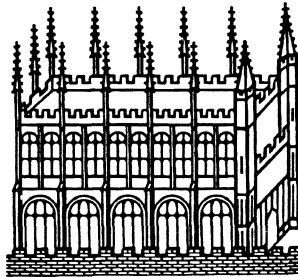


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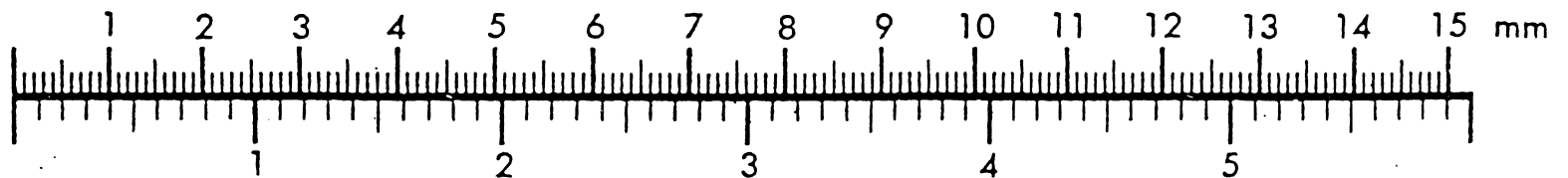
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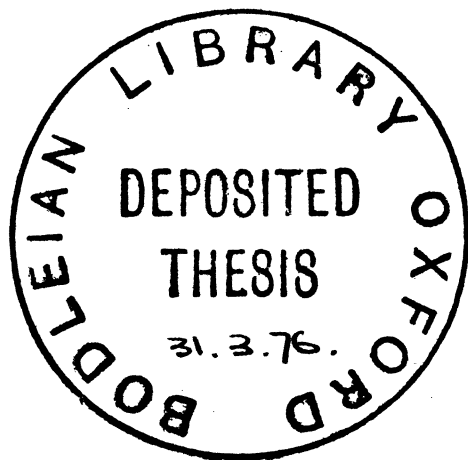
The manuscripts  
of  
Macrobius' Commentary on the Somnium Scipionis.

A thesis  
submitted in application  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by  
B. C. Barker-Benfield.

Corpus Christi College,  
OXFORD.

Trinity Term  
1975. [ie 1976]



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## Abstract

No comprehensive study of the manuscripts of Macrobius' Commentary on the Somnium Scipionis has appeared in print since the edition of Ludwig von Jan in 1848, although in the 1950s A. la Penna published valuable articles in which he announced the importance of two 9th-cent. manuscripts, Paris lat. 6370 and Paris lat. 16677.

The surviving medieval manuscripts of the Commentary, with or without a separate text of the Somnium Scipionis itself, number around 230 - the figure includes fragments but not excerpts. The total for the Saturnalia is just under 100. The Commentary and the Saturnalia are rarely found written together in one manuscript, and the two manuscript traditions are almost entirely separate.

The work summed up in the thesis is based on detailed 'codicological' descriptions and collations of sample passages for about 150 out of the total of c. 230 manuscripts of the Commentary. An attempt has been made to apply the skills of the palaeographer and historian of medieval libraries equally with those of the textual critic in extracting palaeographical and textual evidence from a manuscript treated as a whole. The aim of the work is to discover what the manuscripts themselves can contribute towards the history of Macrobius' text in the Middle Ages, and to distinguish families of manuscripts as a preliminary to the establishing of the text.

By the beginning of the 12th cent., it is broadly true to say that a 'vulgate' text of Macrobius' Commentary had been established; the tradition by then was so heavily contaminated that the general impression given by later manuscripts is one of total eclecticism. The later manuscripts do not fall into any major divisions, and only occasionally into identifiable localised groups. Although the 150 manuscripts analysed are from all periods, it has been decided to restrict the thesis

to the earlier manuscripts, up to the end of the 11th cent. Here two important families of manuscripts can be discerned, which I have christened 'the  $\phi$  group' and 'manuscripts of the abbreviated form'. These account for the majority of surviving manuscripts up to c. 1100, but there is still a residue which are difficult to classify. It would be wrong to say that these remaining manuscripts form a third family, for their only common element lies in the fact that they do not belong to one of the two groups. Although I have the information about these manuscripts at hand, I have largely ignored them in the thesis in order to concentrate on those which belong to recognisable families.

The thesis falls into two parts. Pt. I consists of chapters in which the ideas suggested by the combination of textual and palaeographical information are elaborated. Pt. II contains full descriptions of most of the major manuscripts discussed in Pt. I. These descriptions are not intended as reading-matter, but as a corpus of reference material to illustrate the background of facts and detailed research on which the speculations of Pt. I are based; they include a number of discoveries about individual manuscripts, e.g. the re-connecting of several sets of membra disiecta. Because of problems of space, it has been decided to tender full descriptions of a limited number of manuscripts rather than summary descriptions of them all; those included represent only a sample of the total work done.

In pt. I, chapter I concerns the subscription of Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, consul of A.D. 485. The implications of the subscription for the very early history of the text are first discussed, and a small piece of new evidence which may possibly have a bearing on the nationality of Macrobius is brought forward. The nine manuscripts which contain the subscription are then listed and analysed, with a view to finding out whether any of them may be direct descendants of the copy corrected by Aurelius Memmius Symmachus. For six of them it is demonstrated that the subscription must have been an addition, either in these manuscripts

themselves or in their immediate ancestors; there remain three which may descend from Symmachus' copy. Finally, it is suggested that the ancient manuscript itself survived the Dark Ages, and passed from Ravenna before 485 to the circle of Lupus of Ferrières between 859 and 862; a parallel is drawn between the histories of the ancient copy of Macrobius' Commentary and the miscellany of Rusticus Helpidius Domnulus which was the exemplar of Vat. lat. 4929, and was used by Lupus and his pupil Heiric of Auxerre.

Chapter II concerns the oldest surviving manuscript of the Commentary, Paris lat. 6370 (s.ix $\frac{1}{3}$ , ? Tours), and opens with a discussion of the manuscript as it originally stood before correction. C.H.Beeson identified the hand of Lupus in some 9th-cent. corrections; an attempt is made to confirm the suggestion of É.Pellegrin that another 9th-cent. hand which makes additions in the manuscript can be identified as that of Heiric.

Chapters III-V concern the  $\phi$  group of manuscripts. In ch.III, the three 9th-cent. manuscripts are analysed with regard to provenance and textual relationships. Two are from Fleury, one from Corbie. The discovery that Reg. lat. 1587, fols.65-80, containing a 9th-cent. copy of the De senectute, is from the same manuscript as Paris lat. 16677 (Macrobius' Commentary) introduces the definition of a 9th-cent. corpus, Cato de senectute cum Macrobio, which incorporated the  $\phi$  strain of Macrobius' text. The chapter ends by tracing the Insular background of  $\phi$ . Ch. IV concerns the later descendants of the 9th-cent. Fleury manuscripts, and it is shown that Macrobius was copied and read with great attention at Fleury under Abbo at the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries. Ch. V deals with the members of the  $\phi$  group written in Germany, and shows that the 9th-cent. Corbie manuscript, Paris nouv. acq. lat. 454, had two 11th-cent. German descendants.

Ch. VI deals with an abbreviated form of Macrobius' text, containing the mainly astronomical section from I.14, 21 to II.9, 10, found in many German manuscripts of the 10th and 11th centuries. But the earliest manuscript was written in France (Berne 347, fols. 1<sup>r</sup> -22<sup>r</sup>, ? Auxerre, s.ix<sup>2</sup>); a codicological argument is put forward that Berne 347 shows marks of editorial manipulation and is therefore the archetype of the group.

The conclusion is that the earliest manuscripts of Macrobius' Commentary were written in the French centres such as Tours, Fleury, and in them can be detected the signs of an Insular pre-history. Although the tradition is heavily contaminated, the definition of the two major groups should enable us to establish the text on a new basis.

RICARDO HUNT

et

ROGERO MYNORS militi

patronis humanissimis.





PART I

## CHAPTER I.

### The subscription of Aurelius Memmius Symmachus.

A 5th-cent manuscript of Macrobius' Commentary on the Somnium Scipionis, corrected at Ravenna before A.D.485 from the author's own copy, can be identified as the direct ancestor of a group of existing manuscripts. The 5th-cent. manuscript, travelling from Ravenna, reached the great French scholar Lupus of Ferrières between 859 and 862.

Put at its most hopeful, this is the thesis which I intend to put forward, on the basis of the subscription and the manuscripts in which it survives. To achieve the right degree of scholarly uncertainty, add 'possibly' every other word.

#### The implications of the subscription itself.

The following subscription is found in 9 of the c. 230 manuscripts of Macrobius' Commentary, at the end of Bk.I:

Aur(elius) Memm(ius) Symmachus ū.c. emendabam uel distinguebam meum Rauennae cum Macrobio Plotino Eudoxio ū.c.

This makes the Commentary one of a number of classical works in which subscriptions<sup>(1)</sup> are found stating that the texts have been written out, or checked, or simply read by particular individuals of the late ancient world, from the end of the 4th to the 6th centuries. With the majority of these works, the subscriptions do not survive in the originals, but in later copies where they were usually transcribed as part of the text. This is the case with Macrobius' Commentary.

1. My knowledge of subscriptions is based on the lectures of R.W. Hunt and on the list of them, more complete than any published, which he has compiled and issued to his students. A glimpse of his teaching can be seen in Survival of Ancient Literature..., pp.43-5, nos.88-92, pls. X-XII.

The Aurelius Memmius Symmachus who added the subscription can be identified with a reasonable degree of certainty as the consul of 485, the father-in-law and a dedicatee of Boethius. He was a

member of the family most prominent in the senatorial circle of the late 4th and 5th centuries, that circle of which the subscriptions in many classical works attest its somewhat self-conscious literary interests. The Symmachi had connections with the author Macrobius himself, for Macrobius' third work, the fragmentary De differentiis et societatiibus Graeci Latiniq̄ue uerbi was dedicated to Symmacho suo (it is uncertain which of the Symmachi is meant), and one of the interlocutors in the Saturnalia is the great Q. Aurelius Symmachus, great-grandfather of the consul of 485. It is therefore not unexpected to find him 'emending' Macrobius' Commentary with the help of one Macrobius Plotinus Eudoxius, who must surely be a relative of Macrobius himself.

