; 21-2, ed. Geus 2007, p. 24, specifies the four scruples more directly for the *sextula*, without mentioning the synonyms, just like Priscianus, *De figuris numerorum*, ed. Passalacqua 1987, i, 14 (concisely: *sextula scripuli quattuor*) and Beda, *De temporum ratione*, iv, ed. Jones 1943, p. 185 (*sextula sive sesclae iv scripuli*).
- 20. Priscianus, *De figuris numerorum*, ed. Passalacqua 1987, i, 15 (*Denarii autem illo tempore nummi argentei erant XXIIII siliquarum, quod in eodem libro ostendit Livius:* Six *siliquae* have been equalled to a *scripulus* shortly before (p. 14). Cf. Livius, *Ab urbe condita lib.*, XXXIV 52.6, ed. McDonald 1965, p. 233.
- 21. Iuvencus, Evangeliorum lib., IV 639, ed. Huemer 1891, p. 139: Argenti triginta minas posuere profani ...
- 22. Cf. Dicuil, De cursu, IIII vii, ed. Schweizer 2023, ii, 247.

- 23. There is one dot each above and below the second *a* in the MS. This first appears to indicate deletion, which would, however, not make sense here. Instead, this might indicate that the letter needs to be emphasised when reciting the line.
- 24. While the single *s* first appears to be a scribal mistake or inconsistency, it arguably has metrical reasons, as a short syllable is required here.
- 25. The hyphens are an editorial addition to demonstrate the tmesis in this line.
- 26. Dicuil's poem on Priscian's *Partitiones duodecim versuum Aeneidos principalium: Prisci canit pueris haec ani cuncta libellus*, ed. Keil 1859, iii, 390–1: 390; cf. ed. Dümmler 1884, p. 667; see 'The text' in the introduction to the present edition.
- 27. Priscianus, *De figuris numerorum*, ed. Passalacqua 1987, i, 12: ... nonagessis, centussis, post quem numerum teste Varrone non componuntur cum asse numeri.

ii <De mensuris frugum et ciborum ac potuum>

1 | Ponderibus scriptis mensuras scribere curo;

- 2 Pondera nam propriae debent pensare m*et*alla,
- 3 Mensurae fruges escas potusque probabunt,
- 4 Nos res quanquam alias per nomen utrumque uocamus.
- 5 Non solum legimus res corpore rite carentes,
- 6 Sed que tanguntur pariter res atque uidentur,
- 7 Quae quia plus numero nec egent sunt famine nostro.
- 8 Seminibus minimis, ut dixi, pondera nasci,
- 9 | Quae granis geminis aequantur lentis in hortis.^[28] folio
- 10 Sic statui fari mensurae exordia parua:
- 11 Coclear appendit semissem examine dragmae,
- 12 Concula completur nouies, si fiat obellus,
- 13 Sed ciatus denis dragmis aequatur in imis;
- 14 Oxibafus scripulis nouies ita quinque leuatur.
- 15 Sicilicis senis acitabulus ille repletur,
- 16 Namque quater scripulis nouies acitabulus instat;
- 17 Eminam ductus hic bis quater efficit unam,
- 18 Emina in liquidis constat ceu libra metallis.
- 19 Eminas duplices aequat sextarius unus,
- 20 Qui dici poterit uera ratione bilibris;
- 21 Ille quater sumptus greco fit nomine choenix.
- 22 Sic gomor aut quinaris erit, si quinque locentur,
- 23 Si pariter fuerint sex, chus uel congius extat,
- 24 Si sit sedecies, modius romanus habetur.
- 25 Mensuras uarias egit sextarius idem;
- 26 Sic post haec modius diuerse pensa parabit.
- 27 Semisse ac modio plene parabitur urna.
- 28 Hac bina italiae replebitur anphora, romae;
- 29 Iam greca in ternis sed mensurabimus urnis;
- 30 Quattuor ac modiis repletur gallica plenis.
- 31 Inter haec uarias plebes iura anphora seruat.
- 32 Quinque aut sex modios ualet unus habere medimnus, [29]
- 33 Dum metrum est proprium nomen sextaria centum
- 34 | Atque gomor modios totos ter quinque tenebit,
- 35 Qui quater effectus tum culleus esse uid*et*ur.
- 36 Quo nulla in liquidis fuerat mensura latinis
- 37 Maior mensuras dicam a nobis alienas;
- 38 Quae sunt, iordanes ubi currit et aduena naⁱlus
- 39 Allophilos satum mensuram scimus habere
- 40 Hebreae nomen ducens ab origine gentis,
- 41 Unum ac dimedium modium quod habere uidetur.
- 42 Est aliud satum undecies sextaria bina;
- 43 Hebreum id modium solum retinere probatur.
- 44 Batus, quod legimus nomen sermone latino -
- 45 Hebrei, quorum est nomen, bene bata loquuntur -

folio 10v (P)

folio 10r l. 18 (P)

folio 11r (P)

