

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

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The DS Scholia on the *Aeneid* and Their Manuscript Tradition

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Abstract

No thorough investigation comparable to the one which Murgia dedicated to the transmission of Servius' commentary has hitherto been dedicated to the transmission of the **DS** scholia on the *Aeneid*. This thesis, which consists of four chapters, is intended to fill this gap. Chapter I provides a description for each independent witness, identifying the traditions to which their commentaries and notes belong. Chapter II discusses the main features of the different versions of the **DS** scholia preserved by each independent witness. Chapter III identifies five groups of witnesses which can be shown to emanate from the independent witnesses. Chapter IV addresses the question of the relationships between the independent witnesses.

The aims of the thesis can be described as twofold. First, it lays the foundation for a new critical edition of the **DS** scholia, clarifying which witnesses can be dismissed as useless and which principles should be adopted to govern the employment of the others on the basis of a discussion of dozens of passages. Second, it offers the first detailed analysis of the way in which the **DS** scholia were read and studied from the early eighth century, when the Spangenberg fragment was copied, to the end of the sixteenth century, when Daniel's edition appeared. This analysis not only makes it possible to conclude that medieval scholars engaged with the **DS** scholia in a much more active and complicated way than is normally believed but also sheds new light on how scholiastic authorship could be perceived between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period.

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Abbreviations and Conventions

BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
BB	Burgerbibliothek (Bern).
BC	Biblioteca Comunale (Trento).
BL	Bodleian Library (Oxford) or British Library (London).
BLB	Badische Landesbibliothek (Karlsruhe).
BM	Bibliothèque Municipale (Metz or Orléans).
BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Florence).
BN	Biblioteca Nazionale (Naples).
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris).
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich).
HAB	Herzog August Bibliothek (Wolfenbüttel).
HSA	Hessisches Staatsarchiv (Marburg).
KBR	Koninklijke Bibliotheek – Bibliothèque Royale (Brussels).
RBME	Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial.
SB	Stadtbibliothek (Trier).
SL	Sackler Library (Oxford).
UB	Universitätsbibliothek (Basel, Bern, or Kassel) or Universiteitsbibliotheek (Leiden).
VBA	Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Milan).

Brackets are used according to the Leiden conventions. Greek, Classical Latin, and Medieval Latin authors and texts are abbreviated according to the conventions of the Liddell & Scott, of the *ThlL*, and of the *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch*, respectively.

Unless otherwise indicated, the Servian and **DS** scholia *ad ecl.* and *georg.* are quoted from Thilo 1887, those *ad Aen.* 1-5 from *Harv.* 2 and 3, those *ad Aen.* 6 from Jeunet-Mancy 2012, those *ad Aen.* 7 from Ramires 2003, those *ad Aen.* 8 from Ramires–Lafond 2022, and those *ad Aen.* 9-12 from

Murgia–Kaster 2018.[1] The other primary texts discussed are quoted from the following editions: Brugnoli–Stok 1997 (Don. *uita Verg.* and *ad ecl.praef.*); Georgii 1905-6 and Marshall 1993 (Claud. Don.), Holford-Strevens 2020 (Gell.); Kaster 2011 (Macr. *Sat.*); Lindsay 1911 (Isid. *orig.*); Mynors 1972 (Verg. *ecl.*, *georg.*, and *Aen.*).

[1] As for the scholia *ad Aen.* 4, I have chosen to keep considering *Harv.* 3 as my reference edition, rather than Guillaumin 2019. This choice depends on the fact that Guillaumin confusingly distinguished between Servius and **DS** only in the cases where he judged the two versions as substantially different and offered just the text of the former in the other cases (on the drawbacks of this approach, cf. also Stok 2019a: 426-7).

Checklist of DS and Servian Witnesses

DS witnesses

Sigla in bold type and in italics indicate medieval and modern witnesses, respectively. They normally coincide with those in current use, but six changes have been made for the sake of clarity or consistency: **L**, **Bodl.I** (or *Bod.*), **Span**(.), **v**, **f**, and **d** have been replaced with **La**, **Ox**, **Sp**, **Va**, *App.*, and *Fab*.[1] The first letters of the *sigla* in bold type refer to the city where the witness is held, apart from four, which refer to the collection to which the witness belongs (**R**), to its provenance (**FTSp**, indicating Fleury-sur-Loire, Tours, and Spangenberg), or to its genealogical relationship with another witness (**G**, *descriptus* of **F**).[2]

Primary witnesses

C	Kassel, UB, 2° Poet. et Roman. 6. $\mathbf{C}^{pc2/pc3/pc4/pc5/pc6}$ and $\mathbf{C}^{pcX}$ indicate **C** as corrected by $\mathbf{C}^{2/3/4/5/6}$ and by a reviser who cannot be identified with certainty with any of these five. [https://orka.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/viewer/fullscreen/1327998010837/]
F	Bern, BB, 172 ($\mathbf{F}^{B}$) and Paris, BNF, Lat. 7929/1 ($\mathbf{F}^{P}$). [https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/it/bbb/0172/ and https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84789952/]
La	Leiden, UB, VLO 80. [https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/vossiani-latini/vlo-080-servius]
M^{3}	Munich, BSB, Clm 6394, ff. 164-5. [https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00112073]
Ox	Oxford, BL, Auct. F. 1. 16/1.
P	Leiden, UB, VLF 79 ($\mathbf{P}^{L}$) and Paris, BNF, Lat. 1750/18 ($\mathbf{P}^{P}$). [https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/vossiani-latini/vlf-079-commentarii-in-virgilium and https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8479009h/]
R	Vatican, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1625/5. [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.1625]

[1] **L** has been replaced with **La** since the former *siglum* also indicates a different Servian witness. For the same reason, the *sigla* **O**, **S**, and **V** have not been allocated to **Ox**, **Sp**, and **Va**.

[2] The *siglum* **P** stands for *Parisinus* but is conventionally used to indicate both $\mathbf{P}^{P}$ and $\mathbf{P}^{L}$.

Sp	Marburg, HSA, 319 Pfarrei Spangenberg, 1.
T	Bern, BB, 165. [https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/it/bbb/0165/]
Va	Vatican, BAV, Vat. Lat. 1570. [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.1570]

Witnesses emanating from the primary witnesses

G	Bern, BB, 167. [https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/it/bbb/0167/]
Mo	Munich, BSB, Clm 18059, ff. 138^{r}-40^{r}. **Mo**^{pc2} indicates **Mo** as corrected by **Mo**^{2}. [https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00034661]
Pd	Paris, BNF, Lat. 13044, ff. 1^{r}-3^{r}. [https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9068358p/]
Ambros.	Milan, VBA, S 83 sup./3.
App.	Appendix to Daniel 1600.
Dan.	Daniel 1600.
Fab.	Excerpts from **DS** scholia noted in Daniel's copy of Fabricius' edition of Servius (Bern, UB, MUE Bong VI 235).
Mod.	Excerpts from **DS** scholia included in Maulde 1587.
Schop.	Excerpts from **DS** scholia included in Schoppe 1597a and 1597b. Excerpts from **DS** scholia included in Pithou 1573. Excerpts from **DS** scholia included in Scaliger 1575. Excerpts from **DS** scholia noted in Schoppe's copy of Daniel's edition of Servius (London, BL, 1135.i.4).

Servian witnesses

Sigla in current use have been retained. For an overview of the transmission of Servius' commentary, see Murgia 1975: 3-7 and 2014 (≈ Murgia–Kaster 2018: XI-XX). For a list of the sections where the **Δ** tradition is not available and all the extant Servian witnesses derive from the **Γ** tradition, see Murgia 1975: 87-8.

Σ	Archetype of the extant witnesses to Servius' commentary.

Γ	Servian tradition whose readings were inherited by **γσ** and sometimes by **θτ**.
Δ	Servian tradition whose readings were inherited purely by **JKL** and impurely by **θτ** and were occasionally interpolated into **γσ**.
γ	Family represented, amongst others, by **EMMoPbY**.
δ	Hyparchetype of the **Δ** tradition, from which **L** derives directly, **J** indirectly, and **K** either directly or indirectly.
ε	**θτJ**'s latest common ancestor.
θ	Family represented, amongst others, by **AO**.
σ	Family represented, amongst others, by **NW** *Linc*.
τ	Family represented, amongst others, by **PaPsQ** and by Ramires's class **α** (**LePcr**).

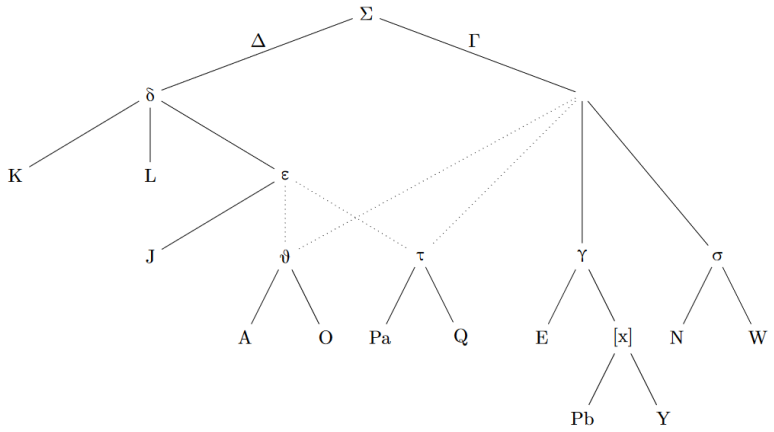
Extant witnesses

A	Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. perg. 116. [https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/pageview/215223]
E	El Escorial, RBME, T-II-17 (2°).
J	*Metz, BM, 292.[3] [https://library.artstor.org/#/search/metz292]
K	Karlsruhe, BLB, Aug. perg. 186. [https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/pageview/3104859]
L	Leiden, UB, BPL 52. [https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/1670301]
Le	Leiden, UB, VLF 25. [https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/vossiani-latini/vlf-025-virgilius-servius]
M	Munich, BSB, Clm 6394. [see *supra*]
Mo	Munich, BSB, Clm 18059. [see *supra*]
Mp	Florence, BML, Med. Pal. 69.
N	Naples, BN, ex-Vind. Lat. 5.
O	Oxford, BL, Laud. Lat. 117. [https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/bd867d62-1d82-4e5d-ae21-7b32dff9dd98/]

[3] The codex was destroyed during the Second World War; photographs of most of its leaves, however, had already been taken for the Harvard Servius project (cf. Mastronarde 2019).

Pa	Paris, BNF, Lat. 7959. [https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9066477r/]
Pb	Paris, BNF, Lat. 16236. [https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10543245z/]
Pc	Paris, BNF, Lat. 7961. [https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9080974x/]
Pe	Paris, BNF, Lat. 7930. [https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10545282z/]
Pf	Paris, BNF, N.A.L. 2059. [https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105463673/]
Ps	Paris, BNF, Lat. 7962. [https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9068283d/]
Q	Florence, BML, Plut. 45.14. [http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOIetPFI1A4r7GxMH34&c=Expos.%20Servii%20in%20Virgilium#/book]
V	Vatican, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3317. [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3317]
W	Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 7.10 Aug. 2°.
Y	Trento, BC, 72 VP (3388).
r	Vatican, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1495, ff. 124-5. [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.1495]
Am.	Milan, VBA, A 79 inf. [http://213.21.172.25/0b02da82800a6d97]
Linc.	Oxford, BL, Lincoln College Lat. 91.

Murgia's *stemma* of the Servian tradition[4]



[4] Murgia 1975: 168. The *siglum* **[x]** indicates a lost witness not otherwise named.

Introduction

1. The DS scholia

The Servian commentary on Vergil has reached us in the form in which it was originally conceived by its late-fourth- and early-fifth-century author, as well as in a few other revised versions dating from the Early Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period. The earliest of these versions, which is known as *Seruius auctus* or, after its first editor Pierre Daniel, as *Seruius Danielis* or **DS** scholia, is commonly considered as a key piece of evidence for the study of ancient and early-medieval Vergilian scholarship.

Mistaken by Daniel as the genuine form of Servius' commentary itself, the **DS** scholia were in fact assembled sometime before the Carolingian Age by an anonymous Compiler who merged Servius' commentary with another commentary on Vergil that has not otherwise survived. Only three points can be established as to the identity of the latter. First, it must have coincided at least partially with Aelius Donatus' commentary or with another common source used by Servius and by Macrobius.[1] Second, it must have followed the sequence '*Eclogues* – *Georgics* – *Aeneid*', like Donatus' commentary, rather than '*Aeneid* – *Eclogues* – *Georgics*', like Servius' commentary.[2] Third, it must have been much more learned than Servius' commentary itself: to put it in Zetzel's words, the additions 'reveal a wider world of exegesis', normally neglecting the basic linguistic

[1] On the relationships between the **DS** scholia, Servius' commentary, and Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, cf. Thilo 1867 and 1881: XXII-VII, Barwick 1911: 120-1 and 126, Marinone 1946, and Santoro 1946. The hypothesis that the non-Servian source used by the Compiler should be identified with Donatus' commentary was apparently first advanced by Lammert (1912: 41-51) and by Wessner (in Klostermann *et al.* 1913: 307); after being reproposed in Rand 1916, it became one of the fundamental assumptions on which the project of the Harvard edition of Servius relied. For a survey of the progress of scholarship on this topic, cf. Baschera 2000: 9-35.

[2] In the non-Servian additions, internal references pointing backwards, such as *sicut dictum est*, imply the former sequence, as was first noticed in Lion 1826: VII-VIII. According to Murgia (1974: 269 n. 30), the **DS** scholia also followed the same sequence.

instructions of which Servius is fond and supplying a variety of more or less obscure particulars and views about Greek and Roman culture and Vergil's poems.[3]

Since Thilo,[4] the **DS** scholia have been commonly considered as assembled in the British Isles during the seventh century. No conclusive proof either in support or against this view has actually been gathered from an analysis of the text of the commentary itself. First, the changes which the Compiler made to his two sources, especially in the connecting passages, simply bear witness to the fact that he lived in a period when Pagan religious rites were not practised any longer[5] and when the observance of the rules of Latin language as prescribed by Servius and his contemporaries had become looser.[6] Second, the available evidence about the relationship between the Compiler's copy of Servius and the **Σ** archetype of the Servian tradition has not yet received full discussion, but it is far from certain that a definite conclusion will ever be reached on this point, given the high degree of contamination affecting Servian manuscripts, the presence of **DS** readings in Servian manuscripts and vice versa, and the nature of the **DS** scholia themselves.[7] According to Murgia, an early-seventh-century *terminus ante quem non* could be at least inferred from the fact that the Compiler's codex shared with **Σ** errors due to the misreading of a text in minuscule and such errors 'could hardly antedate the development of Insular minuscule, the first calligraphic minuscule, in the seventh century';[8] in fact, the errors in question may equally well be explained by reference to a late-antique cursive script.[9] Third, the recent attempts to demonstrate either that the **DS**

[3] Zetzel 2018: 131-6.

[4] Thilo 1881: LXVI-IX.

[5] Cf. Murgia 2003: 58 and *passim*.

[6] Cf. Goold 1970: 105-17.

[7] To judge from Goold 1970: 140 n. 32 and Murgia 1987a: 290-1, Murgia seems to have been inclined to think that the Compiler's copy of Servius might have belonged to the same branch as the **Γ** tradition. However, he labelled the relationships between **DS** and the Servian traditions as too complex and unstable for the former to be included in the *stemma* at the beginning of his *Prolegomena* (1975: 5), and he did not commit himself to discussing the issue in any of his later works either. On the basis of a sample analysis of the scholia *ad georg.* 1.1-278, Stok and Ramires reached the opposite conclusion that **DS** was probably independent of **Σ** in its Servian text (2022).

[8] Murgia 1987b: 303-4.

[9] See Dumville 1995: 228. On the use of cursive half-uncial in late-antique scholarly contexts, cf. also De Nonno 2000.

scholia were directly based on extant works other than Servius' commentary or that they were used as a source by any author living before the eighth century have proven unsuccessful. On the one hand, the parallels which Guillaumin recognised in the works by such Fathers of the Church as Tertullian and Jerome are too vague to be regarded as proofs of any genealogical connection,[10] whereas the parallels which he recognised in Macrobius' *Saturnalia* and Isidore's *origines* may be better explained by hypothesising that these texts and the **DS** scholia depend on a lost common source.[11] On the other hand, no conclusive piece of evidence has been found in support of the idea that Isidore's

[10] Guillaumin 2012 and 2019: XXXVI-VII. One example will suffice to illustrate the nature of the parallels in question: 'le latin du commentaire … se développe donc, après l'intervention-ajout du Servius Danielis, en une phrase plus ample : *repellebantur a sacerdotio – id est Fortunam muliebrem non coronabant – bis nuptae*. Or, la *Fortuna muliebris* n'est couronnée que chez Servius Danielis et chez Tertullien. Dans le *De monogamia* 17, ce dernier écrivait : *Fortunae muliebri coronam non imponit nisi uniuira, sicut nec matri matutae*. On est contraint de poser Tertullien comme la source de l'expression reprise par le Servius Danielis' (Guillaumin 2012: 235).

[11] Guillaumin 2010 and 2019: XVIII-XIX. Guillaumin judged the fact that Macr. *Sat.* 3.4.1-5 and Isid. *orig.* 18.7.4 are more complete than the verbally close passages in the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 4.56 and 131 as a proof that the latter derive from the former because the hypothesis that they derive from a lost common source would imply explaining '*obscurum per obscurius*'. In fact, this hypothesis seems entirely plausible: it has long been recognised that, at least on some occasions, the **DS** scholia and Macrobius must derive from a lost common source (cf. *supra*), and Isidore certainly had access to lost late-antique commentaries (cf. MacFarlane 1980: 7-8). More specifically, that the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 4.56 and 131 and Macrobius' and Isidore's corresponding passages should be conceived as based on a common source had been recently shown in Cameron 2011: 581-2 and Murgia 1975: 98-9. It is also worth remarking that, *pace* Guillaumin, Isidore's passage cannot be considered as more complete than the corresponding **DS** scholium. Admittedly, the text transmitted by **FP** and printed by *Harv.* 3 and Guillaumin as **DS** (*uenabula … dicta, quia sunt apta uenatui, quasi excipiabula*) is less complete and intelligible than Isidore's passage (*uenabula dicta quasi uenatui abilia, uel quia uenientem excipiunt, quasi excipiabula*); as was observed by Murgia, however, the former text need not be imputed to the Compiler, being readily explicable as the result of a *saut* (*apta uenatui, quasi <uenatui abilia, uel quia uenientem excipiunt, quasi> excipiabula*). Furthermore, there seems to be no logic to regarding the free quotation from Mart. 14.30 which follows *excipiabula* in the *origines* (*excipiunt enim apros expectantque leones, intrant ursos, sit tantum firma manus*) as the element that suggested the explanation *quia uenientem excipiunt, quasi excipiabula*; the focus is on *uenio* rather than on *excipio*, which is simply one of the verbs that could be employed together with the noun *uenabulum* (cf., e.g., Sen. *dial.* 1.2.8).

origines were based not only on Servius and on other lost late-antique Vergilian commentaries but also on the **DS** scholia.[12]

As will be shown in the conclusion, however, an analysis of the manuscript tradition suggests that the **DS** scholia may have reached the Continent from the British Isles in the context of the eighth-century missions of Boniface and his companions, and a *terminus post quem non* for their genesis is established by their earliest witness, the early-eighth-century bifolium in West Saxon cursive script known as the Spangenberg fragment.[13]

2. Focus of the thesis

No thorough investigation comparable to the one which Murgia dedicated to the transmission of the Servian commentary in his *Prolegomena to Servius 5* has hitherto been dedicated to the transmission of the **DS** scholia on the *Aeneid*.[14] The present thesis is intended to fill this gap, focusing, in particular, on the characters of the different versions transmitted by the extant witnesses and on their genealogical relationships.

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[12] MacFarlane 1980: 8, Murgia 1987b: 312-3 n. 7, and Elfassi 2012. Homeyer 1913 still offers the most extensive survey of parallels between the Servian and **DS** scholia and Isidore, although the conclusions reached on these parallels are not always persuasive.

[13] See chapter I, section 7 and the conclusion. On Insular Vergilian scholarship, cf. Baswell 1995: 36-40, Daintree 1999, Miles 2011: 23-50, and Ziolkowski 2016: 172-5. Evidently, even if the **DS** scholia were brought to the Continent from the British Isles, they could have been assembled in any other region which had cultural connections with the British Isles during that period. Other grammatical works are known to have reached the British Isles from Spain, and this possibility would deserve serious consideration in the case of the **DS** scholia as well if any more conclusive evidence of their employment by Isidore were found.

[14] Murgia's choice to focus his *Prolegomena* more on Servius than on the **DS** scholia is probably a direct consequence of the fact that very few **DS** witnesses are available in the section that he was editing, although it can also be observed that Murgia's primary interest had been in the transmission of Servius since his doctoral thesis, examined in 1966 and summarised in Murgia 1967 and 1968: 311-16. In any case, the section of the *Prolegomena* devoted to the review of Savage's classification of the **DS** and Servian manuscripts offers what can be considered as the most extensive and accurate survey of the transmission of the **DS** scholia on the *Aeneid* that has hitherto appeared. Previous surveys of comparably broad scope can be found in Thomas 1880: 44-124, Thilo 1881: XLVIII-LXVI, and Savage 1932.

A couple of preliminary clarifications are in order as to the corpus of witnesses that are herein considered. **DS** scholia on the *Aeneid* have been preserved not only by a few witnesses belonging to the **DS** tradition in the strictest sense but also, in the form of interpolations, by several Servian witnesses. The former fall within the primary scope of the thesis and are examined individually in chapters I-IV, whereas the latter, which are also described in Murgia's *Prolegomena*,[15] are only considered in the conclusion.[16]

DS witnesses and Servian witnesses interpolated from **DS** are labelled as such on the basis of a direct re-examination of their text. A different label from the one advocated by the most recent scholarship is adopted in four cases. **C**, **M**^{3}, and **Sp** are classified as **DS** witnesses, rather than, respectively, as a witness to the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 and to the Servian scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6, as a Servian witness interpolated from **DS**, and as a witness to Aelius Donatus' Vergilian commentary, for the reasons given in chapters I and II. By contrast, Oxford, BL, Canon. Class. Lat. 64 – a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century copy of Vergil which Murgia described as exhibiting 'a few **DS** scholia (amid *adespota*) at the beginning of *Aen.* I'[17] – is not included amongst either the **DS** witnesses or the Servian witnesses interpolated from **DS**. A closer analysis of the notes on *Aen.* 1.1-601 preserved by this codex shows that Murgia's description is not correct. Some notes do have verbal parallels with scholia transmitted by **DS** and Servian witnesses, but they almost

[15] Murgia 1975: 141-58.

[16] It goes without saying that a rigorous investigation of the interpolated witnesses would have required an analysis not only of the interpolations themselves but also of the whole text into which the interpolations are inserted. A warning against any temptation to disregard this common-sense principle should be drawn from the case of Burns's 1982 study of the Vatican scholia on the *Georgics* – a corpus of interpolations related to the **DS** non-Servian additions which are found in a group of Servian **Γ** witnesses. Burns claimed that no witness could be regarded as independent of the oldest one, namely **V**, on the grounds of an examination of the Vatican scholia themselves and, accordingly, based his reconstruction of the tradition on the assumption that any reading differing from the **V** one should be treated as an innovation. It is not possible to check whether Burns's claim is right because no reasonably complete collation of the alleged *descripti* has been made available; however, the fact that some of them had been positively shown by Murgia to be independent of **V** in their Servian text suggests that Burns's reconstruction of the tradition is probably wrong and that the edition which he built upon it could be substantially improved.

[17] Murgia 1975: 156.

consistently side with the latter against the former when the two diverge, as can be appreciated from the following example:[18]

	Seru.	**DS**	Canon. Class. Lat. 64
1.52[19]	AEOLIAM VENIT nouem insulae, quae sunt post fretum Siciliae, appellantur Aeoliae ab Aeolo rege, Hippotae filio, licet habeant et propria nomina. …	AEOLIAM VENIT … nouem autem insulae, quae sunt circa fretum Siciliae, appellantur Aeoliae ab Aeolo rege, licet et propria nomina habeant. …	EOLIAM … nouem insule que sunt post fretum Sicilie et appelantur Eolie ab Eolo rege, filio Ypote,
	poetae quidem fingunt hunc regem esse uentorum, sed, ut Varro dicit, rex fuit insularum.	poetae quidem fingunt hunc regem esse uentorum, Hippotae siue Iouis siue Neptuni filium. … Varro autem dicit hunc insularum regem fuisse.	quem Eolum poete fingunt esse regem uentorum, sed rex fuit insularum.

There are just a handful of notes which do not follow this pattern, including sections that are verbally close to the text shared by the **DS** and Servian witnesses and sections that correspond to **DS** non-Servian additions. Notwithstanding, all the latter sections can be easily explained as made up by a medieval scribe out of his own knowledge or as suggested by the Vergilian text itself or by other sources to which he could have had access. Similar objections can be raised as to the equally rare notes which include materials corresponding to **DS** non-Servian additions but no material corresponding to **DS** Servian sections; if possible, these notes appear even less compelling since one never finds any verbal similarity – no matter how tenuous – between the materials in question and the corresponding **DS** non-Servian additions. The notes on *Aen.* 1.273 and 1.2 offer examples of these two scenarios:

[18] The note on *Aen.* 1.52 and a few others, such as the one on 1.259, are especially significant because they clearly agree in wording with the Servian version of the scholium, besides lacking the **DS** non-Servian additions. Since the text transmitted by the Oxford manuscript is heavily rephrased, most notes of Servian origin can only be shown to lack the **DS** non-Servian additions.

[19] **Γ**'s *ab Aeolo rege, Hippotae filio*, adopted by *Harv.* 2 as Servius, corresponds to *ab Aeolo rege* in **Δ** and **DS** alike; since **Γ** notoriously indulges in offering free versions of the text of the *fabulae* (cf. Murgia 1968: 330-1), these words can be suspected of being an interpolation.

	Seru.	**DS**	Canon. Class. Lat. 64
1.273	DONEC REGINA SACERDOS historia hoc habet: Amulius et Numitor fratres fuerunt.	DONEC REGINA SACERDOS historia hoc habet: Amulius et Numitor fratres fuerunt, filii Procae.	INDE LVPE nota quod Amulius et Numitor fratres fuerunt et filii Proce, descendentes ex Siluio filio Enee.
1.2		sane *Italiam* 'I' contra naturam producta est, cum sit natura breuis.	Ytalia habet primam breuem sed hic producit; et ideo est hic figura estalis, id est productio contra naturam.

In particular, the latter note, which might have attracted Murgia's attention, being the first marginal note on the poem, can be paralleled in several grammatical works, including Donatus' *ars* (p. 396.14-15 K.). As for the former note, not only is it evident that *filii Proce* cannot be regarded as certainly drawn from the **DS** non-Servian addition, but it is also far from certain that the words *Amulius … fuerunt* are based on the Servian or **DS** scholium since they simply offer a well-known mythological explanation in a basic form. For these reasons, one can conclude that the notes of the Oxford manuscript should be more plausibly described as excerpts from Servius amidst *adespota*.

3. Approach and aims of the thesis

The approach adopted in this thesis is fundamentally traditional, in that the witnesses are conceived as indirect copies of a lost original whose text can be reconstructed by analysing the variants and applying editorial judgment. This approach would hardly have required any detailed discussion were it not for the fact that its suitability for Latin scholiastic corpora in general and for the **DS** scholia in particular was challenged by Zetzel in a paper presented at the 2004 *APA* panel on Servius. A comparison between Servius' commentary and the **DS** scholia led Zetzel to conclude that, unlike the former, the latter could not be legitimately conceived as a text with a single author and a manuscript tradition to be examined with the stemmatic method but only as a process and that the different versions transmitted by each extant witness should be edited

separately without attempting to reconstruct any lost original. The reason why Zetzel reached these conclusions is best explained in his own words:[20]

> No two manuscripts preserve the same version of DS. It is also striking that while the vast majority of manuscripts of the vulgate Servius are independent of the text of Virgil, the majority of DS manuscripts are written in the margins of Virgil. Marginalia are inherently unstable texts; commentaries are not. Viewed historically, the DS tradition is a process of adapting Servius, originally to include newly-found material and then to fit the uses of the scribes and readers of Virgil. … One could just as well say that every manuscript that contains exegesis of Virgil other than the bare vulgate of Servius has a compiler: each is an editorial act, not just a scribal act.

As is made clear in chapter II, Zetzel's remark that each extant independent manuscript preserves a version of **DS** differing from all the others is herein endorsed with no reservation. Notwithstanding, the idea that these versions should be regarded, in their entirety, as the results of distinct editorial acts appears less persuasive.

Discussing the problem of textual variance, Murgia adopted the labels of 'sincere' and non-'sincere' for witnesses which are or are not free from substantial conscious innovations relative to a specified ancestor.[21] If I understand it correctly, what Zetzel had in mind when he said that each **DS** witness results from an individual editorial act is a tradition where each witness can be described as fundamentally non-'sincere' relative to the latest common ancestor between it and any other extant witness. From a theoretical perspective, whether one such tradition can be examined stemmatically and the text of the latest common ancestor or of an ancestor thereof can be reconstructed would probably depend on the characters of the conscious innovations affecting each witness and on their recognisability. In any case, that of the **DS** scholia on the *Aeneid* does not appear to be one of these traditions. Seven independent witnesses can indeed be judged as non-'sincere' in all the sections that they preserve with regard to the latest common

[20] Zetzel 2004: 6. Similar remarks are repeated in Zetzel 2005: 7: 'the manuscripts of the enlarged Servius offer a striking example of the variability of marginal scholia: the origin of Servius Auctus is clearly in marginalia added to a continuous text of Servius, and it is perhaps no coincidence either that most manuscripts of the extended commentary are themselves marginal scholia or that there is very clearly no single version of Servius Auctus: it is a convenient modern name for the reconstruction of a text of which no two manuscripts contain the same notes in the same form'. Cf. also Lagioia 2015b: 120-36.

[21] Murgia 1975: XII.

ancestor that they share with any of the others: six of them (**OxPRSpTVa**) are characterised by their own substantial rewriting of the inherited text, whereas the last one (**M³**) diverges from the only other witness with which it can be compared, namely **F**, only because it often lacks non-Servian sections and occasionally exhibits Servian readings instead of the corresponding **DS** ones. As for the remaining two witnesses, the situation is different. Nothing suggests that **CF** differ from the archetype or even from the original in any substantial conscious innovation other than the loss of non-Servian sections and the occasional presence of the Servian rather than the **DS** corresponding readings in their scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6 and *ad Aen.* 6-7, respectively. In fact, the nature of the **DS** scholia makes it possible to conclude that, in all likelihood, **CF** are not otherwise affected by such innovations. As a rule, the Servian sections transmitted by **CF**, as well as by **M³**, follow the text of the archetype of the Servian tradition; however, they sometimes depart from it in minor vagaries which, on the one hand, can be paralleled in no extant Servian family but only in the other **DS** witnesses and, on the other, often reflect linguistic idiosyncrasies emerging from the non-Servian sections as well. This suggests that the Servian text was not simply reintroduced from the Servian tradition at a later stage. Likewise, the close parallels in wording between some of **C**'s and **F**'s non-Servian sections and other extant classical or late-antique sources, such as Gellius or Macrobius, imply that these sections were not affected by significant rephrasing either.[22]

In the last chapter of his *Marginal Scholarship and Textual Deviance*, Zetzel distinguished between traditions where the precise verbal form is perceived as relevant in itself and those where the focus is rather on the practical function of the contents, which he described as characterised by formal and by functional textuality, respectively.[23] If one adopts these categories, the observations made in the previous paragraph can be summarised as follows: although the lack of formal textuality is clear in some areas of the **DS** tradition, the commentary seems to have been uninterruptedly assigned such textuality in the branches that resulted in **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 and **F**'s

[22] For Gellius, cf., e.g., Murgia 2004b: 192-4; for Macrobius, see *supra*.

[23] Zetzel 2005: 148-57.

ad Aen. 3-5 and 8-12, as well as (depending on the definition adopted) in **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6, **F**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 6-7, and **M**$^{3'}$'s scholia.[24]

A clarification is also called for on the layout of the manuscripts. As shown *supra*, Zetzel suggested that the degree of textual variance characterising the **DS** tradition could be related to the fact that these scholia were transmitted in the margins of Vergilian manuscripts. Admittedly, six of the extant medieval witnesses are Vergilian manuscripts with the **DS** scholia in the margins, and some of the others can also be suspected of deriving from such manuscripts. Yet, a fundamental distinction should be drawn between witnesses preserving the scholia as a self-standing continuous text alongside the main text and witnesses preserving more or less disordered sets of notes alongside the main text, which are conventionally labelled as commented and glossed editions.[25] Marginal notes are indeed inherently unstable, but marginal commentaries are not. The six Vergilian manuscripts with the **DS** scholia in the margins include four glossed editions, namely **OxTVa** and **T**'s partial *descriptus* **Pd**, but also two commented editions, namely **F** and its partial *descriptus* **G**, and there is no reason to believe that any glossed edition could be found among the early ancestors of the Carolingian and post-Carolingian witnesses.

The aims of the thesis can be described as twofold. First, it will lay the foundation for a new critical edition of the **DS** scholia, clarifying which witnesses could be dismissed as useless and which principles should be adopted to govern the employment of the others on the basis of a discussion of dozens of passages. Second, it will offer the first detailed analysis of the way in which the **DS** scholia were read and studied from the

[24] Resulting from the fact that ancestors of these witnesses were corrected against copies of the Servian commentary, the innovations in question lie somewhere between the phenomena which Zetzel accepted as admissible even within the domain of formal textuality ('collation of readings, correction against other copies') and those which he regarded as characteristic of functional textuality ('revision of substance and form').

[25] On commented and glossed editions, cf. Holtz 1984: 154-63 and 2000: 107-11 and Ottaviano 2013-14: 44-7 and 2017: 399-400. It should be observed that the definition that is currently in use for the former label is slightly different from the definition originally proposed by Holtz. Adopting a rigidly codicological perspective, Holtz used the phrase 'édition commentée' to describe any manuscript exhibiting a ruled column for the main text together with one or more marginal ruled areas for the commentary, no matter whether the marginal areas in question were or were not occupied by a commentary.

early eighth century, when the Spangenberg fragment was copied, to the end of the sixteenth century, when Daniel's edition appeared.

Murgia's *Prolegomena* has shown how a monograph on the transmission of a specific commentary can prove of real use and interest to students of other Latin grammatical works as well. I would be pleased if this thesis could achieve, at least to some extent, the same result, not only in that it offers an example of what can and cannot be established with a traditional approach in the study of the transmission of a commentary that did not attain Servius' exceptional status but also in that it offers new insights into some recurrent patterns in scribal and editorial procedures and into the way in which scholiastic authorship could be perceived between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period.

I
The Primary Witnesses

Only nine independent witnesses to the **DS** scholia on the *Aeneid* survive. This chapter provides a description for each of them, offering a general overview of their main codicological and palaeographical features but mostly focusing on the elements which prove to be directly relevant for the study of the transmission of the **DS** scholia.[1]

1. Kassel, UB, 2° Poet. et Roman. 6 (C)

DESCRIPTION: parchment; II + 109 + III' leaves; $1\text{-}4^{8} + 5^{11\text{-}3} + 6\text{-}7^{8} + 8^{8\text{-}3} + 9\text{-}11^{8} + 12^{2} + 13\text{-}14^{8} + 15^{6}$; 280 × 240 mm (230-5 × 180-90 mm); ruling with a hard point; single column; 30-1 lines; ancient quire signatures in the form of Roman numerals;[2] modern foliation. In its current state, **C** is highly lacunose: eight gatherings are missing (1a, 2a, 6a, 8a, 10a-b, 11a, and 13a), and so are the last three leaves of gatherings 5 and 8.[3] Nothing suggests that any written leaf is missing after f. 109.[4]

HANDWRITING: The main text is written in a quite regular Caroline minuscule by

[1] To describe the structure of the witnesses, I have adopted a simplified version of the 'English collation formula': an Arabic numeral represents each gathering; the following superscript Arabic numeral states the number of leaves included in the gathering as it was originally conceived by the manuscript-makers, whereas superscript Arabic numerals preceded by '–' or '+', if present, indicate later losses or additions.

[2] The signatures appear in the centre of the lower margin of the first *recto*. The numbering starts afresh in the gatherings containing the scholia *ad Aen.* 6 (13-15).

[3] Gathering 5 is a quaternion to which three final leaves must have been added with the aim of completing the text of the scholia *ad Aen.* 1 and making the following start in the first *recto* of a new gathering. A similar solution is adopted in gathering 12 (ff. 86-7), a bifolium where **C**'s scribes copied the last section of the scholia *ad Aen.* 5, leaving blank a whole page and a half after the explicit. A *terminus ante quem non* for the loss of the gatherings and leaves at issue is established by the sixteenth-century witnesses emanating from **C** that are discussed in chapter III, section 1.

[4] Gathering 15 is a quaternion lacking two leaves, but the text stops abruptly six lines before the end of the last *verso*.

scribes occasionally indulging in cursive traits;[5] lemmata are marked by initial capital letters. Incipits and explicits are written in rustic capitals.

CONTENTS: **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1.*praef.*-49, 139-242, and 317-716, 2.1-104 and 243-602, 3.178-718, 4.660-705, 5.1-319 and 813-71, and 6.*praef.*-153 and 359-830 [ff. 1^{r}-109^{v}].

C is the main witness to the **DS** scholia on the first two books of the *Aeneid* and transmits a non-'sincere' version of the subsequent ones, lacking most non-Servian additions and occasionally exhibiting Servian rather than **DS** readings. The manuscript presents several corrections and marginal notes related to the content of the scholia (ss. IX-XI).[6] As for the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2, in particular, five main revisers were distinguished by the Harvard editors, who claimed that four of them (**C**^{2}, **C**^{4}, **C**^{5}, and **C**^{6}) made use of another **DS** codex, conceivably **C**'s own exemplar, for at least part of their revisions, whereas **C**^{3} employed a Servian codex for the same purpose. Although the identifications of the hands proposed by the Harvard editors do not prove to be always reliable and some of the corrections are not easily attributable to any of the five,[7] the distinction between '**DS**' and 'Servian' revisers can be accepted, with the caveat that **C**^{6} should be included in the latter class together with **C**^{3}.[8] **C**^{3} and **C**^{6} confined themselves to portions of different length of the scholia *ad Aen.* 1 without avoiding overlapping, while the other main revisers show signs of coordination because 'sua quisque in codicis parte … textum sanabant'.[9] The scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6 exhibit sporadic corrections; at least one of the scribes correcting this section must have had access to a **DS** witness.[10]

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[5] Cf. Beeson 1932: 89-90 and Savage 1932: 90.

[6] Cf. Thilo 1881: XLVIII, Savage 1932: 89-90, and *Harv.* 2: V-VI. The marginal notes at issue include lemmata or keywords, brief summaries, and clarifications on the kind of information provided in the scholia.

[7] **C**^{2}, **C**^{3}, **C**^{4}, **C**^{5}, or **C**^{6} are here identified with the authors of the marginal corrections to the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.12.21-2 (f. 4^{v}), 1.5.18 (f. 3^{v}), 1.159.13-14 (f. 10^{v}), 2.13.1-2 (f. 42^{r}), and 1.*praef.*99-100 (f. 1^{r}), respectively.

[8] None of the corrections ascribed to **C**^{6} seems to imply the use of another **DS** witness, while at least some of them must depend on a Servian witness; cf., e.g., the change of *inania sentire* into *in hoc assentire* and of *narratione* into *eius uita* in the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.1 on f. 1^{r}.

[9] *Harv.* 2: VI.

[10] See the scholium *ad Aen.* 5.317 on f. 85^{v}, where a reviser noted the non-Servian additions *id est finem cursus* and *et deest uisu. Cicero* above the line.

PROVENANCE: Written in the eastern regions of the Carolingian empire, perhaps in Fulda, in the second half of the ninth century, **C** should be identified with the *Fuldensis* that was found by François de Maulde in 1584 and subsequently became an object of interest for several scholars, including Daniel and Kaspar Schoppe.[11] Brought to Kassel, perhaps in 1632 together with other manuscripts from Fulda and surely not later than the second half of the eighteenth century,[12] it was rediscovered by Dübner in 1831.[13]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Thilo 1881: XLVIII-LVII; Savage 1932: 87-93; Munk Olsen 1985: 806 n° Bc. 30; Hilberg 1993: 14; Bischoff 1998: 374 n° 1801; Bergmann–Stricker 2005: 728-9 n° 329.

[11] See chapter III, section 1. **C** has been identified with the codex referred to as 'Glossa super 6. lib. Aeneidos' in the sixteenth-century catalogue of Fulda edited by Kindlinger (1812: 79).

[12] A *terminus post quem non* is provided by Schmincke's mention of an ancient codex of 'Servii scholi[a] in Virgilium' in his inventory of the holdings of the library of Kassel (1767: 208).

[13] Dübner 1834.

2. Bern, BB, 172 and Paris, BNF, Lat. 7929/1 (F)

DESCRIPTION: parchment; **F^{B}**: V + 151 + V′ leaves, **F^{P}**: 126 leaves; **F^{B}**: 1^{4} + 2^{6-1+1} + 3^{9} + 4^{4} + 5-20^{8}, **F^{P}**: 21^{8-1} + 22-35^{8} + $36^{10-4+1(?)}$; 310-5 × 275-80 mm (230 × 215-60 mm); ruling with a hard point; three columns; 24 lines in the central column and a variable number of lines in the lateral ones, except for gathering 1; ancient quire signatures in the form of upper-case letters in gatherings 11-33,[14] alternative ancient quire indications spelt out in gatherings 26-7;[15] modern foliation. The original first leaves of gatherings 2 and 21 and last leaves of gathering 36 have gone missing, and gathering 20 has been seriously damaged by moisture. **F^{B}′**s f. 5 and **F^{P}′**s f. 126, which replace the lost leaf of gathering 2 and the first lost leaf of gathering 36, date to the twelfth and the eleventh century, respectively. The first three pages of gathering 5 (**F^{B}**, ff. 24^{r}-5^{r}), now following the end of the *Eclogues* (**F^{B}**, f. 23^{v}) and preceding the beginning of the *Georgics* (**F^{B}**, f. 25^{v}), were originally left blank: the manuscript may have been initially meant to begin with the *Georgics*, whose incipit is particularly elaborate.[16] Gathering 1 uses a different ruling pattern from the following leaves: ff. 1 and 4 are not ruled, while ff. 2-3 have 53 ruling lines in the three columns and additional lines in the upper and lower margins. Since this gathering precedes a certain lacuna, it might even be suspected of being extraneous to the original codex.

HANDWRITING: The text and the paratexts alike are written by several scribes in a regular Caroline minuscule, which presents some features of the Saint-Denis type.[17] As for the Vergilian text, rustic capital (or uncial) letters are used for the initials of the lines, for the speaker indications in the *Eclogues*, and for the incipits and explicits; the incipit of the *Georgics*, however, is written in square capitals and occupies almost the whole page. The initials of each *Eclogue* and book of the *Georgics* and of the *Aeneid* are normally *litterae notabiliores*; so are, with some exceptions, the initials of the first of every eight

[14] The signatures appear in the centre of the lower margin of the last *verso* of each gathering. No signature can be found in gatherings 13, 15, 20, 30, and 32. The *Aeneid* starts on the first leaf of gathering 11.

[15] 'iste quartus est' (**F^{P}**, f. 47^{v}) and 'iste est quintus quaternio' (**F^{P}**, f. 55^{v}). These indications appear in the lower margin of the last *verso* of the two gatherings. As suggested in Cinato–Mercuzot 2019b, they might indicate that the gatherings were originally divided into two production units.

[16] See Mynors 1972: IX.

[17] See Bischoff 1998: 115.

lines in **F**^{B}'s ff. 6-31 and 72-151 and in **F**^{P},[18] as well as the initials of the lines corresponding to the beginning of a new section in **F**^{B}'s ff. 32-71. In six passages, each Vergilian hexameter is divided between two ruling lines.[19] The scholia are mostly copied next to the hexameter to which they refer, but *signes-de-renvoi* are sometimes used when the reference is unclear.[20] Normally, the scholia concerning the same hexameter are grouped in a single paragraph, and the paragraphs of the two columns are meant to be read alternately; however, this is not always the case since the distribution of the scholia among the paragraphs and the distribution of the paragraphs between the columns also depend on the space available. Lemmata are marked by initial capital letters, written in *ekthesis* if they coincide with the beginning of a new paragraph.

CONTENTS: 1. *Anth.* 672 [**F**^{B}, f. 2^{r}]. — 2. Don. *uita Verg.* and *ad ecl.praef.* and beginning of *uita Bernensis I* [**F**^{B}, ff. 2^{r}-3^{r}]. — 3. *figurae Graecorum* [**F**^{B}, f. 3^{v}]. — 4a. *ecl.* 1.1-47 [**F**^{B}, f. 5^{r-v}] and *ecl.* 1.48-10 [**F**^{B}, ff. 6^{r}-23^{v}]. — 4b. Bern scholia *ad ecl.* 1.48-10 [**F**^{B}, ff. 6^{r}-23^{v}]. — 5. *figurae Graecorum* [**F**^{B}, f. 24^{r}]. — 6. Astronomical diagram [**F**^{B}, f. 24^{v}]. — 7a. *georg.* with *Anth.* 2.*georg.*I-IV [**F**^{B}, ff. 25^{v}-72^{r}]. — 7b. Bern scholia *ad georg.* [**F**^{B}, ff. 25^{v}-72^{r}]. — 8a. *Aen.* 1-5.852 with *Anth.* 634 and 1.I-II and IV [**F**^{B}, ff. 72^{r}-151^{v}], *Aen.* 6.14-12.819 with *Anth.* 1.X-XII [**F**^{P},

[18] Chatelain (1884-1900: 20) and Holtz (1985: 25) suggested that **F**'s scribes could have employed an exemplar whose pages started with a *littera notabilior* and included only eight Vergilian lines because of the presence of either scholia or illuminations. As noticed by Ottaviano (2013-14: 147-9), however, not only would such an exemplar be hardly conceivable for so long a text, but **F**'s *litterae notabiliores* occur every eight lines in leaves that were copied from different exemplars and sometimes occur at different intervals although the exemplar does not change. From this perspective, it seems more likely that this layout was primarily adopted for aesthetic purposes.

[19] *ecl*. 8.1-5 (**F**^{B}, f. 17^{r}) and 10.1-18 and 21-57 (**F**^{B}, ff. 21^{r}-3^{r}), *Aen*. 6.(1-13+)14-25 (**F**^{P}, f. 1^{r}), 6.724-33 (**F**^{P}, f. 16^{r}), 8.127-31 (**F**^{P}, f. 39^{v}), 8.637-46 and 651-6 (**F**^{P}, ff. 50^{v}-1^{r}). In the second case, this layout was probably employed so as to avoid blank spaces at the end of the gathering, as suggested by Holtz (1984: 160 n. 166). The same explanation, however, cannot be adopted for the other passages. Ottaviano hypothesised that this layout could also have been meant to mark the beginning of a significant new section (2013-14: 145), and this may well have been the case for the first, third, fourth, and fifth passage, which concern, respectively, the five lines providing the argument for *ecl.* 8, the first twenty-five lines of book 6, and the first ten lines of Anchises' speech on the destiny of the souls and the first five lines of Aeneas' address to Evander. Why each hexameter in *Aen.* 8.637-46 and 651-6 was divided between two ruling lines is not clear.

[20] When two scholia concerning either the same lemma or overlapping portions of the same Vergilian line are divided between the two columns, a *signe-de-renvoi* often marks the scholium which is meant to be read first.

ff. 1r-125v], and *Aen.* 12.820-67 [**F**^{P}, f. 126r-v]. — 8b. **DS** scholia on *Aen.* 3-5.852 [**F**^{B}, ff. 104v-51v] and 6.14-12.819 [**F**^{P}, ff. 1r-125v].

F is the earliest known example of a commented edition of Vergil.[21] Its Vergilian text is commonly regarded as copied from more than one source: in particular, the *Eclogues* and *Aeneid* 9.537-12, except for nearly five hundred lines in book 10, derive from the *Vergilius Romanus*,[22] whereas the *Georgics* and the rest of the *Aeneid* seem to depend on a different exemplar.[23] The text of the three works was thoroughly corrected – normally *in linea*, rarely *supra lineam* or *in margine* – against different exemplars by several contemporary and later hands. The earliest corrections, including the variant readings in the margins of the *Georgics* and *Aeneid* 3-5, which were copied before the scholia, date from the production of the manuscript. The Vergilian works are accompanied by the Bern scholia and by the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12; both are written as self-standing continuous commentaries in two parallel columns, to the left and to the right of the main text.[24] The lack of scholia *ad Aen.* 6.239-75 may be due to the loss of a leaf in the exemplar or in one of its ancestors.[25] A few notes added at different stages can be found between the Vergilian lines and in the margins; some of these are connected with the β tradition of Tiberius Claudius Donatus,[26] and a few others consist of rephrased excerpts from the **DS** scholia.[27]

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[21] Cf. Holtz 1984: 156-63 and 2000: 108.

[22] Vatican, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3867. See section 2.1.

[23] According to Ottaviano (2013-14: 158), these sections were copied from a witness belonging to the family of the *Vergilius Palatinus* (Vatican, BAV, Pal. Lat. 1631) and of Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 70 Gud. Lat.

[24] Hagen suggested that these variants could have been drawn from the exemplar of the scholia and that this exemplar lacked the first two books of the *Aeneid* (in Ribbeck 1866: 330).

[25] See Savage 1932: 102. Jeunet-Mancy erroneously presented the lacuna as ending with the scholium *ad Aen.* 6.252 on *NOCTVRNAS ARAS* and even distinguished between the Servian and **DS** versions of the following scholium on *INCOHAT* (*INCOHAT autem perficit. et est uerbum sacrorum* Seru.: *INCOHAT sermo pontificalis, id est perficit* **DS**). The alleged **DS** version of this scholium is a note copied by a later scribe on **F**$^{P'}$s f. 6r.

[26] Cf. chapter III, section 2.2. On the β family of Donatus, cf. Pirovano 2018: 61-3 and 2019: 164.

[27] Cf., e.g., the notes on *Aen.* 4.50 (**F**^{B}, f. 120v) and 569 (**F**^{B}, f. 131r).

PROVENANCE: Produced in north-central France, perhaps in Saint-Denis,[28] in the middle decades of the ninth century, **F** was offered by an Ildemarus to the abbey of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire in Fleury during the tenth or the eleventh century.[29] The manuscript was referred to as *Floriacensis* or *Antissiodorensis* by Daniel, who employed it as his main witness to the **DS** scholia on the last ten books of the *Aeneid*.[30] The circumstances of the rediscovery are unknown,[31] but it is clear that **F** had already been split into two parts by then: Daniel's edition includes only the scholia transmitted by **GT** in the sections where **F** is not available because of the physical damage affecting $\mathbf{F^B}$'s last and $\mathbf{F^P}$'s first gathering. After Daniel's death, $\mathbf{F^B}$ was inherited first by Jacques Bongars and then by Jakob von Graviseth, who donated it to the Burgerbibliothek of Bern in 1632.[32] Having (re-)entered Pierre Pithou's library sometime before November 1596,[33] $\mathbf{F^P}$ became subsequently the property of Jacques-Auguste de Thou;[34] de Thou's manuscripts were

[28] The attribution of the codex to Saint-Denis was suggested by Bischoff on palaeographical grounds (1998: 115); Ottaviano observed that the *Vergilius Romanus* was also held in the same abbey (2013-14: 141).

[29] The dedicatory couplet on $\mathbf{F^B}$'s f. 2^v (*contulit alme tibi pater hunc Benedicte libellum / Ildemarus alumnus et ipse tuus monazonta*) was compared by Pellegrin (1984-5: 165) with similar texts occurring in codices of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire. A tenth-century monk of that abbey named Hildemarus is mentioned in a contract signed in September 940, which was pointed out by Ottaviano (2013-14: 142), and also in an agreement between Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire and two other abbeys dating to February 942. The two documents can be read in Prou–Vidier 1900: 119-20 and 123-4. Savage (1932: 100 n. 1) considered the fact that 'a **DS** note on *Aen*. 8.275 which occurs only in *F* is cited in the margin of a Fleury book, Bern. 357 *saec*. X' as an additional proof of the presence of **F** in Fleury during the tenth century. In fact, Bern, BB, 357 is now ascribed to Saint-Germain of Auxerre, and the scholium in question is shared by **FG** and the Servian witnesses.

[30] Daniel added his own name on $\mathbf{F^B}$'s f. 1^r and noted down the names of the authors mentioned in the scholia in the margins of some of the following leaves.

[31] See chapter III, sections 1.1 and 5.3. **F** has been identified with the codex recorded as '64. Virgilii opera, Seruii commentariis illustrata' in the 1552 catalogue of the library of the abbey of Fleury (in Cuissard 1889: IX).

[32] Cf. section 8 and chapter III, section 2.1. $\mathbf{F^B}$ has been identified with the codex recorded as 'VI.17. Virgilius 4. aliud exemplar erosum. f.' in the *Clavis bibliothecae Bongarsianae* (Bern, BB, A 5, p. 65).

[33] The *terminus post quem non* is established by Pithou's death. Pithou noted his name in the upper margin of $\mathbf{F^P}$'s f. 1^r and in the lower margin of $\mathbf{F^P}$'s f. 126^v. As will be shown in chapter III, section 5.3, $\mathbf{F^P}$ might well have been made available to Daniel by Pithou himself.

[34] $\mathbf{F^P}$ is recorded as '182. Virgilius a lib. VI ad finem cum comment. Seruii fol.' in the 1617 handwritten catalogue of de Thou's library (Paris, BNF, Dupuy 653, f. 12^r).

acquired by Jean-Baptiste Colbert in 1680 and became part of the Royal Library of France in 1732. **F**^{B} and **F**^{P} were discovered to have originally been part of a single codex by Thomas.[35]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Thilo 1881: LIX-LXI; Savage 1932: 96-103; Murgia 1975: 9-10; Munk Olsen 1985: 705 n° B. 12; Kaster 1990: 38-41; Bischoff 1998: 115 n° 545; Ottaviano 2013-14: 141-60; Homburger–Mittenhuber 2015c; Cinato–Mercuzot 2019b.

2.1. Appendix: The relationship between **F** and the *Vergilius Romanus* in *Aen*. 10

Since Mynors's and Geymonat's editions, the text of *Aen.* 9.537-12 transmitted by **F** has been commonly regarded as copied from the *Vergilius Romanus* (*Rom.*) or from one of its *descripti*, except for a long section in *Aen.* 10.[36] The section in question was identified approximately with vv. 388-859 by the former editor and with vv. 371-853 by the latter.[37]

These reconstructions were challenged by Kaster and by Ottaviano on two grounds. On the one hand, they remarked that, whilst *Aen.* 9.537 is the opening line of a new quaternion, the lines of *Aen.* 10 considered by Mynors or Geymonat as depending on another witness do not fit precisely into any of **F**'s gathering. On the other, they pointed out that **F** occasionally diverged from *Rom.* at the beginning of *Aen.* 10 and in *Aen.* 11-12 as well:[38]

10.35 potest **F**: potes *Rom.*

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[35] Thomas 1879. Cf. Thomas 1880: app. I-XV.

[36] Mynors 1972: IX-X and Geymonat: 1973: XIX. **F** had already been linked to the *Romanus* in Ribbeck 1866: 329-33.

[37] Mynors may have reached this conclusion because he identified a disagreement between **F** and *Rom.* in *Aen.* 10.388 (*Sthenium*] *Sthenlum Rom*.: *St*(*h*)*elenum codd. saeculi noni*) and an agreement in *Aen.* 10.860 (*et talibus infit*] *ac talia fatur Rom.* **F**), although his apparatus does not list any significant disagreement after *Aen.* 10.850. Geymonat's thesis seems to be based on the assumptions that the first and the last line of the section should coincide with the beginning of a leaf of **F** (**F**^{P}, f. 78) and with the end of another (**F**^{P}, f. 87) and that there is no significant agreement between **F** and *Rom.* in *Aen.* 10.371-87 and no significant disagreement in *Aen.* 10.853-9. Geymonat's apparatus mentions a divergence that had not been recorded by Mynors in *Aen.* 10.373 (*qua* **F**: *quo Rom.*).

[38] Kaster 1990: 39-41 and Ottaviano 2013-14: 154-8. The last seven readings were pointed out by the former, the others by the latter. Having had the chance to examine **F** only cursorily, Kaster cited the readings of this manuscript from Mynors's collation.

10.102 tremefacta **F**: tremifacta *Rom.*

10.104 atque **F**: adque *Rom.*

10.153 haut *Rom.*: aut $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$: haud $\mathbf{F}^{pc}$

10.180 urbs **F**: urbis *Rom.*

10.189 Phaethontis] Phoetontis **F**: Petontis *Rom.*

10.204 hinc *Rom.* $\mathbf{F}^{pc}$: hin $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$

quingentos **F**: quingetos *Rom.*

10.247 haud **F**: haut *Rom.*

10.272 liquida si **F**: liquidas si *Rom.*

10.306 fragmina **F**: fracmina *Rom.*

11.1 reliquit *Rom.*: relinquit **F**

11.113 reliquit *Rom.*: relinquit **F**

11.465 latis **F**: *nihil hab. Rom.*

11.912 temptent *Rom.*: temptant **F**

12.283 diripuere *Rom.*: deripuere **F**

12.400 retorto **F**: reporto *Rom.*

12.627 possint *Rom.*: possunt **F**

In particular, Ottaviano suggested that **F**'s last books should be regarded as transcribed from a *descriptus* of *Rom.* that had been contaminated from another branch of the tradition and that the only lines of *Aen.* 10 not depending on *Rom.* at all should be identified with those transmitted by $\mathbf{F}^{p'}$s gathering 31 (ff. 80-7), namely *Aen.* 10.467-853.

The evidence pointed out by Kaster and by Ottaviano deserves to be rediscussed. On the one hand, the divergences between the two manuscripts appear less significant than they implied. In twelve cases, the *Rom.* readings are actually identical to the original **F** readings and cannot be adduced against the dependence of the latter codex on the former:[39]

	Readings listed by Kaster or Ottaviano	Correct readings
10.35	potest **F**: potes *Rom.*	potest $\mathbf{F}^{pc}$: potes *Rom.* $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$
10.102	tremefacta **F**: tremifacta *Rom.*	tremefacta $\mathbf{F}^{pc}$: tremifacta *Rom.* $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$
10.180	urbs **F**: urbis *Rom.*	urbs $\mathbf{F}^{pc}$: urbis *Rom.* $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$
10.189	Phaethontis] Phoetontis **F**: Petontis *Rom.*	Phaethontis] Phoetontis $\mathbf{F}^{pc}$: Pethontis *Rom.* $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$, *ut uid.*

[39] These cases include the one labelled by Kaster as 'clearly the most significant': *Aen.* 11.465. The word *latis* was added above the line by a later reviser on $\mathbf{F}^{p'}$s f. 99^{r}.

10.204	quingentos **F**: quingetos *Rom.*	quingentos **F** *Rom.*^{pc}: quingetos *Rom.*^{ac}
10.247	haud **F**: haut *Rom.*	haud $\mathbf{F}^{pc}$: haut *Rom.* $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$
10.272	liquida si **F**: liquidas si *Rom.*	liquida si $\mathbf{F}^{pc}$: liquidas si *Rom.* $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$, *ut uid.*
10.306	fragmina **F**: fracmina *Rom.*	fragmina $\mathbf{F}^{pc}$: fracmina *Rom.* $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$
11.465	latis **F**: latis *non hab. Rom.*	latis $\mathbf{F}^{pc}$: *nihil hab. Rom.* $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$
11.912	temptent *Rom.*: temptant **F**	temptent *Rom.* $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$: temptant $\mathbf{F}^{pc}$, *ut uid.*
12.283	diripuere *Rom.*: deripuere **F**	diripuere *Rom.* $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$: deripuere $\mathbf{F}^{pc}$
12.400	retorto **F**: reporto *Rom.*	retorto $\mathbf{F}^{pc}$: reporto *Rom.* $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$

The remaining six discrepancies pointed out by Kaster and Ottaviano do not seem particularly compelling either. Five of them consist of superior readings in *Rom.* corresponding to readings in **F** which might well be explained as errors committed while transcribing those readings or, in some cases, even as semiconscious corrections. The only superior **F** reading corresponding to a *Rom.* error can be explained as an easy orthographical correction: *atque* **F**: *adque Rom.* (10.104).

The fact that the section of *Aen.* 10 not depending on *Rom.* in either Mynors's or Geymonat's opinion does not accord with the division in gatherings of **F**, as Kaster and Ottaviano pointed out, also deserves investigation. The presence of correct readings corresponding to *Rom.* errors not only in $\mathbf{F}^{P'}$'s gathering 31 (ff. 80-7) but also in the last leaves of $\mathbf{F}^{P'}$'s gathering 30 (ff. 78-9) is hardly disputable.[40] An easy explanation for this distribution can be offered if one considers the sequence of the scribes, rather than of the gatherings. Changes of hands can be detected between the first and the second line of $\mathbf{F}^{P'}$s f. 78^{r} (*Aen.* 10.371-2) and between $\mathbf{F}^{P'}$s ff. 87^{v} and 88^{r} (*Aen.* 10.853-4), that is immediately before the first significant divergence of this section (10.373: *qua* **F**: *quo Rom.*) and immediately after the last one (10.850: *exitium Rom.*: *exilium* $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$).[41] From this perspective, the lines of *Aen.* 10 transmitted by **F** which do not depend on *Rom.* should

[40] In $\mathbf{F}^{P'}$s ff. 78-9, it is possible to trace the following correct readings corresponding to *Rom.* errors: *qua* **F**: *quo Rom.* (*Aen.* 10.373), *pudor* **F**: *furor Rom.* (10.398), *canentia* **F**: *canenti Rom.* (10.418), *audiit* **F**: *audit Rom.* (10.424), *telo* **F**: *telum Rom.* (10.425), *pugnae* $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$, *ut uid.*: *pugna Rom.* (10.441), *miratus* $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$: *miratur Rom.* (10.446), *utrique* **F**: *utrisque Rom.* (10.450), and *hunc* **F**: *huc Rom.* (10.457).

[41] The variant *exilium* can be regarded as stemmatically relevant since it is also transmitted by the *Vergilius Palatinus* and by Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 70 Gud. Lat., with which **F**'s other sections not depending on *Rom.* share innovations (see section 2).

probably be identified with *Aen.* 10.372-853, rather than with *Aen.* 10.388-859 (Mynors), 10.371-853 (Geymonat), or 10.467-853 (Ottaviano).

3. Munich, BSB, Clm 6394, ff. 164^{r}-5^{v} (M^{3})[42]

DESCRIPTION: parchment; 365 × 260 mm (300 × 200 mm); ruling with a hard point; one column; 44 lines; modern foliation. Ff. 164 and 165 belong to **M**'s gathering 23 (ff. 159-67), which consists of a quaternion (ff. 159-63 and 165-7) into which a singleton is inserted (f. 164).[43]

HANDWRITING: The text of the two leaves was copied in a late Caroline minuscule by one of the scribes engaged in the production of the codex (**M**^{1}) and by a later scribe (**M**^{3}).[44] Lemmata are distinguished by upper-case initials, which are written in red ink in the section copied by **M**^{1} and are preceded by the symbol ^{y} in the sections copied by **M**^{3}.

CONTENTS: 1. **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 10.104-66 [f. 164^{r-v}]. — 2. Servian scholia *ad Aen.* 10.166-75 [f. 165^{r}, ll. 1-24]. — 3. **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 10.175-202 [f. 165^{r}, ll. 24-44 and f. 165^{v}].[45]

M is a Servian witness affiliated to the γ family.[46] As far as **M**'s gathering 23 is concerned, **M**^{1} copied a regular γ version of the Servian scholia *ad Aen.* 9.631-10.104 (ff. 159-63), 10.166-75 (f. 165^{r}), and 10.202-375 (ff. 166-7), whereas **M**^{3} copied a non-'sincere' version of the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 10.104-66 (f. 164) and 10.175-202 (f. 165). The scholia *ad Aen.* 10.175-202 were probably omitted by **M**^{1}, who left a page and a half blank for them, because they were not available in his Servian exemplar. Whether the scholia *ad Aen.* 10.104-66 were likewise omitted by **M**^{1} or were copied on a singleton, now lost, which should have been placed between ff. 163 and 165 is uncertain.[47] In either case, the

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[42] The present description refers to the two leaves where **M** is a **DS** witness. Descriptions of the entire codex can be found in the works listed in the bibliography below.

[43] The stub of f. 164 can be recognised between ff. 161 and 162.

[44] For the sake of clarity, the two scribes will be referred to with the same *sigla* adopted by Servian scholars.

[45] In the apparatus of Murgia and Kaster's edition, the second set of **DS** scholia is incorrectly recorded as starting from *ut hoc loco* (p. 153.2) rather than from *ut alterum* (p. 152.23).

[46] Cf. Savage 1934: 195-7 and Murgia 1975: 38-40.

[47] Murgia took the former explanation for granted (1975: 39), but the latter seems more plausible, given that f. 163^{v} does not present any anomalous interruption. If this were the case, the two omissions should be conceived as originating at different stages but not as necessarily unrelated. Since **M** was copied gathering by gathering from its exemplar, it is possible that, noticing the absence of the scholia *ad Aen.* 10.175-202 in the quaternion assigned to him, **M**^{1} chose to leave a page and a half blank and felt compelled to add a singleton to the new quaternion

codex lacked both sets of scholia when it came into the possession of **M**[3], who filled the two lacunae by resorting to a different exemplar.

PROVENANCE: **M** was copied in a German 'nicht südbayerisch[es]' scriptorium at the beginning of the eleventh century[48] and was revised shortly afterwards by **M**[3].[49] The codex seems to have been housed in Freising from at least the early twelfth century[50] to 1802 or 1803, when it was brought to Munich together with the rest of the library of the cathedral of Freising.[51]

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because the text of the sixteen pages of his exemplar could not be crammed into the remaining fourteen pages and a half (a similar space issue is solved in the same way in gathering 19). This reconstruction, which implies that the scribe had to copy on sixteen pages and a half what he would normally have copied on sixteen pages, could also explain why he increased the word spacing on ff. 163 and 166 and left some lines blank at the bottom of f. 160[v], before the explicit of book 9, after the incipit of book 10, and between the two. The presence of these blank lines is particularly significant since the explicits and incipits are normally confined to one or two consecutive lines in this codex; as far as the scholia on the *Aeneid* are concerned, the only other exception (explicit of book 3 and incipit of book 4) occurs on the last page of an anomalous three-leaf gathering copied together with the preceding quaternion by a scribe who could not cram into eight leaves the entire text of the portion of the exemplar that had been assigned to him. The singleton on which the scholia *ad Aen.* 10.104-66 were copied could have gone missing shortly after the production of the codex or was, perhaps, not even included in the gathering. Two *đ* symbols marking the lacunae were added on f. 165[r]; however, since they cannot be attributed to any particular scribe, they provide no certain *terminus post quem non* for the omission of the scholia *ad Aen.* 10.104-66. The fact that the last lines of f. 164[v] were left blank by **M**[3] should not lead one to infer that the scholia *ad Aen.* 10.104-66 copied by **M**[1] could not occupy a whole leaf. In fact, the Servian scholia on these lines are roughly equivalent in length to the Servian scholia copied by **M**[1] on the other leaves of the gathering; **M**[3] favours a tighter word spacing, and the scholia that he copied lack a few Servian sections (cf. chapter II, section 3).

[48] Bischoff in Glauche 2011: 176.

[49] **Mo**, a *descriptus* of **M** which is normally dated to the second quarter of the eleventh century, preserves the two supplements as well (cf. chapter III, section 3.1). Ff. 164[v] and 165[v] include a labyrinth with verses and some liturgical hymns that were added after the supplements, but none of these elements offers a decisive *terminus post quem non*.

[50] An early-twelfth-century hand added the note 'lib. iste est sancte Marie sanctique Corbiniani Frisinge' on f. 1[v], and another coeval hand copied the text of an appeal addressed by a 'M. Frisingensium electus et receptus' to his archbishop on f. 179[v]. The appeal was ascribed to Meginward, bishop of Freising from 1078 to 1098, by Meyer (1882: 259-66). It is possible to suspect that **M** was already in southern Bavaria during the second quarter of the eleventh century since **Mo** appears to have been copied in that area.

[51] The words 'Fris. 194' were added by a modern hand on the front paste-down.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Thilo 1881: LXXXIII; Savage 1934: 195-7; Murgia 1975: 38-40; Munk Olsen 1985: 812 n° Cc. 45; Klemm 2004: 92-3 n° 67; Bergmann–Stricker 2005: 1058-9 n° 534; Glauche 2011: 175-8.

3.1. Appendix: The nature of the scholia copied by **M³**

That the scholia copied by **M³** on f. 164-5 do not emanate from the same tradition as the rest of the codex was first noticed by Murgia, who explained their genesis as follows:[52]

> Codex M is of interest for a couple of lacunae which have been supplied from a **DS** text. F. 164 … has been filled in by a different hand (*saec.* XI), using a text of Servius which had been systematically corrected to agree with **DS**. The type of text that had resulted was similar to what we find in codex C for *Aen.* III-V: **DS** lacking much of the **D** [i.e. non-Servian additions]. … The same has supplied a second lacuna on f. 165.

Since **M³** shares with **F** – the only 'sincere' witness to the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 10 – several readings that are unlikely to have been inherited by the Compiler from his copy of Servius, Murgia was certainly right in regarding the text of the former as the result of a contamination between Servius and **DS**, rather than as a peculiar version of Servius deriving from the same tradition as the Servian codex used by the Compiler.[53] Some comment, however, is called for as to the direction of this contamination.

If, as Murgia suggested, **M³**'s scholia originated from a Servian codex corrected to agree with **DS**, that codex would have been a unicum. While a few **DS** witnesses were

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[52] Murgia 1975: 39. Savage had already remarked that 'the **DS** notes in *Pb* and *M* are not always parallel; those in *M* are nearer the **DS** codex *F* in the comment on *Aen.* 10' (1934: 197 n. 2).

[53] As shown in chapter II, section 1, this hypothesis was contemplated but eventually dismissed by both Thilo and Stocker as for **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6. In particular, **M³** agrees with **F** in both (a) blatantly erroneous readings, on which see *infra*, and (b) readings which appear to have been adopted by the Compiler as a consequence of the addition of other non-Servian words not included in **M³** (cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 10.135, where the Compiler added the term *decus* to the lemma and to the paraphrasis, whereas **M³** includes it only in the lemma, and the scholium *ad Aen.* 10.189, where the Compiler replaced *cuius* with *huius* because he had added a non-Servian clause starting with *qui* just before the pronoun, whereas **M³** reads *huius* but lacks the additional clause). On two occasions, **M³** also transmits what might be judged as double readings: *folia* **Γ DS**] *solida* **Q**: *folia solida* (*f- soliada* **M³ᵃᶜ**) **M³** (*ad Aen.* 10.136) and *uenit ad Solem* **Γ DS**] *uenit aduenit ad Solem* **M³** (10.189); however, neither necessarily implies a contamination between a Servian and a **DS** witness, and the latter can also be readily explained as a dittography.

thoroughly revised so as to agree with Servius, the Servian tradition seemingly offers no example of the opposite scenario.[54] Besides, the corrector would also have attained a unique degree of precision: except for the absence of non-Servian major additions, the agreements between **M**^{3} and **F** against the Servian witnesses are almost as systematic as they would have been if the text transmitted by the former had been copied directly from a **DS** witness.[55]

These two reasons lead one to wonder whether **M**$^{3\prime}$s scholia should not rather be judged as depending on a **DS** witness corrected against a Servian one. In fact, this hypothesis is corroborated by a closer analysis of the **M**^{3} readings. Admittedly, **M**^{3} exhibits a couple of readings which would be easily explicable in a Servian witness corrected against a **DS** one,[56] but it never agrees with any Servian family in innovations which are unlikely to have been transferred through contamination. By contrast, it does sometimes agree in such innovations with **F**:[57]

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[54] **Mo**'s **DS** scholia were corrected by a reviser resorting to a Servian manuscript, and the same seems to have happened to some lost manuscripts from which **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6 and **F**(**RTVa**)'s scholia *ad Aen.* 6-7 derive; moreover, the medieval editors responsible for the text of **T**'s and **Va**'s notes also distinguished between the Servian and non-Servian sections of **DS** (cf. chapter II, sections 1.1, 2.3, 5, and 7.2 and chapter III, section 3.2). By contrast, a few medieval editors appear to have added some **DS** non-Servian additions to their copies of Servius or to have corrected some blatant errors by resorting to **DS** witnesses, but no other example of scribes systematically correcting Servius against **DS** has been found in the several manuscripts hitherto investigated (cf. the conclusion).

[55] Cf. chapter II, section 3.

[56] *ad Aen.* 10.189: *fleret* **Γ**: *defleret* **DS**] *defleret* (*fleret* **M**^{3ac}) **M**^{3} and *cuius nunc filium Cupauonem dicit habere cycni pennas in galea* **Γ**: *qui postea ab Apolline inter sidera conlocatus est. huius nunc filium Cupauonem dicit habere cycni pennas in galea* **DS**] *huius nunc filium Cumpauonem, qui post tea inter sidera ab Aquilone collocatus est, dicit habere cycni pinnas in galea* **M**^{3}. Both the correction *currente calamo* and the misplaced non-Servian addition could be explained by assuming that **M**^{3} resorted to a Servian witness where the reading *fleret* had been corrected to *defleret* and an interpolation from **DS** had been inserted in a wrong or unclear position. Neither needs, though, to be explained in this way.

[57] On the difference between innovations that are likely and unlikely to be transferred via contamination, cf. Eklund 1975-6: 77-80. The analysis of abbreviations in Vergilian lemmata and quotations, which, as Murgia pointed out (1975: 173), tend to be scarcely influenced by contamination, is not conclusive in this case: while most of **M**$^{3\prime}$s abbreviations are not paralleled in either **F** or the Servian witnesses, some are paralleled only in the former and some only in the latter (cf., e.g., the scholia *ad Aen.* 10.175 and 150).

10.111 nam apheresin pertulit] namaferes inpertulit **F**: nam afferes inpertulit **M³**

10.145 falconis] falcanis **FM³**

10.153 Graece ponit] cepunit **F**: ce. ponit **M³**

10.157 uult pro iugo rostrum nauis fuisse, leones autem singulos in singulis nauis partibus fuisse depictos] uult pro iugo nostrum (transtrum **M³**) nauis fuisse depictos **FM³**

Additionally, it seems worth noting that the cases where **FM³** exhibit the same misspelt forms of common or proper names are also frequent:

10.107 fauorem] faborem **FM³**

10.128 Briseis] Bresens **F**: Bresenis **M³**

10.141 Maeonia] Maoenia **F**: Moenia **M³**

10.163 Boeotiam] Boetiam **FM³**

10.189 Clymenes] Climenis **FM³**

10.198 Tiberis] Tiberine (Ty- **M³**) **FM³**

From this perspective, there seem to be valid reasons to regard **M³**'s scholia as a non-'sincere' version of **DS** like **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6 and **F**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 6-7, rather than as a non-'sincere' version of Servius.[58]

[58] The present analysis leaves one with the suspicion that Murgia might have meant to write 'using a text of **DS** which had been systematically corrected to agree with Servius' in his *Prolegomena*, instead of 'using a text of Servius which had been systematically corrected to agree with **DS**'. In any case, **M³**'s scholia are also defined as originating from a Servian codex corrected against **DS** in the upper apparatus of Murgia and Kaster's edition: 'hic lac. reliquit M, quam ex codice cum **DS** contaminato suppl. M³' (2018: 138 and 153).

4. Oxford, BL, Auct. F. 1. 16/1 (Ox)[59]

DESCRIPTION: parchment; 16 + 92 pages; 1^{8} + 2^{8-1} + 3-6^{8} + 7^{7}; 320 × 230 mm (250 × 180-200 mm); ruling with a hard point; two columns; 52-4 lines; modern pagination (pp. 1-16 and 105-96). The unit exhibits holes and tears throughout and is affected by at least two lacunae: the penultimate leaf of gathering 2 and one or more gatherings before gathering 1 have certainly gone missing. The 88 pages separating gatherings 1 and 2 and the 218 pages following gathering 7 form another codicological unit.

HANDWRITING: The main text is written in a regular Caroline minuscule; the initials of the lines and the incipits and explicits are written in rustic capitals. Marginal and interlinear notes, also in Caroline minuscule, were added at different stages by different scribes.

CONTENTS: 1. *georg.* 2.120-4.566 with *Anth.* 2.*georg*.3 [pp. 1-15]. — 2. *Anth.* 1.I-XII and 634 and Alcuin. *carm.* 77 [pp. 15-16]. — 3. *Aen.* 1-2.516 and 2.751-12 with *Anth.* 674[a] [pp. 105-96].

The unit is an example of a glossed edition of Vergil with notes drawn from different traditions: several interlinear glosses can be paralleled in the Servian and **DS** scholia, whereas the longer notes mostly consist of *adespota*[60] but include excerpts from Tiberius Claudius Donatus, the **DS** scholia, and other sources.[61]

PROVENANCE: Copied in a north-western (?) German scriptorium in the second half of the tenth century, **Ox** was joined at an unknown stage with an eleventh-century unit

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[59] The description refers to the codicological unit which includes notes drawn from **DS** scholia; complete descriptions of the codex can be found in the works listed in the bibliography below.