In the fine article<sup>(2)</sup> in which he establishes a new dating for Macrobius, Alan Cameron points out that after his consulate Aurelius Memmius Symmachus would have been entitled to call himself ū.c. et inŕ., whereas the title given in the subscription is simply ū.c.; so the inscription (and hence the manuscript in which it was written) was written before the year of his consulship, 485.

2. Alan Cameron, 'The date and identity of Macrobius', The Journal of Roman Studies, 56 (1966), 25-38; on this point, 27 n. 21.

A major piece of evidence employed by Cameron for his redating is that the author's last name, the name by which he would generally have been addressed in his own day, was not Macrobius but Theodosius. This point was realised as early as 1614 by Jacques Sirmond, who mentions it in the preface De propriis nominibus... to his edition of Sidonius Apollinaris (1st ed., Paris 1614, notae p.7). One of the arguments which Cameron uses to establish this is that 'the correct order of Macrobius' three names is undoubtedly Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius, as given in the subscriptio...', and <sup>he</sup> adds in a foot-note that the subscription is 'preserved in most MSS. at the end of Bk.I of the Comm.: see Willis' ed., vol.II, p.94' (p.26 and n.15). Cameron has been misled by Willis' edition

at this point. Certainly the reader would not be able to guess from the edition that Willis' six manuscripts are only a tiny fraction of the surviving total of medieval manuscripts, nor indeed that the subscription is an addition by a later hand in Willis' MSS. 'S' (my MS.4) and 'E' (my MS.5). In fact, the subscription survives in very few of the manuscripts: 9 out of 230 is just under 4%.

Willis' layout is also misleading, in that he makes the title Macrobbi Ambrosii Theodosii... follow on from the subscription without a break. This is admittedly the case in six of my nine manuscripts (see below, p. 11), but after all those subscriptions are not original. It is much more likely that the words actually written by Symmachus into his copy were only those of the subscription itself, and that a title was already there in the manuscript. I mention parallel examples below, p. 29, in manuscripts which we believe preserve the physical appearance of the originals, where Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius and Flavius Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus fit their subscriptions into the spaces around the larger capitals of the original titles. In my MS.4, the subscription was treated as a separate addition in a manuscript where the exact title was already present, and in MS.13 the title is made to start on a new line after the subscription. These two manuscripts are the most important for the textual history of the subscription (see below, pp. 22-37). But in relation to the purpose of Cameron's argument, it is a niggling point to undermine his assertion by saying that subscription and title cannot be treated as a unit, for, as we shall see, MS.13's evidence proves that the order of names in Symmachus' manuscript was Macrobbi Ambrosii Theodosii, even if the title itself was not actually written by Symmachus as part of his subscription. This order is supported by the weight of evidence produced by the titles of Macrobius' Commentary in the manuscripts generally, for although Macrobius by itself is the most common designation of the author, in cases where all three names are given the overwhelming majority read Macrobbius Ambrosius Theodosius.<sup>(3)</sup>

3. As Jan noted (I, pp. I-II), the name

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Aurelius, found in the early printed editions, is nowhere present in the medieval manuscripts, of the Commentary at least.

The personality of Macrobius Plotinus Eudoxius, ū.c., the man who helped Aurelius Memmius Symmachus in correcting his copy of the Commentary, is not known elsewhere. Cameron (p.37) produces a beautiful prosopographical argument, 'too attractive not to be true', in which this man becomes the grandson of the author; the crucial factor is the identification of the city prefect of 462, Plotinus Eustathius, as the author's son Eustathius, the dedicatee of both the Commentary and the Saturnalia. It is indeed a seductive theory, but the number of assumptions involved make it difficult to accept without reservation.

What exactly did Aurelius Memmius Symmachus mean when he said that he emendabam uel distinguebam meum...cum Macrobio Plotino Eudoxio...? Jan (I, p. XLVII) disliked the unattached meum, and tentatively proposed the emendation...meum cum Macrobio Plotini Eudoxii, i.e. 'I collated my copy of Macrobius with that of Plotinus Eudoxius'. I rather sympathise with Jan - it would mean that Symmachus' helper need not be a relation of the author - but other parallels to meum show that there is no excuse for such an emendation; references to meum without an attached noun, meaning 'my copy', occur in the subscriptions to Persius and to the logical tracts of Boethius.

The word distinguo is rare among the subscriptions, occurring only here and in that of Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius in the Mediceus of Vergil (...legi et distincxi codicem fratris Macharii...). The word is usually understood to mean 'punctuate'. If the subscription in the Mediceus is indeed original (a matter of dispute), the body of the manuscript itself should provide a sovereign opportunity to test this; we simply have to search for added punctuation. The Mediceus is certainly punctuated, with high, medial and low points, but even in the superb facsimile (Rome 1931) it is unfortunately impossible to

be certain whether the points are by the original scribe or additions by the punctuating consul. As far as the textual tradition of Macrobius' Commentary is concerned, we can only record the fact that Symmachus claims to have punctuated his copy; it is surely unprofitable to search for signs of Symmachean repunctuation in our later medieval manuscripts, however faithful. <sup>(4)</sup>

4. La Penna makes a *curious* correlation between the added subscription and some added punctuation in MS.4 (see *below*, p. 189); I cannot believe that this is helpful.

Irrelevantly here, I should like to propose an emendation suggested by the punctuation of most of the medieval manuscripts: at Comm. I.20,10-11 (Willis 80.14), the stop should come after ita, not before. The rhythm of the balanced cum clauses which follow is then improved.

The word emendo in the subscriptions seems generally to signify not feet-on-the-hob criticism, in which the critic thinks up readings out of his head, but a process of correcting one copy from another; when a helper is mentioned, his task would probably have been to read out the text to the corrector, from a *second copy* (see e.g. the subscription of Securus Melior Felix at the end of Martianus Capella, Bk.I: ...ex mendosissimis exemplaribus emendabam contra legente Deuterio scolastico discipulo meo...). Of course, we cannot be certain that this is what Aurelius Memmius Symmachus and Macrobius Plotinus Eudoxius did; examples in which the writers of subscriptions confess to emending sine antigrapho or sine magistro (both in Persius) show that there was no rule. But it would make sense for Symmachus to search out a relative of the author, especially an author who had been on friendly terms with the Symmachi; a relative would be the most likely person to own a good text, and this theory would also imply in Symmachus another motive common to the writers of subscriptions then and now, the desire to give one's own copy a good pedigree. If Cameron's genealogy is right,

then the grandson of the author and the son of the dedicatee would have been the ideal choice for Symmachus; it is surely likely that he owned the author's own copy!

But we must remember that in the subscriptions, we find that there are pedigrees and pedigrees. In The Survival of Ancient Literature..., we exhibited a manuscript of the first Decade of Livy (Exh. no.88, Oxford, Bodl., MS.Auct.T.1.24), as an example of a subscription-carrying text where all the extant manuscripts of the living tradition descend from a copy of good textual quality put together in the circle of distinguished great-grandfather. But we also showed a manuscript of Rufinus' translation of Gregory of Nazianzus (Exh. no. 89, MS.Laud Misc.276), bearing a subscription claiming a distinguished pedigree for the text: usque huc contuli de codicæ (sic) sanctæ Melaniæ Roma (fol.63<sup>r</sup>). Now although St. Melania the elder was a close associate of Rufinus himself, the two manuscripts which carry the subscription stating that her manuscript had been used for collation are quite worthless for establishing the text, full of innumerable false readings (see A. Engelbrecht, ed. in C.S.E.L.46, pt.i, 1890, pp XXXII, LX-LXI). The discrepancy between the pedigree and the textual quality could be explained in various ways, irrelevant here; I mention St. Melania only as a warning that we cannot treat such a pedigree as the guarantee of a faithful text.

I am puzzled by another question which admits of no solution: does the position of Aurelius Memmius Symmachus' subscription at the end of Bk.I have any significance? Did he emend Bk.I but not Bk.II, or did he emend both books? I suppose the roll/codex problem might be relevant here, but I leave that on one side. The subscription in our Gregory of Nazianzus admits of no doubt: usque huc contuli is unequivocal. The series of subscriptions by different people at the ends of various books in the first decade of Livy does imply that the work was proceeding book by book, (roll by roll??) and the progress of writing can actually be charted in the dated subscriptions (really scribal colophons) entered book after

book by Fl. Theodorus Dyonisius as he wrote out Priscian's Institutiones grammaticae at Constantinople in A.D. 526-7 (Survival of Ancient Literature..., no.90, MS.Auct. T. 1.26). On the other hand, it is scarcely likely that Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius should have written such an elaborate subscription in the Mediceus of Vergil if he had corrected only the Eclogues, as its position might suggest. To return to Aurelius Memius Symmachus and Macrobius' Commentary, I think it is possible that when he wrote his subscription he had worked only on Bk.I, because his use of the imperfect tense... emendabam uel distinguebam...perhaps implies a continuing process.

While I was compiling my list of manuscripts of Macrobius, an accidental misplacing in Bodley of a catalogue of papyri among the catalogues of medieval manuscripts led me to make a small discovery which could just possibly be relevant to the Macrobius Plotinus Eudoxius of the subscription and even to the problem of the nationality of the author Macrobius. Schubart's catalogue<sup>(5)</sup> of the papyri now at Erlangen includes a group of private accounts (P.Erl.27-32) which Schubart dates to the beginning of the 4th cent. A.D. and in which the place-names point to Upper Egypt. P.Erl.31 starts as follows:

1	...]υ	
2	... Μα]κροβίω ρεδ	
3	...]ρω σκρίβα κ	
4	...] καὶ Εὐδοξίω ἐξ ἀναλ(ώματος)	etc.