- 46 Quinquaginta capit frugis sextaria tritae.
- 47 Inde corus sequitur nomen de nomine collis
- 48 Diductum^[30] primae nobis ab origine linguae;
- 49 Nam triginta tenet modios onus ipse cameli.
- 50 Artaba mensura est calidis orientis in aruis,
- 51 Austri fructiferis sine nube absque imbribus atris.
- 52 Quae mensura octo nouies sextaria sorbet,
- 53 Confusae ut linguae causa creuere malorum; [31]
- 54 Tres modiiue intrant in eam ac pars tertia quarti. [32]
- 55 Omonyma mensurarum oriuntur:
- 56 Haec nec pauca nimis habet, haec nec nomina multa;
- 57 Hic appellatiua loquor communia dicta.
- 58 Craxatas uariae mensuras parte uidemus,
- 59 | Nomen idem multas hoc est res significare,
- 60 Ut momentum oculi lunae solisque notantur.
- 61 Tarquinius, decius, drusus uel scipio, pirrhus,
- 62 Nostra maria, simon, antique, christus, iesus,
- 63 Emina aut semis plene seu libra manebit
- 64 Uel media emina est septunx, semuncia clauda,
- 65 Sed mediam et magnam cotilam appellamus utrasque.
- 66 Emina haud solum ostendit bis sex sed et unum,
- 67 Quinque ter ac modios gomor aut sextaria quinque,
- 68 Octo bis aut bina undecies sextaria certa,
- 69 Metitur modius hebreus siue latinus.
- 70 Sed satum modium cum dimedio aequat habendum,
- 71 Satum aliud uelut undecies sextaria bina. [33]
- 72 Anphora terna manet, quam dixi sufficienter.^[34]
- 73 Artaba niliaca est postremo famine clausa; [35]
- 74 Descriptum cuius pensum fore utrumque paraui.
- 75 ·i· Sinonyma uel polionyma mensurarum ordiuntur:
- 76 Multa nimis species haec crebro, singula multa
- 77 Iura eius cuiusque et iuris plurima saepe
- 78 Nomina, quae libros scrutando cerno frequenter.
- 79 Nominibus uariis causae spectantur eaedem,
- 80 Ut gladius, mucro, ensis; [36] humus, tellus, ita terra; [37]
- 81 Uirgilius, maro, publius; ascanius uel iulus;
- 82 Azarias, ozias; [38] israhel, *christu*s, ih*esu*s;
- 83 Israhel tandem, primum qui dictus iacob.
- 84 | Pondus idem librat sexcunx acitabulus atque,
- 85 Emina et cotilas, bilibris, sextarius unus,
- 86 Tempore quem ueterum dextans aliquando ter implet;
- 87 Lucius ennius adfirmat haec senica iura. [39]
- 88 Quinaris gomor hic debent habitare, sed ille
- 89 Congius et chus erit, cadus anphora greca manebit,
- 90 Maius idem satum sorbet quod et urna latina.

folio 11v (P)

folio 12r (P)