[60] Some of these *adespota* bear witness to the collation of other Vergilian manuscripts. This is the case, for instance, of one of the notes on *Aen.* 11.158: *alius liber longum que* (i.e. *quae*), *alius breuem que* (i.e. *-que*) *habet* (p. 180).

[61] The excerpts from Tiberius Claudius Donatus have been almost completely overlooked. Murgia confined himself to remarking that an isolated note on *Aen.* 10.475 (*Seruius ideo mox ensem diripuit ne inermis uideretur. Donatus ideo diripuit forsitan cum ense uulnerasset*) included a reference that might be explained as 'a confusion of the comment of Tiberius Claudius Donatus' (1975: 150). The note in question has indeed just a vague similarity with Donatus' comment. However, a few of **Ox**'s notes can be regarded as of unmistakably Donatian origin, and this author is mentioned by name on a few other occasions (cf., e.g., the notes on *Aen.* 5.813 and 830 and 10.367). Some of these notes are related with those transmitted by the β family of Donatus, on which cf. section 2. Two notes apparently derived from Isidore are discussed in Murgia 1975: 151.

of German origin, transmitting the Servian commentary, a brief medieval commentary on Vergil, and a selection of miscellaneous glosses.[62] The composite volume may well have remained in a German monastery until the seventeenth century, when it was acquired by Bernhard Rottendorff.[63] Lent by Rottendorff to Nicolaas Heinsius,[64] the codex was still in possession of the latter when he died. It was acquired by Edward Bernard at the 1682-3 auction of Heinsius' library,[65] before being purchased by the Bodleian Library from Bernard's widow in 1697.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Savage 1934: 185-7; Murgia 1975: 148-51; Munk Olsen 1985: 748-9 n° B. 153; Bergmann–Stricker 2005: 1375-8 n° 721; Köbler 2005: 469-70; Hoffmann 2006.

[62] According to Hoffmann (2006), the second unit might have been copied in Paderborn in the third quarter of the century. On the last page, a twelfth-century hand jotted down the words 'qui me scribebat Tibericus nomen habebat', which should probably be interpreted as an ownership note, rather than as a reference to a scribe involved in the production of the unit, as hypothesised by Munk Olsen.

[63] The monastery was tentatively identified with Liesborn by Schmieder (1968: 25 n. 78).

[64] Heinsius seems to have referred to this codex as *Rottendorphianus tertius* in his edition of Vergil.

[65] The codex has been identified with the item listed as '15. Virgilius cum commentariis Servii M.S. in pergameno' in the sale catalogue of Heinsius' library (de Vivie 1682: part 2, p. 65).

5. Leiden, UB, VLF 79 and Paris, BNF, Lat. 1750/18 (P)

DESCRIPTION: parchment; **P**^{L}: III + 46 + II′ leaves, **P**^{P}: 17 leaves; **P**^{L}: 1-2^{8} + 3^{6} + 4^{8} + 5^{5} + 8^{8} + 9^{3}, **P**^{P}: 6^{9} + 7^{8}; 300 × 220 mm (200-50 × 150-80 mm); ruling with a hard point; one column; 26-64 lines (ca. 40 lines on the average); ancient quire signatures in the form of Roman numerals in gatherings 2-7, an alternative ancient quire signature in the form of 'b' at the end of gathering 1 and at the beginning of gathering 2;[66] modern foliation (**P**^{L}: ff. 1-46, **P**^{P}: ff. 159-75). **P**^{L}′s ff. 45-6 have been seriously damaged by moisture, but nothing suggests that any written leaf is missing after them.[67] In gatherings 5-8, the text stops several lines before the end of the last *verso*; this suggests that, in this section, **P** was copied gathering by gathering from its exemplar[68] and that the exemplar in question transmitted the **DS** scholia on the *Aeneid* just after the end of the Bern scholia on the *Georgics*.[69]

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[66] The numeric signatures appear in the centre of the lower margin of the last *verso* of the gatherings (gatherings 4-7 are erroneously numbered 'III'-'VI'), while the 'b' signature appears on the left side of the lower margin of **F**^{L}′s ff. 8^{v} and 9^{r}.

[67] The text stops some thirty lines before the end of **P**^{L}′s f. 46^{v}, and a twelfth-century scribe noted down an explicit in the blank space.

[68] In some gatherings, **P** even appears to have been copied page by page from its exemplar (cf., e.g., **P**^{L}′s f. 38^{r}).

[69] The gatherings in question transmit the **DS** scholia on the *Aeneid*, as well as the Bern scholia *ad georg.* 4.68-566. This reconstruction is not refuted by the fact that **P**^{P}′s f. 167, connected to the preceding quaternion (ff. 159-66) from a codicological perspective, was copied by the same scribe as the following one (ff. 168-75). It is entirely possible that the text of the section of the exemplar assigned to the scribe copying ff. 159-66 was too long to be included in a single quaternion and that, once he had completed the quaternion, the remaining portion had to be transcribed on an additional leaf, either by the same or by another scribe. The fact that it was ultimately copied by the scribe responsible for ff. 168-75 simply proves that he was not occupied when the scribe responsible for ff. 159-66 finished his work; this is not surprising since the text on ff. 168-75 is briefer than the one on ff. 159-66. An alternative reconstruction of the genesis of the codex is proposed in Savage 1932: 93-4. In particular, Savage observed (a) the ruling of **P**^{P}′s two quaternions is in one case new-style and in the other old-style and (b) f. 167, which is numbered 'V', does not belong to the following quaternion, numbered 'VI' but is 'part of a preceding gathering'. For these reasons, he concluded that a torso of a late-ninth-century codex containing the last leaf of gathering 5 and gathering 6, along with **P**^{L}′s following leaves, must have been rediscovered a few years later by someone who then copied from some other manuscript the Bern scholia and the remaining part of the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1. Neither argument can be judged as compelling. On the one hand, the juxtaposition of old-style and new-style gatherings is hardly problematic in a humble manuscript such as **P**, similar juxtapositions being traceable in several Servian witnesses (cf., e.g., **Ps**). On the other, the numerals noted down on **P**^{P}′s ff. 167^{v} and 175^{v} are actually part of a longer series of signatures occurring also in **P**^{L}′s gatherings 2-5, which would

HANDWRITING: The text was copied in an irregular Caroline minuscule by scribes frequently indulging in cursive traits.[70] Lemmata are normally marked by initial capital letters, sometimes preceded by a blank space and by a bar. Rustic capital letters are used for the incipit of the codex, whereas the incipits of the *Eclogues* and of the books of the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* are written in an irregular uncial script.[71]

CONTENTS: 1. Bern scholia *ad ecl.* [**P**^{L}, ff. 1^{r}-20^{v}]. — 2. Bern scholia *ad georg.* 1-4.68 [**P**^{L}, ff. 20^{v}-35^{v}] and 4.69-566 [**P**^{P}, ff. 159^{r}-60^{v}]. — 3. **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2.711 [**P**^{P}, ff. 160^{v}-75^{v}] and 2.713-5.69 [**P**^{L}, ff. 36^{r}-45^{v}]. — 4. Excerpts *de ponderibus* and *de herbis* [**P**^{L}, ff. 45^{v}-6^{v}].

P transmits an abridged and rephrased version of the Bern scholia and of the **DS** scholia.[72] The scholium *ad Aen.* 5.69 breaks off abruptly with the words *nam cestus cesti numeri* (**P**^{L}, f. 45^{v}). Since the excerpts *de ponderibus* and *de herbis* were copied, perhaps at a later stage, by a scribe who did not take part in the transcription of the scholia, it is not possible to ascertain whether **P**'s exemplar ended with the word *numeri* or other reasons prevented **P**'s scribes from copying the following text.

PROVENANCE: Copied in southern France at the end of the ninth century, **P** seems to have been found by Daniel in Auxerre or Fleury.[73] Daniel used the manuscript as his main witness to the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 and was perhaps responsible for dividing its gatherings into two parts.[74] Some years after Daniel's death, Isaac Vossius came by **P**^{L};[75]

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have been added, in Savage's view, by the scribe who rediscovered the torso. Furthermore, positive evidence conflicting with Savage's reconstruction is offered by an examination of the hands: as conceded by Savage himself (1932: 95), the Bern scholia *ad georg.* 2.15-4.68 and the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 4.481-5.69 appear to have been copied by the same scribe.

[70] Bischoff labelled most scribes as southern French and attributed a Visigothic ductus to one of them (2004: 54).

[71] This irregular script occasionally includes capital and minuscule letters (cf., e.g., **P**^{L}'s ff. 9^{v} and f. 20^{v}).

[72] On **P**'s Bern scholia, cf. Funaioli 1930: 218-20 and Brewer 1973: 23-30.

[73] See chapter III, section 1.1. The fact that a tenth-century (?) scribe wrote a note in Visigothic script on **P**^{L}'s f. 18^{v} may suggest that the codex remained in southern France for some decades at least.

[74] In any case, the codex is unlikely to have been dismembered after Daniel's death since he wrote his name in the lower margin of **P**^{P}'s first leaf. Daniel was also responsible for noting down the names of the authors mentioned in the scholia in the margins of **P**^{P}'s leaves, as well as for adding brief running titles on the leaves containing incipits and for completing the last scholium and writing an explicit on **P**^{L}'s f. 45^{v}.

[75] A strip of paper with the printed words 'Bibliotheca Viri Illustris Isaacii Vossii', followed by

Vossius' manuscripts were sold by his heirs to the Academy of Leiden in 1690 and subsequently entered the Library of the University of Leiden. Like **F**$^{\mathbf{p}}$, **P**$^{\mathbf{p}}$ was acquired in the first years of the seventeenth century by de Thou, in whose catalogue it is associated with two codicological units now likewise included in Paris, BNF, Lat. 1750.[76] As already mentioned, de Thou's manuscripts were purchased by Colbert in 1680 and became part of the Royal Library of France in 1732.[77]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Thilo 1881: LVII-IX; Savage 1932: 93-6; Meyier 1973: 171-4; Munk Olsen 1985: 808 n° Bc 36; Bischoff 2004: 54 n° 2202; Cinato–Mercuzot 2019a.

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the handwritten number '72', was pasted onto **P**$^{\mathbf{L}}$'s f. 1^{r}. **P**$^{\mathbf{p}}$ might have been inherited by Paul Petau and have been sold to Vossius by his son Alexandre, like other manuscripts previously owned by Daniel.

[76] **P**$^{\mathbf{p}}$ has been identified with the item recorded as '749. Seruii in Virgil. fragment.' in the 1617 handwritten catalogue of de Thou's library (Paris, BNF, Dupuy 653, f. 39^{r}). The 'De literis et orthographia' and 'Notae Iuridicae. Odonis Carmere de Herbis', which are also mentioned under number 749, can be identified with ff. 140-52 and ff. 176-81 of Paris, BNF, Lat. 1750.

[77] Cf. section 2.

6. Vatican, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1625/5 (R)

DESCRIPTION: parchment; 7 leaves; $1^{8-1(?)}$; 275 × 205-45 mm (ca. 215 × 200 mm); ruling with a hard point; two columns; 36 lines; modern foliation (ff. 69-72, 74, 73, and 75). The two internal bifolia have been inverted: the correct order of the leaves is 69-70, 72, 71, and 73-5. It is impossible to determine whether the gathering was originally conceived as a quaternion lacking the seventh leaf or the leaf simply went missing at a later stage.

HANDWRITING: **R** is written in a quite regular Caroline minuscule. As far as the scholia are concerned, lemmata tend to be marked by initial capital letters, often touched with red. Rustic capital letters are used for incipits and explicits. Marginal and interlinear notes in Caroline minuscule were added by a scribe who did not take part in the transcription of the main text.

CONTENTS: 1. **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 5.734-6.238 and 6.276-82 [ff. 69^{r}-70^{v}, 72^{r-v}, and 71^{r-v}]. — 2. Non-**DS** scholia on *Aen.* 6.252-75 and 283-431 [ff. 71^{v} and 73^{r-v}]. — 3. Medieval prognostic texts with relative diagrams [ff. 73^{v} and 74^{r-v}]. — 4. Diagram on the twelve winds [f. 75^{r}].

R transmits an abridged and rephrased version of the **DS** scholia.[78] Since no incipit is found at the beginning of f. 69, it is plausible that the original codex preserved also some of the preceding scholia. Some of the non-**DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 6.252-75 and 283-431 ultimately derive from Servius or from Tiberius Claudius Donatus; several of them can be compared with the notes which are found between the lines or in the margins in a few ninth-century Vergilian manuscripts, including **G**.[79] Marginal and interlinear notes not belonging to the **DS** tradition were added on the leaves transmitting the **DS** scholia and, more rarely, on those transmitting the non-**DS** scholia; some of them may derive from the same traditions as the non-**DS** scholia.[80]

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[78] As mentioned in section 2, the scholia *ad Aen.* 6.239-75 are likewise omitted by **F**, and it is possible that this lacuna results from the loss of a leaf in a lost ancestor.

[79] Cf. Lagioia 2015a: 54-9 and 2016: 160-3.

[80] In the section preserving the non-**DS** scholia, one finds only brief interlinear notes, including the Irish gloss *cetemnide* (= *centumgeminus*), on which cf. Holford-Strevens 2003-4. The gloss noted above *BELVA LERNAE* (*Aen.* 6.287), which Lagioia (2015a: 36) recorded as *berbo* and explained as a second Irish term or as an error arising from the misunderstanding of *bestia*, actually reads *bestia*.

PROVENANCE: Copied in a French scriptorium in the second half of the ninth century,[81] **R** was already in a fragmentary condition when it was found by Daniel.[82] The fragment probably passed to Paul Petau and was included by him in the present composite volume,[83] which became later the possession of his son Alexandre.[84] The composite volume was ceded to Christina of Sweden in 1650[85] and acquired by the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana after her death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Savage 1932: 108-11; Murgia 1975: 20; Pellegrin 1978: 325-9; Munk Olsen 1985: 824 n° Bc 89; Bischoff 2014: 441 n° 6791.

6.1. Appendix: The nature of the scholia transmitted by **R**

The description of **R**'s scholia provided in the previous section requires some comment, as it differs from those which have appeared so far. Calling attention to **R** in his 1932 survey of the **DS** witnesses, Savage limited himself to saying that it contained an abbreviated version of the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 5.734-6.431.[86] After having been reproposed by *Harv.* 3 and by Murgia,[87] this view was recently challenged by Lagioia, who remarked that **R**'s scholia could not be regarded as a homogeneous corpus:[88]

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[81] Pellegrin hesitantly ascribed **R** to the abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire, suggesting that it could have been found there by Daniel (1978: 329 and 1984-5: 165).

[82] Daniel wrote the words 'Seruius (?) in Virgilium' and 'pag. 387 in incun. Rob. Steph.' on f. 69^{r}, as well as a few other brief notes referring to the contents of the scholia. As was noticed by Lagioia (2015a: 37), he does not appear to have properly collated the fragment for his 1600 edition.

[83] According to Contreni (1972: 29), the words 'Festus Pompeius de uerborum interpretatione. Fragmentum commentarii in lib. Aeneidos', written on the *verso* of the first flyleaf, may be attributed to Paul Petau. Petau's Greek motto was noted down, together with the date '1594', on f. 1^{r}, that is on the initial leaf of the first unit of the volume.

[84] The book signature '398', which can be read on the back of the volume, corresponds to 'Festi Pompeii ueterum uerborum significationes seu glossa uel Dictionarium' in the catalogue of Alexandre Petau's library (Leiden, UB, VLQ 76, f. 79^{r}).

[85] The book signature '1901', which can be read both on the back of the volume and on the paste-down leaf, corresponds to 'Festus Pompeius de verborum significatione. Fragmentum Commentarii vetusti in libros Aeneidum' in the catalogue of Queen Christina's library printed by Montfaucon (1739: 56).

[86] Savage 1932: 109.

[87] *Harv.* 3: *addendum* and Murgia 1975: 20 and 157.

[88] Lagioia 2015a: 38-9 and *passim*.

> Il commento di *R* presenta i tratti evidenti di un testo d'uso scolastico, un *Handbuch* su Virgilio con la ricompilazione di note che, nel loro costituirsi a partire da un commentario di base – quello serviano-danielino –, recano però tracce di contaminazione e stratificazione per l'apporto di altre fonti esegetiche e lessicografiche anonime, all'uso della scoliastica antica, che si accalcano soprattutto nei margini e nelle interlinee dell'esemplare, ma sono talora confluite nel corpo del commento.

Lagioia did not discuss in detail the distribution of the **DS** and non-**DS** materials in his 2015 and 2016 articles, confining himself to affirming (a) that the quantity of **DS** material progressively declines, especially after the scholium *ad Aen.* 6.238,[89] (b) that the last scholia, at least after the one *ad Aen.* 6.283, do not bear any particular resemblance to the scholia transmitted by the other **DS** witnesses,[90] and (c) that non-**DS** material could be traced mostly in the last leaves.[91]

Although the nucleus of Lagioia's reconstruction is hardly questionable, the **DS** and non-**DS** materials seem to be more clearly separated than he suggested. **R**'s scholia can be divided into four consecutive sets, referring to *Aen.* 5.734-6.238, 6.276-82, 6.252-75, and 6.283-431. The first and the second transmit a pure – albeit rephrased and abridged – **DS** text. Most of the phrases recorded by Lagioia as lacking parallels in the **DS** scholia can be considered as deliberate additions of a (Carolingian?) scribe aiming to clarify the sense of the text.[92] Significantly, the only five phrases that cannot be readily explained in this way belong to a section which has not been preserved by any complete **DS** witness and, therefore, can be suspected of depending on lost **DS** non-Servian additions:[93]

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[89] Lagioia 2015a: 39: 'la percentuale di glosse serviano-danieline di *R* va riducendosi progressivamente e ciò è particolarmente evidente negli ultimi due fogli dell'unità, quasi che l'estensore del commento, il quale fino al v. 238 sembrerebbe aver disposto di un testo completo o abbastanza completo di DS, per i versi successivi abbia dovuto integrare il suo lavoro con altro materiale glossografico'.

[90] Lagioia 2016: 121 n. 11: 'almeno dal v. 283 fino all'interruzione del commento (v. 431) gli *additamenta* non coincidono con quelli degli altri testimoni danielini'.

[91] Lagioia 2015a: 54: 'esso [i.e. **R**] … talvolta incorpora le postille [i.e. the non-**DS** materials] all'interno del commento serviano-danielino, soprattutto negli ultimi fogli relativi al sesto libro'.

[92] *ad Aen.* 5.785, 795, and 823 and *ad Aen.* 6.1, 2 (*equidem*), 7, 10, 14, 16, 19, 34, 57, 76, 160, 194, 197, and 278. The scholium *TENACI id est capaci* (*ad Aen.* 6.3) was added by a later scribe.

[93] As indicated in section 2, the external half of the last leaf of $\mathbf{F^{B}}$'s gathering 20 (f. 151) and the first leaf of $\mathbf{F^{P}}$'s gathering 21 have gone missing: therefore, about half of the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.805-52 and all the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.853-6.13 do not survive in **F**. Editors can refer to **G**, which regularly reproduces the scholia copied in the left column of **F**'s leaves (cf. chapter III, section 2), for the

5.870 O NIMIVM CONFISE <u>fiducia dicte</u>.
C[94] reads *PELAGO CONFISE hoc est quod supra Palinurus excusat*; **GT** transmit no related text.

6.1 INMITTIT ABENAS aut funes per metaforon – <u>nam habene equorum sunt</u> – aut lora torta.
C reads *INMITTIT HABENAS aut funes per metaforam dixit aut Homerum secutus est qui ait uel aerige ΕΓCTPΕΙΠTOICI BOeCCI, id est loris tortis*; **G** transmits no related text. The **R** addition may be compared with one of **T**'s notes on this line: *bene dixit habenas quae sunt nauium et equorum; naues enim equis comparantur et uectores dicuntur qui utrisque uehuntur*.

6.2 EVBOECIS a colonibus apellauit Cumesi: nam Neseuboea insula est <u>contra Boetia</u> in qua Chalchis ciuitas est, de qua uenerunt qui Cumas conderunt.
C reads *EVBOICIS ORIS a colonia appellauit Cumas: nam Euboea insula est, in qua Calchis ciuitas, de qua uenerunt qui ciuitatem condiderunt in Campania*; **GT** transmit no related text.

6.8 TECTA INVENTA FLVMINA MONSTRAT <u>hoc est fontes</u>.
C reads *FLVMINA MONSTRAT quaecumque fluenta*; **GT** transmit no related text. In this case, **R**'s *interpretamentum* might also be considered as a substitute for the generic *quaecumque fluenta*.

6.13 AVREA TECTA Apollinis scilicet <u>et aurea id est pulcra</u>.
C reads *AVREA TECTA Apollinis scilicet*; **GT** transmit no related text. The term *pulcher* is used to gloss *aureus* also in the Servian and **DS** scholium *ad Aen.* 1.698 and in the Servian scholium *ad georg.* 1.431.

If one leaves aside the five phrases just listed, whose dependence on **DS** additions is not certain but possible,[95] no material drawn from other traditions is included in **R**'s **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 5.734-6.238 and 6.276-82.

On the other hand, since no witness to the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 6.238-75 survives, Lagioia prudently confined himself to labelling only **R**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 6.283-431 as non-**DS** and suspended his judgement on the immediately preceding scholia *ad Aen.* 6.251-

missing half of the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.829-52 and for about half of those *ad Aen.* 5.853-6.13. Lagioia himself (2016: 126-32) suspected the last clause of **R**'s scholium *ad Aen.* 5.871 of being based on a lost **DS** non-Servian addition: *NVDVS IGNOTA peregrina. sane sciendum hunc finem quinti Taccam et Varum esse uoluerunt: nam a Virgilio duo uersus sequentes hinc iuncti fuerunt, unde sextum initium est obuertunt pelago proras; <u>sic enim Cornelianis et in Ebrii iuuenies</u>* (on this scholium, cf. also Jocelyn 1985: 470).

[94] **C** lacks most non-Servian additions in the scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6 (cf. section 1 and chapter II, section 1.1). The four scholia recorded here as preserved by **C** essentially coincide with those preserved by Servian witnesses.

[95] It should also be remarked that the five phrases at issue – except perhaps for the third – might also be regarded as autoschediasms.

75. Nevertheless, two elements suggest that the latter are likewise alien to the **DS** tradition. Although most of them can be regarded as rephrased Servian scholia and thus as potentially deriving from a **DS** witness,[96] at least two depend on Tiberius Claudius Donatus' *interpretationes Vergilianae*:

	R	Claud. Don.
6.270	SVB INCERTAM LVNAM aut sub nubilo constitutam aut per lunam noctem intellege.	QVALE inquit PER INCERTAM LVNAM, hoc est in ipsis initiis positam aut sub nubilo constitutam.
6.275	PALLENTES MORBI quia pallorum inferunt.	omnes enim Morbi pallorem inferunt aegris quos corripuerint.

While no material drawn from the *interpretationes Vergilianae* is included in **R**'s **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 5.734-6.238 and 6.276-82, this commentary is one of the main sources for **R**'s non-**DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 6.283-431.[97] Furthermore, several of **R**'s non-**DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 6.283-471 can be paralleled with the interlinear and marginal notes that are found in ninth-century Vergilian manuscripts such as **G**, as was pointed out by Lagioia,[98] and this applies even more strikingly to **R**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 6.252-75:

	R	**G**
6.252	STIGIO REGII ora (*lege*: Orco). NOCTVRNAS INQVA HARAS perficit que tota nocte arderent.	(STYGIO) Orco regi inferni. (NOCTVRNAS) quae tota nocte arderent. (INCOHAT) perficit.
6.255	PRIMI SVB LIMINA SOLIS fiebant haec sacrificia per noctem.	fiebant enim haec sacra per noctem.
6.256	MVGIRE SOLVM mugebat.	(MVGIRE) pro mugebat.
6.257	<CANES> furias dicit.	(CANES) furias.
6.258	AVENTATE DEA Proserpina. ESTE estote. PROFANI inreligiosi, inmundi, porro a fano.	(DEA) id est Proserpina. (ESTE) estote.
6.259	ABSISTITE abscidite.	(ABSISTITE) abscedite.

[96] Nevertheless, it seems significant that **R**'s Servian scholia *ad Aen.* 6.252-75 do not include any word which can be judged as a **DS** non-Servian addition.

[97] Lagioia 2015a: 54-6 and 2016: 161-3.

[98] Lagioia 2015a: 54.

6.260	INVADE ingredire.	
6.261	NVNC ANIMIS OPVS subaudis opus est, ut sis animus fortis.	(OPVS) est.
6.262	FVRENS similiter furienti, id est insanienti, inscenti.	(FVRENS) id est deo plena aut certe similis furienti.
6.263	VADENTEM euntem, id est ante se.	(VADENTEM) euntem.
6.264	VMBRE SILENTES secreta inferni silentia sunt.	(VMBRAE) secreta imfernorum semper silentia.
6.265	CHAOS confusio elementorum. inuocatum (i- *ut uid.*) rerum primordia, que in elementorum fuerant confusione.	(CHAOS) elementorum confusio.
	FLEGETON fluuius igneus infernorum.	per Flegeton autem imfernorum fluuium ignem significat.
6.267	MERSAS absconditas.	(MERSAS) absconditas.
6.268	OBSCVRI SO SVB NOCTE ypelage est: sub obscura nocte soli.	(OBSCVRI) id est ibant soli per umbras sub obscura nocte.
6.270	SVB INCERTAM LVNAM aut sub nubilo constitutam aut per lunam noctem intellege.	
	SVB LVCE MALIGNA obscura.	(MALIGNA) obscura.
6.271	CONDIDIT VMBRA abscondit.	(CONDIDIT) abscondidit.
6.272	IVPITER aer.	(IVPPITER) aether.
	ET REBVS NOX subaudis homanis.	(REBVS) humanis creaturis.
6.273	VESTIBVLVM dictum que ianuam uestit. IN FAVCIBVS ORCI infeni: deum posuit pro loco.	
6.274	VLTRICES CVRE cure que puniunt nocentes, id est cure conscientiae.	(CVRAE) conscientiae, quae puniunt semper innocentes.
6.275	PALLENTES MORBI quia pallorum inferunt.	(PALLENTES) quia pallorem inferunt egris quos corrumpunt.

From this perspective, the scholia transmitted by **R** appear to belong to two autonomous consecutive series: the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 5.734-6.238 and 6.276-82 and the non-**DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 6.252-75 and 283-431. The point where the former series ends and the latter starts coincides with the only disturbance in the order of the scholia.

Some final comments are called for as to the genesis of the corpus transmitted by **R**, which was reconstructed by Lagioia as follows:[99]

> L'ipotesi che se ne ricava [i.e. from the analysis of **R**'s scholia] è che l'antigrafo del Reginense fosse un manoscritto virgiliano *cum glossis* …, ricco d'interventi glossatori che, almeno parzialmente, sono stati recepiti nel nuovo codice, allestito quest'ultimo con un certo scrupolo, nell'intento di salvare quanto ancora leggibile e utile dello stratificato corredo esegetico già presente nell'antigrafo.

While **R**'s heterogeneous non-**DS** scholia may well ultimately emanate from a disordered set of notes in a glossed edition of Vergil, the hypothesis that **R**'s **DS** scholia also derive from one such edition seems unlikely: their lemmata often agree with those of the other primary witnesses, exhibiting the same manifest errors or the same theoretically possible readings which are not found in coeval Vergilian manuscripts.[100] From this perspective, one is led to conclude that all the lost ancestors of **R** on which the other primary witnesses do not depend must have transmitted the **DS** scholia as a continuous lemmatised commentary, either alone, as happens in **C**, or in the margins of Vergil, as happens in **F**. On the basis of the available evidence, it is not possible to determine at what stage the **DS** scholia were supplemented with non-**DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 6.252-75 and 283-431, but there is no reason to believe that this process must have been carried out by **R**'s scribe himself.[101]

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[99] Lagioia 2015a: 39.

[100] Cf., e.g., the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.773 (*SOLVIQVE*] *SOLVITQVE* **FR**) and 855 (*VIQVE … STYGIA*] *VISTYGIA* **C**: *VISTIGIVM* **G**: *VESTIGIA* **R**), on which see chapter II, section 5.

[101] A possible argument against this view is offered by an analysis of the lemmata. In the **DS** scholia and non-**DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 6.283-431, the first lemma of a group of scholia concerning a Vergilian line starts with the first word of that line, no matter whether the word is explained in the *interpretamentum* or not (see chapter II, section 5), whereas the lemmata of the non-**DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 6.252-82 only include the phrases commented upon. In addition, the initials of the lemmata of the scholia *ad Aen.* 6.252-82 differ from those of the other scholia in that they are not normally touched with red. This dichotomy is most easily explained if one hypothesises that the **DS** scholia and the non-**DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 6.283-431 were inherited from a lost ancestor and that the non-**DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 6.252-75 were absent in that ancestor or, perhaps, were added in the margins by a scribe who did not attempt to make their lemmata consistent with those of the other scholia.

7. Marburg, HSA, 319 Pfarrei Spangenberg, 1 (Sp)

DESCRIPTION: parchment; bifolium; 250 × 200 mm (230 × 185 mm); single column; 49-53 lines; modern foliation. **Sp** is in a relatively poor state of preservation: the outer corners of both leaves have been cut off; ff. 1^{v} and 2^{r} have darkened considerably and are affected by show-through from the opposite pages.[102] If, as is plausible, the bifolium belonged to a quaternion dealing with the whole *Aeneid*, its two leaves must have occupied positions 3 and 6.

HANDWRITING: **Sp** was copied by a single scribe in a cursive West Saxon minuscule which has been compared to the one attributed to Boniface.[103] Lemmata are normally preceded and followed by middle dots, and their first words are often distinguished by upper-case initials.

CONTENTS: **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 3.561-5.745 [f. 1^{r-v}] and 7.710-8.713 [f. 2^{r-v}].

The text preserved by the bifolium should probably be labelled as a non-'sincere' version of **DS** including materials from different traditions. The scholia follow the sequence of the Vergilian lines with some exceptions: there are two separate series of scholia on book 5 that are placed consecutively (*ad Aen.* 5.13-745 and 37-651), and twelve other scholia or couples of scholia are misplaced.

PROVENANCE: Copied by a scribe educated in south-western England at the beginning of the eighth century, the gathering to which **Sp** originally belonged may well have been brought to one of the Anglo-Saxon foundations on the Continent during the same century.[104] In the Early Modern Period, the bifolium was used as a binding for a volume of records of the Pfarrarchiv of Spangenberg (1660-94). The archive was subsequently moved to the Hessisches Staatsarchiv in Marburg, where **Sp** was discovered by Eckhardt in 1968.[105]

Bibliography: Lowe 1971: 39 n° 1806; Murgia 1975: 71; Munk Olsen 1985: 797 n° Ac. 3; Marshall 2000: 191-4; Doane 2001; Gneuss–Lapidge 2014: 611-2: n° 849.6.

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[102] The text of f. 2^{r}, in particular, is largely illegible.

[103] See Parkes 1991. For further bibliography, cf. also Gneuss–Lapidge 2014: 611-2.

[104] Cf. Lowe 1971: 39. On the early circulation of the **DS** scholia, see the conclusion.

[105] On the discovery, cf. Marshall 2000: 192.

7.1. Appendix: The nature of the scholia transmitted by **Sp**

7.1.1. The progress of scholarship

Although the historical relevance of **Sp** was immediately recognised after it had been recorded in the supplement to the volumes of the *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, the question of the nature of its text seems to have aroused relatively little interest at first. In a brief paragraph at the end of the second section of the *Prolegomena*, Murgia simply pointed out that, on the basis of the facsimile provided by Lowe, the fragment did not appear to be a Servian witness, as he claimed, but rather a **DS** one.[106] Twenty-five years later, however, a detailed discussion of the nature of the scholia transmitted by **Sp** was offered by Marshall. Marshall considered Murgia's view as confirmed by the fact that the fragment included non-Servian materials that could be found in the other **DS** witnesses and shared with them significant innovations in the Servian sections as well. The single reading which he judged as *prima facie* conflicting with that view, namely *in Sabinis* **Sp Σ**: *in Piceno* **F** (*ad Aen.* 7.713), was explained by hypothesising either that **DS** originally read *in Sabinis* and this reading was replaced with *in Piceno* by a scribe of the **F** branch, perhaps because of the immediately following scholium *ad Aen.* 7.715 (*FRIGIDA MISIT NVRSIA Piceni ciuitas*), or that **DS** originally read *in Sabinis uel in Piceno* and **Sp** and **F** omitted the latter and the former alternative, respectively.[107] Editing the text of the fragment, Marshall was also able to point out four Old-Saxon glosses and a few other scholia or sections of scholia that could not be paralleled in the other extant **DS** witnesses. While dismissing the former as interpolated materials, Marshall took no firm stand as to the nature of the latter: he declared himself inclined to regard them as emanating from the **DS** tradition as well but conceded that the editor responsible for the text of **Sp** could also have resorted to other sources.[108]

Almost contemporaneously and independently of Marshall, the reading *in Sabinis* was adduced by Ramires as a counterargument against the identification of the fragment

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[106] Murgia 1975: 71. Murgia chose not to commit himself to any further analysis because **Sp**'s scholia did not fall within the section that he was editing.

[107] Marshall 2000: 207-8 n. 2.

[108] In particular, he suggested that **Sp**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 4.453 and 5.37, 114, 116, 442, 718, 732, and 744-5 could emanate from a more complete **DS** version than the one preserved by the other witnesses. On the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.718 and 745, cf. also Marshall 2012: 73-5.

as a **DS** witness. The fact that one of **Sp**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 7 included an addition shared, within the Servian tradition, by the **α** class[109] led him to advance the hypothesis that the fragment could be likewise regarded as a more complete Servian witness independent of **Σ**.[110]

The identification of **Sp** as a **DS** witness – reaffirmed in Murgia's *The Virgil Encyclopedia* entry on the Servian manuscripts, where the bifolium is described as including excerpts from **DS** together with 'other material'[111] – was challenged by Stok in a 2019 article titled 'What is the Spangenberg Fragment?'. In particular, Stok remarked that **Sp** not only preserved several portions of text which could not be found in the **DS** witnesses but also agreed with the Servian witnesses against them on a few occasions:

4.426	insula est **Sp Σ**: insula est in Aegeo mari **F**
4.426	reuersuros **Sp Σ**: reuersuros ad patriam **F**
7.713	in Sabinis **Sp Σ**: in Piceno **F**
8.664	ferre **Sp Σ**: portare **F**
8.680[112]	ut quidam **Sp Σ**: ut obtutum eius nemo contra espectare posset, denique quidam **F**
8.687	spectat **Sp Σ**: pertinet **F**

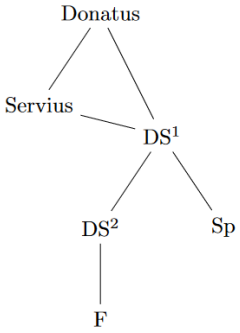
For these reasons, he concluded that **Sp** could only be regarded as entirely based on **DS**, as Marshall was inclined to believe, if one assumed that the scholia transmitted by the other **DS** witnesses were the result of two separate editorial processes carried out by the Compiler and by a subsequent editor on the basis of similar criteria:

[109] On the **α** class, see the conclusion.

[110] Ramires 2003: LVII-VIII. Ramires only had access to the transcription of the few scholia *ad Aen.* 7.

[111] Murgia 2014: 1157 (≈ Murgia–Kaster 2018: XV): 'Spangenberg, Pfarrbibliothek, s.n. … has excerpts from Servius *auctus*. … The excerpts range from *A*. 3.561 to *A*. 8.713, and contain also Anglo-Saxon glosses and other material'. The reference to the presence of 'other material' suggests that, unlike Marshall, Murgia did not believe that **Sp** could be conceived as entirely based on a more complete version of **DS**.

[112] The words *obtutum eius nemo contra spectare posset* are erroneously imputed to Servius in Ramires and Lafond's edition because they are found in the **α** witness **Pc**.



Judging this assumption as possible but uneconomical, Stok suggested that the only two conceivable alternative solutions – namely the identification of **Sp** as a witness to scholia belonging to different traditions and as a witness to the main non-Servian source used by the Compiler of **DS**, that is Donatus' commentary – deserved to be taken into account. The latter alternative appeared to him as ultimately preferable because he judged the former as inconsistent with the available evidence on the genesis of **Sp**:[113]

> Murgia seems to suggest that the compiler of the Spangenberg commentary used several sources: the DS and unknown sources, possibly also Servius. But this possibility is not supported by the features of the Spangenberg commentary, which seems to presuppose a single source. A clue is given, in this respect, by the sequence of the notes. It is generally regular, but the notes to Book 5 present a singular anomaly: there is a first series of notes, from lines 13 to 745 (1v 14-33), and then another series from lines 37 to 638 (1v 33-49). This anomaly reveals the compiler's working method: he selected the notes from a larger commentary and adapted them to his own work. In the case of Book 5, he seems initially to have made a very restricted selection of notes (more restricted than he had made for the previous books). He then added a second selection. This explanation of the anomaly implies that the compiler used a single source, that is, a continuous commentary to Virgil's *Aeneid*.

An examination of several scholia led Stok to conclude that they could be explained as emanating directly from Donatus and to observe that his hypothesis as to the nature of the **Sp** text implied that not only the **DS** non-Servian additions, as is normally recognised,[114] but also the Servian scholia should be considered as largely identical to sections of Donatus' commentary.[115]

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[113] Stok 2019b: 490.

[114] See introduction, section 1.

[115] This conclusion was independently reached by Stok and Ramires in their analysis of the **DS** scholia on the *Eclogues* (2021: 86-115).

7.1.2. A reappraisal of the nature of the scholia transmitted by **Sp**

Stok deserves credit for clarifying the problematic implications of Marshall's hypothesis and for suggesting that alternative solutions should be considered. Nevertheless, the solution that he ultimately favoured – namely the identification of **Sp** as a pure Donatian witness – also poses two issues.

The first pertains to the complexity of the reconstruction of the genesis of **DS** that it implies. Some agreements between **Sp** and **DS** concern readings which can hardly be imputed to Donatus:

	Seru.	**DS**	**Sp**
3.707	DREPANI Drepanum ciuitas est non longe a monte Eryce.	DREPANI PORTVS Drepanum ciuitas est ante pedem montis Erycis.	DREPANI ME ciuitas est Drepana ante pedem montis Erycis.

Unlike its Greek equivalent, the phrase *pes* (or *pedes*) *montis* seems alien to Classical prose.[116]

	Seru.	**DS**	**Sp**
4.380	REFELLO redarguo.	REFELLO uel 'retardo' uel 'falsa esse conuinco'; *refello* enim ab eo quod est 'fallo' uenit.	REFELLO retardo uel falsa esse conuinco.

retardo does not mean the same as *refello* and makes no sense in the context of the Vergilian line at issue. This reading should probably be considered as a scribal error for *redarguo* due to either visual or phonetic similarity.

	Seru.	**DS**	**Sp**
4.506[117]	INTENDITQVE LOCVM SERTIS ligat, ut *et stupea uincula collo intendunt*. et est hypallage: 'intendit serta per locum'.	INTENDITQVE LOCVM SERTIS et *intendit* 'inligat', ut *et stupea uincula collo intendit*. et est hypallage; est enim 'intendit serta per locum', † hoc est aut † 'a pariete in parietem ligat', quod est 'extensis sertis locum replet',	INTENDIT inligat, hoc est intendit serta per locum aut ariete in pariete[m …].

[116] The few occurrences of this phrase in late antique works are recorded in the *ThlL* entry under the label 'dicitur de parte variarum rerum' (*caput secundum*, I.A.1.b.ε).

[117] The reading *hoc est aut*, adopted by *Harv.* 3, can hardly be attributed to the Compiler; it is not clear whether *aut* was simply added by accident after *hoc est* or the text should be regarded as more corrupt.

quasi ‘serta per locum tendit’.

In the **DS** scholium, the explanation *a pariete in parietem ligat* is preceded and followed by two almost identical paraphrases of the Vergilian lemma: the Servian *intendit serta per locum* and the non-Servian *serta per locum tendit*. Although both paraphrases are substantially equivalent to that explanation, the former is followed by a disjunctive conjunction. Whether **Sp**’s scholium included both paraphrases or only the former is uncertain because of the physical damage suffered by the leaf. In either case, it would be difficult to consider it as emanating from Donatus’ scholium independently of **DS**: no ancient commentator is likely to have included both paraphrases, presenting the former as an alternative to the explanation *a pariete in parietem ligat*. Moreover, it is possible to suspect that the common source of Servius and the addition glossed *intendit* as *ligat*, rather than as *inligat*, because the former verb occurs in the non-Servian addition as well; in the **DS** and **Sp** version, *inligat* is easily explicable as influenced by the lemma *INTENDIT*.

	Seru.	**DS**	**Sp**
4.517	IPSA MOLA farre et sale.	IPSA (I- **P**: IPSAM **F**) MOLAM id est farre et sale, quam molam salsam a molendo appellant.	IPSAM MOLAM id est farre et sale, quam molam salsam appel[lant].

Donatus cannot have glossed the accusative *molam* with the ablatives *farre* and *sale*. That the source of the **DS** non-Servian addition read *MOLAM* rather than *MOLA* is also suggested by the fact that the same reading can be found in the addition to the scholium *ad ecl.* 8.82. This addition is preserved by the only extant witness to the **DS** scholia on the *Eclogues*, namely **La**, as follows: *hic … dicendo asperge molam, rem ipsam proprio nomine memorauit, unde in secundo Aeneidis et salsae fruges et in quarto ipsam molam*.[118]

	Seru.	**DS**	**Sp**
8.454	AEOLIIS nam, ut diximus, Vulcania una est de septem Aeoliis.	AEOLIIS nam, ut diximus, Vulcania una est de septem Aeoliis, in quibus Aeolus regnauerat.	EOLEGIS Vulcania una est de Eoleis in quibus Eolus regnauerat.

The relative clause *in quibus Aeolus regnauerat* is superfluous after *de septem Aeoliis*,[119] and the pluperfect is hardly understandable. Contrast the scholium *ad Aen.* 8.416, to which the

[118] See Stok 2012: 114: ‘che il commento-fonte [i.e. the non-Servian source used by the Compiler] accogliesse *molam* lo conferma la citazione del verso nello scolio di DS ad *ecl.* 8.82, dove il Lemovicensis ha *molam* (anche se Thilo pubblica *mola*)’. *molam* is transmitted by two late-antique Vergilian manuscripts (Florence, BML, Plut. 39.1 and Vatican, BAV, Pal. Lat. 1631) and by the only late-antique grammatical work quoting the line (Eutych. gramm. V 477.23). The unmetrical reading *ipsam* can be found in the lemma of the scholium *ad Aen.* 4.517, as transmitted by **FSp**, and in the quotation alike; however, this reading is to be regarded as a potentially polygenetic error before *molam*.

[119] For two similar cases where the **DS** and **Sp** version appears less appropriate or clear than the corresponding Servian one, see the scholia *ad Aen.* 7.712 and 8.710.

scholium *ad Aen.* 8.454 refers: *SICANIVM IVXTA LATVS AEOLIAMQVE ERIGITVR LIPAREN … 'Aeoliam' autem 'Liparen' ideo, quia una est de illis septem insulis in quibus Aeolus imperauit*.[120]

	Seru.	**DS**	**Sp**
8.642	CITAE METTVM IN DIVERSA QVADRIGAE Donatus hoc loco contra metrum sentit, dicens *citae* 'diuisae' …; nam 'citus' cum 'diuisus' significat, 'ci' longa est. ergo 'citae' ueloces intellegamus. … quem (i.e. Mettium) post uictoriam captum Tullus Hostilius religauit ad binas quadrigas, ita ut ab unis quadrigis traherentur manus, pedes uero ab alteris.	CITAE METTVM IN DIVERSA QVADRIGAE Donatus hoc loco contra metrum sentit, dicens *citae* 'diuisae' …; nam 'citus' cum 'diuisus' significat, 'ci' longa est. ergo 'citae' ueloces intellegamus. … quem (i.e. Mettium) post uictoriam captum Tullus Hostilius religauit ad duas quadrigas, ita ut ab unis quadrigis traherentur manus, pedes uero ab alteris.	CITAE ueloces. Metius Fufetius dictus est. … quem post uictoriam Tullus Hostilius captum ligauit ad duas quadrigas, ita ut ab unis quadrigis manus traherentur, ab alteris pedes.

The fragment offers a gloss for *citae* which is presented by Servius as preferable to the gloss adopted by Donatus. The reading *ad duas quadrigas* should also be considered as an innovation for *ad binas quadrigas*.

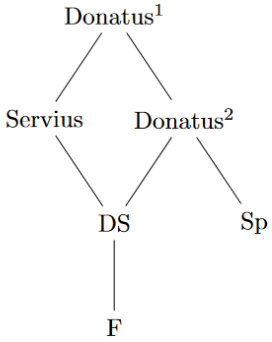
	Seru.	**DS**	**Sp**
8.662[121]	GAESA hastas uiriles: nam etiam uiros fortes Galli gaesatos uocant.	GAESA hasta est uirilis: nam etiam Galli gaesos uocant.	GESSA hasta est uirilis, nam Galli gessos uocant.

The reading *hasta est uirilis*, easily explicable as a mechanical error for *hastas uiriles*, can hardly have been used by Donatus to gloss the plural *GAESA*. It is also implausible that the linguistically questionable and factually erroneous clause *nam* (*etiam*) *Galli gaesos uocant* should be imputed to Donatus and that this clause was subsequently corrected by Servius while transcribing his scholium.

From this perspective, **Sp** and **DS** cannot be considered as independently emanating from Donatus but only from a peculiar version of Donatus characterised by omissions, rewordings, and interpolations:

[120] *regnauerat* is replaced by *regnauit* in Daniel's edition.

[121] Ramires adopted Vossius' conjecture *gaesatos* in the Servian and **DS** scholium alike. In fact, even if one leaves **Sp**'s *gessos* aside, it seems plausible that **DS** originally read *gaesos*: this was the reading of the archetype of the Servian tradition, and *caesos* is the reading of the only other **DS** primary witness transmitting the scholium, namely **F** (**F**'s *caesos* was corrected by an early reviser into *gaesos*).



While, as already mentioned, Marshall's reconstruction implies that the readings of the **DS** witnesses which are normally labelled as editorial changes made by the Compiler to the Servian text should be assigned partly to the Compiler and partly to a subsequent editor, Stok's reconstruction implies that these readings should be assigned partly to the Compiler and partly to a previous editor, if not to Donatus himself. A previous editor or Donatus, in particular, would be responsible for the following readings:

(a)	Cases where **DS** and **Sp** transmit more explicit and verbose readings than Servius[122]
3.705	ciuitas **Γ**: ciuitas est **DS Sp**
4.36	ducere **Γ**: ducere uxorem **DS Sp**
4.146[123]	populi **Γ**: populi sunt **DS Sp**
4.364	ipsa tacita **Σ**: pro ipsa tacita **DS**: pro ipsa tacuit **Sp**
4.517	farre **Σ**: id est farre **Sp DS**
5.13[124]	cur **Σ**: id est cur **Sp DS**
5.205	saxi acumen **Σ**: saxi asperi acumen **DS Sp**
(b)	Cases where **DS** and **Sp** exhibit a different word order from Servius[125]
5.646	a Rhoeteo promuntorio **Σ**: a promuntorio Rhoeteo (Roetea **Sp**) **DS Sp**

[122] On the Compiler's habit of supplying ellipses, cf. Murgia 1968: 319 and *passim*.

[123] *Harv.* 3 printed *populi iuxta Parnasum* as Servius and **DS** alike and recorded in their apparatus that this reading could be found in all the Servian families and in **T** and that **FGP** read, instead, *populi sunt iuxta Parnasum*. In fact, the words *populi* (*sunt*) *iuxta Parnasum* fall within none of the excerpts preserved by **T**.

[124] *Harv.* 3 printed *QVIANAM id est cur* as Servius and **DS** alike; according to their apparatus, this reading is transmitted by a single Servian witness, namely **B**, whereas the other witnesses belonging to the same family as **B** and the witnesses belonging to all the other families read *QVIANAM cur*. This must have been the reading of the archetype of the Servian tradition, and there is no reason to depart from it (cf. Seru. *ad Aen.* 10.6: *QVIANAM cur*).

[125] The Compiler often indulged in altering the Servian word order; in particular, he showed a penchant for moving the verb to the last position and for 'regularising' noun phrases which are

7.796	erant scuta depicta **Σ**: picta erant **DS Sp**
8.460	in dexteram reuocans partem **Σ**: in dexteram partem reuocans **DS Sp**
8.664	habebant pilleum **Σ**: pilleum habebant **DS Sp**
	dicti sunt **Γ**: sunt dicti **DS Sp**

(c) Another potentially significant case where **DS** and **Sp** agree against Servius

4.585[126] amatum **Σ**: adamatum **DS Sp**

The second and more serious issue concerns the corollary that Servius' commentary should be conceived as largely identical to Donatus' one. This corollary was logically drawn by Stok from the identification of **Sp** as a Donatian witness since **Sp** almost systematically agrees with (the **DS** version of) Servius. Two of **Sp**'s longest scholia will suffice to illustrate the systematicity of these agreements:

	Seru.	**Sp**
4.132[127]	ET ODORA CANVM VIS plus est quam si diceret 'multitudo'. … *odora* autem inproprie dixit: nam 'odorum' est quod ex se odorem emittit, non quod odorem sequitur …; nam 'odoratum' est quod aliunde odorem accipit. … tria ergo sunt: 'odorum' quod per se olet; 'odoratum', quod aliunde accipit odorem; 'odorisecum' quod odorem sequitur; sicut modo de canibus debuit dicere.	ODORA CANVM VIS ac si diceret multitudo. inpropriae dixit: nam odorum est quod ex se odorem emittit, non odorem sequitur; nam odoratum est quod aliunde odorem accipit. tria ergo sunt: quod per se olet; odoratum quod aliunde accipit; odorissecum quod odorem sequitur, sicut modo de canibus debuit dicere.
8.429	TRIS IMBRIS TORTI RADIOS constricti et coacti in grandinem. … et sciendum hoc eum uelle ostendere toto anno iaci fulmen: nam per has periphrases tempora ostendit anni totius, quae et quattuor esse et ternos menses habere manifestum est. unde dicit *tris imbris*	TRIS IMBRES TORTI RADIOS constricti et coacti [in grand]inem. et sciendum uelle eum ostendere tota anno iaci fulmen et tempora totius anni quattuor esse [et ter]nos menses habere, unde dicit tris imbres torti radios, hoc est quod habun per

interrupted by the verb in the Servian commentary (cf. Murgia 1968: 327 and 1974: 269-70 and Goold 1970: 107-8). Significantly, in three of these five cases, **DS** and **Sp** agree against Servius either in placing the verb at the end of the clause (7.796 and 8.664) or in eliminating a phrasal discontinuity (8.460).

[126] Cf. the scholium *ad ecl.* 6.74: *amatus a Scylla est* **Γ**: *adamatus a Scylla est* **DS**.

[127] The **DS** version of this scholium exhibits a few minor differences from the Servian one, the most relevant being the addition of the words *ergo uim aut ad multitudinem aut ad naturam rettulit* and *non 'olens' sed 'odorem inueniens'. ergo* before and after *'odora' autem*.

torti radios, hoc est grandinis quae abundat per hiemem; *tris nubis aquosae*, hoc est ueris, quo tempore nimiae sunt pluuiae …; *rutili tris ignis*, hoc est aestatis; *et alitis austri*, id est autumni, quo uentorum crebra sunt flamina.	hiemem, tris nubis aquosae, hoc est ueris, quo tempore nimiae sunt pluuiae, rutuli tris ignes, hoc est aestatis, et alitis austri, hoc est autumni, quo uentorum crebra sunt fulmina.

In both cases, the differences between the two texts are negligible and almost completely imputable to the editor responsible for **Sp** or to other medieval scribes. As a rule, **Sp**'s scholia are briefer than the Servian ones: they lack a few words or independent sections *tout court* and, in some cases, exhibit signs of careless abridgment.[128]

Nevertheless, the corollary in question is not only *per se* implausible[129] but also in conflict with the available evidence as to Servius' quotation practice. As was remarked by Murgia, that 'it is Servius' style deliberately, even capriciously, to reword his sources' becomes immediately clear if one compares Servius and Donatus in the two sections where both commentaries survive or compares Servius and the **DS** non-Servian additions with other genealogically related works.[130]

In particular, Servius' life of Vergil and preface to the *Eclogues* are clearly based on the corresponding sections of Donatus' commentary, but no confusion is possible between them. The differences between the two lives are so radical that the Donatian one can only be regarded as the source of information to which Servius resorted.[131] More interestingly, the Servian preface follows closely the Donatian one in terms of structure

[128] In the two scholia at issue, three of the independent sections that can be found in Servius but not in **Sp** are quotations from Sallust (*hist.* frg. 3.66) and Statius (*Theb.* 1.352 and 6.104). Quotations are obviously among the first materials to be removed by an abridger (cf., e.g., Cavajoni 1979: XVIII-XIX n. 22). On the characters of the scholia transmitted by **Sp**, cf. chapter II, section 6.

[129] It is hard to believe that Servius committed himself to transcribing almost continuously a single work published a few decades before. The high degree of stylistic consistency of his commentary, moreover, suggests that he did not transcribe substantial portions of text from different sources or from an author, like Donatus, who had transcribed substantial portions of text from different sources (cf. Don. *epist.*: *agnosce igitur saepe in hoc munere conlatiuo sinceram uocem priscae auctoritatis. cum enim liceret usquequaque nostra interponere, maluimus optima fide, quorum res fuerant, eorum etiam uerba seruare*). On the Servian style, cf. Murgia 1987b.

[130] Murgia 1975: 30, 98-9, and *passim*.

[131] Cf., amongst others, Naumann 1975: 171-9 and 1990 and Vallat 2020.

but regularly departs from it in terms of wording, as can be appreciated from an examination of their initial paragraphs:[132]

Don. *ad ecl.praef.*	Seru. *ad ecl.praef.*
Bucolica … et dici et recte dici, uel hoc indicio probasse suffecerat, quod eodem nomine apud Theocritum censeantur; uerum ratio quoque monstranda est. tria genera pastorum sunt, quae dignitatem in bucolicis habent, quorum … sunt … honoratissimi et maximi … βουκόλοι. …	Bucolica, ut ferunt, dicta sunt a custodibus boum, id est ἀπὸ τῶν βουκόλων: praecipua enim sunt animalia apud rusticos boues.
originem autem bucolici carminis alii ob aliam causam ferunt. sunt enim qui a Lacedaemoniis pastoribus Dianae primum carmen hoc redditum dicant, cum eidem deae per bellum, quod toti Graeciae illo tempore Persae inferebant, exhiberi per uirgines de more non posset.	huius autem carminis origo uaria est. nam alii dicunt eo tempore, quo Xerxes, Persarum rex, inuasit Graeciam, cum omnes intra muros laterent nec possent more solito Dianae sacra persolui, peruenisse ad montes Laconas rusticos et in eius honorem hymnos dixisse: unde natum carmen bucolicum aetas posterior elimauit.
alii ab Oreste circa Siciliam uago id genus carminis Dianae redditum loquuntur, et redditum per ipsum atque pastores, quo tempore de Scythia Taurica cum sorore profugerat, subrepto numinis simulacro et celato in fasce lignorum unde Fascelinam Dianam perhibent nuncupatam, apud cuius aras Orestes per sacerdotem eiusdem numinis Iphigeniam sororem suam a parricidio fuerat expiatus.	alii dicunt Orestem, cum Dianae Facelitidis simulacrum raptum ex Scythia adueheret et ad Siciliam esset tempestate delatus, completo anno Dianae festum celebrasse hymnis, collectis nautis suis et aliquibus pastoribus conuocatis, et exinde permansisse apud rusticos consuetudinem.
alii Apollini νομίῳ, pastorali scilicet deo, qua tempestate Admeto boues pauerat.	alii non Dianae, sed Apollini Nomio consecratum carmen hoc uolunt, quo tempore Admeti regis pauit armenta.
alii Libero nympharum et satyrorum et id genus numinum principi, quibus placet rusticum carmen. … alii in honorem Panos scribi putant peculiariter pastoralis dei, item Sileni, Siluani atque faunorum.	alii rusticis numinibus a pastoribus dicatum hoc asserunt carmen, ut Pani, faunis, nymphis ac satyris. et hic est huius carminis titulus.

That this practice was not confined to the introductory sections of the commentary is confirmed by an analysis of other cases where Servius' sources can be reconstructed by

[132] For more detailed contrastive analyses of the two prefaces, cf., amongst others, Osebold 1968, Naumann 1975: 166-71, and Monno 2006.

taking into account other extant works based on them: if these works transmit *uerbatim* or almost *uerbatim* excerpts from their sources, they exhibit verbal parallels with the additions but exhibit no such parallels with Servius. As examples of this behaviour, Murgia referred to a few cases where the additions agree with the 'Philargyrian' corpora, glossaries, and other glosses against Servius.[133] An even more systematic (and thus significant) comparison can be made with Macrobius. As anticipated in the introduction, the agreements between *Saturnalia* 3.1-9 and the Servian and **DS** commentary can only be explained by hypothesising that they are all based on a lost source, which is commonly identified with Donatus' commentary itself. Yet the agreements between Macrobius and Servius and between Macrobius and the **DS** non-Servian additions are qualitatively different: to quote Marinone, the former consist of nothing more than 'concordanze sostanziali', the latter of 'concordanze anche letterali'.[134] Such difference applies even to the cases where a single Macrobian passage agrees with a Servian scholium and an addition to the same scholium:[135]

Macr. *Sat.* 3.8.1-3	Seru. *ad Aen.* 2.632[136]	**DS** *ad Aen.* 2.632
… cum ille doctissime dixerit *ducente deo*, non *dea*. nam et apud Caluum Haterianus	AC DVCENTE DEO secundum eos qui dicunt utriusque sexus partecipationem habe-	AC DVCENTE DEO secundum eos qui dicunt utriusque sexus partecipationem habe-

[133] Murgia 1975: 28-30.

[134] Marinone 1946: 73-4.

[135] A similar comparison can be attempted between Gell. 2.6 and Seru. and **DS** *ad ecl.* 6.76. In this case, which was discussed by Murgia to demonstrate Gellius' dependence on earlier Vergilian commentators (2004b: 192-4), the *noctes Atticae* exhibits clear verbal parallels with the **DS** non-Servian addition (*in quo inest uis iam quaedam alieni arbitri; non enim sui potens est qui uehitur. 'uexare' autem, quod ex eo inclinatum est, ui atque motu procul dubio uastiorest. nam qui fertur et rapsatur atque huc atque illuc distrahitur, is uexari proprie dicitur* Gell.: *est enim uis quaedam alieni arbitrii, non enim sui potens est qui uehitur. bene ergo inclinatum uerbum est; nam qui fertur et raptatur et huc atque illuc distrahitur 'uexari' proprie dicitur* **DS**) and presents some differences in wording from Servius (*'uexasse' … factum … ab eo uidetur, quod est 'uehere', in quo inest uis iam quaedam alieni arbitri* Gell.: *'uexasse' uenire ab eo quod est 'ueho, uecto, uexo', ut 'uexasse' sit 'portasse' et sine dubio 'pro arbitrio suo euertisse'* Seru.).

[136] *Harv.* 2 printed *nam Caluus in libro suo ait* as Servius and **DS** alike, although all the Servian witnesses collated by them read *nam ait Caluus*. The former reading should be judged as a deliberate change introduced by the Compiler, who, as just mentioned, had a penchant for moving the verb to the last position. Other cases where *Harv.* 2 printed conscious or unconscious innovations of the **DS** version in the text and relegated the Servian reading to the apparatus will be discussed *infra* and in chapter II.

adfirmat legendum *pollentemque deum Venerem*, non *deam*.	re numina. nam ait Caluus *pollentemque deum Venerem*.	re numina. nam Caluus in libro suo ait *pollentemque deum Venerem*.
	item Vergilius *nec dextrae erranti deus afuit*, cum aut Iuno fuerit aut Allecto.	item Vergilius *nec dextrae erranti deus afuit*, cum aut Iuno fuerit aut Allecto.
signum etiam eius est Cypri barbatum,	est etiam in Cypro simulacrum barbatae Veneris.	est etiam in Cypro simulacrum barbatae Veneris
corpore et ueste muliebri, cum sceptro ac natura uirili. … Aristophanes eam Ἀφρόδιτον appellat. … Philocorus … adfirmat … ei sacrificium facere uiros cum ueste muliebri, mulieres cum uirili.		corpore et ueste muliebri, cum sceptro et natura uirili, quod Ἀφρόδιτον uocant. cui uiri in ueste muliebri, mulieres in uirili ueste sacrificant.

The same conclusion can be reached by examining the cases where it seems possible to reconstruct the text of Servius' source thanks to **DS** non-Servian additions. As already mentioned, that the additions largely coincide with sections of Donatus' lost commentary is not only a plausible common opinion but also a necessary assumption for the identification of **Sp** as a Donatian witness to be possible.[137] Yet, whenever the Compiler of **DS** erroneously supplemented a Servian scholium with a partially overlapping addition,[138] the two overlapping sections systematically differ in word order and word choices. This can be appreciated, for instance, in the case of the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.448:[139]

Seru.	**DS**
AEREA *aerea* ideo uel quod aes magis ueteres in usu habebant uel quod religioni apta est haec materies; denique flamen Dialis aereis cultris tondebatur.	AEREA uel quod aes magis ueteres in usu habebant uel quod religioni apta est haec materies – denique flamen Dialis aereis cultris tondebatur –, aut quia uocalius ceteris metallis, aut quia medici quaedam uulnera aere curant, aut dicit quia ueteres magis aere usi sunt.

[137] See section 7.1.1. This identity is also corroborated by the just mentioned agreements between the additions and the other sources emanating from Donatus.

[138] See *supra* and chapter II, section 2.1.

[139] On the scholium at issue, cf. Stocker 1963: 12 and Goold 1970: 106. *Harv.* 2 printed *AEREA uel quod e.q.s.* as Servius and **DS** alike, confining the genuine *AEREA 'aerea' ideo* to the apparatus.

Since the corollary that Servius copied *uerbatim* from Donatus unrealistically implies that virtually all the cases where the two commentaries can be compared should be dismissed as exceptions, one is led to conclude that the identification of **Sp** as a pure Donatian witness is not only uneconomical but also impossible. This does not mean, however, that one should necessarily accept Marshall's reconstruction, which Stok proved to be possible but likewise uneconomical. In fact, a valid alternative is available.

As was clarified by Stok, Marshall's reconstruction can only be abandoned if one considers **Sp** either as based on Servius' main source or as based on more than one source. His choice ultimately fell on the former option because he regarded the two consecutive series of scholia *ad Aen.* 5 as evidence that the fragment emanated from a single source.[140] However, while these series perhaps prove that the scribe responsible for them resorted to a single manuscript, they do not prove that the manuscript at issue did not contain materials drawn from different traditions or that such materials were not added to any lost intermediary between that manuscript and **Sp**. From this perspective, the identification of the fragment as a **DS** witness interpolated from Servius and other traditions can actually be judged as an entirely plausible alternative to its identification as a pure **DS** witness.[141] Given that the former involves no uneconomical assumption as to the genesis of the **DS** scholia, one can conclude that it should also be considered as more plausible than the latter.

Significantly, this reconstruction makes it also possible to offer a ready explanation for the few scholia consisting of a section paralleled and a section unparalleled in the

[140] See section 7.1.1.

[141] If **Sp**'s scholia derive from more than one source, two of these must be **DS** and Servius. The only two other possibilities – namely that **Sp** is based on Servius' main source and **DS**, as well as, potentially, other non-Servian traditions, or on Servius' main source and Servius, as well as, potentially, other non-**DS** traditions – can be ruled out: the former implies that the sections where **Sp** agrees with Servius against **DS** were copied *uerbatim* by Servius from his source; the latter involves a reconstruction of the genesis **DS** that is as uneconomical as the one involved by Stok's hypothesis and even implies that the frequent agreements between **Sp** and **DS** in the way in which Servian and non-Servian sections are joined should be judged as fortuitous.

other **DS** witnesses that are separated by *uel*[142] and for the twelve minor irregularities in the order of the scholia.

These irregularities are potentially relevant for two reasons. First, about 60% of them must or can be explained as a consequence of the misplacement of scholia unparalleled in **DS** or containing autonomous sections unparalleled in **DS**, although these scholia amount only to about 10% of the text preserved by **Sp**. Second, the fact that the misplaced scholia are relatively frequent and are sometimes found at a significant distance from their proper position[143] makes it difficult to dismiss them as mechanical errors or as 'second thoughts' of a scribe who repeatedly moved back and forth while copying from a single exemplar.[144] The nature, frequency, and positions of such scholia are readily understandable if they were incorporated into the text by a scribe who, while copying from an ancestor of **Sp**, had access to a non-**DS** witness or, even more plausibly, if they were noted in the margins of an ancestor of **Sp** by a scribe resorting to a non-**DS** witness and were inserted into the text at a later stage.[145] Materials deriving from different sources are notoriously subject to incorporation in wrong places for unconscious or semiconscious reasons. As far as **Sp** is concerned, most of the scholia that are found at a significant distance from their proper position can be imputed to a careless editor who misidentified their lemmata:

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[142] *ad Aen.* 4.252 (*CYLENIVS Mercurius a Cylonio Arcadiae monte, ubi dicitur esse nutritus uel natus*) and 453 (*VIDIT TVRICREMIS id est cremantibus tura uel in quibus tura incenduntur*) and 8.493 (*DEFENDIER idem defendebatur uel defendi*). Some comment is called for on the last scholium. The alternative preceded by *uel* can be found in the Servian witnesses but is omitted in the only other extant **DS** witness (**F**): the former read *DEFENDIER defendi, id est defendebatur*, the latter *DEFENDIER id est defendebatur*, perhaps an error due to homoearchon. The location of *defendi* after *defendebatur* is odd, and the disjunctive conjunction inserted between the two forms is pointless; *uel defendi* can be easily explained as an addition of a scribe who found the gloss *defendi* in a non-**DS** (Servian?) witness and added it to his **DS** text.

[143] For instance, the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.37, 373, and 613 are included between those *ad Aen.* 5.99 and 105, 408 and 415, and 524 and 556, respectively.

[144] This explanation is obviously to be rejected in the case of the scholium *ad Aen.* 5.37, whose lemma and *interpretamentum*, as will be shown *infra*, are separated by three other scholia.

[145] The former reconstruction would not explain cases such as the one of the just mentioned scholium *ad Aen.* 5.37. All the irregularities that cannot be described as misplacements of scholia unparalleled in **DS** or including sections unparalleled in **DS** can still be described as misplacements of scholia inherited from the Servian tradition.

(4.137) LIMBO Saxonice thraese. (4.146) DRYOPES populi sunt iuxta Parnasum montem. (4.147) FLVENTEM unguentatum. (4.138) IN AVRVM ueluti reticulum est, quod colligit comas.

(4.254) AVI SIMILIS mergum dicit. (4.261) IASPIS genus gemmae. FVLVA pro uiridi posuit. (4.262) ENSIS ERAT pro uaginia dicit. LAENA genus quoddam uestis est. (4.259) magalia et mapalia Affrorum casas dicunt.

(5.37) LYBYSTIDIS VRSAE. (5.62) IN NAVES per naues. (5.69) CRVDO duro. (5.99) REMISSOS [ut] r[e]mitterentur. (5.37) feram pro fera posuit, id est ursam pro feris quae in Affrica sunt, leonibus […]s.

(5.524) SERA grauia. (5.613) SOLA deserta. ACTA amoena pars litoris. (5.556) TONSA composita. (5.556) PRESSA CORONA id est galea. (5.595) CARPATHIVM mare inter Aegyptum et Hrodum ad insulam Carpatha. (5.620) ITMARI DORY CHILYRII It[marus …] mons est Epiri.

The scholia *ad Aen.* 4.138 and 259 and 5.37b and 613 might have been taken as referring, respectively, to *Aen.* 4.148 (*fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro*), 4.266 (*fundamenta locas pulchramque uxorius urbem*), 5.101 (*dona ferunt, onerant aras mactantque iuuencos*), and 5.542 (*quamuis solus auem caelo deiecit ab alto*).[146]

In conclusion, since **Sp** includes materials that can be positively suspected of being extraneous to the **DS** tradition, only the scholia or autonomous sections of scholia agreeing with the other **DS** witnesses against the Servian ones can be considered as certainly emanating from that tradition. The question of the provenance of the remaining portions of the text preserved by **Sp** will be more prudently left open.[147]

[146] The remaining two cases are not explicable in the same way. In both cases, however, some similarities can be detected between the Vergilian section illustrated by the misplaced scholia and the Vergilian section illustrated by the scholia between which they are erroneously inserted. The two scholia *ad Aen.* 4.367 (*CAVCASVS mons Scithiae inhospitalis. HYRCANIAE TIGRES Hyrcania silua est Arabiae*) might have been placed between those *ad Aen.* 4.346 and 362 out of a confusion between the geographical references included in Aeneas' and Dido's speeches, perhaps also because the immediately preceding scholia *ad Aen.* 4.345-6 on *GRYNEVS* and *LYCIAE* deal with geographical matters. The scholium *ad Aen.* 5.373 (*BEBRICCIA Bitinia est*) might have been placed between those *ad Aen.* 5.408 and 415 out of a confusion between the descriptions of Dares (vv. 365-77) and Entellus (vv. 400-8).

[147] Scholia and sections of scholia corresponding to nothing in the other **DS** witnesses cannot be labelled *a priori* as non-**DS** because the only relatively 'sincere' witness available in this section, namely **F**, lacks most of the non-Servian additions to the scholia *ad Aen.* 6-7 and some passages even in the scholia on the other books (see chapter II, section 2.3).

8. Bern, BB, 165 (T)

DESCRIPTION: parchment; II + 219 + II′ leaves; $1^{5\text{-}1(?)}$ + 2-6^{8} + 7^{8+2} + 8-27^{8} + $28^{6\text{-}1(?)}$; 325 × 245 mm (220 × 115 mm); ruling with a hard point; one column; 30 lines, except for the bifolium inserted in gathering 7 (20 lines); ancient quire signatures in the form of Roman numerals;[148] modern foliation. The last two gatherings have been seriously damaged, and at least one leaf has gone missing after f. 219.[149] It is impossible to determine whether gathering 1 was originally conceived as a ternion lacking both the first and the fifth leaf or just the latter.[150] Ff. 49-50, ruled in a different way and copied by a different hand, were inserted in the middle of gathering 7 during or shortly after the production of the codex, so as to fill a lacuna of 75 Vergilian lines.[151]

HANDWRITING: The codex is written in a well-formed Tours Caroline minuscule.[152] As far as the Vergilian works are concerned, square and rustic capital letters are employed, respectively, for the initials of each *Eclogue* and of the books of the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* and for the initials of each line, whereas half-uncial letters are employed for some of the opening lines of the *Eclogues* and of the books of the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*. Some paratextual elements are likewise marked by rustic capital and half-uncial letters. The interlinear and marginal notes were written, also in Caroline minuscule, by several roughly contemporary scribes. In the leaves transmitting the *Aeneid*, at least eight annotators can be distinguished with reasonable certainty,[153] besides those employing

[148] The signatures appear in the centre of the lower margin of the last *verso* of each gathering. No signature can be found in gatherings 3, 15-18, 20, and 27-8.

[149] The structure of gathering 28, restored in modern times, is not definable with certainty.

[150] There is no textual gap between f. 3 and f. 4 and no evident lacuna before f. 1, but it is entirely possible that f. 1 was originally preceded by another leaf containing self-standing introductory materials.

[151] The hands copying ff. 49-50 and the other leaves of the gathering are coeval, and the same ninth-century scribes added notes on both.

[152] **T** was labelled by Rand (1929: 127-8) as a late example of the 'regular style' flourishing in Tours during the abbacies of Alcuin (796-804) and Fridugisus (804-34). The initials of *Anth.* 672 (f. 1^{r}) and of *ecl.* 1 (f. 2^{r}), which occupy five and about twenty ruling lines, respectively, are particularly elaborate: the former is decorated with a palmette motif, the latter with a knotwork design (cf. Köhler 1930: 162).

[153] The classifications of the hands proposed in Savage 1925b and in Cadili 2022 are not reliable (on the former, cf. also Wright 1985: 66 n. 7). The *sigla* $\mathbf{T}^{1}$-$\mathbf{T}^{8}$ will be herein adopted to refer to the non-'Tironian' scribes responsible for the notes on *Aen.* 3.14 in the lower margin of f. 80^{r} ($\mathbf{T}^{1}$), on

Tironian notation.[154]

CONTENTS: 1. *Anth.* 672 [f. 1r-v]. — 2. Berno's dedication[155] [f. 1v]. — 3. *ecl.* with *Anth.* 2.*praef.* and *ecl.* [ff. 1v-16r]. — 4. *georg.* with *Anth.* 2.*georg.*I-IV [ff. 16r-54r]. — 5. *Aen.* 1-12.918 with *Anth.* 634 and 1.II-IX and XI-XII [ff. 54r-219v].

T can be labelled as an early example of a glossed edition of Vergil, with the three Vergilian works heavily annotated both above the lines and in the margins. Since Savage, these notes have been conventionally referred to as *scholia Turonensia*. The notes on the *Aeneid* written down by **T**[1]-**T**[8] include rephrased excerpts from the **DS** scholia along with notes connected with other learned traditions, such as those of Tiberius Claudius Donatus, Festus, Macrobius, Nonius, and Servius.[156] By contrast, the notes added by the 'Tironian' scribes do not appear to depend directly on ancient sources but rather on Carolingian exegetical, grammatical, and lexicographical works and include no **DS** material.[157]

Aen. 12.169 in the upper margin of f. 207v (**T**[2]), on *Aen.* 4.696 in the left and lower margin of f. 103v (**T**[3]), on *Aen.* 4.453 in the right margin of f. 99v (**T**[4]), on *Aen.* 5.118 in the left margin of f. 106r (**T**[5]), on *Aen.* 7.612 in the lower margin of f. 144r (**T**[6]), on *Aen.* 8.552 in the upper margin of f. 157r (**T**[7]), and on *Aen.* 8.299 in the left and lower margin of f. 152v (**T**[8]).

[154] On the 'Tironian' scribes, cf. Hellmann 2002. It has been suggested that two of these scribes could have gone under the names of Berno and Liudramnus because they use these names to explain the same grammatical rule in two notes on *georg.* 3.147 (f. 36v: *sic enim dicimus: est mihi nomen Bernoni, est mihi nomen Bernonis, est mihi nomen Berno*) and on *Aen*. 9.593 (f. 170r: *est mihi cognomen Liudramno et est mihi cognomen Liudramnus et est mihi cognomen Liudramni dicimus: per nominatiuum, genitiuum et datiuum, sed melius per datiuum*).

[155] The dedication begins as follows: 'hunc Virgilii codicem obtulit Berno gregis beati Martini leuita deuota mente Deo et eidem beato Martino perpetualiter habendum (p- h- *p.c.*), ea quidem ratione ut perlegat ipsum Arbertus consobrinus ipsius et diebus uitae suae sub pretextu sancti Martini habeat et post suum obitum iterum sancto reddatur Martino (i- s- r- M- *p.c.*)'. The full text can be read in Munk Olsen 1985: 703.

[156] On **T**'s notes deriving from Nonius and from Tiberius Claudius Donatus, cf., respectively, Barabino 1984 and Pirovano 2010, 2014, and 2018, 57-60. As a witness to Donatus, **T** appears to depend – at least partially – on Vatican, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1484 (cf. Pirovano 2014: 119-20 and 2018: 60 and Danovi 2023a).

[157] This conclusion was first reached in Savage 1925b. Contrary to what Savage claimed, however, there is no reason to believe that any of these Carolingian works was directly based on Aelius Donatus' lost Vergilian commentary (cf. Danovi 2023b). Incidentally, it should be observed that the notes copied by the 'Tironian' scribes have not always been correctly recognised as such and that some of them are still recorded in the apparatuses of the most recent editions of the **DS** scholia.

PROVENANCE: Copied in Tours in the first half of the ninth century, **T** was offered to the abbey of Saint-Martin by the *leuita* Berno. Nothing is known about this *leuita*, but it seems plausible that he was entitled to offer the codex to the community because he had overseen or taken part in its production.[158] Since no Berno is mentioned in the list of *nomina fratrum de Turonis* (ca. 820), one must hypothesise either that he was already dead when the list was drawn up or that he entered the abbey just after 820.[159] The codex was still housed in the library of the abbey at the beginning of the fifteenth century[160] and was probably found there by Daniel, who referred to it as *Turonensis* in the preface to his 1600 edition.[161] Like **F^{B}**, **T** was inherited by Bongars after Daniel's death and subsequently by Graviseth, who donated it to the Burgerbibliothek of Bern in 1632.[162]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Thilo 1881: LXII-V; Savage 1925b; Gelsinger 1929; Savage 1932: 106-8; Murgia 1975: 19; Munk Olsen 1985: 703-4 n° B. 10; Bischoff 1998: 114 n° 541; Ottaviano 2013-14: 161-73; Homburger–Mittenhuber 2015a.