Other men called Macrobius do crop up in papyri of about this date, e.g. P.Erl.60 line 8 (tax-accounts from Oxyrhynchus, s.iv) and P.Oxy.1048 (in which a Macrobius is the prosperous owner of boats carrying freights of corn, s.iv ex. or v in.). But the occurrence in P.Erl.31 of the names Macrobius and Eudoxius so close together - different individuals, but quite possibly relations - may be more than a coincidence when we consider the name of the author's relative as stated in the late 5th-cent. subscription, Macrobius Plotinus Eudoxius. Could this be the proof that we are looking for,

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to show that the family roots of our bilingual author, born sub alio caelo (Sat., I, pref., 11), could lie in Upper Egypt? I hesitate to claim this much for the theory, for I am no prosopographer: the *plausibility* of the theory rests on how common the two names were in the 4th and 5th centuries, *and on Schubart's* restoration of the 2 letters of the name Macrobius; and the bold links which are assumed in such prosopographical arguments often contain logical loop-holes.

5. W. Schubart, Die Papyri der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen (Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen, Neubearbeitung, Bk.III, teil i), Leipzig 1942, p.119, no.109. For a summary of the various views on Macrobius' origins, see W. H. Stahl's translation of the Commentary (Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, 48), New York & London 1952, pp.4-5; A. Cameron in C.Q.61 (1967), 387.

### The textual history of the subscription.

The nine manuscripts which I know to contain the subscription fall into two groups, those in which the subscription is by the original scribe or decorator, i.e. transcribed with the rest of the text from the immediate exemplar at least, and those in which the subscription has been added by a later hand. A third category consists of two further manuscripts in which the subscription was noticed by 17th-cent. scholars, but which are not now identifiable.

### Manuscripts in which the subscription is by the original scribe or decorator (by date):

My ms.no.	Shelf-mark.	Date.	Origin.	Cross-references.
13.	Paris.lat.6371, fol.14. <sup>v</sup>	s.xi <sup>2</sup>	French (?).	Pp. 266-273.
52.	London Harl.2772, fol.64 <sup>r</sup> .	s.xi.	German (?).	Pp. 296-303.

Ch. I. The subscription.

My ms.no.	Shelf-mark.	Date.	Origin.	Cross-references.
73.	Laur., S. Croce 22 Sin. 9, fol. 36 <sup>r-v</sup> .	s.xi.	Origin unknown (later in Italy).	Pp. 312 - 318.
53.	London Eg. 2976, fol. 50 <sup>r</sup> .	s.xii <sup>1</sup> .	Italian (?).	Pp. 304 - 311.
122.	Laur., Conv. Soppr. 444, fol. 43 <sup>r</sup> .	s.xii.	Italian (South?).	Pp. 424 - 433.
148.	Wrocław R. 69, fol. 69 <sup>r</sup> .	s.xii.	German (?).	No full description; see pp. 18-20.

Manuscripts in which the subscription has been added by a later hand.

My ms.no.	Shelf-mark.	Date and origin of original ms.	Cross-references.
4.	Paris lat. 6370, fol. 67 <sup>v</sup> .	s.ix <sup>1/3</sup> . French (?Tours).	Pp. 160 - 201, esp. 188-9.

The subscription is added by a 9th-cent. hand of the circle of Lupus and Heiric. The title following (fol. 68<sup>r</sup>) is original.

5.	Paris lat. 16677, fol. 41 <sup>v</sup> .	s.ix. French (?Fleury).	Pp. 202 - 219, esp. 205.
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The subscription and title are added by Additional hand (4), in a script of the 'Fleury type', s.x ex -xi<sup>1</sup>.

153.	Vat. lat. 4200, fol. 78 <sup>r</sup> .	s.xii <sup>1</sup> . Origin unknown.	No full description; see pp. 14-16.
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The subscription and title are added by the major additional hand, Italian, s.xiv ex.

Manuscripts not now identifiable.

Jan, I, p. XLVII, with his usual marvellous industry, notes references by 17th-cent. scholars to two manuscripts containing the subscriptio:

- a) Jacques Sirmond (1559-1651), in his edition of Sidonius Apollinaris, makes the following reference in commenting on Sidonius, Ep., V. xv, 1, illo contra legente (1st ed., Paris 1614, Notae p.101):

'...In alio codice Macrobij Theodosij emendator haec adnotarat Aurelius Memmius Symmachus V.C.

emendabam Ravennæ cum Macrobio Plotino Eudoxio.

uibus verbis contra legisse Eudoxium significat'.

Sirmond's emendabam was corrupted to emendau in Jan's immediate source, F.W. Schneidewin's edition of Martial (1st ed., Grimae 1842, p. CX, n.)

- b) Alexander Wilthemius, in an appendix to Diptychon Leodiense, Liège 1659, p.4, <sup>(6)</sup> says that he has seen the following in codice coenobii D. Maximini (at Trier?): EMENDABAM VEL DIS MEVM RAVENNAE.

6. I have not been able to see a copy of this work to check Jan's reference, and to see whether any more is said about the manuscript.

The text of the subscription, with the variants of the manuscripts.

Since the text of the subscription in all nine extant manuscripts is written in capitals, I shall restate it thus:

AVR(ELIVS) MEMM(IVS) SYMMACHVS V̄.C̄. EMENDABAM VEL DISTINGVEBAM MEVM RAVENNAE CVM MACROBIO PLOTINO EVDOXIO V̄.C̄.

The variants are as follows:

AVRELIVS MEMMIVS ]

*AVR. MEMM., with or without abbreviation marks,*

in all except 5X and Sirmond, where the name is written out in full.

SYMMACHVS ]

4X, 52, 73, 122, 148, Sirmond. SIMMACHVS

5X, 13 (or ? SIMMACKVS, see below,

*pp. 24-5*). SYMMACVS 53, 153X.

All, except EMNDABAM, 53, 153X.

*om. Sirmond.*

EMENDABAM ]

VEL DISTINGVEBAM MEVM ]

5X. DISTINS' ] 4X (with a clumsy uncial G, resembling an S, see below, *p. 25* ).

DISLINS 13. DISTINSI 53, 153X. DIS

73, 122, 148, Wilthemius. The reading

preserved by 52 for DISTINGVEBAM

MEVM is DISTAEVM, probably a corruption

of DISMEVM (there is no gap between these

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words in 73 also).

MEVM ]

om. 5X. See above for 52, and the omission of Sirmond.

PLOTINO ]

4X, 5X, 52, 148, Sirmond. PLOIINO 13.

PLATINO 53, 153X. PLOTINIO 73. ELOTINO 122.

The title between Bks. I and II.

The position of the subscription at the end of Bk.I is nearly always immediately after the closing words of the text. It is followed by the same title in all the manuscripts, usually also in capitals:

MACROBII AMBROSII THEODOSII V.C. ET INL. DE SOMNIO SCIPIONIS  
LIBER PRIMVS EXPLICIT. INCIPIIT LIBER SECVNDVS. (for V.C. ET,  
MS.52 reads VSCET).

In MS.13, the title is made to start on a new line. In all the other manuscripts where the subscription is original, MSS.52, 53, 73, 122, 148, and also in one where it is added, MS.153, the title follows the subscription without a break (but see below, p.15, for the duplication of the title in MSS. 53 and 153X). Neither Sirmond nor Wilthemius recorded the titles in their manuscripts. In MS.4, the original title which appears in red rustic capitals after the Rain diagram on fol.68<sup>r</sup> follows the wording of the subscription's normal title exactly, but the added subscription is separated from it by the Rain diagram. In MS.5, the same hand has added the subscription around the top of the Rain diagram and our title around the bottom.

An echo of the subscription.

Originally, MS.5 had no title between Bks.I and II. However the last word of Bk.I, reseruemus, is followed immediately by two further words, in the original hand: emendatum est. These were later crossed through, presumably by the man who added the subscription proper. The words emendatum est are also found written in this position as part of the original text, in the

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following manuscripts:

<u>My ms.no.</u>	<u>Shelf-mark.</u>	<u>Date.</u>	<u>Origin.</u>	<u>Cross-references.</u>
6.	Paris, nouv.acq.lat. 454, fol.55 <sup>v</sup> .	s.ix, prob. $\frac{3}{4}$ .	Corbie.	Pp. 220-227, esp. 220-
7.	Paris, lat.7299, fol.52 <sup>v</sup> .	s.xi in.	Fleury.	No full description; see pp. 88-9, 95-8.
16.	Paris, lat.6620, fol.33 <sup>v</sup> .	s.x ex.- xi in.	French.	Pp. 274-281.
17.	Paris, lat.11123, fol.51 <sup>r</sup> .	s.xii,? first half.	French (?).	No description.

As might be expected, MSS.5, 6, 7 and 16 are all members of the same textual family, the important group of early manuscripts of which I have designated the common ancestor by the letter  $\phi$  in my discussion in chapters III-V. MS.17 is not a full member of the family, but it contains signs at least of contamination with it. Another member of the family, MS.14, (Paris lat.10195, s.xi, belonged early to Echternach) probably also once contained the words emendatum est, for it has an erasure of the right length at the right place (fol.26<sup>r</sup>. I). In MS. 6, the two words are later deleted.

The use of the word emendo and the identical position at the end of Bk.I make me certain that the words emendatum est are an abbreviation of the full subscription. It would be too much of a coincidence that two independent readers could have noted the fact of their emendation in the same somewhat unusual place. The abbreviation emendatum est must have been present in  $\phi$ , which would have been descended in turn from a manuscript which carried the full subscription.

This conclusion draws some support from the later substitution in MS.5 of the full subscription for emendatum est. I shall show later (pp.64-5, 87-112) that Fleury was a centre for manuscripts of the family. MS.5 was probably written there. The later hand which effected the substitution is of the distinctive sort written at Fleury in the time of Abbo; this corrector was an intelligent Latinist, for he alone among the versions of the subscription correctly expands AVR. MEMM., DISTING. and INL (in the following title); he leaves out the difficult MEVM which puzzled Jan (see above, p. 4). It is economical to suppose (though foreign imports

cannot be ruled out) that the manuscript from which he derived the full subscription, presumably at Fleury, was a relative of the  $\phi$  family, and that its textual stream branched off from the trunk at a point before  $\phi$  itself, where the subscription had been shortened to emendatum est. In fact, I am propounding a theory of textual incest.

$\phi$ , or at least the common ancestor of MSS.5 and 6, also bore the poem entitled De errore emendationis at the end of Bk. II (see pp. 78-80). That poem seems to be Carolingian in origin; the precise meaning of emendationis is difficult to fathom in relation to the text of the poem, but it seems quite possible that the word was suggested to the author of the poem by the emendatum or emendabam of the subscription at the end of Bk. I, and even that the poem was in some way intended to balance the subscription.