- 91 ·ii· Omonyma simul ac synonyma ponderum et mensurarum, hoc est uel dionyma siue trionyma seu tetraonyma initiantur:
- 92 Praedictae species unam fecere duabus.
- 93 Nomina pauca nimis species haec tertia captat,
- 94 Ut fastus, uates, acies ariesque, nepotes,
- 95 Aemulus atque sacer, corus, as, exercitus, ala,
- 96 Summa, fori, ambitus et saltus, tonus ac mare, mucro;
- 97 Has binas causas rostrum stagnumque reuelant.
- 98 Magnus alexander, pompeius corpore magnus, [40]
- 99 Iulius et galius, caesar, nero, nomine clari,
- 100 Publius aeneas maro marcus uirgiliusque
- 101 Sic simon petrus, simon cananeus in altis,
- 102 Sic iacobus minor ac maior, sic christus ihesus,
- 103 Quae coniunctim unum, disiunctim multa prehendunt.
- 104 Hanc binam hic speciem quater ornant nomina quinque;
- 105 Nomina fixa loquor; non propria nomina dico.
- 106 Cessantes fari haec nunc, quod nunc instat, agamus!^[41]
- 107 Denarius, cotilas ciatusque argenteus atque,
- 108 | Emina et gomor et grandis sola anphora greca:
- 109 Nominibus scriptis, quid sunt septem ista, uidetur.
- 110 Concula ceu metrum, oxibafus, corus atque medimnus,
- 111 Culleus: haud aliis iuncti ornant singula pensa.
- 112 Culleus infelix aliter tormenta marina:
- 113 Claudit triste sedens homo, gallus, simea, serpens,
- 114 Pro culp<a>e merito referentis leta parenti
- 115 [_]Uel consanguineo seu fratri siue sorori.
- 116 Ut potui, notulas mensuras pondera dicens,
- 117 Nox cadit et nigris tegimur celantibus umbris.

Apparatus

scripulis] scri'pulis MS

 \cdot ii \cdot Omonyma simul ac synonyma ponderum et mensurarum, hoc est uel dionyma siue trionyma seu tetraonyma initiantur:] \cdot i \cdot Omonyma simul ac synonyma ponderum et mensurarum \cdot i \cdot Hoc est uel dionyma siue trionyma seu tetraonyma initiantur MS celantibus] caelantibus MS

folio 12v (P)

- 28. See above, Chapter i, 13 and 45.
- 29. The -us is covered by the paper binding and cannot be read with all certainty, even in situ.
- 30. = deductum; however, i instead of e is very common in Dicuil's texts in this close witness, usually without changing the meaning. Diductum = deductum occurs twice in this text. Therefore, this spelling is not unlikely to be Dicuil's own.
- 31. Cf. Genesis 11, 1-9, esp. 9.
- 32. Cf. Remmius Favinus, *Gedicht*, vv 88-9, ed. Geus 2007, p. 28.
- 33. See above, Chapter ii, 39-43, esp. 41-2.
- 34. See the three types of the *anphora* above, Chapter ii, 28-31.

- 35. Cf. Remmius Favinus, *Gedicht*, vv 88-9, ed. Geus 2007, p. 28.
- 36. Cf. Priscianus, Institutionum grammaticarum lib., II 26, ed. Keil/Hertz 1855, ii, 59.
- 37. Isidorus, Etymologiarum lib., I vii 14, ed. Lindsay 1911, i.
- 38. Cf. 2 Kings 15, 1-8; 2 Chronicles 26, 1-22: Matthew 1, 9.
- 39. Many of the above and below measures are discussed in a similar way by Isidorus, *Etymologiarum lib.*, XVI xxvi 5-9, ed. Lindsay 1911, ii; however, Seneca and some measures, incl. the *dextans*, are not mentioned there. The same applies to Remmius Favinus, *Gedicht*, vv 65-85, ed. and trans. Geus 2007, pp 28-9. Dicuil might have used a manuscript of one of these texts adding information and misattributing it to Seneca. Priscian's *De figuris numerorum*, ed. Passalacqua 1987, i, 16, references Seneca the Elder in the context of pounds, talents, *minae*, and sesterces, which might have been misunderstood as crediting him as an authority on measures more generally.
- 40. Cf. Priscianus, Institutionum grammaticarum lib., II 25-26, ed. Keil/Hertz 1855, ii, 58-9.
- 41. Cf. the last verse of Dicuil's *De cursu solis lunaeque*, II i, ed. Schweizer 2023, ii, 69. The last six words are identical.

iii <De tractatu per prosam facto in septem uersus>

1 | Quae metra in tenebris dixerunt ultima furuis,

folio 12v l. 11 (P)

- 2 Prosa palam poterit uerbis monstrare relatis.
- 3 Non audita igitur species ista ante fiebat;
- 4 Ob hoc insolitam, solam, desidero factam
- 5 Per prosam fieri, facile ut sit, quicquid habebat,
- 6 Namque duae species^[42] ipsam uenere sub unam,^[43]
- 7 Quam nullus scripsit prius, ut fari illa ualer*et*.