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[158] It is difficult to say whether the donor should be identified with the scribe responsible for the already mentioned note on *georg.* 3.147, as was suggested by Funaioli (1930: 68): the capital script that the latter uses in the lemmata is less calligraphic, and the morphology of some letters, such as *F*, *N*, and *V*, is also different, but these divergences might also be explained by assuming that the same scribe adapted his style of writing to different types of texts. Ottaviano (2013-14: 162) suggested that the donor could be identified with the homonymous monk of Saint-Martin who is mentioned in some documents dating from the last years of the ninth century. However, it is hard to see how a *gregis Beati Martini leuita* could offer to the abbey of Saint-Martin a codex which had been copied, owned, and heavily annotated by the members of the same abbey in the previous decades, making it a condition that his cousin Arbertus should have access to it. Although Arbertus is normally considered to have been another member of Saint-Martin, Berno's request would be more easily understandable if his cousin did not belong to the community (cf., e.g., the 898 donation act published in Mabille 1856-71: XCII-III).

[159] Cf. Rand–Howe 1915-16: 34 n. 1. The annotator who used the name Liudramnus in the note on *Aen.* 9.593 has been identified with the Litramnus mentioned among the oldest members of the community in the *nomina fratrum de Turonis* (cf. Savage 1925b: 106 n. 5 and Weisgerber 1937: 102-3).

[160] The following ownership note was written down by a De la Bruyère on f. 212^{v}: 'iste liber est de ecclesia sanctissimi Martini Turonensi accomodatus per dominos capitulum (*ut uid.*) celerario eiusdem die VI^{ta} Maii anno Domini millesimo CCCCXIII$^{o'}$.

[161] See chapter III, section 1.1.

[162] Cf. section 2 and chapter III, section 2.1. **T** has been identified with the codex recorded in the *Clavis bibliothecae Bongarsianae* as 'V.16. Virgilius 3. Cum scholiis. F.' (Bern, BB, A 5, p. 65).

8.1. Appendix: The **DS** scholia and **T**'s notes on *Aen.* 1-2

Harv. 2 included **T** among the **DS** witnesses to which they occasionally resorted and recorded ten of its notes in their apparatus.[163] Among these, five can be attributed to one of the 'Tironian' scribes and consequently be dismissed as extraneous to the **DS** tradition,[164] whereas the other five can be divided into the following two categories:

(a) Notes including common glosses which can be found in the **DS** scholia but need not derive from them:

1.261 QVANDO siquidem [=**Σ**], quoniam] (QVANDO) siquidem uel quoniam **T**

2.160 TV MODO pro 'tantummodo'] (TV MODO) tantummodo, et est apostropha ad ciuitatem **T**

2.531 EVASIT peruenit [=**Σ**]] (EVASIT) apparuit siue peruenit **T**

(b) Notes which do not bear any particular resemblance to the **DS** scholia:

1.458 ET SAEVVM AMBOBVS atqui tres dixit. sed *Atridas* pro uno accipe, quos unius partis constat fuisse [≈**Σ**]. an *ambobus* Agamemnoni tantum et Priamo?] quidam saeuum ad Menelaum et Agamennonem referunt, quod uidelicet saeuior fuerit Achilles illis duobus, sed Seruius Priamo et Atridae comparat Achillem **T**

2.324 SVMMA DIES ultima ut *supreme Iuppiter*] (SVMMA) extrema et periculosa, ut est in Verrinis summo tempore reipublicae, id est periculoso **T**

None of these notes is likely to derive from the **DS** scholia; the sources of the two explanations proposed for *saeuum ambobus* in the fourth note, in particular, should be identified with Servius and Tiberius Claudius Donatus.[165]

Since no note on *Aen.* 1-2 which can be judged as plausibly depending on **DS** has been found in **T**,[166] the codex will appropriately be removed from the list of the witnesses to the **DS** scholia on these two books.

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[163] *Harv.* 2: XX.

[164] These five notes concern *Aen.* 1.85 and 559 and 2.65, 235, and 268. The first is explicitly attributed by *Harv.* 2 to a 'Tironian' scribe, the others are not.

[165] The second explanation, which can be paralleled in Servian and **DS** witnesses alike, is explicitly attributed to Servius; as will be shown in chapter II, section 7.2, **T**'s annotators appear to have been conscious of the difference between the Servian and non-Servian sections of the **DS** scholia and explicitly referred to the latter as non-Servian. *quidam … duobus* corresponds to *'saeuum ambobus' species est conparationis, ut sit saeuior fuit Achilles Agamemnone et Menelao* in Donatus' comment on the same line.

[166] *Harv.* 2's choice to record the ten notes at issue in their apparatus seems even more bizarre if one considers that they were probably deduced from the lists of **T**'s *adespota* drawn by Savage (1925b: 142-7) and that these lists also include two notes, concerning the Trojan horse (on *Aen.*

2.15) and Tenes (on *Aen.* 2.21), which almost certainly emanate from a tradition related to that of the non-Servian source used by the Compiler. On these notes, as well as on the similar notes preserved by **Mo**, cf. Savage 1925b: 142-3 and Timpanaro 1978: 429-57.

9. Vatican, BAV, Vat. Lat. 1570 (Va)

DESCRIPTION: parchment; 228 leaves; $^{2}+1^{8-2+1}+2^{7}+3\text{-}15^{8}+16^{6}+17^{8-1+1}+18\text{-}19^{8}+20^{8-1}+21\text{-}2^{8}+23^{7}+24\text{-}7^{8}+28^{6}+29^{10}$; 390 × 315 mm (280 × 260 mm);[167] ruling with a hard point; one column; 29 lines; ancient quire signatures in the form of Roman numerals;[168] modern foliation (ff. 1-154).[169] Gatherings 2, 7, 15-16, 18-19, 23, and 26-8 and the two singletons attached at the beginning of gatherings 1 and at the end of gathering 17 were added between the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century to replace original leaves which had gone missing or had been damaged;[170] the first leaf of gathering 20 seems to have been removed intentionally when the preceding gathering was added.[171] The initial bifolium was added in the sixteenth century, possibly to replace a lost or damaged singleton which had been attached to gathering 1 together with f. 3.

HANDWRITING: In the original and non-original gatherings alike, the text is written in a regular Caroline minuscule, with incipits and explicits in rustic capitals.[172] The initial bifolium is written in Humanistic cursive.

CONTENTS: I. Original contents: 1. *ecl.* 2.33-6.40 [ff. 4^{r}-9^{v}] — 2. *georg.* 1-4.217 with *Anth.* 2.*georg.*II-IV [ff. 17^{r}-48^{v}]. — 3a. *Aen.* 1.101-5.240 with *Anth.* 1.IV [ff. 54^{r}-101^{v}], *Aen.* 6.162-569

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[167] The original size of the codex cannot be determined precisely since the margins have been trimmed off.

[168] The signatures appear in the centre of the lower margin of the last *verso* of each gathering. No signature can be found in gatherings 4, 10, 14, and 20.

[169] Most of the leaves whose outer margins have been completely cut away are not numbered.

[170] Five references to the lacunae can be found in the lower margin of the pages preceding some of the non-original gatherings: 'hic de[…]' (gathering 1, f. 9^{v}); 'ibi desunt quaterniones II' (gatherings 14 and 17, ff. 102^{v} and 114a^{v}); 'ibi deest I' (gathering 22, 131a^{v}); 'ibi desunt quaterniones III' (gathering 25, f. 135c^{v}). The fact that the third of these references was added on a leaf copied by the same scribe as gatherings 2 and 7 and as the non-original first leaf of gathering 1, namely f. 114a, led Kaster to suggest that these leaves and the other non-original gatherings, copied by two other scribes, could have been added at two different stages. Since the notes in question were meant to facilitate the rebinding process, however, it is not impossible that one of them could have been written down on the last leaf of a just restored gathering.

[171] As pointed out by Murgia (1975: 162-3), the Vergilian lines originally included on that leaf, namely *Aen.* 7.646-703, and the corresponding notes were copied on the last leaf of gathering 19 (f. 117d).

[172] In particular, Kaster (1990: 53-4) distinguished two hands in the original leaves (1-2) and three hands in the later leaves (3-5). Like Nogara (1912: 69-70), Murgia (1975: 25 and 159-63) had attributed the leaves copied by hands 4 and 5 to a single scribe.

[ff. 108r-14v], *Aen.* 7.704-9.406 [ff. 118r-31av], *Aen.* 10.42-11.52 with *Anth.* 1.XI [ff. 132cr-5cv], and *Aen.* 12.517-952 [ff. 145r-52r]. — 3b. Seru. *ad Aen.* 3.*praef.*-1 [f. 76av-7r], 4.*praef.*-2 [f. 88v-9r], 5.1-6 [f. 100v-0av], and 8.1-23 [f. 119v-20r]. — 4. *Anth.* 672 and Alcuin. *carm.* 58 [ff. 152r-3v]. — 5. Rahingus' dedication [f. 154r].[173] — II. Non-original contents: 6a. *ecl.* 1.1-58 [ff. 2r-v], 1.59-2.32 [f. 3r-v], and 6.41-10 [ff. 10r-16v]. — 6b. Seru. *ad ecl.praef.* and 1.1-36 and *expl. II in ecl.* 1.37-58 [ff. 1r-2v] and *expl. II in ecl.* 1.59-2.10 and Seru. *ad ecl.* 2.11-10.77 [ff. 3r-16r]. — 7a. *Anth.* 2.*georg.*I [f. 16v] and *georg.* 4.218-566 [ff. 48ar-52r]. — 7b. Seru. *ad georg.* 1.*praef.*-3.280 [ff. 16r-40r]. — 8a. *Aen.* 1.1-100 with *Anth.* 634, 1.I, and 2.*praef.* [ff. 52r-3v], *Aen.* 5.241-6.161 with *Anth.* 1.VI [f. 101ar-7bv], *Aen.* 6.570-7.703 with *Anth.* 1.VII [ff. 114ar-17dv], *Aen.* 9.407-10.42 with *Anth.* 1.X [ff. 131br-2bv], and *Aen.* 11.53-12.516 with *Anth.* 1.XII [ff. 135dr-44r].

Va is a late example of a glossed edition of Vergil with sporadic interlinear and marginal notes. The notes are confined, with the only exception of those on *Aen.* 7.646-703, to the original leaves and include rephrased excerpts from the **DS** scholia, Tiberius Claudius Donatus, and other classical and late-antique learned sources.[174] The text of the Servian scholia on the beginning of *Aen.* 3-5 and 8 was copied by the original scribes in the central column, just before the corresponding Vergilian books, whereas the text of the Servian scholia on the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics* was transcribed during the late tenth or eleventh century in the margins of the original and non-original leaves alike.[175]

PROVENANCE: Produced in Flavigny in the first half of the tenth century, either by scribes working under the supervision of the Rahingus who composed the dedication or by scribes resorting to Rahingus' codex as their exemplar,[176] **Va** suffered from severe

[173] The dedication includes a prose section starting with the words 'inenarrabili alacritate praeuentus, ego Rahingus monachus ex Flauiniaco monasterio leuitaque simul' and a brief elegy. The full text can be read in Delisle 1886: 245-6.

[174] On **Va**'s excerpts from Donatus' commentary, cf. Pirovano 2010, 2014, and 2018: 57-60.

[175] The Servian scholia *ad ecl.* 1.37-2.10 have not been preserved by any known extant witness; in **Va** and in several other branches of the Servian tradition, the text of the *explanatio II* fills the lacuna (cf. Stok–Ramires 2017 and 2022: 393-409).

[176] The Rahingus responsible for the dedication was identified with the monk acting as abbot of Saint-Pierre of Flavigny around 900 by Delisle (1886), who found a similar dedication in Orléans, BM, 82 (79), p. 155. Considering both notes as autograph, Delisle concluded that the two codices must be dated to the late ninth or early tenth century. Delisle's reconstruction raises, however, two issues. First, as observed by Murgia (1975: 25-6 and 163-4) and Kaster (1990: 45-9),

physical losses from as early as the second half of the same century. Restored between the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century and in the course of the sixteenth century, the codex was acquired by the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana between 1550 and 1566.[177]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Savage 1932: 116-17; Murgia 1975: 22-6 and 159-67; Munk Olsen 1985: 785-6 n° B. 256; Kaster 1990: 45-57; Pellegrin 1991: 130-3; Ottaviano 2013-14: 250-7; Bischoff 2014: 448 n° 6860.

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the words 'CARMINA VIRGI[…]', written at the end of the prose section of **Va**'s dedication, just before the elegy, appear oddly out of place in that position, even if one can hypothesise that they might have been originally followed by some clarificatory words which are no longer readable because of the loss of the outer margin of f. 154. Second, the styles of handwriting adopted in the dedications in **Va** and in the Orléans codex present some differences in the overall appearance (the former is less calligraphic than the latter), in the morphology of some graphical components (especially the ascenders), letters (especially *a*, *g*, and *h*), and ligatures (especially *et*), and in the choice of graphemes (e.g., the diphthong *-ae* is written as *-e caudata* in the former and as *-æ* in the latter).

[177] **Va** has been identified with the codex recorded as '1. Virgilii Buccolica, Georgica et Aeneis. Ex pergameno' in Ranaldi's list of manuscripts acquired between 1550 and 1566 (Vatican, BAV, Vat. Lat. 8185, f. 350^{r}). According to Mercati (1946: 365 n. 2), the codex might have been owned by the French bibliophile Jean Jouffroy before entering the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

II
The Different Versions of the DS Scholia

Compared to the Servian tradition, the **DS** one is notoriously characterised by a higher degree of 'textual variance', with each primary witness transmitting a version of the scholia different from the others.[1] The present chapter aims to discuss the main characters of these nine versions.

1. The DS scholia transmitted by C

The text preserved by **C** is not homogeneous: its scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 can be judged as a 'sincere' form of **DS**, while those *ad Aen.* 3-6 – albeit often agreeing with the other **DS** witnesses against the Servian ones – lack almost all the **DS** non-Servian additions.

Thilo deserves credit for clarifying that **C**'s scholia on the last four books should not be regarded as a peculiar version of Servius emanating from the same tradition as the Servian codex employed by the Compiler but rather as a non-'sincere' version of **DS**.[2] In particular, he pointed out that some of the readings shared by **C** and the **DS** witnesses could be not only shown to be extraneous to Servius but also ascribed to the Compiler, implying or referring to non-Servian additions not preserved by **C**.[3] On this basis, he concluded that **C**'s scholia on these books depended on a lost **DS** witness whose additions were filtered out by a scribe aiming to copy only the Servian text. The way in which they could be recognised by that scribe, not understood by Thilo,[4] was clarified

[1] See the introduction.

[2] Thilo 1881: L-LI. Before Thilo, scholars such as Dübner, Bergk, and Thomas had limited themselves to acknowledging the difference between **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 and 3-6.

[3] Four examples of such readings are mentioned in Thilo's preface: *Neptunio* **Σ**: *aut* (*ait* **C**) *Neptunio* **CF** (*ad Aen.* 3.249), *intellegamus* **Σ**: *possumus intellegere* **CFT** (3.286), *adfectum* **Σ**: *adfectum sicut supra dictum est* **CF** (3.311), and *aues* **Σ**: *aues autem* **CF** (3.361).

[4] Thilo hypothesised that the Servian and non-Servian sections could have been distinguished in **C**'s ancestor by special symbols but recognised that no trace of such symbols could be found in the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2.

some decades later by Barwick and Stocker, who, respectively, suggested and proved that the relevant ancestor of **C** was collated against a Servian witness.[5]

The reconstruction just summarised had gained unanimous acceptance until 2021, when it was challenged by Vallat in an article appeared in *Eruditio Antiqua*. In particular, Vallat claimed that this reconstruction could be dismissed as historically implausible since 'on ne voit pas, dans la longue histoire des commentaires virgiliens, de processus d'élimination de cette sorte' and 'la tendance est au contraire à la compilation permanente'.[6] For this reason, he concluded that **C** should be rather regarded as a witness belonging to the same tradition as the Compiler's copy of Servius, reproposing the alternative hypothesis contemplated but eventually ruled out by Thilo. Notwithstanding, since Vallat did not attempt to refute the compelling positive arguments adduced by Thilo or by Stocker and since his doubts as to the plausibility of their reconstruction can be readily dispelled by considering the other extant **DS** witnesses,[7] the traditional reconstruction does not appear to require a thorough re-discussion.[8] The question of why **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 and 3-6 differ in character, which was not satisfactorily answered by Thilo, Barwick, or Stocker, will be addressed in the conclusion on the basis of a global examination of the **DS** manuscript tradition.

[5] Barwick 1911: 133-4 and Stocker 1954. After re-examining the question of the nature of **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6 and concluding, like Thilo, that they constitute 'a mutilated specimen of Servius Danielis', Stocker pointed out that **C** sides with the Servian witnesses against the **DS** ones in some scholia, such as those *ad Aen.* 3.351 and 5.241, where the two versions differ radically. Three readings were adduced by Stocker to prove that **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6 derive from **DS**: those from the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.249 and 311 already pointed out by Thilo and *pedum signa* **Σ**: *uel pedum signa* **CF** (3.244).

[6] Vallat 2021: 63.

[7] As will be shown in sections 2.3, 3, 5, and 7.3 and in chapter III, section 3.2, not only can a few other primary witnesses be suspected of depending on lost manuscripts corrected against Servian witnesses (**FM³RTVa**), but a **DS** witness exhibiting corrections by a reviser resorting to a Servian manuscript is still extant (**Mo**).

[8] The scholia referred to by Thilo and Stocker, as well as some other scholia which can also be adduced in support of the traditional reconstruction, will be examined *infra* as evidence on the procedure followed by the reviser of **C**'s ancestor.

1.1. **C**'s scholia *ad Aen*. 3-6

Some comments are here in order as to the features of the text of **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6, which has hitherto been generically described as **DS** with occasional agreements with the **Γ** and **Δ** traditions of Servius.[9] In fact, **C**'s behaviour cannot be judged as entirely consistent throughout the four books, as the codex exhibits significant variations in the quantity and quality of its agreements with the other **DS** and Servian witnesses. Such variations appear continuous, rather than discrete, but a general distinction can be drawn between the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.178-718, 5.813-71, and 6.*praef.*-153 and 359-830 (henceforth section 1) and those *ad Aen.* 4.660-5.319 (henceforth section 2). In the former, **C** often shares with the other **DS** witnesses not only readings or brief additions dating back to the Compiler but even scribal errors, while its non-**DS** readings are mainly confined to scholia where the Servian and the **DS** version are radically different. In the latter, **C**'s agreements with the other **DS** witnesses concern almost only isolated readings dating back to the Compiler and are relatively rare, while the non-**DS** readings are more homogeneously distributed.[10]

As an example of this inconsistency, I will list from *Harv.* 3 all the exclusive agreements between **CF** against **Σ** and between **C** and any family of the Servian tradition against **DS** within the text preserved by **C**'s first two extant leaves transmitting the scholia *ad Aen.* 3 (ff. 62-3) and 4-5 (ff. 78-9):[11]

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[9] See Stocker 1954: 96: 'when the manuscripts of Servius Danielis exhibit textual idiosyncrasies embedded within notes that are common to the two traditions, the Cassellanus oftener than not shares them. … On the other hand, the reverse situation (with the Cassellanus on the side of the vulgate Servius) also occurs', Murgia 1975: 188: '**C** … [is] the main codex of **DS** for *Aen.* I-II [and] contains a mixture of the three traditions [i.e. **DS**, **Γ**, and **Δ**] on *Aen.* III-VI', and Marshall 1983: 387: 'C … contains the DS text for *Aen.* 1-2, and a mixed text for *Aen.* 3-6'.

[10] This distinction applies – although to a lesser extent – even to lemmata and quotations: **C**'s agreements with the other **DS** witnesses in additions, omissions, and replacements are almost constant in section 1 and less frequent in section 2. Abbreviations in lemmata and quotations seem to have been only marginally affected by the revision: in both sections, it is possible to find several cases where the same words are abbreviated in **C** to their initials and either omitted or replaced by *et reliqua* (or *et cetera*) in **FP**.

[11] The scholia *ad Aen.* 3.1-178 (to *facies*) and those *ad Aen.* 4.1-660 (to *placet*) were originally preserved by **C**'s lost gatherings 8a and 10a-b. The portions selected as representative of the two sections can be judged as roughly equivalent in terms of length and of number of differences

(a) Agreements between **CF** against **Σ** in the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.178-256

3.181 declamauit **Σ**: declarauit **CF**

3.182 fatigate **Σ**: fatigate exercitate **CF**

3.184 PORTENDERE deberi **Σ**: PORTENDERE minus est deberi **CF**

3.188 meliora sequamur **Σ**: aut meliora sequamur **CF**

3.200 apparebant **Σ**: parebant **C**: parabant **F**

3.201 nauigandi peritus **Σ**: hoc est nauigandi peritus **CF**

3.203 poterant **Σ**: poterunt **F**: potuerunt **C**

3.209 hospitio **Σ**: in hospitio **CF**

alatos **Σ**: assatos **F**: assutos **C**

ab Iride admoniti **Σ**: ab Iridea admoniti **F**: ab Iride uati moniti **C**

suos **Σ**: et suos **CF**

et **Σ**: etiam **C**: etiam et **F**

testatur **Σ**: docet dicens **CF**

has **Σ**: et has (as **F**) **CF**

tres dicit **Σ**: tres dicit quarum nomina sunt **CF**

3.211 in magno mari Ionio **Σ**: id est in magno mari Ionio **CF**

Adriaticum Achaicum Epiroticum **Σ**: Adriaticum et Achaicum Epiroticum **CF**

quasi in quo etiam **Σ**: quasi etiam in quo **CF**

3.214 natas **Σ**: esse natas **CF**

3.222 fuerit **Σ**: fuit **CF**

3.223 in partem praedae **Σ**: in partem scilicet praedae **CF**

3.229 sine **Σ**: sane **CF**

3.231 ecce quod **Σ**: ecce quia **CF**

3.233 aut circum praedam **Σ**: aut circa praeda **CF**

praedam **Σ**: *nihil hab.* **CF**

unde **Σ**: sic dixit, unde **CF**

uolema dicuntur **Σ**: uolema dicuntur, eo quod uolam impleant **CF**

3.236 disponunt **Σ**: hoc est disponunt **CF**

sic et **Σ**: sicut et **CF**

3.239 qui dicitur filius fuisse Aeoli **Σ**: qui filius fuisse (fuise **F**) dicitur Aeoli **CF**

ut **Σ**: unde ait **CF**

3.241 filias esse **Σ**: esse filias **CF**

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between Servius and **DS**: by way of illustration, *Harv.* 3 chose to distinguish between the two versions, dividing the text into two columns, in 29 and in 30 cases, respectively. As for the list of **C**'s divergences from the Servian tradition, **F** has been chosen as a term of comparison because it is the only relatively 'sincere' witness to the **DS** scholia in question. Lemmata and quotations are not taken into account.

3.244 pedum signa **Σ**: uel pedum signa **CF**

3.248 perfidi a rege natum **Σ**: perfidia regeneratum **CF**

3.249 Neptunio **Σ**: aut (ait **C**) Neptunio (-no **F**) **CF**

3.251 dicta **Σ**: dicta quasi ab irata conficta **CF**

a Ioue **Σ**: ab Ioue **CF**

alia **Σ**: et alia **CF**

3.253 accommodant **Σ**: accommodat **CF**

(b) Agreements between **CF** against **Σ** in the scholia *ad Aen.* 4.660-5.64

4.661 omina **Σ**: omnia **CF**

4.672 territa **Σ**: id est territa **CF**

4.673 sanguine foedans **Σ**: ut sanguine foedantem **CF**

4.674 ὀνόμαζεν **Σ**: ONOMAZEN sexies nominabat (sexees iominabat **F**) **CF**

4.689 dicit **Σ**: dictum **CF**

4.691 propter bella **Σ**: praesagium propter bella (-lam **F**) **CF**

4.698 dat **Σ**: datur **CF**

4.705 redit **Σ**: redire **CF**

5.1 medium nam uere medium **Σ**: medium **CF**

5.19 ut **Σ**: ut et **CF**

transeunt **Σ**: transferunt **CF**

non dixit **Σ**: dixit **CF**

(c) Agreements between **C** and any Servian family against **DS** in the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.178-256

3.205 et exsurgere terra uidetur (u-] dicitur **P**) **FP Δ**: terra uidetur et (et *non hab.* **σ**) exsurgere **C σ**

3.209[12] Phineus (Fi- **C**) … abriperent **C Σ**: Fineus … inquietarent **FP**

pellendas **C Σ**: fugandas (fulga- **F**) **FP**

3.228[13] et deest erat **C Σ**: deest erat **FP**

3.242 Donatus dicit **C Σ**: alii dicunt **F**

(d) Agreements between **C** and any Servian family against **DS** in the scholia *ad Aen.* 4.660-5.64

4.676 *sch. ad* HOC ROGVS ISTE MIHI *hab.* **C Σ**: *nihil hab.* **FP**

4.699 necdum **C Σ**: nondum **FP**

5.2 nam **C Σ**: sed **F**

[12] The Servian and the **DS** witnesses preserve two radically different versions of the initial section of this scholium, and **C** sides with the former.

[13] *Harv.* 3's decision to print *deest 'erat'* as **DS** appears questionable, as will be shown in section 1.1.1.

5.10 *sch. ad* OLLI *hab.* **C Σ**: *nihil hab.* **FP**

5.17 et **Σ**: sed nunc et **C**: sed (set **F**) nunc **FP**

5.17 nauigationis **C Σ**: nauigantibus **FP**

As can be appreciated from these lists, the two sections differ not only in the quantity of **DS** and non-**DS** readings but also in their quality: **C** shares with **F** several manifest scribal errors in section 1[14] and virtually none in section 2. From this perspective, the difference is unlikely to depend on alleged variations in the text of the Servian codex employed by the reviser and should probably be related to the procedure adopted by the reviser himself:[15] he seems to have aimed to correct the text thoroughly in section 2[16] and to have mainly confined himself to purging it of the most blatant non-Servian additions without modifying what he identified as Servian in section 1.

This reconstruction is corroborated by the relative frequency, within section 1, of cases where **C** preserves a senseless or incomplete text because the reviser, while removing what he considered as non-Servian additions, did not make the necessary adjustments to the remaining text and failed to notice either (a) non-Servian readings which still imply or refer to the additions or (b) morphological changes or changes in word order which are justified in **DS** only by the presence of the additions:[17]

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[14] As far as the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.178-256 are concerned, cf. the readings *assatos* **F**: *assutos* **C** and *ab Iridea admoniti* **F**: *ab Iride uati moniti* **C** (3.209), *Adriaticum et Achaicum Epiroticum* **CF** (3.211), *sane* **CF** (3.229), *ecce quia* **CF** (3.231), and *perfidia regeneratum* **CF** (3.248).

[15] Here and *infra*, the singular is used for the sake of simplicity and does not imply that the revision should be necessarily attributed to a single scribe.

[16] This attempt seems to have been occasionally frustrated by the scribe copying from **C**'s corrected ancestor, who should be held responsible, for instance, for the *lectio falsa et emendata* of the scholium *ad Aen.* 5.17 (*et specialiter nauigationis ex Africa auctor est Iuppiter* Seru.: *sed nunc specialiter nauigantibus ex Africa auctor est Iuppiter* **DS**] *sed nunc et specialiter nauigationis ex Affrica auctor est Iuppiter* **C**). In other cases, the slip may be theoretically imputed to the reviser or to the later scribe (cf. **C**'s scholium *ad Aen.* 4.691: *aut saepius aut promanteusis est praesagium propter bella Cartaginis*, where *praesagium* is the last word of a non-Servian addition and may well have been erroneously not deleted by the reviser or erroneously copied by the scribe).

[17] The different frequency of such errors in the scholia *ad Aen.* 3 and *ad Aen.* 6 is related to the different quantity of non-Servian material preserved by the **DS** primary witnesses in the scholia on the two books (cf. section 2.3). As mentioned *supra*, the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.244, 249, 286, 311, and 361 were adduced by Thilo and by Stocker to prove that **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6 belong to the **DS** tradition.

(a)	Seru.	**DS**	**C**
3.244	VESTIGIA pedum signa.	VESTIGIA uel pedum signa uel indicium sordium, quibus epulas discedentes polluebant.	VESTIGIA uel pedum signa.
3.249	PATRIO REGNO Neptunio.	PATRIO REGNO aut Neptunio aut, sicut alii dicunt, quia Thaumas, pater earum ex Electra, Ponti et Terrae filius fuit.	PATRIO REGNO ait Neptunio.
3.293 and 297		(293) LITORA CHAONIO Chaonia autem a Chaone, ut alii perhibent, fratre, ut alii, socio Heleni in uenatione exstincto locus appellatus.	
	(297) … Molossia dicta est pars Epiri, quam Helenus postea a fratre Chaone, quem in uenatu per ignorantiam dicitur occidisse, Chaoniam nominauit.	(297) … Molossia dicta est pars Epiri, quam, sicut dictum est, Helenus postea a fratre Chaone, quem in uenatu per ignorantiam dicitur occidisse, Chaoniam nominauit.	(297) … Molossia dicta est pars Epiri, quam, sicut dictum est, Helenus postea a fratre Chaone, quem in uenatu per ignorantiam dicitur occidisse, Chaoniam nominauit.
3.297	CESSISSE MARITO	CESSISSE MARITO sic ait, ut dicimus, 'ex hereditate paterna illud mihi cessit'.	CESSISSEM
	consuetudinis regiae fuit ut legitimam uxorem non habentes aliquam, licet captiuam, tamen pro legitima haberent.	consuetudinis sane regiae fuit ut legitimam uxorem non habentes aliquam, licet captiuam, tamen pro legitima haberent.	consuetudinis sane regiae fuit ut legitimam uxorem non habentes aliquam, licet captiuam, tamen pro legitima haberent.
3.310-11		(310) opportunum principium feminae, quam incertam timor fecerat. …	
	(311) VIVISNE … secundum muliebrem adfectum interrogat.	(311) VIVISNE … secundum muliebrem adfectum, sicut supra dictum est, interrogat.	(311) VIVISNE … secundum muliebrem affectum, sicut supra dictum est, interrogat.
3.361	PRAEPETIS OMINA PINNAE	PRAEPETIS OMINA PINNAE praepetes sunt quae secundo auspicio ante eum uolant qui auspicatur.	PRAEPETIS OMINA PINNAE

	aues aut oscines sunt aut praepetes.	aues autem aut oscines sunt aut praepetes.	aues autem aut oscines sunt aut praepetes.
3.457	VOLENS quae uelle habet; nam *uolitura* propter asperitatem noluit dicere.	VOLENS quae uelle habet; nam *uolitura* aut propter asperitatem sermonis noluit dicere aut *uolens* quia cogi non potest si nolit.	VOLENS quae uelle habet; nam uolitur aut propter asperitatem sermonis noluit dicere.
3.717	RENARRABAT 're' uacat, ut *confieri possit*.	RENARRABAT 're' uacat. et aut uacat 're' ut *confieri possit*, aut apparet Aeneam ante de suis casibus cum Didone confuse locutum.	RENARRABAT re uacat. et aut uacat re ut cum fieri possit.
6.82	FERVNT RESPONSA quia ait supra *ora domus*.	FERVNT RESPONSA quia, ut supra ait, *ora domus* patuere.	ERVNT RESPONSA quia, ut supra ait, ora domus.
(b)	Seru.	**DS**	**C**
3.286	ABANTIS … et hunc Abantem intellegamus occisum cum Androgeo.	ABANTIS et hunc Abantem possumus intellegere cum Androgeo apud Troiam occisum, ut *mutemus clipeos*.	ABANTIS et hunc Abantem possumus intellegere cum Androgeo.
3.680[18]	Cyparissus … Telephi filius fuit, amatus ab Apolline, uel, ut alii, a Siluano, qui, cum ceruum quem in deliciis habebat	Cyparissus … Telephi filius fuit, amatus ab Apolline; qui cum lassatus aestu sub quadam arbore somnum caperet, subito strepitu excitatus, ceruum quem in deliciis habebat feram credens	Cyparissus … Telefi filius fuit, amatus ab Apolline, qui cum ceruum quem in diliciis habebat

[18] As for the Servian scholium, the words *uel, ut alii, a Siluano*, adopted by both Thilo and *Harv.* 3, seem suspicious not only because they are omitted by **Δ** and **DS** but also because this elliptical use of *ut alii* appears alien to Servian diction: in the rest of the commentary, *ut alii* only occurs after another comparative clause including a *uerbum dicendi* (*ad Aen.* 1.273: *ut quidam dicunt … ut alii*; 1.651 and 744, 2.166, 3.121, and 11.264: *ut alii dicunt … ut alii*; 2.15: *ut Hyginus dicit … ut alii*). From this perspective, the possibility that *uel, ut alii, a Siluano* should be dismissed as an interpolation of the **Γ** tradition, which can often be convicted of rewriting the text of the *fabulae* (cf. introduction, section 2), deserves serious consideration. The stimulus for the interpolation may well have been offered by the Servian scholium *ad georg.* 1.20: *Siluanus deus est siluarum. hic amauit puerum Cyparissum nomine, qui habebat mansuetissimam ceruam. hanc cum Siluanus nescius occidisset, puer est extinctus dolore: quem amator deus in cupressum arborem nominis eius uertit, quam pro solacio portare dicitur*.

	per ignorantiam occidisset, flendo nimium misericordiam meruit numinum, itaque in arborem cupressum conuersus est.	per ignorantiam misso telo occidit. sed, cum fletu nimio et abstinentia cibi ac potionis tabesceret, a misericordia deorum in arborem cupressum conuersus est.	per ignorantiam misso telo occidit. sed, cum fletu nimio et abstinentiae cibi ac potionis tabesceret, a misericordia deorum itaque in arborem cupressum conuersus est.
6.612[19]	Sallustium … Milo deprehensum sub serui habitu uerberauit in adulterio suae uxoris, filiae Syllae.	Sallustium … Milo deprehensum sub serui habitu uerberauit in adulterio suae uxoris, quae fuerat Fausti Syllae filia.	Sallustium … Milo depraehensum sub serui habitu ueruerauit in adulterio suae uxoris filia.

These examples suggest that the reviser, while correcting a passage of **C**'s ancestor, often failed to pay heed to the sense of the resulting text and even to the text of his Servian codex. The scholia *ad Aen.* 3.286 and 6.612 are particularly revealing of the procedures adopted to identify the non-Servian additions: the reviser seems to have limited himself to checking that the readings of **C**'s ancestor were present in the Servian codex, without concerning himself with the reverse check, and deleted all the words after *Androgeo* and all the words between *uxoris* and *filia* for no other reason than that *Androgeo* is the last word in the Servian scholium *ad Aen.* 3.286 and that *uxoris* and *filiae* are consecutive words in the Servian scholium *ad Aen.* 6.612.[20]

[19] In the scholium *ad Aen.* 6.612, Jeunet-Mancy printed *suae uxoris, filiae Syllae* as Servius and **DS** alike and confined **F**'s *quae fuerat Fausti Syllae filia* to the apparatus. Notwithstanding, there seems to be no reason why the **F** version should not be considered as inherited from the **DS** tradition; this reading can be included among the 'numerosi … casi in cui varianti significative di SD [i.e. **DS**] sono relegate solo in apparato, essendo il testo pubblicato "unitario" … [senza che appaia] chiaro perché … queste lezioni siano state relegate in apparato, mentre in altri casi non dissimili J.-M. abbia optato per la doppia redazione' (Stok 2013a: 490-1).

[20] As for the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.680, it is not clear whether the fact that **C** agrees almost constantly with Servius from *Cyparissus* to *habebat* and with **DS** from *per ignorantiam* to *conuersus est* should be regarded as intentional: the reviser may have examined superficially the second part of the scholium or have considered it as substantially equivalent to the text of his Servian codex and not worth correcting (cf. the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.270: *NEMOROSA ZACYNTHOS insulas Graeciae commemorat* Seru.: *NEMOROSA ZACYNTHOS hae omnes insulae Graeciae sunt, quas … de Graeco in Latinum transtulit* **DS**] *NEMOROSA ZACYNTHOS haec omnes insulae Graeciae* **C**).

1.1.1. **C**'s value as a witness to the **DS** scholia *ad Aen*. 3-6

At the end of his 1954 article, Stocker remarked that the main value of **C** as a witness to the scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6 consisted in its enabling 'the editor to dismiss some of their divergences [i.e. of **FG**] from the vulgate Servius as the discrepancies of a single manuscript line rather than of the tradition of Servius Danielis' and proposed the following criteria to govern its use in the forthcoming third volume of the Harvard edition:[21]

> a. When the Cassellanus supports *F-G* in a one-word variant, an inversion of word order, or the omission of an unessential word, the reading receives strong confirmation as authentic Servius Danielis.
> b. The shorter additions … in the Cassellanus are probably Danieline and were overlooked by the collator when he was endeavoring to "purge" the Ur-*C*. …
> c. When the Cassellanus attests short bits of text that do not occur in *F-G* but are found in the vulgate, they probably belong to the tradition of Servius Danielis. Since the purge was not rigorous enough to eliminate the shorter additions …, it is unlikely that the collation was performed with sufficient care to result in the supplying from Servius of omissions in the Ur-*C* of the same extent.
> d. In the comparatively few cases where the text of the Cassellanus diverges sharply from that of *F-G* or is substantially more extensive, the probability is that it is not Danieline but that it was introduced into the Ur-*C* from the text of Servius with which it was being collated.

On the one hand, Stocker certainly deserves credit for pointing out the value of **C** readings differing from the **Σ** ones. His remark on the nature of 'the shorter additions … in the Cassellanus', incidentally, may also be extended to five longer additions included in **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 5.813 and 6.*praef.*, 2, 5, and 11, which have not been printed as **DS** by Thilo, *Harv.* 3, or Jeunet-Mancy because they could not be found in **FG**. This absence cannot be judged as compelling since about half of the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.805-28 and 5.853-6.13 do not survive in **FG**,[22] and there seems to be no reason why these five passages should not be considered as genuine **DS** non-Servian additions. In the sections where **F** is extant, **C** never transmits similarly substantial non-Servian material extraneous to **DS**.

[21] Stocker 1954: 100.

[22] Cf. chapter I, section 6.1.

Besides, four of the additions in question can also be paralleled in other **DS** primary witnesses or in Servian witnesses exhibiting the vulgate interpolations from **DS**:[23]

	Seru.	**C**	
5.813[24]		ideo dictum aut quia illo Aeneas continuo uenturus est aut quia ibi cogniturus est quae illum regna et quae mansura posteritas, sicut ei et Sibilla dictura est et, cum inferos petierit, etiam Anchises; quod utrumque iuxta Auernum contigit.	
6.*praef.*[25]	nam et coniunctio poematis melior est et Homerus etiam sic incohauit.	nam et coniunctio poematis melior est et Homerus quem sequitur in Odyssia sic coepit.	nam et coniunctio poematis melior est et Homerus sequitur in Odissia (s- i- O- **Pb**^{sl}) sic inchoauit **Pb**
6.2	condiderunt ciuitatem in Campania, quam Cumas uocarunt uel ἀπὸ τῶν κυμάτων uel a grauidae mulieris augurio, quae Graece ἔγκυος dicitur.	ciuitatem condiderunt in Campania, quam Cumas uocarunt uel apoton cymaton uel a grauidae mulieris augurio, quae Graece enkioc dicitur, y in u mutatam. alii dicunt Cumas a mulieris pregnantis nomine, quae Calcidensibus fata canebat, apellatas. sed prolempsis est; nam ante uenit Aeneas ad Italiam quam Calcidenses.	prolemsis est hoc loco, quia antea uenit ad Italiam Aeneas quam Calcidiensis **T**

[23] On the vulgate interpolations from **DS**, see the conclusion. For the purposes of this and of the next section, I have selected a **γ** codex (**Pb**), a **σ** codex (*Linc.*, a fifteenth-century *descriptus* of **W**), and a **τ** codex (**Pa**) as representative of the Servian witnesses affected by these interpolations. The fact that an interpolation has or has not been found in one of these witnesses should not be taken to imply that all the other witnesses belonging to the same family exhibit or lack that interpolation. On the genesis of *Linc.*, cf. Ramires 2011.

[24] With these words, apparently referring to the lemma *AVERNI*, **C** resumes at the beginning of f. 86^{r} after a lost gathering.

[25] On the scholium *ad Aen.* 6.*praef.*, cf. Stok 2013a: 491.

6.5[26]	IVVENVM MANVS	IVVENVM MANVS uel quod et aetas apta sit ad praeparandum quae ad usum necessaria sunt uel	IVVENVM MANVS que etas apta sit ad preparandum que ad usum necessaria sunt **R**
	post conditam in Sicilia ciuitatem senum aut nulla aut rara fit mentio.	post conditam in Silicilia ciuitatem senum aut nulla aut rara fit mentio.	
6.11	MENTEM ANIMVMQVE perissologia est.	MENTEM ANIMVMQVE perysologia est, id est superflua doctrina.	MENTEM ANIMVMQVE perisologia est, id est superflua doctrina **R**

On the other hand, except for manifest scribal errors, the cases where **C** sides with the Servian witnesses against **F** appear normally more complicated than Stocker implied. Because of the internal variations in the quality and quantity of **DS** and non-**DS** readings in the scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6, any general criterion – even if applied consistently[27] – would result in a bias in favour of **C** in some scholia (mainly in section 2) and/or in a bias against **C** in some others (mainly in section 1). From this perspective, it seems preferable to examine each case singularly, paying attention to the revision patterns in the section to which they belong and to the internal variations within the section. In the two sets of scholia selected *supra* as representative of the two sections (*ad Aen.* 3.178-256 and *ad Aen.* 4.660-5.64), this approach would lead one to adopt a text different from *Harv.* 3 in the following cases at least:[28]

	Seru.	**DS**
3.183	CASVS CASSANDRA CANEBAT haec compositio iam uitiosa est, quae maioribus placuit, ut *Anchisen agnouit*	CASVS CASSANDRA CANEBAT haec compositio iam uitiosa est, quae maioribus placuit, ut *sale saxa* (saxo **F**:

[26] On the scholia *ad Aen.* 6.5 and 6.11, cf. Lagioia 2016: 138.

[27] Both *Harv.* 3 and Jeunet-Mancy explicitly referred to Stocker's 1954 article in their prefaces, but the criteria adopted in neither edition seem entirely consistent with the ones proposed by Stocker. In particular, *Harv.* 3 occasionally failed to comply with criterion (c), printing **F** readings as **DS** when **C** attests short bits of text shared by the Servian manuscripts, and even with criterion (d), since Servian scholia transmitted by **C** and omitted by **F** are not always printed as extraneous to **DS** (cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.477 on *AVSONIAE*). The criteria adopted by Jeunet-Mancy are less clear and blurred by the fact that her apparatus is not always reliable (cf. Ramires 2014a and Lagioia 2016: 136-44).

[28] Since the reviser seems to have transcribed passages from his Servian codex in both sections, the cases where **C** preserves Servian scholia entirely omitted by **F** cannot be solved on the basis of the approach herein proposed.

amicum et (A- a- a- et *non hab.* **ΔB**) *sale* saxos **C**).
saxa sonabant.

The text established by *Harv.* 3 as **DS** is a conjecture built upon **F**'s *saxo*. However, **C**'s lemmata and quotations are normally inherited from the **DS** tradition in this section. Since, as already mentioned, their final words are often abbreviated in **C** to their initials and the words abbreviated in **C** are often either omitted or replaced by *et reliqua* (or *et cetera*) in **FP**, the reading from which *saxos* and *saxo* derive can be easily identified with *saxo s.*, namely *saxo s*(*onabant*). From this perspective, the texts preserved by the **DS** and by the **Δ** tradition should be judged as substantially identical.[29]

Speaking of lemmata and quotations, I hasten to remark that *Harv.* 3's choice to adopt **F**'s *et reliqua* as **DS** and to consider the **C** abbreviations as non-**DS** in the scholia *ad Aen.* 4.705 and 5.5, 13, 54, and 60 appears likewise questionable.[30] Admittedly, **C** sometimes sides with the Servian tradition against the **DS** one in lemmata and quotations in section 2, but the reviser does not appear to have normally added single-letter abbreviations. Provided that both the **C** and the **F** readings should be considered as inherited from the **DS** tradition, it seems more likely that the latest common ancestor of the two codices did not contain *et reliqua* but the same readings as **C** or similarly abbreviated readings.[31]

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[29] See Murgia 1968: 320-1. Murgia convincingly argued that *ut sale saxa sonabant* should also be considered as the genuine Servian reading.

[30] *Harv.* 3's treatment of the abbreviations preserved by the **DS** witnesses is inconsistent: they sometimes distinguish between the **DS** and the Servian versions and sometimes do not. When they distinguish between the two versions, they normally adopt **F** readings for the former but exceptionally adopt **C** readings as well (cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 5.1). Jeunet-Mancy rarely distinguishes between the Servian and the **DS** versions of lemmata and quotations, nor does she normally record the relevant readings of the manuscripts in her apparatus.

[31] A better understanding of **C**'s behaviour as a witness to **DS** lemmata can also have implications for the establishment of the text of the *interpretamenta*. On its basis, for instance, it is possible to remove a *crux* in the **DS** scholium *ad Aen.* 3.501, which both Thilo and *Harv.* 3 printed as *GENTIQVE MEAE bene genti suae dicit, non sibi. scit enim Ascanio regna deberi,* † *oicta* (*yicta* Thilo) *fatisque incensa*. *DATA MOENIA CERNAM COGNATAS VRBES OLIM quandoque e.q.s.*, proposing in their apparatuses to correct the *locus desperatus* to *DATA fatis concessa* and to *dicta fatisque concessa*, respectively. Thilo's conjecture, which can be paralleled with the **DS** scholium *ad Aen.* 3.255 (*DATAM fatis concessam*), is corroborated by a closer analysis of the text preserved by **C** and by **F**: the former reads *GENTIQVE … deberi. DATA MOENIA e.q.s.*, like the Servian codices, while the latter includes after *deberi* the words *oicta fatisque incensa* but lacks, before *MOENIA*, the word *DATA* – a fact overlooked by Thilo and not linked to the preceding corruption by *Harv.* 3. Since there is no plausible reason why the Compiler should have intentionally wanted to delete *DATA* and the reviser of **C**'s ancestor seems to have normally abstained from supplying the **DS** lemmata of section 1 with omitted words, *DATA* should be considered as belonging to the **DS** scholium. From this perspective, the hypothesis that the words *oicta fatisque incensa* could conceal a scholium on the first word of the lemma *DATA MOENIA CERNAM COGNATAS VRBES OLIM* appears most economic, offering a plausible explanation for two otherwise independent errors in **F**. The **DS** text can be then established as *GENTIQVE … deberi. DATA fatis concessa. MOENIA e.q.s.* Divisions of Servian

	Seru.	**DS**
3.228	TVM praeterea. et deest 'erat'.	TVM praeterea (p-] et *add.* **C**); deest 'erat'.

Harv. 3's choice to consider *et* as non-**DS** is not only in conflict with the criteria normally applied in their edition but also *per se* debatable. The sequence 'lemma – gloss – *et deest* x' is constant throughout the **DS** scholia and can be judged as characteristic of their jargon.[32] Even more significantly, an analysis of the context suggests that it is improbable that the reviser of **C**'s ancestor took the trouble to add *et* between *praeterea* and *deest*.[33]

	Seru.	**DS**
4.685	GRADVS EVASERAT ALTOS ascenderat, rogi scilicet, qui pro qualitate fortunarum fiebant; unde in sexto ait *caeloque educere certant*.	GRADVS EVASERAT ALTOS id est 'ascenderat', rogi scilicet (r- s- **C**: aut r- s- **P**: aut rogis qui licet **F**), qui pro qualitate fortunarum fiebant; unde in sexto ait *caeloque educere certant*. aut quia lecti antiquorum alti erant et gradibus ascendebantur, quibus superatis Anna amplectitur sororem.

The **C** reading belongs to a section where the reviser seems to have corrected thoroughly the text of **C**'s ancestor and is no obstacle to accepting **FP**'s *aut*. A similar turn of phrase occurs, for instance, in the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 4.368 (*QVAE ME AD MAIORA RESERVO aut ad maiores scilicet iniurias; aut ad superiora pertinent, quia ei male dixit*) and 10.15 (*PLACITVM aut mihi scilicet, aut*

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lemmata caused by the addition of non-Servian *interpretamenta* are frequent in **DS**; cf., e.g., the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.56: *VI POTITVR hoc uerbum de his est quae permiscent coniugationes* Seru.: *VI uiolentia. POTITVR hoc uerbum de his est quae permiscent coniugationes* **DS** (*Harv.* 3 printed the **DS** version of the second scholium as *POTITVR autem uerbum e.q.s.*, but **FP**'s *autem*, which can be readily explained as an error due to the confusion of the Insular abbreviations for *hoc* and for *autem*, is unlikely to date back to the Compiler).

[32] Apart from the scholium at issue, this sequence occurs in the scholia *ad Aen.* 2.432 (*TESTOR testificor; et deest 'uos'* Seru. **DS**), 3.560 (*ERIPITE de periculis* Seru.: *ERIPITE de periculis. et deest 'nos'* **DS**), 4.312 (*TROIA ANTIQVA MANERET 'si' deest* Seru.: *TROIA ANTIQVA MANERET uel nobilis uel illa tua patria quam doles amissam; et deest 'si'* **DS**), 5.317 (*SIMVL VLTIMA SIGNANT intuentur ultima spatia auiditate uincendi* Seru.: *SIMVL VLTIMA SIGNANT intuentur et notant ultima spatia, id est finem cursus, auiditate uincendi. et deest 'uisu'* **DS**), 10.215 (*'caelo concesserat' pro '<e> caelo', et deest 'nocti'* **DS**), 10.290 (*PER REMOS id est scaphis* Seru.: *PER REMOS ALII id est scaphis. et deest 'descendunt'* **DS**), 10.329 (*SEPTEM NVMERO hoc est pro 'septem'; et deest 'quia'* **DS**), and 12.770 (*NVLLO DISCRIMINE sine intuitu religionis* Seru.: *NVLLO DISCRIMINE sine aliquo religionis intuitu. et deest 'habito'* **DS**). In the scholium *ad Aen.* 4.312, in particular, the conjunction was added by the Compiler himself while joining the non-Servian and the Servian material. In no other scholia do the **DS** primary witnesses read 'lemma – gloss – *deest* x'. On the text of the scholium *ad Aen.* 5.317, see chapter IV, section 2.4. On the formulistic character of the **DS** scholia, cf. Barwick 1911 and Travis 1942.

[33] In the preceding and following scholia, **C** does not seem to have ever supplied single words omitted by **DS**; by contrast, Servian words whose omission can be ascribed to the Compiler are omitted in **C** as well (cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.233).

fatis; aut quod uelim uobis placere); in the latter scholium, which corresponds to PLACITVM *mihi scilicet* in Servius' commentary, the first *aut* was likewise added by the Compiler together with the non-Servian addition *aut fatis … placere.*

In another passage, although it is not clear whether the **C** reading was inherited from the **DS** or the Servian tradition, this reading seems preferable to the one printed by *Harv.* 3 as **DS**:

	Seru.	**DS**
5.52	VRBE MYCENE Graece dixit; unde singularem numerum posuit. *Mycene* autem sicut 'Thebe' …, ut sit 'Mycene Mycenes', ut 'Agaue Agaues'. potest et exinde Latinam fecisse declinationem, ut sit 'haec Mycena huius Mycenae'.	VRBE MYCENE Graece dixit; unde singularem numerum posuit. *Mycene* autem sicut 'Thebe' …, ut sit 'Mycene Mycenes', ut 'Agaue Agaues'. potest exinde Latinam fecisse declinationem {numerum posuit Mycene autem} (n- p- M- a- **FP**: ut sit haec **C**) 'Mycena huius Mycenae', ut Fidena.

Harv. 3 rightly recognised that the words *numerum … autem* should be dismissed as an error of a scribe who copied after *declinationem* four words belonging to the previous sentences. However, the phrase *ut sit haec*, transmitted by the Servian manuscripts and **C**, was in all likelihood omitted when *numerum … autem* was copied in its place. Therefore, the text which *Harv.* 3 printed as **DS** does not probably correspond to the text of any **DS** witness, either extant or lost, not to say to that of the original.[34]

1.1.2. Appendix: The Servian codex used by the reviser of **C**'s ancestor

The Servian codex employed by the reviser cannot be identified with any known witness. Nevertheless, an analysis of the **C** non-**DS** readings makes it possible to ascertain that it was not a pure descendant either of the hyparchetype of the **Γ** tradition or of **δ**, being immune from the vagaries of the former[35] and occasionally more complete than the latter.[36] Since **C** does share non-**DS** errors with **Δ** against **Γ** and (more rarely)

[34] A similar case can be found in the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.461, where *Harv.* 3 printed *bene cum praescriptione, ne falsidicus uel minus peritus postea putaretur sacerdos* as Servius and *bene cum praescriptione, ne falsidicus uel minus peritus postea putaretur* as **DS**. After *putaretur* **C** reads *sacerdos*, like the Servian codices, while **F** reads *utrum auria, an quibus non accesserit et grauia*, namely the first words of the *interpretamentum* of the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.464. The word *sacerdos* was probably likewise omitted when *utrum … grauia* was copied in its place.

[35] Cf., e.g., **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3.209, and 5.81, 270, and 296.

[36] Cf., e.g., **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 5.11-12 (*INHORRVIT VNDA TENEBRIS* [*T.* **C**] *et noctis et nubium. IPSE GVBERNATOR qui debuit esse solacio* **C Γ**: *INHORRVIT VNDA TENEBRIS hoc est et noctis et nubium. IPSE*

with **Γ** against **Δ** but none of them can be judged as certainly conjunctive and separative, the question of the precise relationship between the reviser's Servian codex and the two traditions should be regarded as still open: it may have been independent of both or, more probably, have been a descendant of **δ** affected by contamination. Further investigation of the Servian manuscripts, especially as far as the scholia *ad Aen.* 6 are concerned, might offer additional evidence in support of either possibility.[37]

What is certain, however, is that the Servian codex at issue contained for its part some **DS** non-Servian material: the additions transmitted by **C** in the scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6 correlate significantly with the so-called vulgate interpolations from **DS** shared by some manuscripts belonging to the **γστ** families. This correlation is particularly evident in section 2 because almost all the few additions preserved there by **C** can also be found in witnesses including the vulgate interpolations such as **Pa**:[38]

4.674[39] sexies nominabat *post* ONOMAZEN (OMAZeN **Pa**) *hab.* **C Pa**

5.48 posteaquam deus confirmatus est *post* post apotheosin *hab.* **C**

5.95 (id est **Pa**) diuinatis confirmationem *post* per apotheosin *hab.* **C Pa**^{sl}

GVBERNATOR enfaticus, hoc est qui debuit esse solatio **F**: *INHORRVIT qui debuit esse solatio* **δ**) and 217 (*RADIT secat purum aerem* **C Γ**: *RADIT secat. LIQVIDVM purum. ITER erem* **F**: *nihil hab.* **δ**).

[37] The hypothesis that the codex could have been a descendant of the hyparchetype of the **Γ** tradition corrected by contamination seems less likely since the **C** non-**DS** readings are immune from the idiosyncrasies characterising the **Γ** version of Servius and do not agree with it in the neutral characteristics which tend to reflect the basic text even in the event of contamination, such as abbreviations in lemmata and quotations (cf. Murgia 1975: 173-4). Contamination from **Γ** characterises the **θ** and the **τ** family alike where their basic text derives from **δ**.

[38] Here and *infra*, isolated conjunctions and prepositions that are found in **C** but not in **Σ** are not considered.

[39] The words *sexies nominabat*, following the Homeric phrase ἐκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν in **CF** and **Pa**, can be paralleled with the several other cases where **DS** offers a translation of a Greek passage quoted by Servius (cf. Jeunet-Mancy 2012: XXXIX-XL). From this perspective, although *sexies nominabat* is clearly incorrect as a translation of ἐκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν, *sexies* possibly resulting from the misunderstanding of the first Greek letters as a word deriving from ἕξ (cf. Burman–Burman 1746: 588), there seems to be no reason to confine it to the apparatus, *pace Harv.* 3. Ramires's alternative hypothesis that the words at issue should be judged as a genuine but misplaced Servian phrase referring to the fact that 'dal v. 675 al v. 678 si possono contare esattamente sei interrogative' (2012: 159) is unlikely. Even if one assumes that two questions should be recognised in the line *hoc rogus iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant?* – which is far from certain –, the verb *nomino* could hardly have been used to refer to questions such as the just quoted *hoc rogus iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant?* or *quid primum deserta querar?*

5.99[40] id est (id e- *non hab.* **Pa**) post diuinitatis confirmationem *post* apothosin *hab.* **C**, *post* apoteosin factam *hab.* **Pa**

5.237 facies *post* reos *hab.* **C Pa**

5.288 a circumspectione (circumspectatione **Pa**). omne spectaculum theatrum possumus (possum **C**) dicere *post* dixit *hab.* **C Pa**

As already mentioned, non-Servian additions are significantly more frequent in **C**'s scholia of section 1 owing to the different procedure adopted by the reviser, and thus it is not surprising that several of them cannot be found in the witnesses including the vulgate interpolations. However, a common pattern may be observed in the distribution of the additions, which tend to cluster, in both cases, in the scholia corresponding to the portions where the **Δ** tradition does not survive (*ad Aen.* 3.694-718 and, especially, *ad Aen.* 5.813-6.39).

To illustrate this behaviour, I will list the additions which are found in **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3.178-256 and in **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 5.813-6.7 and indicate which of them can be paralleled in the three codices selected *supra* as representative of the Servian witnesses exhibiting vulgate interpolations:[41]

(a) Additions in the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.178-256

3.182 exercitate *post* fatigate (fatis *Linc.*) *hab.* **C** *Linc.*

3.184 minus est *post* PORTENDERE *hab.* **C**

3.209 dicens *post* docet *hab.* **C**, *post* testatur *hab. Linc.*

quarum nomina sunt *post* tres dicit *hab.* **C**

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[40] In the scholium *ad Aen.* 5.99, **F** and **CPa** read, respectively, *MANESQVE ACHERONTE REMISSOS aut uenientes de Aheronte ad hanc parentacionem, aut certe remissos Acheronte, qui iam in Acheronte non essent post apothosin. remissos ut remitterentur post diuinitatis confirmacionem* and *MANESQVE ACHERONTE REMISSOS* (R. **C**) *aut uenientes de Acheronte, aut certe remissos Acheronte* (*Acha-* **Pa**), *qui iam in Acheronte non essent post apotheosin id est* (*a- id e-*] *apoteosin factam* **Pa**) *post diuinitatis confirmationem*. The former version was adopted by *Harv.* 3 as **DS**, but their choice seems questionable. This version appears inferior on internal grounds: *post diuinitatis confirmationem* is substantially superfluous after *remitterentur* since the previous scholia clarify that the *diuinitatis confirmatio* took place before Aeneas' prayer. Besides, the fact that the Compiler constantly glossed the word *apotheosis* in this context (cf. the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.48 and 5.95) and the fact that transpositions of brief scholia are not rare in **F** (cf. section 2.2) suggest that the **CPa** version should probably be imputed to the Compiler.

[41] The two sections can be judged as roughly equivalent in terms of length. Several of the marginal notes in **Pb** which are recorded in the second list are largely illegible since the outer margins of the codex have been trimmed off.

ut sunt geminae (-ne *Linc.*) pestes *post* sequitur *hab.* **C** *Linc.*

3.214 esse *post* inferis *hab.* **C**

3.233 sic dixit *post* amplectitur *hab.* **C**

eo quod uolam impleant *post* dicuntur *hab.* **C**

3.239 ait *post* unde *hab.* **C**

3.251 quasi ab irata conficta *post* dicta *hab.* **C**

(b) Additions in the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.813-6.7

5.813[42] *sch. a Seruio alienum ad* AVERNI *ante sch. ad* AMISSVM QVEM GVRGITE *hab.* **C**

5.815 duos (duo **C**^{ac}) enim constat occisos, Misenum et Palinurum *post* accipere *hab.* **C** **Pb**^{mg} *Linc.*^{mg}

5.822 cetos cete *post* ΚΗΓΗ *hab.* **C**

5.823 decerptam herbam gustauit et se praecipitauit in maria et *post* potentia *hab.* **C**

5.824 uictus et *post* fuisse *hab.* **C**

5.840 et sciendum in maius celebrari Palinuri mortem more poetico, quem dormientem in undas cecidisse (c- *non hab.* **Pa**) constat missum (m- *non hab.* **Pb**, *ut uid.*) *post* adpetens *hab.* **C** **Pa**^{mg}**Pb**^{mg}

5.848 quae fit *post* mutabilitatem *hab.* **C** **Pa**

5.850 dicit *post* contrarium *hab.* **C** **Pb**

5.851 alii legunt deceptus fraude caeli (ce- **Pb**) sereni *post* aequi *hab.* **C** **PaPb**^{mg}

5.864 insulis *post* Capreis (Caphereis **Pa**) *hab.* **C** **PaPb**^{sl} *Linc.*^{mg}

5.869 (pro **Pb**) multum et satis gemens *post* aduerbio *hab.* **C** **Pb**^{mg}

5.871[43] mortuus, ut et freta destituent nudos in litore pisces (dis- n. i. l. p. **CPa**: desnudos i. l. p. **Pb**^{mg}). IGNOTA singula (sigu- **C**) autem legenda ut ad dolorem moueant mentes audientium (singula … audentium *non hab.* **PaPb**) *post* insepultus *hab.* **C** **PaPb**^{mg}

6.*praef.* quem (q- *non hab.* **Pb**) sequitur in Odyssia (Odissia **Pb**) *post* Homerus *hab.* **C** **Pb**^{sl}

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[42] On **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 5.813 and 6.*praef.*, 3, and 5, see section 1.1.1.

[43] In **C**'s scholium *ad Aen.* 5.871 (*NVDVS insepultus. IGNOTA peregrina ante non uisa* Seru.: *NVDVS insepultus, mortuus, ut 'et freta destituent nudos in litore pisces'. singula autem legenda sunt ut ad dolorem gradus fiant*. *IGNOTA peregrina ante non uisa* **DS**] *NVDVS insepultus, mortuus, ut et freta distituent n. i. l. p. IGNOTA sigula autem legenda ut ad dolorem moueant mentes audientium*. *peregrina ante non uisa* **C**), the lemma *IGNOTA* is erroneously transposed between *pisces* and *singula*. Since in **PaPb**, which do not contain the last section of the addition, *IGNOTA* regularly follows *pisces*, the **C** reading at issue might be explained by hypothesising that the scribe copying from **C**'s ancestor misunderstood a correction made by the reviser. **C**'s scholium on *MINOIA REGNA* (*Aen.* 6.14), copied just after the quotation from *Aen.* 3.520 in the place of a long non-Servian addition and preceded by the symbol *h* (f. 89^{v}), suggests that the reviser may have sometimes used conventional *signes-de-renvoi* to clarify which passage should replace a deleted non-Servian addition.

6.1[44] *sch. a Seruio alienum ad* CLASSIQVE *post praef. hab.* **C Pa**: *eadem fere uerba inter* a lignis *et* unde Horatius *hab. Linc.*

cum de una loqueretur naui *post* releget **C Pb**^{sl}

6.2 y in u mutatam. alii dicunt Cumas a mulieris pregnantis nomine, quae Calcidensibus fata canebat, apellatas. sed prolempsis est; nam ante uenit Aeneas ad Italiam quam Calcidenses *post* dicitur *hab.* **C**

6.3 non obuertit *post* obuertunt *hab.* **C**

et nautica *post* uilia *hab.***C**

6.5 PRAETEXVNT praetegunt ut praetexere funera sacris *post sch. ad* ANCHORA *hab.* **C**

uel quod et aetas apta sit ad praeparandum quae ad usum necessaria sunt uel *post* MANVS *hab.* **C**

EMICAT cur hoc uerbum posuerit exequenti actu iuuenum aduertendum est *post sch. ad* IVVENVM MANVS *hab.* **C**

6.6 id est semen ignis *post* dicit *hab.* **C Pa**

6.7 abstrudere enim est de industria celare (cae- **Pb**) *post* ignem (i. **C**) *hab.* **C PaPb**^{mg}

In sum, although the evidence available as to the quality of the text transmitted by the reviser's Servian codex is too meagre to offer any valuable help in the identification of the **DS** and the non-**DS** readings in **C**, it still makes it possible to conclude that **C** could have inherited readings from two different branches of the **DS** tradition.

[44] On the **DS** scholium *ad Aen.* 6.1, cf. Murgia 1975: 148 and Brusuelas 2019: 309-19.

2. The DS scholia transmitted by F

If one does not consider Vergilian lemmata and quotations,[45] **F** seems to transmit a relatively 'sincere' version of **DS**. Nevertheless, this version cannot be judged as completely exempt from conscious innovations. In this section, an analysis is offered of the most frequent types of conscious innovations exhibited by **F**'s *interpretamenta*.[46]

2.1. Interpolations from the Servian tradition

In the section of the *Prolegomena* dealing with the vulgate interpolations from **DS**, Murgia remarked that **F**'s scholia exhibit signs of contamination from the Servian tradition but postponed their examination to a separate work for reasons of scope and space.[47] Since this work has never appeared,[48] it seems worth presenting some of the signs to which Murgia was probably alluding.

Throughout **F**'s leaves, it is possible to find several cases where two scholia or sections of scholia separated by just a few words significantly overlap. Apart, perhaps, from some of the cases where the overlap concerns a section of Servian origin and a section included in a non-Servian self-standing addition,[49] these doublets are unlikely to date back to the

[45] As mentioned in section 1.1.1, the final words of Vergilian lemmata and quotations abbreviated to their initials in **CFP**'s latest common ancestor are normally replaced with the phrase *et reliqua* or suppressed altogether in **F**; the original abbreviations survive, for instance, in **F**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 6.230, 8.712, and 12.92. **F**'s lemmata and quotations also include a few readings which are likely to have been introduced *ope codicum* or *ope memoriae* (cf. Stok 2012: 113-16).

[46] As will be shown *infra*, some of the innovations at issue affect other witnesses to the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12 as well and can be judged as inherited from their latest common ancestor. Since **F** is the main witness to these scholia, it seems preferable to deal with all of them here.

[47] Murgia 1975: 100 n. 106.

[48] Murgia may have planned to discuss these signs in the volume on 'the character and quality of the three traditions [i.e. **Γ**, **Δ**, and **DS**]' which he announced at the end of his *Prolegomena* (1975: 158). Robert Kaster and Donald Mastronarde have kindly confirmed that no paper concerning the **DS** tradition could be found among Murgia's unpublished materials. As for the scholia *ad Aen.* 9-12, some passages are labelled as interpolations in the apparatus of Murgia and Kaster's edition.

[49] Scholia such as that *ad Aen.* 1.448, on which see chapter I, section 7.1.2, suggest that the Compiler was not always able to avoid redundancies while combining his Servian and non-Servian sources.

Compiler, not least because nothing similar is found in the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2.[50] In the relatively frequent cases where **F** transmits two distinct versions of the same Servian scholium (or section of scholium), one of them being also transmitted by the Servian witnesses and the other showing some traits ascribable to the Compiler, one can suspect the former of having been added by an interpolator. As can be seen from the following examples, this suspicion is often corroborated by an analysis of the immediate context:

(a)	Seru.	**F**
3.321	O FELIX … PRIAMEIA VIRGO … ANTE ALIAS ideo felicior, quia uirgo exstincta est.	O FELIX … VNA ANTE ALIAS ideo felicior, quia uirgo exstincta est. et ante alia hic absolute iunxit. … PRIAMEIA VIRGO … ANTE ALIAS ideo felicior, quia uirgo extincta est.
4.266-8	(266) VXORIVS uxori seruiens; Horatius *uxorius amnis*. (268) IPSE dat dictis auctoritatem, ut *quae Phoebo pater omnipotens*.	(266) VXORIVS nyum (*lege*: nimium) uxori deditus uel seruiens, ut Horatius uxorius amnis. (268) IPSE dat dictis auctoritatem, ut que Phoebo pater omnipotens. (267) EXTRVIS … (267) HEV REGNI … (268) IPSE DEVM dat dictis autoritatem, ut quae Phoebo pater omnipotens et imperio Iouis huc uenio.

(b)	Seru.	**F**
10.901	NVLLVM IN CAEDE NEFAS mori uiro forti nefas non est, nec ego ut uincerem ueni, hoc est cum uoluntate procumbo.	NVLLVM IN CAEDE NEFAS mori uiro forti nefas non est. … NEC SIC AD PROELIA VENI hoc est ut uincerem, aut uictus mortem deprecarer: ergo libenter occumbo. nec ego sic ut uincerem ueni, hoc est cum uoluntate recumbo.
11.434	QVOD SI ME SOLVM TEVCRI IN CERTAMINA POSCVNT quia audiit *illum aspice contra qui uocat*.	QVOD SI ME SOLVM et reliqua. quod si (*lege*: quasi) falsum sit quod Drances dixerat: supra enim aut (*lege*: ait) illum aspice. quia audiit illum aspice contra

[50] The only extant witness to the **DS** scholia on the *Eclogues* and on the *Georgics*, namely **La**, exhibits some signs of contamination from the Servian tradition as well. On the **La** version of **DS**, cf. Stok–Ramires 2021: 85-115.

qui uocat.

In the first two cases, the **DS** scholia are easily identifiable as such because of the presence of non-Servian additions and of the changes made by the Compiler to the lemmata. The scholium on *IPSE* is also erroneously placed before two scholia on the preceding line.

The *interpretamenta* of the scholia *ad Aen.* 10.901 and 11.434 are blatantly repetitive, and their last sentences are poorly connected with the previous ones. In both cases, it would be easy to identify which of the two overlapping sections should be labelled as **DS** and as non-**DS** even without taking into account the reading transmitted by the Servian manuscripts. On the one hand, the words *nec ego sic ut uincerem ueni, hoc est cum uoluntate recumbo* are copied as an anomalous non-lemmatised scholium. On the other, not only can the replacement of *quia audiit* with *supra enim ait* be explained as a direct consequence of the introduction of the previous clause, whose subject is Drances, but the suppression of the last words of Vergilian quotations is also typical of this branch of the **DS** tradition.[51]

While the last three interpolations were recognised by the most recent editors, *Harv.* 3 erroneously attributed to **DS** the two overlapping scholia on *VNA ANTE ALIAS* and *ANTE ALIAS*.

The scholia just examined are also revealing of the procedures adopted by the interpolator. In the first two cases, the redundant text transmitted by **F** is most easily explained as a consequence of the fact that he overlooked a **DS** passage or did not recognise it as equivalent to the passage which he was adding: in particular, he may have added the scholia on *ANTE ALIAS* and on *IPSE* after those on *PRIAMEIA VIRGO* and on *VXORIVS* because he found them in these positions in his Servian manuscript and failed to notice that two almost identical scholia were already present before the scholium on *PRIAMEIA VIRGO* and after the non-Servian scholia on *EXTRVIS* and *HEV REGNI*.[52] In the other two cases, it is conceivable that he meant to replace a **DS** passage with a non-**DS** one and that this intention was not understood by a subsequent scribe.[53] This scenario can be judged as even more likely when the text transmitted by **F** is completely meaningless because of the presence of the interpolations, as happens in the following scholia:

	Seru.	**F**
6.448	NVNC FEMINA CAENEVS … post mortem tamen in sexum rediit. hoc autem dicto ostendit Platonicum illud uel	NVNC FEMINA CAENEVS … post mortem tamen in priorem sexum petit. hoc autem dicto ostendit Platoni cum

[51] For an almost identical case, cf. **F**'s scholium *ad Aen.* 9.530.

[52] If the scholia were divided between two columns in the codex at issue, this may also have played a role.

[53] As shown in section 1.1, **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6 offer a few similar instances of misunderstood revisions.

	Aristotelicum, animas per μετεμψύχωσιν sexum plerumque mutare.	tamen in sexum rediit hoc autem Aristotilicum, animas per metempsicosin sexum plerumque mutare.
12.15[54]	SEDEANT SPECTENTQVE LATINI ductus est, ut diximus supra: pollicetur enim se singulari certamine dimicare uelle, cum nolit.	SEDEANT SPECTENTQVE LATINI inuidiosae. nam sensus est, ductus est, ut diximus supra, aliis (*lege*: alius): pollicetur enim se singulari certamine demicare uelle, cum nolet.

Both *interpretamenta* are meaningless. Jeunet-Mancy printed *in sexum rediit* as Servius and **DS** alike, recording **F**'s *in priorem sexum petit* only in the apparatus; while *petit* is simply a slip for *rediit*, the addition of *priorem* is to be ascribed to the Compiler, who made some other minor changes to the preceding section of the scholium as well.

Additional evidence in support of Murgia's claim can be found in the few scholia of Servian origin which, as transmitted by **F**, are not consistent with other changes made by the Compiler in the immediate context, such as that *ad Aen.* 11.558:

	Seru.	**F**
11.558-9	(558) IPSE PATER FAMVLAM VOVEO … 'Camilla' quasi ministra dicta est: ministros enim et ministras inpuberes camillos et camillas in sacris uocabant, unde et Mercurius Etrusca lingua Camillus dicitur, quasi minister deorum.	(558) IPSE PATER FAMVLAM VOVEO … Camilla quasi ministra dicta sunt, quod superius expositum est. …
		(559) TELA TENENS ordo est: tua supplex tela tenens, quibus inligata est. et ingeniose tenens, cum inligata sit. ministros enim et ministras inpuberes camillos et camillas sacris uocabant, unde et Mercurius Etrusca ligna Millus dicitur, quasi minister deorum.

The explanation of the words *camilli* and *camillae* was omitted by the Compiler because he had already dealt with the matter in a long non-Servian addition to the scholium *ad Aen.* 11.543; he certainly did not move it after the non-Servian scholium on the following line.[55]

[54] The Servian scholium is misprinted as *SEDEANT SPECTENTQVE LATINI diximus ductus est, ut diximus supra e.q.s.* in Murgia and Kaster's edition.

[55] For an almost identical case, cf. **F**'s scholium *ad Aen.* 11.581.

Whilst all the interpolations hitherto discussed concern single scholia,[56] more systematic interpolations might be held responsible for partially obscuring two distinctive features of **DS**.

First, Servianists have often pointed out that one of the ways in which the Compiler reveals his hand is by replacing the Servian references to Donatus and to Urbanus with generic references to *alii* or the like. No consensus has been reached as to the reason for these replacements,[57] but what matters here is that a few references survive unchanged in **F** and in the other **DS** witnesses. In his 1970 study on the Helen episode, Goold

[56] In all the cases examined so far, the text of the scholia preserved by **F** diverges from that of the Servian witnesses. I hasten to remark that it is occasionally possible to suspect **F** of including readings inherited from the Servian tradition even in some cases where this does not happen, especially if other Servian witnesses interpolated from **DS** transmit what appears to be the original **DS** reading (cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 11.18). However, these cases tend to be more uncertain since it is normally difficult to determine whether a reading was inherited by **F** from **ΓΔ** or vice versa and serious doubts persist as to the relationship between **DS** and the **Γ** and **Δ** traditions, as indicated in the introduction, section 1.

[57] The question was left open by Thilo, who confined himself to suggesting that the Compiler might have derived his additions, amongst other sources, from Donatus' and Urbanus' commentaries and that his choice to omit their names in the Servian sections might be related to his choice not to mention them in the additions (1881: XVI). Georgii, Santoro, and Goold hypothesised, respectively, that the Compiler may have resorted to a commentary where the explanations at issue were ascribed to other sources or not ascribed to any source at all and thus have preferred not to take a stand (Georgii 1891: 11), that he may have attempted to conceal the fact that the non-Servian additions were drawn from Donatus (Santoro 1946: 4-5), and that he may have meant to avoid admitting his dependence on commentators whom he regarded as too recent in comparison with 'older authorities like Probus and Asper' (Goold 1970: 110). Santoro's and Goold's hypotheses are scarcely plausible, as was pointed out by Timpanaro (1986: 129-30 n. 2) and by Brugnoli (1988: 809); since most of the references to Donatus concern interpretations rejected by Servius and by **DS** (cf. Maltby 2005: 214), it is also difficult to see why the Compiler should have felt forced to suppress them in order to conceal the fact that he resorted to Donatus as a source. Albeit far from certain, Georgii's hypothesis seems less unlikely than the other two and can also explain the cases where references to other scholars are omitted (cf., e.g., the scholia *ad Aen.* 7.773: *legunt, ut Probus*, 8.383: *sic Asper*, and 9.762: *sicut in Sereno legitur*). Georgii claimed that his hypothesis would imply that the Compiler resorted to a commentor preceding Donatus (and Urbanus). In fact, even if one assumed that the immediate source of the Compiler transmitted faithfully all the references included in its late-antique ultimate source, nothing would rule out the possibility that the latter should be identified with either Donatus' or Urbanus' commentary, whichever was the earlier, since neither commentator is likely to have mentioned his own name in the scholia at issue. On the still-debated problem of the chronological relationship between Donatus and Urbanus, cf. Geymonat 1990.

hypothesised that such references could be explained as innovations.[58] Although the Compiler might well have not been entirely consistent in his replacements, at least three references to Urbanus are indeed readily explicable as interpolations from the Servian tradition:

	Seru.	**F**
4.469 and 471[59]	(469) AGMINA PENTHEVS aut impetus aut secundum Vrbanum *agmina* serpentium. Pentheus autem furuit etiam ipse secundum Pacuuii tragoediam.	(469) AGMINA PENTHEVS aut impetus aut secundum quosdam quoniam habitus earum et sibilia serpentium faciem agminis prebent. … Phentheum autem feruisse traditur secundum Pacuuii traguoediam. … secundum Vrbanum agmina serpentum. Phentheus furuit etiam ipse secundum Pacuui traguoediam.
	(471) SCAENIS AGITATVS famosus, celebratus tragoediis. et *agitatus* quia et furuit et multae sunt de eo tragoediae, quasi 'frequenter actus'.	(471) SCENIS AGITATVS famosus, celebratus traguoediis. et agitatus qua et furuit et multe de eo sunt traguoediae, quam si frequenter actus. AGAMEMNONIVS SCAENIS AGITATVS ORESTES … scaenis autem agitatus famosus, celebratus tragoediis, qualiter a Grecis in scaena inducitur. agitatus autem autem (*lege*: aut) quia furuit et furiis agitatus, aut quia multae sunt de eo tragoedie, quasi frequenter actus.
4.548	TV PRIMA FVRENTEM Vrbanus hoc diuidit, licet alii iungant, et uult hunc esse sensum: tu persuasisti ut nuberem, uicta lacrimis meis.	TV PRIMA FVRENTEM alii hoc diuidunt – licet alii iungant – et uolunt hunc esse sensum – Vrbanus hoc diuidi –: tu persuasti ut nuberem, uicta lacrimis meis.
10.661	ILLVM AVTEM AENEAS ABSENTEM IN PROELIA POSCIT sic melius quam, sicut nonnulli uolunt – Vrbanus namque sic legit –, 'ille autem Aenean absentem in proelia poscit', ut *obuia multa uirum demittit corpora morti* de nautis in naui inuentis intellegamus.	ILLVM AVTEM AENEAS et reliqua. sic melius quam, sicut nonnulli uolunt, ille autem Aeneam absentem in proelia poscit, ut, sicut Vrbanus, obuia multa uirum demittit corpora morti de nauibus inuentis intellegatur.