#### Textual connections among the manuscripts with the subscription.

If we could say with confidence that the copies bearing the subscription were decently uncontaminated descendants of the book corrected by Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, then those copies, and especially any readings shared by them all, would deserve serious consideration from future editors (in spite of our skeleton at the feast, St. Melania). But confidence is sapped at once by the discovery that of the nine manuscripts which sport the full form of the subscription, three are at once ruled out because the subscriptions in them are not original but by additional hands. These three include the two earliest, MSS. 4 and 5. Of course we could hope that in these cases we could detect readings from the Aurelius Memmius Symmachus tradition among other additions by the same hand. But this does not work with MS. 4 because we cannot firmly identify the hand which added the subscription with any of the other distinctive additional hands. In the case of MS. 5, the hand of the subscription can be recognised as

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Additional hand (4), responsible for many other additions in the manuscript, but since these include material from the abbreviated form of text (see below, chapter VI, pp. 114-119) as well as the subscription, it is clear that the corrector was using more than one source for his additions and therefore that they cannot be used for our purposes.

We are left with the six manuscripts in which the full subscription is part of the original: MSS. 13, 52, 53, 73, 122, 148. They are a motley crew. None is earlier than the 11th cent., and not one of them contains any evidence of its precise place of origin. My vague palaeographical divinations (which are at least innocent, having been formed before I was stricken with the need to work the manuscripts into some beautiful relationship) spread them messily over France, Germany and Italy. As a group they do not present any striking homogeneity of text.

In fact, there are indications to suggest that the subscriptions were only recent additions in the immediate textual ancestries of three of these six manuscripts: MSS. 13, 53, and 73. I shall discuss MS. 13 later, see pp. 22-28.

### MS. 53

The evidence concerning MS. 53 lies in the title connected with the subscription, between Bks. I and II. In MS. 53 this title is written not once but twice: the words EXPLICIT LIBER PRIMVS. INCIPIIT SECVNDVS are written first, in large *capitals*, followed by the subscription and the usual title in smaller capitals (still original). The second title ends again... LIBER primus explicit. INCIPIIT LIBER SECVNDVS EIVSDEM DE MVSICA. The duplication suggests that either the first title or the subscription + second title has been added in the manuscript's recent textual ancestry—and the subscription, as a thing of substance, is much more likely to have been the addition. This conclusion is supported by the evidence of my sample collations, which show no close textual connections between MS. 53 and any of the other five manuscripts where the subscription is by the original scribe. The variant DISTINSI, resulting from a confusion over the G of DISTING., and

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subsequent rationalization (cf. MSS.4 and 13, below, pp.22-25), shows that MS.53's ultimate source for the subscription was superior to that of MSS.52, 73, 122 and 148.

However a link can be seen between MS.53 and the additions by the late 14th-cent. hand in MS.153. The subscription added by this hand in MS.153 shares distinctive readings with that in MS.53: EMNDABAM, DISTINSI, PLATINO. The title added at the same time between Bks. I and II displays a repetition similar to that of MS.53. MS.153's original text had no title at this point; the hand of s.xiv ex. made his addition in the small gap between the two books, and in the outer margin. The one difference is that in MS.153 the words eiusdem de musica have changed position: the first title, in a somewhat heavier and more deliberate style than the rest, in minuscules, reads Explicit liber primus. Incipit secundus eiusdem de musica; the subscription follows in lighter capitals, and the second title, which starts in capitals but degenerates into minuscules, ends...liber primus explicit. Incipit secundus.

I have not yet had the opportunity to collate all my sample passages in MS.153, but on the strength of various rare readings from MS.53 which I have checked among the additions in MS.153, I believe I can prove that the additional hand of MS.153 used as his source either MS.53 itself or a direct descendant of MS.53. Contamination can sometimes be made to work on behalf of the textual critic rather than against him: given a manuscript in which there are physical signs of the mingling of different textual streams (e.g. a manuscript cobbled together from parts written at different dates, or one corrected by a later hand), a second, later manuscript, which strikingly echoes rare readings from both the textual streams present in the first, must be a direct descendant of it. MS.53 consists of a copy of the Commentary (pt.A), to which a different though contemporary hand added the Somnium Scipionis (pt.B) at the front. Any idea that

the two scribes could nevertheless have used the same exemplar is contradicted by the fact that while pt.B has a close textual relationship to another manuscript, MS.50 (Oxford, Bodl., MS. Auct.F.2,20, English, s.xi<sup>2</sup>), pt.A is not connected with MS.50. MS.153 is similarly a copy of the Commentary, s.xii<sup>1</sup>, to which our additional hand added not only the subscription but also a copy of the Somnium Scipionis and other material, including glosses and variants throughout the Commentary. His added copy of the Somnium includes readings which are not found elsewhere except in pt.B of MS.53, while his variants added to the Commentary include readings otherwise unique to MS.53, pt.A.

*MS. 53 pt. A. was certainly in Italy very soon* after it was written (s.xii<sup>1</sup>), for the script of pt.B (also s.xii<sup>1</sup>) is definitely Italian. The additional hand which concerns us in MS.153 is also Italian, s.xiv ex. Venice crops up in the history of both manuscripts: MS.153, fol.110<sup>r</sup>, bears an inscription by a hand perhaps somewhat earlier than the one which concerns us, certainly not the same: Macrobius mei Nicholini de Tar̄. scolas regentis Venet(iis) in contrata Sancti Panthaleonis. MS.53 belonged later (s.xvi) to a Venetian officer, one Franciscus Blasius (see p.310). Another manuscript related to MS.53, but not a direct descendant, is MS.144 (Oxford, Bodl., MS.Canon. Class.Lat.257. A.D.1383 (?), Bolognese).

### MS.73.

I have used the same principle, of contamination as a textual characteristic in itself, to prove that MS.73 has a direct descendant in MS.92 (Munich, Clm 15738, written by Bartolomeo Fonzio in Florence in the late 1460s; lacks the Somnium Scipionis). *We know that* MS.73 was certainly in Florence at S. Croce in the 1460s. But the crucial relationship here is between MSS.73 and 148, both of which contain the subscription. They share only a few readings, found also in many other manuscripts, and each presents many variants not to be found in the other. But besides the subscription, they both contain an item, after the end of the

Commentary, which I have seen only in these two manuscripts: an excerpt from Isidore, Etymologiae, XVI. xxvi,10, mainly on the theological significance of the number twenty-two. Another shared item, not part of the Macrobian text and also quite rare in my manuscripts, was probably the diagram of Man as the microcosm. This is present before the beginning of the Commentary in both MS.148 and in the descendant of MS.73, MS.92. MS.73 does not now contain it, but there is a leaf missing at the vital spot, between Somnium and Commentary, and the loss of that leaf is much more explicable if it contained a diagram tempting to some thief. In MSS.73 and 148, both the subscription and the Isidore excerpt are by the original scribes. If the two manuscripts show no relationship in the main Macrobian text, but close proximity in two or three peripheral items, it is possible to argue that these items have happened to descent intact from the distant common ancestor, but it is much more likely that there has been contamination between the two textual streams in the immediate ancestry. By comparing the texts of the two items, in each manuscript we can tell in which direction the contamination occurred: all the variants of MS.148's versions are also present in MS.73, but there are variants in MS.73 which are not present in MS.148. In the subscription, both have the common DIS reading for distinguebam, but MS.148 has the correct Plotino whereas MS.73 has the unique variant Plotinio. Similarly, in the excerpt from Isidore, Etym. XVI. xxvi,10, MS.148 presents only two variants from Lindsay's text: Modius dictus est ab eo for Modius dictus ab eo, and ignoranter for ignorantes towards the end. MS.73 has both of these (with the further omission of ab in the first one), and several other variants, e.g. fecit septem opera for septem opera fecit. It follows that the subscription and the Isidore excerpt have been added to an immediate ancestor of MS.73 from a progenitor of MS.148, rather than vice-versa. A pity, for MS.73 presents by far the better text of Macrobius. MSS.52 and 122.

In our search for manuscripts which could be direct descendants

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of Aurelius Memmius Symmachus' copy, our total of nine manuscripts with the subscription has now been reduced to three: MSS.52, 122 and 148. Here hope begins to break out, for my sample passages show a distinct connection between MSS.52 and 122. In fact, they are two of the small group of satellites encircling MS.3, a manuscript *which is a full member of the  $\phi$  family (see pp. 113-6 and 11-13)*. I have called MS.3's group the  $\pi$  family. Given that the full subscription was present in the ancestry of the archetype of the family, it seems very likely that the subscriptions in MSS.52 and 122 descend from the same source with the rest of Macrobius' text. The earliest member of the  $\phi$  family, MS.9, dates from s.ix<sup>2/4</sup> med., so the common ancestor of the  $\phi$  family and of MSS.52 and 122, the ancestor which contained the subscription, must have been at least as old as the early 9th cent.

### MS.148.

One manuscript remains to be discussed: MS.148, a manuscript of which an immediate ancestor had infected the ancestry of MS.73. The script of this 12th-cent. manuscript, and later additions in it, suggest that it is German in origin. The manuscript with which it is most closely connected is MS.47 (Vat.lat.3874, s.xii, uncertain origin), with which it must have shared a

*common ancestor.* MS.148 also has some fairly rare readings in common with MS.68 (London, Inner Temple, Petyt 511.10, written in s.xii in. at Christ Church, Canterbury). My sample passages have thrown up a few readings found in both MSS.148 and 13 (including six also to be found in MS.73), but none of these readings are rare enough or their total number large enough for us to form any definite link between these manuscripts. MSS.148 and 13 also share one factor which is more uncommon: an elaborate diagram illustrating Macrobius' passage on the virtues at Comm. I,8,3-11. In MS.13, the diagram is a contemporary addition on a leaf which was not part of the original quiring (fol.16, now misbound but once stitched onto fol.7 in the *correct* area of the text); however, since a large blank space was left for a virtues diagram at the appropriate position in MS.147, fol.130<sup>r</sup> (Troyes

514, a twin of MS.13), it follows that the common exemplar of MSS.13 and 147 must have contained the virtues diagram, and that the diagram in MS.13 was part of the heritage from the exemplar, despite its position on an added leaf. A diagram of the virtues is incorporated in MS.148, fol.32<sup>r</sup>, as part of the text, and similarly in MS.148's relation, MS.68, fol.21<sup>r</sup>. Although Macrobius' division of the virtues is laid out in simple tabular form in the margins of several other manuscripts by later readers (MSS.4, 18, 30, 106, 140), these two pairs of related manuscripts are almost the only ones in which the diagram becomes of concern to the original scribe as part of his text (in MS.44, the diagram is added by the scribe in the margin). I have not felt it proper to suppress the evidence of this diagram, but I do not think it proves any connections between MSS.13 and 148. The form of the diagram is considerably different in MSS.13, 148 and 68, so much so that they are clearly spontaneous conceptions by different people working on Macrobius' ideas, not variants of one original conception. The fact of its presence can be regarded as significant in the relations between MSS.148 and 68, where there is other definite evidence of a connection, but not between MSS.148 and 13 where there is no such evidence. I think this is a case of spontaneous combustion in the two common ancestors, of MSS.148 + 68 and 13 + 147.