Apparatus

quicquid] quidquic MS

- 42. See above, Chapter ii, 55 and 75.
- 43. See above, Chapter ii, 91.

iiii <De omonymis ac sinonymis cum interpretatione eorum>

1 | Metra silent, census tractabit cetera prosa,

folio 12v l. 18 (P)

- 2 Postremo ut reseret manifesto obscura metrorum,
- 3 Quae ignorant alii, dum sint ludicra peritis.
- 4 Quoniam illa quae de omonymis ac sinonymis mensurarum scripsera $m^{[44]}$ et maxime de commixta ex ambabus specie quam nouo more, quasi trilicem telam, texuera $m^{[45]}$ tenebrosa imperitis estimo fieri, minimum tractatum tamen necessarium subsequenter ostendere deliberaui. Ac postea p<ro>pter supra | dictam causam folio 13r (P) implere apud me constitui, sed praetermissis omonymis separatim uersantibus atque sinonymis. De commixta ex illis specie solummodo sua i<u>nctim tractabo, quia, quicquid in aliis duabus prioribus perseuerat, omnino in tertia ab ipsis composita permanet. Id est, in primo uidelicet loco appellatiua nomina habitant, $^{[46]}$ in secundo clarissimorum paganorum propria, $^{[47]}$ in tertio christianorum cum suo immo et uerius omnium principe; $^{[48]}$ in quarto quoque loco nomina ponderum mensurarumque sequuntur. $^{[49]}$
- 5 Postquam communiter nomina retulimus, singulatim mox ea diligenter referemus.
- 6 Fastus, unum nomen, dum diuersas res, hoc est superbiam *et* librum, quando in quarta declinatione librum contingit significare, demonstrat, omonymum sine dubio fore ostenditur, ut magistratus, exercitus *et* saltus.^[50] Sed cum fastus, liber, codex *et* uolumen uaria nomina eandem causam significant, certum, quod fastus sinonymum p*er*seuerat.
- 7 Uates nomen sacerdotem prophetam poetamque manifestans omonymum est. Sed uates et sacerdos aut uates prophetaque uel uates atque poeta sinonyma sunt.
- 8 Acies oculi aut exercitus uel ferri, ut ait donatus, omonymum man*et.*^[51] Acies uero atque mucro, dum cuiusque acumen ferri communiter reuelant, sinonyma conp*re*henduntur esse.
- 9 Aries machina bellicosa, id est magnum lignum ad frangendos muro<s> impulsum, primu*m* signum soziaci circuli *et* ouinus aries omonymu*m* nomen est. Uere aries ueruexque sinonyma sunt.
- 10 Nepos filius filii seu filiae atque iuxta palemonem filius fratris $^{[52]}$ et nepos speciale genus | folio 13v (P) scorpionum $^{[53]}$ neposque prodigus omonymum nomen, at nepos at $^{[54]}$ prodigus sinonyma.
- 11 Ast, si quisquis ingeniosus praecedentia sequentiaque huius speciei nomina intellectualiter intimauerit, alia suptilia in aliquibus ex ipsis inueniet; quae in hoc nomine pro exemplo docebo, ut diligens lector similia in aliis reperiat. Nepos etenim in praedictis significationibus tribus omonymum est. Sed non illis omnibus sinonymum fore poterit. Namque nepos, quando prodigum significat, sinonymum est, quia diuersa sunt nomina quae unum intellectum manifestant. Sed, cum tertiam generationem sobolis humanę siue speciale scorpionis^[55] genus declarat, sinonymum fieri non ualet. Nam in eis sensibus nepos iunctum nomen alterum possidere nequibit. Ideo, sicut praedixi, ^[56] in appellatiuis nominibus istis quisquam haec eadem intelligere uoluerit, caute praeuidere debebit.
- 12 Sed econtrario, si omonymum ac sinonymum pariter nomen fuerit, in ratione omonymorum numquam deficere poterit. Nam, si deficere ualuiss*et*, non illud nomen *esset*, quia ^unum nomen *est*^[57] uarios significans sensus, nisi tantum, si genus uel terminatione*m* inter numeros mutauerit, aut, si unius numeri fuerit in altero deficiens, quod postea in suo loco conuenienter dic*et*ur.^[58]
- 13 Aemul[$us^?$], dum sit zelator, simulator et hostis omonymum. Aemulus, inimicus et hostis sinonyma. Sacer consecratus et abominabilis omonymum. At sacer et mundus sinonyma. Sic et aemulus et sacer, si aliis iungantur nominibus hic praedictis, ostendunt sinonyma.