[58] Goold 1970: 110-11.

[59] On the text of the last sentence of the Servian scholium *ad Aen.* 4.469, see Murgia 1968: 315-16. *Harv.* 3 erroneously adopted the **Γ** reading *Pentheus autem secundum tragoediam Pacuuii furuit etiam ipse* as Servius.

In the first case, two elements suggest that the words *secundum Vrbanum … traguoediam* were interpolated from Servius: on the one hand, they are loosely connected with the preceding non-Servian addition; on the other, they are immediately followed by a scholium on *SCENIS AGITATVS* which can be judged as interpolated from Servius on the basis of a comparison with the following scholium on *AGAMEMNONIVS SCAENIS AGITATVS ORESTES*. In the other two cases, the position of the reference is manifestly incongruous. Therefore, it is probable that the name of Urbanus was replaced by the Compiler with *quidam* or *alii* in the first two scholia and simply suppressed in the third. The fact that **P** preserves the first reference to Urbanus and the doublet suggests that (some of) the interpolations at issue were already present in **FP**'s latest common ancestor.

The third reference was rightly dismissed as an interpolation in Murgia and Kaster's edition, whereas *Harv.* 3 printed the other two as **DS**.[60]

Second, it has also often been acknowledged that, while Servius normally referred to himself in the first person plural, the Compiler had a penchant for impersonal constructions.[61] As far as references to previous scholia are concerned, the **DS** witnesses agree in exhibiting only impersonal references (*sicut dictum est* or the like) in the non-Servian sections[62] but do not follow a uniform pattern in the rest of the text: they almost systematically replace the personal constructions used by Servius (*sicut diximus* or the like) with the impersonal ones in the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2[63] but retain the personal

[60] The reference of the scholium *ad Aen.* 4.548 was included by Goold among the cases 'where the Compiler's intentions have not … been carried out' (1970: 111) and was deleted 'ut glossema' in Guillaumin's edition.

[61] On this phenomenon, cf. Thilo 1881: XIV, Steele 1899a: 274-7, and Barwick 1911: 141-2.

[62] A probably only apparent exception to this pattern was found by Steele in the scholium *ad Aen.* 2.152 (1899a: 275). This non-Servian scholium, printed by Thilo and by *Harv.* 2 as *DOLIS ET ARTE unam rem secondo dixit, quia ars* τῶν μέσων *est, sicut supra diximus*, is preserved only by **P**. Murgia suggested that the personal form may have been introduced by the editor of the **P** version while rewriting the scholium (1974: 270 n. 31), which is obviously possible; however, given that the word printed by Thilo and *Harv.* 2 as *diximus* is abbreviated as *dm̄s* and this abbreviation does not stand for *diximus* in **P** and is normally associated with the present in the codices written in Caroline minuscule, it is also conceivable that a scribe erroneously took an abbreviation for *dictum est* as an abbreviation for *dicimus* (e.g., *dc̄m*÷ as *dc̄mꝰ*).

[63] Thilo printed *diximus* as Servius 57 times in scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2. As for the 34 cases where **C** is extant and the 8 other cases where at least one of the modern witnesses depending thereon is extant, the personal construction is replaced with the impersonal one 33 (29+4) times, omitted 7 (4+3) times, and maintained only in the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.561 (**C**) and 2.693 (*App.*); **P** replaces the personal construction with the impersonal one in seven of the cases where **C** or the witnesses depending on it do so and is not extant or lacks the reference in all the others. As for the remaining 15 cases, **P** exhibits the impersonal construction in the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.294 and 729 and 2.158 and is not extant or lacks the reference in all the others. *Harv.* 2 inconsistently printed the impersonal

constructions in the scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12.[64]

Since the **DS** tradition is characterised by a split between books 2 and 3[65] and since impersonal references are sporadically preserved in the scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12 by the **DS** witnesses or by Servian witnesses interpolated from **DS**,[66] this dichotomy should probably be attributed to later scribes rather than to the Compiler. Murgia suggested in passing that the reintroduction of the personal form could be connected with the interpolations from the Servian tradition,[67] and this explanation seems indeed the most plausible in the following three scholia at least:

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construction as both Servius and **DS** when it is transmitted by a **DS** witness and the personal form as both Servius and **DS** in the twelve scholia where **C** and the witnesses depending on it are not extant and **P** does not transmit the impersonal reference, as well as in the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.561 and 2.693.

[64] Exceptions are sporadic: the personal form is replaced by the impersonal one in the scholia *ad Aen.* 6.6 (**F** is not extant, but **G** exhibits the impersonal form), 8.202 and 547, 9.362 and 412, and 10.89 and 520 and is omitted in the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.63, 6.1 (**F** is not extant, and **G** lacks the scholium, but **C** omits the reference) and 4 (**F** is not extant, but **CG** omit the reference), 10.92, and 12.15.

[65] See the conclusion.

[66] Cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.163, whose text was established by *Harv.* 3 as follows: *HESPERIAM deest 'quam', ut supra dictum est* Seru.: *HESPERIAM deest 'quam'* **DS**. The reference *ut supra dictum est*, pointing to the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.530, is preserved, according to their apparatus, by the **σ** and **τ** families and by a witness of the **γ** family (**Pb**). While the impersonal form cannot be ascribed to Servius, two elements suggest that the Servian version of the *interpretamentum* coincides with that printed by *Harv.* 3 as **DS**. On the one hand, another internal reference to the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.530 can be found in the immediately preceding scholium (*EST LOCVS ut ante diximus, orbis comparatione*). On the other, the reference preserved by **στPb** can be judged as devoid of any authority as transmitted text: it is certainly missing in two of the three traditions preserving the scholium, **Δ** and **DS**, the former being here established by the agreement between **θJ**, and is probably missing in **Γ** as well because **γ** simply reads *deest 'quam'*. Since **στPb** are affected by interpolations from **DS**, they may well have obtained the reference from a **DS** witness reading *ut supra dictum est* (or the like), instead of *ut ante diximus*, in the scholium on *EST LOCVS*. Murgia (1975: 101 n. 106) seems to have been inclined to consider all the impersonal forms transmitted by Servian codices as interpolated from **DS**. Although this explanation is often plausible, the replacement can scarcely be regarded as a monogenetic innovation; on some occasions, it is probably better explained as a (semi)conscious change made by another medieval editor; cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.231: *subaudis filius, ut Aiacis Oili, ut ante diximus* **Σ**: *subaudis filius, ut Aiacis Oili* **C**: *subaudis filius, ut Aiacis Oili, sicut* (*ut* **B**) *supra dictum est* **γN**.

[67] Murgia 1975: 100-1 n. 106 and 1987b: 328 n. 20.

	Seru.	**F**
3.407	OMINA TVRBET … significat autem Diomeden, qui, cum multis casibus adfligeretur, Palladium, quod apud ipsum erat, Troianis oraculo iussus est reddere. quod cum uellet implere, Aenean inuenit sacrificantem; qui, ut supra diximus, sacrificii ordinem non rupit, et Palladium Nautes accepit.	OMNIA TVRBET … significat autem, ut dictum est, Diomeden, qui, cum multis casibus adfligeretur, Palladium, quod apud ipsum erat, Troianis oraculo iussus est reddere. quod cum uellet implere, Aenean inuenit sacrificantem; qui, ut supra diximus, sacrificii ordinem non rupit, et Palladium Nautes accepit.
5.737	TVM GENVS OMNE TVVM ET QVAE DENTVR MOENIA DISCES … latet enim, ut supra diximus, uerum urbis nomen; unde ei pater quasi pro mysterio ait *illa inclita Roma.*	TVM GENVS et reliqua. … latet enim, ut supra diximus, uerum urbis nomen; unde ei pater quasi pro misterio et adfectione ait illa inclita Roma. et nomen quidem Romae a poeta dictum est; nam uerum urbis nomen, et dictum est, latet.
7.411	PRAECIPITI DELATA NOTO intra arcam, ut diximus supra.	PRAECIPITI DELATO NATO intra arcam, ut diximus supra, a plurimis dicitur.

F's scholia *ad Aen.* 3.407 and 5.737 include two very close internal references: in the former case, both point to the scholium *ad Aen.* 2.166; in the latter, both point to the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.277. It seems unlikely that the Compiler added the impersonal references while maintaining the personal ones; in the scholium *ad Aen.* 5.737, moreover, the whole sentence *latet enim, ut supra diximus, uerum urbis nomen* can be labelled as an interpolation from Servius, corresponding to *nam uerum urbis nomen, ut dictum est, latet*.[68] *Harv.* 3 and Ramires printed the **F** readings as **DS** in each of these cases.

2.2. Other overlapping and misplaced scholia or portions of scholia

F also exhibits several overlapping or misplaced passages which cannot be shown to originate from interpolations.[69] While most of the former can be readily labelled as

[68] The sentence is precisely what one would expect as the **DS** version of *latet enim, ut supra diximus, uerum urbis nomen*: besides replacing *diximus* with *dictum est*, the Compiler moved the verb to the last position, adopting the word order for which he had a penchant, and chose to replace *enim* with *nam* in order to keep *uerum urbis nomen* together (cf. chapter I, section 7.1.2).

[69] Speaking of misplaced passages, I hasten to observe that past editors occasionally claimed that **F** was not clear about the order of the scholia or even attributed a false order to **F** because they failed to understand how this codex indicates the sequence in which scholia concerning overlapping lemmata should be read (cf. chapter I, section 2). This is the case, for instance, of the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.80. *Harv.* 3 printed the text that **F** exhibits in the right column (*REX et SACERDOS hic Anius Apollinis filius et sacerdos fuit … dicimus pontifices*) before the text that **F** exhibits in the

innovations, the latter are more problematic. Both Goold and Murgia were inclined to dismiss them as signs of the Compiler's limited understanding of his two sources.[70] Although this may well have been sometimes true, I hasten to remark that the number of misplaced passages which are more easily explained as errors made by later scribes should not be underestimated. In particular, the Compiler can hardly be held responsible for the frequent misplacements which result in the scholia being blatantly meaningless, and serious doubts can also be raised as to the cases where a Servian passage is misplaced for no evident reason and as to the cases where a non-Servian addition is misplaced although it provides explicit indication about the context to which it belongs. Examples of (a) overlapping and (b) misplaced passages which can be almost certainly judged as innovations and of (c) misplaced passages which can be plausibly judged as innovations are offered by the following scholia:

(a)	Seru.	**F**
3.461 and 464[71]	(461) HAEC SVNT QVAE NOSTRA LICEAT TE VOCE MONERI bene cum praescriptione, ne falsidicus uel minus peritus postea putaretur sacerdos.	(461) HAEC SVNT QVE NOSTRA LICEAT et cetera. bene cum praescriptione, ne falsidicus uel minus peritus postea putaretur utrum auria an quibus non accesserit et grauia.
	(464) GRAVIA 'a' finalitatis ratione producitur.	(464) GRAVIA utrum auria in (*lege*: an) quibus non totis aureis addito auro

left column (*REX ANIVS Anius autem rex Deli … nomine* †*an*), noting that the two sections are distributed between the two columns but the right order could be reconstructed from the fact that the first sentence of the latter *interpretamentum* includes an *autem*. In fact, **F** offers a clue as to the order of the two sections since the words *REX ANIVS* are preceded by a *signe-de-renvoi* which is also added in correspondence of the relevant line, and the presence of *autem* is devoid of probative value: this conjunction is often used when the first word of the *interpretamentum* coincides with the last word of the lemma, presumably so as to clarify that the repetition should not be perceived as an error (cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.96). That the order adopted in **F** should be ascribed to **DS** seems not unlikely, given that the words *rex Anius* and *sacerdos* are, respectively, at the beginning and at the end of the Vergilian line.

[70] Murgia and Goold tended to adopt a patronising attitude towards the Compiler, as is shown by such remarks as 'the compiler of **DS** was a person of some stupidity and capable of making errors' (Murgia 1968: 339) and 'the Compiler is no critic, and is heedless of inconsistencies and contradictions[:] … he is a meddler, and his meddlings with the language of Servius run like a fugal theme through the DS commentary' (Goold 1970: 106). For apt criticisms of this attitude, see Timpanaro 1994: 408-9 and Daintree 1990: 70 and 75.

[71] On this transposition, cf. section 1.1.1.

		pondus accesserit? et grauia finalitatis ratione producitur.
10.324-5	(324) FLAVENTEM MALAS flauentes malas habentem, primae aetatis.	(324) FLAVENTEM MALAS flauentes malas habentem. et est ordo: tu quoque, Cydon miserandae, iaceres, dum sequeris Clitium flauentem prima lanugine males, id est dum adulis-centem sectaris, cuius amore flagrabas: qui iuuenum tibi semper erant.
	(325) INFELIX NOVA GAVDIA CYDON … Statius etiam in proprio corripuit, ut *haec regi promissa Cydon haec Lampe dabamus*; quod fecit abutens licentia qua utimur in propriis nominibus. NOVA GAVDIA quem tunc primum amare coeperat.	(325) NOVA GAVDIA … Statius etiam in proprio corripuit: hec legi promissa Cidon haec Lampe dabam; quod fecit abutens licentia qua utimur in omnibus propriis. FLAVENTEM MALAS habentem. NOVA GAVDIA ergo quem tum primum amare coeperat.
(b)	Seru.	**F**
4.685[72]	ORE LEGAM Cicero in Verrinis *ut extremum filiorum spiritum ore excipere liceret*.	ORE LEGAM Cicero in Verrinis: ut extremum muliebriter, tamquam possit animam sororis excipere et in se transferre filiorum spiritum ore excipere liceret.
9.80	QVO PRIMVM hoc est 'in initio'; non enim secundo factae sunt naues apud Idam ab Aenea. FORMABAT id est formare cogitabat; non enim in Ida, sed apud Antandrum factae sunt.	QVO PRIMVM hoc est initio, non enim secundo factie sunt naues apud Idam ab Aenea, in Ida sed apud Antandrum facte sunt. FORMABAT id est formare cogitabat; non enim naues. et bene Frigia in Ida, quia et in Creta est alia Ida, ut mons Idaeus ubi et gentis cunabula nostra.
(c)	Seru.	**F**
3.226 and 228	(226) CLANGORIBVS ALAS deest 'cum'. … aliter acyrologia est, si clangorem dixit alarum sonitum. (228) TVM praeterea. et deest 'erat'.	(226) CLANGORIBVS ALAS deest cum. … aliter acyrologia est, si clangorem dixit alarum sonitum. (228) TVM praeterea. deest erat uel audiebatur. et tria mala ipsarum posuit: uocem, tactum, adorem. sed sane hic uersus qui circumductus est talis auditur: resonant magnis stridoribus alae.

[72] For a similar case, cf. **FP**'s scholium *ad Aen.* 4.62.

5.468 and 480	(468) FIDI AEQVALES Homerus φίλοι ἑταῖροι. (480) EFFRACTO INLISIT IN OSSA CEREBRO hypallage: effregit ossa et inlisit in cerebrum.	(468) FIDI AEQVALES Homero ΦΙΛΟΙ eTaIPOI. (480) EFFRACTO INLISIT ypalage: amic socii. fregit ossa et inlicit cerebrum.
6.147-8[73]	(147) SI TE FATA VOCANT hoc est si quem fata uocant facile sequitur. (148) POTERIS poterit quis. tertiae enim personae significationem ad secundam transtulit et generaliter loquitur; nam ut de Aenea dicat non procedit. si enim dubitat, caret deo nec potest de Miseno uaticinari.	(148) POTERIS poterit aliquis. tertiae enim personae significationem ad secundam transtulit et generaliter loquitur; nam ut de Aenea dicat non procedit. si enim dubitat, caret deo nec potest de Miseno uaticinari. (147) SI TE FATA VOCANT hoc est si quem fata uocant facile sequetur.

In the first four cases, the **F** readings are blatantly senseless. The scholium *ad Aen.* 3.228 includes an autonomous non-Servian addition consisting of a paraphrase of v. 226 (*Harpyiae et magnis quatiunt clangoribus alas*), whereas the scholium *ad Aen.* 5.480 includes a non-autonomous non-Servian addition consisting of a (corrupt) Latin translation of φίλοι ἑταῖροι. It is implausible that the Compiler consciously included these additions in the scholia where they are transmitted by **F**. Likewise, he seems to have had no reason to move the scholium on *POTERIS* before a scholium on the preceding line.

In all these cases, the **F** readings were sensibly not imputed to the Compiler by past editors. However, some comment is called for on the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.468 and 480 and 10.324. In the former case, *Harv.* 3 chose to delete *amic socii* altogether; since Greek words are often followed by their Latin translations in the **DS** scholia[74] and since **F** offers several examples of misplaced brief phrases,[75] there seems to be no reason not to ascribe *amici socii* to the

[73] **F**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 6.147 and 148 can be found, respectively, at the top of **F^{p}**'s f. 4^{r} and at the bottom of **F^{p}**'s f. 3^{v}.

[74] Cf. section 1.1.2.

[75] Misplacements concern both Servian and non-Servian phrases. An example of the former scenario is offered by the scholia *ad Aen*. 6.517-18: *EVHANTIS … 'chorum' autem ait multitudinem in sacra collectam. CIRCVM DVCEBAT diuisit in duos uersus unam partem orationis, sed ideo, quia est composita*] *EVHANTES* (*EVVANTES* **C**) *… chorum autem ait multitudinem. CIRCVM DVCEBAT diuisit in duos uersus unam partem orationis* (*p- o-*] *p-* **C**) *in sacra collecta, sed ideo quia est composita* **CF**; an example of the latter by the scholia *ad Aen.* 6.304 and 309: *CRVDA DEO VIRIDISQVE SENECTVS* τὸ αἴτιον*: ideo 'cruda' et 'uiridis', quia in deo. et bene 'uiridis', ne contemneretur. AVTVMNI FRIGORE PRIMO extremitatem uult ostendere*] *CRVDA DEO VIRIDISQVE SENECTVS to aeotion: ideo cruda et uiridis, quia in deo. et bene uiridis. AVTVMNI FRIGORE PRIMO et extremitatem ne comptempneretur uult ostendere* **F**. These errors might have been facilitated by the fact that some ancestors of **F** were characterised by a narrow space between the lines. A similar explanation can be proposed for some transpositions concerning single letters, such as the capital *I* which is moved from the lemma *IDAEVMQVE* of the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.112 to the word *cognomines* of the preceding scholium *ad Aen.* 3.108 – an error which is most easily attributed to a scribe copying from a manuscript where the initial of the first

Compiler. In the latter, Murgia and Kaster did not distinguish between the **DS** and Servian version of the first sentence of the *interpretamentum*; notwithstanding, it is entirely plausible that the genitive *primae aetatis* was omitted by the Compiler because the same idea was expressed more perspicuously in the non-Servian explanation which he added to the same scholium.

On some occasions, one might be tempted to consider the fact that other primary witnesses exhibit an apparently sounder order than **F** as positive evidence in support of the idea that the **F** order should not be imputed to the Compiler. However, caution is called for since most other witnesses can often be convicted of deliberately altering the order of the scholia. From this perspective, it seems preferable to stick to the criteria presented *supra* and to ascertain, on a case-by-case basis, how unacceptable the **F** order is and whether it could have offered a stimulus for conjecture.[76]

Several overlapping or misplaced passages can be judged as certainly inherited from the **DS** tradition because they are of non-Servian origin or because they are of Servian

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lemma of a paragraph was written in *ekthesis*, as happens in **F**, and each line included about 70 letters.

[76] If compared to the **T** order, for instance, the **F** order can be certainly considered as a later innovation in the non-Servian addition to the scholium *ad Aen.* 4.262. Here, all the most recent editors realised that the words *autem est culter oblongus ferreus … appellatur autem secespita* should not be placed within the section on *iaspis*, as happens in **F**, but rather within the section on *secespita*, just after *debere; secespita*, as happens in **T**. On other occasions, it is more difficult to establish which witness reflects the original order. This happens, for instance, in the case of the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.35, which is transmitted by **F** as follows: *GRADIVVMQVE PATREM gradiuum exilientem in proelia, quod in bellantibus sit necesse est, aut grauem deum. patrem autem ideo, quia apud pontifices Mars pater dicitur. alii gradiuum quod gradum inferant qui pignatur* (read: *pugnant*), *aut quod impure* (read: *impigre*) *gradiantur. alii a graditudine, quod huc et illuc gradiatur; unde Martem communem dici. non nulli eundem Solem et Vulcanum dicunt, sed Vulcanum generis esse omnis principem, Martem uero Romani tantum styrpis auctorem. alii gradiuum quia numquam equester, aut a gradu dictum.* The sentence *non nulli … auctorem* is evidently not related to the epithet *gradiuus*, which is proper to Mars alone. To judge from the adversative clause, it is not related to *communis* either but rather to *pater* – an epithet which is indeed also applied to the Sun and Vulcanus. In **TVa**, the last section of this sentence is included within a note on *patrem*: *ideo patrem* (*pater* **T**) *quia apud pontifices* (*a pontificibus* **Va**) *in sacris Mars pater dicitur et quod Romulae stirpis auctor fuerit*; this order can also be paralleled in the branch of Servian witnesses interpolated from **DS** which includes Petrarch's copy of Vergil (*Am.*) and Guarino's Servian edition (on the version of the scholium transmitted by this branch, cf. Ramires 2008b: 241-2). Since the **F** order is not blatantly erroneous and perhaps even corrigible by a learned medieval editor, one cannot be certain that this order should be attributed to a later scribe, but the possibility would deserve at least to be mentioned in the apparatus.

origin but exhibit some **DS** traits, including, in the case of doublets, any agreement in innovations with the rightly placed text.[77] The frequency of such passages is probably also connected with the fact that the scholia were distributed between two columns in this branch of the tradition and that the distribution was modified, potentially more than once, in accordance with the space available on the leaves of the manuscripts.[78]

2.3. Omissions

Although **F** is by far the most complete primary witness, it can occasionally be suspected of lacking portions of the original commentary. Besides the few cases where several consecutive (or almost consecutive) scholia are missing altogether, presumably by accident,[79] two scenarios can be distinguished.

On the one hand, a few isolated Servian passages cannot be found in **F**. It is normally difficult to determine whether these omissions should be attributed to the Compiler or to later scribes. Nevertheless, the latter hypothesis can be sometimes regarded as more plausible in the light of an examination of the other **DS** witnesses[80] or of the text

[77] Cf. the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.464, 4.685, and 5.480 and *ad Aen.* 10.324, respectively.

[78] The already discussed addition of the first words of the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.464 to the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.461 would have been particularly straightforward in a codex where the latter was not immediately followed by the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.463, as happens on **F**$^{\mathbf{B}\prime}$s f. 114^{r}. Changes in the distribution of the text between the columns may have been indirectly responsible for misplacements not only of scholia in their entirety but also of single sections: **F** offers a few examples of sections extracted from the scholia to which they belong and copied separately in the other column, either with or without a new lemma; this practice, which may well have also been adopted by the scribes of some of **F**'s ancestors, exposes the isolated sections to the risk of being joined with other scholia. As for **F**'s isolated sections, when a new lemma is introduced, this is normally the lemma which precedes the rest of the *interpretamentum* (cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.12); in other cases, a quotation or part of a quotation is used as lemma (cf., e.g., the scholia *ad Aen.* 6.318 and 12.176).

[79] Most significantly, **F** lacks the scholia *ad Aen.* 6.239-75, 11.687-95, and 12.47-57 and a few almost consecutive scholia *ad Aen.* 9.417-39 (417-18, 427, 430, 433, 435, and 439). It is implausible that the scholia on the same lines were missing in both the Servian and the non-Servian source to which the Compiler resorted.

[80] A few Servian passages omitted by **F** are transmitted by other **DS** witnesses which are unlikely to have inherited them from the Servian tradition (cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 6.124, discussed in section 5.1). On a few other occasions, omissions of consecutive or almost consecutive scholia can be labelled as innovations because other **DS** witnesses transmit passages

preceding and following the omitted section. In particular, the Compiler can hardly be held responsible for (a) the omissions of the whole *interpretamentum*[81] and (b) the omissions which make the extant sections of the *interpretamentum* blatantly meaningless, especially when the word immediately preceding the omitted section is incomplete. This happens, for instance, in the following cases:

(a)	Seru.	**F**
5.419	AEQVEMVS PVGNAS id est arma, a sequenti quod praecedit. TIBI pro te, ut *tibi deserit Hesperus Oetam*.	AEQVEMVS PVGNAS id est arma, a sequenti quod praecedit. TIBI.
6.582	GEMINOS sui similes.	GEMINOS.
12.262	LITORA VESTRA bona iteratio: nam supra ait *litoreas agitabat aues*.	ET LITORA VESTRA.

(b)	Seru.	**F**
6.714	LETHAEI AD FLVMINIS VNDA … cum descendunt animae trahunt secum torporem Saturni, Martis iracundiam, libidinem Veneris, Mercurii lucri cupiditatem, Iouis regni desiderium; quae res faciunt perturbationem animabus, ne possint uti uigore suo et uiribus propriis.	LETHEI AD FLAMINIS VNDA … cum descendunt anime tradunt secum torpore Saturni, Martis iracundiam, libidinem Veneris, Mercurii lucri cupiditatem, Iouis regni desiderium; quae res faciunt.
7.416	MEMBRA EXVIT bene *exuit*: nam dii cum uolunt uideri, induunt se corporibus propter mortalium oculos; nam incorporei sunt.	MEMBRA EXVIT bene exuit: nam dii cum uolunt uideri, induunt se corporalibus propter morta.
11.592	TROS ITALVSVE MIHI si simpliciter accipiamus, ita intellegamus: 'siue eam Troianus interemerit, siue aliquis de Aeneae auxiliis'.	TROS ITALVSQVE MIHI si simpliciter accipiamus.

deriving from seemingly genuine non-Servian additions to some of the scholia at issue (this possibility is suggested in Murgia and Kaster's edition for the scholia *ad Aen.* 11.259-60, 592-5, and 687-95 and *ad Aen.* 12.46-57).

[81] As can be appreciated from the following examples, the lemma is sometimes isolated and sometimes joined with the preceding or following scholium. There are some cases where the possibility cannot be ruled out that the omission of the *interpretamentum* preceded the genesis of **DS** since the text is not manifestly senseless. An instance of ambiguity is the scholium *ad Aen.* 11.183, where the lemma *MISERIS MORTALIBVS* is transmitted by **F** as part of the last sentence of the scholium on *EXTVLERAT LVCEM* (*in multis locis inuenitur necessarium miseris mortalibus*).

12.46	AEGRESCITQVE MEDENDO inde magis eius aegritudo crescebat, unde se ei Latinus remedium sperabat adferre.	AEGRESCITQVE MEDENDO inde ma.

None of these omissions is likely to date back to the Compiler. This was acknowledged by the most recent editors only as to the scholia *ad Aen.* 6.582 and 714[82] and 12.46 and 262: Ramires and Murgia–Kaster adopted the **F** reading as **DS** in the scholia *ad Aen.* 7.416 and 11.592,[83] and *Harv.* 3 printed *TIBI pro te* as the **DS** scholium *ad Aen.* 5.419. In the last case, *Harv.* 3 ascribed to the Compiler only the omission of the reference because they noticed that **T** included an interlinear note (*propter te*) which could be judged as corresponding to *pro te*; in fact, that note was copied by one of the 'Tironian' scribes and does not derive from **DS**.[84]

Whilst all the omissions hitherto discussed can be judged as unconscious innovations, the fact that, in several of the cases where Servian passages are missing, there is no blank space left in **F** suggests that the scribes of this branch may have occasionally avoided copying portions of text on purpose.[85] In particular, this suspicion can be raised as to the cases where the final sentences of several almost consecutive Servian scholia are omitted, with nothing similar happening in the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2.[86]

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[82] In both cases, **C** transmits the same reading as the Servian witnesses.

[83] As for the scholium *ad Aen.* 11.592, however, Murgia and Kaster remarked in the apparatus that the omission is unlikely to date back to the Compiler.

[84] Cf. chapter I, section 8.

[85] Murgia and Kaster advanced this hypothesis for the scholia *ad Aen.* 9.705-6, 10.184, and 11.259-60, 592-4, and 660. In the scholia *ad Aen.* 9.706 and 11.660, the text omitted by **F** is printed as common to Servius and **DS**; in the others, it is not. Since the final section of the scholium *ad Aen.* 9.705 and the scholium *ad Aen.* 9.706 were in all likelihood omitted at the same stage, this inconsistency is probably to be regarded as a lapse due to the complex genesis of the edition.

[86] Omissions of the last sentences of Servian scholia are especially frequent in **F**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3.1-64 and 9.745-10.188, but it is possible that such omissions were not originally confined to these two sections and were supplied elsewhere by scribes resorting to Servian witnesses. The omissions in the former section are attributed to the Compiler himself by Murgia, who remarked that, in some scholia, 'the structure of the comment makes it clear that the act of insertion [i.e. of non-Servian additions] and the act of condensation is the same' (1974: 263) and that similar omissions 'can be observed happening at the beginnings of many books, and not just Book 3' (1987b: 327). The former remark is at least partially true: the omissions in the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.2 and 13 and perhaps *ad Aen.* 3.6 are likely to depend on deliberate choices made by the Compiler. The latter is not true: the scholia on the first 65 lines of none of the other books, except for book 10, exhibit more than 5 omissions, and these omissions tend to be significantly briefer than those in the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.1-65. Since the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.1-65 are approximately as long as those *ad Aen.* 2.1-65 (16 pages in Thilo's edition) and briefer than those *ad Aen.* 1.1-65 (32 pages in Thilo's edition), the possibility that some omissions should be attributed to later scribes cannot be ruled out.

On the other hand, although the non-Servian source to which the Compiler resorted is not extant, it is occasionally possible to suggest that **F** omits some additions which are preserved by other primary witnesses. These cases will be more aptly analysed in the following sections since they require a preliminary discussion of the features of the text transmitted by the witnesses in question.

Some comment is here in order as to the scholia *ad Aen.* 6-7, which include a limited number of non-Servian additions and were suspected by both Goold and Murgia of imperfectly transmitting **DS** rather than reflecting the original scarcity of such additions.[87] This thesis is supported not only by the few materials in Servian witnesses interpolated from **DS** which seemingly depend on lost non-Servian additions, to which Murgia explicitly referred,[88] but also by the internal references which the Compiler added within the scholia *ad Aen.* 7.690 and 9.4:

	Seru.	**F**
7.690	PERO autem est rusticum calciamentum. et traxit hoc a Graeciae more, unde isti transierant, ubi hoc calciamenti fuerat genus.	PERO autem est rusticum calciamentum. et traxit hoc a Gracie more, unde isti, sicut dictum est, transierunt, ubi hoc calciamenti fuerat genus.
9.4	SEDEBAT … aut erat aut consilia capiebat aut augurabatur.	SEDEBAT … aut erat aut consilia capiebat aut augurabatur. unde et hic lucus uicae aedis se sacrate accipi debat: quod plenius illo loco dictum est hoc illis curia templum.

[87] Goold 1970: 109 and Murgia 1975: 22, 1987b: 328 n. 20, and 2014: 1156 (≈ Murgia–Kaster 2018: XV). Ramires estimated **F**'s non-Servian materials to range between one third and one half of **DS** in books 3-4 and 8-12 and to amount to 5% of **DS** in books 6 and 7 (2003: X); a similar figure is offered for book 7 in Vallat 2012: 89 n. 2. As for book 5, **F**'s non-Servian materials amount to 16% of **DS**, according to Ramires, but most of them are concentrated in a few scholia; it is not implausible that the scarcity of such materials in book 5 and in books 6-7 should be imputed to the same cause. Although **CR** cannot be judged as 'sincere' witnesses to **DS**, the fact that, whenever **F** is extant, they transmit virtually no non-Servian addition which **F** does not transmit suggests that their latest common ancestor was not richer in such additions than **F**. As for **TVa**, cf. section 7.3.

[88] Murgia 1975: 22 and 1987b: 328 n. 20. In both cases, Murgia referred to the new Naevian and Varronian fragments discovered in **MpPe** by Savage (1925a: 235-9 and 1925b: 158-9). On the relationship between the former and the other Naevian fragments preserved by the **DS** primary witnesses, cf. also Rowell 1957.

In these two cases, the reader is referred to previous scholia for information on the origin of the people described by Vergil in *Aen*. 678-89 and on the meaning of *lucus*. Nothing is said about the former topic in any other scholium preserved by **F** (or by other Servian witnesses). **F**'s scholium *ad Aen.* 7.174, to which the one *ad Aen.* 9.4 explicitly refers, can hardly be said to discuss the latter topic *plenius*: in fact, it is almost identical to the scholium transmitted by Servian witnesses and simply reads *CVRIA TEMPLVM quia, ut diximus supra, curia non est nisi in augurato loco*.[89] From this perspective, both references would be easily explicable by assuming that the **DS** scholium *ad Aen.* 7.174 and one of the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 7.678-89 included two non-Servian additions omitted by **F**.[90]

That **F** transmits **DS** imperfectly in books 6-7 is also suggested by an analysis of the distribution of the extant additions. Throughout these books, it is possible to count just 14 non-Servian scholia and less than fifty other non-Servian additions consisting of at least one sentence. These additions are not evenly distributed but almost entirely confined to two brief sections, namely the scholia *ad Aen.* 6.1-25 and 276-89.[91] While the position of the former is *per se* significant as the passage might theoretically have been judged as worthy of a fuller explanation by the Compiler himself, the position of the latter seems to have become significant at some stage in the transmission since it follows the main lacuna of the **DS** scholia on the *Aeneid* (6.239-75). On this basis, it is possible to

[89] The Servian witnesses lack *supra* and read *erat* instead of *est*. The words *ut diximus* (*supra*) refer to the scholium *ad Aen.* 7.153, which deals with the temple where the Senate held their meetings.

[90] This seems particularly plausible for the former reference, given that the words *sicut dictum est* were consciously added by the Compiler within a Servian scholium; as will be shown in section 7.3, the passage to which the scholium *ad Aen.* 7.690 refers may be identified with the source of one of **T**'s notes on v. 684. A less compelling case can be found in **F**'s scholium *ad Aen.* 8.314: *sicut supra dictum est, Faunus Pici filius dicitur, qui a fando, quod futura praediceret, Faunus appellatus est*. The internal reference seemingly points to the scholium *ad Aen.* 7.47. **F**'s scholium on that line, which is virtually identical to the Servian one, does not refer to Faunus as son of Picus; however, since it explains the name of Faunus *a uaticinando*, it is possible that the Compiler simply added an imprecise reference.

[91] These two sections alone contain 11 non-Servian scholia and 28 other additions consisting of at least one sentence; therefore, the proportions of such scholia and additions per line are about 29% and 74% in the sections at issue and about 0% and 2% in the rest of the two books. Of the only three other non-Servian scholia, namely those *ad Aen.* 6.198 and *ad Aen.* 7.228 and 808, the last might also be suspected of being extraneous to **DS**, consisting simply of a non-lemmatised quotation from Ovid; none of the other additions comprises more than one sentence.

amend the reconstruction of the genesis of the **F** version of the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 6-7 proposed by Murgia in one of his 1987 articles:[92]

> the tradition of F encountered losses in those books; missing Servian comment was supplied by contamination with MSS of Servius, but missing D comment could not be restored.

The idea that an ancestor of **F** experienced severe losses in these two books seems plausible, but the distribution of the non-Servian substantial additions can hardly be conceived as a direct result of these losses. Murgia's hypothesis would imply that the codex lost (almost) no such addition in two brief sections and (almost) all such additions everywhere else, with no section lying between these two extremes. In the light of the available evidence, it seems more probable that the scribe who revised the text of the damaged codex, while supplying bits of Servian text, consciously distinguished the Servian and the non-Servian sections and that he (or a subsequent scribe) chose to copy only the former. The reason for this choice cannot be determined with certainty: he may have been simply interested in the Servian commentary itself,[93] but he may also have had to cope with the fact that several non-Servian additions were illegible in his **DS** exemplar and consequently irretrievable or with the fact that limited space was available in the new codex into which he was copying.[94]

A glance at **F$^{P'}$**'s ff. 1^{r} and 6^{v} offers some suggestions as to the possible explanation for the two exceptions. As for the latter case, *Aen.* 6.276-89 are the last fourteen lines of a page which also includes ten lines on which no **DS** scholium survives, and the scholia on vv. 276-89 occupy the space alongside both vv. 266-75 and vv. 276-89. Besides, each Vergilian hexameter on **F$^{P'}$**'s f. 1^{r} (*Aen.* 6.14-25) is divided between two ruling lines, and the same layout was adopted, from what we can tell, in the lost leaf originally placed

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[92] Murgia 1987b: 328 n. 20. The same explanation is repeated in Murgia 2014: 1156 (≈ Murgia–Kaster 2018: XV): 'a glance at the text at *A.* 6-7 shows much more Servius than Servius Auctus, evidence that **F**'s text reflects losses in its transmission of the latter as well as restoration of missing text from contamination with MSS of Servius'.

[93] Cf. section 1.1 and 3, chapter I, section 3.1, chapter III, section 3.2, and the conclusion.

[94] This is especially plausible as far as book 6 is concerned. In the case of books 3-5 and 9-12, the number of words of Servian comment per Vergilian line ranges between 10.6 (book 12) and 22 (book 3); in book 6, the number is as high as 26.4. These statistics are based on Ramires' digital edition of Servius (2014b).

just before (*Aen.* 6.1-13);[95] as a consequence, the scholia on each of these hexameters were assigned twice as much space as the scholia on the previous and subsequent hexameters. From this perspective, it is possible that the scribe copying from the corrected ancestor of **F** chose to include the non-Servian major additions in the scholia *ad Aen.* 6.1-25 and 276-89 in order to minimise the blank space on the pages of his codex.

[95] On this layout, see chapter I, section 2.

3. The DS scholia transmitted by M³

Having established that **M³** should be regarded as a **DS** witness, some comment is in order as to the characters of the version that it transmits, which Murgia briefly described as lacking most of the **DS** non-Servian sections but normally exhibiting **DS** readings in the Servian ones.[96]

If compared with **C**'s and **F**'s scholia that share the same genesis,[97] **M³**'s scholia are less consistent in omitting the non-Servian materials: approximately a fifth of the autonomous additions preserved by **F** can be found in **M³** as well. Yet these ten additions are all rather brief, and two of the longest may even have not been perceived as additions, being virtually identical to sections of other Servian scholia which were removed by the Compiler:

	Seru.	**DS**	**M³**
10.147-8	(147) CONTVLERANT nocte interueniente peregerant. et est explanatio rerum, quas Aeneas gessit postquam est profectus ab Euandro ad petenda auxilia, dum inter suos et Turnum bella gerebantur: rem enim ante omissam breuiter exsequitur.	(147) CERTAMINA BELLI CONTVLERANT nocte interueniente peregerant. MEDIA AENEAS FRETA NOCTE SECABAT aut 'media nocte' aut 'media freta'. (148) NAMQVE VT AB EVANDRO rem antea omissam breuiter exsequitur.	(147) CERTAMINA BELLI C. nocte interueniente peregerant. (148) NAMQVE VT AB EVVANDRO rem antea omnissam breuiter exsequitur.
10.182	TERCENTVM ADICIVNT accedunt et consentiunt eius uoluntati: unde ait *mens omnibus una sequendi*, id est coniurati sunt.	TERCENTVM ADICIVNT consentiunt, accedunt eius uoluntati, quod sequentia explanant. Probus *adiciunt* 'adiacent et quasi iuxta sunt' tradit. MENS OMNIBVS VNA SEQVENDI id est coniurati sunt.	TERCENTVM ADICIVNT consenciunt, accedunt eius uoluntati, quod sequentia explanant. MENS OMNIBVS VNA SEQVENDI id est coniurati sunt.

[96] Murgia 1975: 39. See chapter I, section 3.1.

[97] Cf. sections 1.1 and 2.3.

Moreover, in terms of relative frequency of exclusive agreements with **DS** and Servian witnesses, **M³**'s scholia resemble more closely **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3, 5.813-71, and 6 and **F**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 6-7 than **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 4 and 5.1-319. This can be easily deduced from an examination of the scholia on the first twenty lines:[98]

(a) Agreements between **FM³** against **Γ**

10.104 sinitis **Γ**: uultis **FM³**

10.105 sententiae dicendae **Γ**: dicendae sententiae (-ciae **M³**) **FM³**

10.106 HAVD LICITVM EST **Γ**: HAVD LICITVM **FM³**

10.107 loqui **Γ**: dicere **FM³**

fauorem **Γ**: faborem **FM³**

significat se fauere Troianis **Γ**: Troianis se fauere significat **FM³**

SECAT **Γ**: SECAT SPEM **FM³**

tenet, habet **Γ**: tenet **FM³**

10.108 id est fuerit **Γ**: *nihil hab.* **FM³**

uerbum defectiuum **Γ**: *nihil hab.* **FM³**

10.109 SEV FATIS ITALVM C. O. T. **Γ**: SEV FATIS ITALVM **FM³**

Troiana **Γ**: Troiae **FM³**

sinistris monitis **Γ**: monitis aduersis **FM³**

10.109-11 unde … absoluo **Γ**: *nihil hab.* **FM³**

10.111 nam aphaeresin pertulit **Γ**: namaferes inpertulit soluo **F**: nam afferes inpertulit soluo **M³**

MONITIS SINISTRIS **Γ**: monitis autem sinistris **FM³**

EXORSA **Γ**: EXORSO **FM³**

rerum initia, actus **Γ**: facta (fata **F**), initia **FM³**

LABOREM FORTVNAMQVE **Γ**: FORTVNAMQVE LABOREM FERENT **F**: LABOREM FORTVNAMQVE F. **M³**

10.113 iure iurando **Γ**: cuius iurando **F**: ius iurando **M³**

dicta **Γ**: statuta **FM³**

10.115 TOTVM NVTV T. O. **Γ**: NVTV TREMEFECIT (TREMAE- **F**) OLYMPVM (O. **M³**) **FM³**

10.120 VALLIS **Γ**: VALLIS OBSESSA TENETVR (T. **M³**) **FM³**

id est fustes fossarum **Γ**: fossarum fustes **FM³**

dicitur neutraliter **Γ**: neutro dicitur genere **FM³**

10.121 et hoc … accipere **Γ**: *nihil hab.* **FM³**

[98] The cases where **M³** preserves or lacks **DS** autonomous non-Servian additions are not considered. **Δ** is not extant in this section, and all the Servian witnesses inherit their text from **Γ**.

(b) Agreements between **M³** and any Servian family against **DS**

10.107 consequetur **Γ**: consequeretur **F**: consequitur **M³ σA²**

10.111 periculum et felicitatem **M³ Γ**: laborem periculum fortunam et felicitatem **F**

10.115 hoc Homeri **F**: Homeri **M³ Γ**

In virtually all the cases where the Servian and **DS** readings are distinguished by Murgia and Kaster, **M³** preserves the latter: all the Servian words omitted or replaced by the Compiler are likewise omitted or replaced in **M³**, and all the non-Servian words added by the Compiler within Servian sections are likewise added in **M³**, with a single exception: in the scholium *ad Aen.* 10.111, the **DS** reading *'laborem' periculum 'fortunamque' et felicitatem* corresponds to *periculum et felicitatem* in **M³**. Besides, **M³** shares with **F** several other readings which should probably be considered as monogenetic scribal errors but shares no such reading with any Servian family.[99]

These patterns exhibit no significant variations throughout **M³**'s scholia. Murgia and Kaster attribute to the witness just sporadic omissions of non-Servian words within a Servian section that they regarded as present in the **DS** original, and their choice can even be challenged in some of these cases, as is shown by the following example:

	Seru.	**DS**
10.145	sed constat eam a Tuscis conditam uiso falconis augurio, … unde est Campania nominata.	constat tamen eam a Tuscis conditam de uiso (d- u- **F**: u- **M³**) falconis augurio, … unde est Capua nominata.

There is no apparent reason why the Compiler should have wanted to introduce the preposition *de*. Since the agreements between **M³** and **F** are systematic in this scholium and the former transmits all the other non-Servian words embedded within Servian sentences which are transmitted by the latter,[100] the hypothesis that the preposition was unconsciously or semiconsciously added by a scribe of the **F** branch seems at least as likely as the hypothesis that it was added by the Compiler or inherited from his Servian codex and subsequently omitted by the medieval editor responsible for the **M³** version or by another scribe.

Furthermore, **M³**'s scholia offer hardly any example of readings which must be regarded as inherited from the Servian tradition rather than from the **DS** one, with the words

[99] In the scholia *ad Aen.* 10.107 and 115, the form *consequitur* and the omission of *hoc* can be judged as polygenetic errors.

[100] *dicit* **Γ**: *hoc dicit* **FM³** | *sed Liuius uult* **Γ**: *sed Capuam uult Libius* **FM³** | *sed constat* **Γ**: *constat tamen* **FM³** | *omnem paene Italiam* **Γ**: *aliquando omnem Italiam* **FM³**.

omitted by **F** being normally omitted by **M³** as well.[101] Just three exceptions to this rule are recorded in Murgia and Kaster's edition, and two of them can even be suspected of being false exceptions:

	Seru.	**DS**
10.176	nec *parent* 'obtemperant' procedit. nam quomodo sidera uel fibrae uel aues uel fulgura possunt obtemperare?	*nihil hab.* (*nihil hab.* **F**: parent optemperare **M³**)
10.178	DENSOS ACIE in acie constrictos et coniunctos.	DENSOS ACIE coniunctos (c- **F**: in acie c- **M³**).
10.184	INTEMPESTAEQVE GRAVISCAE Grauiscanum oppidum alii intempestum dicunt uentis et tempestatibus carens: quod nulla potest ratione contingere. intempestas ergo Grauiscas accipiamus pestilentes secundum Plinium in naturali historia et Catonem in originibus, ut intempestas intellegas sine temperie, id est tranquillitate: nam, ut ait Cato, ideo Grauiscae dictae sunt quod grauem aerem sustinent.	*nihil hab.* (*nihil hab.* **F**: *eadem fere uerba ac* **Γ** *hab.* **M³**)

In the first case, it is indeed plausible that the **M³** reading does not belong to the **DS** tradition, although its genesis is not altogether clear: it might perhaps originate from a note that was added to the revised ancestor from which **M³** scholia emanate by a reviser meaning to indicate the beginning and the end of the omitted Servian section. In the second and in the third case, however, there seems to be no cogent reason why the **F** text should be considered as closer to **DS** than the **M³** one: the absence of *in acie* is readily explained as the result of a *saut*, and the absence of the long scholium on *INTEMPESTAEQVE GRAVISCAE* may well be related to the fact that there is little space available on **F**^{p}'s f. 74^{r} and **F** sometimes omits genuine scholia or sections of scholia because of space constraints.[102]

In conclusion, the editor responsible for the **M³** version of **DS** seems to have only concerned himself with pruning off the non-Servian autonomous sections and, to a lesser

[101] In the two cases where a Servian passage seems to have been replaced by the Compiler with a radically different passage, the corrector suppressed the latter without supplying the former: in the scholium *ad Aen.* 10.108, **F**'s *unde et sectas dicimus phylosophorum* and **Γ**'s *unde et sectas dicimus habitus animorum et instituta philosophiae circa disciplinam* correspond to *unde et sectas dicimus* in **M³**; two different scholia *ad Aen.* 10.140 are transmitted by **F** and **Γ**, and neither can be found in **M³**.

[102] See section 2.3.

extent, the other minor additions but to have made virtually no attempt to correct what he regarded as Servian.

4. The DS scholia transmitted by Ox

Alongside the *Aeneid*, **Ox** offers a few dozen notes certainly drawn from **DS** scholia, as well as a few other notes drawn from either **DS** or Servian scholia. These notes refer to all the books but are not distributed evenly: about half of them are found alongside the first 500 lines of book 2, whereas the others tend to cluster in brief sections throughout the rest of the poem.[103] The fact that several notes can be paralleled in Servian interpolated witnesses such as **Pa** suggests that they may partly derive from the interpolations of one such witness.[104]

Most of **Ox**'s certainly-**DS** notes consist of more or less rephrased versions of non-Servian additions and include no materials corresponding to the previous and subsequent Servian sections.[105] The following two long notes, selected from those that are not discussed in Murgia's *Prolegomena* and not included in the upper apparatus of Murgia and Kaster's edition, will clarify the frequency and the nature of the conscious innovations affecting the **Ox** version of **DS**:

	DS	**Ox**
2.243	ATQVE VTERO SONITVM QVATER ARMA DEDERE ostendere uult non in totum a diis desertos esse Troianos, quippe quos sono equi dicit esse commonitos, ne Dido ab his animum auerteret quos uidebat a suis numinibus derelictos; sed hoc dicit: 'monuerunt nos dii, sed nos non intelleximus'.	ostendere uult non in totum desertos a diis Troianos, quos sono equi dicit monitos, ne Dido ab his animum auerteret quos uidebat a suis numinibus derelictos; sed hoc dicit: monuerunt nos dii, sed nos non intelleximus.

[103] The second most significant section is *Aen.* 8.721-9.10, which includes six excerpts from **DS**.

[104] See Murgia 1975: 150. In most of the witnesses in question, including **Pa**, the interpolations from **DS** are confined to the scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12; in the few witnesses where this does not happen, the interpolations still do not correlate significantly with **Ox**'s excerpts from **DS** in the first two books. Therefore, **Ox**'s notes may be suspected of ultimately emanating from two different branches of the tradition. On the Servian interpolated witnesses, see the conclusion.

[105] See Murgia 1975: 149. For an exception, cf., e.g., the note on *Aen.* 2.182: *sicut et factum est. et artificiose; neque enim mentitur et tamen decipit: nam uerum metum falso metu abigit*, whose first clause belongs to the Servian section of the scholium.

8.103[106]	AMPHITRYONIADAE MAGNO DIVISQVE FEREBAT Amphitryo rex Thebanorum fuit. cuius uxorem Alcmenam Iuppiter adamauit et, dum uir eius Oechaliam ciuitatem oppugnat, de trinoctio facta una nocte cum ea concubuit. quae post duos edidit filios, unum de Ioue, id est Herculem, alterum de marito, qui Iphiclus appellatus est.	Amphitruo rex Thebanorum fuit. cuius uxorem Alcumenam Iuppiter amauit et, dum uir eius Ceacalios obpugnat ciuitatem, de trinoctio facta una nocte cum ea concubuit. quae post duos edidit filios, unum de Ioue, id est Herculem, alterum de marito, qui Ficlus dictus est.

While the two notes tend to follow closely the text of the **DS** scholia, there are a few cases where they omit **DS** words, modify their order, or replace them with non-**DS** words. Most of these changes are explicable as attempts to abbreviate the text and make it fit better in the space available in the margins or between the Vergilian lines.[107]

Since **Ox**'s notes are few and brief, their contribution to the establishment of the **DS** text is limited, and it is easy to understand why they have not even been collated by any editor bar Murgia. Notwithstanding, they occasionally supply the earliest evidence for individual readings or even extended portions of text. For instance, the scholium *ad Aen.* 2.243 belongs to a section that cannot be found in **C** owing to the loss of the relevant gathering, and **Ox**'s note predates the only other witness known to be available, namely *App.*, by more than five centuries. The scholium *ad Aen.* 8.103 can be found in **F**, but **Ox** transmits two correct readings that are recorded in Ramires' apparatus as first attested in Guarino's edition: *Thebanorum* for **F**'s *Thenorum* and *post* for **F**'s *pos*.

Furthermore, some notes suggest possible corrections to the text established as **DS** by the most recent editors. This was noticed by Murgia with regard to the scholia on the last books of the *Aeneid* but also applies to the scholia on the first two books, as can be inferred from the following examples:

[106] The non-Servian scholium in question cannot be found in the **Pa** but appears in Guarino's edition, whose sources certainly included one or more Servian witnesses interpolated from **DS**, as will be clarified in chapter III, section 1.4.

[107] This is in all likelihood the case of the omissions of the words *esse*, *quippe*, and *esse* and of the preverbs *com-* and *ad-* in *commonitos* and *adamauit*, as well as of the substitution of *appellatus* with *dictus*.

2.183 HANC PRO PALLADIO MONITI, PRO NVMINE LAESO EFFIGIEM STATVERE respondet ad interrogationem (i- *App.*: illam i- **Ox** *Fab.*): *quo molem hanc immanis equi statuere*.

There is no reason to prefer *ad interrogationem* to *ad illam interrogationem* on internal grounds;[108] since **Ox** is certainly independent of *App. Fab.*'s latest common ancestor,[109] the latter can be judged as more likely to be right.

2.241 DIVVM DOMVS uel quod eius muros Apollo et Neptunus fabricauerunt, ubi etiam (u- e- *App.*: uel quia **Ox**) Minerua per Palladium culta est, uel propter Ganymedem, Dardanum, Tithonum.

As transmitted by *App.*, the text is hardly acceptable: the clause *ubi etiam … culta est* appears to be meant as an additional remark based on the preceding sentence *quod eius … fabricauerunt*, but the relative adverb *ubi* cannot refer to *muri*. The two clauses would make much more sense as self-standing explanations of the lemma, as happens in **Ox**. One can hypothesise that *uel* fell out before *ubi* or *uel quod/quia ibi* corrupted to *ubi*.[110]

2.794 PAR LEVIBVS VENTIS puris et (et *App.*: uel **Ox**) non uehementibus.

Referring to a wind, *purus* and (*non*) *uehemens* must indicate the density of the air and its strength.[111] Since the two glosses refer to distinct semantic spheres of the lemma, the disjunctive conjunction appears preferable.

A final remark is called for as to the layout of the notes in question. Murgia suggested that the marginal excerpts from **DS** could be distinguished from the others because they were written in a light ink and delimitated on three sides by a line linking them to the relevant Vergilian line.[112] Unfortunately, neither criterion proves unfailingly helpful: in fact, it is possible to find excerpts from **DS** written in dark ink and/or delimitated by no line and also excerpts from other sources written in light ink and/or delimitated by a

[108] Neither *respondet ad interrogationem* nor *respondet ad illam interrogationem* occurs elsewhere in the **DS** scholia. The closest parallel for the latter reading is *seruauit ordinem respondendo ad illud quod regina interrogauerat, 'insidias, inquit, Danaum'* (*ad Aen.* 2.65); the phrase *ad illud respondet* is also relatively frequent.

[109] On the relationship between *App.* and *Fab.*, see chapter III, section 1.2.3.

[110] Cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.125: *BACCHATAMQVE IVGIS NAXON aut uitibus consitam, aut celebratam Bacchis, aut ubi Bacchus ex Indis, uel ut quidam uolunt post deuictos gigantes, egit triumphum* and the scholium *ad ecl.* 10.57: *Parthenius mons est Arcadiae, dictus a uirginibus, quae illic uenari consueuerant; uel a Parthenio, Iouis filio, Arcadis fratre; uel quod ibi uirginitas Callistonis delibata sit; uel quod Partheniae Lacedaemonii duce Phalanto ibi aliquando consedissent, priusquam in Italiam nauigarent ac Tarentum conderent*.

[111] *purus* is rarely applied to winds; however, that the adjective must indicate the density of the air is suggested by a comparison with the frequent cases where it is referred to other *res caelestes* (*ThlL* I.A.1.a.γ).

[112] Murgia 1975: 149.

line.[113] For this reason, we must resign ourselves to establishing the nature of the notes exclusively on the basis of a case-by-case comparison with the text transmitted by the other **DS** witnesses.

[113] Cf., e.g., the notes on *Aen.* 2.182 (p. 113) and 464 (p. 116) and on *Aen.* 2.5 (p. 112) and 9.644 (p. 168), respectively.

5. The DS scholia transmitted by P and by R

P and **R** transmit two continuous non-'sincere' versions of **DS** that comprise between one-half and two-thirds of the scholia preserved by **F** and show signs of deliberate alteration in their lemmata and in their *interpretamenta* alike. These versions should be considered, in all likelihood, as the results of independent editorial acts carried out by the scribes of lost ancestors of the two witnesses,[114] but they do exhibit some typological similarities.[115]

Besides including occasional readings which should be interpreted as conscious corrections,[116] both **P**'s and **R**'s lemmata appear to have been almost systematically rewritten in accordance with the following two principles:

(a) lemmata should comprise only the Vergilian words explicitly commented upon in the *interpretamenta*;

(b) as an exception to (a), the first lemma of a set of scholia concerning a Vergilian line should begin with the initial word of that line.[117]

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[114] As for **R**, see chapter I, section 6.1. The way in which **P** was produced, on which see chapter I, section 5, *per se* suggests that the codex inherited its version of **DS** from its exemplar. An even stronger positive argument in support of this view is offered by an examination of **P**^{L}'s f. 40^{r}, which was copied by two different scribes (ll. 1-9 and 10-49): at the beginning of the section copied by the second scribe, one finds exactly the same scholia that were copied by the first scribe at the end of his section.

[115] Brief descriptions of the two versions can be found in Thomas 1880: 67-9, Thilo 1881: LVIII-LIX, and Vallat 2016: § 56 (**P**) and in Lagioia 2015a: 38-44 (**R**).

[116] As part of the text of Vergil, lemmata are particularly exposed to corrections, and **PR** are no exception in this regard; cf., e.g., the scholia *ad Aen.* 2.30: *ACIE hic 'exercitu'*] *ACIES hic exercitus* **P**, where the *interpretamentum* seems to have been altered so as to be consistent with the new lemma, and *ad Aen.* 5.845: *LABORIS*] *PONE. LABORI* **R**, where *labori* – albeit correct as Vergil – should probably be judged as an innovation because **CF** transmit the erroneous *laboris* (on the relationship between **CFR**, cf. chapter IV, section 2.2).

[117] That (b) was often applied mechanically by the editor of the **R** version is shown by such lemmata as *VIQVE SOPORATVM STYGIA*] *VISTYGIA* **C**: *VISTIGIVM* **G**: *VIQVE. VESTIGIA* **R** (*ad Aen.* 5.855). In this case, the editor added the first word of the line (*uique soporatum Stygia super utraque quassat*) to the lemma which he could find in his **DS** witness, without noticing that this reading was *per se* an erroneous conflation of *VI* and *STYGIA*. When the first word of the line is a monosyllable, **PR** sometimes include the second as well; cf., e.g., the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.36: *SVB PECTORE*] *CVM IVNO. SVB PECTORE* **P** and *ad Aen.* 5.739: *SAEVVS ORIENS*] *ET ME SEVVS ORIENS* **R**.

The fact that **P** and **R** lack not only the irrelevant words which are occasionally included in **DS** lemmata[118] but also the words which would have become irrelevant because of the elimination of the sections of the *interpretamenta* dealing with them[119] shows that the rewriting of the lemmata in accordance with (a) must have been carried out together with the rewriting of the *interpretamenta*. Although the two principles appear *prima facie* as independent, the adoption of the latter may well have been deemed necessary to balance the fact that lemmata would have become briefer and less immediately identifiable as a consequence of the adoption of the former.

Presenting some significant distinctive features, the *interpretamenta* of the two witnesses deserve to be examined separately. In particular, the **P** version is characterised by omissions of autonomous sections[120] and liberal rewritings alike. The relative frequency and the nature of such changes can be illuminated by examining **P**'s scholia on the first twenty-five lines of *Aeneid* 2.[121] Within these scholia, **P** lacks almost fifty autonomous sections of text *tout court*[122] and exhibits the following other divergences from **DS** which can be considered as potentially conscious innovations:

(a) Omissions of **DS** words

2.1 *fit strepitus tecti*] fit strepitus **P**

quod metri causa fit] metri causa fit **P**

2.3 et doloris est et pudoris] doloris et pudoris **P**

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[118] Cf., e.g., the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.7: *ATQVE ALTAE MOENIA ROMAE*] *ALTA MOENIAE ROME* **P** and *ad Aen.* 5.809: *NEC DIIS NEC VIRIBVS AEQVIS*] *CONGRESSVM. NEC DIIS EQVIS* **R**.

[119] Cf., e.g., the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.3: *ET TERRIS IACTATVS ET ALTO*] *LITORA. IACTATVS … ALTO* **P** and *ad Aen.* 5.800: *FAS OMNE EST*] *FAS* **R**.

[120] Omissions of non-autonomous sections are sometimes revealed by the phrase *et reliqua* (cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.41 and 171). The fact that some non-Servian sections are transmitted without the corresponding Servian sections led Thilo to hypothesise that the editor of the **P** version could have been aware of the difference between the two and of the nature of the **DS** scholia (1881: LIX). However, the examples adduced by Thilo concern logically autonomous portions of text and can be paralleled with the several other cases where autonomous portions of text were eliminated within either the Servian or the non-Servian sections.

[121] The scholia on the first lines of *Aen.* 1 cannot be judged as equally representative: being particularly lengthy and rich in information concerning the poem as a whole, they seem to have been more radically modified by the editor.

[122] For present purposes, complete clauses and quotations have been counted as autonomous sections. **P** lacks one or more autonomous sections in the scholia *ad Aen.* 2.1-7 and 9-25.

2.4 id est magnum, quasi dignum multa lamentatione] dignum lamentatione **P**

2.9 pro praecipitatur] praecipitatur **P**

et oriuntur et occidunt] oriuntur et occidunt **P**

2.10 *casus* autem] casus **P**

2.11 'ultimum' dicit] ultimum **P**

2.15 Serenus lyricus] Serenus **P**

2.16 nam ideo] nam **P**

ut ipse alibi] ut ipse **P**

sane *abiete*] abiete **P**

2.17 hoc est reditus fama tantum fuit, non et simulationis] hoc est reditus **P**

2.18 sed intellegimus] intelligimus **P**

num a plebe, hoc est nullo sciente, id est latenter?] latenter **P**

2.19 unde … permansit in metaphora nauium] permansit in metaphora **P**

ut et *intexunt* diceret] ut intexunt diceret **P**

(b) Additions of non-**DS** words, dislocations of **DS** words, or replacements of **DS** words with non-**DS** words

2.1 immobiles] id est inmouiles **P**

2.6 quidam] siue **P**

2.7 nam Eratosthenes dicit Myrmidonas dictos a rege Myrmidono] Mirmidones autem a rege Mirmidono dicti **P**

2.9 uult] dicit **P**

2.14 uelocibus] uelocibus cursu **P**

2.15 de hoc equo uarie in historiis dictum. ut enim Hyginus et Tubero dicunt] Hyginus et Tubero de hoc equo dicunt **P**

sicut aries, sicut testudo] ut aries et testudo **P**

a quibusdam dicitur facta proditione praedictum ne quis eas domos uiolaret quarum ante ianuam equus esset depictus, unde et Antenoris et ceterorum domus agnitae sunt] ecus depictus est in frontibus domorum ipsorum, unde et Antenoris et ceterorum domus, id est proditorum, agnite sunt **P**

2.16 quia naues texi dicuntur] quae[123] naues dicuntur texi **P**

Vergilium ubique in solutione ista seruare] Virgilium seruasse ubique ista in solutione **P**

2.18 plures quidem electos] quidem plures electos **P**

2.19 et notandum aliter dici caecum hominem, id est non uidentem, aliter caecum latus, id est obcaecaturum, absconsurum] aliter autem homo cecus, non uidens, aliter cecum latus, absconsurum et obscenaturum **P**

[123] Errors resulting from the misunderstanding of *q-* abbreviations are extremely frequent in **P**'s and **R**'s scholia alike. On these errors, cf. the conclusion.

non nulli omnia loca concaua cauernas dictas a ueteribus asserunt] nonnulli omnia loca concaua dicunt **P**

2.23 statio est ubi ad tempus stant naues, portus ubi hiemant] ubi ad tempus stant naues, portus uero ubi hyemant **P**

male fida aut 'minus fida' propter periculum nauium … aut certe 'fida Graecis'] male fida periculosa scopulis uel a Grecis **P**

2.25 'abisse' dicimus et 'petisse'] abisse pro petisse dicimus **P**

Most of these omissions and replacements affect words perceivable as superfluous or unclear and can be readily explained as attempts to express the same ideas in a more concise form.[124] Notwithstanding, the high number of additions, dislocations, and replacements of **DS** expressions with expressions of similar length suggests that brevity was not the only concern of the editor. On the one hand, he seems to have been aware of the fact that radical rearrangements of the *interpretamenta* could require some further changes to preserve the cohesion of the resulting text, as he sometimes indulged in modifying the clauses immediately preceding or following omissions.[125] On the other, he does not seem to have scrupled to rewrite the text according to his own stylistic preferences, often with the aim of making it more plainly intelligible.[126] Since some of these changes appear to have been based on misinterpretations of the *interpretamenta*, **P** is sometimes misleading as a **DS** witness.[127]

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[124] In some of these cases, the text ascribable to the editor of the **P** version bears only a vague resemblance to the original; cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 2.23, where the words *periculosa scopulis* and *a Graecis* correspond to *propter periculum nauium* and to *fida Graecis*, respectively.

[125] Cf., e.g., the scholia *ad Aen.* 2.7 and 23. In the former, the conjunction *nam* was probably replaced by *autem* because it would have been pointless in the new version of the scholium, referring to a clause omitted by the editor (*sed hoc fabula est*); in the latter, the addition of *uero* is a consequence of the fact that, after the omission of *statio est* at the beginning of the sentence, the opposition between the two definitions was no longer clear.

[126] Cf., e.g., the scholia *ad Aen.* 2.1, 6, 9, 14-6, 23, and 25.

[127] Within the section at issue, cf. **P**'s scholium *ad Aen.* 2.25 (*NOS HABIISSE abisse pro petisse dicimus*), which refers to the semantics of *abisse* and *petisse*, whereas the genuine **DS** and Servian scholium (*ABIISSE PETIISSE 'abisse' dicimus et 'petisse'*) deals with the morphology of *abiisse* and *petiisse*, as the following clause makes clear (*sed propter metrum epenthesis facta est*). In this case, it is not possible to determine whether the substitution of *et* with *pro* should be regarded as a conscious change or simply as a scribal error, resulting, perhaps, from the similarity between the Tironian symbols for the two words. For other examples of similar misinterpretation of the text, cf. chapter IV, section 2.3.

While most omissions and rewritings can be easily recognised as such by resorting to other witnesses, the cases where **P** transmits words absent in **C** (or in the witnesses depending on **C**) and in **F** are more problematic since these witnesses occasionally omit genuine **DS** materials.[128] Most of the **P** extra words correspond verbally to other bits of text (a) in the same section of the **DS** *interpretamentum*, (b) in other sections of the same **DS** *interpretamentum*, or (c) in other **DS** *interpretamenta* and should be ascribed, in all likelihood, to the editor. Within the set of scholia considered *supra*, one finds just one certain example of an extra phrase, namely *id est proditorum* (2.15); this phrase belongs to the first category, as it corresponds to the ablative absolute *facta proditione*, which the editor suppressed at the beginning of the same sentence.[129] Examples of the second and third category are offered, for instance, by the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.2 and 276:

	DS	**P**
1.2	'profugus' … proprie dicitur qui procul a sedibus suis uagatur, quasi porro fugatus.	profugus uagus, id est porro fugatus ab alio, <u>qui et extorris dicitur</u>.
1.276	unde est *Remo cum fratre Quirinus iura dabunt*.	unde est Remo cum fratre dimus iura dabunt. <u>bene Romulum solum ait desimulans de paricidio.</u>

As for the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.2, the words *qui … dicitur* are based on a subsequent section of the same *interpretamentum*, which was entirely eliminated by the editor: *est … scriptum uocibus Tagae eum qui genus a periuris duceret fato extorrem et profugum esse debere*.[130] As for the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.276, the words *bene … de paricidio* are based on the *interpretamentum* of the scholium on the quoted line *Remo cum fratre Quirinus iura dabunt* (*Aen.* 1.292), which begins with the words *hic dissimulat de parricidio*.

Incidentally, a better understanding of this practice may have repercussions not only on the way in which **P**'s extra words, usually dismissed by *Harv.* 2 and 3 as additions of

[128] As far as the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 are concerned, omissions of genuine **DS** material are relatively rare in **C** but much more frequent in the early-modern witnesses depending on it, as will be shown in chapter III, section 1.2. On the omissions in **F**'s *ad Aen.* 3-12, see section 2.3.

[129] Strictly speaking, another extra word is found in **P**'s scholium *ad Aen.* 2.14: *LABENTIBVS uelocibus, ut 'labere nympha polo' et 'labere pinnis'; <u>cursu</u> enim lapsus celerior est*] *DVCTORES. LAVENTIBVS uelocibus <u>cursu</u>, ut labere poennis; <u>cursu</u> enim lapsu celerior est* **P**. In this case, however, it is not clear whether the former *cursu* should be regarded as a conscious addition or simply as a scribal error. Connectives added for the sake of cohesion are not considered.

[130] *est … debere* is separated from *quasi porro fugatus* by ca. 85 words in the 'sincere' version of the **DS** scholium transmitted by **C**.

the editor, should be presented in the apparatus but also on the establishment of the text of some non-Servian additions. One of them appears of particular interest because of its possible stemmatic implications:

> 4.377 Apollinem Lyceum appellari dicunt siue de Lyco …, siue quod est λευκός …, siue quod transfiguratus in lupum cum Cyrene concubuit, et inde eadem prouincia Lycia uocata (et i- e- p- L- u- **P**: *nihil hab.* **FT**), siue quod in lupi habitu Telchinas occiderit, siue quod lupus ei … laurum attulit, siue quod pastoralis deus lupos interemerit.
>
> The words *et inde … uocata*, transmitted by **P** but not by **FT**, read awkwardly in the text established by *Harv.* 3: besides the fact that the reference of *eadem* is not entirely clear, they seem to mean, absurdly, that Apollo slept with Cyrene in the region called Lycia. In fact, these are the final words of **P**'s scholium and refer there to the whole sentence rather than to the single alternative *siue quod transfiguratus … concubuit*. From this perspective, the parenthesis must either have followed *siue quod pastoralis … interemit* in the original **DS** text and have been maintained by the editor when he eliminated the last three explanations for the epithet or have been introduced by the editor himself. Since the clause *siue quod pastoralis … interemit* is followed, in **FT**, by a long section which explains the connection between the epithet and the toponym *Lycia* and begins with the very words *et est alia fabula cur 'Lycia' uocata est*, the latter reconstruction seems more probable.

As was first pointed out by Thomas,[131] **P** also includes a few other extra materials which cannot be paralleled in the 'sincere' witnesses. Most of them consist of brief glosses[132] and of simple grammatical[133] or mythological[134] clarifications, which have been sensibly recognised as additions of the editor by Thilo and by the Harvard editors alike.[135] Doubts persist, however, as to the origin of the sporadic materials which cannot

[131] Thomas 1880: 69.

[132] Cf., e.g., the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.146: *ET VASTAS APERIT ostendit* **P** and *TEMPERAT tranquillum facit*] *TEMPERAT tranquillat, serenat* **P**. A few similar brief glosses were added by a contemporary hand in **P**'s margins.

[133] Cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.77: *EXPLORARE deliberare*] *EXPLORARE deliberare, et est infinitum* **P**. Some grammatical explanations provided by **P** are simply wrong; cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.212: *PHINEIA accusatiuus Grecus est* **P**, where the lemma is actually the nominative feminine of the adjective *Phineius*.

[134] Such mythological clarifications include not only the long additions on the judgment of Paris (*ad Aen.* 1.27) and on the Parcae (*ad Aen.* 1.82) pointed out by Thomas but also briefer additions embedded in the text of the **DS** *interpretamenta*; cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.28: *propter Dardanum, Electrae paelicis filium*] *propter Dardanum, Electre pelicis filium, quae et uxor Iouis fuit* **P**. On **P**'s scholium *ad Aen.* 1.27, cf. also Vallat 2018: 226-7.

[135] Some of these materials may be simultaneously included in more than one category. Thus, **P**'s scholium *ad Aen.* 2.336 (*TALIBVS ODRIADE pacronomici genetiuus; nam Panthus Atriadi filius fuit*),

be included in those three categories: except for the few cases where they are also found in other **DS** non-'sincere' witnesses or in Servian witnesses interpolated from **DS**,[136] it is not possible to ascertain whether they should be regarded as based on genuine **DS** non-Servian additions or as additions of the editor of the **P** version.[137]

Although **R**'s *interpretamenta* can also be described as an abbreviated version of the **DS** ones, they show fewer signs of liberal rewording. Besides removing several autonomous sections,[138] their editor seems to have normally confined himself to elimination or, subordinately, to replacement of superfluous expressions. To provide an idea of the relative frequency and of the nature of such changes, I will examine the scholia preserved by **R**'s first extant page (*ad Aen.* 5.734-830).[139] Within these scholia, **R** lacks about fifty autonomous sections in their entirety[140] and disagrees with **DS** in the following readings which can be explained as potentially conscious innovations:

(a)	Omissions of **DS** words
5.738	nam et nox] nam n[ox] **R**
5.745	uel quia] que **R**
5.751	hi qui erant transcripti] *nihil hab.* **R**
5.759	Eryx mons Siciliae supra Drepanum] mons Siciliae **R**
5.760	alii ad tumulum, alii uerso ordine ad templum referunt] ad tumulum **R**

on which *Harv.* 2 showed some hesitation, labelling it as 'fortasse legend[um]', consists of two sections which can be included in the second and in the third category: the grammatical explanation of the word *Odriade* (i.e. *Othryadae*) and the mythological explanation of its reference. From this perspective, the scholium is not more likely to derive from the **DS** tradition than the other simple grammatical and mythological clarifications preserved only by **P**. One can suppose that the editor felt the need to add this scholium because he had eliminated the scholium on *PANTHVS OTHRYADES* (*ad Aen.* 2.319) which clarified the sense of *Othryades* and Panthus' genealogy.

[136] Cf. section 7.3.

[137] Cf., e.g., **P**'s scholium *ad Aen.* 5.9: *OCCVRRIT TELLVS iocunde occurrit, e contrario terreque urbesque recedunt*.

[138] About half of the scholia transmitted by **R** lack one or more autonomous sections that can be read in the other **DS** witnesses. In the scholium *ad Aen.* 5.823, the omission is explicitly revealed by the words *et reliqua*: *Glaucus Anthedomus piscator fuit, qui cum captas pisces supra herbam abiecisset et reliqua. cui ui chorum ideo senem dicit.* This case might reflect a change of mind on the part of the editor, who started copying the text of the *fabula* but stopped after *abiecisset*, moving to the explanation of the lemma *senior*.

[139] **R**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 5.734-830 and **P**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 2.1-25 are of comparable length.

[140] **R** lacks one or more autonomous sections in the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.735-9, 742, 745, 749-68, 772-3, 780-95, 798-810, 814-17, 823, and 827.

5.785 edi, edisti, edit] *nihil hab.* **R**

5.800 hoc est 'possibile est', 'meis regnis fidere'] possibile **R**

5.801 ut fert fabula] fabule **R**

5.809[141] diis iniquis, hoc est aduersis] diis aduersus **R**

5.818 *curuam conpagibus aluum*] curuam **R**

5.822 aut beluas dicit marinas secundum naturam aut poetice deos marinos] aut beluas aut deos mamarinos **R**

5.823 quia et ipse] que **R**

5.824 hic autem Phorcus dicitur] hic autem **R**

ut … Varro dicit] ut Varro **R**

5.825 satis prudenter] *nihil hab.* **R**

(b) Replacements of **DS** words with non-**DS** words or displacements of **DS** words

5.734 nullus fructus exsoluitur] nullus exsoluitur fructos **R**

5.738 dies est plenus qui habet XXIV horas] dies plenus est XXIIII horarum **R**

dicimus autem diem a parte meliore; unde et in usu est ut sine commemoratione noctis numerum dicamus dierum] sed a parte meliore dicimus diem, numerumque dierum sine commemoratio noctis **R**

5.785[142] ut legit] siclit legit **R**

5.795 et dixit Italiae comparatione] id est Italiae comparatione **R**

5.813 distinguendum] distinguit **R**

5.823 aut certe propter] uel propter **R**

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[141] On the text of this scholium, see section 5.1.