MS.148 displays an interesting peculiarity in its abbreviations: the sign h is used frequently and indiscriminately for autem and hoc as well as for the more usual haec. W.M. Lindsay, in Notae Latinae (Cambridge, 1915), his book on the manuscripts of the early minuscule period (c.700-850), observes of the symbol h for autem (p.13):

'This shorthand symbol is rightly called 'par excellence' the Insular symbol, for its supremacy is scarcely challenged by the others until the danger of confusion with the 'hoc' symbol...alarmed ninth century scribes'.

The proper Insular symbol for hoc was h or h, and for haec, h. Lindsay describes the latter thus (p.98):

'...h with horizontal abbreviation-stroke to the right of the shaft, sometimes touching it but never transecting; whereas h with transected shaft was the symbol (or a symbol) for 'huius'...'

MS.148 is the only manuscript as late as s.xii, of Macrobius or of any other text, which I have seen with the h symbol for autem. The symbol must have been present in the manuscript's exemplar, for my sample passages have thrown up two examples where the autem of Macrobius' text is written out in full by the scribe of MS.148 as enim:

Comm.I.1,5(Willis 2.19) autem 148X(s.l.,subl.)] enim 148a. MS.10 (see pp.243-256) here contains the insular symbol, *h*.

Comm.I.4,5(Willis 14.2) autem] enim 148.

These rule out the possibility that the scribe of MS.148 was an eccentric who had caught his habits of abbreviation from previous Insular manuscripts which he had transcribed. His exemplar of Macrobius, or at least a near ancestor, must have been written either in Insular script or in a continental hand very strongly influenced by Insular script. A very close examination of the symbols might even allow us to date the exemplar, for Lindsay tells us that the degree of confusion between the signs for autem, hoc, haec and huius can be a valuable indication for date and place of origin (p.98). Although the scribe of MS.148 uses *h* as the sign for autem, hoc and haec, the correct *h* for hoc occasionally appears (e.g. at Comm.II.219, Willis 103.1, fol.74<sup>r</sup>). Another mistake which sometimes occurs when a later continental scribe is transcribing an Insular manuscript is a confusion between long s and r; an example from the Isidore excerpt written by the original scribe of MS.148 at the end of the Commentary is quoted above, p.17, ignoranter for ignorantes, a mistake which significantly also occurs in MS.73.

It is strange that the Insular abbreviations do not occur in MS.47 and that my sample passages have not revealed in MS.47 any mistakes which could have been caused by a confused transcription from Insular script or abbreviations. Could the shared readings of

MSS.47 and 148 have been caused by contamination? It is unlikely, for *some* of the unique readings *common to both* are simple variants in word order, of the sort which a medieval corrector is less likely to have thought worth transferring from one copy to another. Either the scribes of MS.47 or of its immediate ancestors were very good at reading Insular script; or the mistakes caused by Insular script have been eradicated in MS.47's immediate ancestry through contamination; or the common ancestor of MSS.47 and 148 occurred at a stage before Insular script entered the tradition of MS.148. I have noticed one relevant variant in MS.68, at Somnium 9,1( illis 163.12), where MS.68 (and MSS.74, 83, and 139) gives autem for enim, and MS.148 omits the word completely; but this is the only such variant revealed by my sample passages.

The manuscripts of the  $\phi$  family also betray the presence of Insular influences in their ancestry (see pp. 80-81). The reading DIS for DISTINGVEBAM in MS.148's version of the subscription is also that of MSS.52 and 122, of the  $\pi$  group connected with the  $\phi$  family. But MS.148 shows scarcely any of the characteristic readings of the  $\phi$  family; I have noticed only one of any significance: Comm.I.3,13(Willis 11.15) aliorum 122, 148 (subl.,s.l.)] malorum 52, 148a,  $\phi$  family, but also other manuscripts.

The same lack of success follows an attempt to find readings shared between MSS.148 and 52 + 122. Therefore, either MS.148 shares a common ancestor with the  $\phi$  and  $\pi$  groups, but one so remote that it occurred at a point before the peculiar readings of those groups had formed themselves, or the subscription has passed, through contamination, from one textual stream to the other. The second alternative is far more likely, but we have no automatic means of telling in which direction the contamination occurred.

The process of elimination has now reached its furthest point. The conclusion is that either MS.148 or the common ancestor of the  $\phi$  and  $\pi$  groups may be descended from the original manuscript corrected by Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, but not both. It is

likely, though not obligatory in logic, that the alternative which presents readings of better textual quality will be the descendant of Symmachus' copy. If this criterion is acceptable, and laying aside the ever-present possibility that the subscription may have been added from another source even in this last stream open to us, I choose the common ancestor of the  $\phi$  and  $\pi$  groups as the most likely copy to descend directly from Symmachus' copy. For, as I shall discuss below, the manuscripts of the  $\pi$  group alone display one sure sign of textual good faith which I shall later discuss more fully (pp. 114-5): Macrobius, a bilingual author, was in the habit of peppering his Latin texts with Greek words and quotations which have descended in more or less garbled versions in our Western manuscripts. In several places, MSS. 52, 122 and other members of the  $\pi$  group show words of Greek derivation such as  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\eta\rho$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\nu$  and  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\beta\omicron\varsigma$ , actually written in approximations of Greek letters in several places where all the other manuscripts present the Latin equivalents in Latin letters. In the process of corruption, a word written in Greek letters is likely to decay into Latin letters in a Western manuscript, but the reverse is very improbable. Macrobius must have written those words in Greek letters, not in Latin, and the  $\pi$  group, with its subscription - carriers, is the only textual stream to preserve these true readings.

The survival of the ancient manuscript.

The variants in the text of the subscription itself provide important clues about two manuscripts: MSS. 4 and 13.

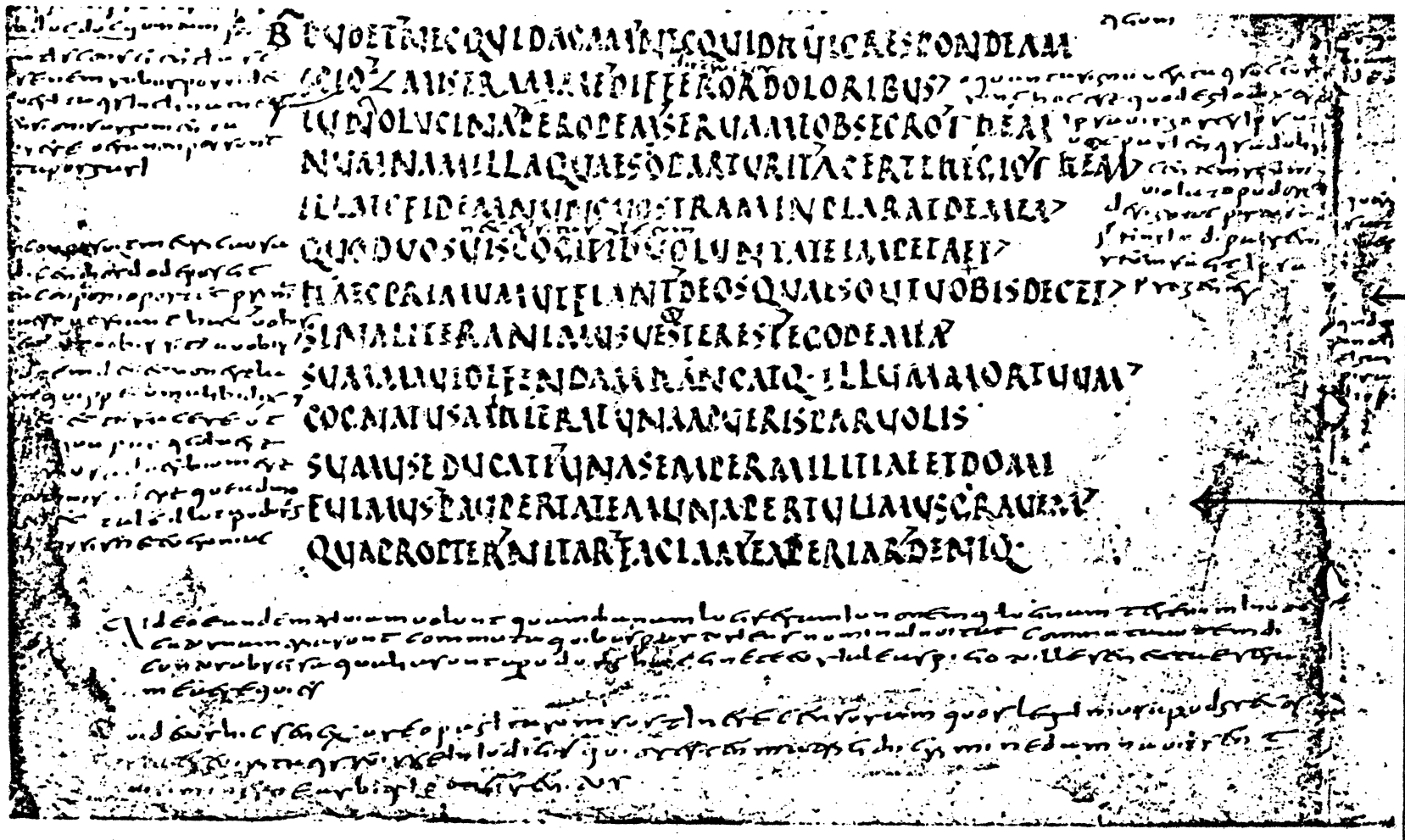
MS. 13.