14 Corus cantantium in sacris collecta multitudo locis et regalis exercitus flansque uentus ab occidente aestiuo atque | hebrea mensura triginta modiorum, id est onus cameli, ut nuntiaui, [59] capiens omonymum, sed corus, folio 14r (P) coetus, choors, agmen, ala et grece palanx chorogiumque sinonyma. Quoniam chorus cum aspiratione [60] musicum nomen grecum est. At haec quinque nomina in prima corripiuntur syllaba, nisi solum nomen uenti.

15 As libram siue unam ponderans untiam omonymum; as *et* pondo sinonyma, similiter as atque libra. Exercitus significando choortem cultumque omonymum; rursus^[61] exercitus, co*et*us, agmen sinonyma. Ala choortem ac penna*m* alitis demonstraⁿs <omonymum>; iterum ala, phalanx sinonyma. Summa numeru*m* sublimemque comprehendendo omonymum; sed summa, numerus, co*m*potus calculusque sinonyma. Fori pluraliter nom*en* uarias significationes habens, hoc est locum mercandi *et* locu*m* exprim*en*di uini ac transtra nauium *et* plana spatia, id est concaua latera atque tabulata earu*m*, omonymu*m*.^[62] Aequaliter in singulari numero, nisi quando partes nauium uel transtra significat. Tunc enim genus atque terminationem motat. Fori transtraque sinonyma, sic forus *et* mercatum, ita forus *et* calcatorium. Ambitus significando desiderium *et* circuitum omonymu*m*; sed ambitus ac desiderium siue ambitus *et* circuitus sinonyma. Saltus, ut priscianus ostendit, omonymu*m*,^[63] cum sint saltus ac silua sinonyma.

16 Tonus accentus et secundum quosdam philosophos spatia aeris a terra usque ad lunam centum uiginti quinque stadiorum milia omonymum. Tonus, tenor, accentus sinonyma. Mare nominatur magnus communiter pontus; et mare galileae dicitur, cum habilis ac dulcis aqua sit ad potandum, per quam fluuius iordanes |interfluit, folio 14v (P) mareque mortuum autque mare iuxta [65] templum domini aeneum [66] ac [67] mare figuraliter in apocalypsi uitreum: [68] omonymum. Sed mare oceanus, aequor, pontus, pelagus sinonyma. Mucro monstrando frameam et aciem uniuscuiusque ferri, ut predixi, omonymum. [69] Iam rursus mucro, framea, rumphea sinonyma. Rostrum proram nauis et os auis nomina [ns?] omonymum uocabulum perseuerat. Rostrum atque prora, dum unam rem nuncupant, synonyma permanent.

Apparatus

iiii] ·i· MS supra] su'pra MS aliquibus] ali'quibus MS scorpionis] serpentis MS quisquam] quis piam MS multitudo] multitu'do MS est.] ēst (=estst) MS

- 44. See above, Chapter ii, 55 and l. 75.
- 45. See above, Chapter ii, 91.
- 46. See above, Chapter ii, 94.
- 47. See above, Chapter ii, 98.
- 48. See above, Chapter ii, 101.
- 49. See above, Chapter ii, 107.
- 50. For the latter three homonyms and the fourth declension, see Priscianus, *Institutio de nomine et pronomine et verbo*, ed. Passalacqua 1999, ii, 9. The same content, however, can also be found in Priscianus, *Institutionum grammaticarum lib.*, VI 71-2, ed. Keil/Hertz 1855, ii, 256, where it is more explicitly labelled as *homonyma* and followed by a discussion of *fastus*, making this clearly the more likely source here, even though Dicuil knew *De nomine*, to which he had referred before in his poem on Priscian's *Partitiones*, ed. Keil 1859, iii, 390 (... *parvumque volumen, quod fecit pueris, de partibus ante quaternis ...*