[142] Some comment is called for on the text of the sentence to which this reading belongs, which is transmitted by the Servian witnesses and by **F** as follows: *edit autem in praeterito producit, edit, ut legit* and *edit autem in praeterito producit, edi, edisti, edit, ut legit*. As for the Servian version, the paradosis cannot be accepted since *produco* is only used by Servius with an explicit object and the second *edit* sounds superfluous, if not confusing: probably for these reasons, it was corrected by some sixteenth-century editors, including Stephanus and Fabricius, to *edit … producit e, ut legit*. A different conjecture was proposed by Lagioia on the basis of the **R** reading (*edit autem in praeterito producit siclit legit*): 'la lezione *siclit* di *R*, che è chiaramente corruzione di un *sicut*, autorizza a ipotizzare che quel secondo *edit* tràdito dal *consensus* dei mss. di S [i.e. Servius] sia, a sua volta, una corruzione di *e sic*, per cui il testo di S potrebbe essere così emendato: *'edit' autem in praeterito producit 'e', sicut 'legit'*" (2016: 134). Strictly speaking, **R**'s *siclit* cannot be adduced as a proof that *edit* is an error for *e sic*: the reading *sicut* must be considered a secondary innovation, **F**'s *edi edisti edit* (=**DS**) being based on the error *edit*. Nevertheless, *producit e sicut legit* does solve both the issues mentioned *supra* and appears worthy of consideration, even if not necessarily preferable to *producit e, ut legit*. The latter conjecture seems to be based on the assumption that the vowel *e* could have been taken as an abbreviation for the verb *edit*, which was suggested by the context. Maintaining the superfluous *edit*, the text printed by *Harv.* 3 (*'edit' autem in praeterito producit <e>, 'edit', ut 'legit'*) cannot be judged as equally persuasive.

5.824 Thoosae nymphae et Neptuni filius] Thusae nymphe filius et Neptuni **R**
ut autem Varro] ut Varro autem **R**
Corsicae et Sardiniae] Sardiniae et Corsicae **R**
cum magna exercitus parte fuisset uictus et obrutus] cum uictus et obruptus fuisset **R**
eius socii eum] eum eius soci **R**

R's scholia *ad Aen.* 5.734-830 offer several examples of omissions of unnecessary words or phrases but no example of additions of words which cannot be found in the other **DS** witnesses. Besides, several of the innovations listed under (b) can be labelled as abridgments:[143] replacements not meant to express the same idea in a more concise way are rare, and virtually none of them seems to have been made merely to improve the clarity or the correctness of the text. As a result of the omissions of autonomous sections and of these other changes, **R** tends to offer a shortened version of **DS**, favouring direct explanations of the Vergilian lemmata over other exegetical contents.[144]

The following **R**'s scholia show no significant deviations from this pattern. The few cases where **R** exhibits words that cannot be found in the other **DS** witnesses are normally explicable as consequences of the omission of portions of text in the immediate context,[145] and no certain addition of autonomous materials drawn from other sources can be detected.[146]

Lastly, some comment is called for as to the use of abbreviations in Vergilian quotations and lemmata. As a result of the rewriting of the scholia, the words abbreviated to their initials or replaced by *et reliqua* in the other primary witnesses tend to be simply omitted in **P** and in **R**. It is, however, worth noting that the few abbreviations which can be found in the former do not follow a uniform pattern: in the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2, final words are abbreviated to their initials in twenty instances[147] and

[143] Cf. the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.738, 795, and 823-4.

[144] Cf., in particular, the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.760 and 800. In both cases, relatively ample **DS** scholia have been rewritten as 'Vergilian lemma – brief gloss'.

[145] Additions which can be judged as attempts to clarify the *interpretamenta* are sporadic; cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 6.14: *Daedalus uero primo Sardiniam, ut dicit Sallustius, post delatus est Cumas*] *Dedalus primo Sardiniam peruenit, ut dicit Salustius, post delatus est Cumos* **R**.

[146] See chapter I, section 6.1.

[147] Lemmata: *ad Aen.* 1.54, 367, 371, 568, 607, 614, and 672 and *ad Aen.* 2.175, 353, 358, and 644; quotations: *ad Aen.* 1.190 and 553 and *ad Aen.* 2.220, 250, 301, 364, 546, 678, and 779. In several of

are replaced by *et reliqua* just in three;[148] in those *ad Aen.* 3-5, they are never abbreviated to their initials and are replaced by *et reliqua* in twenty-five instances.[149] Since several of these abbreviations correspond to similar abbreviations in **C** (*ad Aen.* 1-2) and in **F** (*ad Aen.* 3-5), this dichotomy, hitherto overlooked by Servian scholars, can hardly be ascribed to an editorial inconsistency and rather suggests that **P**'s scholia on books 1-2 and on 3-5 might ultimately derive from two different branches of the **DS** tradition.[150] **R**'s abbreviations, by contrast, do not show any inconsistency: in this witness, it is not possible to find any case in which Vergilian words are replaced by their initials and only four cases in which they are replaced by *et reliqua*.[151]

5.1. **R**'s value as a witness to the **DS** scholia

Although **R** has not yet been employed by any Servian editor,[152] it has a twofold value as a witness. On the one hand, it makes it possible to establish with reasonable certainty

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these scholia, the words abbreviated to their initials in **P** are also abbreviated to their initials in **C** (cf. section 1.1.1).

[148] Lemmata: *ad Aen.* 1.1: *ARMA VIRVM et reliqua* and 78: *TV MIHI et reliqua*; quotation: *ad Aen.* 1.226: *atque ea diuersa penitus et reliqua* **P**. In the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.1, the phrase *et reliqua*, which corresponds to nothing in **DS** or Servius, should probably be judged as introduced by the editor himself, who radically rearranged the subsequent *interpretamentum* as well. The other two cases are less clear, but the hypothesis that the phrase *et reliqua* was introduced by the editor cannot be ruled out, given that the words which follow the lemma (*ad Aen.* 1.78) or the quotation (*ad Aen.* 1.226) are likewise omitted and that the editor used the phrase *et reliqua* elsewhere to mark omissions of sections of the *interpretamenta* (cf. *supra*).

[149] Lemmata: *ad Aen.* 3.209 and 411 and 4.98, 177, 513, and 558; quotations: *ad Aen.* 3.414, 496, 519, and 530, 4.51, 96, 131-2, 372, 384, 390, 399, 444, 486, 590, 608, and 692, and 5.13 and 24. In most of these scholia, the words replaced by *et reliqua* in **P** are also replaced by *et reliqua* in **F** and abbreviated to their initials in **C** (cf. section 1.1.1).

[150] See the conclusion. *et reliqua* is normally employed in **P**'s Bern scholia as well. On the value of abbreviations for the establishment of stemmatic relationship in scholiastic traditions, cf. Murgia 1975: 173-4.

[151] Lemmata: *ad Aen.* 5.738 and 6.37 and 88; quotation: *ad Aen.* 5.813. The lemma of the scholium *ad Aen.* 5.738 is abbreviated by **FR** in a similar way: *TORQVET MEDIOS et reliqua usque AHENIS* **F** and *IAMQVE. TORQVET MEDIOS et reliqua* **R**.

[152] As mentioned in chapter I, section 6.1, **R** was first drawn to the attention of Servian scholars by Savage in 1932. Notwithstanding, it was not employed either by *Harv.* 3, who confined themselves to recording twenty of its readings in a later *addendum*, or by Jeunet-Mancy.

that the following contents not preserved by **F** (or **G**) should be ascribed to the **DS** tradition:

(a) at least one and perhaps as many as six non-Servian additions or scholia not attested by any **DS** continuous witness (*ad Aen.* 5.870-1 and 6.1-2, 8, and 13);[153]

(b) two non-Servian additions transmitted also by **C**, judged by past editors as extraneous to the **DS** tradition (*ad Aen.* 6.5 and 11);[154]

(c) two Servian scholia, judged by past editors (*ad Aen.* 5.809)[155] or theoretically judgeable (*ad Aen.* 6.124)[156] as extraneous to the **DS** tradition.

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[153] On these six additions, which include the valuable reference to Cornelianus and (H)ebr(i)us (*ad Aen.* 5.871: *sic enim Cornelianis et in Ebrii iuuenies*), see chapter I, section 6.1.

[154] On these two additions, see section 1.1.1.

[155] *Harv.* 3 included the scholium *ad Aen.* 5.809 among the cases where there is text in Servius and nothing parallel in **DS** but acknowledged in their apparatus that 'scholium ad 809, quod neque G neque F nunc praebet, in F codicis fol. 152r margine dextra olim exstitisse verisimile est' (p. 582). While **R** proves that both the Servian and the **DS** tradition included a scholium on this line, some comment is called for on the text of the two versions. The beginning of the scholium is thus printed by *Harv.* 3: *NEC DIIS NEC VIRIBVS AEQVIS id est diis iniquis, hoc est aduersis; litotes figura. aut 'non aequis' non aequali fauore*. Among the Servian witnesses collated by *Harv.* 3, which all depend on the **Γ** tradition in the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.575-6.39, this reading is preserved only by **M**, the other witnesses transmitting *NEC DIIS NEC VIRIBVS EQVIS id est diis iniquis, hoc est aut non equis non equali fauore* (**Pb**), *hoc est aduersis. litotes figura. NEC DIIS NEC VIRIBVS AEQVIS id est diis iniquis aut non aequis non aequali fauore* (**θτBN**, with minor variations), or *lithotes figura. NEC DIIS NEC VIRIBVS EQVIS hoc aduersis, id est diis iniquis aut non equis non equali fauore* (**W**). The words *hoc est aduersis. litotes figura* – albeit not manifestly erroneous – read slightly oddly as Servius, *hoc est aduersis* being superfluous as a gloss for *iniquis* (cf., e.g., the Servian scholium *ad Aen.* 1.479: *NON AEQVAE id est iniquae. litotes figura est*, which corresponds to *NON AEQVAE id est iniquae, infestae. litotes figura est* in **DS**, a reading erroneously assigned to Servius by *Harv.* 2). What makes them even more suspicious is the fact that *hoc est aduersis* and *litotes figura* are preserved in different positions in the extant Servian families. This fact, which can normally be considered as strong evidence of interpolation from **DS** in the **Γ** tradition, suggests that only *NEC DIIS NEC VIRIBVS AEQVIS id est diis iniquis aut 'non aequis' non aequali fauore* should be printed as Servius. The establishment of the **DS** text is less easy since **R** simply reads *CONGRESSVM. NEC DIIS EQVIS id est diis aduersus; littores figura. aut aequis non aequali fauore* and no positive argument can be adduced to show that **DS** originally included both *iniquis* and *aduersis*. Nevertheless, since **R**'s *interpretamenta* frequently exhibit a single gloss instead of two (cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 5.871: *IGNOTA peregrina, ante non uisa*] *NVDVS. IGNOTA peregrina* **R**), it seems plausible that *iniquis* was simply omitted by the editor of this version. In sum, although the text established by *Harv.* 3 should probably not be printed as Servius, it may well be printed as **DS**.

[156] Among the **DS** primary witnesses, the scholium is also preserved by **C**. As already mentioned in section 1.1.1, Servian scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6 preserved by **C** but omitted by **F** can be

On the other hand, **R** occasionally proves to be useful for the establishment of the text as well, being the only **DS** witness to preserve the correct reading. Most of these readings were adopted by *Harv.* 3 or Jeunet-Mancy, who drew them from the Servian tradition or from preceding editions, but some were not.

As far as the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.734-830 are concerned, for instance, **R** transmits six correct readings that cannot be found in other **DS** witnesses. Three of them are not assigned to **DS** in *Harv.* 3:[157]

	Seru.	**DS**
5.800	FAS OMNE EST 'fas te est', hoc est 'possibile est', 'meis regnis fidere'; nam 'fido' datiuum tantum regit.	FAS OMNE EST 'fas te est', hoc est 'possibile est', 'meis regnis fidere'; 'fido' (f- **G**: f- autem **R**) datiuum tantum regit.

Owing to physical damage, **F** is here barely legible, and the **DS** version of the scholium was established by *Harv.* 3 by resorting to **G** alone. Apart from a few minor scribal errors, the only difference between the texts preserved by this codex and by the Servian codices is to be found in the last clause, which is not introduced by any conjunction in the former. **R** transmits, as usual, an abridged version of the scholium but reads *fido autem* instead of *fido*: *FAS possibile. FIDERE fido autem datiuum tantum regit*. Since Servian conjunctions are sometimes replaced by other conjunctions and sometimes simply dropped in **DS**, both the **G** and the **R** reading can be judged as possible, and no choice can be made on internal grounds. The conjunction *autem*, however, can hardly be ascribed to the editor of the **R** version: as already mentioned, the editor primarily aimed to reduce the length of the **DS** scholia and did not normally introduce conjunctions for stylistic reasons.[158] Although nothing theoretically rules out the possibility that the scholium could have been modified, before the intervention of the editor of the **R** version, by another scribe concerned with the smoothness of the text, it seems easier to hypothesise that *autem* was simply omitted by the scribe who copied **G** or one of its ancestors.

	Seru.	**DS**
5.822	IMMANIA CETE τὸ κῆτος καὶ τὰ κήτη, ut 'belos bele'; nam Latine sic declinari non potest – nullum enim apud nos animal generis neutri est – nisi forte 'hic cetus, huius ceti' dicamus, quod	IMMANIA CETE τὸ κῆτος καὶ τὰ κήτη, 'cetos cete', ut 'belos bele'; nam Latine sic declinare non possunt (d- n- p- **C**: declinari n- potest **R**) – nullum enim apud Latinos animal generis neutri est

suspected of having been inherited by the former from the Servian tradition.

[157] The other correct readings were drawn by *Harv.* 3 from Servian codices (*ad Aen.* 5.738: *est* **R** [=**Γ**]: *e* **F** and 800: *fidere* **R** [=**Γ**]: *foedere* **G**) or from Daniel's edition (*ad Aen.* 5.745: *frumenti* **R** *Dan.*: *frumenta* **G**).

[158] In particular, *autem* occurs thirty times in **R**'s **DS** scholia: in twenty-eight, the other **DS** witnesses read *autem* as well; in the remaining two, they read *et* (*ad Aen.* 6.21) or *tamen* (*ad Aen.* 6.104).

nusquam lectum est; nam dicuntur canes marini.	– nisi forte dicamus 'hic cetus, huius ceti' (d- hic cetus huius ceti **C**: hoc coetus huius coeti d- **R**), quod nusquam lectum est; nam canes dicuntur marini.

Since **R** does not appear to have been affected by contamination from the Servian tradition independently of **C**, the agreements between **R** and **Γ** in the readings *declinari non possunt* and *nisi forte … dicamus* suggest that the Servian and the **DS** versions of these two clauses should not be distinguished.[159] In the latter case, incidentally, the **R** word order appears also more consistent with the Compiler's penchant for confining the verb to the end of the clauses.[160]

[159] The scholium *ad Aen.* 5.822 was examined by Lagioia (2016: 134), who reached the same conclusion as to the two readings at issue on the basis of a different argument. He suggested that 'si debba seguire *R*, che in genere è più affine a *F* di *C*, per l'edizione del testo di DS' and proposed to print *nam sic Latine declinari non potest … nisi forte 'hoc cetus, huius ceti' dicamus*. To judge from the argument that Lagioia adduced and from the fact that he would adopt **R**'s *hoc* as well, this proposal is probably to be ascribed to his scepticism about stemmatics and to his inclination for an 'edizione a testimoni diversi' (cf. Lagioia 2015b). Editors aiming to establish the original **DS** text should prefer **C**'s *hic* for the same reason why they should prefer **R**'s *declinari non potest* and *nisi forte … dicamus*. A similar case, hitherto overlooked by Servianists, where the agreement between **R** and **Γ** suggests that the Servian and the **DS** versions should not be distinguished, may be found in the scholium *ad Aen.* 5.864, where *Harv.* 3 adopted **C**'s *qua* as **DS** instead of **R**'s and **Γ**'s *qu*(*a*)*e*.

[160] See chapter I, section 7.1.2.

6. The DS scholia transmitted by Sp

As already shown, **Sp** transmits what can be considered as an abridged version of **DS** with occasional interpolations from other traditions.[161] Its scholia correspond to about one-tenth of the scholia preserved by **F** in the same sections and often deviate from them in wording.

On the one hand, **Sp**'s lemmata normally include only the Vergilian words to which the *interpretamenta* refer;[162] the lemma is simply omitted when the first word of the *interpretamentum* has the same stem as the Vergilian word to which the *interpretamentum* refers.[163]

On the other, **Sp**'s *interpretamenta* also tend to be much briefer than the original **DS** ones as a consequence of the omission of several autonomous sections and of other conscious innovations. The frequency and nature of these changes may be appreciated by analysing **Sp**'s twenty scholia *ad Aen.* 3 which can be paralleled in the other **DS** witnesses and thus be judged as deriving from **DS** or, in some cases, as deriving from either **DS** or Servius.[164] These scholia lack twenty autonomous sections *tout court* and are affected by the following other conscious innovations:

3.587[165] NOX INTEMPESTA media] NOX INTEMPESTA media nox **Sp**

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[161] See chapter I, section 7.1.2.

[162] Exceptions are sporadic; cf., e.g., the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.649 (*LAPIDOSAQVE CORNA*] *LAPIDOSA C.* **Sp**) and 707 (*DREPANI PORTVS*] *DREPANI ME* **Sp**).

[163] Cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.689 on *Thapsum* (*Thapsus insula non long*[*e a Syracusis*]). In a few other scholia, such as the one *ad Aen.* 8.678, the lemma is omitted for no apparent reason.

[164] In this section, **Sp** also includes three scholia which cannot be found in the other **DS** witnesses and can be suspected of being non-**DS** interpolations: *Enceladus* [*cui Iuppiter pectus* (?)] *fulmine percussit et Aetnam superinposuit* (v. 578), *AERIAE e*[*xcelsae* (?)…] (v. 680), and *VIVO naturali* (v. 688).

[165] The second line of **Sp**'s f. 1^{r} reads *fulmine percussit et aetnam superinposuit· Nox intempesta· media nox· H*; ten to fifteen letters must have fallen out after the last letter because the loss of the upper outer corner of the leaf (cf. chapter I, section 7). In his 2018 digital edition of the fragment, Stok printed the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.587 as *NOX INTEMPESTA media nox h*[*oc est obscura*] on the basis of a comparison with the **DS** one (*NOX INTEMPESTA media, hoc est nimium obscura*). In the fragment, however, middle dots normally divide lemmata from *interpretamenta*, and with very rare exceptions only lemmata start with upper-case letters. It thus seems more likely that a whole scholium has been lost. In the Vergilian text, fourteen words could have been spelt with an initial *h-* between *nox intempesta* and the lemma explained at the beginning of the following line, namely

3.670	DEXTRAM ADFECTARE dextram intendere et inicere] [ADFECTARE] intendere **Sp**
3.671	potis autem] potis **Sp**
3.687[166]	Sicilia Graece Trinacria ideo dicitur quod tres extremitates … in mare uidetur extendere] Trinacria a tribus [promunturiis] **Sp**
	[Pachynum] quod in Adriam uergit *post* procedit *transp.* **Sp**
3.689	hic fluuius Siciliae] fluuius Siciliae **Sp**
	insula Thapsus] Thapsus insula **Sp**
3.694	ORTYGIAM haec tantum Ortygia dicitur, Apollinis uero etiam Delos] Ortygia Delos Apollinis **Sp**
	Elis et Pisa ciuitates sunt Arcadiae] Elis ciuitas est Arcadiae **Sp**
3.700	radimus autem nimium adiuncti praeterimus] radimus praeterimus **Sp**

An analysis of these innovations suggests that concision was the major, if not the only, concern of the editor responsible for the **Sp** version. All but four innovations consist of omissions of words probably perceived as unnecessary;[167] among the other four, the rewording of the beginning of the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.687 and the change of word order in the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.689 seem to have been meant, respectively, to simplify a verbose sentence and to make it possible to suppress the lemma *THAPSVM*.

In the light of the higher frequency of omissions of entire scholia or autonomous sections of scholia and of the nature of the alterations affecting the non-omitted sections,

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bacas (v. 649): (*h*)*umentem* (v. 589), *habitus* (v. 596), *haesit* (v. 597), *hoc* (vv. 600 and 602), *hominum* (v. 606), *haerebat* (v. 608), *hortamur* (v. 609), *haud* (v. 610), *haec* (v. 612), *hic* (v. 616), *haud* (v. 628), and *haec habitant* (v. 643). Six of these words can be found in lemmata of **DS** scholia: *VMENTEM hic participium positum est uerbo carens; ergo 'umentem' pro 'umidam', quoniam noctu ros cadit* (v. 589), *HAESIT dubitauit* (v. 597), *HOC SAT ERIT uitasse Cyclopas* (v. 602), *HOMINVM MANIBVS PERIISSE IVVABIT oblique loquitur; nam uult ostendere hominum hanc non esse crudelitatem* (v. 606), *HAVD MVLTA MORATVS nimiae benignitatis est non exspectare plurimas preces* (v. 610), and *CVRVA HAEC AD LITORA ne tantum in montibus esse putarentur* (v. 643). Since the last three scholia provide a kind of information in which the medieval editor of the **Sp** version showed little interest and seem difficult to summarise in no more than fifteen letters, *H*[*VMENTEM* (*h*)*umidam*], *H*[*AESIT dubitauit*], and *H*[*OC uitasse Cyclopas*] can be judged as the most plausible alternatives.

[166] *Trinacria a tribus* are the last legible words of line 5 on f. 1r; ten to fifteen letters must have fallen out after *tribus* because of the just mentioned loss of the upper outer corner of the leaf. In his 2018 digital edition, Stok supplied *extremitatibus* on the basis of a comparison with the scholium transmitted by the other **DS** witnesses. However, the pronoun *unum*, which occurs in the immediately following clause of **Sp**'s *interpretamentum* (*unum Libeum quod Affricam expectat*), suggests that a neuter noun should be looked for: *promunturiis* seems the most obvious choice.

[167] The scholium *ad Aen.* 3.694 on *ORTYGIAM* has become barely intelligible owing to the omissions.

it is possible to regard the **Sp** version of **DS** as much more severely abridged than those preserved by **P** and by **R**.

7. The DS scholia transmitted by T and by Va

Like **Ox**, **TVa** transmit no continuous commentary but only self-standing notes written alongside the Vergilian lines.[168] These notes can be divided into the same two categories: glosses and rephrased excerpts from learned works, primarily the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12 and Tiberius Claudius Donatus' *interpretationes Vergilianae*.[169]

7.1. The **T** and the **Va** version of the **DS** scholia

TVa were first examined together by Murgia, who pointed out that several of **T**'s glosses and excerpts could be paralleled in **Va** and that the excerpts of the two manuscripts were mutually independent but shared a significant number of unconscious and conscious innovations. On these bases, he concluded that **TVa** derived their notes from a lost Vergilian codex and should be considered as witnesses to a single version of **DS**.[170] A new examination of the two manuscripts suggests that Murgia was right in concluding that that they depend on a common ancestor (henceforth **υ**)[171] and probably right in identifying it with the unique source for **Va**'s notes[172] but probably wrong in identifying it with the unique source for **T**'s notes as well.

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[168] **Va**'s notes are normally fewer and briefer than **T**'s. As mentioned in chapter I, section 9, this is partially due to the physical damage suffered by the former manuscript.

[169] On the other learned works from which **T**'s and **Va**'s notes emanate, cf. chapter I, sections 8-9. As far as **T** is concerned, the notes ascribable to the 'Tironian' hands, which contain no **DS** material, are not considered either here or *infra*.

[170] Murgia 1975: 23-4: 'the chief importance of v (i.e. **Va**) is that it shows that the peculiar character of the scholia of T did not originate with that codex, but with an earlier collection of excerpts from which Tv descend' and 2014: 1156 (≈ Murgia–Kaster 2018: XV): 'T … and v … independently transmit a medieval commentary (created at Tours in the early ninth century) that excerpted Servius *auctus* … and other transmitted materials'. Before Murgia, Savage had already noticed that some of **Va**'s notes 'were derived from a manuscript like Bern. 165 (*T*) from Tours' (1932: 116).

[171] This codex, not named by Murgia, is referred to as **τ** in Pirovano's works concerning the excerpts from Tiberius Claudius Donatus transmitted by **TVa**; however, it seems preferable to avoid this *siglum* here since it is also used to denote the Tours family of Servius.

[172] The bulk of **Va**'s notes can be paralleled in **T**, and nothing suggests that any of the others should be considered as drawn from another source.

Although **T**'s notes have been constantly treated as a monolithic corpus since Savage,[173] they actually belong to layers added at different stages by different scribes. These layers deserve to be examined separately.

In particular, the notes copied by **T**^{5} stand out for two reasons: they consist almost exclusively of excerpts from **DS**,[174] and none of them can be directly paralleled in **Va**. From this perspective, the hypothesis that the notes in question derive from **υ** appears not only as unprovable but also as intrinsically dubious, as it would imply that **T**^{5} constantly avoided **υ**'s non-**DS** notes and even **υ**'s **DS** notes that would have been subsequently copied in **Va**. Further positive evidence against this hypothesis is provided by an analysis of the cases where **T**^{5} supplements notes copied by other scribes[175] or adds notes partially overlapping with notes previously copied by other scribes. When a comparison with **Va** is possible, **Va**'s notes tend to coincide precisely with those copied by the other scribes, as can be appreciated from the following examples:

(a)	**DS**	**T**	**Va**
4.64	CONSVLIT EXTA proprie dixit; aruspices enim exta consulere dicuntur cum inspiciunt. 'exta' singularem non habent, ut 'arma'.	consulit proprie dixit quia aruspices tunc dicuntur consulere, quando inspiciunt exta. et non sic intellegendum est ut sic dicantur exta consuli, quasi ipsa consulentibus respondere possint, sed tunc uidentur reddere responsa, quando consulenti nisibus signa commissae consultationis ostendunt (**T**^{1}). exta singularem non habent, ut arma (**T**^{5}).	consulit proprie dixit quia aruspices tunc dicuntur consulere, quando inspiciunt exta. et non sic intellegendum est ut sic dicantur exta consuli, quasi ipsa consulentibus respondere possint, sed tunc uidentur reddere responsa, quando consulenti nisibus signa commissae consultationis ostendunt.

[173] Savage 1925b: 139-43 and 148-53.

[174] Exceptions are sporadic; cf., e.g., **T**^{5}'s note on *Aen.* 4.216, whose first sentence corresponds to Isid. *orig.* 19.31.4.

[175] Occasionally, **T**^{5} seems to have supplemented the wrong note. For instance, he added an excerpt from the **DS** scholium *ad Aen.* 6.331 (*VESTIGIA PRESSIT scilicet cogitatione tardatus. et intentionem constantis ostendit*) after two glosses referring to a word of the following line: (*PVTANS*) *re*(*putans*), *pertractans* (**T**^{1}). *et constantis animum ostendit* (**T**^{5}).

4.151	LVSTRA latibula ferarum uel luporum; unde et lupanaria meretricum 'lustra' dicuntur.	(LVSTRA) hoc loco latibula ferarum (**T**[1]) uel luporum; unde et lupanaria meretricum lustra dicuntur (**T**[5]).	(LVSTRA) proprie latibula ferarum.
(b)	**DS**	**T**	**Va**
4.69 and 71	(4.69) QVALIS CONIECTA CERVA SAGITTA satis congrua conparatio; singula enim singulis, ceruam Didoni, sagittam amori, pastorem Aeneae, nemora urbi, ictum letalem amori mortifero comparauit.	(4.69) congrua comparatio: singula enim singulis dat: ceruam Didoni, sagittam amori, pastorem Aeneae, nemora urbi, ictum loetale amori mortifero comparauit (**T**[5]). (4.71) congrua est comparatio: nam singula singulis dedit: Didonem ceruae comparauit, siluas ciuitati, mobilitatem ceruae Didonis discursibus, sagittam pastoris sagittae Cupidinis, pastorem Cupidini, ictum letalem mortifero amori (**T**[1]).	(4.69) est congrua comparatio: nam singulas (s-*ut uid.*) in singulis dedit: Didonem ceruae comparauit, siluas ciuitati, mobilitatem ceruae Didonis discursibus, sagittam pastoris sagittae Cupidinis, pastorem Cupidini, hictum loetalem mortifero amori.
4.390	LINQVENS multi pro 'relinquens Aenean', alii pro 'deficiens' accipi uolunt more antiquo, sicut 'delinquere' pro 'deficere'. … Gellius Annalium *deliquium solis* et *deliquionem* dicit.	(LINQVENS) siue relinquens siue deficiens, unde deliquium solis (**T**[1]). multi pro linquens Aenean, alii pro deficiens accipi uolunt more antiquo, sicut delinquere pro deficere. … Gellius Annalium deliquium solis et delinquionem dicit (**T**[5]).	(LINQVENS) re(linquens) uel deficiens.

Owing to their frequency, such cases can hardly be explained by assuming that the scribes responsible for **T**'s original notes and for **Va**'s notes systematically avoided

copying the very same words in **υ**[176] and that, when **υ** included couples of notes excerpted from the same scholia, they systematically chose to copy the same ones.[177] For these reasons, **T**^{5}'s notes can be plausibly regarded as independent of **υ**.

Doubts persist as to the provenance of the other notes. No positive evidence can be adduced to demonstrate that **T**^{6}'s notes depend or do not depend on **υ**.[178] Some of the notes ascribable to the other scribes can be closely paralleled in **Va** and thus be regarded as drawn from **υ**,[179] but several of them, including almost all the longest ones, cannot and can theoretically be suspected of having been drawn from a codex independent of **υ**.[180] An analysis of the notes copied by these scribes makes it possible to find some

[176] This does not happen when other scribes supplement pre-existing notes; cf., e.g., the notes on *Aen.* 1.574: *miro ingenio temperauit, ut et suos et peregrinos uno modo se dicat regere* (**T**^{1}) *et aequali affectu* (**T**^{2}) **T**: *miro modo temperauit, ut et suos et peregrinos uno modo et aequali affectu se dicat regere* **Va**, which derive from Claud. Don. *ad Aen.* 1.573-4 (*miro ingenio temperauit, ut diceret Troianos uno cum incolis futuros adfectu*).

[177] There is no compelling reason to assume that **υ** ever included such doublets. In virtually all the few cases where other scribes copied notes overlapping with pre-existing notes, their text is identical or almost identical; cf., e.g., the two notes on *Aen.* 9.640: *quia Ascanius felicitate facti magis ardebat ad gloriam, idcirco eum reuocabat Apollo* **T**^{1} and *ei qui unum occiderat bene addidit dignatatem*. *et quia Ascanius felicitate facti magis ardebat ad gloriam, idcirco eum reuocabat Apollo* **T**^{1}, whose overlapping section is an identically rephrased version of Claud. Don. *ad Aen.* 9.638-40 (*Iulus tam felici auspicio ardebat ad gloriam, sed Apollo … noluit illum ulterius animos tendere*). Furthermore, some of **T**^{5}'s notes overlapping with other notes can be readily explained as consequences of the **T** layout. For instance, **T**^{5} may well have added his note alongside *Aen.* 4.69, on the bottom of f. 93^{r}, because he had not yet noticed that **T**^{1} had already copied a similar note alongside v. 71, on the top of f. 93^{v}; since both the **DS** scholium and **Va**'s note refer to v. 69, it is likely that **υ**'s note was also written alongside that line.

[178] The fact that none of **T**^{6}'s notes can be paralleled in **Va** may suggest that this scribe did not resort to **υ** either; most of these notes, however, refer to a section of *Aen.* 7 where **Va**'s notes do not survive because of the loss of the relevant gathering. As will be shown in section 7.3, several notes copied by **T**^{6} are of unknown origin and might depend on lost **DS** non-Servian additions, but a few of them, such as the one on *Aen.* 7.723, certainly derive from Tiberius Claudius Donatus.

[179] Cf., e.g., the notes on *Aen.* 3.14 (**T**^{1}), 2.514 (**T**^{2}), 2.165 (**T**^{3}), 4.436 (**T**^{4}), 9.53 (**T**^{7}), and 10.53 (**T**^{8}).

[180] Both **T**^{1} and **T**^{2} often abbreviate the last words of Vergilian quotations to their initials; when these words are replaced by *et reliqua* in **F**, however, they are almost systematically replaced by the same phrase in **T**^{1}'s notes (cf., e.g., the note on *Aen.* 3.89) but still abbreviated to their initials in **T**^{2}'s notes (cf., e.g., the note on *Aen.* 4.245). It is not clear whether this dichotomy depends on the fact that the two scribes resorted to different exemplars.

positive arguments corroborating this suspicion, even if they are not as compelling as those discussed *supra* apropos of **T**[5]. Two examples will suffice to illustrate this point:

	DS	**T**	**Va**
4.458	CONIVGIS ANTIQVI aut prioris aut cari; Lucilius *concilio antiquo sapiens uir solus fuisti*. antiquus ergo est qui praecedit eum qui praesens est.	(ANTIQVI) aut prioris aut cari (**T**[4]). antiqus ergo est qui praecedit eum qui sequens est (**T**[1]).	(ANTIQVI) aut prioris aut cari.
4.489	VERTERE SIDERA RETRO utrum, ut uidetur, 'etiam in caelo potestatem habere' an 'etiam fata posse mutare', quae secundum mathematicos sideribus gubernantur? et multi *sidera* hic planetas accipiunt, quia reliqua caelo adfixa sunt.	(VERTERE SIDERA RETRO) uel uidetur in celo potestatem habere uel fata mutare quae siderum ratione (q- s- r- *in* quae secundum mathematicos sideribus *corr.* **T**[1]) gubernantur. multi autem in hoc loco planetas accipunt (*35 litteras del. et* quia reliqua celo adfixa sunt *add.* **T**[1]) (**T**[1]).	

The fact that, at short distance, **T**[1] added a sentence which cannot be paralleled in **Va** to a note which can be paralleled in **Va** and corrected a note which he had previously written so as to eliminate one or possibly two conscious innovations may suggest that this scribe had access to two different **DS** sources, with one of them being more complete and 'sincere' than **υ**. However, it should be observed that the choice to select just the glosses of the lemma in the former note cannot be judged as a monogenetic innovation[181] and that the original text of the latter note cannot be attributed with certainty to **υ** since no note is found in **Va**.

Be that as it may, it seems preferable to consider only the notes paralleled in **Va** as certainly deriving from **υ** and to suspend judgment as to the provenance of the other notes not copied by **T**[5].

7.2. The character of the **T** and the **Va** version of the **DS** scholia

If one leaves aside the briefest ones, the bulk of **T**'s and **Va**'s **DS** notes contain no Servian material. This pattern suggests that that they were conceived by the Carolingian editors

[181] For another similar example, cf. the note on *Aen.* 4.518.

who excerpted them from one or more continuous **DS** witnesses as a supplement to Servian exegesis,[182] as is also occasionally implied by introductory phrases such as *praeter quod Seruius dicit*.[183] Nevertheless, the editors at issue do not seem to have attempted to record all the **DS** non-Servian additions which they could find but to have selected single additions or, more often, single sections of the additions in accordance with their own interests.[184]

That the process of excerpting was often carried out mechanically is demonstrated by the fact that a few notes have turned out to be meaningless or unclear because of the absence of the corresponding Servian sections, as is shown by the following examples:

	Seru.	**DS**	**T**
3.136	OPERATA IVVENTVS perfecit sacrificia propter conubia et nouas sedes.	OPERATA IVVENTVS perfecit sacrificia propter conubia et nouas sedes, quia apud ueteres neque uxor duci neque ager arari sine sacrificiis peractis poterat.	quia apud ueteres neque uxor duci neque ager arari sine sacrificiis poterat (**T**[1]).
3.694	ORTYGIAM haec tantum Ortygia dicitur, Apollinis uero etiam Delos.	ORTYGIAM haec tantum Ortygia dicitur, Apollinis uero etiam Delos.	

[182] This explanation was first proposed by Thilo (1881: LXIII-IV), who remarked that, despite appearances, **T** should be regarded as a witness to **DS** rather than to the non-Servian source employed by the Compiler because sometimes 'inveniuntur … adnotationes quae cum ex Servianis et additiciis scholiis compositae sint e pleniore libro … videntur petitae esse'. As it is now unanimously accepted, Thilo's reconstruction does not require a fresh discussion, but I hasten to remark that additional evidence may be adduced to prove that **T**'s and **Va**'s notes depend on **DS**. On the one hand, the two manuscripts share with the other **DS** witnesses several unconscious errors and conscious innovations ascribable to the Compiler. On the other, as indicated in chapter I, sections 8-9, both transmit no note on *Aen.* 1-2 which can be labelled as based on **DS**; given that the **DS** tradition is characterised by a split between the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 and 3-12, as will be shown in the conclusion, it would be bizarre if another tradition emanating from the non-Servian source employed by the Compiler were independently characterised by the same split.

[183] Savage 1925b: 107-9. These introductory phrases are only found in **T**; one of them can be ascribed to **T**[5] (on *Aen.* 5.30).

[184] The editors seem to have normally avoided copying what they could not understand. Sections containing Greek words are often omitted (cf., e.g., **T**[1]'s note on *Aen.* 4.520), and so are some of the sections affected by serious corruptions in other **DS** witnesses (cf., e.g., **T**[1]'s note on *Aen.* 3.162, which does not include any word corresponding to **F**'s *et deli quasi labini*).

		et bene addidit *priores*, ut haec quae nunc est semper appellata sit Ortygia, haec uero a prioribus tantum.	bene addit priores, ut haec quae nunc est semper appellata sit Ortigia, haec uero a prioribus tantum (**T**[1?]).

The former note corresponds to a non-Servian addition meant to clarify the preceding Servian section of the **DS** scholium; lacking this section, the note is unclear, and the conjunction *quia* is pointless. The latter note corresponds to a non-Servian addition meant to explain the Vergilian term *priores*, but the two demonstrative pronouns refer anaphorically to words belonging to the Servian section of the **DS** scholium and are not intelligible without them.

On other occasions, the editors appear to have indulged in more radical changes, joining autonomous sections, rearranging their order, modifying their initial and final sentences for the sake of coherence, and even adding non-**DS** materials.[185] Several of these changes can be labelled as attempts to solve issues arising from the omission of the Servian sections of the scholia, but others cannot, as is shown by the following examples:

	Seru.	**DS**	**T**[1]
4.484			Hesperus rex traditur pretiosissimas oues habuisse quarum pastor Dracon uocabatur, cui praebebant aepulas regis filiae.
	HESPERIDVM TEMPLI CVSTOS Hesperides, Atlantis filiae nymphae, secundum fabulam hortum habuerunt in quo erant mala aurea Veneri consecrata, quae Hercules, missus ab Eurystheo, occiso peruigili dracone sustulit.	HESPERIDVM TEMPLI CVSTOS Hesperides, Atlantis filiae nymphae, secundum fabulam hortum habuerunt in quo erant mala aurea Veneri consecrata, quae Hercules, missus ab Eurystheo, occiso peruigili dracone sustulit.	
	re uera autem nobiles fuerunt puellae, quarum greges abegit Hercules occiso eorum custode; unde mala fingitur	re uera autem nobiles fuerunt puellae, quarum greges rufam lanam habentes abegit Hercules occiso eorum custo-	harum ergo puellarum greges rufam lanam habentes abegit Hercules, ut etiam Seruius dicit, occiso eorum custo-

[185] As will be shown *infra*, these materials often consist of glosses or excerpts from Tiberius Claudius Donatus.

	sustulisse, hoc est oues; nam μῆλα dicuntur, unde μηλονόμος dicitur	de; unde mala fingitur sustulisse, hoc est oues: quae Graece μῆλα dicuntur, unde μηλονόμος	de, unde mala fingitur sustulisse, hoc est oues, quae Graece mela dicuntur, unde malanomos
25	pastor ouium.	dicitur pastor ouium.	dicitur pastor ouium.
			quia ergo Graece oues mela dicuntur, ex dubio nomine fabula composi-
30			ta est.
		propter ruborem autem lanae, quae similis auro est, existimasse eos qui audierant mala aurea in	propter ruborem autem lanae, que similis auro est, existimasse eos qui audierant mala aurea in
35		Africa nasci.	Africa nasci.
		est et alia fabula. … bene ergo Vergilius has ad Oceanum et solis occa-	est et alia fabula. … bene ergo Virgilius has ad Oceanum et solis occa-
		sum esse dicit.	sum esse dicit.
40		EPVLASQVE DRACONI Hesperus rex traditur pretiosissimas oues habuisse, quarum pastor uocabatur Dracon, cui	(cf. *supra*)
45		praebebant epulas regis filiae; sed quia Graece oues μῆλα dicuntur, ex dubio nomine fabula conposita est.	

DS transmits two scholia *ad Aen.* 4.484. The former consists of a mythological explanation of Servian origin (1: ll. 7-16), of a rationalistic explanation including a section of Servian origin (2: ll. 17-26) and a section of non-Servian origin (3: ll. 31-5), and of an alternative mythological explanation of non-Servian origin (4: ll. 36-9), whereas the latter consists of a single rationalistic explanation of non-Servian origin (5: ll. 40-9). Whilst 1 is identical to the corresponding section of the Servian version of the scholium, 2 is not because it contains the words *rufam lanam habentes* after *greges* and reads *quae Graece* instead of *nam*. In order to dismiss 1, the editor chose to move the initial sentence of 5 before 2, whose first sentence was consequently rephrased, and to move the other sentence of 5 to a different position. By doing so, he managed to conflate the two scholia omitting what he could identify as certainly Servian but introduced an inconsistency and a blatant pleonasm in the new text, the *oues* being assigned to two different owners – namely Hesperus and his daughters – in two consecutive sentences and the Greek meaning of *mela* being explained in the same way in two other consecutive sentences.

	Seru.	DS	T¹
3.187-8	(187) TVM VATES CASSANDRA MOVERET bene *tum*, quia iam probauit.	(187) TVM VATES CASSANDRA MOVERET bene *tum*, quia iam probauit.	
		et duo argumenta posuit quibus purgauit errorem.	duobus argumentis, necessario et utili, probat suum errorem:
	(188) CEDAMVS PHOEBO	(188) CEDAMVS PHOEBO a necessario et utili scilicet;	(cf. *supra*)
	cuius instinctu dii penates profutura dixerunt.	cuius instinctu dii penates profutura dixerunt.	
			primo quod quicquid illud fuit non debuit uni credi. accedebant etiam alia inpossibilia, scilicet accessuros Troianos ad Italiam; postremo non habendam fidem responsis illius diuina fuerat sententia pronuntiatum.

Both the addition to the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.187, which explains vv. 186-7 (*sed quis ad Hesperiae uenturos litora Teucros / crederet? aut quem tum uates Cassandra moueret?*) as providing two excuses for the Trojans' mistake, and the addition to the scholium on the following line (*cedamus Phoebo et moniti meliora sequamur*), which clarifies that obeying Apollo is not only necessary but also useful, depend directly on their lemmata. However, the editor of **T¹'**s note conflated them, taking *necessarium* and *utile* as the two excuses for the Trojans' mistake; this is not consistent with either the Vergilian text or the subsequent explanation drawn from Claud. Don. *ad Aen.* 3.186-7. In the first sentence of the note, the replacement of *purgauit* with *probat* may be explained as an echo of the verb of the omitted Servian section (*probauit*).[186]

Incidentally, the evidence hitherto presented may also be of some use in order to establish how the non-Servian sections could have been identified by the editors. This

[186] A similar instance where the editor conflated two independent non-Servian additions, modifying their meaning can be found in the already mentioned note on *Aen.* 4.520: *non nulli Nemesin significari putant; non nulli:* Ἀντέρωτα *inuocabat, contrarium Cupidini, qui amores resoluit aut certe cui curae est iniquus amor, scilicet ut inplicet non amantem. hic etiam Athenis coli dicitur*] *nonnulli praeter quod Seruius dicit Nemessim significari hoc numen putant; hoc etiam Athenis coli dicitur* **T¹**. In this case, the juxtaposition of the two additions and the replacement of *hic*, which refers to Ἀντέρως, with *hoc*, which refers to *numen*, that is to *Nemesis*, can be labelled as consequences of the omission of the Servian section *non nulli:* Ἀντέρωτα … *amantem*.

question has been left open since Thilo, who suggested that they could have collated a **DS** witness against a Servian one or that they could have had at their disposal a **DS** witness where the sections were somehow distinguished or even 'de plenioris commentarii origine et ratione testimonium aliquod'.[187] The latter hypothesis, favoured by Thilo because he noticed that **T** often preserved a text structured differently from **F**, seems unlikely: nothing implies that the Servian and non-Servian sections were ever distinguished in the **DS** scholia, and the differences noticed by Thilo can often be shown to result from conscious innovations. By contrast, the former hypothesis is fully consistent with practices adopted elsewhere by Carolingian scribes[188] and even corroborated by an examination of such notes as the one on *Aen.* 4.484. In this case, the words *ut etiam Seruius dicit* suggest that the editor did not believe that section 2 could be qualified as Servian in the strictest sense[189] but knew that it could be paralleled with the Servian version of the scholium, of which he must have had some direct knowledge.[190]

The innovations described *supra* can be found in **T**'s notes, whether or not they depend on **υ,** and in **Va**'s notes alike. These corpora, however, do exhibit some differences as far as the conscious changes within the excerpted sections are concerned. By way of illustration, I will list all the omissions, additions, and replacements that can be identified in the excerpted sections of the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 3.1-25 preserved by **T** and by **Va**:[191]

[187] Thilo 1881: LXIV-V.

[188] See sections 1.1 and 2.3, chapter I, section 3.1, and chapter III, section 3.2.

[189] In two notes on *Aen.* 5.10 and 458 copied by the same scribe, the phrases *hoc est quod dicit Seruius* and *ut Seruius dicit* are used to refer to sentences that are transmitted by **DS** and Servian witnesses with no significant differences.

[190] This hypothesis may also explain the sporadic agreements between **T** and Servian witnesses against **DS**; cf., e.g., the note on *Aen.* 4.196: *unde factum est Ioui Ammoni, ab arenis dicto, simulacrum cum capite arietino, quod ideo fingitur quia satis eius sunt inuoluta responsa* Seru.: *unde factum est ut Ioui Ammoni, ab arenis dicto, templum cum simulacro cum cornibus arietinis constitueretur; quod ideo fingitur quia satis eius sunt inuoluta responsa, aut quia Libyes … uisus* **DS**] *huic Hammoni, ab arenis dicto, constitum est simulacrum cum capite arietino, quia Libii … uisus* **T**^{1}.

[191] Omissions of lemmata and of autonomous sections are not considered. The list does not include **T**'s and **Va**'s notes consisting of simple glosses.

3.1.3-5[192] (**T**[1]) exegerit] exigit **T**[1] | tamen imperium] nomen uel imperium **T**[1]

3.3.15-26 (**T**[1]) inuidiam commouet] commouet inuidiam **T**[1] | ea quoque cecidisse dicat quae putabantur deorum] eam quoque cecidisse dicat quae non putabatur ab aliquo posse destrui **T**[1] | Hercules] quidam nomine Heroales **T**[1]

3.6.9-15 (**T**[5])

3.6.17 (**Va**)

3.8.1-3 (**Va**) scilicet *non hab.* **Va**

3.8.7-9 (**Va**) aut … aut] … aut **Va**

3.11.3 (**Va**)

3.12.2-3[193] (**T**[1]) ad Italiam non uenit] non uenit ad Italiam **T**[1]

3.12.10-12 (**T**[2]) idem Varro et alii complures … affirmant] affirmat Varro **T**[2] | simulacra duo uirilia … in Samothracia ante portum sita] simulacra uirilia … appellari quae ante portam in Samothracia sunt sita **T**[2] | naufragio liberati uota soluebant] sacrificabant primum naufragio erepti **T**[2]

3.12.16-20 and 23-4 (**T**[2]) quos … ideo magnos appellant] penates etiam magni dii idcirco uocabantur **T**[2] | quod] quia **T**[2] | in prouincias ituri] petituri prouincias **T**[2] | apud eos primum immolarint] primum eis immolabant **T**[2] | quod eorum nomina nemo sciat] quorum nomen nemo sciebat **T**[2] | quod] quamquam **T**[2] | sentiantur] haberentur et sentirentur **T**[2] | habent] haberent **T**[2] | nisi sacerdoti uidere fas nulli sit] uidere nemini nisi sacerdoti fas erat **T**[2]

3.12.24-5 (**T**[1]**Va**) qui ideo penates appellantur quod] penates ideo apellantur quia **Va**: di qui **T**[1] | in penetralibus aedium coli soleant] in penetralibus aedium coli solebant **Va**: in penetralibus aedis colebantur **T**[1]

3.14.3-4 (**Va**) est *non hab.* **Va**

3.14.4-6 and 11-18 (4-6 and 11-18 **T**[1], 4-6 **Va**) hic *non hab.* **Va** | autem *non hab.* **T**[1]**Va** | insequi] sequi **T**[1] | se Liber … praecipitauit] Liber … se praecipitauit **T**[1] | exceptus liberatusque] exceptus **T**[1]

3.16.8 (**Va**) est *non hab.* **Va**

3.17.1-2 (**Va**)

3.19.1-2 (**Va**)

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[192] *Harv.* 3 printed *RES quamuis multa prout locus exegerit significet, modo nomen uel imperium; aut 'res' hic pro uniuerso statu*, adopting **T**'s *nomen uel imperium* instead of **F**'s *tamen imperium*. This choice seems questionable for two reasons. On the one hand, the term *nomen* is more confusing than helpful as a gloss here and does not occur in the **DS** scholia concerning the other lines where *res* is used with this meaning (cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.54, where *res Agamemnonias* is explained as *imperium uel partes Agamemnonis*). On the other, the text printed by *Harv.* 3 includes two semantically unrelated glosses after a concessive clause apparently promising a single meaning and opposes *uniuersus status*, semantically related to *imperium*, to *nomen uel imperium*. **T**[1]'s note omits *aut … statu* and may be suspected of having introduced *nomen* in its place. Non-**DS** glosses occur in several of **T**'s **DS** notes; within the section at issue, cf., e.g., **T**[2]'s note on v. 22.

[193] **T**[1]'s note includes an excerpt from Claud. Don. *ad Aen.* 3.11-12 after the phrase *ad Italiam*.

3.22.6-12[194] (6-7 **T**[1], 7-12 **T**[2]) potest enim tumulus et sine sepulcri interpretatione collis interdum accipi] potest et collis intellegi quia accipitur aliquando tumulus sine sepulcri interpretatione **T**[1] | dici solet] uocatur **T**[2] | nomen inscriptum] inscriptum nomen memoriaque **T**[2]

3.22.13-17 (**T**[1])

3.23.6-12 (**Va**) rettulit *non hab.* **Va** | arboris *non hab.* **Va**

As can be inferred from this list, **T**'s notes depending on **υ**, as well as most of the other notes copied by the scribes who resorted to **υ**, and **Va**'s notes are affected by numerous conscious innovations. Some of these innovations can be explained as attempts to make the text briefer, often because of the limited space available on the leaves,[195] but most seem to depend rather on stylistic preferences or on the wish to adapt the text to the scribes' own culture. Within the section at issue, this is the case, on the one hand, of the frequent changes in word choice[196] and word order, the latter being sometimes regularised by replacing OV sequences with VO sequences,[197] and, on the other, of the substitution of primary with secondary tenses[198] and of the addition of a dubitative

[194] *Harv.* 3 printed the last sentence of this addition as *sane apparatus mortuorum 'funus' dici solet, exstructio lignorum 'rogus', subiectio ignis 'pyra', crematio cadaueris 'bustum', locus 'ustrina', operis exstructio 'sepulcrum', inscriptum nomen memoriaque 'monumentum'*, adopting **T**'s *inscriptum nomen memoriaque* instead of **FP**'s *nomen inscriptum*. In fact, the latter reading can be paralleled in a similar scholium preserved by the witnesses to the *commenta Bernensia in Lucanum* (p. 288 Usener), which defines the words *rogus*, *pyra*, *bustum*, *tumulus*, *sepulchrum*, and *monumentum* and explains the last as *incisio nominis*, and seems preferable on internal grounds as well. Being included in a list of funeral terms and following *nomen inscriptum*, the noun *memoria* can only be interpreted in its technical funeral sense (*ThlL* II.B.2). From this perspective, the text transmitted by **T** seems to suggest a bizarre equivalence between a generic phrase (*inscriptum nomen*) and a technical term (*memoria*), coordinated by the enclitic, and another less specific technical term (*monumentum*). Since, as already mentioned, non-**DS** glosses are frequent in **T**'s **DS** notes, the **T** reading can be plausibly judged as a conscious innovation. It is possible that *memoria* was meant to be an alternative gloss coordinated with *monumentum*, which should have been inserted in another position (*inscriptum nomen monumentum memoriaque*) or have been followed by another conjunction (*inscriptum nomen memoria uel monumentum*).

[195] See the notes on vv. 8, 12, 14, and 23.

[196] See the notes on vv. 3, 12, and 22.

[197] See the notes on vv. 3, 12, and 14. Even the word order of Vergilian quotations is occasionally regularised; cf., e.g., **T**[2]'s note on *Aen.* 3.607: *genibus uolutans haerebat*] *genibus haerebat uolutans* **T**[2].

[198] See the notes on v. 12.

phrase before a personal name not recognised by the editor.[199] Some **DS** scholia seem to have been so freely reworded that **T**'s and **Va**'s notes bear little resemblance to the texts preserved by the other witnesses and also differ from them in meaning.[200] A comparison between **T**'s and **Va**'s notes depending on **υ** shows that the former are often more freely reworded than the latter and that the latter are rarely more freely reworded than the former.[201]

By contrast, $\mathbf{T}^{5}$'s notes are normally more 'sincere': his only note in the section at issue (on v. 6) offers no example of conscious innovation, and such innovations are relatively rare in the following notes as well. Almost all the omissions, additions, or replacements which can be found in his notes, apart from those directly connected with the omission of Servian sections, can be labelled as attempts to make the text briefer or to improve its intelligibility.[202]

Despite these differences, it is worth pointing out that not only **T**'s and **Va**'s notes deriving from **υ** and **T**'s notes of unclear origin but also $\mathbf{T}^{5}$'s notes should be employed with great caution by the editors of the **DS** scholia. That the medieval scholars responsible for the text of all these sets of notes frequently indulged in correcting corrupt (or apparently corrupt) passages is suggested by the presence of occasional *Verschlimmbesserungen* in the **DS** excerpts in question[203] and also confirmed by an analysis of the excerpts from Tiberius Claudius Donatus and from the Bern scholia preserved by the two codices.[204] In particular, some of **T**'s Donatian notes can be positively shown to depend on Vatican, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1484, and nothing suggests that

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[199] See the note on v. 3.

[200] See the notes on vv. 3, 12, and 22.

[201] In the section at issue, **T**'s notes on v. 12 include two innovations not shared by **Va** (*qui ideo penates appellantur quod*] *penates ideo appellantur quia* **Va**: *di qui* $\mathbf{T}^{1}$ | *in penetralibus aedium coli soleant*] *in penetralibus aedium coli solebant* **Va**: *in penetralibus aedis colebantur* $\mathbf{T}^{1}$), whereas **Va**'s note on v. 14 includes an innovation not shared by $\mathbf{T}^{1}$ (*hic filius*] *hic filius* $\mathbf{T}^{1}$: *filius* **Va**).

[202] Cf., among $\mathbf{T}^{5}$'s notes transcribed in the previous section, those on *Aen.* 4.69 (*satis congrua*] *congrua* $\mathbf{T}^{5}$ | *singula enim singulis*] *singula enim singulis dat* $\mathbf{T}^{5}$) and 6.332 (*et intentionem constantis ostendit*] *et constantis animum ostendit* $\mathbf{T}^{5}$). Since $\mathbf{T}^{5}$'s notes tend to be long and relatively free of conscious changes, they may well have been copied from a codex transmitting the **DS** scholia as a continuous commentary rather than from a glossed edition of Vergil.

[203] Cf. Murgia 1975: 19.

[204] See also chapter IV, section 2.3.

any other note in **T** or **Va** derives from a different branch of the Donatian tradition; therefore, the numerous **T** and **Va** readings which make more sense than the corresponding readings in the Vatican codex can be plausibly treated as innovations.[205] Likewise, it can be observed that **T**$^{5'}$'s excerpts from the Bern scholia sometimes correct 'errors' which, being shared by the other witnesses to this commentary and by the witnesses to the other 'Philargyrian' corpora as well, can be judged as already present in the latest common ancestor of these traditions. An interesting example of this scenario is offered by **T**$^{5'}$'s excerpt from the preface to *ecl.* 8:

F	**P**	**T**^{5}
in hac egloga personae duae ueterum pastorum historialiter intimandae sunt. hoc genus carminis cenon uel micton dicunt. haec egloga parmacies appellatur; nam duae persone introducuntur Damonis et Alphesiboei, qui repudiatorum amores narrant.	hoc genus carminis cenon uel micton dicitur. haec eglo perarmacies uocatur; nam duae persone introduntur Damonis et Alphesiboei, qui repudiatorum amores narrant.	in hac egloga personae duae ueterum pastorum historialiter intimandae sunt et hoc genus carminis kenon uel mycton dicitur. appellatur autem haec egloga farmaceutria, in qua, ut diximus, duae personae introducuntur Dammonis et Alphesiboei, qui repudiatorum amores narrant.

FP, as well as the Servian witnesses interpolated from the Bern scholia, give the title of *ecl.* 8 as *p*(*er*)*armacies*, and this title can be paralleled in the witnesses to the *explanationes in eclogas*, which read *farmacies* (or *farmaties*) in the *explanatio I* and *formacies* in the *explanatio II*, according to Hagen's apparatus. **T**'s *farmaceutria* is probably based either on the Servian scholium *ad ecl.* 8.1 (*apud Theocritum est una ecloga, quae appellatur* φαρμακεύτρια*, in qua inducitur mulier quaedam sacris quibusdam peruertens mentem amatoris a quo spernebatur; quam Vergilius transtulit ad huius eclogae ultimam partem*) or on Aelius Donatus' preface to the *Eclogues* (*octaua amores diuersorum sexuum* [scil. *continet*] *et dicitur 'Damon' uel 'Farmaceutria'*).

7.3. Appendix: Excerpts from lost **DS** non-Servian additions or *adespota*?

TVa transmit a few notes of seemingly ancient origin which cannot be directly paralleled in the only 'sincere' witness to the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12, namely **F**, and do not appear to derive from any other extant work. These notes can be dismissed with reasonable

[205] On the relationship between **T** (and **Va**) and the Vatican manuscript, see chapter I, section 8. For a survey of conscious innovations in **T**'s and **Va**'s excerpts from Tiberius Claudius Donatus, cf. Pirovano 2010: 175-8 and 182-208.

certainty as extraneous to **DS** when **F** preserves alternative non-Servian additions concerning the same lemmata.[206] When this does not happen, they should be examined carefully in order to determine (a) whether their derivation from **DS** is supported by any internal evidence or by the presence of corresponding additions in other **DS** witnesses or in Servian witnesses interpolated from **DS**[207] and (b) whether it is possible to find any explanation for the absence of the corresponding additions in **F**.[208]

Special caution is required in the sections where **F** is not extant or is affected by systematic omissions. In particular, owing to the loss of the outer half of **F**$^{B'}$s f. 151, of the original first leaf of **F**$^{P'}$s gathering 21, and of the original last leaves of **F**$^{P'}$s gathering 36, no 'sincere' witness survives for half of the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.805-29 and 5.853-6.13[209] and for the scholia *ad Aen.* 12.820-952.

As far as the first two sections are concerned, **T** transmits seven notes which do not derive from the text printed as **DS** by *Harv.* 3 and by Jeunet-Mancy or from any other

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[206] In some of these cases, the most recent editors erroneously took **T**'s notes as depending on **DS**. For instance, three excerpts from the **DS** scholium *ad Aen.* 3.516 on *PLVVIASQVE HYADAS* are attributed to **T** in *Harv.* 3: (a) *id est pluuiosas*, (b) *quidam accipiunt Arcturum uel pluuias Yadas quia non uno tempore oriuntur*, and (c) *apparente scilicet Arcturo semper, Yadibus autem certo tempore. quod si ita est, erit que pro ue, id est uel Arcturum uel Yadas, circum quae solent prognostica quadam praeuisione pluuiam portendere*. The first two notes, copied by **T**^{1}, do depend on the **DS** scholium; originally, however, the second note did not include the words *Arcturum uel pluuias Yadas* but included some fifteen letters, subsequently erased, in their place and fifteen to twenty letters, subsequently erased, after *oriuntur*, probably *q*(*uo*)*d si ita e*(*st*)*, erit q*(*ue*) *p*(*ro*) *ue*, to judge from the traces of ink. Both deletions can be ascribed to **T**^{2}, who added *Arcturum uel pluuias Yadas* after *accipiunt* and the third note after *oriuntur*; this note does not share any portion of text with the **DS** scholium except for *quod si ita est, erit que pro ue*, namely the words written by **T**^{1} and deleted by **T**^{2}, and should be considered as based on another tradition.

[207] Cf., e.g., **T**'s and **Va**'s notes on *Aen.* 3.239 (*scilicet militare* **T**: *militare* **Va**) and **T**'s note on *Aen.* 4.500 (*pro inusitatis et malis; et per hoc magicis*), which find parallels in **P** (*LITORA. SIGNVM utique militari* and *NON TAMEN. NOVIS pro usitatis*).

[208] Sensible criteria to present **T**'s and **Va**'s notes are adopted in Murgia and Kaster's edition, which distinguishes among (a) notes certainly deriving from **DS**, to be printed in the main text in angle brackets, (b) notes potentially deriving from **DS**, to be recorded in the upper apparatus, and (c) notes certainly not deriving from **DS**, to be listed in an appendix. The notes belonging to the first two sets are usefully referred to in the apparatus of the appendix, even if some of them seem to have been overlooked (cf., e.g., those on *Aen.* 11.4-5 and 658).

[209] Cf. chapter I, section 6.1.

known work:[210]

5.821 ideo dicit aquis quia potest aliqua res esse tumida alia re quam aquis.

5.861 (SVSTVLIT) aut ipse ueluti ales se sustulit aut ipse somnus in similitudinem auis sustulit in celum, quod est alato facillimum.
ipse somnus … facillimum is a rephrased version of Claud. Don. *ad u.*: *perfecta Palinuri nece Somnus, inquit, uolauit ad caelum, quod alato facere facillimum fuit*.

6.1 (IMMITTIT HABENAS) id est relaxat ipsas habenas et bene dixit habenas quae sunt nauium et equorum; naues enim equis comparantur et uectores dicuntur qui utrisque uehuntur.
id est relaxat ipsas habenas is a rephrased version of Claud. Don. *ad u.*: *hoc est relaxat omnia quae nauigationis felicis cursum impedire potuissent*.

6.2 prolemsis est hoc loco, quia antea uenit ad Italiam Aeneas quam Calcidiensis.
(ADLABITVR) celeriter uenit et nunc exponit classique i. h.
celeriter uenit is a gloss shared by Servian and **DS** witnesses.

6.13 (LVCOS) hos lucos dicunt quidam fuisse in agro Cumano.
dicendo aurea, ostendit Dedalo qui ipsum templum exornauit fuisse auri copiam.

The note on *Aen.* 6.2 is certainly to be ascribed to **DS**, being paralleled in **C**,[211] and the words *et bene … equorum* of the note on *Aen.* 6.1 can also be compared with **R**'s already discussed scholium *ad u.*[212] Some doubts persist as to the others; in any case, the reference to *quidam* suggests that the sixth note should be regarded as an excerpt from a learned work, rather than as an autoschediasm.

As far as the last section is concerned, **T**'s notes[213] were sifted by Murgia, who identified thirteen notes as certainly depending on **DS**[214] and six as potentially depending on **DS**. In some of these cases, a little more caution could have been called

[210] *Harv.* 3 declared in their preface that they would not consider **T**'s notes as depending on **DS** unless they could be found in their other **DS** witnesses (p. X), whereas Jeunet-Mancy did not collate **T** at all (on the drawbacks of this choice, cf. also Ramires 2014a: 132). The list does not include **T**'s notes consisting of simple glosses. All the seven notes in question can be attributed to **T**[1]; the notes on *Aen.* 5.821 and 861 and 6.13 are still unpublished. As mentioned in chapter I, section 9, **Va**'s original leaves containing the notes on *Aen.* 5.241-6.161 are not extant.

[211] See section 1.1.1.

[212] See chapter I, section 6.1.

[213] **Va**'s leaves transmitting *Aen.* 12.820-953 include no note.

[214] These notes are exceptionally not printed in angle brackets in Murgia and Kaster's edition.

for since **T**'s notes might actually be compared with passages in Tiberius Claudius Donatus' commentary:[215]

12.849 (SAEVIQVE) epiteton est accomodatum, id est cum saeuit; neque enim est Iuppiter semper saeuus.
Cf. Claud. Don. *ad Aen.* 12.849-52: *saeuum regem dixit, non semper saeuum, sed tunc cum ex aliqua causa commouetur*.

12.867[216] NOVVS TORPOR aut inprouisus […].
Cf. Claud. Don. *ad u.*: *nouum dixit aut qualem nemo aliquando sensisset aut insolitum sibi et repentinum*.

12.876 (OBSCENAE) quia malum omen ore canunt.
Cf. Claud. Don. *ad Aen.* 12.875-7: *quoniam sola nuntiatis aduersa*.

12.878[217] (HAEC PRO VIRGINITATE REPORTO) hyronice id est haec mihi praemia dat ui[…].
Cf. Claud. Don. *ad Aen.* 12.877-8: *hoc est praemium quod mihi pro erepto uirginitatis honore contulit.*

12.906 (VIRI) mire uiri addidit, quasi propter rationem eius qui languide iecerat et ipse lapis sine effectu fuerit, ut si dixisset: talis est uir qualem descripsi.
Cf. Claud. Don. *ad Aen.* 12.906-7: *quemadmodum in Turno omnia hebuissent, etiam ictus ipse monstrabat*.

Furthermore, the fact that **F**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 6-7 are seriously incomplete[218] makes it particularly important to establish whether **TVa** transmit here any excerpts from lost **DS** non-Servian additions. Within this section, **T**'s and **Va**'s notes which find no parallel in **F** and do not derive from any other extant work are scanty until *Aen.* 7.464 but very frequent from that line to the end of the book.[219] Some of these notes were printed as belonging to **DS** by Thilo and even more by Ramires,[220] but neither editor committed

[215] The first and the last note are printed in the main text; the others are confined to the upper apparatus.

[216] This note and the one on v. 878 are largely illegible owing to the loss of the outer margin of f. 219.

[217] The note is printed as 'hyronice id est haec mihi praemia dat ụi (*lege* iuppiter)' in Murgia and Kaster's edition. In fact, the letters *ui-* are clearly legible, and there is no reason to assume that the scribe made any mistake: the note may well have originally read *uirginitate erepta* or the like, as the Donatian passage shows.

[218] See section 2.3.

[219] As mentioned in chapter I, section 9, **Va**'s original leaves containing the notes on *Aen.* 5.241-6.161 and 6.570-7.703 are not extant; the notes on *Aen.* 7.646-703 can be found in one of the leaves added between the tenth and the eleventh century.

[220] Ramires also printed **T**'s note on *Aen.* 7.390 (*hoc loco tyrsos appellat uelamina quae sumebant sponsi de uertice sponsarum. dicitur etiam tyrsus fenestra*) as a **DS** non-Servian addition, pointing out

himself to discussing in detail the question of their origin: Thilo did not even mention the notes in his preface, whereas Ramires only remarked that some of them were stylistically similar to other **DS** non-Servian additions and that two of them exhibited a conflation of Servian and non-Servian materials. Although Ramires's choice was criticised by Zetzel, who observed that so few of **T**'s notes on *Aen.* 7 are paralleled in **F** that the codex 'can scarcely be called, by any definition, a witness to DS',[221] the problem of the nature of the notes at issue still awaits a thorough discussion.

If one leaves aside the notes copied by **T**^{5}, none of which fall within the second half of book 7,[222] **T**'s and **Va**'s notes follow three different patterns in *Aen.* 6.1-15, 6.16-7.463, and 7.464-817. In the first section, they are approximately as frequent as the notes on the other books and include seven excerpts certainly drawn from **DS** and three excerpts of unclear origin;[223] in the second, they are significantly less frequent than the notes on the other books and include sporadic excerpts certainly drawn from **DS** and sporadic

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that a similar note could be found in **F** (*tirsi uirginum uelamina quos sponsi de uerticibus iuuenum traendo sumunt*); as was noticed by Grazzini (2011: 367-9), **F**'s note was added by a later hand, and both seem to depend on a medieval glossary. The criteria adopted by Ramires to establish which notes should be recorded in his edition are not completely clear. Although he claims to have chosen to publish 'le aggiunte di **T**, almeno quelle che non contengono note tironiane e quelle per le quali si può escludere la dipendenza da Tiberio Claudio Donato' (2003: XIV), several notes fulfilling these two criteria cannot be found either in the text or in the apparatus. Some of the excluded notes even contain the introductory phrases, such as *quidam dicunt*, which Ramires judged, 'se … non un criterio certo di selezione, … almeno … un utile indizio della tecnica compilatoria … impiegata … dal compilatore del *Floriacensis* [i.e. **F**]' (*ibid.*); this is the case, for instance, of **T**^{1}'s notes on 7.623 (transcribed in Thilo's apparatus) and 713 (still unpublished: *hos omnes montes quidam ab altitudine dictos* […]).

[221] Zetzel 2008: 207.

[222] **T**^{5}'s notes on books 6-7 are significantly less frequent than **T**^{5}'s notes on the other books and are always paralleled in **F** (besides the note on *Aen.* 6.332, discussed in section 7.1, cf., e.g., those on *Aen.* 6.287 and 289). From this perspective, one can conclude that the witness from which they were drawn did not transmit a fuller version of the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 6-7 and depended on the ancestor of **F** where the non-Servian additions of these scholia were first removed.

[223] Notes consisting of simple glosses are not considered here or *infra*. The former seven notes correspond to **DS** additions which are preserved by **F** (on *Aen.* 6.14: *MINOIA* and 15: *PRAEPETIBVS*) or are preserved by **CGR** and were probably preserved by the original first leaf of **F**^{p}'s gathering 21 (on *Aen.* 1: *CLASSIQVE* and *IMMITTIT HABENAS*, 2: *TANDEM* and *EVBOICIS*, and 9: *ALTVS*). As already shown, the latter three notes may also be suspected of deriving from genuine **DS** additions originally preserved by **F**'s lost leaf. All the notes at issue were copied by **T**^{1}.

excerpts of unclear origin;[224] in the third, they are approximately as frequent as the notes on the other books and include sporadic excerpts certainly drawn from **DS**,[225] as well as the numerous notes of unclear origin which are here *sub iudice*.[226]

Since the correlation between the distribution of **F**'s non-Servian additions and that of **T**'s and **Va**'s notes up to *Aen.* 7.463 can hardly be regarded as a coincidence[227] and since nothing suggests that the non-Servian additions of the scholia *ad Aen.* 6-7.463 and 7.464-817 were removed at two separate stages, it seems likely that the notes of unclear origin on *Aen.* 7.464-817 do not derive from the same branch of the **DS** tradition as (most of) the **DS** notes on *Aen.* 3-7.463. From this perspective, what one needs to verify is whether there is any evidence that the notes in question should be regarded as originating from another branch of the **DS** tradition rather than from a completely different tradition.

That the source or one of the sources of the notes should be identified with an augmented version of the Servian commentary is suggested by three elements: some notes contain Servian and non-Servian sections, as was pointed out by Ramires;[228] one of **T$^{6'}$**'s notes on *Aen.* 7.612 is introduced by the phrase *praeter quod Seruius dicit*; **T$^{6'}$**'s note on

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[224] The notes on *Aen.* 6.16-65, for instance, include just one brief excerpt from a scholium which can be found in **F** and in the Servian witnesses alike (on *Aen.* 6.63) and just one note of unknown origin which may well be considered as an autoschediasm (on *Aen.* 6.53: *hoc ad illud pertinet, quod dixit: unde ruunt t. u.*). The following notes include sporadic brief excerpts from Servian scholia which agree with **F** against all the extant families of the Servian tradition (cf., e.g., the note on *Aen.* 7.200).

[225] A few notes share significant innovations with **F** against all the extant families of the Servian tradition; cf., e.g., **T$^{1'}$**'s long note on *Aen.* 7.678 (*tunc*] *tum* **FT^{1}** | *plerique*] *et plerique* **FT^{1}** | *Lauino*] *Lauinio* **FT^{1}** | *Lauinium dictum*] *Lauiniam dictam* **FT^{1}**). Moreover, **T^{1}Va** preserve an excerpt from the **DS** non-Servian addition of the scholium *ad Aen.* 7.817 which can also be found in **F** and in the **σ** family of Servius as an interpolation from **DS**: *PASTORALEM PRAEFIXA CVSPIDE MYRTVM quia hac pugnare pastores solent*] *quia hoc* (*q- h-*] *quo* **Va**) *solebant pastores pugnare* (for the replacement of the present with the imperfect, cf. section 7.2).

[226] **T**'s notes at issue can be attributed, in particular, to **T^{1}**, **T^{2}**, and **T^{6}**.

[227] As shown in section 2.3, **F** abruptly starts to lack the non-Servian additions after the first scholia *ad Aen.* 6 as well.

[228] Besides the notes on *Aen.* 7.612 and 710, mentioned in Ramires's preface, cf. those on v. 460 (transcribed in Ramires's apparatus) and on vv. 612 and 634 (transcribed in Thilo's apparatus).

Aen. 7.610 includes an internal reference (*quod iam supra dictum est*) potentially referring to the Servian scholium *ad Aen.* 7.607.[229]

The following pieces of internal and external evidence might be perceived as supporting the identification of that source with the **DS** scholia. First, the just quoted phrase *praeter quod Seruius dicit* and the use of the impersonal form *dictum est* to refer to another passage are normally confined to the **DS** excerpts in **TVa**.[230] Second, two notes can be paralleled in three Servian witnesses interpolated from **DS**, namely **MpPePf**:[231]

	T[1]	**MpPePf**
7.517	et Sabini lingua sua nar dicunt sulphur. ergo hunc fluuium ideo dicunt esse Nar appellatum, quod odore sulphureo nares contingat siue quod i modum narium geminos habeat exitus.	nar … lingua Tuscorum sulphur dicitur, unde Nar fluuius appellatus est uel (unde … uel] id est **Mp**) quod procul nares hominum sulphureo odore abigat uel (abigat uel] respergit id est **Mp**) quod ad similitudinem narium duos exitus habet.
7.776	euum est aetas perpetua, cuius neque initium neque extremum noscitur, sed hic modo aeuum aetatem Yppoliti posuit. ueteres aeuum etiam deorum uitam dicebant: nam et Virbius inter deos colitur. Virbium autem quidam solum putant esse, cuius simulacrum non est fas attingere, propterea quia nec sol tangitur.	aeuum (ae- dicitur **Mp**) perpetua aetas (e- **Pe**), cuius nec (n- *non hab.* **PePf**) initium nec (ne **Mp**) finis noscitur. ueteres etiam aeuum (e- **Pe**) dicebant uitam deorum.

By hypothesising that two other notes in **T** are based on lost **DS** non-Servian additions, moreover, one is able to provide a ready explanation for changes made by the Compiler to two Servian scholia:

[229] The tradition to which **T**[6]**'**s note on *Aen.* 7.610 refers is not mentioned in any other preceding note.

[230] On the use of introductory phrases such as *praeter quod Seruius dicit*, see section 7.2. An internal reference with *diximus* occurs in **T**[2]**'**s note on *Aen.* 10.164, which Murgia labelled as emanating from a lost commentary written between Servius and Isidore (1975: 19-20 n. 37).

[231] **Pe**'s former note and the initial sentence of **Pe**'s latter note are transcribed in Ramires's apparatus. On the three witnesses, cf. the conclusion.

	Seru.	F[232]
7.526	SEGES *seges* terra modo, ut *quid faciat laetas segetes*. per *atra* uero fertilem significat, ut in Georgicis ostenditur: *nigra fere et presso pinguis sub uomere terra.*	SEGES ENSIBVS seges terra modo, ut quid faciat letas segetes. per atram uero fertilem significat, ut in Georgicis ostenditur.
7.690	PERO autem est rusticum calciamentum. et traxit hoc a Graeciae more, unde isti transierant, ubi hoc calciamenti fuerat genus.	PERO autem est rusticum calciamentum. et traxit hoc a Gracie more, unde isti, sicut dictum est, transierunt, ubi hoc calciamenti fuerat genus.

In the former case, a comparison between the texts transmitted by **F** and by the Servian codices reveals that the Compiler added the word *ENSIBVS* to the lemma. Several of the cases where the Compiler added words at the end of lemmata are to be explained as consequences of the fact that he also supplemented the *interpretamenta* with non-Servian additions referring to those words.[233] Here, no non-Servian addition is transmitted by **F**, but a still unpublished note on *ensibus* was copied by **T**^{1}: *per enses possunt intellegi lanceae ac per hoc lancealis seges, ut in III ferrea telorum seges.* In the latter case, the text preserved by **F** essentially coincides with the one preserved by Servian manuscripts except for the reference *sicut dictum est*, which is to be imputed to the Compiler. While the information at issue cannot be found in any of **F**'s preceding scholia, one of **T**^{1}'s notes on v. 684 does refer to the Greek origin of the peoples described by Vergil in vv. 682-90: *quidam dicunt a Pelasgo Hernico originem duxisse istos atque ideo morem Etolorum qui originem ducebant etiam a Pelasgis eis assignasse Virgilium tradunt, id est ut uno pede calceato procederent in bellum*.[234]

Notwithstanding, a closer investigation of the notes containing a Servian and a non-Servian section prevents one from considering the problem as conclusively solved. Not only does none of these notes agree with **F** against **Σ** in significant innovations, but one of them actually agrees three times with **Γ** (or with some **Γ** families) against **F Δ**:

7.612 a tergo reuocata **F Δγ**: reuocata **T**^{6} **στ**

sunt ad bella profecti **F Δ**: ad bella profecti sunt **T**^{6} **Γ**

propter quod omen tali habitu semper utebantur in bellis **F Δ**: unde hic ortus est mos **T**^{6} **Γ**

[232] **F** is the only **DS** primary witness transmitting the two scholia.