All the variants in the subscription as it stands in MS. 13 are explicable as the result of the failure of a later scribe to read ancient capital script. The main letters at risk here were T and G. Both letters as they appear in rustic capitals or uncials of the 5th and 6th centuries can be confusing (the difficulties seem to have been ironed out in later versions of the script).

In both types, the cross-stroke of the T can be extremely short, and can be balanced at the bottom of the down-stroke by a serif identical to it. This means that it can easily be confused with other letters formed by combinations of vertical and horizontal strokes: I and L. In the case of G, type, found in uncials and in some rustic scripts, consists of a round bowl with a short flick downwards at the bottom, G. Some one not used to such a G might confuse it with S. As examples, I reproduce:

- a) Vat.lat.3226, fol.107<sup>v</sup>. The codex Bembinus of Terence. Rustic capitals of s.iv-v, probably Italian, according to C.L.A. i, no.12 (my reproduction is from the plate in F. Ehrle & P. Liebaert, Specimina codicum Latinorum Vaticanorum [Tabulae in usum scholarum], ed. J. Lietzmann, 3], Bonn 1912, pl.2).
- b) Paris lat.17225, fol.151<sup>v</sup>. Gospels. Uncials of s.v, written doubtless in Italy, according to C.L.A. v, no.666.

(a)



(b)

Evangelium sec

CONITENTIBUS  
 INCIPIT EVANGELIUM SECUN-  
 DUM IERONIMUM  
 ROSOLYMANUS ACI-  
 TEM UDENS ESUS HORAT  
 ET EGREDIENS PRO-  
 PASATRIAM ET IN-  
 UOS AUTEM SEDETE  
 HIC IN CIVITATEM QUAE  
 ADUSQUE IN DECIAMI-  
 NIURTEM AB ALIO  
 EDUXIT AUTE MEUM  
 FORIS IN BETHANIAM  
 ET ELEVATIS MANIBUS  
 BENEDIXIT EOS  
 ET FACTUM EST QUOD  
 BENEDICENTES RE-  
 CESSIT AB EIS  
 ET IPSI REGRESSI SUNT  
 IN IERUSALEM ET  
 GAUDIOMAGNUM EI  
 ERANT SEMPER IN  
 TEMPO LAUDANTES  
 DOMINUM

INCIPIT EVANGELIUM  
 SECUNDUM  
 IERONIMUM  
 EXPL. EVANGELIUM  
 CELI CUM SEC  
 LIT. CANON  
 INCIPIT CAPITULUM  
 EVANGELII  
 SECUNDUM  
 IERONIMUM

There can be no question but that Aurelius Memmius Symmachus meant his subscription to include the word DISTINGVEBAM, for the word itself occurs also in another subscription (see *above*, pp. 4-5), and its tense is determined by that of the syntactically parallel EMENDABAM, found unabbreviated in all the manuscripts. It is almost certain that the word was abbreviated in the archetype of the extant manuscripts, in a way which was confusing to later copyists—probably as DISTING.— for it is correct only in MS.5X (see *above*, pp. 10, 12). In MSS.4, 13 and 53, the G was corrupted to S, while the common source of the subscription in MSS.52, 122, 148 and 73 shortened the word to DIS.

The variant DISLINS for DISTING(VEBAM) in MS.13 is undoubtedly caused by a confusion of the letters L for T and S for G. In the variant PLOIINO for PLOTINO, T becomes I. Further evidence for the ancient script is visible in MS.13's version of the words SIMMACHVS in the subscription and THEODOSII in the following title. The H in both words is shaped like a K, H. This is a form of H found in ancient rustic capitals (see the reproduction from the Bembine Terence, *above*), but not in uncials, where the rounded h form is used. The form was also used in 9th-cent. rustic capitals by scholars who must have adopted it from the ancient manuscripts to which they had access. Vat.lat.4929, a manuscript copied under the direction of Heiric of Auxerre directly from a 6th-cent. original, is full of examples, and the form was used by Lupus of Ferrières (see p. 189 and n.35). I cannot remember seeing it in manuscripts later than the 9th cent., other than in manuscripts written probably or certainly at Fleury, where the script had archaising tendencies; I have noted examples in my MS.10 (Fleury, s.x ex.-xi in., see p. 253). The scribe of MS.10 certainly intended an H to be understood in the places where he used the K-shaped form. I am less certain of the scribe's intentions in MS.13, for which there is no evidence to suggest a Fleury origin. If, like the scribe of MS.10, the scribe of MS.13 used H and H interchangeably to mean H, or if this were true of an earlier

scribe in the immediate ancestry of MS.13, then the use of the form in MS.13's version of the subscription has no significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the scribe of MS.13 did not know the meaning of the  $\text{H}$  form and that he simply transcribed it faithfully from his exemplar. My notes on MS.13 do not indicate any other example of the form in the rest of the manuscript, but another lengthy examination of the manuscript is needed to establish the point. However, I am very much inclined to believe that the appearance of the  $\text{H}$  form in MS.13's subscription is a direct echo of the subscription as it was written in an ancient script, since the undoubted confusion of  $\text{T}$  and  $\text{G}$  already point in that direction. If this true, the use of the form shows that the ancient script in question is rustic capitals, as might be expected, not uncials.

MS.4

The impression given by the subscription in MS.13 is of an ignorant but faithful scribe transcribing something which he did not understand, but not changing it - to the joy of the textual critic. The 9th-cent. scribe who added the subscription to MS.4 was of the same mould, though more intelligent. He got the  $\text{T}$ 's right, but he had trouble with the final  $\text{G}$  of his exemplar's DISTING'. The result is a curious letter,  $\text{S}'$ , which could be either a  $\text{G}$  or an  $\text{S}$  (it is quite different from the other 'S's of DISTING' and SYMMACHVS; there is no other  $\text{G}$  to compare it with). This is clearly an attempt to copy faithfully the reading of the exemplar, ambiguity and all. The  $\text{H}$  of his SYMMACHVS is also of the  $\text{K}$  form (THEODOSII has the ordinary  $\text{H}$  form, but that word is part of the title which is here original, not part of the addition with which we are concerned). A further detail presumably also comes from the exemplar: a sign before the beginning of the subscription,  $\text{Y}$ , perhaps some sort of paragraph mark.

The subscriptions in MSS.4 and 13 are so faithful that they reproduce details of ancient script. The number of processes of

transcription between them and their ancient exemplars must be very few for details like the  $\mathfrak{H}$  or MS.4's  $\mathfrak{S}$  to be preserved. But are there any other connections between MSS.4 and 13? There is one outstanding feature: they are the only two manuscripts before the 12th cent. to contain Macrobius' Commentary and Saturnalia deliberately written together at the same time to form a single volume (in Willis's ms. 'D', my MS.1, the two works are contained in two distinct manuscripts which had been bound up together by s.xviii, though from Willis's edition one might think that they were a single manuscript). Only the first leaf of the Saturnalia remains in MS.4, enough to show that it was written in the same script as the Commentary.

In spite of this, it cannot be claimed that MS.13 is a descendant of MS.4. There is admittedly a technical difficulty in establishing any textual relationships between MS.4 and other manuscripts.

After Lupus of Ferrieres had carried out his extensive corrections in erasure, the corrected text of MS.4 was remarkably smooth: my sample passages have thrown up only a tiny number of surviving textual variants with which the critic can 'dissimulate his instability'. Nevertheless, MS.13 shares only one of these: Comm.I,15,7(Willis 61.31) curuitas 13U (s.l.,exp.), 55U, 89U (s.l.)] curbitas 4, 13a, 53, ?55a, 89a. Even this can probably be dismissed as a mere spelling variant. We are left with about

five places, where MS.4 presents an uncorrected variant which does not occur in MS.13. To this negative evidence can be added the fact that there is a lot of material in MS.13 which does not occur in MS.4, before or after correction: the text of the Somnium Scipionis itself; a map diagram of the conventional sort; and *a common set of glosses.*

With regard to the Saturnalia, the tiny portion of the preface remaining in MS.4 does not contain any significant variants absent in MS.13; however, a difference in the titles of the Saturnalia in the two manuscripts is perhaps sufficient to suggest that the decision to combine Commentary and Saturnalia in the two manuscripts was independent in each case.

Finally, to return to the subscription itself, the version in MS.13 cannot be descended from the addition in MS.4, because although the G of DISTING' is left ambiguous in MS.4, the T's of DISTING. and of PLOTINO are fairly clear; also, although MS.4's SYMMACHVS has an H of the † form, the THEODOSII of the original title does not. The 11th-cent. scribe of MS.13 has preserved more ancient features than appear in the more sophisticated 9th-cent. *Version.*

If MS.13 were a direct transcript of an ancient manuscript throughout the Commentary, that would be highly important. But this is undoubtedly not the case. My sample passages have revealed no mistakes of the sort caused by transcription from an ancient script, such as we have observed in the subscription. On the evidence of the subscription, we could hardly expect this scribe to get through a single sentence without such mistakes if he were in fact *transcribing* directly from an ancient exemplar. I have found one variant from which we can deduce at least two previous generations of minuscule manuscripts in MS.13's ancestry: Comm.I.9,4(Willis 40.21) absolutionem corporis ] absolutione incorporis  
13. MS.13's variant must have been caused by 'minim corruption', by which a scribe read the three minims of a minuscule m as in. The same variant occurs in MS.147 (s.xii, French), a manuscript which I am fairly certain is a twin or cousin of MS.13, not a *direct descendant*. The mistake must have been already present in the common exemplar of MSS.13 and 147, so the parent of that exemplar must have been in minuscule as well.