- 51. Donat, Ars maior, III 3, ed. Holtz 1981, p. 660, ll 4-5: Fit et per homonyma, ut si quis aciem dicat et non addat oculorum aut exercitus aut ferri.
- 52. Quintus Remmius Palaemon, d. 76 CE, was a grammarian whose work is lost. Among others, Isidore and Priscian mention him, but no reference in the context of *nepos* could be found. It is worth noting that the poem of Remmius Favinus, *Gedicht*, ed. and trans. Geus 2007, p. 10, was sometimes misattributed to Palaemon. Dicuil, however, attributed it to *Remus Fauinus*.
- 53. Isidorus, Etymologiarum lib., X 193, ed. Lindsay 1911, i: Nepos dictus a genere quodam scorpionum qui natos suos consumit, excepto eum, qui dorso eius insiderit; nam rursus ipse qui servatus fuerit consumit patrem: unde homines qui bona parentum per luxuriam consumunt nepotes dicuntur.
- 54. This *at* has to be understood as *ac* or *atque*. While it is tempting to emend it or to read the *t* as a *c*, this spelling is common throughout both manuscripts of *De cursu solis lunaeque* (see the introduction to the edition by Schweizer 2023, i, CII). This indicates that Dicuil or a scribe of the archetype had a tendency to misspell it or to write *c* in a misleading way, or that Dicuil actively used *at* in this sense. *Ast* is also used in this way, which speaks for the latter explanation.
- 55. This is probably a scribal mistake, cf. *genus scorpionum* above in the preceding paragraph. The passage of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, referenced there and almost certainly Dicuil's source, corroborates that he wrote about scorpions rather than snakes here.
- 56. See the previous content of this paragraph.
- 57. The abbreviation used here, ÷, is notable and possibly a sign of Insular influence.
- 58. See below, Chapter v.
- 59. See above, Chapter ii, 49.
- 60. The a is possibly but not necessarily cancelled in the MS, correcting this to spiratione.
- 61. The unusual abbreviation rurs; is used here.
- 62. Cf., also for the following verse, Isidorus, Etymologiarum lib., XV vi 8, ed. Lindsay 1911, ii: Forus est locus ubi uva calcatur, dictus quod ibi feratur uva, vel propter quod ibi pedibus feriatur: unde et calcatorium dicitur. Sed hoc nomen multa significat: prima species fori locus in civitate ad exercendas nundinas relictus; secunda, ubi magistratus iudicare solet; tertia, quem supra diximus, quem calcatorium nominavimus. Quarta, spatia plana in navibus, de quibus Vergilius (Aen. 6,412): Laxatque foros. Lacus dictus quia ibi decurrit frugum liquor.
- 63. Priscianus, *Institutio de nomine et pronomine et verbo*, ed. Passalacqua 1999, ii, 9, ll 12-3: ... hic saltus (ή πήδησις καί ή νάπη) huius saltus. Exactly the same content also occurs in Priscianus, *Institutionum grammaticarum lib.*, VI 71, ed. Keil/Hertz 1855, ii, 256. As demonstrated above in a note to Chapter iiii, 6, Dicuil clearly appears to have consulted the latter for this. The two meanings of the homonym, 'leap' and 'forest', are expressed in Greek here, which might be an indication of Dicuil having some basic understanding of this language, but he might also have relied on a gloss or other help; in the *Institutiones*, the list of homonyms is also clearly introduced as such in Latin. Cf. Dicuil's remark that he only knew Latin and his native tongue in *De prima syllaba*, vv 20-25, ed. Manitius 1911/12, p. 125.
- 64. Cf. Dicuil, *De cursu*, II i, ed. and trans. Schweizer 2023, ii, 63-66, where Dicuil clearly appears to prefer 126,000 over 125,000 *stadiae*. This is mainly based on Plinius, *Naturalis historiae lib.*, II 21(19)-22(20)/83-4, ed. Mayhoff 1875, i, 153-4; the numbers differ among different manuscripts and excerpts.
- 65. The text here and in the same area of the following lines is partly faint.
- 66. Cf. 4 kings 25, 13.
- 67. This might also be an *at*: see above.
- 68. Cf. Revelation 15, 2.
- 69. See above.

<v De omonymis solummodo in diuersis causis inuentis>[70]

 $1 \mid Stagnum$ appellando aquam metallumque liquidum in singulari numero omonymum.

folio 14v l. 8 (P)

2 Sed hoc in plurali deficit omonymum fieri, sicut fori tantummodo nauium in siⁿgulari *et* forus contionandi in plurali.

3 Hoc propter defiecienten numerum iam pluralem, illa ne ob neutrum genus ac terminationem in uno singularem, in altero pluralem. [71]

- 70. Chapter number v cannot be found in the manuscript, but it might be hidden by the paper binding. The chapter break has been placed here based on the content. The shortness of this chapter and the lack of any verse epilogue or similar raise the question if the copy is incomplete, but at least short chapters are not unusual for Dicuil, as evidenced by Chapter iii.
- 71. In the manuscript, in altero pluralem can be found a second time after this, in faint script.