[233] On **DS** lemmata, cf. Stok 2012: 107-33.

[234] **T**^{1}'s note in question can be compared with Macr. *Sat.* 5.18.15-16: *mirari est poetae huius occultissimam diligentiam, qui cum legisset Hernicos, quorum est Anagnia, a Pelasgis oriundos appellatosque ita a quodam Pelasgo duce suo, qui Hernicus nominabatur, morem quem de Aetolia legerat Hernicis adsignauit, qui sunt uetus colonia Pelasgorum. … morem uero Aetolis fuisse uno tantum modo pede calceato in bellum ire ostendit clarissimus scriptor Euripides tragicus*.

These agreements cannot be judged as indisputable proofs that the non-Servian section of the note in question does not derive from **DS**,[235] let alone that none of the notes whose nature is here *sub iudice* derives from **DS**. Yet, unless new evidence comes to light, future editors should probably confine themselves to recording these notes among the ones which may or may not derive from **DS** non-Servian additions not preserved by **F**.[236]

[235] Alternative explanations are available in principle. Not only could **T⁶** have joined a Servian text with a **DS** non-Servian addition (cf. the similar case mentioned in section 7.2), but the **F** readings at issue could also be regarded as the result of contamination. As shown in section 2.1, the text transmitted by **F** seems to have been thoroughly revised by a reader resorting to a Servian witness in this book, and **F**'s scholium *ad Aen.* 7.612 may well bear evidence of such revision itself, reading *hoc … uestimenti genere utebatur consul ita uelabantur* instead of **Σ**'s *hoc … uestimenti genere utebatur consul*: the words *ita uelabantur*, labelled by Ramires as a corrupt version of a genuine **DS** non-Servian addition *ita uelabatur*, are most readily explicable as a corrupt version of a variant reading such as *aliter* or *uel uelabatur* which was erroneously incorporated within the text.

[236] I hasten to remark that some of the notes which are included in Ramires' edition can certainly be judged as not deriving from lost **DS** non-Servian additions; cf., e.g., **T¹Va**'s note on *Aen.* 7.817: *quidam intellegunt hastam myrteam* (*mir-* **T¹**)*, sed melius est ut ipsam myrtum accipiamus praefixo ferro grauiorem*, where *quidam … accipiamus* is nothing but a rephrased version of the Servian sentence printed by Ramires immediately before *quidam* (*non hastam myrteam sed ipsam myrtum: Statius 'Lernaeam iacit ille trabem'*), whereas *praefixo ferro grauiorem* is an excerpt from Claud. Don. *ad Aen.* 7.816-7. Incidentally, since **F** omits *non hastam*, these two words were considered by Ramires as not belonging to the **DS** version of the scholium; if **T¹**'s and **Va**'s notes emanated from **DS**, it would be possible to adduce them to prove that the omission should be regarded as an **F** error rather than an error inherited or made by the Compiler.

III
Witnesses Emanating from the Primary Witnesses

This chapter offers a survey of the extant witnesses produced between the ninth and the early seventeenth century that emanate from the primary witnesses. The brief descriptions provided for each of them are based on the same criteria as the descriptions provided in chapter I. Since the thesis that **Mo** emanates from **M**$^{(3)}$ was convincingly argued for in Murgia's *Prolegomena* and has been commonly accepted, a fresh discussion of the relationship between these two witnesses appears superfluous. By contrast, one such discussion is called for as to the relationships between *App. Dan. Fab. Mod. Schop.* and **C**, between **G** and **F**, between **Pd** and **T**, and between *Ambros.* and **FPT**.

1. The early-modern witnesses emanating from C

1.1. *App.*, *Dan.*, *Fab.*, *Mod.*, and *Schop.* and their geneses

Five sixteenth-century witnesses to **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 have been so far suggested as somehow related to **C**: the appendix to Maulde's 1587 edition of Justin (*Mod.*), Schoppe's 1597 *De arte critica* and *Suspectarum lectionum libri* (*Schop.*), Daniel's 1600 edition of Servius (*Dan.*), Daniel's handwritten notes on his copy of Fabricius' 1586 edition of Servius (*Fab.*), and the appendix to Daniel's edition of Servius (*App.*). Before addressing the question of the relationship between **C** and these five witnesses, it seems worth summarising the main features of the latter.

Excerpts from the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1.201, 288, 340, 491, and 726 and from the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1.21 and 636 and 2.681 and 782 are quoted in passing by Maulde and by Schoppe, respectively. Both scholars confined themselves to labelling the excerpts as drawn from an ancient parchment manuscript from Fulda which was significantly more accurate and complete than the vulgate Servius.[1]

[1] On the genesis of Maulde's and Schoppe's works, cf. De Smet 2022: 410-14.

A significantly larger number of excerpts apparently related to **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 can be found in the other three witnesses. Although none of Daniel's own manuscripts preserved a full version of the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 and he normally resigned himself to supplementing the Servian scholia on these two books with the abridged non-Servian additions transmitted by **P**, his edition contains a full version of the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.201, 340, 491, and 709-32. A clue as to the origin of these scholia, or at least of those which can be paralleled in *Mod.*, is offered by Daniel himself. In the preface inserted at the beginning of his edition, the new valuable additions to the vulgate Servius are said to emanate from five witnesses, including a *Fuldensis*:[2]

> Quinque enim exemplaribus praecipue est usus, LEMOVICENSI in septem posteriores Eclogas, et Georgicorum librum primum, usque ad uersum ducentesimum septuagesimum octauum: FLORIACENSI in aliquot locos Georgicon et Aeneidos, si bene meminit, quia is desideratur, et fortasse an uspiam sepositus ab amico, in cuius manum depositus fuerat: ANTISSIODORENSI in omnem Aeneiden: TVRONENSI in certos eiusdem locos, eadem quae Antissiodorensi interpretatione singulari, sed paulo integriore: et FVLDENSI in primum et secundum Aeneid.

[2] Daniel 1600: *s.n.* Some comment is here in order as to the identity of the other three witnesses to the **DS** scholia on the *Aeneid* listed in the preface. Since Thomas (1880: *app.* II), the *Floriacensis*, the *Antissiodorensis*, and the *Turonensis* have been unanimously identified with **F**, **G**, and **T**, respectively. The last equation is virtually certain since **T** is a product of the scriptorium of Tours and the remark about the *Turonensis* is consistent with the features of **T**'s notes. By contrast, the identity of the other two witnesses named by Daniel is less clear. Besides **T**, Daniel resorted to three witnesses to the **DS** scholia on the *Aeneid*: **FGP**. Among these, **F** was employed by Daniel as his main source for *Aen.* 3-12, **P** as his only source for *Aen.* 1-2 and as a supplementary source for the following books, and **G**, which derives from **F** and lacks almost half of the scholia preserved by **F** (cf. section 2.1), as a supplementary source for *Aen.* 3-12 in the sections where **F** was no longer extant or legible. Still, the *Antissiodorensis*, rather than the *Floriacensis*, is presented as the main source for the scholia on the *Aeneid* in the preface. No conclusive evidence can be adduced to show that **F**, **G**, or **P** was found in Fleury or Auxerre by Daniel: Thomas identified the *Floriacensis* with **F** because it exhibited a note ascribable to a Fleury monk and identified the *Antissiodorensis* with **G** because no other witness was left, **P** having already been identified by him with the *Fuldensis*. On the basis of the available data, it is difficult to establish whether the preface should be regarded as trustworthy, in which case one would have to posit that **F** had been taken from Fleury to Auxerre before the sixteenth century, or the provenance of two witnesses was simply confused by Daniel, in which case one could maintain that he found **F** in Fleury. In either case, however, there seems to be no logic to hypothesising that the witness mentioned together with **F** should be identified with the dispensable **G**, rather than the more valuable **P**. The hypothesis that **P** was found by Daniel in the monastery of Saint-Germain of Auxerre would also make it possible to explain why he referred to this witness as 'S. G.' in *Fab.* (cf., e.g., c. 501).

Four handwritten drafts of this preface survive in a collection of notes belonging to Daniel that is now held in the Burgerbibliothek of Bern under the shelf mark 189 (ff. 185-8); in the first and the third of these drafts, the following clarification is added after 'FVLDENSI in primum et secundum Aeneid.': 'cuius tamen autographon uidere … non licuit, sed … excerpta a Fr. Modio e duobus libris prioribus'.

Furthermore, several excerpts from the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.*praef.*-2.657 including material not preserved by **P** were transcribed by Daniel in the margins of *Fab.*[3] While some of these notes explicitly indicate a *Fuldensis* as their ultimate source, beginning with the phrase 'ex transcripto Fuldensi codice' or the like, those *ad Aen.* 1.522 and 2.159 add a reference to a fragment of the codex that he had personally seen:

c. 498 ex cod. Fuld. cuius frag. duarum pag. uidere licuit.

c. 575 ex u. cod. collegii Fuldensis cuius fragmentum duarum pag. prae manibus habui.

When these notes were written down cannot be precisely established; however, the fact that they include portions of text that are not found in *Dan.* is most readily explained by hypothesising that their source reached Daniel after the completion of the final draft of his edition.

The same *terminus ante quem non* can be assigned to *App.* This thirty-six-page appendix, titled *Variae lectiones in primum et secundum Aeneidos Virgilii ex collatione manuscripti Fuldensis cum manuscriptis Pet. Danielis I. C.*, is preceded by another prefatory letter, which begins as follows:[4]

> Cum huic nostro operi manum extremam attulisse nos arbitraremur (LECTOR AMANTISS.) iamque animo ratum fixumque esset, hos Seruii in Virgilium Commentarios ex Manuscriptis Codicibus P. Danielis I. C. tuis terendos manibus publicare, in nostras incidit expectatissimus iamdudum Codex, ex Fuldensibus membranis exscriptus a VV. CLL. Marco Versero et Gasp.

[3] De Smet (2022: 412-16) suggested that these excerpts should not be attributed to Daniel but rather to Maulde or to some other scholar. The traditional attribution to Daniel, entirely plausible from a palaeographical perspective, is actually corroborated by an examination of the text of the notes. Most of them lack the very sections that could be found in the abridged version of the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 transmitted by **P**, and some even include explicit references to this version. For instance, this is the case of the note on *Aen.* 1.491: the last two sentences of the non-Servian addition to the **DS** scholium on *PENTHESILEA FVRENS* were copied and subsequently deleted, and the words 'extant in meo cod.' were added by Daniel to explain the deletion.

[4] Daniel 1600: *app.* 20.

> Schoppio, et e Germania nobis per C.V. Iacobum Bongarsium allatus. Hic quia multis partibus nostris erat locupletior, … hac ratione typis, adhibito doctissimorum uirorum iudicio, commisimus, ut quod in iam excuso deesset, seu immutandum emendandumue foret, pagina lineaue designatis, compendaria quadam ratione utrumque integrum tibi traderemus.

This statement appears of particular interest for two reasons: on the one hand, it summarises the peculiar features of *App.*, which, being the result of the collation of a manuscript with Daniel's edition, does not transmit a continuous text but simply records variant readings, omissions, transpositions, and additions; on the other, it provides an account of the genesis of *App.* and of its exemplar.

As recently shown by De Smet, an analysis of Welser and Schoppe's correspondence and of the notes added by the latter to his own copy of Daniel's edition substantially confirms this account but makes it possible to correct two inaccuracies.[5] First, although the transcription was indeed possessed by Welser and by Schoppe before being sent by the latter to Daniel, neither scholar was actually responsible for its production.[6] Second, when it reached Daniel, the transcription was not a slavish copy of the Fulda manuscript but included a certain number of conjectural corrections proposed by Schoppe himself.[7]

[5] De Smet 2022: 413-19. On Schoppe's copy of Daniel's edition, cf. section 1.3.

[6] See the letter sent by Welser to Schoppe on the 11th of November 1596: 'sunt … apud me Commentarii Seruii in primum et secundum Aeneidos, exscripti, credo, ex Fuldensi codice, bis tanto locupletiores et meliores quam sint uulgo editi' (in Jaitner 2012: 31-2). The identity of the scholar responsible for the transcription is not known.

[7] See the prefatory note added by Schoppe at the beginning of his copy of Daniel's edition: 'sed cum intellexisset [scil. Daniel], penes me Seruianas schedas asseruari, ex Fuldano codice, Romanis characteribus exarato, descriptas, per Jacobum Bongarsium Oratorem Galliae Regis mecum egit, ut quae in Seruium haberem, ad se mitterem, cum libro ipsius simul imprimenda; idque ut facerem facilius, curiosam et dignam labore meo mentionem publice se facturum promisit: aut si eo adduci non possem, suum Seruium integrum mihi se missurum pollicitus est, quem mea diligentia ipse luci publicae adornarem. Ego qui non tam honoris mei eram studiosus, ut tanti scriptoris restituti laudem solus possidere cuperem, facile persuaderi mihi passus sum, ut uberrimum bonarum rerum penu, hoc est, ea quae in Seruium habebam partim ex membranis antiquissimis descripta, partim etiam mea cura et iudicio uariis in locis emendata, bona fide in Galliam Danieli mitterem' (in De Smet 2022: 421).

1.2. The relationship between **C** and *App.*, *Dan.*, *Fab.*, *Mod.*, and *Schop.*

1.2.1. The progress of scholarship

In the preface to the first volume of Thilo's Servian edition, the relationship between *App.* and **C** is already presented as a long-debated issue.[8] However, since Thilo was the first to examine this relationship, as well as the relationship between *Dan. Fab. Schop.* and **C**, on the basis of a thorough appraisal of the available evidence, his edition seems a sensible starting point for this account of the progress of scholarship.

Struck by the fact that *Dan.*'s scholia *ad Aen.* 1.340 and 716-30 included **DS** additions that could not be found in Daniel's own codices, Thilo proposed to attribute them to two different sources. He hypothesised that the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.716-27 derived from the fragment of the *Fuldensis* to which Daniel referred in *Fab.* and that those *ad Aen.* 1.340 and 727-30, like *Fab.*'s notes, were based on the 'excerpta Modii' mentioned in the drafts of the preface. The fact that **C** lacks three leaves after the beginning of the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.716 led Thilo to hypothesise that the fragment belonged to this manuscript and that the same manuscript was also *Fab.*'s ultimate source, given that some of *Fab.*'s notes are explicitly presented as drawn from the codex of which Daniel had seen a fragment. Furthermore, several *App.* readings explicable as the results of misunderstandings of corrections made to **C**'s scholia were adduced by Thilo as positive evidence in support of the derivation of the former from the latter. Since *App.* was based on the transcription entrusted by Schoppe to Bongars, he also concluded that Schoppe's quotations must have depended on the same manuscript, that is on **C**.

The nucleus of Thilo's theory was accepted by Lehmann, who limited himself to pointing out that Daniel could have become aware of the *Fuldensis* thanks to Maulde's edition of Justin (1587) and to suggesting that *App.* could ultimately depend on a transcription produced by Maulde himself.[9]

During the middle decades of the last century, the Harvard scholars called into question the view that the five sixteenth-century witnesses derived from **C** and ended up offering a radically different explanation of their relationships. A first objection to

[8] Thilo 1881: L-LVII. In particular, the issue had already been discussed in Dübner 1834: 1225-7, Thilo 1856: 3-7, and Thomas 1880: 71-5.

[9] Lehmann 1908: 77-8.

Thilo's theory was raised by Savage in his 1932 survey of the **DS** tradition.[10] In particular, Savage suggested that *Fab.* should be regarded as more complete than **C** in at least two scholia (*ad Aen.* 1.17 and 97) and thus as depending not only on **C** but also on another manuscript, which he identified with the 'uetus codex collegii Fuldensis' mentioned by Daniel.

Eight years later, the relationships between the witnesses to the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 were investigated in a doctoral thesis presented by another Harvard scholar, Elder.[11] Re-examining *Dan.* with more attention, he was able to trace **DS** materials missing in Daniel's witnesses in the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.201, 340, 491, and 709-34. While the first three appeared to him as based directly on Maulde's edition of Justin, he considered those *ad Aen.* 1.709-34 as depending on the fragment of the *uetus Fuldensis* and rejected its identification with one of **C**'s missing leaves since the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.709-16 are found on **C**'s f. 40^{v}. Taking for granted that all notes in *Fab.* derived from a collection of excerpts sent by Maulde to Daniel and emanated indirectly from the *Fuldensis* of which the latter had seen a fragment, Elder concluded that *Fab.* and *Mod.* were also independent of **C**. The frequent agreements between *App.* and *Fab.* against **C** led him to rule out this hypothesis also for the former witness, as well as for Schoppe's quotations, which he considered, like Thilo, as excerpted from the same manuscript whose transcription Schoppe would have subsequently sent to Daniel. Lastly, eight lists of cases where the *App.* and *Fab.* readings diverged from the **C** (or **C**^{pc}) ones were adduced by Elder as additional evidence to show that the former two witnesses did not depend on the latter. According to him, in sum, all the sixteenth-century witnesses which Thilo and Lehmann judged as based on **C** could be shown to derive from a different lost manuscript.

A more radically separative perspective was adopted in the 1946 volume of the Harvard edition of Servius: its seven editors, including Savage and Elder, not only affirmed that neither *App. Schop.* nor *Dan. Fab. Mod*. derived from **C**[12] but also cursorily distinguished between the Fulda manuscripts from which the first two and the last three

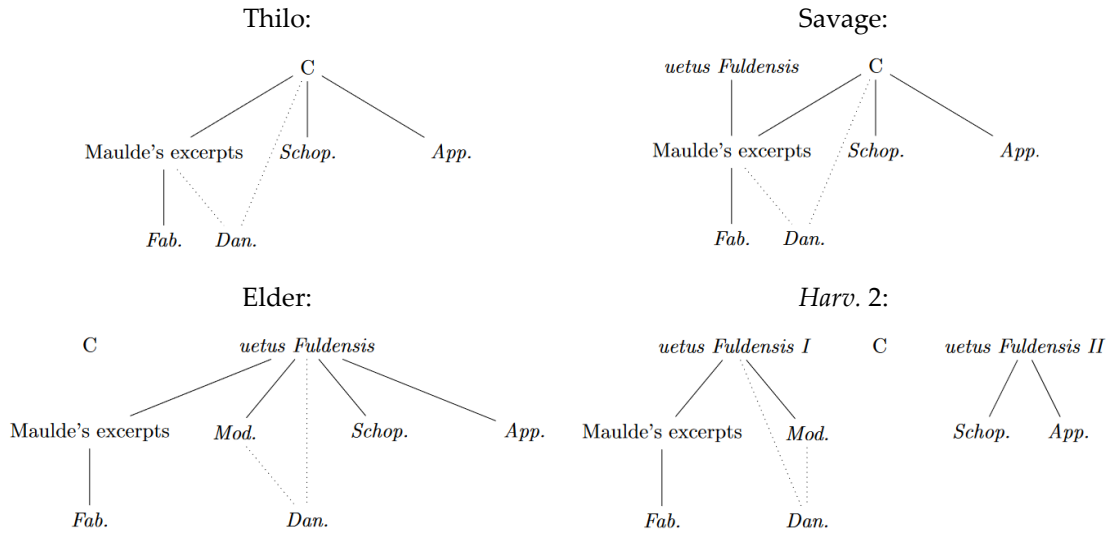
[10] Savage 1932: 89 n. 1 and 91-3.

[11] Elder 1940a. A summary of the thesis can be found in Elder 1940b.

[12] *Harv.* 2: IV-V.

witnesses derived.[13] While this distinction seems to have been normally ignored by later scholars,[14] the idea that the sixteenth-century witnesses in question do not depend on **C** has since become the common opinion.[15]

From this perspective, Thilo's, Savage's, Elder's, and *Harv.* 2's reconstructions can be diagrammatically represented as follows:



1.2.2. *Dan.*, *Mod.*, and *Schop.*

The presence of the unabridged **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1.201, 340, and 491 in both *Dan.* and *Mod.* cannot be regarded as fortuitous, and the existence of a close connection between the two editions is corroborated by their agreements in errors against **C**:[16]

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[13] That they considered the *Fuldensis* on which *App. Schop.* were based as a different codex from the *Fuldensis* on which *Dan. Fab. Mod.* were based can be inferred from a remark included in their apparatus (p. 294: 'in hac igitur textus parte nil novi Modii codicis Fuldensis lectionibus attulit collatio ex alio Fuldensi libro a Scioppio facta'), but no argument is explicitly adduced in support of this distinction.

[14] For an exception, see Robinson 1950: 233, where the distinction is explicitly labelled as doubtful.

[15] Cf., e.g., Marshall 1983: 387 and, more recently, Vallat 2021: 57 n. 20 and De Smet 2022: 409-10.

[16] *Dan.* and *Mod.* transmit five other readings which differ from the corresponding **C** readings: *sociis* **C**: *ciuibus Dan. Mod.*, *cuicumque* **C**: *cuidam Dan. Mod.*, *caritate* **C**: *amore Dan. Mod.*, *iecerit* **C**: *iniecerit Dan. Mod.* (*ad Aen.* 1.340), and *an* **C**: *aut Dan. Mod.* (*ad Aen.* 1.491). In none of these cases, however, can the *Dan. Mod.* reading be regarded as necessarily inferior on internal grounds.

1.201 Catinam **C**: Catanam *Dan. Mod.*

1.491 nam furor **C** [=**Σ**]: nam hic furor *Dan. Mod.*

Since the publication of *Harv.* 2, *Dan.*'s scholia on these three lines have been unanimously assumed to derive directly from those quoted by Maulde. This hypothesis is consistent with the available textual evidence since, while *Dan.* includes four errors where *Mod*. is correct, the six *Dan.* superior readings corresponding to *Mod.* errors could all have been drawn from **P**, Daniel's own witness to the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2:[17]

(a) Superior readings in *Mod.* corresponding to inferior readings in *Dan.*

1.201 certe **C** *Mod*. [=**Σ**]: etiam **P** *Dan.*

quia ibi **C** *Mod.*: ibique **P** *Dan.*

possumus (posum- **P**) accipere **CP** *Mod.* [≈**Σ**]: accepit *Dan.*

1.491 haec tamen **C**: haec autem *Mod.*: *nihil hab. Dan. qui dispositionem sch. mutauit*

(b) Superior readings in *Dan.* corresponding to inferior readings in *Mod.*

1.201 habitauerunt **CP** *Dan.* [=**Σ**]: habitarunt *Mod.*

1.340 ante **CP** *Dan.*: antea *Mod.*

appellata (apel- **P**) **CP** *Dan.*: appellata fuit *Mod.*

1.491 Otreres **CP** *Dan.*: Otreris *Mod.*

aduersum **CP** *Dan.*: aduersus *Mod.*

eamque honorifice **CP** *Dan.*: honorificeque *Mod.*

Nevertheless, since the scholia at issue are rather short, it is impossible to rule out the hypothesis that the two editions derive independently from a lost exemplar – perhaps a collection of excerpts assembled by Maulde – and that Maulde made no additional error, at least in the few sections not preserved by **P**, while including the excerpted text in his edition.[18] This hypothesis would be consistent with the data provided by Daniel in the drafts of the prefatory letter, where he mentions a collection of 'excerpta a Fr. Modio e

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Minor variations of spelling and alterations of Vergil's quotations are not considered either here or *infra*.

[17] The list does not include the alleged *Dan.* superior reading of the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.340 which Elder (1940a: 47) judged as a potential counterargument against the hypothesis of *Dan.*'s dependence on *Mod.*: *de* **C** *Dan.*: *ex Mod.* In fact, *Mod.* reads *de*, like **C** and *Dan.*

[18] In the case of very short texts, as stressed by West (1973: 32), the axiom that 'each copy will contain the same errors that were in the exemplar … plus some additional ones' cannot be judged as necessarily valid.

duobus libris prioribus' that could be identified either with the latest common ancestor of *Dan.*'s and *Mod.*'s scholia *ad Aen.* 1.201, 340, and 491 or with a copy of that ancestor from which only *Dan.*'s scholia derive. If this were the case, one could easily explain the absence in *Dan.* of the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.288, quoted between those *ad Aen.* 1.201 and 340 in *Mod.*, by assuming that it was not included in the collection received by Daniel.[19]

No evidence can be adduced in support of *Dan. Mod.*'s independence of **C** since none of the readings of the former appears to be superior to the corresponding readings of the latter, apart from five, shared by the two editions, which can effectively be considered as easy conjectures:

1.201	Tauromenium *Dan. Mod.*: tauro enium **C**
1.340	cum a *Dan. Mod.*: coma **C**
	cogeretur *Dan. Mod.*: cogeretur at (at *fort. ex* ac) **C**
	et *Dan. Mod.*: ei **C**
1.491	uenatione *Dan. Mod.* [=**Σ**]: uenationem **C**

By contrast, the hypothesis that *Dan. Mod.* depend on **C** makes it possible to offer a ready explanation for one of the cases where the former two witnesses preserve a different reading from the latter, namely *iecerit* **C**: *iniecerit Dan. Mod.* (*ad Aen.* 1.340). In **C**, the text of the scholium is flanked by a note which was added by the 'Servian' reviser **C**^{3} in the left margin (f. 18^{v}):[20]

bus nubere ei prioris mariti …
Intractabile · in
supabile ·. aspe · Iecerit · quam se adexpiandos …
rū · seuū;
fugiens·; hoc loco quasi stipuit …

Because of the arrangement of the note, as well as, perhaps, because of the middle dots preceding *in* and *iecerit*, any scribe copying from **C** could easily take the syllable *in*,

[19] The fact that Daniel labelled the excerpts as drawn from the scholia on the first two books should not be regarded as problematic: the collection might well have included, besides the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.201, 340, and 491, other scholia *ad Aen.* 2 which, being identical to **P**'s, cannot be recognised in *Dan.*

[20] Bold is here used to distinguish the marginal note from the original text. As mentioned in chapter I, section 1, **C**'s 'Servian' revisers did not have access to **C**'s exemplar. The note in question corresponds to one of the Servian scholia *ad Aen.* 1.339.

which belongs to the adjective *insuperabile*, as an interlinear correction referring to *iecerit*.[21]

Thirteen other **DS** non-Servian additions that could not have been drawn from **P** are found in *Dan.*'s scholia *ad Aen.* 1.709-32.[22] As already mentioned, the problem of the source of these singularly contiguous scholia was most recently discussed by Elder, who hypothesised, like Thilo, that they could include the new material extrapolated by Daniel from the 'fragmentum duarum paginarum' of the *Fuldensis*.[23] Remarking that the additions were not limited to *Dan.*'s scholia *ad Aen.* 1.719-30, as claimed by Thilo, he concluded that the fragment could not belong to **C** because the additions to the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.709 and 712 are still legible on **C**'s f. 40^{v}. This conclusion, which has since been unanimously accepted, deserves to be discussed afresh.

The analysis of the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.709-16, which can be read in both *Dan.* and **C**, offers no textual evidence in support of Elder's view. Four of only five *Dan*. readings that are superior to the corresponding **C** readings are also found in **P** or in Servian manuscripts and thus can be considered as drawn by Daniel from either of these sources, whereas the last one can be explained as an easy conjecture:[24]

1.709 putabant *Dan.*: putebant **C**

1.712 de oratione **P** *Dan.*: deuotatione **C**^{Pc}

1.713 intuetur **P** *Dan.* [=**Γ**]: induetur **C**

agentis **P** *Dan.* [=**Γ**]: argenteis **C**

est dum **P** *Dan.* [=**Γ**]: estum **C**

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[21] I hasten to observe that, albeit potentially significant, this case cannot be regarded as *per se* conclusive: other explanations for the genesis of the *Dan. Mod.* reading are conceivable, *iniecerit* being a potentially easy error in this context (*in pyram iecerit*).

[22] The additions are found in *Dan.*'s scholia *ad Aen.* 1.709, 712, 719-20, 722-3, 726-7, 729-30, and 732.

[23] Elder 1940a: 49-3 and 1940b: 316. Elder also suggested that Daniel could have meant 'folia' instead of 'paginae' and that the fragment could be identified with the 'binio Fuldensis' mentioned in the third draft of his prefatory letter.

[24] An additional case where the *Dan.* reading was judged as superior to the **C** one by *Harv.* 2 can be found in the last sentence of the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.715: *ergo 'ubi' interdum aduerbium loci est, interdum* (*i- Dan.* [=**Γ**]: *i- aduerbium* **C**) *temporis*. As mentioned in chapter I, section 7.1.2, the Compiler showed elsewhere a penchant for supplying this kind of ellipses, and the **C** reading should probably be printed as **DS**.

More significantly, Elder's reasoning appears to be based on a questionable premise. He took for granted that all the additions of *Dan.*'s scholia *ad Aen.* 1.709-32 must have been found in the fragment and did not contemplate the possibility that some of them could have been drawn by Daniel from other sources, such as the already mentioned collection of excerpts sent by Maulde.

Evidence in support of this reconstruction is indeed offered by *App.*[25] In this witness, which records only the differences between *Dan.* and the transcription of the *Fuldensis* received from Bongars, no **DS** variant or addition is mentioned between '*tralatione* legit *laudatione*' (*ad Aen.* 1.712.5) and '*qu** legit *quod*' (*ad Aen.* 1.727.10),[26] but two and four variant readings are quoted from the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.709-12 and 727-32, respectively.[27] This fact can be easily explained by assuming that the *Fuldensis* whose transcription was entrusted to Bongars still included the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.709-12 and 727-32 and that the pages which had been seen by Daniel as a loose fragment started at some point after the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.712 and ended at some point before the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.727.10. From this perspective, it is possible to suspect that the fragment was the source of seven or eight of *Dan.*'s thirteen **DS** additions at issue – namely those of the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.719-20, 722-3, and 726,[28] as well as, perhaps, 727 – and that the others were drawn from a different witness. This reconstruction is entirely consistent with the hypothesis that the *Fuldensis* should be identified with **C**: the first two of the six pages added after the end of **C**'s gathering 5, which could be removed with relative ease, contained exactly the **DS** additions that Daniel seems to have taken from the fragment, beginning with the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.716 and realistically ending with that *ad Aen.* 1.726 or 727.[29]

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[25] Daniel 1600: *app.* 40.

[26] The reading of the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.719 recorded by *App.* ('insidiat *legitur* insideat') should not be attributed to a **DS** witness, belonging to the Servian version of the scholium (*INSIDAT legitur et insideat*).

[27] 'MITANTVR D. AEN. Hoc ad Tyrios, et c.' (*ad Aen.* 1.709), 'tralatione *legit* laudatione' (*ad Aen.* 1.712), 'qu* *legit* quod' and 'post voc. coena) *add.* remeantibus' (*ad Aen.* 1.727), 'post voc. TECTIS) *add.* Mos erat apud veteres, et c.' and 'igni, *legit* ignem' (*ad Aen.* 1.730).

[28] *Dan.*'s scholium *ad Aen.* 1.726 could be theoretically suspected of transmitting readings derived from *Mod.* or from *Dan. Mod.*'s common source because the scholium is also quoted by Maulde. This is, however, unprovable on the basis of the available evidence.

[29] The fact that *App.* does not record any reading from the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.712.5-16.5 cannot be regarded as a valid counterargument: in this section, *Dan.* and **C** coincide almost perfectly.

As for *Schop.*, only the text of the excerpts from the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.21 and 636 can be compared with **C** because of the loss of **C**'s gathering 8a. Here, *Schop.* transmits merely one reading that can be judged as superior to the one transmitted by **C**:

1.21 eximantur *Schop.*: examinantur **C**

Being a potentially simple emendation of *examinantur*, *eximantur* cannot be regarded as a valid proof of the independence of the two witnesses.

On the contrary, the initial section of the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.21 offers a hitherto unnoticed positive argument supporting *Schop.*'s derivation from the manuscript. In this passage, the text printed by Schoppe seems to be the result of a contamination of the **DS** version with the Servian one:

Seru.	**DS**	*Schop.*
HINC POPVLVM LATE REGEM a Romanis. laudat autem eorum imperium dicendo *populum regem*.	HINC POPVLVM LATE REGEM scilicet a Romanis. et laudat eorum imperium dicendo *populum regem*.	Scilicet a Romanis. Laudat autem eorum imperium, dicendo, populum Regem.

While the **C** original text coincides with the **DS** version of the scholium, the 'Servian' reviser **C**^{3} corrected *et laudat* to *laudat autem* but either did not notice the adverb *scilicet* before *a Romanis* or chose not to remove it (f. 5^{r}). From this perspective, *Schop.* is identical to **C** after **C**^{3}'s revisions; if *Schop.* were independent of **C**, it would be necessary to suppose that another **DS** manuscript was similarly corrected by a scribe on the basis of a Servian witness and that this scribe also modified *et laudat* into *laudat autem*, while leaving *scilicet* aside.

In sum, no evidence can be adduced to prove that *Dan.*, *Mod.*, or *Schop.* should be regarded as independent of **C**. Although the internal evidence in support of the opposite hypothesis that the three witnesses depend on **C** is not conclusive in the strictest sense, this hypothesis does not seem implausible at all and needs to be reconsidered in the light of the analysis of the two other witnesses which were presented by Daniel and Schoppe as depending on the same *Fuldensis* as *Dan.* and *Schop.*, namely *App.* and *Fab.*

1.2.3. *App*. and *Fab*.

App.'s and *Fab.*'s independence of **C** has become a vulgate belief since the publication of *Harv.* 2. In their preface, however, the Harvard editors did not adduce any positive element in support of this view but limited themselves to referring to Savage's survey of the **DS** witnesses and to Elder's doctoral thesis.[30] The arguments proposed by these two scholars, which are hence to be regarded as the only ones explicitly adduced against *App.*'s and *Fab.*'s derivation from **C**, will be herein re-examined.

According to Savage, *Fab.*'s partial independence of **C** was demonstrated by the fact that the former was more complete and thus superior to the latter in two scholia.[31] These scholia were quoted by Savage as follows:

Cassellanus, *Aen.* 1.17: CURRUS … habere enim Iunonem currus certum est. sic autem esse etiam in sacris Tiburtinis constat, ubi sic precatur Iuno curitis tuo curru clipeoque tuere meus (*leg.* meas) curiae vernulus (*leg.* vernulas) sane.	Exemplar Fabr., *Aen.* 1.8: CURRUS … habere enim Iunonem currus certum est. sic autem esse etiam in sacris Tiburtinis constat, ubi sic precatur Iuno curitis tuo curru clipeoque tuere meus curiae vernulus. sane vocatur praeterea curina.
Cassellanus, *Aen.* 1.97: TYDIDE … Tydides Diomedes, Tydei et Deipseles (*leg.* Deiphyles), Adrasti filiae, filius, qui post captum Ilium ad Italiam venit, quod plenius in XI. libro habes. eo tempore statua cum in templo Apollinis Delphici staret, vi quadam divina ad Corcyram migravit (et *inseruit Thilo*) visa est muros Corcyraeorum defendere: nam eius comminatione hostibus fugatis Corcyra bello exempta est.	Exemplar Fabr., *Aen.* 1.471: TYDIDES … Tydides Diomedes, Tydei et Deipsedes, Adrasti filiae, filius, qui post captum Ilium ad Italiam venit, quod plenius in XI. libro habes. eo tempore statua cum in templo Apollinis Delphici staret, vi quadam divina ad Corcyram migravit et cum hostes oppugnatum Corcyram venissent, visa est muros Corcyraeorum defendere: nam eius comminatione hostibus fugatis Corcyra bello exempta est.

In fact, both passages lack probative value. *Fab.*'s note on *Aen.* 1.8, which conflates the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1.8, 16, and 17, was written in the margin of Fabricius' text of the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.8 with the aim of replacing the words *Quo numine: id est, qua potestate: nanque Iuno multa habet numina: est Curetis, quae utitur curru, et hasta: ut est, Hic illius arma, Hic currus fuit: est Lucina*. The sentence *uocatur praeterea Lucina*, erroneously transcribed

[30] *Harv.* 2: IV nn. 9-10.

[31] Savage 1932: 92.

by Savage as *vocatur praeterea Curina*, does not belong to a more complete version of the **DS** scholium *ad Aen.* 1.17; it rather corresponds to the words *est Lucina* which can be read in the list of Juno's *numina* of the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.8:[32]

Fab.	**DS** *ad Aen.* 1.8	**DS** *ad Aen.* 1.16	**DS** *ad Aen.* 1.17[33]
Iuno multa habet nomina: est Curitis, quae utitur curru et hasta, ut hic illius arma, hic currus fuit.	Iuno multa habet numina: est Curitis, quae utitur curru et hasta, ut *hic illius arma, hic currus fuit*;		
instructam armis Iunonem in alio loco ipse testatur, ut agmen ferro accincta uocat.		instructam armis Iunonem in alio loco ipse testatur, ut *ferro accincta uocat*.	
currus autem uere quo secundum Homerum in bello utitur aut pro thensa qua Deorum simulachra portantur. thensa autem cum aspiratione scribitur ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου id est a re diuina. aut certe illud currus (quod ait) ductos alta ad donaria currus. habere enim Iunonem currus certum est. sic autem esse etiam in sacris Tiburtinis constat, ubi sic precantur, IVNO CVRITIS TVO CVRRV CLYPEOQVE TVERE MENS CVRIAE VERNVLVS SANE.			CVRRVS aut uere currum, quo secundum Homerum in bello utitur, aut thensam significat, qua deorum simulacra portantur. 'thensa' autem cum aspiratione dicitur ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου, id est a re diuina. aut certe illud *currus* quod ait *ductos alta ad donaria currus*. habere enim Iunonem currus certum est. sic autem esse etiam in sacris Tiburtinis constat, ubi sic precantur *Iuno Curitis tuo curru clipeoque tuere meos curiae uernulas*. sane …
uocatur praeterea	est Lucina quae par-		

[32] The excerpts from the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1.8 and 16 quoted here are almost identical to the corresponding Servian passages.

[33] The final *sane* introduces the subsequent explanation of *hic illius arma, hic currus fuit* in **DS**. On this passage, cf. Fraenkel 1948: 137.

Lucina et c.	tubus praeest, ut *Iuno Lucina fer opem*.

On the other hand, the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.97 cannot be found in **C**, *pace* Savage, because of the loss of the second gathering of the manuscript: the text printed by the Harvard scholar substantially coincides with that of *App.*,[34] of which *Fab.* is certainly to be judged as independent.

Elder, who recognised in passing the inconsistency of Savage's proofs, adduced a much more elaborate series of arguments against Thilo's view that *App.* and *Fab.* derive from **C**: (1) cases where **C**, *App.*, and *Fab.* transmit three different readings; (2) *App.* readings coinciding with $\mathbf{C}^{ac}$; (3) *Fab.* readings coinciding with $\mathbf{C}^{ac}$; (4) *App.* readings differing from **C**; (5) *Fab.* readings differing from **C**; (6) *App.* readings finding no corresponding reading in **C**; (7) *Fab.* readings finding no corresponding reading in **C**; (8) **C** readings finding no corresponding reading in *App.*[35]

Before considering these arguments individually, two preliminary remarks should be made. First, the inclusion of *App.* or *Fab.* readings coinciding with $\mathbf{C}^{ac}$ (2 and 3) among the arguments against Thilo's view rests on the problematic assumption that only a perfect coincidence between the readings of a witness and all those of another after correction could be regarded as consistent with the hypothesis of dependence. In fact, agreements between the alleged *descriptus* and the alleged exemplar before correction prove nothing: there is no reason why scribes, having in front of them two different readings, should always select the correction instead of the original text, unless the latter was no longer legible – which is not the case for any of the examples listed by Elder.

Second, although Elder did not make any distinction between superior readings in *App.* or *Fab.* corresponding to **C** errors and *App.* or *Fab.* errors corresponding to superior readings in **C**, only the former could be regarded as arguments against *App.*'s and *Fab.*'s dependence on **C**: unless positive evidence indicates otherwise, there is no logic to

[34] Savage's mistake may be due to his use of Thilo's edition, where the *siglum* **C** confusingly indicates both the readings of Kassel, UB, 2° Poet. et Roman. 6 (i.e. **C**), whenever extant, and the readings of the appendix to Daniel's edition (i.e. *App.*), in the other sections.

[35] Elder 1940a: 94-114.

assuming that the errors exhibited by *App.* and *Fab.* must date back to the codex from which these two sixteenth-century witnesses ultimately derive.

Obviously, this remark also applies to the cases where *App.* and *Fab.* agree in errors against **C**. Elder gave special importance to these agreements because he believed, like Thilo,[36] that *Fab.* was a copy of the excerpts sent by Maulde to Daniel and these excerpts and *App.*, which depends on the transcription received from Schoppe, could not have any more recent common ancestor than the ancient Fulda codex from which they independently derive. Nevertheless, even if one accepted *Fab.*'s derivation from Maulde's excerpts, it would not be possible to infer on this basis that *App.* and *Fab.* should be regarded as independent of **C**: their agreements in errors would prove that their latest common ancestor could not be identified with **C** but would not prove that it could not be a *descriptus* of **C**. Furthermore, the view that *Fab.* derives from Maulde's excerpts is supported by no positive evidence and seems even implausible for two reasons. On the one hand, this view would imply that Daniel printed in his edition the text of some of Maulde's excerpts but omitted most of them, despite his eagerness for the non-Servian additions.[37] On the other, *Fab.* includes not only non-Servian additions but also minor variants to the Servian text printed by Fabricius and also notes which do not differ from the vulgate Servius and can be read in Fabricius' edition as well;[38] it is hardly conceivable that this material was included by Maulde among the excerpts from the valuable new materials which he had found in his *Fuldensis*.

Without considering the numerous *App.* and *Fab.* readings differing from **C** which were judged by Elder himself as erroneous and the *App.* or *Fab.* readings coinciding with $\mathbf{C}^{ac}$, the readings listed by the Harvard scholar can be divided into the following categories:[39]

(a) Alleged superior readings in *App.* corresponding to errors in **C**

i. Cases where the *App.* readings are not actually superior to the **C** readings

1.32 (ACTI FATIS) si fatis *App.*: ACTI FATIS **C**

[36] See section 1.2.1.

[37] On *Dan.*'s scholia depending on Maulde's excerpts, see section 1.2.2.

[38] Cf., e.g., *Fab.*'s notes on *Aen.* 1.*praef.* and 39 and 2.80.

[39] Minor mistakes made by Elder in the collation of the witnesses are tacitly corrected. Round brackets are used to mark the text of *Dan.* which is implied in *App.*

The reading *si fatis*, which precedes the non-Servian addition *nulla Iunonis inuidia est* in *App.*, seems to represent an attempt to create an unnecessary parallelism between that addition and the following Servian section of the scholium: *si odio Iunonis, quomodo 'acti fatis'?* The **C** reading was adopted by Thilo.

1.191 Plautus in Amphitruone *App.*: Plautus Amphytrione **C**

The preposition *in* is not necessary. The **DS** non-Servian additions are not entirely consistent in the introduction of quotations, but both Thilo and *Harv.* 2 printed the name of the author followed by the name of his drama in the ablative without a preposition, for instance, in the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.52 (*Ennius Iphigenia*) and 179 (*Accius Troadibus*). *App.*'s *in* could have been added because of the preceding *Cicero in Verrinis*.

1.373 aiunt *App.*: tradunt **C**

aiunt does not appear superior to *tradunt* on internal grounds. The latter was adopted by *Harv.* 2.

1.505 monuerat conuenientibus *App.*: conuenientibus monuerat **C**

monuerat conuenientibus does not appear superior to *conuenientibus monuerat* on internal grounds.

1.520 curat *App.*: uult **C**

curat does not appear superior to *uult* on internal grounds. The latter was adopted by Thilo.

1.539 inhumanitas *App.*: humanitas **C**

humanitas is appropriate to the general meaning of the scholium: *QVAEVE HVNC TAM BARBARA MOREM PERMITTIT PATRIA bene mores accusat terrae, ut humanitas patriae potius esse uideatur*. *App.*'s *inhumanitas* can be explained as due to the preceding clause and to the fact that Ilioneus is rhetorically contesting the lack of *humanitas* in this passage. The parallel adduced by *Harv.* 2 (Claud. Don. *ad Aen*. 1.539-42: *nam cui inhumanitas aliorum displicet utique ipse humanus est*) and their explanation for *inhumanitas patriae potius esse* ('sc. *quam ipsius Didonis*'), based on the assumption that both *terra* and *patria* refer to the Carthaginian land, do not appear particularly convincing. The **C** reading was adopted by Thilo.

1.545 id est uiribus *App.*: uiribus **C** *Fab.*

The scholium is textually problematic. In **C**, which reads *nam bellum et consilium hoc habet. non est scientiae militaris. arma autem tantum in ipso actu sunt uiribus dimicandi ut aliud animi, aliud corporis* (f. 31^{v}), the words *non est* were added by **C**^{5} in the right margin after *habet*, originally concluding the line, *scientiae* was inserted by the same reviser in a blank space at the beginning of the following line, and two anomalous blank spaces were left between *sunt* and *uiribus* and after *corporis*. The three blank spaces coincide with the connecting points between the Servian and non-Servian sections of the scholium. The two non-Servian sections appear to have been originally part of a single explanation of the lemma *BELLO MAIOR ET ARMIS*: *hoc est scientia rei militaris et uiribus dimicandi, ut aliud animi, aliud corporis*. However, it is not possible to establish whether the disposition was wrongly modified by the Compiler while joining the Servian

and non-Servian scholia or by a later scribe. In any case, the words *id est*, added in *App.* before *uiribus*, are to be regarded as a later (and senseless) addition. The agreement between **C** and *Fab.* led Elder to judge them as a probable conjecture.[40]

1.664 rem ipsam quocirca *App.*: quocirca **C**

The lacuna before *quocirca* was noticed by **C**^{5}, who wrote down in the margin *hic deest*. *Pace* Thilo and *Harv.* 2, *App.*'s *rem ipsam* cannot be accepted since a nominative is here required: *sequitur causa, 'hunc Phoenissa tenet Dido'; timor ipsius, 'et uereor quo se Iunonia uertant hospitia'*, <e.g. *consilium,*> *'quocirca capere ante dolis'; modus, 'qua facere id possis'*.

2.13 uita scilicet *App.* [=**Γ**]: scilicet uita **C**

App. cannot be regarded as a reliable witness to *uita scilicet* since it merely reads *secun. P. t. u. s. T.*, referring to the words printed in Daniel's edition (*secundum Plautum tribus, uita scilicet Troili*), which is here based on Servian witnesses. The **C** reading is acceptable on internal grounds and was adopted by *Harv.* 2.

2.27 autem exire *App.:* aut exire **C**

The **C** reading appears entirely plausible in the light of its immediate context: *IVVAT IRE aut exire aut ire longius*. By contrast, *App.*'s *autem* is pointless.

2.48 sed alii EQVO LATET *App.*: EQVO LATET **C**

The words *sed alii* are barely comprehensible as no other interpretation of *EQVO LATET* is offered by the preceding scholium. The **C** reading was adopted by Thilo and by *Harv.* 2 alike.

2.314 intentio *App.*: in tecto **C**, *ut uid.*

The reading *intentio* does not appear persuasive since this section of the scholium is meant to provide an alternative explanation for *amens*: *ARMA AMENS CAPIO 'amens' qui nec somniis credidi nec rebus aspectis. quamuis quidam sic exponant: 'capio' non manibus interim sed animo; nam in tecto erat.* The **C** reading is probably to be imputed to the Compiler: according to the scholium, the word *amens* should be explained on the grounds that, at this stage, Aeneas is still on the roof of the house. A similar explanation can be found in the **DS** scholium *ad Aen.* 7.460 (*arma amens fremit, arma toro tectisque requirit*): *FREMIT cum fremitu et clamore deposcit. bene autem 'amens', quia in toro requirebat.*[41] The **C** reading was adopted by Thilo.

2.317 possit *App.*: posset **C**

The rhetorical question refers to a specific situation in the past, and thus the imperfect subjunctive appears to be the most appropriate tense. The **C** reading was adopted by Thilo.

2.601 Helenam uero immortalem fuisse indicat tempus. nam const(at) f(ratres) e(ius) c(um) A(rgonautis) f(uisse); A(rgonautarum) autem filii Thebano Eteoclis et

[40] Elder 1940a: 111.

[41] The Servian corresponding scholium reads *cum clamore* instead of *cum fremitu et clamore*.

Polinicis bello dimic(auerunt) *App.*: Helenam uero immortalem bello dimicauerunt **C**

This example was judged as extremely significant by Elder.[42] However, the lacuna in **C** is clearly recognisable because the sentence lacks sense, and all the extra words in *App.* may be explained with relative ease.

Seru.	**C**	*App.*
Helenam uero inmortalem fuisse indicat tempus. nam constat fratres eius cum Argonautis fuisse; Argonautarum filii cum Thebanis dimicauerunt.	Helenam uero inmortalem bello dimicauerunt.	Helenam uero immortalem fuisse indicat tempus. Nam const. f. e. c. A. f.; A. autem filii Thebano Eteoclis et Polinicis bello dimic.

The words *fuisse indicat … filii*, which appear with minor differences in the text of Daniel's edition, are transmitted by Servian witnesses,[43] *Thebano* may well have been divined starting from **C**'s *bello* and the Servian reading *cum Thebanis*, and *Eteoclis et Polinicis* can be regarded as a gloss of *Thebano bello* erroneously inserted into the text.

ii. Cases where the *App.* readings are superior to the corresponding **C** readings but the latter cannot be regarded as separative errors

1.2 eum *App.*: cum **C**

1.21[44] eximantur *App. Schop.*: examinantur **C**

1.30 extima *App.*: existima **C**

1.37 ut *App.*: et **C**

1.38 socero *App.*: soceros **C**

1.170 uolunt autem *App.*: uoluntatem **C**

1.218 subiungunt *App.*: subiungant **C**

1.228 tristior *App.*: tristitior **C**

1.317 exercitii *App.*: exercitu **C**

ut *App.*: aut **C**

1.398 augurum *App.*: augurium **C**

1.424 an quia *App.*: aut quia $\mathbf{C}^{pc}$

1.446 esse *App.*: esset **C**

1.505 at *App.*: ad **C**

sequenti aetate diuinis simulachris *App.*: sequentis diuinis aetate simulacris **C**

captum *App.*: raptum **C**

[42] Elder 1940a: 109. The passage had already been pointed out by Thomas (1880: 74).

[43] As shown *infra*, this would not be the only case in which Servian witnesses could have been used to correct the text of the *Fuldensis*.

[44] See section 1.2.2.

1.507 separatim *App.*: reparati in **C** *Fab.*

1.520 talem … qualem *App.*: talem … qui talem **C**

1.524 aliud ad miserationem *App.*: aliud miserationem **C**

1.551 sit *App.*: sicut **C**

1.650 magni fecerit *App.*: magnificerit **C**

2.13 intentio ne *App.* [≈ intentio est ne **Γ**]: intentio **C**

2.27 IRE *App.:* ME **C**

2.61 argumentis *App.*: argentis **C**: argenteis **P**
As conceded by Elder,[45] *App.*'s *argumentis* should be regarded as a conjecture because of the agreement between **CP**.

2.77 fatebor *App.*: *nihil hab.* **C**
The scholium includes a simplified version of *Aen.* 2.77-8: *ordo autem est: 'fatebor cuncta uera, neque me Argolica de gente negabo'*. *App.*'s *fatebor* may well have been drawn from the Vergilian lines in question: *'cuncta equidem tibi, rex, fuerit quodcumque, fatebor | uera', inquit, 'neque me Argolica de gente negabo'*.

2.324 canicula *App.*: canila **C**
The scholium includes a survey of diminutives whose grammatical gender differs from that of the corresponding primitive nouns: *ceterum 'diecula' nihil praeiudicat, quia multa deminutiua recedunt a nominibus primae positionis, ut 'scutum' 'scutula', 'canis' 'canicula', 'rana' 'ranunculus'. App.*'s *canicula* can be regarded as an easy correction of the senseless *canila*.

2.340 agniti *App.*: igniti **C**

2.377 sensit *App.*: sensus **C**
The scholium includes a rephrased version of *Aen.* 2.377: *ordo autem est: 'sensit in medios hostes se esse delapsum'*. *App.*'s *sensit* may well have been drawn from the Vergilian line in question: *sensit medios delapsus in hostis*.

2.390 deesse *App.*: esse **C**

2.452 hoc est *App.*: hoc **C**

2.513 et *App.*: ad **C**

2.546 non omnino necesse esset *App.*: non omni non et esset est **C**

2.559 (horror iit) est et amoris *App.*: horrori testata moris **C**
horror iit are the last two words of a quotation from Statius (*Theb.* 1.493-4) which Daniel read in his Servian witnesses and correctly included in his edition.

(b) Alleged superior readings in *Fab.* corresponding to errors in **C**

i. Cases where the *Fab.* readings are not actually superior to the corresponding **C** readings

1.6 Casci *Fab.*: Cascei **C**: Cassei *App.*
C's *Cascei*, with the archaic ending, can be regarded as sound, referring to the original name of the Aborigines. Elder's *stemma* would likewise lead one to

[45] Elder 1940a: 105.

consider *Fab.*'s *Casci* as an innovation because of the agreement between **C** and *App*. The **C** reading was adopted by Thilo.

1.566 aut uim et ardorem *Fab.*: aut arborem **C**: aut uocat ardorem *App.*
Fab.'s *aut uim et ardorem* is the result of a juxtaposition of the Servian and the **DS** alternative glosses of *INCENDIA BELLI*. This reading can be easily explained if one bears in mind that it was written down by Daniel to replace the words *id est, uim* printed by Fabricius.[46] The reading *aut ardorem* was adopted by Thilo.

ii. Cases where the *Fab.* readings are superior to the corresponding **C** readings but the latter cannot be regarded as separative errors

1.17 ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου *Fab.* [=**Σ**]: ἀπὸ τοῦ θυεῖν *App.*: ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΘΥΕΙΝ **C**
The *Fab.* reading coincides with the text transmitted by Servian manuscripts and adopted in Fabricius' and Daniel's editions; therefore, it can be regarded as an easy correction of the **C** text. Elder's *stemma* would likewise lead one to consider ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου as an innovation because of the agreement between **C** and *App.*

Curitis *Fab.*: Curritis **C**: Curilis *App.*

1.543 postremo item *Fab.*: postremonem **C**: postremo tamen *App.*
The scholium lists two quotations of Plautus; *item* is frequently used in lists of quotations in Servius and in the **DS** non-Servian additions alike.

1.560 tibicines nominabat *Fab.*: nominabat **C**
The noun *tibicines* may have been divined either by Daniel himself or by another Humanist: explicit references to the name attributed by Vergil to his incomplete hemistichs can be found in another Servian scholium (*ad Aen.* 6.186) and in several *uitae Vergilianae*, including those inserted in Fabricius' and Daniel's editions.[47]

2.7 Scyro *Fab.* [=**Γ**]: ferro **C**: sesto **C**^{5}: festo *App.*
As conceded by Elder, *Fab.*'s *Scyro* was probably drawn from the Servian scholium *ad u.*: *Myrmidones sunt Achillis socii, Dolopes Pyrrhi, qui eum de Scyro secuti sunt*.[48] This hypothesis is also corroborated by the fact that Daniel's handwritten note containing the reading *Scyro* is meant to replace the clause *qui eum de Scyro secuti sunt* printed by Fabricius.[49]

2.44 Itacam *Fab.*: Ita **C**: Itaci **C**^{pc5}: Italiam *App.*
The scholium refers to Ulysses' motherland.

2.335[50] animae *Fab.*: amine **C**: agmine **C**^{pc5}: animae et agmina *App.*

[46] Daniel underlined the words *id est, uim: semper enim* to mark their deletion and replaced them with *aut uim et ardorem simpliciter belli quia semper diluuio* (*Fab.*, col. 506).

[47] On this **DS** non-Servian addition, cf. Delvigo 1995: 34-6.

[48] Cf. Elder 1940a: 95-6.

[49] Daniel underlined the clause to mark its deletion and replaced it with *quos, ut quidam uolunt, de Scyro insula duxit ad Troiam* (*Fab.*, col. 545).

[50] On the *App.* double reading, see *infra*.

(c) Alleged superior readings in *App.* and *Fab.* corresponding to errors in **C**

i. Case where the *App. Fab.* reading is not superior to the corresponding **C** reading

2.74 ferebatur *App. Fab.*: ferebamur **C**
ferebatur does not appear superior to *ferebamur* on internal grounds. The latter was adopted by Thilo and *Harv.* 2 alike.

ii. Cases where the *App. Fab.* readings are superior to the corresponding **C** readings but the latter cannot be regarded as separative errors

1.13 ordini *App. Fab.*: ordine **C**

1.23 crudelitatem *App. Fab.*: credulitatem **C**

1.469 alii *App. Fab.*: alibi **C**

1.540 occupantis *App. Fab.*: occupatis **C**

1.557 Sicanos *App. Fab.*: anoano **C**
The reading *Sicanos* could have been simply divined, being suggested by the lemma (*AT FRETA SICANIAE*) and also by the context, which clearly refers to the inhabitants of *Sicania*: *et Sicanos quidam* αὐτόχθονας *tradunt, quidam ex Hiberia profugos de nomine fluminis Sicoris, quem reliquerant, Sicaniam nominasse*.

1.559 probantes *App. Fab.*: probantis **C**

1.638 dicamus *App. Fab.*: diamus **C**

1.653 Tracia *App. Fab.*: Tratia **C**

nupturae *App. Fab.*: nuptarae **C**

2.57 inpluuium *App. Fab.*: influuium *Fab.*^{ac}: in fluuium **C**

2.74 interitum *App. Fab.*: interito **C**

2.319 euerso *App. Fab.*: auerso **C**

In sum, Elder's lists offer several examples of *App.*, *Fab.*, or *App. Fab.* superior readings corresponding to **C** errors. However, since none of these errors proves to be certainly separative, neither *App.*'s nor *Fab.*'s independence of **C** can be regarded as convincingly demonstrated:[51] as Maas put it, whoever intends to show the independence of a witness

[51] It is also particularly striking that neither *App.* nor *Fab.* transmits scholia or portions of scholia omitted by **C**, apart from the sporadic cases where they could have just easily filled **C**'s very brief lacunae *ope ingenii*. The hypothesis of *App.*'s and *Fab.*'s derivation from an independent lost codex would imply either that *App.* and *Fab.* always omitted the exact words which had been independently omitted by **C** – which is manifestly implausible – or that **C** omits virtually no word besides those already omitted in the latest common ancestor – which is hardly believable 'for a text as long, complex, and repetitious as Servius' (Murgia 1975: 13).

must ‘mindestens einen sicheren Trennfehler … nachweisen’ because ‘hundert unsichere würden nicht genügen’.[52]

On the contrary, it is possible to trace in *App.* and – though less frequently – in *Fab.* several positive proofs in support of the derivation of the two witnesses from **C**. In particular, *App.* transmits the following innovative readings coinciding with the **C** text after corrections made by **C**³ and **C**⁶, who, as already mentioned, did not have any other **DS** witness at their disposal and resorted exclusively to Servian witnesses and to their own *ingenia*:[53]

1.*praef.* sufficiat **CP**] nam Bucolicorum et Georgicorum alia ratio est *add.* **C**⁶ *App.* [= *nonnulli libri Seruiani*]

1.1 inania sentire **C**: in hoc assentire **C**^{pc6} *App.* [=**Γ**]

1.4 stola **C** [=**Γ**]] id est magna *add.* **C**⁶ *App.*

1.5 dummodo **C**: modo dum conderet urbem aut Troiam aut Laurolauinium aut Romam significat **C**^{pc3} *et* modo (dum conderet urbem, aut Troiam, aut Laurolauinium, aut Romam) *App.* [≈ *nonnulli libri Seruiani*]

1.12 sexaginta **CP** [=**Σ**]: septuaginta **C**^{pc3} *App.* [= *nonnulli libri Seruiani*]

1.28 filium uel propter iudicium Paridis, quod omnibus notum est **C**: filiae Athlantis (f. A. *non hab. App.*) filium, a quo origo Troiana deducitur (d-] est *App.*) **C**^{pc3} *App.* [≈ filium a quo origo Troiana deducitur **Γ**]

1.29[54] habebat (?)] habeat **C**: habuit **C**^{pc3} *App.*

1.32 iniqu(a)e **CP**] id est uoluntate, ut hic intellegamus: agebantur fatis Iunonis, id est uoluntate *add.* **C**³ *et* (uoluntate) ut hic intelligamus agebantur fatis Iunonis id est uoluntate *add. App.* [=**Σ**]

1.39 occidit **CP** [=**Σ**]: occiderit **C**^{pc3} *App.* [= *nonnulli libri Seruiani*]

1.149 ut docti, clari, non uulgeris, ut pecoris **C**: non uulgeris, ut docti, clari **C**^{pc3} *App.* [=**Σ**]

1.174 gratiosior est **C** [=**Σ**]: gratiosior (gratior *App.*) esse uideatur **C**^{pc3} *App.* [= *nonnulli libri Seruiani*]

1.176*[55] in eo **C**] quoniam nemo sit ausus defendere *add.* **C**³ *et* quoniam nemo et c., *littera* s̄ *praeposita, add. App.* [≈ quem nemo sit ausus defendere **Σ**]

1.178 eminente **CP** [=**Σ**]] sub mento *add.* **C**³ *App.* [= *nonnulli libri Seruiani*]

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[52] Maas 1960: 31.

[53] The readings marked by an asterisk in this and in the following lists are mentioned in Thilo 1881: LII-III. Here and *infra*, doubtful cases are not considered.

[54] The scholium reads as follows: *HIS ACCENSA SVPER ‘his super’ aut de his aut super metum quem de Carthagine habebat* (?) *his quoque accensa*. *Harv.* 2 adopted the reading *habuit*.

[55] On this symbol, see *infra*.

1.203 iuuui] iuui **CP**: iuuiui **C**^{pc3} *App.*

1.339 *alt.* potuerunt **C**^{4}] INTRACTABILE insuperabile, asperum, seuum *in mg. add.* **C**^{3} *et* INTRACTAB(ILE insuperabile, asperum,) saeuum *add. App.* [=**Σ**]

Furthermore, it is possible to trace thirteen *App.* innovative readings coinciding with corrections which cannot be ascribed with certainty to **C**^{3} or **C**^{6} but do not seem to emanate from **C**'s exemplar:

1.3 duorum **C** [=**Γ**]: duum **C**^{pcX} *App.*

1.12 ἀποικία] aποικια **C**: παροικια (παροικία *App.*) **C**^{pc2} *App.*

1.25 quis ante hunc **CP**: quasi antehac **C**^{pcX} *App.*

1.44 topica **C**: typica **C**^{pc2} *App. Fab.*

1.146 APERIT … facit **C**: APERIT … fecit **C**^{pcX} *App.*

1.464 plenitudine **CP** [=**Σ**]: similitudine **C**^{pc4} *App.*

1.470 ante Rhesus **P**: interhesus **C**: Rhesus **C**^{pcX} *App.*

1.474[56] uel … uel] ut … uel **C**: aut … uel **C**^{pcX} *App. Fab.*

1.505 inpatientis **C** [= *Mythogr.* 1 *et* 2]: inpatiens (im- *App.*) **C**^{pcX} *App.*

2.39 aut ignarum] agnigrarum **C**: aunigrarum **C**^{pcX}, *ut uid.*: incertum **C**^{pc5} *App.*

uulgus **CP** [=**Γ**]] tam *add.* **C**^{5} *App.*

2.93 erupisse **C** [=**Γ**]] in uocem *add.* **C**^{5} *App.*

2.397 totum **CP**] tempus *add.* **C**^{5} *App.*

All the agreements between **C**^{pc} and *App.* listed so far concern innovations which, having been introduced in **C** either from a Servian witness or *ope ingenii*, could not be considered as inherited by the two witnesses from a hypothetical **DS** lost codex. *App.*'s dependence on **C**^{pc} seems not only suggested by the fact that **C**'s corrections at issue belong to different layers – which is normally a strong proof of derivation, as noticed by Reeve[57] – but also corroborated by the fact that some of these common innovations can be judged *per se* as hardly polygenetic.

As for the former list, besides the *App.* reading of the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.176, which is preceded by the symbol 'ꝭ' – with all probability an abbreviation for *supra*[58] – and coincides with an interlinear correction made by **C**^{3}, the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.339 offers an

[56] *Harv.* 2 adopted **C**^{pcX}'s and *App.*'s *aut … uel*. *uel … uel* is a conjecture by Thilo.

[57] Reeve 2011: 162-3.

[58] Daniel used the same symbol as an abbreviation for *supra* in *Fab*. (cf., e.g., c. 392: 'ꝭ pag. 391').

eloquent argument in favour of the thesis of the dependence. The Servian and the **DS** scholia on this line can be reconstructed as follows:

Seru.	**DS**
SED FINES LIBYCI ante dicta dubia esse potuerunt; nunc aperte regionem ostendit dicendo Libycos fines. Tyrii enim et alibi esse potuerunt.	SED FINES LIBYCI ante dicta dubia esse potuerunt; nunc aperte regionem ostendit dicendo Libycos fines. Tyrii enim et alibi esse potuerunt. ergo amouit suspicionem, ne putaret se in Tyrum uenisse.
INTRACTABILE insuperabile, asperum, saeuum.	

On **C**'s f. 18^{v}, the words *nunc … potuerunt*, omitted by the original scribe because of a *saut*, were supplied in the left margin after the symbol *ħ* by one of the '**DS**' revisers (**C**^{4}), who added the corresponding reference mark (*đ*) in the text between *potuerunt* and *ergo*. After **C**^{4}'s marginal note, the 'Servian' reviser **C**^{3} added the words *INTRACTABILE insuperabile, asperum, seuum*, which follow the latter *potuerunt* in Servius, but he did not notice that these words would be thus inserted before the non-Servian addition *ergo … uenisse*, still referring to the lemma *SED FINES LIBYCI*. For this reason, **C**^{Pc} appears to imply the following senseless text:

> SED FINES LYBICI ante dicta dubia esse potuerunt; nunc aperte regionem ostendit dicendo Lybicos fines. Tyrii enim et alibi esse potuerunt. INTRACTABILE insuperabile, asperum, seuum. ergo amouit suspicionem, ne putaret se in Tyrum uenisse.

According to *App.*, the Servian words *INTRACTABILE … saeuum* could be found in the *Fuldensis* before the non-Servian addition *ergo … uenisse*, exactly as happens in **C**^{Pc}:

Dan. (p. 194)	*App.* (p. 33)
LIBYCOS FINES. Amouit autem suspicionem ne putaret se in Tyrum uenisse. INTRACTABILE. Insuperabile, asperum, saeuum.	post uoc. FINES) add. *Tyrii enim et alibi esse potuerunt. INTRACTAB.* et c. … post uoc. *saeuum*] add. *Ergo amouit suspicionem, ne putaret se in Tyrum uenisse*.

Moreover, *App.* exhibits a few erroneous readings which can be most easily explained as consequences of the misunderstanding of changes made by **C**'s revisers, offering

examples of what Lindsay labelled as 'the best evidence of the derivation of one MS. from another':[59]

1.149* aquae **C**: ea·quae **C**^{pcx}: aequa *App.*
One of **C**'s revisers wrote *e* over *a* and added, perhaps with the aim of changing the word division, a middle dot between *a* and *q*; this dot could be easily taken as a symbol marking the position in which the vowel *e* should be added.

1.210 praecintis **C**: praecingtis **C**^{pc4}: praecingitis *App.*
C^{4} seems to have meant to correct the participle supplying the velar consonant that had been omitted by the first hand. However, since he inserted the grapheme corresponding to the voiced consonant instead of the voiceless, as classical orthography would have required, a scribe copying from **C** could misinterpret the corrected reading as *praecingitis*.

1.338 Neptuni et Lybiae rex filius Fynicis fuit **C**: Neptuni et Lyuiae filius rex Fynicis fuit **C**^{pcx}, *litteris* u b a *supra* Lybiae rex filius *scriptis*: (Neptuni) filius rex Libyae et Phoenicis *App.*
The letter *u*, written by **C**'s reviser above the word *Libyae*, might have been taken as a transposition marker like the following letters *a* and *b*.

Among the *App.* readings that can be explained by hypothesising a misunderstanding of **C**^{pc} or of its transcription, it is also possible to mention the *App.* double readings corresponding to *lectiones falsae et emendatae* in **C**:

1.1* coriis **C**: copiis **C**^{6}: coriis (copiis) *App.*

1.12* Aemilianus **C**: emilius **C**^{pcx}: Aemilius ante Aemilianus *App.*

1.30* crudelem **C**: Hectorem **C**^{pc3}: Hectorem crudelem *App.*

1.37 et uictum … uictum … iratum **C**: se uictam … uictam … iratam **C**^{pcx}: et uictam se … uictam … iratam *App.*

1.140 tuli quem defregisti **C**: aliquando effregistis **C**^{pc3}: tu aliquando effregisti *App.*

1.173* *pr.* aut **C**: id est multa **C**^{pc3}: i. multa, aut *littera* s̄ *praeposita App.*

1.195 Catiline **C**: Catilina **C**^{pcx}: Catilinae *App.*

1.223 lectum est **C**: mathematici dicunt **C**^{pc3}: lectum est mathe. et c. *App.*

1.387 alibi munera nec sperno **C**: supra mihi iussa capessere fas est **C**^{pc3}: alibi munera nec sperno, supra mihi iussa capessere fas est *App.*

2.37 aut iunxit **C**: adiunxit **C**^{pcx}: aut adiunxit *App.*

2.285* et **C**: e **C**^{pcx}: et e *App.*

2.335* anime **C**: agmine **C**^{pcx}: animae et agmina *App.*

2.394 fingere **C**: figura **C**^{pcx}: figura (*vel rei) *App.*

[59] Lindsay 1896: 65.

The *App.* readings of the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.12 and 173 deserve particular attention because of the presence of *ante* and of the symbol 'ꝑ', which show that the corrections *Aemilius* and *id est multa* were made to the text of the *Fuldensis* from which *App.* derives and that they had not been inherited by that codex from its exemplar. In the former case, it is possible to hypothesise that the scholar transcribing the manuscript attempted to distinguish the original reading and the correction through the preposition *ante* and that the preposition was mistaken by Daniel or by the printer as belonging to the **DS** scholium itself; in the latter, the transcription must have contained a symbol showing that the words *id est multa* were written in the *Fuldensis* above the line or must have reproduced this layout.

Lastly, *App.*'s scholium *ad Aen.* 1.169 includes after the lemma *ANCHORA MORSV* an addition which cannot be found in the text of any other **DS** witness. This addition coincides with the note written down by the 'Servian' reviser **C**³ in the upper margin of f. 11ʳ, apparently with the aim of offering an additional clarification of the term *anchora*, rather than of integrating the text of the scholium:

> 1.169* anchora dens ferreus est, ex Graeca ethimologia (etymologia *App.*), quod quasi hominis manus comprehendat scopulos uel harenas. nam manus Graece cyra (χειϱ *App.*) dicitur *in mg. sup. littera* θ *praeposita scrips.* **C**³*, qui eandem litteram super* ANCHORA MORSV *scrips., et post* MORSV *littera* s̄ *praeposita add. App.*

These words do not belong to **DS**, being actually a slightly rephrased version of the beginning of Isidore's definition of the anchor (*orig.* 19.2.15):

> anchora dens ferreus, ex Graeca etymologia nomen ducit, quod quasi hominis manus comprehendat uel scopulos uel arenas. nam manus Graece *κυϱα dicitur.

This quotation, not inherited from **C**'s exemplar, is unlikely to have been independently added to any other lost **DS** witness from which it could be inherited by *App.* Furthermore, not only could **C**³'s note be taken as an integration of the scholium owing to the reference mark, but *App.*'s symbol 'ꝑ' also indicates that the quotation from Isidore was found in the *Fuldensis* from which *App.* derives either above a line or in the upper margin, and the latter is exactly the case of **C**.

Fab.'s excerpts are significantly less numerous than *App.*'s; even in this case, however, it is possible to find some positive evidence in support of their derivation from **C**. As

already shown, *Fab.* agrees with **C**^{pc} against **C**^{ac} in two scholia where it also agrees with *App.* (*ad Aen.* 1.44 and 474): in these two cases, the **C**^{ac} readings, which belong to non-Servian sections, were corrected by one or two revisers who probably perceived *topica* and *ut* as problematic and tried to correct them conjecturally. In addition, *Fab.* agrees with **C**^{pc} against **C**^{ac} in four other readings which do not appear to derive from **C**'s exemplar, having been introduced by the 'Servian' reviser **C**^{3}:

1.20 tunditur olim fluctibus **C** [=**Σ**]: tumidis quod fluctibus olim tunditur (t- *non hab. Fab.*) **C**^{pc3} *Fab.*

1.39 ut **C** [=**Σ**]: ut puta **C**^{pc3} *Fab.*

honoribus **C** [=**Σ**]: uel honoribus **C**^{pc3} *Fab.*

1.492 sciendum tamen **C** [=**Σ**]: sciendum tamen est **C**^{pc3}: sciendum est tamen *Fab.*

These innovations result from corrections belonging to different layers in **C** and appear to be hardly polygenetic; therefore, as in the case of *App.*, they can be adduced as evidence in support of *Fab.*'s dependence on **C**. Otherwise, it would be necessary to hypothesise that *Fab.* emanates from another **DS** manuscript conserved in Fulda which was similarly corrected by one or more revisers who, on the one hand, edited the text according to a Servian **Γ** manuscript and, on the other, corrected the sound *topica* to *typica* and the erroneous *ut* to *aut* in two non-Servian additions.

Moreover, the version of the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.2 transmitted by *Fab.*, which differs from both the **DS** and the Servian one, can be perhaps explained as the result of the misreading of a transcription of a marginal note written down by **C**^{2} in order to summarise the content of the relevant scholium:

1.2 Italia autem pars Europae est; Italus enim rex Siculorum profectus de Sicilia uenit **C** [=**Σ**]: Italia ab Italo rege Siculorum **C**^{2}: Italia ab rege Italo Siculorum qui de Sicilia uenit et c. *Fab.*

Even more compelling evidence in favour of *Fab.*'s derivation from **C** is offered by an examination of the relationship between **C**, *App.*, and *Fab*. Besides those included in the

previous lists, the two sixteenth-century witnesses share the following innovations against **C**:[60]

1.13 ualde diues **C**: ualde *App. Fab.*

1.21 SVPERBVM **C**: SVPERBVM id est *App. Fab.*

1.42 ita ut est **C**: ita ut *Fab.*: itaut * *App.*

1.469 speculator **C**: speculatum *App. Fab.*

1.507 enuntiandum **C**] est *add. App. Fab.*

1.514 CONIVNGERE pro **C**: CONIVNGERE *App. Fab.*

1.522 petimus **C**: petierimus *App. Fab.*

1.533 atare tenari nepote **C**: alare tenar in pote *App.*: atare tenar in epote *Fab.* filia **C**: filiam *App. Fab.*

1.543 auxilio $\mathbf{C}^{ac}$: auxilia spectare $\mathbf{C}^{pcx}$: auxilio co *Fab.*: auxilio co… *App.*

1.548 certasset audisset **C**: certasset *App. Fab.*

1.561 accidit **C**: accedit *App. Fab.*

1.562 subiungere si qua uult **C**: si qua uult subiungere *App. Fab.*

1.638 turbatus **C**: turbatus est *App. Fab.*

1.653 pro gestauerat **C**: *nihil hab. App. Fab.*

2.79 melius **C**: autem melius ait *App.*: melius autem ait *Fab.*

2.296 χρηστοὺς] ρHτOϒ **C**: χρησοὺς (χρισοὺς *App.*) *App. Fab.*

2.319 illo **C**: eo *App. Fab.*

2.335 pugnantum **C**: pugnantium *App. Fab.*

Some of these shared readings, such as those of the scholia 1.543[61] and 2.79, cannot be considered as polygenetic and must have been inherited by *App.* and *Fab.* from a lost common ancestor. Since *App.* has been shown to emanate from **C** and **C** is exempt from the innovations at issue, it is possible to conclude that this lost common ancestor should be identified with a witness depending on **C**.

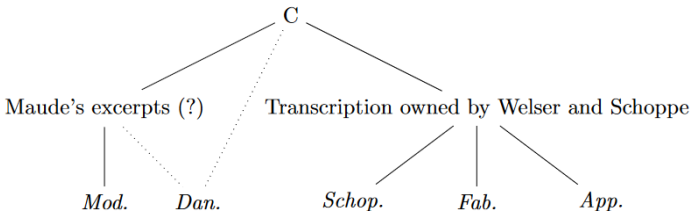
[60] Except for those of the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.469 and 2.296, all the readings listed here are quoted in Elder 1940a: 118-19.

[61] In the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.543, the reading *auxilio co* might be considered as a misunderstanding of a transcription giving an account of the correction made on **C**'s f. 31^{v}, such as *auxilio co*(*rrexit in*) *-lia spectare*: the original text of the manuscript (*sperare dicebant deorum auxilio Plautus in milite*) was altered by a reviser who changed *auxilio* to *auxilia* and added *spectare* in the space left blank between *auxilio* and *Plautus*. The transcription of **C** certainly offered ground for such misunderstandings, as shown by the already mentioned *App.* readings *Aemilius ante Aemilianus* (*ad Aen.* 1.12), *animae et agmina* (2.335), and *figura (*uel rei)* (2.394).