How then do we account for the subscription in MS.13? I can think of two possible explanations: either a process of transcription took place much earlier, say in the 9th cent., in which an expert scribe transcribed the text into minuscule, but left the subscription in rustic capitals which exactly preserved the original letter-forms of the exemplar (as in Vat.lat.4929), and MS.13 is a descendant of that copy; or the subscription and accompanying title of MS.13 do not belong to the same tradition as the rest of the text, but

were added to an immediate exemplar of MS.13, perhaps directly from the ancient copy. I think the latter explanation is far more likely. A slight argument in its favour (not, of course, conclusive) is that MS.147 does not contain the subscription, and preserves a somewhat different version of the title, by the primary scribe of the manuscript: Macrobii Ambrosii Theodosii (H of an ordinary *h* form) super sompniū Cipionis (sic) liber primus explicit. Incipit secundus (fol.148<sup>v</sup>). Secondly, I have already remarked that the number of processes of transcription between MS.13 and the ancient source of the subscription must have been minimal, yet MS.13's main text had two generations of minuscule ancestry: this militates against the first explanation.

It seems very likely that the source from which the subscription was added to MS.4 by a member of the circle of Lupus and Heiric in the 9th cent., and to the immediate exemplar of MS.13 perhaps in France as late as the 11th cent., was one and the same manuscript. The exemplar of each copy had the *Ɀ* form in the word SYMMACHVS, and a confusing 'uncial' *Œ* in DISTING. I would go further and say that this was in fact the original 5th-cent. manuscript into which Aurelius Memmius Symmachus had entered his subscription. We cannot be sure of this, naturally, but it was certainly an ancient manuscript; given that scarcely any pagan classical texts were being copied from the mid-6th to the 8th centuries, it must have been either Symmachus' own manuscript or a copy made very soon afterwards; the former is the most economical solution.

#### From ancient Ravenna to Ferrières.

Since MS.13's place of origin is not known, that trail of evidence leading back to the ancient exemplar is not productive. But we know a lot about the early history of MS.4 (see *ch. II* ). We know that it was extensively corrected by Lupus of Ferrières. In my description of the manuscript (pp. 175-187), I have been at pains to confirm Mlle. É. Pellegrin's suggestion that another additional hand in it is that of Heiric of Auxerre, and in this

task a major manuscript for purposes of comparison has been Vat.lat.4929. Unfortunately, it is impossible to be certain precisely who was responsible for adding the subscription in MS.4, but I think we can safely say that it was added by a member of the circle of Lupus and Heiric, possibly by Heiric himself. But the presence of the subscription leads to another connection between MS.4 and Vat.lat.4929, a startling one: both manuscripts contain 9th-cent. copies of subscriptions which originated in Ravenna in the late antique period. The second part of Vat.lat.4929 (fols.79<sup>v</sup>-195<sup>r</sup>) must be a direct copy of an ancient majuscule manuscript, which it sometimes imitates in script and layout. Two of the works in the second part, Pomponius Mela's De chorographia, and the epitome of Valerius Maximus by Julius Paris (with the strange section called in the closing title the Epitoma historiarum diuersarum exemplorumque Romanorum of C. Titius Probus), are followed by the subscriptions of one Flavius Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus, almost certainly to be identified as the Christian poet who flourished in the second quarter of the 6th cent. At the end of the Titius Probus (fol.148<sup>r</sup>) he wrote...emendauit descriptum Rabennae..., and at the end of the Pomponius Mela (fol. 188<sup>r</sup>.I),...emendauit Rabennae. Barlow's plate of fol.188<sup>r</sup> (see p.177 n.22 for the reference) shows what must surely be a faithful 9th-cent. imitation of the physical appearance of the original subscription: written in small, neat rustic capitals, it is fitted into the space between the titles of Pomponius Mela and the next work, Vibius Sequester, written in much larger rustics (the H form of H occurs in both sizes). The subscription in the Mediceus of Vergil is also written in very small rustics, and in the light of these two parallels I wonder whether the smallness of the rustic script of the added subscription in MS.4 is not in itself an echo of the ancient original.

The two ancient books, the copy of Macrobius' Commentary which I have postulated and the miscellany of Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus, have several factors in common. The subscriptions of Aurelius

Memmius Symmachus and Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus are the only surviving ones to mention Ravenna as the place where the 'emending' was done. Both volumes (possibly very early transcripts but most likely the originals) survived at least into the 9th cent., and, in each case, when material was transcribed from them the shapes of the ancient letter-forms were to a certain extent preserved. This process took place in the same circle of scholars in France in s.ix<sup>3/4</sup>, the circle of Lupus and Heiric. Such a string of coincidences surely make it probable, even more than probable, that these two ancient books travelled together, on their path from Ravenna in s. v ex. - vi<sup>1</sup> to Ferrières or Auxerre in s.ix<sup>3/4</sup>.

Can we discover any more about the history of the lost exemplar of Vat.lat.4929, pt.ii? Billanovich, like Traube, has waved his wand. I am uncertain about some of Billanovich's ideas, but these reservations do not affect the validity of his central discovery, that the hand of Heiric can be identified among the additions to Vat.lat. 4929, nor do they lessen my admiration for his fresh and stimulating article.<sup>(7)</sup> For the history of the miscellany before it reached the circle of Lupus and Heiric he points out two clues, both connected with the text of Pomponius Mela, for which Vat.lat.4929 is the archetype of all other surviving manuscripts:

I. Pomponius Mela describes the ancient Irish as omnium uirtutum ignari magis quam aliae gentes (III.vi, 53). In the medieval text this is followed by the words aliquatenus tamen gnari. As Isaac Vossius realised, they must be a later insertion into Pomponius Mela's original. But in Vat.lat.4929 these words are written by the original hand, as part of the text. Billanovich argues (pp.81-2) that the scribe of Vat.lat.4929 must have transcribed into his text an annotation made by some comparatively recent reader in the ancient exemplar, and that this reader must have been an Irishman, or at least 'una persona vicina agli Irlandesi'.

I agree with the first proposition; the second is a possible but not a necessary conclusion. By the 9th cent., such a remark could have been made by any fair-minded scholar on the continent,

not necessarily by one of that race *or by* some one in close contact with *them*. It could even have been inserted by the scribe of Vat.lat.4929 himself, in the process of transcription.

7. G. Billanovich, 'Dall' antica Ravenna alle biblioteche umanistiche', Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Annuario per l'anno accademico 1955-56, 1956-57, Milan, pp.74-91.

II. K. Hillkowitz<sup>(8)</sup> claimed that the unfavourable view of the Irish, and other material from Pomponius Mela, was used in that mysterious 8th-cent. work, the Cosmographia of 'Aethicus Ister', a fictitious geography which claimed the authority of St. Jerome (ed. H. Wuttke, Leipzig 1853). The author of the Cosmographia has been identified by H. Löwe<sup>(9)</sup> as the Irishman St. Virgil of Salzburg, the 'Apostle of Carinthia' (d.784); this bishop of Salzburg is usually identified in turn with a certain Virgilius denounced by St. Boniface to Pope Zacharias in c.748 for his alleged view quod alius mundus et alii homines sub terra sint seu sol et luna.<sup>(10)</sup>

Billanovich accepts the findings of Hillkowitz and Löwe, and concludes: 'Ora è difficile pensare che Pomponio Mela non sia giunto a San Virgilio lungo l'unico filo che ce l'ha salvato: il vecchio libro del sec. VI; e che anzi lo stesso irlandese Virgilio non abbia apposto su questo libro la nota che difendeva gli Irlandesi' (p.82). With less certainty, and with many question-marks, Billanovich goes on to suggest (pp.85-6) that the ancient exemplar of Pomponius Mela etc. had been studied by Virgil of Salzburg at King Pepin's palace at Quiercy, whence it later passed to Laon nearby for Heiric to use during his sojourn there.

8. K. Hillkowitz, Zur Kosmographie des Aethicus, Bonn (Diss.), 1934, 44-45 (reference from Billanovich, not checked).

9. H. Löwe, 'Ein literarischer Widersacher des Bonifatius Virgil von Salzburg und die Kosmographie des Aethicus Ister', Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur (Mainz).

Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozial-  
wissenschaftlichen Klasse, 1951, Nr.  
11, pp.903-988.

10. Letter of Pope Zacharias to St.  
Boniface, 1 May 748(?), ed. E.  
Dümmler in M.G.H., Epistolae III,  
Merovingici et Karolini aevi I,  
Berlin 1892, p.360 lines 21-2.

Löwe suggests (pp.952-4) that the author of the Cosmographia,  
i.e. Virgil of Salzburg in his view, is referring to Cicero's  
Somnium Scipionis when he makes the following remark (in his usual  
frightening Latin):

Et quia oriens et meridies, sic inquit, tot scriptores habet  
rei publicus et philosophus quot et somniatores, non solum facta  
rusticola aut puerorum tragoedias scribunt uel cimbalaria  
bella, sed et divinationes et somnia membranis suis inserunt,  
multa inutilia...(Aethicus Ister, cap.44, quoted by Löwe,  
p.951 n.2).

Löwe also suggests that Boniface's enemy could have derived his  
heretical views on the antipodes from Macrobius' Commentary, among  
other sources.

Löwe's near-namesake, E.A. Lowe, suggested a likely connection  
between Virgil bishop of Salzburg and the oldest surviving manuscript  
to contain any portion of Macrobius' Saturnalia: Vienna, Nationalbibl.,  
Lat.15269 + Ser. nov.37 (C.L.A. x, no.1510). Lowe says that this  
fragmentary manuscript was copied doubtless at Salzburg at the  
end of s.viii, apparently from an Irish exemplar; and that the  
most likely source for an Irish exemplar at Salzburg is Virgil the  
bishop. It includes a collection of excerpts from Saturnalia, I.  
12-15, on the origins of the Roman calendar, which is also found  
in association with other works on computus in five other  
manuscripts.<sup>(11)</sup> C.W. Jones,<sup>(12)</sup> discussing one of them, Oxford,  
Bodl., MS. Bodley 309, says that it was only through this very  
collection that Bede had access to the Saturnalia, for he quotes  
freely from the excerpts and not one word more.

11. Cologne, Dombibl., 83<sup>2</sup>, fols.204<sup>r</sup>-  
205<sup>v</sup> (written at Cologne, c. 805);

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Geneva, MS.50, fols.163<sup>r</sup>-164<sup>v</sup>(s.ix in.); Oxford, Bodl., MS.Bodley 309, fols.101<sup>r</sup>-105<sup>v</sup> (written at Vendôme, c. 1075; see The Survival of Ancient Literature...,no.93); Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 890 (3 B.L.), fols.85-9 (dated 1553); Vatican, Reg.lat.586, fols.117-125<sup>v</sup>. Cf. the similar excerpts in Padua, Bibl. Antoniana, 27, fols.66<sup>r</sup>-71<sup>v</sup> (? Verona, after 881).