From a historical point of view, this reconstruction leads one to reject the idea, accepted by Thilo and the Harvard scholars alike, that *Fab.* should be regarded as a transcription of the excerpts sent by Maulde to Daniel: if *App.* and *Fab.* derive from a lost witness depending on **C**, *Fab.* must have been based on the transcription of the *Fuldensis* owned by Welser and Schoppe, like *App.*[62]

1.2.4. Conclusion

The analysis carried out in the previous sections shows that the thesis that *App. Dan. Fab. Mod. Schop.* derive from **C** is fully consistent with the available evidence. In particular, the text of *App.* and *Fab.* offers conclusive positive arguments in support of their derivation from that manuscript. Although the text of the other sixteenth-century witnesses does not offer equally conclusive positive arguments, their derivation from the same manuscript can be regarded as virtually certain because Daniel and Schoppe explicitly identified the *Fuldensis* used as a source for *Dan.* and *Schop.* with the codex used as a source for *App.* and *Fab.* The genealogical relationships among these witnesses can be diagrammatically summarised as follows:



From this perspective, the principles adopted by *Harv.* 2 to govern the employment of the sixteenth-century witnesses in question can be judged as fundamentally erroneous. The witnesses should be treated as independent sources for the **DS** text only in the sections where **C** is no longer extant; in the other sections, their readings differing

[62] *Fab.*'s note on *Aen.* 1.720 (cc. 535-6) does not probably depend on the transcription entrusted to Bongars, which seems to have lacked the text of the scholia *ad Aen.* 1.716-727. Two elements suggest that it was noted down at a different stage (and possibly from a different source): the scholium is written with a different ink and with a thinner pen, and the handwriting itself is airier and more calligraphic, with a significantly less restricted letter module. It is unanimously accepted that at least four other notes written by Daniel in the margins of his copy of Fabricius' edition do not derive from the source of the **DS** material (*ad Aen.* 1.7 and 2.166, 202, and 602).

from the **C** ones should be considered as innovations and cited only if they are certainly or possibly correct and they not attested in any earlier witness.

1.3. Appendix: The handwritten notes on Schoppe's copy of Daniel's edition

A sixth early-modern witness closely related to the ones just discussed seems to have been hitherto overlooked by Servianists: Schoppe's own copy of Daniel's edition of Servius (London, BL, 1135.i.4). De Smet deserves credit for calling attention to this copy in her 2022 article on the pre-history of Daniel's edition, where she also refers to the presence of handwritten marginal notes:[63]

> His marginal notes often consist of the names of classical authors … who are mentioned in the commentary. … Unlike Bongars's notes in his copy of the *Servius Danielis* …, Schoppe gives little evidence of any further philological engagement with the text.

Although most of these notes do indeed consist of mere references to the contents of the scholia printed by Daniel, it should be observed that a few of them actually provide alternative readings. Some of these readings are presented as conjectures by Schoppe, being preceded by words such as 'forte' or 'lego';[64] some others, however, are explicitly assigned to the *Fuldensis* or can be assigned to the *Fuldensis* because they consist of **DS** non-Servian additions.[65]

As far as the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 are concerned, the editorial value of this witness is unfortunately modest. Some notes which may or may not depend on the *Fuldensis* include correct readings that are recorded in *Harv.* 2 as conjectures by later scholars,[66] but I have not been able to find any note including a presumably correct reading not adopted by past editors. Besides, just one note falls within a section where **C** is not extant, and this note is identical to one of *App.*'s excerpts:

1.116 uel certe quod Graeci Triciniam appellant, ut Sallustius triplici fluctu.

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[63] De Smet 2022: 417.

[64] Cf., e.g., the notes on *Aen.* 1.161 (p. 180) and 2.541 (p. 249).

[65] Cf., e.g., the notes on *Aen.* 1.198 (p. 182) and 233 (p. 185).

[66] For instance, Schoppe jotted down the words 'leg. muri' alongside *quem ruina fecerat mari* (*ad Aen.* 2.237); the correct reading *muri* is assigned to Burman senior and junior in *Harv.* 2's apparatus.

Notwithstanding, Schoppe's copy can be judged as of some historical significance, as it shows that his owner had access to a collection of excerpts drawn from the transcription of the *Fuldensis* even after having sent the transcription to Daniel and that his 1599 conversion to Catholicism and subsequent career as an anti-Protestant controversialist did not make him lose his interest in the text of Servius altogether.

1.4. Appendix: **C**, *App.*, and Guarino's edition of Servius

The edition prepared by Guarino of Verona and published by his son in 1471 transmits an eclectic **Γ** version of Servius including sporadic **DS** additions and readings.[67] According to Ramires, at least some of these could be explained by hypothesising that Guarino was also resorting to a **DS** witness related to **C** and to the *Fuldensis* from which *App.* emanated.[68] Three arguments were adduced by Ramires in support of this hypothesis: (a) both the edition and *App.* read *circa extinctum Hectorem crudelem*, instead of **Σ**'s *circa extinctum crudelem*, in the Servian scholium *ad Aen.* 1.30; (b) the edition inserts the words *ante enim hic ad solam pertinet coniunctionem et plenitudinem uersus* within the Servian scholium *ad Aen.* 1.198, and the same words are found as a marginal note alongside **C**'s scholium on that line; (c) the edition and *App.* read, respectively, *quod diuinauit* and *quod diuinarit*, instead of **Σ**'s *quamdiu uiuit*, in the Servian scholium *ad Aen.* 2.696.

In fact, none of these arguments can be regarded as compelling. As for the first scholium, *App.*'s *Hectorem crudelem* is simply the result of the conflation of the **C** (and Servian) reading *crudelem* with the interlinear correction *Hectorem*;[69] this correction is to be assigned to one of the two revisers who only had access to a **Γ** witness, namely **C**^{3}. From this perspective, even if one accepts, for the sake of the argument, that the addition of *Hectorem* should be regarded as a conjunctive innovation,[70] nothing suggests that this

[67] See Ramires 2008b: 228-42. On Guarino's edition, cf. also Piacente 1987 and Ramires 2008a and 2016.

[68] Ramires 2016: 230-1.

[69] See section 1.2.3.

[70] Since the phrasing sounds defective without the name, however, this is far from certain: *Hectorem* does not appear incredible as a conjecture either by Guarino or by some predecessor.

word could not have been found by Guarino in a **Γ** witness related to the one used by **C**³. It is possible to propose a similar explanation for the extra words included by Guarino in the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.198 since the corresponding note was also added by **C**³. Isolated agreements such as the one in the scholium *ad Aen.* 2.696 can hardly be regarded as having any probative value, especially if one considers the eclectic nature of the text of both Guarino's edition and *App.*[71]

Furthermore, while it is true that Guarino's edition includes **DS** additions and readings, no conclusive evidence has hitherto been adduced to prove that they must have been drawn from a **DS** witness: several of them can also be found in Servian witnesses interpolated from **DS**,[72] and the edition even shares a few significant innovations with these witnesses against the **DS** ones.[73] Although no definitive conclusion can be reached as to Guarino's sources until a full collation has been made available, there is currently no particular reason why one of these sources should be identified with a witness closely related to **C**.

[71] As shown in section 1.2.3, *App.* includes a few conjectures and even readings in all likelihood inherited from Servian witnesses. Fabricius' edition, which was based on Guarino's and was certainly available to the scholars involved in the preparation of *App.*, also reads *quod diuinauit*.

[72] In his article, Ramires mentions just one **DS** non-Servian addition included in the text of the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 established by Guarino, namely the brief scholium *ad Aen.* 2.768 on *AVSVS*. This scholium can be read on **Ps**'s f. 37ᵛ and may well have been found by Guarino in one of the numerous Italian fifteenth-century manuscripts related to **Ps**, on which cf. Murgia 1975: 152-5.

[73] Cf., for instance, the agreement between the edition and *Am.* discussed in Ramires 2008b: 241-2.

2. Bern, BB, 167 (G)

2.1. Description of the witness

DESCRIPTION: parchment; I + 214 + I′ leaves; $1^{10} + 2\text{-}6^{8} + 7^{6} + 8\text{-}26^{8} + 27^{8\text{-}2}$; 320 × 230-5 mm (250-80 × 180-215 mm); ruling with a hard point; two columns; 27-34 lines in the inner column and a variable number of lines in the outer one, except for ff. 1-6 (ca. 38-40 lines in both columns); ancient quire signatures in the form of Roman numerals in gatherings 1-21;[74] modern foliation. The central bifolium of gathering 27 and the gathering(s) originally following f. 214 have not been preserved. Scraps of parchment were fixed between ff. 81-2, 83-4, 85-6, and 87-8; on these scraps **G**'s scribes copied scholia that could not find a place on the leaves transmitting the relevant lines because of space constraints.

HANDWRITING: The codex is written in a mature Caroline minuscule; the introductory texts and the scholia include a significant number of Insular abbreviations.[75] As for the Vergilian text, rustic capital letters are used for the initial of each line, for the *tituli* of the *Eclogues*, and for incipits and explicits, apart from the incipit of the *Georgics*, which is written in elongated square capital letters. The *Eclogues* and the books of the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* normally begin with *litterae notabiliores*, which are sometimes decorated with simple ornamental motifs. Each scholium or group of scholia referring to the same Vergilian line tends to form a single paragraph. Lemmata are marked by initial capital letters, written in *ekthesis* if they coincide with the beginning of a new paragraph.

CONTENTS: 1. Astronomical diagram [f. 1^{r}]. — 2. Medieval introductory paratexts on Vergil, including excerpts from Isid. *orig.* 3.71 and 12.1 and Beda, *de arte metrica* 1.25, the *periochae Bernenses II*, the *uitae Bernenses II* and *III*, and the *argumenta Bernensia I* and *II* [ff. 1^{r}-3^{v}]. — 3. *Anth.* 672 [f. 3^{v}]. — 4. Seru. *praef. ad ecl.*, *georg.*, and *Aen.* [ff. 4^{r}-5^{v}]. — 5. *Anth.* 256-7 [f. 5^{v}]. — 6. *uita Bernensis I* [f. 5^{v}]. — 7. *Anth.* 1.*praef.* and 2.*praef.* [f. 6^{r}]. — 8. Medieval introductory paratexts on *ecl.* 1 [f. 6^{r}]. — 9. *Anth.* 392 [f. 6^{r}]. — 10a. *ecl.* [ff. 6^{v}-20^{r}]. — 10b. *sch. Bern. ad ecl.* [ff. 6^{v}-20^{r}]. — 11a. *georg.* with *Anth.* 2.*georg.*I-IV [ff. 20^{r}-53^{v}]. — 11b. *sch. Bern. ad georg.* [ff. 20^{r}-53^{v}]. — 12a. *Aen.* 1-12.451 and 12.580-771 with *Anth.* 634

[74] The signatures appear in the centre of the lower margin of the last *verso*. No signatures can be found in gatherings 7 and 9.

[75] Cf. Beeson 1932: 90-1, Savage 1932: 105, and Bischoff 1998: 114.

and 1.I-II, IV-V, and X-XII [ff. 54r-214v]. — 12b. **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12.451 and 12.580-771 [ff. 80r-214v].

G can be regarded as an example of a Carolingian commented edition of Vergil. The three Vergilian works, introduced by several introductory paratexts, are heavily annotated and accompanied by a well-ordered marginal commentary copied in a parallel column, except for *Aen.* 1-2.[76] The Vergilian text appears to derive from **F** via one or more lost intermediaries, and so do the Bern scholia and the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12.[77] However, **G** transmits little more than half of the scholia preserved by **F**: the scholia of the former coincide, with few exceptions, with the scholia found in the left columns of the latter. Occasional interpolations from other sources are included among the Bern and the **DS** scholia alike.[78]

PROVENANCE: Copied in western France at the end of the ninth century,[79] the manuscript was owned by a bishop named Mainardus during the tenth or eleventh

[76] Only desultory notes appear in the outer column of the leaves transmitting *Aen.* 1-2. Two of these notes were labelled by Savage (1932: 104) as similar to the corresponding **DS** scholia and were consequently recorded in *Harv.* 2's apparatus. In fact, neither belongs to the **DS** tradition in the strictest sense. The note on *Aen.* 1.41 (f. 55r: *OLEI ideo enim addidit Olei quia duo fuerunt et ambo furuerunt; unus, scilicet iste Aiax, ingressus est templum Mineruae et stupro sacram uirginem uiolauit Casandram sacerdotem filiam Priami*) consists of an augmented and rephrased version of the scholium preserved by Servian witnesses (*OILI Oilei. et non uacat; nam duo Aiaces fuerunt, et ambo furuerunt, sed ira Telamonius, hic amore*), but its similarity with the following **DS** non-Servian addition (*quo Cassandram in templo Mineruae capto Ilio stuprauit*) depends only on the fact that they concern the same myth. Likewise, the note on *Aen.* 2.330 (f. 72r: *insultat qui alienis malis gaudet, exultat qui suis bonis gaudet*) and the corresponding **DS** scholium (*'insultare' est in alienum dolorem, 'exultare' uere gaudere*) refer to a well-attested verbal distinction (cf., e.g., *Gloss. Abstr.* IN 218 and *Ansil.* IN 1660), and nothing implies that the former derives from a **DS** witness.

[77] As for the Vergilian text, see Mynors 1969: IX: 'hic liber [i.e. **G**] ex *a* [i.e. **F**] originem ducere uidetur, sed ex *a* ita correcto, ut et ipse nouus iam fiat testis'. Kaster (1990: 42-3 and 88-91) and Ottaviano (2013-14: 191-2) suggested that **G** derives from a contaminated *descriptus* of **F** since **G** transmits some correct readings corresponding to **F** errors and agrees with codices not depending on **F** in some errors corresponding to **F** correct readings. On the relationship between **F**'s and **G**'s Bern scholia, see Danovi 2022.

[78] These interpolations include some eighty Breton glosses, on which cf. Stokes 1879: IV and 1-12 and Lambert 1986: 90-2 and 111-27.

[79] According to Bischoff (1998: 114), **G** was copied in Brittany; however, it should be observed that **G**'s Breton glosses include trivial mistakes which are hardly ascribable to a scribe proficient in Breton and that the graphical features which caught Bischoff's attention are sometimes found

century[80] and was discovered by Daniel in the second half of the sixteenth century.[81] Like **F**[B] and **T**, the codex was inherited by Bongars after Daniel's death and subsequently by Graviseth, who donated it to the Burgerbibliothek of Bern in 1632.[82]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Thilo 1881: LXI-II; Savage 1932: 103-5; Murgia 1975: 10-14; Munk Olsen 1985: 704 n° B. 11; Kaster 1990: 41-3; Bischoff 1998: 114 n° 542; Ottaviano 2013-14: 184-95; Homburger–Mittenhuber 2015b.

2.2. The relationship between **F**'s and **G**'s **DS** scholia

Although Thilo first noticed the existence of a close connection between **F**'s and **G**'s **DS** scholia,[83] Savage deserves credit for being the first to label the latter as depending on the former.[84] Rejected by Stocker and consequently by *Harv.* 3,[85] Savage's view was reaffirmed by Murgia in his *Prolegomena*, where he showed that Stocker's counterarguments did not refute the possibility of indirect derivation and that his failure

in manuscripts copied in other Frankish scriptoria as well (cf. Lemoine 2006: 258-9). Before Bischoff, **G** had normally been assigned to the Loire area (cf. Mostert 1989: 60).

[80] The note 'Mainardus episcopus' can be read on f. 213[v]. A Mainardus was appointed as bishop of Le Mans, which is relatively close to Brittany, during the tenth century, whereas another Mainardus was appointed as bishop of Troyes, which is relatively close to Auxerre, during the eleventh century. The two other tenth-century men responsible for the ownership notes on f. 3[v] ('Richardus') and on f. 121[v] ('Hludo') cannot be identified. The words on f. 213[v] which Bischoff and Ottaviano considered as a fourth ownership note are actually a liturgical prose passage belonging to the sequence of the *Kyrie eleison*.

[81] Where **G** was found by Daniel is unknown. As shown in section 1.1, it is implausible that the codex should be identified with Daniel's *Antissiodorensis*.

[82] Cf. chapter I, sections 2 and 8. **G** has been identified with the codex recorded in the *Clavis bibliothecae Bongarsianae* as 'XIX.15. Virgilius 2. cum interpretatione Titi Galli, Gaudentii. F.' (Bern, BB, A 5, p. 65).

[83] Thilo did not take a firm position in support of either **G**'s dependence on **F** or their derivation from a common ancestor, balancing his own inclination for the former view with Hagen's inclination for the latter (1878: V and 1881: LXI-II).

[84] Savage 1932: 105.

[85] Stocker 1951-2 and *Harv.* 3: VIII-IX. Stocker claimed to have traced in **G** the following elements proving that it could not be a direct copy of **F** and that the two codices should instead be considered as independently based on a lost exemplar: (a) errors which can hardly be imputed to a scribe copying from **F**; (b) omissions, for no discernible palaeographical reason, of passages of almost the same length which do not correspond to **F**'s lines; (c) correct readings corresponding to **F** errors; and (d) passages which are not preserved by **F**.

to identify a single separative error in **F** corresponding to a superior reading in **G** actually suggested that the latter derived from the former.[86] In a paper presented at the panel on Servius of the 2004 *APA* annual meeting, moreover, Murgia pointed out that compelling positive evidence in support of Savage's view was offered by an analysis of the **DS** scholium *ad Aen.* 9.747.[87] On **F**^{p}'s f. 68^{r}, the short scholium in question is embedded in a more recent note drawn from Tiberius Claudius Donatus' comment on the same line:[88]

> **uerba sunt Turni loquentis ante iactum. hoc, inquit, telum tu non effugies quod magna ui**
> IS teli par **\uersat dextera mea neque ictum poteris euitare: non enim hoc**
> **tu mittis ut inefficaciter currat. tale enim ueniet qualis ego sum cuius manu portatur**
> **\et regitur.**

This corresponds precisely to the scholium copied alongside *Aen.* 9.748 on **G**'s f. 172^{r}, which reads as follows:[89]

> uerba sunt Turni loquentis ante iactum. hoc, inquit, telum tu non effugies quod magna ui. is teli par. auersat dextera mea neque ictum poteris euitare: non enim hoc tu mittis ut inefficaciter currat. tale enim ueniet qualis ego sum cuius manu portatur et regitur.

Savage's view could be regarded as satisfactorily demonstrated by the negative and positive evidence adduced by Murgia. However, since Servian editors still tend to consider the relationship between **F**'s and **G**'s **DS** scholia as unclear,[90] it seems worth

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[86] Murgia 1975: 10-14. In particular, Murgia observed that all the **G** correct readings corresponding to **F** errors 'consist of changes of a letter of two, usually classifiable as attempts to make words of non-words', and that one of the five passages traced by Stocker only in **G** could actually be found in **F** as well, while the others should be dismissed as interpolations.

[87] Murgia 2004a: 7.

[88] The transcription tries to reproduce the **F** layout, with the later note written in bold. This note derives from the β tradition of Tiberius Claudius Donatus, on which cf. chapter I, section 2.

[89] Murgia suggested that the initial capital letter of the verb *auersat* may be explained as a consequence of the misunderstanding of the symbol added in **F** to separate the original **DS** scholium from the Donatian note.

[90] Except for Murgia and Kaster, all the recent editors systematically recorded the **G** readings in the apparatuses. The question of **G**'s independence is explicitly referred to as still open in the prefaces to Ramires's editions of the scholia *ad Aen.* 9 (1996b: XXVIII) and 7 (2003: LXIII), whereas the prefaces to Jeunet-Mancy's edition of the scholia *ad Aen.* 6 and of Ramires's edition of the scholia *ad Aen.* 8 are vaguer: the two scholars confined themselves to remarking, respectively, that, 'longtemps considéré comme une simple copie de *F*, le manuscrit d'Auxerre (i.e. **G**) … paraît

pointing out that further positive evidence can be added to that adduced by Murgia. Along with **G** innovations that can be readily explained from peculiarities of **F**,[91] whose probative value depends on the often hardly provable assumption that these peculiarities were absent in **F**'s exemplar, it is possible to identify the following significant agreements between **G** and $\mathbf{F}^{pc}$ against $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$.

First, two other shared interpolations from non-**DS** sources can be traced in the scholia *ad Aen.* 7.187 and 10.295. In the former case, a scribe who may well be identified with the one responsible for the note found by Murgia added the words *uel lituum, id est regium baculum in quo potestas esset dirimendarum litium* in the blank space between the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 7.185 on *CRISTAE CAPITVM* and *ad Aen.* 7.187 on *QVIRINALI LITVO* on $\mathbf{F}^{p}$'s f. 23^{v}; the note is preceded by a reference mark resembling the Insular symbol for *autem*, and the same mark was added by the same scribe at the end of the scholium on *QVIRINALI LITVO*. These words, which are alien to the **DS** tradition, deriving from Tiberius Claudius Donatus' commentary, are found in the same position in **G**'s scholium on *QVIRINALI LITVO* on f. 136^{v}.[92]

In the latter case, a different later scribe glossed the verb *tollite* with the words *erigite ad celeritatem nimiam* in the left margin of $\mathbf{F}^{p}$'s f. 76^{r}; a colon was added as a reference mark above *tollite* and before *erigite* to clarify the correspondence. The same words, preceded by the same reference mark, can be read on **G**'s f. 178^{v}, where, however, the colon is pointless since it does not correspond to another colon above *tollite*. The note in question, which consists of a rephrased version of the Servian scholium *TOLLITE FERTE ad*

plus intéressant que ne le pensait G. Thilo' (2012: CXXXIV) and that 'nous (i.e. Ramires) avons également utilisé le manuscrit G, malgré le fait que l'on puisse penser qu'il s'agit d'une copie de F' (2022: LXXXIX-XC). Guillaumin avoided discussing the manuscript tradition of Servius or **DS** in the preface to his 2019 edition of the scholia *ad Aen.* 4 and simply referred to Jeunet-Mancy's preface.

[91] Cf., e.g., the examples listed in Stocker 1951-2: 135-6, which include two cases where **G** omits portions of text corresponding to exact lines in **F**, and in Lagioia 2015a: 52-3.

[92] As shown in Pirovano 2018: 66 and 81, a similar note is found in some manuscripts belonging to the **β** tradition of Tiberius Claudius Donatus, such as in Vatican, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1670 and Oxford, BL, Auct. F. 2. 8, and, as an interpolation, in some Servian manuscripts belonging to the **Γ** tradition.

celeritatem nimiam dictum est, was also copied in **F** by a scribe who had not taken part in the transcription of **F**'s **DS** scholia.

Second, **G** exhibits a few other significant agreements with $\mathbf{F}^{pc}$ against $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$ in two sections of the scholia *ad Aen.* 7 and 10:[93]

(a)	Scholia *ad Aen.* 7
7.85[94]	commendatio oraculi ipsius elen[..] $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$: commendatio oraculi ipsius $\mathbf{F}^{pc}\mathbf{G}$
7.170[95]	TECTVM AVGVSTVM $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$ [=**Δ**]: TECTVM AVGVSTVM INGENS $\mathbf{F}^{pc}\mathbf{G}$ [=**Γ**]
7.176	in $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$ [=**Σ**]: de $\mathbf{F}^{pc}\mathbf{G}$
	transtulerit $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$ [=**Σ**]: transierit $\mathbf{F}^{pc}\mathbf{G}$
7.195	catatosiopomenon $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$ [=**Σ**]: a catatosiopomenon $\mathbf{F}^{pc}\mathbf{G}$ [= *nonnulli libri Seruiani* **Γ** *familiae*]
7.204	philosophi tractarent $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$ [=**Δ**]: de philosophia tractaretur $\mathbf{F}^{pc}\mathbf{G}$ [= *nonnulli libri Seruiani* **Γ** *familiae*]
7.207	de Thratia $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$ [≈**Δ**]: profectus ad Thraciam (Trachiam **G**) est. de Thratia (Tra- **G**) $\mathbf{F}^{pc}\mathbf{G}$ [≈ *nonnulli libri Seruiani* **Γ** *familiae*]
7.232	ABOLESCET abolebitur $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$ [=**Δ**]: ABOLESCET abolebitur et usus est incohatiua (incoa- **G**) forma cum opus non esset $\mathbf{F}^{pc}\mathbf{G}$ [=**Γ**]
7.234	IVRO q[…] $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$ [= IVRO quae **Δ**?]: IVRO quem $\mathbf{F}^{pc}\mathbf{G}$ [= *nonnulli libri Seruiani* **Γ** *familiae*]
7.271	Italiam $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$ [=**Σ**]: Italiae $\mathbf{F}^{pc}\mathbf{G}$ [= *nonnulli libri Seruiani* **Γ** *familiae*]
(b)	Scholia *ad Aen.* 10
10.804	PRAECIPITANT praecipitantur $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$: PRAECIPITANT est pro praecipitantur $\mathbf{F}^{pc}\mathbf{G}$
10.815	colligunt $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$] aut rumpunt *add.* $\mathbf{F}^{pc}\mathbf{G}$

In all these cases, $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$ essentially offers the genuine **DS** text, and the corrections are to be ascribed to two later revisers who did not seemingly have access to the exemplar from which the **DS** scholia were copied: the changes made to the scholia *ad Aen.* 7 are to be judged as drawn from a Servian witness belonging to an interpolated branch of the **Γ**

[93] Doubtful cases are not recorded.

[94] The deleted text is now hardly legible, but it seems to have consisted of a (corrupt?) form for *Heleni*. Although both Thilo and Ramires adopted the $\mathbf{F}^{pc}\mathbf{G}$ reading, *Heleni* should probably be judged as belonging to the **DS** scholium.

[95] Both Thilo and Ramires adopted **Γ**'s *TECTVM AVGVSTVM INGENS* as the lemma of the scholium *ad Aen.* 7.170, without making any distinction between the Servian and the **DS** version. Nevertheless, because of the agreement between $\mathbf{F}^{ac}$ and the **Δ** tradition, the lemma of the **DS** version should probably be reconstructed as *TECTVM AVGVSTVM*.

tradition,[96] while the words *est pro* and *aut rumpunt*, transmitted by no other known Servian or **DS** witness, apart from **G**, should probably be considered as corrections *ope ingenii*.[97]

It is implausible that another **DS** witness closely linked with **F** was corrected in the scholia *ad Aen.* 7 against a Servian witness belonging to exactly the same interpolated branch of the **Γ** tradition and that one or more revisers were also responsible for the same two changes which were independently made *ope ingenii* in **F**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 10.804 and 815. The fact that these corrections belong in **F** to different layers makes it possible to consider them as additional evidence in favour of **G**'s dependence on **F**.[98]

On these grounds, **G**'s dependence on **F** can be considered as proven beyond peradventure, although the reason why the former codex almost constantly includes only the scholia copied in the left columns of the latter remains unclear.[99] From this perspective, the approach adopted by *Harv.* 3, Ramires, Jeunet-Mancy, and Guillaumin to govern the employment of **G** appears overcautious. This codex should only be treated

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[96] An innovative reading which might be explained as a result of the misinterpretation of a correction made in **F** by the same reviser can be traced in **G**'s scholium *ad Aen.* 7.27, which reads *myone* instead of *mora ne*. On **F**^{p}'s f. 20^{v}, the original reading *moro* was corrected to *maio* by adding two lines which could be easily taken as a *y*.

[97] The addition of the words *aut rumpunt* is to be explained as a wrong guess of a reviser who noticed that the **F**^{ac} text (*FILA LEGVNT proprium fuerat rumpunt; tamen legunt aut colligunt est autem transeunt, ut litoraque Epiri legimus*) was syntactically impossible and tried to supply a second gloss after *aut colligunt*. In fact, *autem* is an **F** error for *aut*, and *colligunt* and *transeunt* are the two alternative glosses for *legunt*.

[98] Cf. section 1.2.3.

[99] No persuasive reconstruction has been hitherto proposed. Stocker (1951-2: 133-4) hesitantly suggested that this oddity could be explained by supposing that **G**'s scribes had in mind a manuscript where there was a distinction between the scholia of the left and right columns, but no known Carolingian manuscript of Vergil actually makes one such distinction. Lagioia (2015a: 53) suggested that '[la] trascrizione, limitata ai *marginalia* interni di *F*, … ben si giustificherebbe … supponendo che *G* sia in realtà l'apografo di un codice … che avesse … subito un guasto materiale, che lo avesse reso mutilo di tutta la porzione più esterna', but this hypothesis relies on a false premise: **G**'s scholia do not coincide with those copied in **F**'s inner column but rather with those copied in **F**'s left column, that is in the inner column in the *recto* and in the outer one in the *verso*. On the basis of the available evidence, it seems more probable – albeit not certain – that the makers of **G** or of any lost intermediary between **F** and **G** were forced to divide the page into two columns, rather than three, because of space constraints and consequently had to resign themselves to copying just half of the scholia of their exemplar.

as an independent source for the **DS** text in the sections where **F**'s scholia have been damaged by moisture or are no longer extant because of the loss of the external half of **F$^{B'}$**'s f. 151 and of the first leaf of **F$^{P'}$**'s gathering 21.[100] In the other sections, the **G** readings differing from the **F** ones should be considered as innovations and cited only if they are certainly or possibly correct and they are not attested in any primary witness.

[100] Cf. chapter I, section 6.1.

3. Munich, BSB, Clm 18059, ff. 138r-40r (Mo)

3.1. Description of the witness[101]

DESCRIPTION: parchment; 415 × 295 mm (325-30 × 210-5 mm); ruling with a hard point; two columns; 51 lines; modern foliation. The five pages belong to gathering 19 of the manuscript, a quaternion marked as 'S' in the centre of the lower margin of the last *verso* (ff. 134-41).

HANDWRITING: The text was copied by a single scribe in a regular Caroline minuscule, with lemmata written in rustic capitals and marked by initials touched in red.

CONTENTS: Seru. *ad Aen.* 10.98-104 [f. 138r], **DS** *ad Aen.* 10.104-66 [ff. 138r-9r], Seru. *ad Aen.* 10.166-75 [f. 139r], **DS** *ad Aen.* 10.175-202 [ff. 139r-40r], and Seru. *ad Aen.* 10.202-44 [f. 140r].

The odd alternation of Servian and **DS** scholia is a result of the fact that **Mo** derives from **M** as supplemented by **M³**.[102] **Mo**'s Servian and **DS** scholia alike were corrected at a later stage by a scribe resorting to a Servian witness (**Mo²**).

PROVENANCE: **Mo** was produced in southern Germany in the first half of the eleventh century. If it was not copied by scribes belonging to the Tegernsee abbey, it must have reached that abbey before the end of the century.[103] The manuscript may well have remained there uninterruptedly until 1803,[104] when the abbey was secularised and its library was brought to what would subsequently become the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

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[101] The present description refers to the five pages transmitting **DS** scholia; descriptions of the entire codex can be found in the works listed in the bibliography below.

[102] On **M³**'s supplements, see chapter I, section 3.1. That **Mo** derives from **M** was first hypothesised in Eder 1972: 88 n. 203. Noting that **Mo** agrees with **M** even in the sections supplied by **M³**, Murgia concluded that this hypothesis could be judged as positively demonstrated and that the occasional superior readings in **Mo**'s Servian scholia corresponding to separative errors in **M** should be explained as a result of contamination from a **τ** witness (1975: 40).

[103] According to Eder (1972: 88-9), the script and the illuminated initials of the codex resemble those of several coeval Tegernsee manuscripts. A late-eleventh-century list of goods of Tegernsee was added in a space previously left blank on f. 33r (on the list, cf. Beck 1914).

[104] The abbey is mentioned in three fourteenth- or fifteenth-century notes added on the leaves pasted onto the inner face of the boards ('attinet Tegernsee iste liber' and 'iste liber est monasterii Tegernsee') and on f. 1r ('iste liber attinet uenerabili Monasterio Tegernsee dyocesis Frisingensis').

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Halm *et alii* 1878: 130 n° 1070; Munk Olsen 1985: 740-2 n° C. 129; Klemm 2004: 125 n° 105; Bergmann–Stricker 2005: 1205-8 n° 634.

3.2. Appendix: **Mo²**'s corrections

Hitherto completely neglected, the corrections made by **Mo²** to **Mo**'s **DS** scholia can be judged as a unicum of remarkable historical significance within the corpus examined in this thesis. To illustrate their nature and frequency, I will list all the cases where **Mo DS** readings diverging from the Servian ones were modified or left unchanged in the scholia *ad Aen.* 10.104-13:[105]

(a) Cases where the **Mo** readings were corrected by **Mo²**

10.104 uultis **FM³Mo**: sinitis **Mo²** [=**Γ**]

10.106 HAVD LICITVM **FM³Mo**: HAVD LICITVM EST **Mo^{pc2}** [=**Γ**]

10.107 tenet **FM³Mo**: tenet habet **Mo^{pc2}** [=**Γ**]

dicimus **M³Mo** [≈ dicimus phylosophorum **F**]: dicimus habitus animorum et instituta philosophiae circa disciplinam **Mo^{pc2}** [=**Γ**]

10.108 FVAT futuri temporis est **FM³Mo**: FVAT id est futuri temporis est, uerbum defectiuum **Mo^{pc2}** [=**Γ**]

10.109 SEV FATIS ITALVM **FM³Mo**: SEV FATIS ITALVM C. O. T. **Mo^{pc2}** [≈**Γ**]

Troiae **FM³Mo**: Troiana **Mo^{pc2}** [=**Γ**]

monitis aduersis **FM³Mo**: sinistris monitis **Mo^{pc2}** [=**Γ**]

NEMINEM ABSOLVO **FM³Mo**: neminem absoluo. unde propter amphiboliam sic distingue Italum et infer castra obsidione tenentur, scilicet Troianorum; ipsi enim obsidentur, non Itali. SOLVO absoluo **Mo^{pc2}** [=**Γ**]

10.111 pertulit soluo **FM³Mo**: pertulit **Mo^{pc2}** [=**Γ**]

monitis autem sinistris **FM³Mo**: MONITIS SINISTRIS **Mo^{pc2}** [=**Γ**]

facta (fata **F**) initia **FM³Mo**: rerum initia actus **Mo^{pc2}** [=**Γ**]

diei id est secunda (-um **F**) sua (-am **F**) coepta (ce- **Mo**) habebit euentum **FM³Mo**: diei **Mo^{pc2}** [=**Γ**]

FORTVNAM quae facit **Mo** [≈ FORTVNAMQVE … FERENT **F**: FORTVNAMQVE F. **M³**]: FORTVNAMQVE **Mo^{pc2}** [=**Γ**]

10.113 ius iurando **M³Mo** [≈ cuius iurando **F**]: iure iurando **Mo^{pc2}** [=**Γ**]

statuta **FM³Mo**: dicta **Mo²** [=**Γ**]

[105] Alterations of spelling are not recorded. **Δ** is not extant in this section, and all the Servian witnesses inherit their text from **Γ**.

(b) Cases where the **Mo** readings were not corrected by **Mo²**

10.105 dicendae sententiae (-ciae **M³**) **FM³Mo** [≠ sententiae dicendae **Γ**]

10.107 dicere **FM³Mo** [≠ loqui **Γ**]

Troianis se fauere significat **FM³Mo** [≠ significat se fauere Troianis **Γ**]

commendatione (-cione **M³**) **FM³Mo** [≠ commendationem **Γ**]

SECAT SPEM **FM³Mo** [≠ SECAT **Γ**]

10.113 flumina fratris **FM³Mo** [≠ fratris flumina **Γ**]

As can be inferred from the two lists, **Mo²** chose to intervene in almost all the cases where **Mo** preserved a different reading from the Servian one. Most of his changes consist of deletions of non-Servian words that could be found in **Mo**[106] or additions of Servian words that could not be found in **Mo**;[107] on a few occasions, however, he also replaced portions of the original text with the corresponding portions transmitted by Servian witnesses.[108] Within the section considered, only six readings did not undergo any change; since these readings are not qualitatively different from other readings that **Mo²** corrected, they can be suspected of having been simply overlooked.[109]

It is evident that the reviser did not content himself with correcting isolated passages which were blatantly meaningless or diverged radically in content from the Servian ones but rather aimed to make the **Mo** version of the **DS** scholia lose its non-Servian features and become identical with the text transmitted by his own Servian exemplar. From this perspective, the revision that he carried out can be adduced as evidence in support of the historical plausibility of Barwick's and Stocker's reconstruction of the genesis of **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6, which has been recently questioned, and also of the similar reconstructions of the genesis of **F**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 6-7 and of **M³'**s scholia herein proposed for the first time: the text of a manuscript copied from **Mo** by scribes accepting

[106] Cf. the scholia *ad Aen.* 10.111.

[107] Cf. the scholia *ad Aen.* 10.106-9.

[108] Cf. the scholia *ad Aen.* 10.104, 109, 111, and 113.

[109] Only three uncorrected readings cannot be paralleled in the first list, namely *dicendae sententiae* (10.105), *Troianis se fauere significat* (10.107), and *flumina fratris* (10.113). Notwithstanding, it is possible to find a few other similar corrections which pertain exclusively to word order in the following scholia; cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 10.142: *aurum trahentia sicut Tagus* **FM³MoT**: *aurum sicut Tagus trahentia* **Mo^{pc2}** [**=Γ**].

Mo²'s corrections would lack the **DS** major additions but still exhibit a mixture of **DS** and Servian readings throughout, precisely as happens in **C**, **F**, and **M³**.[110]

[110] On the genesis of the **C**, **F**, and **M³** version of **DS**, see chapter II, sections 1-3. For a discussion of these revisions as evidence on the status that the Servian and **DS** scholia attained in the Carolingian period and on the way in which Carolingian scribes perceived scholiastic authorship, see the conclusion.

4. Paris, BNF, Lat. 13044, ff. 1r-3r (Pd)

4.1. Description of the witness[111]

DESCRIPTION: parchment; 345 × 250 mm (250 × 115 mm); ruling with a hard point; one column; 34 lines; modern foliation. Ff. 1-3 belong to the first extant gathering of the codex (ff. 1-7), which consists of a quaternion lacking the last leaf. To judge from the quire signatures appearing at the end of the following gatherings, f. 1 used to be preceded by fifteen gatherings; therefore, it is likely that the codex originally contained the whole of Vergil. The notes on f. 1r have faded to varying degrees.

HANDWRITING: The Vergilian lines were copied by a single scribe in Caroline minuscule, except for the initials of the lines, which are written in red rustic capitals. The notes were copied by a later scribe in Caroline minuscule.

CONTENTS: Verg. *Aen.* 6.130-300 [ff. 1r-3r].

The Vergilian text of this codex has been demonstrated to be closely related to that of **Va**.[112] The interlinear and marginal notes added on these five pages consist of isolated glosses and brief excerpts from **DS**, Tiberius Claudius Donatus, and other traditions and derive from **T**.

PROVENANCE: **Pd** was copied, perhaps in north-eastern France, at the end of the ninth century. It was held in the abbeys of Saint-Pierre in Corbie and of Saint-Germain-des-Prés before being acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.[113]

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Murgia 1975: 51 and 158; Munk Olsen 1985: 766 n° B. 193; Kaster 1990: 43-5; Bischoff 2014: 202 n° 4868; Ottaviano 2013-14: 246-9.

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[111] The present description refers to the five pages which include excerpts from the **DS** scholia; descriptions of the entire codex can be found in the works listed in the bibliography below.

[112] See Kaster 1990: 43-5 and Ottaviano 2013-14: and 90-3 and 248.

[113] This conclusion is suggested by two ownership notes which can be read on f. 1r: 'liber sancti Petri Corbiensis' and 'sancti Germani a Pratis'. Coyecque identified the manuscript with one of the two copies of 'Virgilii opera manuscripta vetustissima' listed in the 1621 catalogue of the library of Corbie under numbers 238-9 and suggested that it could have been brought from Corbie to Paris in 1638, together with other 400 ancient codices from Corbie, and acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in 1795-6, together with the other ancient codices of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (1893: V-VII and XL).

4.2. The relationship between **T** and **Pd**

Listing **Pd** among the manuscripts requiring a deeper investigation, Murgia remarked that its first five pages preserved '*adespota* and **DS** scholia (similar to T)'.[114] On the basis of a closer examination, **Pd**'s notes can be regarded as derived from **T**.

Virtually all the notes in the former codex, including all the excerpts from **DS** scholia and from Tiberius Claudius Donatus, are paralleled in the latter.[115] That their scribe was indeed resorting to **T** or to a witness depending on **T** is positively suggested by the fact that the notes in **T** to which they correspond were copied by scribes resorting to different exemplars:[116] most can be attributed to $\mathbf{T}^1$ and to the 'Tironian' scribe who may have gone by the name of Liudramnus, a few others to another 'Tironian' scribe and to $\mathbf{T}^5$.[117] On some occasions, moreover, a single note in **Pd** corresponds to two notes copied by different scribes or to a note copied by a scribe and corrected by another, as can be appreciated from the following examples:[118]

	T	**Pd**
6.187	(SI) utinam ($\mathbf{T}^1$). (SI) optantis est (*Liudr.*).	(SI) utinam. optantis est.
6.197	(PRESSIT) fixit ($\mathbf{T}^1$). (PRESSIT) id est parum stetit (*Liudr.*).	(PRESSIT) fixit, stetit parum.
6.209	bratteae dicuntur proprie lamminae (l-] aureae *add. Liudr.*), sed hic pro frondibus posuit ($\mathbf{T}^1$).	bratteae dicuntur laminae auree, sed hic pro frondibus posuit.

Nothing implies that the scribe responsible for **Pd**'s notes consulted more than one source or that the hypothetical witness depending on **T** to which he may have resorted contained material drawn from other traditions: the notes paralleled in **T** include no superior reading corresponding to a separative error in **T**, and the few other notes are so

[114] Murgia 1975: 158. A less precise description of the notes is found in Murgia 1975: 51.

[115] Most of the notes in **Pd** are very brief and can be compared with **T**'s isolated glosses or with sections of **T**'s longer notes. **T** includes several glosses and excerpts corresponding to nothing in **Pd**.

[116] On **T**'s scribes and their exemplars, see chapter I, section 8 and chapter III, section 7.1.

[117] Cf. the notes on *Aen.* 6.165 on *AERE* and on *Aen.* 6.287 on *BRIAREVS*, respectively.

[118] Cf. also the notes on 6.230, 241, 267, and 300.

brief and simple that they are readily explicable as autoschediasms.[119] From this perspective, **Pd** can be regarded as of no use for future editors of the **DS** scholia.

[119] As far as f. 1^{v} is concerned, for instance, only the following note on *Aen.* 6.166 cannot be paralleled in **T**: (*HECTORA*) *acusatiuus Grecus est*.

5. Milan, VBA, S 83 sup./3 (*Ambros.*)

5.1. Description of the witness

DESCRIPTION: paper; 14 leaves; $1^8 + 2^6$; 320 × 215 mm (300 × 120 mm); one column; ca. 35-40 lines; modern pagination in the quaternion (pp. 1-16) and modern foliation in the ternion (ff. 31-6).[120]

HANDWRITING: The codicological unit was copied by two contemporary scribes in Humanistic cursive.

CONTENTS: 1. *excerpta ex schidis Seruii ineditis* [ff. 24^{r}-6^{r}: *de augurali disciplina*; ff. 26^{r}-7^{r}: *de sacris*; ff. 27^{r}-9^{r}: *de nuptiis*; f. 29^{r-v}: *de funeribus et exequiis*; ff. 29^{v}-30^{r}: *alia diuersi generis*; ff. 30^{r}-30a^{v}: *de iure pontificio et ceremoniis flam. Dial.*]. — 2. *fragmenta ueterum ex Seruii schidis* [ff. 31^{r}-6^{r}].

The two gatherings preserve two autonomous sets of excerpts from the **DS** scholia on the *Aeneid*:[121] the quaternion includes descriptions of various aspects of Roman religion taken from the scholia *ad Aen.* 3-5, the ternion quotations from non-extant works taken from the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-12. The former are grouped by subject, whereas the latter are divided into two lists ordered alphabetically by author's name.[122]

PROVENANCE: *Ambros.* ultimately emanates from two collections of excerpts assembled by Daniel on the basis of the **DS** primary witnesses to which he resorted for his 1600 edition (**FPT**). Since it belonged to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli's library before being acquired by the Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana in 1608, it seems likely that it should be identified either with the collections that were sent by Daniel's friend Claude Dupuy to Pierre Del Bene and shown by Del Bene to Pinelli in the third quarter of the sixteenth century or with a later copy thereof.[123]

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[120] The two codicological units preceding the quaternion consist of 23 leaves. The leaves of the quaternion will be herein referred to as ff. 24-30 and 30a.

[121] The only exception is the excerpt from the **DS** scholium *ad ecl.* 7.41 which can be read on f. 33^{v}. This scholium is preserved by Daniel's only witness to the scholia on the *Eclogues*, namely **La**.

[122] The first list of quotations, ordered by author's name from *Accius* to *Verrius Flaccus*, is found on ff. 31^{r}-5^{r}; the second list of quotations, ordered by author's name from *Augustus* to *Varro* and labelled as *appendix omissorum*, is found on ff. 35^{r}-6^{r}.

[123] On *Ambros.*'s genesis, see section 5.2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Thilo 1881: LXV; Rivolta 1933: 155-6 n° 163; Savage 1932: 115; Murgia 1975: 15-19.

5.2. The relationship between **FPT** and *Ambros*.

Describing *Ambros.* in his 1859 survey of the Servian and **DS** tradition, Thilo noticed that it appeared to depend on the codices owned by Daniel and hypothesised that it could be a copy of a collection of excerpts that was sent by Daniel to a friend interested in Roman antiquities and was corrected by the latter *ope ingenii*.[124] Accordingly, *Ambros.*'s ultimate sources are identified with **FPT** in the preface to the second fascicule of Thilo's edition, where it is also remarked that some of the readings preserved by *Ambros.* are not found in **FPT** since the scholar responsible for the text of the former introduced some conjectures.[125]

Thilo's view as to the relationship between *Ambros.* and Daniel's witnesses received a lukewarm response from the first generation of the Harvard editors. On the one hand, Savage labelled it as not implausible but refused to take a firm position on the genesis of *Ambros.*, affirming only that it must ultimately depend on a codex containing 'the comment on *Aen.* 3-12 such as we find it in *FT*'.[126] On the other, the editors of *Harv.* 3 confined themselves to pointing out that *Ambros.* seemed to depend exclusively on extant witnesses, without making any reference to Thilo.[127] However, Thilo's view was reaffirmed by Murgia in his *Prolegomena*, where he also warned that several of the readings unparalleled in **FPT** could more easily be explained as unconscious errors than as conjectures.[128]

The question of the relationship between *Ambros.* and **FPT** was re-examined in 1999 by Ramires, who maintained that *Ambros.* was 'un prodotto dell'officina di Pierre Daniel' but challenged the idea that it exclusively depends on extant manuscripts. In particular,

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[124] Thilo 1859: 542.

[125] Thilo 1881: LXV.

[126] Savage 1932: 115.

[127] *Harv.* 3: XI. Notwithstanding, the *Ambros.* readings are cited throughout in their apparatus. The few excerpts from the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 transmitted by *Ambros.* had not been taken into consideration in *Harv.* 2.

[128] Murgia 1975: 15-19.

he remarked that *Ambros.* includes several certainly or possibly correct readings which should be judged either as conjectures or as emanating from lost witnesses and explicitly referred to the latter alternative as worthy of serious consideration in the cases of the scholia *ad Aen.* 7.738, 8.293, 362, and 696, and 10.76. These scholia led Ramires to conclude that the hypothesis that *Ambros.* depends also on some lost witnesses could not be ruled out.

Murgia's 1975 monograph and Ramires's 1999 article marked the end of the debate on *Ambros.*'s stemmatic value: no study has since been devoted to its ultimate sources, and both Ramires and Murgia confined themselves to repeating their previous conclusions or to taking them as granted in their subsequent works.[129]

The traditional thesis that *Ambros.* derives from no independent witness besides **FPT** seems to be backed up by the historical evidence available as to the genesis of the former witness. As was recently clarified by De Smet, *Ambros.* should be identified with the excerpts from Daniel's manuscripts which Dupuy sent to Del Bene sometime before the end of March 1574 or with a copy thereof.[130] Daniel is known to have based his edition of the scholia on the *Aeneid* exclusively on **F**(**G**)**PT**,[131] and it is hardly conceivable that he

[129] Ramires referred to his article in the preface to his editions of the scholia *ad Aen.* 7 (2003: XI n. 6) and 8 (2022: XCIV) and in his review of Murgia and Kaster's edition (2018-19: 220). Murgia avoided mentioning *Ambros.* in his 2014 survey of the Servian and **DS** tradition and did not resort to it for the establishment of the text of the scholia *ad Aen.* 9-12, citing only its correct readings preserved by no earlier witness; this employment of *Ambros.*, which is consistent with the conclusions drawn in Murgia's *Prolegomena*, led Kaster to include it among the 'testes qui lectiones vel bonas vel pensitando dignas hic illic praestent' in the list of the *sigla*. Murgia and Kaster's position seems to have been misinterpreted by Ramires in his review, where he claimed that 'Eds. have taken this codex into consideration after Murgia's previous perplexities' and that 'on these *excerpta* a discussion would have been necessary in the *praefatio*, in which Eds. could justify their decision, that is a rethinking of what the same Murgia had previously written' (2018-19: 220 and 249).

[130] De Smet 2022: 400-1. The volume into which *Ambros.* is inserted used to belong to Pinelli's library, and Dupuy mentioned similar excerpts in a letter sent to Pinelli on the 30th of March 1574: 'Plantin va imprimer le Virgile de Monsieur de Painpont avec le viel Serve de M.r Daniel; in quo cum multa egregia sunt, tum ex iure pontificio et augurali populi Romani rara quamplurima: ce que vous avez peu voir par l'eschantillon que j'envoiai une fois a Monsieur Delbene' (in Raugei 2001: vol. 1, pp. 103-7).These excerpts may be identified with the fragment from the 'real Servius' which is mentioned in two letters written by Dupuy and Del Bene at the end of 1571 (in Raugei 2001: vol. 2, pp. 400-16).

[131] See section 1.1.

had access to other valuable independent witnesses to the **DS** scholia which he used as sources for the collections of excerpts from which *Ambros.* emanates but not for the edition that he was contemporaneously preparing.

In any case, the traditional thesis can only be accepted if *Ambros.* is shown to exhibit no reading differing from the **FPT** ones which cannot be explained with reasonable ease as a conscious or unconscious innovation. The five excerpts adduced by Ramires as arguments against the existence of such latent evidence need therefore to be scrutinised afresh:

7.738	Conon lib. de Italia quosdam Pelasgos aliosque ex Peloponeso aduenas ad eum locum Italie uenisse dicit cui nullum nomen antea fuit. **T** reads *conuenas*, instead of *aduenas*.
8.293	Pindar. Ixionem dicit cum equas pasceret incestasse eas, inde centauros natos. **F** reads *opsum*, instead of *Ixionem*.
8.362	(Varro) lib. 4° diuin. rerum. uictorem Herculem putant dictum quod omne genus animalium decies uicerit. **F** reads *dicens*, instead of *decies*.
8.696	Augustus commemoratione uitae suae refert Antonium iussisse ut legiones suae apud Decoratum (l. Cleopatram [*sic*]) excubarent. **F** reads *Decoratum* as well.
10.76	(Varro) Pilumnum et Picumnum deos infantium esse ait eisque pro puerpera lectum in atrio sterni, dum exploretur an utilis (f. uitalis *in mg.*) sit qui natus est. **T** reads *utilis* as well, whereas **F** reads *utili*.

In three of these cases, Ramires clarified why he regarded the idea that the *Ambros.* readings represent innovations as implausible. In particular, he argued (a) that, assuming that the reading *aduenas* was not preserved by a lost codex, it would be necessary to ascribe it to a very learned scholar correcting *conuenas* on the basis of the text of the scholium *ad Aen.* 8.328,[132] (b) that it would be difficult to understand why the scholar responsible for *Ambros.* could advance the conjecture *Ixionem*, which is not consistent with any known version of the myth since Ixion and his mares are never referred to as parents of the centaurs, and (c) that it would be difficult to understand

[132] In the scholium in question, the difference between *aduena* and *conuena* is explained as follows: *aduenae de uno loco uenientes, ut Saturnus, conuenae de diuersis, ut Ausones et Sicani*.

why the same scholar chose to record the two alternative variants *Decoratum* and *Cleopatram*, writing the correct one only between parentheses.

In fact, these five readings appear to be less problematic than Ramires was inclined to believe. Little comment is called for on *aduenas* and on *decies*: they are not superior to the readings transmitted by **T** and **F** but also easily explicable.[133] The replacement of *conuenas* with *aduenas* is very simple given the similarity between the two nouns and the higher frequency of the latter – hence, there is no need to hypothesise a conscious correction based on the scholium *ad Aen.* 8.328. The adverb *decies*, which also occurs in Daniel's edition, is graphically so close to *dicens* that it would not be more difficult to explain as a conjecture than several other readings which can be attributed to Daniel.[134]

The genesis of the reading *Ixionem* may be illuminated by comparing the text of *Ambros.*'s excerpt with the corresponding scholium preserved by **F**:

> NVBIGENAS de Ixione et nube procreatos centauros, ut superius diximus. Pindarus opsum cum equos pasceret incestasse eas, inde centauros natus dicit.

The introduction of the name of Ixion is readily ascribable to a scholar who interpreted both the Servian section of the scholium (*NVBIGENAS … diximus*) and the non-Servian one (*Pindarus … dicit*) as referring to the same mythological character – an interpretation adopted by Daniel himself in his 1600 edition, where he printed *ipsum* for *opsum*.[135]

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[133] The reading *conuenas* was convincingly defended by Grilli (in Ramires 1999: 170); Ramires too labelled his preference for *aduenas* as 'assai difficoltosa' in his article and ended up adopting *conuenas* in his edition of the scholia *ad Aen.* 7. As transmitted by **F**, the text of the scholium *ad Aen.* 8.362 (*Varro enim diuinarum libro quarto uictorem Herculem putat dictum quod omne genus animalium dicens uicerit*) is clearly corrupt; however, *Ambros.*'s *decies*, which Ramires interpreted as a round number and adopted in his 2022 edition, cannot be accepted either. Not only is *decies* used almost only in poetry with this meaning, but the phrase *omne genus animalium … uicerit* refers *per se* to the labours as a whole and cannot be determined by a numeral adverb implying iteration such as *decies*. Thilo's alternative conjecture *deinceps* is more likely to be right.

[134] Cf. the text of the non-Servian sections of the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 printed in Daniel's edition. Since this text, except for the scholia discussed in section 1, was established by Daniel on the basis of **P** alone, all the readings not occurring in this witness should be judged as conscious or unconscious innovations.

[135] This hypothesis was ultimately accepted by Ramires in the preface to his edition of the scholia *ad Aen.* 8 (2022: XCV).

The last two readings seem even less compelling, being qualified as conjectures in *Ambros.* itself. In the former case, the correct reading *Cleopatram* is preceded by *l.*; this abbreviation, standing for *lege* or *lego*, rather than for *uel*, as Ramires suggested, is normally employed by Daniel to indicate conjectures. In the latter, the reading *uitalis* is noted down in the left margin after the letter *f.*, presumably an abbreviation for *fortasse* or the like. Although it is not possible to establish why the scholar responsible for the text of *Ambros.* included two alternative readings in these excerpts and tacitly corrected the paradosis elsewhere, it is nevertheless clear that he considered only *Decoratum* and *utilis* as readings transmitted by the codices.

In sum, the five readings pointed out by Ramires, like the several other readings unparalleled in **FPT**, are readily explicable as conscious or unconscious innovations and do not conflict with the traditional thesis that *Ambros.* derives exclusively from these three witnesses. This thesis, which is supported by the historical evidence available as to *Ambros.*'s genesis, can thus be regarded as reasonably certain.

5.3. Appendix: *Ambros.*, Scaliger, and Pithou

While De Smet deserves credit for shedding light on *Ambros.*'s genesis, some comment is still in order as to its relationships with the excerpts from the **DS** scholia included in Pithou's 1573 edition of the *Mosaycarum et Romanarum legum collatio* and in Scaliger's 1575 *Castigationes* on Festus.

This question was thoroughly discussed by Murgia in his *Prolegomena*, where he observed that *Ambros.* and Scaliger's excerpts, on the one hand, and *Ambros.* and Pithou's excerpts, on the other, could be shown to be closely related but mutually independent on textual grounds.[136] As a result, he concluded that *Ambros.* was a copy of a collection of excerpts made in Daniel's library for Scaliger and probably also for Pithou.

While Murgia was undoubtedly right in considering *Ambros.* and Scaliger's excerpts as independently emanating from a lost ancestor, his reconstruction of the features and

[136] Murgia 1975: 15-19. Before Murgia, Thilo had noticed that *Ambros.* shared some readings unparalleled in **FPT** with Pithou's and Scaliger's excerpts and suggested that the scholar responsible for the text of the former could have adopted conjectures which he found in Pithou's and Scaliger's works (1881: LXV).

purposes of that ancestor can be partially amended by taking into account two letters sent by Scaliger himself to Daniel on the 1st and the 24th of July 1574:[137]

> Monsieur et frere, je receus ces jours passés vos lettres, et bien qu'elles fussent datées de longtemps, ensemble quelques fragmens de vostre Servius, lesquels me sont bienvenus à propos pour mon Festus. … Je vous remercie bien fort de vostre Servius, et eusse voulu que vous y eussies adjousté *ritus et cerimonias*, qui m'eussent fort aidé pour mon Festus. Encores ce ne seroit pas trop tard s'il vous plaisoit me les envoier de bonne heure.
>
> Monsieur et frere, je receus dernierement vos lettres avec les fragments des aucteurs cités par vostre Servius, de quoi je vous remerciai naguieres par ma lettre, laquelle je pense que vous aures desja receue, et vous en remercie encores davantage.

These letters confirm that Scaliger's excerpts depend on excerpts assembled in Daniel's library and show that these belonged to two autonomous collections, to which Scaliger referred as '*ritus et cerimonia*[*e*]' and as 'les fragments des aucteurs cités par vostre Servius'.[138] The fact that they correspond precisely to *Ambros.*'s two gatherings is an additional argument in support of their close relationship and also makes it possible to conclude that their lost common source consisted of two autonomous collections of excerpts, rather than of a single one, and that the division of the excerpts in *Ambros.* should not be considered as an innovation. Lastly, the fact that Scaliger referred to '*ritus et cerimonia*[*e*]' as an already-existing collection and the fact that he received the two collections some months, if not years, after *Ambros.* or the collections sent to Del Bene on which *Ambros.* depends were produced suggests that the original collections from which the two witnesses emanate were probably not assembled for the use of Scaliger himself.

On the other hand, the relationship between *Ambros.* and Pithou's excerpts seems more complicated than Murgia allowed. Pithou quoted four excerpts from the **DS** scholia which can be paralleled in *Ambros.* (*ad Aen.* 3.89, 4.103 and 374, and 11.708) and five excerpts which cannot (*ad ecl.* 4.43, *georg.* 1.31, and *Aen.* 3.76, 4.493, and 6.22). In the

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[137] The two letters can be read in Botley–van Miert 2012: 71-7.

[138] Both the excerpts which can be paralleled in *Ambros.* and those which cannot are easily dividable into these two sets. Although the latter are rare, their number seems to have been slightly underestimated by Murgia. It is not true, for instance, that 'the only scholium in Scaliger on *Aen.* III-IV which *Harv.* 3 does not list in the *Ambrosianus* is Scaliger 73.27' (*ad Aen.* 4.158): Scaliger also prints excerpts from the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.314 and 4.424 which are not found in *Ambros*.

former cases, it is possible to identify the following shared readings that differ from those of Daniel's witnesses:

4.103[139]	ait etiam] an etiam **F**: etiam **T**: ante iam *Ambros. Pithoeus*
	in potestatem … cedit *Ambros. Pithoeus*: in potestate … cedit **FT**
	sustinet conditionem liberae seruitutis *Ambros. Pithoeus*: sustinet liberis conditionem (condicio- **T**) liberi seruitutis **FT**
4.374[140]	mos … fuit flamini ac flaminicae dum **T**: mos … fuit flamini ac flaminici caelum **F**: mos … fuit flamini ac (et *Ambros.*) flaminicae (flaminiae *Pithoeus*) ut *Ambros. Pithoeus*
	confarreationem] ferreationem **F**: conferreationem (*ex* conferretionem) **T**: farreationem *Ambros. Pithoeus*
	ouilla **F**: ouina **T**: ouili *Ambros. Pithoeus*
	marito quod simul cum eo] marite quod simul cum eo **F**: quae simul cum marito **T**: quod simul cum eo *Ambros. Pithoeus*
11.708	Cornelianis *Ambros. Pithoeus*: Cornelialis **F**
	fraudi *Ambros. Pithoeus*: fraude **F**
	contentionem **F**: concionem *Ambros. Pithoeus*
	uocarit *Pithoeus*: uocauit *Ambros.*: uocari **F**

These readings, together with the separative errors which can be found only in *Ambros.* and only in Pithou's edition, must have led Murgia to conclude that the two witnesses depended on a lost common source and, as a corollary, that the excerpts from which *Ambros.* and Scaliger's excerpts emanate were probably made for the use of Pithou as well.[141]

Albeit admissible from a textual perspective, this reconstruction is open to two objections. First, the corollary seems to conflict with the fact that most of the excerpts printed by Pithou are unparalleled in *Ambros.* or in Scaliger's *Castigationes* and also with

[139] The reading *sustinet liberis conditionem liberi seruitutis* can be added to the numerous cases of dittography found in Servian and **DS** scholia by Timpanaro (1978: 486-99).

[140] *Harv.* 3 adopted here the reading *farreationem*. However, not only is the rite referred to as *confarreatio* in the rest of the scholium, but the very existence of *farreatio* is doubtful. This word, which would have the same meaning as *confarreatio*, is recorded in the *ThlL* as occurring only here and in Boeth. *in top. Cic.* 2, p. 299 Orelli (*tribus enim modis uxor habebatur: usu, farreatione, coemptione*), but the editors of Boethius' commentaries on the *Topica* normally prefer the reading *farreo*.

[141] Murgia 1975: 16 and 18.

the fact that two of them would have been out of place in the two collections from which *Ambros.* and Scaliger's excerpts emanate because of their contents:

> p. 78: Seruius … addit … fraudem ueteres poenam uocasse ab eo quod praecedit id quod sequitur; citatque hoc M. Tullii ex Cornelianis: *ne fraudi sit ei qui populum ad concionem uocarit* (*ad Aen.* 11.708).
>
> p. 99: Seruius … *quidam*, inquit, *per historiam dictum putant. nam inter Myconem et Gyarum Syrum unam de Cycladibus esse dicunt, unde fuit Pherecides philosophus* (*ad Aen.* 3.76).

Certainly alien to the collection dealing with aspects of Roman religion, these two excerpts could hardly have been included in the other collection either since this comprised only *uerbatim* quotations from clearly identified authors. The latter excerpt is not a quotation, and no author is mentioned; the former includes, before the Ciceronian quotation, a discussion on the semantics of *fraus*.[142]

More significantly, the clarifications provided by Pithou himself in his edition suggest that it is unlikely that his excerpts and *Ambros.* derive in their entirety from one or more collections assembled by Daniel on his own. One of the shared readings listed *supra*, namely *ita sustinet conditionem liberae seruitutis*, is explicitly labelled by Pithou as a conjecture of his: 'sic in opt. ex. legendum arbitror' (p. 102).[143] Furthermore, while Pithou's excerpts are normally introduced by generic phrases such as 'ex uetustissimo Seruii exemplari' or 'in optimo Seruii exemplari' or even simply 'Seruius', the ultimate provenance of two of them can be determined:

> p. 78: ex iure Seruius notat, qui et illud addit ad XI Aeneid. in optimo libro meo fraudem … *uocarit* (*ad Aen.* 11.708). quod in editis exemplaribus frustra quaeretur.
>
> p. 101: Seruius in lib. I. Georg. *tribus*, inquit, *modis* … *faceret* (*ad georg.* 1.31). haec Seruius, non ille adulterinus et supposititius ieiunarum animarum ineptiis et commentis hactenus deformatus, sed Seruius putus purus, ex cuius fragmentis Danielis nostri beneficio interim haec exscripsimus ea spe fore ut uir et doctrinae et diligentiae multae, breui cum ex suis illis tum ex nostris exemplaribus Seruium nobis magna sui parte superstitem restituat.

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[142] By contrast, *Ambros.* only includes the quotation: (*Cicero*) *in Cornelianis: ne fraudi sit ei qui populum ad concionem uocauit*.

[143] This case seems to have been overlooked by Murgia, who claimed that 'we never find either of them [i.e. Scaliger or Pithou] claiming credit for any of the numerous conjectures … which they share with the *Ambrosianus*, or even indicating recognition that the reading which they print was not the reading of the ancient manuscripts' (1975: 16).

In the latter case, Pithou seemingly implies that the excerpt just quoted derives from one of Daniel's codices but significantly draws a distinction between these codices and his own.[144] One of Pithou's own codices, simply described as 'optim[us]', is indicated as the source of the former excerpt.[145]

On these grounds, one can conclude that Murgia's view that Pithou's edition and *Ambros.* entirely derive from the same lost collections of excerpts can only be accepted if one assumes that Pithou played an active role in the production of these collections, supplying conjectures and (excerpts from) his own manuscripts. Alternatively, it would be necessary to explain at least some of the shared readings listed *supra*, such as those of the scholia *ad Aen.* 4.374 and 11.708, as independent innovations or as communicated by Pithou to Daniel.

[144] A similar distinction is proposed by Pithou in a note added in his edition of Persius and Juvenal: '*Oste senex*) an potius: *Osce senex, Catinaeque puer, Cumana meretrix*. quem uersum aut ego fallor, aut memini legisse me inter meliores Seruii reliquias, quas P. Daniel amicus noster uir opt. et erud. ex suis nostrisque exemplaribus pridem collegit et publico debet' (1585: 296).

[145] If, as Pithou himself declared, his own Servian manuscripts were subsequently ceded to Daniel and coincided with some of the witnesses that Daniel used for his 1600 edition, the source of the excerpt from the scholium *ad Aen.* 11.708 could be identified with either **F**^{P} or **G**. As indicated in chapter I, section 2, **F**^{P} certainly belonged to Pithou at some stage. On the book exchanges between Daniel and Pithou, cf. Bibolet 1998: 503.

IV
The Relationships between the Primary Witnesses

1. The progress of scholarship

The question of the relationships between the primary witnesses has hitherto aroused a limited scholarly interest, if compared to the relationships between **C** and *App. Dan. Fab. Mod. Schop.*, between **F** and **G**, and between *Ambros.* and **FPT**.[1] This is probably due not only to the fact that the textual evidence is meagre and difficult to evaluate but also to the fact that an answer to this question – albeit paramount from a historical perspective – has been perceived as destined to have few direct editorial consequences.[2]

Not even considered by Thilo,[3] the relationships between the witnesses were first explicitly examined in Halfpap Klotz's 1882 Greifswald dissertation. Observing that **CP^{P}** preserve only the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 and that the other witnesses preserve only the following ones, he hypothesised that the archetype could have been physically dismembered into two units, containing the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 and the scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12, *ecl.*, and *georg.*, and that **CP^{P}** and the other witnesses could emanate, respectively, from the former and from the latter unit.[4]

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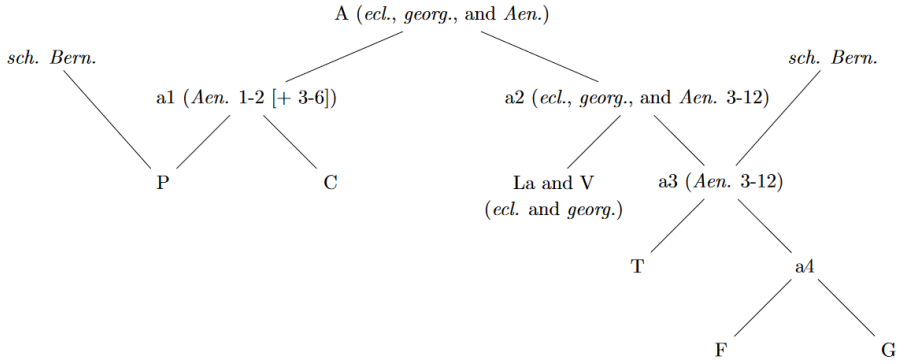
[1] See chapter III, sections 1.2, 2.2, and 5.2.

[2] As will be shown in the following sections, the cases where three or more primary witnesses are available and transmit at least two alternative readings whose relationships cannot be established on internal grounds are indeed few.

[3] In the preface to the first volume of his edition, Thilo confined himself to rejecting Thomas' claim that **CP^{P}** and **FP^{L}T** preserved two independent augmented versions of Servius (1881: LXVI n. 1).

[4] Halfpap Klotz 1882: 30. In the third note of the following page, Halfpap Klotz showed himself aware of the fact that **C** transmits not only the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2: he remarked that the non-Servian additions of **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6 were 'minoris … pretii' and suggested that the difference between **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 and 3-6 could be explained either by assuming that the latter were affected by systematic omissions and abridgements, like **P^{P}**'s scholia, or that their 'fons' was 'magis exilis' in this section. It is not clear how either explanation could be perceived by Halfpap Klotz as consistent with a dismemberment of the archetype.

Almost thirty years later, Halfpap Klotz's hypothesis was criticised by Barwick, who conceded that the extant witnesses belonged to two autonomous branches but remarked that this could not depend on a physical dismemberment of the archetype because, *pace* Halfpap Klotz, **CP** do not break off at the end of the scholia *ad Aen.* 2.[5] According to Barwick, the genesis of the two branches should be rather explained as follows: **CP** derive from a lost witness preserving the full text of the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 and an incomplete text of the scholia on the following four books that omitted most non-Servian additions (**a1**);[6] the other codices could derive from another witness (**a2**) which was produced when a scribe possessing either **a1** or a similar witness happened to obtain a copy of the full commentary and chose to transcribe only the scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12, *ecl.*, and *georg.*, which could not be found in his own witness. As a supplement to his explanation, Barwick drew a *stemma* meant to clarify his opinions about the relationships among the seven manuscripts of which he was aware:[7]



Rand's 1916 article 'Is Donatus' Commentary on Virgil Lost?' marked a return to Halfpap Klotz's hypothesis. Rand not only kept labelling **CP** and the other witnesses as two autonomous branches, but he also suggested that the archetype of the **DS** tradition

[5] Barwick 1911: 137-41 and 145.

[6] Like Thilo, Barwick suggested that the non-Servian additions of these scholia were removed by a scribe revising an ancestor of **CP** against a Servian witness but did not explain why this should have happened only in the scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6 (1911: 137). On the character of **C**'s scholia on these books, see chapter II, section 1.1.

[7] In Barwick's *stemma*, **V** indicates the Servian **σ** witness Vatican, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3317, which transmits the Vatican scholia on the *Georgics*.

could have physically consisted of five separate volumes, covering *ecl.* and *georg.*, *Aen.* 1-2, *Aen.* 3-5, *Aen.* 6-8, and *Aen.* 9-12.[8]

After having become canonical among the Harvard scholars, Rand's views were apparently rejected by Stocker and Travis in the preface of their 1965 edition: surveying the **DS** extant witnesses, they claimed that **P^{L}** did not derive from the same 'archetypus' as either **C** or **FG**.[9] Nevertheless, they gave virtually no weight to the relationship between **CFP^{L}** as far as the establishment of the text was concerned and tended to adopt, whenever possible, the reading of their 'best manuscript' **F**.

Since 1965, no attempt has been made to clarify the relationships between the primary witnesses as a whole. In his *Prolegomena*, Murgia confined himself to remarking that **TVa** formed an autonomous branch of the tradition, deriving from a glossed edition of Vergil from which none of the other witnesses derives.[10]

More recently, Lagioia committed himself to a detailed analysis of the scholia transmitted by **R**. Tracing some shared innovations in **FR** corresponding to superior readings in **C**, he suggested that **C** could be judged as independent of **FR**'s latest common ancestor but also remarked that, given the character of **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6, the superior readings at issue could have simply been drawn from a Servian witness.[11]

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[8] Rand 1916: 163. The five projected volumes of the Harvard edition were meant by Rand to correspond precisely to those volumes.

[9] *Harv.* 3: X: 'nobis quidem persuasum est haec folia Leidensia [i.e. **P^{L}**] nonnullas lectiones veras sola exhibere quae reliquis e fontibus corruptae depravataeque defluxerint. Qua re concludere licet codicem Leidensem, quamvis Serviana scholia aucta quasi mutila et manca conservet, nec eodem ex archetypo derivatum esse unde vel codices Bernenses 172 (*F*) atque 167 (*G*) vel codex Cassellanus (*C*), et dignum esse cuius testimoniis utamur'. The interpretation of this passage is not straightforward: the second sentence is most easily taken as a claim that **C**, **FG**, and **P^{L}** should be considered as three independent branches; however, this thesis cannot be regarded as a logical conclusion of the first sentence. For this reason, one is led to wonder whether Stocker and Travis may have simply meant to label **P^{L}** as independent both of **C** and of the alleged latest common ancestor of **FG**.

[10] Murgia 1975: 22-4. On the relationship between **TVa**, see chapter II, section 7.1.

[11] Lagioia 2015a: 46-8.

2. The relationships between the primary witnesses

The account of the progress of scholarship just provided shows that the question of the relationships between the primary witnesses still awaits a thorough treatment; the present chapter aims to fill this lacuna. As will be appreciated, the conclusions drawn here are much more tentative and uncertain than those drawn in the chapter dealing with the witnesses emanating from the primary witnesses. There are two main reasons for this: first, the sections where more than two witnesses are concurrent are relatively few and brief;[12] second, even in these sections, an evaluation of the available evidence is complicated by the fact that systematic conscious alterations affect the text transmitted by all witnesses, except, to some extent, **CF**.

In the following sections, the relationships between **CFP**, **CFR**, and **FPTVa**, and between **Sp** and the later witnesses will be examined separately. No attempt can be made to establish the relationships of any other set of witnesses because the sections shared by **Ox** and any other witness, by **C** and **TVa**, by **M**^{3} and **TVa**, or by **R** and **TVa** are minimal and offer no significant evidence.[13]

2.1. The relationship between **CFP**

Apart, perhaps, from *Harv.* 3, Servian scholars have hitherto agreed that **CP** should be regarded as belonging to a branch of the tradition independent of **F**. Two arguments

[12] As indicated in chapter I, **C** transmits the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-6.830, with a few lacunae throughout and with systematic omissions in the scholia on the last four books, **F** the scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12 with systematic omissions in those on books 6-7, **M**^{3} the scholia *ad Aen.* 10.104-66 and 175-202 with systematic omissions, **Ox** some of the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-12, **P** some of the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-5.69, **R** some of the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.734-6.282, **Sp** some of the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.561-5.745 and 7.710-8.713, and **TVa** some of the scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12.

[13] Murgia and Kaster's edition records a case where **Va** seems to be exempt from a significant error shared by **FM**^{3} in the scholium *ad Aen.* 10.109: *SEV FATIS ITALVM CASTRA OBSIDIONE TENENTVR siue fato* (*fatis* **Va**: *malo fato* [*fatu* **F**] **FM**^{3}) *Italorum obsidentur castra Troiana, siue Troiani malo errore et monitis aduersis ad Italiam uenerunt, neminem absoluo*. In fact, that the absence of *malo* should not be considered as stemmatically relevant is clear from a closer analysis of **Va**'s note in question: *sic est iungendum: seu fatis Italum siue errore malo castra Troiae id est Troianorum obsidione tenentur*. Reading *fatis*, *Italum*, *errore malo*, and *obsidione tenentur*, instead of, respectively, *fato*, *Italorum*, *malo errore*, and *obsidentur*, the note proves to be simply a re-ordered version of *Aen.* 10.109-10: *seu fatis Italum castra obsidione tenentur / siue errore malo Troiae*.

have been made in support of this view: the fact that **CP** do not contain the scholia on the last six books and the fact that they transmit an incomplete version of **DS** after book 2. In fact, both arguments can be dismissed as devoid of probative value since **CP** break off at two different points and their scholia on the last books are not incomplete in the same sense: **C** preserves a version of the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6 which lacks most non-Servian sections but exhibits no systematic omission or abridgement in the Servian ones, whereas **P**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3-5, like those *ad Aen.* 1-2, can be described as a non-'sincere' version of **DS** where both the Servian and the non-Servian sections have been affected by systematic omissions and abridgments.

In the two sections where **CFP** are concurrent (*ad Aen.* 3.178-718 and 4.660-5.69), the Harvard editors preferred the following readings transmitted only by **C**, **F**, or **P** to the corresponding readings shared by the other two witnesses:[14]

(a) Cases where the Harvard editors preferred the **C** reading to the **FP** one

i. Cases where the **C** reading is superior to the **FP** one[15]

3.206 solitus **C** [=**Σ**]: solitum **FP**

3.226 υι **Σ**] yi **C**: VI **F**: sex **P**

3.292 excluso s **Σ**] excloso s **C**: excluso (-sa **P**) **FP**

3.301 festas **C**: festos **FP**

3.360 uaticinabantur **C** [=**Σ**]: uaticinabatur **FP**

astrologiae **C** [=**Σ**]: austrologiae **FP**

3.384 nauigandum est **C** [=**Σ**]: nauigandum **FP**

3.402 Philoctetes **Σ**] Filectotes **C**: Philecto **F**: Filocto **P**

3.416 continuo **C** [=**Σ**]: continue (-ae **F**) **FP**

3.427 ablatiua **C** [=**Σ**]: ablatiuo **FP**

3.445 ostia **C** [=**Σ**]: hostiae (-tie **F**) **FP**

3.448 per periphrasin **Σ**] per perifrasin **C**: perifrasin **FP**

3.467 hamis aureis **C** [=**Σ**]: hami aureis **F**: hami aurei **P**

hamis **C** [=**Σ**]: hamum **FP**

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[14] Vergilian lemmata and quotations are not considered either here or *infra*. As mentioned in chapter II, section 1.1.1, however, **C** often abbreviates words in lemmata and quotations to their initials, and these words are often omitted or replaced by *et reliqua* or *et cetera* in **FP**. Occasionally, **FP** also agree in omitting words not abbreviated to their initials in **C**.

[15] In the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.184 and 465, moreover, **C** and **FP** exhibit two seemingly independent innovations: *VII* **Σ**] *II* **C**: *VI* **FP** and *a stipa* **Σ**] *stupa* **C**: *stipare* **FP**.

3.580 fornacibus **C** [=**Σ**]: fornacilli **F**: fornacili **P**

3.603 nos abiisse rati] non abisse rati **C**: ab his serati **F**: habiisse **P**

3.705 Lilybaeum **Γ**] Lilybacum **C**: Lybeum **F**: Libeum **P**

ii. Cases where the **C** reading is not certainly superior or even inferior to the **FP** one

3.360 laurus **C** [=**Σ**]: laurum **FP**
Harv. 3 printed *per 'laurus' autem oraculum intellegimus* as Servius and **DS** alike. Since the Compiler often declined isolated nouns presented by Servius as direct quotations from Vergil in order to make them syntactically consistent with their context, **FP**'s *laurum* is not less likely to be the original **DS** reading than **C**'s *laurus*.

3.401 Meliboei a] Melibei a **C**: Meliboea (-bea **P**) **FP**
Harv. 3 printed *DVCIS MELIBOEI id est Philoctetae. 'Meliboei' a ciuitate Thessaliae de qua fuit* as **DS** and *DVCIS MELIBOEI PHILOCTETAE a Meliboea, ciuitate Thessaliae de qua fuit* as Servius. In fact, there is no cogent reason why the two versions of the scholium should be distinguished, except for the fact that *id est* was erroneously included by the Compiler before the last word of the lemma. The absence of *a* before *Meliboea* may well be explained as an unconscious error.

(b) Cases where the Harvard editors preferred the **F** reading to the **CP** one

i. Cases where the **F** reading is superior to the **CP** one

3.332 interficit **F** [=**Σ**]: interfecit **CP**

3.411 rarescent autem **F** [=**Σ**]: rarescent **CP**

ii. Case where the **F** reading is inferior to the **CP** one

3.428 suffusa **F** [=**Σ**]: suffusa n. **C**: suffusa nitentes **P**
Harv. 3 printed *COMMISSA LVPORVM … figurate locutus est, ut 'oculos suffusa'* as Servius and **DS** alike. The last words are meant to be read as a reference to the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.228. That the word *nitentes* should be regarded as belonging to the original **DS** text rather than as a subsequent innovation shared by **CP** is suggested by the fact that the lemma of the scholium *ad Aen.* 1.228 is similarly transmitted by the Servian and **DS** witnesses in two different forms, namely *OCVLOS SVFFVSA* **Σ**: *OCVLOS SVFFVSA NITENTES* (*MI-* **P**) **CP**.

(c) Cases where the **P** reading is superior to the **CF** one

i. Cases where the **P** reading is superior to the **CF** one[16]

3.231 hae **P** [=**Σ**]: haec (hec **F**) **CF**

3.287 epigrammate] epygramate **P**: epigrammati **CF**

[16] In the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.707 and 5.1, moreover, **CF** and **P** exhibit two seemingly independent innovations: *montis*] *montes* **CF**: *motis* **P** and *medium nam uere medium*] *medium* **CF**: *aut uere medium* **P**.

3.328 et **P** [=**Σ**]: ut **CF**

3.553 in quo **P** [=**Σ**]: in quod **C**^{ac}**F**: quod **C**^{pc}

3.611 ad hoc tempus **P**: ad hic tempus **C**: hic tempus **F**

3.671 compotis **P** [=**Σ**]: compotis facit **CF**

3.707 Lilybaeum **Γ**] Lilybeum **P**: Libybaeum (-beum **C**) **CF**

3.715 uoluntate **P** [=**Γ**]: uoluntatem **CF**

ii. Case where the **P** reading is not certainly superior to the **CF** one

3.382 casum pro casu posuit **P**: casum pro casu **CF**

As already mentioned, the editor responsible for the **P** version of **DS** had the habit of supplying what he perceived as ellipses.[17] That this may well have been the case here is suggested by the fact that the **DS** scholia offer a significant number of parallels which can be adduced in support of the **CF** reading: *ablatiuum pro datiuo* (*ad Aen.* 1.257), *ablatiuum pro genetiuo* (*ad Aen.* 1.71, 2.555, and 3.538 and 688), *accusatiuum pro nominatiuo* (*ad Aen.* 1.573), *datiuum pro ablatiuo* (*ad Aen.* 1.145 and 5.129), and *datiuum pro genetiuo* (*ad Aen.* 1.17).

As can be inferred from the last two lists, no valid evidence has been identified in support of the view that **F** is independent of **CP**'s latest common ancestor or that **P** is independent of **CF**'s latest common ancestor. The agreements between **CP** and between **CF** are relatively few, and none of them concerns an innovation which can be regarded as conjunctive and separative at the same time. Most of the errors shared by **CF** and all the errors shared by **CP** can be considered as polygenetic, whereas the few cases where **P** offers a correct reading corresponding to a seemingly non-polygenetic error in **CF** are also easily explicable if one considers that, contrary to those in **C** and in **F**, **P**'s scholia have been subject to thorough rewriting.

Whether the errors shared by **FP** against **C** can be regarded as conclusive evidence in support of the existence of a closer kinship between the former witnesses is not certain. Admittedly, their high frequency may seem suspicious and even more so if one considers that the **C** reading should probably be adopted as **DS** in a few other scholia where the Harvard editors chose to stick to the **FP** one, such as those *ad Aen.* 3.228 (*et deest* **C** [=**Σ**]: *deest* **FP**) and 402 (*dicta uel* **C** [=**Σ**]: *dicta* **FP**).[18] As already shown, the quantity and the quality of the agreements between **C** and the other **DS** witnesses against all the

[17] See chapter II, section 5.1.

[18] See chapter II, section 1.1.1.

extant Servian families and between **C** and any Servian family against **DS** suggest that the reviser of **C**'s ancestor contented himself with purging the text of the most blatant non-Servian additions in the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.[19] Nevertheless, it should be remarked that very few of the innovations shared by **FP** can be considered as properly conjunctive and separative at the same time. Since it is impossible to rule out that the reviser of **C**'s ancestor could have exceptionally corrected errors in portions of text which he recognised as Servian, the existence of a closer kinship between **FP** can be judged as plausible but not as certain.

2.2. The relationship between **CFR**

That **C** should be regarded as probably independent of **FR**'s latest common ancestor was cautiously suggested by Lagioia.[20] No compelling textual evidence is available against this suggestion since none of the relatively few innovations shared by **CF**(**G**) or by **CR** appears to be conjunctive and separative at the same time:[21]

(a)	Agreements between **CF**(**G**) against **R**
6.5	ex sequenti **R**: exequenti **CG**
6.11	epexegesis **Γ**] effexegesis **R**: efexesis **CG** The scholium at issue reads *ANTRVM INMANE epexegesis domus Sibyllae*. The 'correction' of *efexesis* into *effexegesis* seems particularly easy in the light of the scholium *ad Aen.* 6.7: *FERARVM TECTA epexegesis siluae*.
6.122	patuerunt **R** [=**Σ**]: patuerint **CF**
6.152	omnes **R** [=**Σ**]: omnis **CF**
(b)	Agreements between **CR** against **F**(**G**)[22]
5.829	uolubilitatem **G** [=**Γ**]: uoluui tatem **C**, *ut uid.*: uoluntatem **R**
6.53	facientis **F** [=**Σ**]: facientes **CR**

[19] See chapter II, section 1.1.

[20] Lagioia 2015a: 46-51.

[21] **G** is here used as a substitute for **F** in the sections where **F** is no longer extant.

[22] *Harv.* 3 also adopted another **G** reading differing from the **CR** one in the scholium *ad Aen.* 5.829: *ATTOLLI MALOS … non dubium* (*d-* **G** [=**Γ**]: *d- est* **CR**) *quod olim erexerat arbores*. The **G** reading coincides with the Servian one, but this does not prove that *dubium est* should necessarily be dismissed as an innovation of a single branch of the **DS** tradition: the Compiler had the habit of supplying such ellipses in the Servian text (cf. chapter I, section 7.1.2), and brief words such as *est* are constantly exposed to the risk of being omitted, especially if abbreviated.

The following agreements between **F**(**G**)**R** in innovations from which **C** is exempt can be adduced in support of Lagioia's suggestion:[23]

5.839	deos … nimbus **C** [=**Γ**]: deus … nymbos **FR**
5.843	Iasi fili **C** [≈ fili Iasi **Γ**]: Iasi filius **GR**
6.1	maiores **C**: maiores enim **GR**
	proelio **C**: proelium (pre- **R**) **GR**
6.3	ut it **C** [=**Γ**]: ut **GR**
6.4	contra thus **C** [=**Γ**]: contractus **GR**
6.22	uolui **C** [=**Γ**]: solui **FR**
6.34	γϱάψαι] grapse **C**: crapse **FR**
6.36	filia **C** [=**Γ**]: filiae (-lie **R**) **FR**
6.64	Paris **C** [=**Σ**]: *nihil hab.* **FR**
	suppresso numero **Σ**] suppraesso numero **C**: superius pro numero **F** *et* **R** *ut uid.*
6.73	decem **Σ**] decim **C**: decimi **FR**
	Sullana **Σ**] Sillana **C**: Sibyllana **F**: Sibillina **R**
6.103	in synaeresin uenire **Σ**] in seneresinu euenire **C**: in sineres inuenire **FR**
6.136	incipere **C** [=**Σ**]: accipere **FR**

An evaluation of this list poses similar problems to those discussed in the previous section. **F**(**G**)**R** exhibit several shared errors which cannot be found in **C**, and some of these errors, such as those of the scholia *ad Aen.* 6.64 and 136, can also be regarded as conjunctive and separative at the same time. The fact that **C** presents several **DS** readings differing from the Servian ones in the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.813-6.153, including some blatant errors, suggests that the reviser did not commit himself to a thorough correction of **C**'s

[23] Jeunet-Mancy adopted a **C** reading, rather than the corresponding **FR** one, on three other occasions where the latter seems not necessarily inferior or even superior to the former. In the scholium *ad Aen.* 6.50, she printed *QVANDO … coniunctio est, non aduerbium* as Servius and **DS** alike, accepting **C Σ**'s *non*; although **FR**'s *nec dubium* is clearly meaningless, it might well have replaced *nec dubitantis* or the like. In the scholium *ad Aen.* 6.66, **FR** transmit *aliquid pr*(*a*)*estare*, instead of the Servian *praestare aliquid*, which is found in **C** as well; given that the Compiler seems to have had a penchant for regularising the word order (cf. chapter I, section 7.1.2), **FR** can be suspected of transmitting here the original **DS** reading. Lastly, the first sentence of the Servian and **DS** scholium *ad Aen.* 6.104 on *INOPINAVE SVRGIT* is printed by Jeunet-Mancy as *nomen est, non participium; nam 'inopinata' diceret, quod non procedit*, but **FR** read *inopinatam*; this case can be compared with that of the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.360 discussed in the previous section.

ancestor in this section either.[24] Nevertheless, the conjunctive and separative errors shared by **F**(**G**)**R** appear still to be too scanty to rule out that the corresponding **C** readings could have been inherited from the reviser's Servian codex. From this perspective, Lagioia's caution seems entirely justified.

2.3. The relationship between **FPTVa**

The relationship between **FPT** seem to have hitherto been regarded as straightforward by Servian scholars, who have unanimously labelled **P** as independent of **FT**'s latest common ancestor. The only argument adduced in support of this view – namely the fact that, unlike **P**, **FT** lack the **DS** scholia on the first two books of the *Aeneid* and start abruptly with those on the third – is less conclusive than it might appear at first sight. As already shown, an inconsistency can be detected in the way in which **P** abbreviates final words of Vergilian lemmata and quotations: these words are replaced with the phrase *et reliqua* in **P**'s Bern scholia and **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 3-5, as happens in **F**, but are abbreviated to their initials in **P**'s **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2, as happens in **C**.[25] This inconsistency leads one to wonder whether **P** might actually derive its text from two distinct branches of the **DS** tradition[26] and suggests that the relationship between **FPT**(**Va**) deserve to be examined afresh.

The Harvard editors chose to adopt a reading transmitted only by **F**, **P**, or **T**(**Va**), instead of the reading shared by the other witnesses, in the following cases:[27]

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[24] In the scholia *ad Aen.* 6.64 and 136, in particular, **C** agrees with the other **DS** witnesses against the Servian ones in the following innovations: *Ganymedes* **Σ**: *Ganymedis* (*Gani-* **F**) **CF**, *quod autem* **Σ**: *cur autem* **CF**, *omnes* **Σ**: *omnis* **CF**, *reperimus* **Σ**: *reperiamus* (*reppe-* **F**) **CF**, and *ex denegatione mercedum* **Σ**: *ex denegata* (*te-* **C**) *mercede* **CF** (6.64) and *tamen* **Σ**: *tamen de hoc ramo* **CF**, *infringi* **Σ**: *infringere* **C**: *infringe* **F**, *autem* **Σ**: *enim* **CF**, *exinde* **Σ**: *inde* **CF**, *istum inde* **Σ**: *inde istum* **C**: *indestum* **F**, *accedere* **Σ**: *aliter accedere* **CF**, *uirtutes* **Σ**: *uirtutis* **CF**, and *ait Persius* **Σ**: *Persius* **CF** (6.136).

[25] See chapter II, section 5.1.

[26] As will be shown in the conclusion, a similar hypothesis can also be advanced for **COx** and for some Servian manuscripts affected by interpolations from **DS**.

[27] The cases where **PT**(**Va**) agree in lacking scholia, sections of scholia, or individual words that can be found in **F** have been disregarded altogether: these shared innovations are frequent, but none of them can be judged as conjunctive since the **P**, **T**, and **Va** versions of **DS** are affected by systematic omissions.

(a) Cases where the Harvard editors preferred the **F** reading to the **PT**(**Va**) one

i. Cases where the **F** reading is superior to the **PT** one

3.74 illud mare **F**: mare … illuc **P**: illuc mare **T**, *ut uid.*

3.537 dicendo … currus *ad u.* 537 **F**: *eadem fere uerba ad u.* 540 **PT**

The non-Servian addition of the scholium ends with two sentences referring to vv. 540-3, which are printed by *Harv.* 3 as follows: *dicendo 'armenta' oblique intellegit boues quos uitauerat dicere, et ne plaustrum nominaret ait 'currus'. cum autem dicit 'iugo', ueram significationem iugetis facit, sed, quia in libris Etruscis inuenitur etiam equos bona auspicia dare, subiunxit 'spes et pacis, ait'.* The second sentence is not preserved by **P** and is presented by **T** as a self-standing note on *iugo* (v. 542), whereas the first sentence is transposed by **P** after the first scholium *ad u.* 540 and presented by **T** as a self-standing note on the same line. As already mentioned, it is common for **P** and **T** to remove from their original context sections of *interpretamenta* that refer to bits of text not included in the lemmata and to link them with the bits of text to which they refer.[28]

ii. Cases where the **F** reading is not certainly superior or is even inferior to the **PT**(**Va**) one

3.22 interdum **F**: aliquando **PT**

3.134 focos pro poenates posuit **F**: focos pro penatibus posuit **P**: focos posuit pro penatibus **T**

The sentence is meant to explain the meaning of the phrase *amare focos*. In the **DS** scholia, when *pro* is used to express the idea that a Vergilian word stands for another word, the latter can be found both in the ablative and in the same case as the former.[29] On the basis of the *utrum in alterum* principle, I would probably maintain that the **F** reading is here more likely to be right; in any case, the agreement between **PT** is devoid of any stemmatic value since *penatibus* can be considered as a polygenetic innovation.

3.489 ista **F**: talis **PT**

The scholium provides a summary of the myth of Astyanax, whose first sentence is printed by *Harv.* 3 as *fabula autem de Astyanacte ista est*. The two readings are so similar that either can be readily explained as an error of a scribe whose exemplar preserved the other. On internal grounds, however, the **F** reading seems less likely to be correct than the **PT** one: *fabula talis est* is the standard introductory formula for myths in the **DS** scholia, while *fabula ista est* is not found elsewhere.[30]

[28] See chapter II, sections 5.1 and 7.2.

[29] Cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 4.7: *'umentem' pro 'umidam'*.

[30] *fabula talis est* occurs 12 and 26 times in the Servian and non-Servian sections of the scholia, respectively.

3.537 intellegit *Ambros.*] intellege **F**: intellegi uoluit **PT**

In the first sentence of the scholium quoted above, Vergil is said to have used the term *armenta* to refer to *boues*. The *Ambros.* reading seems less likely to be correct than the **PT** one: in the **DS** scholia, *intellegit* is normally applied to scholars who interpret a word as implying or referring to something else, whereas *intellegi uult* is employed to claim that Vergil used a word to imply or refer to something else.[31]

3.589 noctu **F**: nocte **PTVa**

4.177 auctor **F**: auctor est **P**: est auctor **T**

4.289 sed haec lento mos est aptare flagello **F**: ut aptare flagillo **P**: ut lento mos est a. f. **T**

After explaining the meaning of *aptent* in the Vergilian line at issue, the scholium clarifies that the same verb has a different meaning elsewhere: *'aptent' modo 'parent'; alibi 'adnectere', 'sed haec lento mos est aptare flagello'*. **F**'s *adnectere* is not inadmissible since the construction '*alibi* – gloss – quotation' can be paralleled in other scholia, such as that *ad Aen.* 1.58; yet **PT**'s *adnectere ut* is also admissible, the construction '*alibi* – gloss – *ut* – quotation' being actually much more frequent in the **DS** scholia, and also improves the clarity of the text.

4.485 dedicatos **F**: dicatos **PT**: sacratos **Va**

4.511 super **F**: supra **PT**

4.703 poeta **F**: poeta hic **P**: hic poeta **T**

(b) Cases where the Harvard editors preferred the **P** reading to the **FT** one

i. Cases where the **P** reading is superior to the **FT** one[32]

3.335 Chaoniam **P**: Chaonem **FT**

The scholium discusses the name of the region ruled by Helenus: *unde in honorem eius* (i.e. *Chaonis*) *Epirum, quae Campania dicebatur, Chaoniam nominatam*. The Vergilian line at issue makes clear that the toponym was changed by

[31] For this use of *intellegi uult*, cf. the scholia *ad Aen.* 4.219 and 281, 6.609 and 893, 7.136, and 12.559. There are only two passages which, as printed by Thilo, might apparently be adduced as parallels in support of the *Ambros.* reading: *cum dicit 'tris imbris torti radios', Iouem significasse intellegitur; cum uero 'tris nubis aquosae', Iunonem intellegit* (*Iu- intellegi* **F**: *Iu-* **T**); *cum autem 'rutili tris ignis', Martem* (*ad Aen.* 8.429) and *'sacra … quercus' aut ipsam quam uult intellegit* (*intelligit* **La**), *aut uniuersum genus, quod et Iouis et olim fatidica* (*ad ecl.* 7.13). In the former case, *intellegi*(*t*) is superfluous, and its presence can be easily explained as the result of an erroneous repetition of the previous *intellegitur*; therefore, there seem to be good reasons to accept Clausen's suggestion to delete the verb altogether (1967: 58), as Ramires did in his 2022 edition. In the latter, the sentence apparently implies that *sacra* can be interpreted as an epithet of a specific oak or as a generic epithet because oaks are consecrated to Jupiter, but the first alternative is hardly intelligible as transmitted; one is hence left with the suspicion that something may be missing after *quam* and **La**'s *uult intelligit* may stand for *uult intelligi*.

[32] In the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.302, moreover, **FT** and **P** exhibit two seemingly independent innovations: ἀπὸ τοῦ θύειν] *ΑΠΟΤΟΤΥΙΝ* **P**: *apotutiin* **T**: *opotutyin* **F**.

Helenus to *Chaonia*: *Chaoniamque omnem Troiano a Chaone dixit*. Furthermore, a similar discussion of the change of the toponym is offered by the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.297 and 334; in these two cases, all the extant primary witnesses preserve the correct form *Chaonia*.

4.327 quis **P**: si quis **FT**

4.539 pro … aduerbio **P**: pro … aduerbium **FT**

ii. Case where the **P** reading is inferior to the **FT** one

4.377 et inde … uocata **P**: *nihil hab.* **FT**
As already shown, this sentence should be considered as a **P** addition.[33]

(c) Cases where the Harvard editors preferred the **T**(**Va**) reading to the **FP** one

i. Cases where the **T**(**Va**) reading is superior to the **FP** one[34]

3.8 aut **Va** [=**Σ**]: ut **FP**

3.89 consultationem **T**: consolationem **F**: consulatio **P**

3.171 Ausone] Ausono **T**: Ausonio **FP**

3.328 ouum **T**: ouium **FP**

3.331[35] Clytemnestra] Clitemestra **T**: Clymastra **F**: Dymastra **P**
Aegisthum] Aegistum **T**: Egestum **FP**

3.489 Andromachae **T**: Andromachis **FP**
superato Ilio **T**: superato illic **FP**

3.517 clarissimis … stellis (c- s- **Va**) **TVa**: carissimus … stellis **FP**

3.551 dictum **T**: dictam **F**: dicta est **P**

3.589 cadit **TVa**: cadet **FP**

3.686 utramque **T**: utrumque **FP**

3.687[36] Graece **T**: Greci **F**: Grecis **P**
uergit **T**^{pc}: uertit **FPT**^{ac}
Lilybaeum] Lilybeum **T**^{pc}: Lybiae eum **F**: Libicum **P**: Lybiae **T**^{ac}
The section of the scholium listing the three main Sicilian promontories is thus printed by *Harv.* 3: *Pachynum quod in austrum uergit, Lilybaeum quod Africam spectat, Pelorum quod in Tyrrhenum mare procedit*. In this section, **FPT**^{1} share three errors, namely *atriam/hatrinam/acria*, *uertit*, and *Lybiae eum/Libicum/Lybiae*, which

[33] See chapter II, section 5.1.

[34] In the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.301, 468, and 489 and 4.62, moreover, **FP** and **T**/**Va** exhibit two seemingly independent innovations: *festas*] *festos* **FP**: *festiuas* **Va**, *tractam*] *tractum* **FP**: *tracta* **T**, *praecipitauit de muro*] *praecipitauit e muro* **FP**: *de muro praecipitauit* **T**, and *plenas*] *plena* **FP**: *onustas* **T**.

[35] The Harvard editors conventionally chose to adopt the spelling *Clytemnestra* rather than *Clytemestra* throughout; this choice was criticised by Fraenkel in his review of *Harv.* 2 (1948: 136) and in the unpublished notes which he jotted down on his copy of *Harv.* 3 (Oxford, SL, LAT.SER, p. 130).

[36] On the **T**^{pc} superior readings corresponding to **FP** errors, see *infra*.

correspond to $\mathbf{T}^{pc2'}$s *austrum*, *uergit*, and *Lilybeum*. The three corrections are easily explicable as conjectures: that Cape Pachynus extends out *in austrum* is indicated in one of **T**'s notes on *Aen.* 3.429, as well as in the Servian and **DS** scholium *ad Aen.* 3.699; *uergit* is commonly used in the required sense in Classical and Medieval Latin; *Lilybaeum* is named as the third Sicilian promontory in the Servian and **DS** scholium *ad Aen.* 1.196. The fact that *austrum* is an intelligent but wrong correction, the right reading being **Sp**'s *Adriam*, and the fact that two other wrong corrections were proposed by $\mathbf{T}^2$ in the same scholium[37] suggest that *uergit* and *Lilybaeum* are probably to be considered as conjectures as well.

3.694 Olympici **T**: Olimpii **F**: Olimpi **P**

3.706 litus **T**: ligus **FP**
Given that the scholium explains *uada … Lilybeia*, *litus* can be regarded as a relatively easy conjecture for *ligus*.

4.109 oblique **T**: obliqui **FP**

4.132 odorem **T** [=**Σ**]: odore **FP**

4.166 nupsit … nupta est **T**: nupserit … nupta est **FP**

4.176 ne auctor sit **T**: ne auctoris sit **FP**

4.319 reice **TVa**: reieci **F**: reiece **P**

4.377 in uictoriae suae testimonium **T**: uictoriae suae testimonium **FP**

4.386 in iure **T**: iure **FP**

4.436 hic **T** [=**Σ**]: hinc **FP**

4.440 excusat **T**: excusant **FP**
The subject of the sentence is Vergil himself. The **FP** reading can be explained as due to the influence of the immediately preceding lemma *FATA OBSTANT*.

4.484 pastor ouium **T** [=**Σ**]: pastor **FP**
The scholium on *HESPERIDVM TEMPLI CVSTOS* proposes a connection between μηλονόμος and μῆλα: *oues … Graece* μῆλα *dicuntur, unde* μηλονόμος *dicitur*

[37] The first and the last sentence of $\mathbf{T}^1$'s original note read, respectively, *Sicilia Graece Trinacria ideo dicitur quod tres extremitates quas Greci acras uocant in mare uidetur extendere* and *sed angusta ideo dicitur, quia eminus uidentibus cum locorum Italia et Sicilia terra continens putetur, non nisi ad uicinum accedentibus uidetur*. In the first sentence, $\mathbf{T}^2$ added the word *habeat* after *uocant*; in the last, he deleted *locorum* and replaced *putetur* and *non* with *putatur* and *nec*. The first change was probably due to the fact that $\mathbf{T}^2$ did not have the patience to wait until *uidetur* to find a verb for the causal clause; given that *habeat* was subsequently erased, it is possible that the scribe noticed his own mistake. The second change appears to be a wrong attempt to improve the meaningless original reading, like *austrum*: Daniel's conjecture *eum locum*, which refers to Cape Pelorus, makes it possible to explain the genesis of $\mathbf{T}^{ac'}$s *cum locorum* and **F**'s *cum locum* in an easier way and also provides the required object for *uidentibus*. The last two changes are correct but not relevant for the present purposes: since the only other available witness, namely **F**, also reads *putatur* and *nec*, *putetur* and *non* can even be theoretically regarded as errors made by $\mathbf{T}^1$ himself while copying the original notes.

pastor ouium. Not only was *ouium* suggested by the context, but the complete phrase *pastor ouium* could also be found in the corresponding Servian scholium, which was used as a term of comparison by the scribe responsible for the text of **T**'s note in question.[38]

quia **T**: que: **F**: quae **P**

μῆλα] mela **T**: male **FP**
The observation about the Greek name for *oues* proposed by the non-Servian scholium on *EPVLASQVE DRACONI*, that is *Graece oues* μῆλα, is very similar to the observation found in the section of the scholium on *HESPERIDVM TEMPLI CVSTOS* just transcribed, where **FT** correctly read *mela*. The sentence including *Graece oues mela* follows the words *pastor ouium* in **T**'s note.[39]

4.513 ad lunae obseruationem **T**[=**Σ**]: ad lunae obseruationis **FP**

4.521 ad uindicandum $\mathbf{T}^{pc}$: ad iudicandum $\mathbf{FPT}^{ac}$
The scholium is meant to offer an explanation for (*numen*) *iustumque memorque*: *'iustum' ad iudicandum … 'memor' ad uindicandum*. Not only is *uindicandum* not unconceivable as a conjecture, but *iudicandum* can also be easily explained as a polygenetic error in this context.

4.532 amoris **TVa**: amori **FP**

4.562 nauigari **T**: nauigare (-rae **F**) **FP**

4.566 uastumque **T**: fastumque **FP**

4.569 adhortationem **T**: adorationem **P**: orationem **F**

4.606 ultimae **T**: ultima **FP**

4.703 Euripides **T**: Eripidis **FP**

5.64 si **T**: *nihil hab.* **FP**

ii. Cases where the **T** reading is not certainly superior or is even inferior to the **FP** one

3.22 inscriptum nomen memoriaque **T**: nomen inscriptum **FP**
memoriaque is to be dismissed as a **T** addition.[40] Both **T**'s *inscriptum nomen* and **FP**'s *nomen inscriptum* are possible in principle.

3.687 austrum $\mathbf{T}^{pc}$: atriam **F**: hatrinam **P**: acria $\mathbf{T}^{ac}$, *ut uid.*
See *supra*.

4.569 per αὔξησιν figuram] per auxesin figuram **T**: per axesin **FP**
The name of the rhetorical figure is spelt correctly in **T** and incorrectly in **FP**.[41] However, the apposition is by no means necessary: except *epanalepsis* and *litotes*,

[38] See chapter II, section 7.2.

[39] See chapter II, section 7.2.

[40] See chapter II, section 7.2.

[41] There is no reason why αὔξησιν should be preferred to *auxesin* in the scholium at issue. The names of Greek technical terms are normally transliterated in the **DS** primary witnesses, and these transliterations can be regarded as dating back to the Compiler, if not to his sources. On the

> the names of rhetorical figures are not usually accompanied by *figura* in the Servian and **DS** scholia.[42]

As can be appreciated from the first two lists, the evidence offered by the Harvard edition in support of the traditional view that **P** is independent of **FT**(**Va**)'s latest common ancestor amounts to virtually nothing, and so does the evidence in support of the alternative thesis that **F** is independent of **PT**(**Va**)'s latest common ancestor. The **P** and **F** correct readings included in these lists are few, and none of the corresponding **FT** and **PT** readings must be judged as a conjunctive and separative innovation. Much more frequently do **T**(**Va**) offer readings superior to the **FP** ones; however, all the readings in question which correspond to **FP** conjunctive innovations can be suspected of being correct conjectures proposed by the medieval editors responsible for the **T** and the **Va** version of **DS**.[43] The other **F** and **T** readings labelled as not certainly superior to the corresponding **PT** and **FP** ones would offer no help even if one assumed, for the sake of argument, that they must derive from **FPT**'s latest common ancestor.[44] All of the shared readings at issue can be paralleled with several similar innovations independently introduced by the editors responsible for the **P** and the **T** version of **DS** and thus cannot be certainly dated back to **PT**'s or **FP**'s latest common ancestor.

The inconclusiveness of the evidence offered by the Harvard edition leads one to wonder whether more conclusive evidence could be gathered from a re-examination of all the cases where the four witnesses transmit two or more different readings. The answer to this question seems, unfortunately, negative. There are indeed some other cases where the **P** or **T** reading can perhaps be preferred to the one shared by the other witnesses; in none of them, however, is it possible to regard the **P** or **T** reading as correct

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inconsistency of Thilo's edition and *Harv.* 2 in dealing with Greek technical terms, cf. Schulze 1894: *passim* and Fraenkel 1948: 135-6.

[42] *epanalepsis* is only used in the non-Servian addition to the scholium *ad Aen.* 2.394, where it is preceded by *figura*; *litotes* occurs sixteen and three times with and without *figura*, respectively. The other six names of rhetorical figures which are occasionally accompanied by *figura* are more often found without the apposition: *hypallage* (2:72), *hyperbaton* (1:11), *hysteroproteron* (1:41), *parenthesis* (1:40), *pleonasmos* (1:6), and *tmesis* (1:10).

[43] On the **T** and **Va** conjectures, cf. *supra* and chapter II, section 7.1.

[44] One of the interlinear excerpts from **DS** added in **F** by a later scribe also reads *per axesin figuram*; however, since both these notes and **T**'s notes exhibit signs of substantial rewording, this does not prove that their latest common ancestor, not to say the archetype, also read *figuram*.

beyond peradventure and the corresponding **FT** and **FP** reading as a necessarily conjunctive and separative innovation. Two examples will suffice to illustrate the nature of the readings in question and to clarify why they appear to be devoid of probative value:

3.489 superato Ilio cum Graeci ad patriam redituri contrariis flatibus prohiberentur, Calchas cecinit deiciendum ex muris Astyanacta Hectoris et Andromachae filium eo, quod, si adoleuisset, fortior patre futurus uindicaturus esset eius interitum (for- p- fu- u- es- ei- i- **F**: for- patres fu- uindicaturusque patris i- **P**: uindicaturus ei- es- i-, for- patre fu- **T**).

As transmitted by **F** and printed by *Harv.* 3, the sentence offers two consecutive future participles with different syntactical values. Future participles are sometimes freely employed in the Servian and **DS** scholia,[45] but replacing *uindicaturus* with *uindicaturusque* would make the syntax easier to follow at a small prince. Be that as it may, the **P** reading can also be readily explained as a conscious change.

4.245 AGIT VENTOS non 'uocat' aut 'transit'; nam sequitur *et turbida tranat.* an ergo 'ducit atque moderatur' …? an 'excludit ac pellit' …? an 'insequitur' …? an 'ante se agit' (a- **FT**: facit ire **P**), ne reflectant cursus, ut 'equos agit' quia illis defertur? nam dixit *rapido pariter cum flamine portant*. an *agit* 'in actu est'?

Adopting the **P** reading would offer an economical way to make the fourth gloss more consistent with the preceding and following glosses, which provide synonymous phrases corresponding to the verb of the lemma: in this context, *facit* could have been easily replaced by *agit*, which is phonetically and graphically close, and *ire* could have been easily omitted before *ne*. However, not only can the **P** reading be explained as a conscious change meant to improve the clarity of the text, but the **FT** reading can also be perhaps judged as a polygenetic error.

A final comment is here in order as to the genealogical relationship between the different manuscripts – at least two of them – from which **T**'s **DS** notes were drawn.[46] As just shown, no case has been found where a conjunctive and separative innovation shared by one of **T**'s notes and by **FP** was rightly corrected by another scribe in **T** or where one such innovation corresponds to a superior reading in another note in **T** derived from the same **DS** scholium. All the few other cases where one of **T**'s scribes

[45] Cf. Steele 1899b: 364.

[46] On the origin of **T**'s notes, see chapter II, section 7.1.

corrected a reading shared by **FT**^{ac} can also be readily explained as conjectures.[47] From this perspective, it is theoretically possible that the latest common ancestor shared by **TVa**, namely **υ**, may depend on the other exemplar employed by **T**'s scribes or that, at least, they may share a common ancestor from which none of the other primary witnesses emanates. I have found a single positive argument in support of this view, namely the fact that **T**'s two notes on *Aen.* 4.69 agree against **F** in supplying the ellipsis after *singula enim singulis* with *dat* or *dedit*;[48] however, this argument does not seem compelling enough for the view in question to be considered as positively demonstrated.

2.4. The relationship between **Sp** and the other witnesses

Sp includes almost 240 scholia which can be found in the main witness to the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12, namely **F**. In about 130 of these cases, the portions of text transmitted by **Sp** are also available in at least another primary witness: **P** and **Sp** overlap in about 90 cases, **C** and **Sp** in about 50 cases, **T** and/or **Va** and **Sp** in about 30 cases, **Ox** and **Sp** in three cases, and **R** and **Sp** in two cases.[49]

The sections of **Sp** which can be compared with **F** and with **C**, **Ox**, **R**, or **Va** offer no significant evidence as to the relationship between the fragment and these witnesses.[50] An analysis of the sections where **Sp** can be compared with **F** and with **PT** shows that

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[47] In the notes on *Aen.* 4.424 and 511, the revisers correct two trivial errors, namely *hospes* for *hostes* and *trifiis* for *triuiis*. In the note on *Aen.* 11.76, the reviser adds *aliud* before *mortuum*, but the pronoun is suggested by the context: *aliud est in bello occidere, aliud mortuum tangere.*

[48] On these two notes, see chapter II, section 7.1.

[49] **Sp** occasionally overlaps with more witnesses at the same time. The cases where **Sp** shares isolated glosses with **OxTVa** are not considered.

[50] In the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.251 and 317, **Sp** shares with **C** two readings that *Harv.* 3 judged as inferior to the corresponding **F** ones. In these two cases, the text established by *Harv.* 3 as **DS** reads as follows: *MELIBOEA pro 'Meliboeensis' est* (*Meliboensis e-* **F**: *Meliboensis* **CSp** [**≈Σ**]*; est autem ciuitas Thessaliae Meliboea* and *SIMVL VLTIMA SIGNANT intuentes et notantes* (*i- et n-* **F**: *intuentur* **CSp** [**=Σ**]: *notant et intuentur* **T**) *ultima spatia, id est finem cursus, auiditate uincendi*. In fact, there is no reason why the readings *pro 'Meliboensis' est* and *intuentes et notantes* should be imputed to the Compiler. Both can be easily regarded as unconscious or semiconscious innovations: the former can be explained as the result of a dittography, the latter as a consequence of the misunderstanding of the last two letters (or of the final abbreviation) of *intuentur* and of the subsequent correction of *notant*.

the fragment almost never agrees with any of these witnesses against the other(s) and is exempt from two errors shared by **FPT** and from seven other errors shared by **FP**:[51]

(a) Agreement between **FSp** against **P**

4.346 Apollineae **Σ**] Apollyneae **P**^{pc}: Apollinaeae **P**^{ac}: Apollinae (App- **F**) **FSp**

(b) Agreements between **PSp** against **F**

3.689 insula Thapsus **CF**: Thapsus (Ta- **P**) insula **PSp**

4.252 Cyllene **F** [=**Σ**]: Cylleno **P**: Cylonio **Sp**

(c) Agreements between **FP**(**T**) against **Sp**

3.687[52] Adriam **Sp**: atriam **F**: hatrinam **P**: acria **T**^{ac}

uergit **Sp**: uertit **FPT**^{ac}

4.42 Barce **Sp** [=**Γ**]: Barca **FP**

4.131 retia **Sp** [=**Γ**]: retitia **F**: retica **P**

4.132 quod **Sp** [=**Γ**]: qui **FP**

4.510 numina Echates **Sp** [=**Σ**]: nomine cates **F**: nomina etates **P**

Hecate **Σ**] Echate **Sp**: Aecates **F**: Ecates **P**

4.513 [obserua]tionem **Sp** [=**Σ**]: obseruationis **FP**

4.616 remotus **Sp** [=**Σ**]: remotos **FP**

The agreements included in the third list might be considered as evidence supporting the view that **Sp** is independent of **FP**(**T**)'s latest common ancestor since **Sp** does not exhibit any clear sign of revision *ope codicum* or *ope ingenii*.[53] Nevertheless, the fact that

[51] On a handful of occasions, **PSp** lack the same words (cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.689: *hic fluuius*] *fluuius* **PSp**) or share the common introductory formula *hoc est* (cf., e.g., the scholium *ad Aen.* 3.649: *dura*] *hoc est dura* **PSp**), but this is not surprising given that both transmit a seriously abridged and rephrased version of **DS**.

[52] On this passage, see section 2.3.

[53] As emphasised in Stok 2018, the **Sp** text is full of blatant errors, including *uoces nihili*. A few of these errors might have been inherited from the latest common ancestor shared by **FPSpT**. For instance, the name of Lilybaeum is transmitted by the fragment as *Libeum* in the scholia *ad Aen.* 3.687 and 705; **FPT** read *Lybiae eum*/*Libicum*/*Lybiae* in the former, and **FP** read *Lybeum*/*Libeum* in the latter. In two cases at least, I suspect that errors exhibited by **Sp** according to Marshall's transcription (and to Stok's edition) should not be attributed to the fragment. The scholium *ad Aen.* 4.252 is transcribed by Marshall as CYLENIVS *mons Carius a Cylonio Arcadiae monte, ubi dicitur esse nutritus uel natus*. This text, which corresponds to CYLLENIVS … *a Cyllene* (*-no* **P**), *Arcadiae monte* (*-tem* **F**), *ubi dicitur esse nutritus* (*-tis* **F**) in **FP**, would imply that the medieval editor responsible for the **Sp** version not only did not know the meaning of *Cyllenius* but even failed to pay the necessary attention to the Vergilian line, which does not refer to a mountain. The letters read by

Sp includes material deriving from the Servian tradition and that it is not possible to ascertain what editorial practices were in use in the contexts where **Sp** and its lost ancestors were copied does not allow a conclusive case to be made in support of this view:[54] it is not possible to rule out that the correct **Sp** readings could not have been deduced from a Servian witness or have been introduced conjecturally.

Additional evidence in support of **Sp**'s independence of **FT**'s latest common ancestor, however, might be offered by an analysis of the scholia *ad Aen.* 5. While **Sp**'s scholia on the other books include few materials of seemingly ancient origin which cannot be found in the other **DS** witnesses, such materials are significantly more frequent in scholia *ad Aen.* 5.[55] **FT**'s latest common ancestor lacked virtually all the **DS** non-Servian additions to the scholia *ad Aen.* 6-7 and may also have lacked some additions to the scholia *ad Aen.* 5.[56] If the new materials of seemingly ancient origin included in **Sp**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 5 were to be considered as a rephrased version of lost **DS** non-Servian additions, it would also be possible to conclude that **Sp** is independent of **FT**'s latest common ancestor.

Marshall as *mons Carius* are virtually illegible, but the available traces of ink are not more likely to point to *mons Carius* than to *Mercurius*. The scholium *ad Aen.* 4.483 was transcribed by Marshall as *MASYLAE GENTIS Masyla est in Hesperia locus cir*[*ca Atlantem*]. This text seems a freely rephrased version of the scholium preserved by the other **DS** witnesses, where the region inhabited by the Massylii and the city of Berenice are described as *mediterranea* and as close to the *horti … Hesperidum*, respectively; accepting the text as printed by Marshall would imply that the editor of **Sp** erroneously identified the *horti Hesperidum* with a place in *Hesperia*. In this case as well, the words transcribed as *in Hesperia locus* are hard to read, but I would suggest that the first should be identified with *mediterranea*.

[54] On the genesis of **Sp**, see chapter I, section 7.1.2.

[55] **Sp**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 5.208, 718, and 744-5 include materials which must emanate from some ancient tradition. The scholia *ad Aen.* 5.718 and 745, in particular, were compared with passages in Festus and in Paulus' epitome of Festus by Marshall (2000: 208 and 2012: 73-5)

[56] See chapter II, sections 2.3 and 7.3.

Conclusion

In his 1932 survey of the traditions of the six main pre-Carolingian commentaries on Vergil, Beeson concluded that all of them descended from manuscripts imported to the Continent from the British Isles. This conclusion was based on the observation that their earliest witnesses exhibited recurrent examples of Insular orthography, Insular abbreviations, and errors seemingly prompted by the misunderstanding of graphical elements typical of Insular scripts. There is now some scepticism about the idea that all the features which used to be labelled as Insular symptoms should be truly labelled as such and also about the idea that the presence of these symptoms necessarily points to ancestors copied in the British Isles.[1] However, the hypothesis that the six commentaries at issue experienced an at least graphically Insular stage in their transmission does not seem ever to have become controversial. Insular learned men are believed to have played a central role in the compilation of the 'Philargyrian' corpora, namely the Bern scholia, on the one hand, and the *explanationes* and the *breuis expositio*, on the other.[2] Besides, scholars agree that at least one lost common ancestor of the primary witnesses to Tiberius Claudius Donatus' *interpretationes Vergilianae* was written in Insular script and that some ancestors of the two hyparchetypes of the Servian tradition, including the archetype itself, were also written in the same script.[3] As for the **DS** scholia, a case can

[1] On Insular symptoms in the traditions of Latin Classics, see Brown 1993: 167-72 and Dumville 1995.

[2] See Funaioli 1930: 37-9 and *passim*, Daintree–Geymonat 1988: 711-17, and Cadili 2007: 148-52.

[3] On the transmission of Tiberius Claudius Donatus, see Lucarini 2013 and Pirovano 2018: 46-51. Unlike Beeson, Lucarini and Pirovano did not go so far as to claim that the ancestor at issue was the archetype, rather than an ancestor thereof, and was copied in the British Isles, rather than on the Continent. The question of the presence of an Insular stage in the transmission of Servius' commentary is re-discussed in passing in Murgia 1975: 38 and 82-3 and 1987a: 290-1. As mentioned in the introduction, section 1, Murgia judged the archetype as likely to pre-date the genesis of the **DS** scholia; consequently, he took the evidence gathered by Beeson as implying that the archetype was written in the British Isles because virtually no Continental scriptorium experienced significant Insular influence before the seventh century.

be made in support of the view that they reached the Continent from the British Isles if one takes into account both graphical and historical evidence.[4]

An examination of the **DS** witnesses collated by Thilo led Beeson to identify the following Insular symptoms: (a) exchanges between *n-p*, *n/m-r*, and *p-r*; (b) confusions of the *q*-abbreviations and of other typical abbreviations, such as *autem* for *enim* (or vice versa), *autem* for *hic/hoc*, *cum* for *causa*, *hi* for *bene*, *non* for *nostro*, *post* for *potest* (or vice versa), *post* for *propter*, *propter* for *praeter*, *quomodo* for *quando*, and *tamen* for *tantum*; (c) omissions of *autem* or *enim*; (d) Insular abbreviations; (e) examples of Insular orthography.[5] Considered on their own merits, the confusions of letters listed by Beeson only imply that the primary witnesses emanate from manuscripts written in a pre-Caroline minuscule, either of Insular or of Continental type.[6] Two other patterns of errors can also be considered as pointing in the same direction. First, besides those listed by Beeson, the primary witnesses offer several other examples of exchanges between consonants that would be difficult to explain in a purely Caroline tradition, such as those between *f-p*, *g-t*, and *s-t*.[7] Second, the remarkably frequent omissions of vowels or syllables might have been facilitated by the fact that some ancestors of the primary witnesses exhibited abbreviations and superscript or subscript letters with less restraint than normally happens in Caroline manuscripts.[8] In any case, as they are accompanied by frequent further errors explicable as misunderstandings of Insular abbreviations and by examples of Insular abbreviations and orthography, these errors are indeed most

[4] Cf. Murgia 1987a: 290-1.

[5] Beeson 1932: 87-91.

[6] As pointed out in Dumville 1995, however, confusions between *n-r* have little relevance since they can be readily explained as originating even from the copy of Caroline manuscripts.

[7] Cf., e.g., *attigit*] *agigit* **P** (*ad Aen.* 1.43), *inpluuium*] *in fluuium* **C** (2.57), and *cogis*] *cogit* **F** (3.56); for other similar errors, cf. chapter IV, sections 2.1-4. Confusions between *r-s* are also extremely frequent in the primary witnesses, but these errors, which Beeson elsewhere listed as an Insular symptom, are not decisive since cursive *r*'s maintaining descenders can be found even in some forms of Caroline minuscule (cf., e.g., **C**'s gathering 2).

[8] In the earliest witnesses, such abbreviations occasionally occur with no abbreviation sign and are sometimes completely misunderstood; cf., e.g., *loquitur*] *lo* **F** (*ad Aen.* 3.30) and *gloria tanta*] *gloriator* **C** (1.323). As is often the case in scholiastic traditions, proper names of writers are particularly subject to abbreviations; cf., e.g., *Sallustius ita*] *Sal. ita* **C**: *Psallita* **P** (*ad Aen.* 2.61) and *Vergilius*] *Vegl.* **C** (2.296).

easily explained if one accepts the hypothesis that the tradition emanates from ancestors in Insular script.[9]

An examination of the origin of the **DS** primary witnesses corroborates this hypothesis, suggesting that the commentary could have been brought to the Continent from the British Isles. More specifically, the strongest piece of evidence is the early-eighth-century Spangenberg fragment. Besides being written in a West Saxon minuscule and including Saxon glosses,[10] the fragment comes from one of the areas evangelised by Boniface and his companions. It has often been pointed out that Spangenberg is just a few days' walk from the monastery of Fulda, which Boniface erected in 744 and entrusted to his disciple Sturmi.[11] In fact, the entire regions of Thuringia and Hesse experienced Boniface's missionary efforts after he had obtained a mandate to preach Christianity from Pope Gregory II in 719 and had left Willibrord to work directly under papal authority in 721.[12] In these regions, Boniface did not confine himself to (re-)establishing bishoprics but also founded a network of monasteries, including Amöneburg (721-2), Fritzlar (723), and Ohrdruf (725). These earlier seats flourished under the direction of Boniface's Anglo-Saxon companions, and Fritzlar, which is only a few hours' walk from Spangenberg, was also selected by Boniface as a base for his activities in Hesse.[13]

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[9] Besides Beeson 1932, cf. Savage 1932. The evidence in question can be judged as having some probative value in the light of its variety and quantity; however, it should be remarked that Insular abbreviations and even Insular orthography were also in use in some Continental scriptoria with no direct association with the British Isles and that some of the errors referred to by Beeson, such as the exchanges between *autem* or *enim* or their omissions, do not need to be explained as the result of the misunderstanding of Insular abbreviations. On Insular orthography, cf. Bieler 1963: 27-30, Löfstedt 1965: 86-107, and Picard 1982.

[10] On the script used in the fragment, which has been compared to that of one of Boniface's companions, cf. chapter I, section 7.

[11] On the foundation of the monastery and its early development, cf. Raaijmakers 2012: 19-71 and 2020 and Clay 2020: 287-9.

[12] For an overview of Boniface's missions to Thuringia and Hesse, cf. Clay 2011 and 2020.

[13] On Fritzlar, in particular, cf. Schwind 1974 and Clay 2011: 200-6 and 374-6. On the relationships between Boniface and his Anglo-Saxon followers, cf. McKitterick 1990a and Schipperges 1996: 260-8 and *passim*. Sturmi, the first abbot of Fulda, seems to have been trained at Fritzlar under the supervision of Wigbert (cf. Raaijmakers 2012: 26-7).

A small working library, which mainly consisted of books of religious or legal content, is known to have accompanied Boniface during his missions.[14] These books, however, could hardly satisfy the needs of the newly-founded communities, which were also meant as places for training monks; this explains why acquisition of books is presented as an activity of primary importance by Boniface and his companions in their correspondence.[15] Two brief late-eighth-century inventories from the libraries of Fulda and of Würzburg, another Bonifacian foundation, have been found in a Basel and an Oxford manuscript, respectively. In both cases, almost exclusively works of religious content are listed.[16] However, the idea that a collection of Vergilian scholia like the gathering to which **Sp** belonged could have been held in Fulda or in another monastery founded by Boniface seems entirely plausible. Boniface himself pursued grammatical studies at the beginning of his career, and positive evidence of his engagement with the teaching of Latin is provided by his *ars grammatica*, where Vergil is unsurprisingly the most often cited literary authority.[17] That his companions and successors were also aware of the importance of linguistic correctness is confirmed by the number of grammatical works transcribed in the scriptoria that were established in the Anglo-Saxon centres of the Continent not long after their foundations.[18]

If **Sp**'s dating to the early eighth century is correct, one can also infer that it was probably copied in southern England and brought to the Continent by Boniface or his companions rather than copied by an Anglo-Saxon already settled on the Continent. In

[14] On Boniface's library, cf. Schüling 1963 and Lapidge 2005: 39-40.

[15] Cf. Orchard 2001: 36-8, Clay 2009, Palmer 2020: 55-6, and Thornbury 2020: 120.

[16] Basel, UB, F. III 15a, ff. 17^{v}-18^{r} and Oxford, BL, Laud. misc. 126, f. 260^{r}. The only secular works to be mentioned are the 'Sancti Esidori rotarum' (i.e. Isid. *nat.*) and, perhaps, the anonymous chronicle ('chronih') and the 'liber Alexantri' in the former and the 'historia Anglorum', the 'liber Orosi', the 'grammatica sancti Augustini et sancti Bonifati', and, perhaps, the 'commentarium' and the 'glosa' in the latter. Editions of the two inventories can be found, respectively, in Lowe 1928 and Bischoff–Hofmann 1952: 142-8 and in Lehmann 1925: 48-50 and Schrimpf 1992: 5-11. Cf. also Lapidge 2005: 148-53.

[17] According to the index of Gebauer and Löfstedt's edition, a few parallels can be detected between Boniface' *ars* and Servius' commentary on Donatus' *ars*, but no parallel can be detected between the former and the Servian or **DS** scholia. The *ars metrica* that is sometimes assigned to Boniface is partially based on Servius' *de centum metris*. On Boniface's education and grammatical works, cf. Thornbury 2020.

[18] Cf. Lapidge 2005: 155-66.

any case, both the fragment and **C**, which was apparently produced in Fulda a few years after Hrabanus' abbacy,[19] testify to the availability of the **DS** scholia in the ninth-century libraries of the Anglo-Saxon foundations in Hesse.[20]

The evidence for the circulation of the commentary in Germany between the High and Late Middle Ages is otherwise meagre.[21] Whether **Sp** and **C** ever left the libraries where they were held is unknown. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the latter was discovered by Maulde in Fulda.[22] If the former was also held in Fulda, it may well have reached Spangenberg when the Fulda library was destroyed during the Thirty Years' War. Only three other **DS** witnesses of German origin have survived, namely **M**, **Mo**, and **Ox**, the first two being actually Servian witnesses which include two long excerpts from the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 10 in the place of the corresponding Servian scholia. **Ox** is conventionally labelled as copied in north-western Germany, while the origin of **M** is even less clear since Bischoff rejected the traditional attribution to Freising and claimed that the codex must have reached Bavaria from another German region.[23] From this perspective, one might even wonder whether the two manuscripts could likewise come from Hesse or Thuringia.[24] **M** and its *descriptus* **Mo**, which was copied in Tegernsee or, at least, reached its abbey before the end of the eleventh century, are the only certain proof of the presence of the **DS** scholia in another German region, namely southern Bavaria.[25]

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[19] See chapter I, section 1.

[20] For a general overview on the libraries of the German monasteries of Anglo-Saxon origin, cf. Bischoff 1994a: 147-51. As for the library of Fulda, in particular, cf. also Spilling 1996.

[21] It is worth remarking that the number of Servian manuscripts copied in Germany during the same period is also small (cf. Murgia 1979: 246).

[22] On the identification of **C** with the *Fuldensis* mentioned by Maulde, Schoppe, and Daniel, see chapter III, section 1.

[23] See chapter I, sections 3-4.

[24] Hesse and Thuringia had been closely connected with Bavaria since Boniface's times. Boniface is credited with a global re-organisation of the Bavarian church, which also involved the consecration of Erembert as the bishop of Freising (cf. Good 2020). Incidentally, the Würzburg inventory mentioned above indicates that the 'commentarium' was at some point on loan to Holzkirchen, a dependency of Fulda in Upper Bavaria.

[25] On **Mo**, see chapter III, section 3.1. On Bavarian libraries in the High Middle Ages, cf. Bischoff 1974.

All the other extant medieval manuscripts are of French origin. The earliest of these, namely **T**, can be assigned with reasonable certainty to Saint-Martin of Tours.[26] This centre notoriously played a pivotal role in the revival of learning in Carolingian France, benefitting from a special relationship with the court during the abbacies of Alcuin and Fridugisus, and its scriptorium devoted remarkable efforts to the transcription of Latin Classical texts.[27] That Vergilian scholarship was actively practised in Tours is evident from a survey of the other extant manuscripts copied there during the ninth century.[28] Turonian scribes were responsible for two copies of Tiberius Claudius Donatus' *interpretationes Vergilianae*, one of which was used by the annotators of **T** and/or by the annotators of one of its ancestors, as well as for a copy of Servius belonging to the **τ** family with interpolations from the Bern scholia on the *Eclogues*.[29] Given that Tours had close relationships with Fulda, it is also entirely possible that the **DS** scholia made their way into France via this centre.[30]

Whether **T** ever left Tours before being discovered by Daniel is uncertain. No clue is offered by the sole witness which is known to depend on **T**, namely **Pd**: this codex was copied a few decades later in western France, but nothing implies that its annotator had direct access to **T**.[31] Notwithstanding, some light can be shed on the history of the branch

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[26] See chapter I, section 8.

[27] See McKitterick 1990b and Bischoff 1994a: 142-4 and 1994c: 30-2. On the history of the scriptorium of Tours, cf. Rand 1929 and Gasnault 1997.

[28] For a revised list of Classical manuscripts written at Tours, see Bischoff 1994d: 133.

[29] Florence, BML, Plut. 45.15 and Vatican, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1484 (Claud. Don.); Trier, SB, 1086/2180 2° (Seru.). On the relationship between the witnesses to Donatus' commentary and **T**, cf. chapter I, section 8.

[30] Cf., amongst others, Bischoff 1994d: 124-9. The case of Lupus Servatus, who moved from Ferrières to Fulda in order to complete his education under Hrabanus before coming back to Ferrières, is of special interest. As pointed out by Pellegrin (1957), several Classical manuscripts from Auxerre, Fleury, and Tours were copied or annotated by Lupus – a fact which implies a significant circulation of books and people between the communities of the Loire valley. Furthermore, Lupus' letters bear witness to book loans not only among the Loire centres (cf., e.g., *epist.* 16.3 Marshall) but also between them and Fulda (cf., e.g., *epist.* 91.4 M.). Marshall's edition of Lupus' correspondence lists two explicit mentions of and four possible references to Servius' commentary; in none of these cases is it possible to establish whether Lupus was resorting to the Servian or to the **DS** scholia. For further bibliography on Lupus and his scholarly practices, cf. Pirovano 2018: 38 n. 3.

[31] See chapter III, section 4.1.

to which **T** belongs. The annotators of this manuscript had access to two different **DS** witnesses: a glossed edition of Vergil including excerpts from the **DS** scholia and a manuscript preserving the **DS** scholia as a continuous text, either alone or in the margins of Vergil, from which the excerpts of the glossed edition might also emanate. By the middle of the tenth century, either the glossed edition in question or a closely related witness must have reached Flavigny, where it was used as a source by **Va**'s annotators.[32]

Although the origins of the other witnesses are less clear, there is no doubt that Tours and Flavigny were not the only places where a copy of the **DS** scholia could be found in Carolingian France. The main witness to the scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12, namely **F**, seems to have been held in an unknown scriptorium of the Paris region before being brought to Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire near Fleury, another major centre of learning whose earliest outputs include a codex containing Fulgentius' *expositio Virgilianae continentiae* and, perhaps, one or two other Vergilian codices.[33] **G**, an indirect copy of **F**, and **R** have also been tentatively connected with scriptoria of the Loire valley,[34] whereas **P** and **La**, the only extant witness to the **DS** scholia on the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*, appear to have been copied in south-western France.[35]

The fact that the relationships between the primary witnesses cannot be established with certainty prevents one from mapping the circulation of their ancestors between Germany and France any further. However, two remarks can be made on the basis of the data hitherto gathered.

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[32] See chapter I, section 9. A comprehensive study of the history of the scriptorium of Flavigny is still a *desideratum*, but a brief survey of the few works dedicated to this topic can be found in Gorman 1997: 191-8.

[33] The Fulgentian witness in question is Vatican, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1462. Albeit rejected by Mostert (1989: 222), the traditional hypothesis that Paris, BNF, Lat. 7926, a glossed edition of Vergil with notes from Servius and other sources, was transcribed in Fleury was reproposed by Bischoff (2014: 136). Vatican, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1669 was labelled as potentially ascribable to Fleury by Pellegrin (1978: 349); Bischoff considered its first codicological unit (ff. 1-191), which preserves the text of Vergil with Servius' commentary, as copied in Reims but maintained that its second unit (f. 192), a leaf including introductory paratexts that apparently belonged to a lost Vergilian manuscript, could have been copied in Fleury. On the history of the scriptorium of Fleury, cf. Carey 1923, Pellegrin 1984-5, and Mostert 1989: 15-28, 1996, and 2020.

[34] See chapter I, section 6 and chapter III, section 2.1.

[35] As for **P**, see chapter I, section 5. **La** was referred to by Daniel as coming from the abbey of Saint-Martial in Limoges, an Aquitanian centre closely connected with Fleury (cf. Vezin 2008).

First, the hypotheses that **Sp** is independent of **FP**(**T**)'s latest common ancestor and that **C** is independent of **FP**'s latest common ancestor, contrary to the current common opinion, and of **FR**'s latest common ancestor can be regarded as plausible not only from a textual but also from a historical perspective.

Second, while Barwick was undoubtedly right in rejecting Halfpap Klotz's thesis that **CP** and **F**(**G**)**T** emanated from two codicological units resulting from the physical dismemberment of the archetype,[36] the idea that, with the possible exceptions of **M**[3]**RSp**, the extant witnesses derive from a lost codex which experienced a dismemberment between the scholia on books 2 and 3 does deserve serious consideration. **FTVa** simply lack the scholia on the first two books of the *Aeneid*, whereas the text preserved by **COxP** presents significant variations in character after book 2. **C** transmits a 'sincere' version of the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 and a non-'sincere' version of the scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6 lacking most non-Servian additions. **Ox**'s excerpts from the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12 correlate significantly with the interpolations transmitted by some Servian manuscripts, but those on the first two books find no parallel in these manuscripts. Contrary to what was implied by Murgia,[37] even the text transmitted by **P** is not completely consistent throughout, as can be most clearly appreciated from the fact that final words in Vergilian lemmata and quotations are abbreviated to their initials in the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2, as happens in **C**, and are replaced by *et reliqua* in those *ad Aen.* 3-5, as happens in **F**. On these grounds, one can hypothesise that the latest common ancestor of **CFOxPTVa** was a codex preserving only the scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12 and that, while this was the only source of **FTVa**'s **DS** scholia, **C**, **Ox**, and **P** depend on witnesses belonging to two different branches of the tradition.[38] From this perspective, the split in the transmission might well have originated from a physical dismemberment of one of **CFOxPTVa**'s common

[36] As explained in chapter IV, section 1, Halfpap Klotz's hypothesis is not consistent with the presence of **DS** scholia on book 3 and following in **CP**.

[37] Murgia 1975: 150.

[38] A possible term of comparison is offered by the case of the **σ** witnesses of Servius affected by interpolations from **DS**, on which see *infra*. The character of **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6 could be most easily explained by hypothesising that the witness to the scholia on books 3 and following which was joined with a witness to the previous scholia should be identified with the ancestor of **C** corrected by the 'Servian' reviser and that these corrections had already been carried out when the two witnesses were joined. On the ancestor in question, see chapter II, section 1.1.

ancestors.[39] Albeit speculative, the reconstruction just proposed appears more plausible than Barwick's idea that **CP** derive from a witness preserving the scholia *ad Aen.* 1-2 as well as an incomplete version of the following ones and that the other codices emanate from a witness which was produced when a scribe possessing either **CP**'s latest common ancestor or a similar witness obtained a full copy of the commentary and chose to transcribe only the scholia which he could not find in his original witness. As formulated by Barwick, this reconstruction is not consistent with the fact that **P**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3-5 do not derive from the incomplete version of **DS** exhibited by **C**. Even if one assumed that **CP**'s latest common ancestor still preserved a complete version of the scholia *ad Aen.* 3 and following, however, two issues would remain: on the one hand, the Bern scholia should be regarded as added independently to two branches of the **DS** tradition (**P** and **FT**); on the other, no straightforward answer could be offered to the questions of why **P**'s scholia on *Aen.* 1-2 and 3-5 present minor differences in character and of why the 'Servian' reviser of **C**'s ancestor did not bother himself with correcting the first two books as well.

While the number of **DS** extant witnesses in the strictest sense is relatively small, some sections of the commentary experienced a much wider circulation as interpolations in Servian manuscripts. In his *Prolegomena*, Murgia identified a particularly common set of vulgate interpolations affecting some medieval French witnesses belonging to the **τ** family and several other witnesses belonging to the **γ** and **σ** families, which circulated, respectively, in southern Germany and northern Italy and in southern Italy between the

[39] This hypothesis also provides a ready explanation for the fact that none of the primary witnesses includes the **DS** scholia on the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*. If, as suggested by Murgia, the **DS** commentary originally followed the order '*Eclogues* – *Georgics* – *Aeneid*' (cf. introduction, section 1), the scholia on the first two works can be suspected of being absent in **CFOxPTVa**'s latest common ancestor, which transmitted the scholia on the last ten books of the *Aeneid*. The absence of scholia on the first two works in **CP** may well be related to the fact that the beginning of the commentary on the *Aeneid* is also lost in these two manuscripts; **Ox** does not appear to include any excerpt from the **DS** scholia on the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*, but it should be observed that its excerpts from the **DS** scholia *ad Aen.* 1 are also few and do not start at the beginning of the book. The fact that **FPT** include the Bern scholia, rather than the **DS** scholia on the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*, could be explained by assuming that this commentary was added to a common ancestor of the three witnesses in order to supply what was perceived as a lacuna.

Middle Ages and the Renaissance.[40] From a geographical and chronological perspective, the other Servian witnesses interpolated from **DS** which were pointed out by Murgia do not deviate significantly from this pattern: the earliest are exclusively of French origin, while the later are either of French or of Italian origin.[41] Both vulgate and non-vulgate interpolations seem to have been available to Humanists such as Guarino of Verona and are found in the earliest printed editions of Servius.[42]

With few exceptions, the most notable of which being a group of **σ** witnesses which combine the vulgate interpolations on the last ten books with some additional interpolations on the first two books presumably drawn from a different branch,[43] the interpolations from **DS** are confined to the scholia on the last ten books of the *Aeneid*: this suggests that their sources should be identified with manuscripts lacking the scholia on books 1-2, like **CFOxPTVa**'s latest common ancestor.

Incidentally, an analysis of the distribution of the interpolations can also prove relevant in order to determine the nature of the so-called ***α*** class. This label is conventionally applied to three Servian witnesses copied in France between the tenth and the eleventh century which Ramires showed as including both materials not attested elsewhere and materials which had been thought of being transmitted only by **DS** witnesses: **Le**, **Pc**, and **r**. While the significance of these two manuscripts and of this bifolium is uncontroversial, the nature of their text has not received a unanimous

[40] According to Murgia, the vulgate interpolations could have spread from an early-ninth-century **τ** witness. As shown in chapter II, section 1.1.2, the editor responsible for the text of **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6 seems to have also had access to a witness affected by these interpolations.

[41] In the final chapter of his *Prolegomena*, Murgia lists seven witnesses or groups of witnesses affected by non-vulgate interpolations (1975: 156-7). Among these, **OxRVa** can be labelled as **DS** witnesses in the strictest sense, and Oxford, BL, Canon. Class. Lat. 64 does not appear to be related to the **DS** tradition at all, as shown in the introduction, section 2. The others can be divided into three groups. The first comprises **Ps**, a ninth-century manuscript probably copied in Paris, as well as Petrarch's fourteenth-century copy of Vergil and a few Humanistic manuscripts of Italian origin. The second comprises three high-medieval glossed editions of Vergil of seemingly French origin, namely **PePf** and Brussels, KBR, 5325-7, and an early fifteenth-century glossed edition of Vergil also of French origin, namely **Mp**. The last comprises a single witness, Paris, BNF, Ars. 720, which provides a collection of excerpts from Servius with occasional interpolations that was copied in the fifteenth century and belonged to the library of Sozomeno of Pistoia.

[42] On Guarino's edition of Servius, cf. chapter III, section 1.4.

[43] See Murgia 1975: 136-8 and 151-6.

interpretation. After adopting a cautious position in the article announcing his discovery, Ramires declared himself persuaded that **LePcr** do not merely transmit a Servian text with non-Servian interpolations but rather a version of Servius not attested elsewhere, resulting from the contamination of a **τ** witness with a Servian witness independent of and more complete than **Σ**.[44] Rejecting this reconstruction, Murgia observed in passing that the three witnesses should be rather considered as a branch of the **τ** family subject to heavy interpolations from **DS** and from other non-Servian sources.[45]

The most complete list of arguments in support of Ramires's reconstruction is found in his review of Murgia and Kaster's edition.[46] Upon closer examination, the arguments that he listed appear to lack probative value. In virtually all the cases of divergence between **α** and **τ** to which he referred, **α** agrees with the **DS** witnesses; in the only case where this does not happen, **α** transmits an error which may be easily attributed to a scribe copying from a codex which preserved the **DS** and **τ** reading (*ad Aen.* 9.483: *linquere* **F Γ**: *relinquere* **Pc**). Besides, as had been pointed out by Murgia,[47] neither the **α** superior readings corresponding to **F** errors nor the fact that a few **α** additions are essential for the Servian text to be understandable can be legitimately considered as proofs that the additions do not emanate from **DS** and other sources. On the one hand, there is no logic to assuming that the **DS** witness from which the **α** additions were drawn should necessarily exhibit all the **F** errors. On the other, since both the **Γ** and the **Δ** tradition of Servius are subject to omissions and since the latter is not always extant,

[44] See Ramires 2003: XXXVI-L, 2013, and 2018-19: 254-64 and Ramires–Lafond 2022: LXXV-LXXXII. Before advancing this reconstruction, Ramires had also suggested that the **α** witnesses could simply belong to a branch of the tradition independent of and more complete than **Σ** (1996a: 325-9 and 1996b: XIII-XX). Expanded spacing distinguishes the **α** additions from the text transmitted by the Servian witnesses in Ramires's editions of the scholia *ad Aen.* 9 and 7, while no graphical device is used for this purpose in his edition of the scholia *ad Aen.* 8.

[45] Murgia 2004a: 3-6 (≈ Murgia–Kaster 2018: 522-6). **LePc** had already been labelled as **τ** witnesses in Savage 1934: 188-9 and Murgia 1975: 37 and 64.

[46] Ramires 2018-19: 254-64.

[47] Murgia 2004a: 4-5.

genuinely Servian bits of text can be expected of being occasionally found only in **DS** witnesses, as well as in Servian witnesses interpolated from **DS**.[48]

According to Murgia, the hypothesis that the **α** class consisted of **τ** witnesses interpolated from non-Servian sources was suggested by the fact that some of their additions could be positively demonstrated as alien to Servius' commentary.[49] I hasten to remark that this hypothesis is also corroborated by an examination of their distribution. Virtually no addition can be found in the scholia on the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*, where **LePc** behave as regular Servian **τ** witnesses.[50] Moreover, the additions are not found in the scholia on all the books of the *Aeneid*, being rather concentrated in those on the last ten.[51] As already shown, the **DS** tradition experienced a split between

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[48] On the genealogical relationships between the **DS** scholia and the **Γ** and **Δ** traditions, cf. introduction, section 1. All the cases where Ramires judged the **α** additions as necessary to the sense of the scholia fall within sections where **Δ** is not extant.

[49] Murgia 2004a: *app.* 4-5 (≈ Murgia–Kaster 2018: 522-6). The most compelling case to which Murgia referred is the scholium *ad Aen.* 9.616, where **F** and **α** read *sane habent bis* (*sub*)*audiendum* although (*sub*)*audiendum* is never used by Servius, who constantly uses *subaudis* in its place. This argument was challenged by Ramires as follows (2013: 232): 'l'argomento potrebbe anche essere valido, ma non mi sembra del tutto dirimente: non potrebbe Servio aver usato anche una sola volta *subaudiendum*, visto che in almeno tre circostanze … **DS** registra il "servianissimo" *subaudis*? Se poi ci accorgiamo che c'è almeno un altro passo in cui Servio usa sicuramente *subaudiendum* l'argomentazione di Murgia viene meno. E questo passo in verità c'è: a *Georg.* 2.98 … Servio cita Sallustio *hist.* 2.29 Maur. … e conclude *subaudiendum reliquit "insidia", quod penitus dicere non possumus*'. Neither objection stands scrutiny. The fact that the Compiler of **DS** and/or the non-Servian commentary to which he resorted were inconsistent in the use of *subaudiendum* and *subaudis* does not imply that Servius also was. Furthermore, Murgia's remark should be interpreted as meaning that, in this case as well, Servius consistently prefers personal forms to impersonal ones, which are instead frequent in the **DS** scholia. From this perspective, the counterexample seems irrelevant: *subaudiendum* is not used as a predicate of the subject in the passive periphrastic conjugation, and *subaudis* is not available as a substitute.

[50] Cf. Stok–Ramires 2021: 48-51.

[51] Although no complete collation of the **α** witnesses has been made available, Ramires described the **α** additions paralleled in the **DS** witnesses as confined to the scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12 in the preface to his 2022 edition (p. LXXV). Among the about forty additions discussed in Ramires 2013, the only one which belongs to the scholia on the first two books is of little moment: in the **α** witnesses, as well as in some **τ** witnesses such as **Pa**, the Servian scholium *PYRRHVS a colore dictus, qui Latine burrus dicitur* (*ad Aen.* 2.469) is followed by the words *a colore quo tingebatur*, but these words, which cannot be found in the **DS** witnesses, appear to be just a redundant clarification of *a colore dictus* which originated in the **Γ** tradition. In this scholium, incidentally, *Harv.* 2 erroneously printed the **DS** phrase *a colore comae dictus* as Servius and **DS** alike.

books 2 and 3, and the interpolations exhibited by the **τ** family are drawn from witnesses preserving only the scholia *ad Aen.* 3-12. From this perspective, Ramires's reconstruction would unrealistically imply that the absence of additions on the first two books in the ***α*** class should be considered as a mere coincidence resulting from the fact that the Servian and **DS** scholia independently experienced the same split in their transmission.

Some final remarks can be added as to the way in which the **DS** scholia were perceived over the period covered by the extant witnesses. The fact that no substantial rewriting seems to have been carried out in the branches of the tradition ending with **C**, **F**, and **M³** and that no such rewriting was carried out between **F** and its *descriptus* **G** shows that the scribes in question chose to pay attention not only to contents but also to form.[52] Unsurprisingly for a tradition characterised by such textuality, verbal correctness appears to have also been a concern for some readers of the extant manuscripts and of their ancestors. What is particularly remarkable, however, is that two different conceptions of verbal correctness were adopted. On the one hand, it is possible to hypothesise that the scholars who combined witnesses to the scholia on the first two books with witnesses to the scholia on the following ones in the branches that resulted in **C** and in **P** aimed to restore the integrity of the commentary; likewise, the '**DS**' revisers correcting the **C** and **F** text and, occasionally, even **T**'s annotators tried to recover its genuine form *ope codicum* or *ope ingenii*.[53] On the other hand, the increasingly prominent status that Servius' commentary was attaining had profound repercussions on the fate of the **DS** scholia: the latter commentary was constantly exposed to the risk of being perceived as a wrong version of the former and of being consequently corrected, as happened to **Mo** and, probably, to some lost ancestors of **C**'s scholia *ad Aen.* 3-6, of **F**'s (and **RTVa**'s) scholia *ad Aen.* 6-7, and of **M³'**s scholia.[54]

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[52] **Mo**'s **DS** scholia do not exhibit any substantial conscious innovation relative to **M³**. However, since **M³'**s **DS** supplements are embedded within the Servian scholia and not distinguished as such, no inference can be drawn as to the way in which the **DS** scholia were perceived by the scribe(s) in question.

[53] See chapter II, section 7.1.

[54] That the status attained by Servius' commentary could be detrimental not only to the **DS** scholia but also to any other concurrent work is clearly indicated by the paucity of extant medieval continuous witnesses to Tiberius Claudius Donatus' *interpretationes Vergilianae* or to the 'Philargyrian' corpora and by the fact that none of them was produced after the ninth century.

Further evidence as to the way in which the relationship between the two commentaries could be perceived is provided by the Servian manuscripts interpolated from **DS**. While some scribes just tried to enrich the text of their Servian manuscripts with new views or pieces of information,[55] some others appear to have resorted to the **DS** scholia in order to improve the verbal correctness of the text. Significantly, however, no Servian witness is known to have been integrally revised against a **DS** one, as happened vice versa to **Mo** or to the ancestors of the other primary witnesses just mentioned: in fact, the scribes who corrected Servian against **DS** codices normally adopted a cautious approach towards the latter, accepting single readings that corresponded to blatant errors in the former but ignoring the more radical differences or additions.[56]

At the same time, the degree of textual variance characterising the versions preserved by **OxPRSpTVa** implies that their medieval editors deemed form as relatively unimportant. In particular, **PRSp** offer what can be labelled as abridged versions of **DS**; the fact that they tend to focus on linguistic instructions and on basic clarifications of difficult terms or references but omit the more obscure and learned sections of the original commentary suggests that they may have served specific educational purposes. By contrast, since **Ox**'s, **T**'s, and **Va**'s notes are almost exclusively drawn from the non-Servian sections of the **DS** scholia, one is led to suspect that their editors were recording a selection of explanations that could serve as a supplement to Servius' commentary,

[55] Useful terms of comparison are offered by the other branches of the Servian tradition exhibiting substantial interpolations, such as the manuscripts transmitting the Vatican scholia (cf. the introduction, section 2), those preserving what Poletti named as the 'interpolated Servius' (2013), and those including interpolations from the Bern scholia (cf. Funaioli 1930: 222-6, O'Sullivan 2016: 103-21, and Stok–Ramires 2021: 164-5).

[56] Cf. Savage 1934: 171-2 and Murgia 1975: 97-8. This phenomenon seems to have been largely ignored by Servianists, who still tend to conceive medieval scribes as passive transmitters of the commentaries available to them, as is shown by sceptical remarks such as 'it is not credible that anyone bent on enriching *V*, or an ancestor of *V*, from the more abundant treasure of Servius Danielis should have contented himself with such paltry borrowings' (Stocker 1941: 73), 'supponendo che la classe α sia interpolata da DS …, perché il copista di α avrebbe copiato soltanto una parte, assai ridotta, di aggiunte?' (Ramires 1996a : 322), or 'peut-on croire qu'un scribe qui aurait un texte *auctus* intégral se contenterait de contaminer quelques mots sans reprendre l'intégralité des notes nouvelles par rapport à Servius ?' (Vallat 2021: 65).

and this suspicion is indeed corroborated by the fact that **T** occasionally includes comments such as *praeter quod Seruius dicit*.

On these grounds, not only is it possible to establish that, at least in some centres and in some periods, medieval scribes showed an awareness of the nature of the **DS** scholia that would have got lost in the following centuries, but one can also conclude that their engagement with the text of this commentary was much more active and complicated than it has often been supposed.

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