12. C.W. Jones, 'The 'Lost' Sirmont Manuscript of Bede's 'Computus'', English Historical Review, 52 (1937), 204-219.

Did the author of the Cosmographia have a copy of Macrobius' Commentary to hand? I am in a state of ἀπορία, for most of the books on the sources of Aethicus Ister, including Hillkowitz's thesis, are not available. But H. Löwe does not seem to have proved any connection. Admittedly the stance adopted by the impish author of the Cosmographia against writers who introduce philosophers and dreamers into their works does recall the very calumnies which Macrobius strives to ward off in the preface to his Commentary(I.1-2); yet the reference is vague, mentions no names, and even if Cicero's Somnium Scipionis is meant there is nothing in the passage to imply any closer acquaintance with the work than a mere knowledge of its title. A negative argument possibly suggesting that the author of the Cosmographia did not have access to Macrobius' Commentary is that he does not mention by name the two outlandish places (of the sort dear to his heart) on which Macrobius lays greatest stress in his geographical section, Syene and Meroe (Comm. II.7, 15-8.3). Finally, I do not think that the heretical views of the historical Virgilius about the antipodes can be taken into account: all we have is a single sentence of hearsay evidence, an accusation levelled by St. Boniface during what was obviously a running battle between the two men (13); and even if these were truly the views of Virgil of Salzburg, they could have been inspired by several sources other than Macrobius (see Löwe p.939 n.6). The probable connection between bishop Virgil and a manuscript containing excerpts

from Macrobius' Saturnalia cannot be used as an argument for his knowledge of the Commentary, for the textual traditions of the two works are almost entirely distinct.

13. The sources relating to the dispute are gathered together by J.F. Kenney, The sources for the early history of Ireland: Ecclesiastical, reprinted Shannon 1968, pp.523-6 no.329. Kenney p.524 observes of the sentence in Pope Zacharias' letter that it 'testifies rather to the zeal of St. Boniface as a heresy-hunter than to the originality or profundity of the Irishman's cosmological theories'.

If Hillkowitz is right that the author of the Cosmographia had direct access to the text of Pomponius Mela (I have not investigated the point), then we must surely also believe Billanovich's assertion that the copy in question was none other than the ancient exemplar of Vat.lat.4929, fols.79<sup>v</sup>-195<sup>r</sup>. But alas, this takes us no further, for Löwe's identification of the author of the Comographia as Virgil of Salzburg has not won general acceptance.<sup>(14)</sup> And once we remove this, Billanovich's sparkling picture begins to dissolve, for there is no evidence to take the ancient exemplar on to Quiercy or to Laon.

14. See the bibliography gathered by R. Quadri, ed., Anonymi Leidensis de situ orbis libri duo, Padua 1974, p.1 n.1.

But Billanovich also tries to establish the exemplar at Laon through another argument, based on the other text in Vat.lat.4929 with a subscription of Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus, the epitome of Valerius Maximus by Julius Paris, etc. To work out exactly what happened when the exemplar reached the hands of Lupus and Heiric we have to consider their work on the text of Valerius Maximus.

There are five items of textual data with which to juggle:

- i) Berne, Burgerbibliothek, 366, an almost complete manuscript of Valerius Maximus, with extensive corrections and additions in the hand of Lupus.

- ii) Excerpts from Valerius Maximus, which appear in Heiric's Collectanea with the information that they were taken at Lupus' dictation. (15)

15. See R. Quadri, I Collectanea di Eirico di Auxerre (Spicilegium Friburgense, XI), 1966, 60-61, 78-104.

- iii) The epitome of Julius Paris, etc., in Vat.lat.4929.  
iv) The lost ancient exemplar of (iii).  
v) Readings and other material, among the additions made by Lupus in Berne 366, which must be from a copy of Julius Paris' epitome with Titius Probus, i.e. from (iii) or (iv). These readings are sometimes marked I.P. or .u.(=uetustus).

Excellent work has been done on the problem by J. Schnetz, a pupil of Traube and the scholar whose proof that the hand of Lupus was apparent in the additions to Berne 366 opened the way to the whole modern discussion of Lupus' work on classical manuscripts. He made two important discoveries: that Heiric's excerpts (ii) were dictated by Lupus from Berne 366 before the latter had collated it with Julius Paris' epitome; and that the ancient manuscript (iv) was the common exemplar for both Vat.lat.4929 (iii) and Lupus' readings in Berne 366 (v) (Lupus cannot have taken his material from Vat.lat.4929 because some of his readings marked I.P. or .u. are not to be found in it). The first discovery is particularly gratifying, because it establishes that Lupus had access to the ancient manuscript at some time between 859, when Heiric joined him, and 862, the year of his own death (see Billanovich, p.82).

16. J. Schnetz, Ein Kritiker des Valerius Maximus im 9. Jahrhundert, Progr. Neuburg a.D., 1901, esp. pp.24-50.

Billanovich's theory (see esp. pp.82, 86) is that Heiric soon after the dictation (ii) left Lupus to study under the Irish at Laon, where he obtained the ancient exemplar (iv), had a copy made from it (iii), and then passed on the old manuscript to Lupus for collation (v). But this is only one of several possible permutations of the evidence. A less complicated theory is that after dictating

to Heiric (ii), Lupus obtained the ancient exemplar (iv), made his collation (v), and finally passed on (iv) to Heiric for transcription into Vat.lat.4929 (iii). This would better fit the master-pupil relationship (Heiric was still very young, at most 22 at Lupus' death), and would resolve the chronological difficulties of Billanovich's scheme, by which Heiric accomplishes prodigies of travelling and of getting things transcribed, in a very short period. Heiric's connection with Laon is at best doubtful (see Quadri, I Collectanea..., 15-17), and I have already questioned Billanovich's view that aliquatenus tamen gnari proves an Irish connection (see above, pp.30-31).

What can the history of the lost miscellany of Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus tell us about the other lost Ravenna manuscript, the copy of Macrobius' Commentary with the subscriptio? I feel that we must leave Aethicus Ister out of the account, since we do not know the author's identity nor whether he in fact used Macrobius' Commentary as well as Pomponius Mela. Leaving Aethicus Ister aside, there is no firm evidence to connect the two lost manuscripts with Irish scholars. The most likely explanation for the passage of such books from Ravenna to France is Bischoff's: ...daß Karl im Langobardenreich Bücher als Kriegsbeute zugefallen sein können und daß er, der aus Ravenna für seine Pfalzkirche Säulen nach Aachen zu bringen befahl, von dort auch Handschriften erhalten haben kann'.<sup>(17)</sup>

17. B. Bischoff, 'Die Hofbibliothek Karls des Großen', in Karl der Große: Lebenswerk und Nachleben, II, Düsseldorf 1965, 46.

One difference between the two books is that whereas Vat.lat.4929 was as far as we know the first and only copy from the miscellany of Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus (since Vat.lat.4929 is the archetype for all the other manuscripts of the works contained in the ancient manuscript<sup>(18)</sup>), the ancient copy of Macrobius may have already conceived progeny in the  $\phi$  and  $\pi$  families before it reached the hands of Lupus. It is exciting to think not only that *the members of*

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those families are perhaps descended from an ancient manuscript corrected from the author's own copy, but also that in MS.4 we may have a book which Lupus or his pupils had placed side by side with the ancient manuscript.

18. See R. Gelsomino, ed., Vibius Sequester, Teubner, Leipzig 1967, p. VII n.1.

## CHAPTER II.

### Lupus of Ferrières and the oldest surviving manuscript of Macrobius' Commentary (Paris lat.6370 = my MS.4).

The surviving correspondence<sup>(1)</sup> of Seruatus Lupus of Ferrières (c.805-862) shows that he made constant demands on his friends in pursuit of his interest in classical literature. He asked them not only to search out and send him manuscripts of newly discovered classical works, but also to find him additional copies of works which he already possessed, in order to improve their texts. The point is illustrated by his labours on the text of Valerius Maximus, discussed in the previous chapter, where we have seen that the manuscript from which Lupus taught and dictated, Berne 366, was being improved and supplemented from other copies right up to the very last years of his life.

1. E. Dümmler, ed., Lupi abbatis Ferrariensis epistolae (in M.G.H. Epistolae VI = karolini aevi IV), Berlin 1925, 1-126; L. Levillain, ed., Loup de Ferrières. Correspondance (Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge, 10 and 16), 2 vols., Paris 1927 and 1935. Passages relevant to Lupus' search for manuscripts are printed together by Becker, pp.56-9, no.25.

The work of improving texts was not uncommon, even as early as Lupus' own day.<sup>(2)</sup> Almost every medieval manuscript (indeed any work of transcription, ancient, medieval or modern) will be found to contain obvious scribal slips, corrected either at once by the scribe in the course of writing or afterwards when it was checked through, perhaps against the exemplar; my MS.91 (s.ix<sup>2</sup>, ? Auxerre, see pp. 337-368) is a good example of a manuscript where the director of the scriptorium carefully went over the work of his subsidiary scribes. But many manuscripts are also marked

by contemporary or later hands with alternative readings, sometimes introduced with  $\overline{t}$  (uel) or  $\overline{at}$ . (? alius, aliter, alibi, etc.), which must in most cases be entered from other copies. This is certainly the case with the vast majority of the medieval manuscripts of Macrobius' Commentary, with the exception of some of the luxury copies made in 15th-cent. Italy for collectors; among the 9th-cent. copies, MSS. 5, 6 and 9 as well as MS. 4 (Lupus' copy) all contain variants added by contemporary or near-contemporary hands. It is a paradox that such textual work, essentially rough and ready but undertaken with the practical and honourable intention of producing a more intelligible text, should be considered, under the sobriquet of contamination, as the great bane of modern textual criticism. Lupus is special to us for reasons other than the mere fact of his performing such work: firstly, of the textual critics of his day, his personality is now to us the most clearly defined, emerging from his correspondence and from the manuscripts where corrections are attributed to him; secondly, his working methods, especially his use of sigla such as I.P. and .u. in Berne 366, seem to have been more systematic and perhaps more advanced than those of his peers. One of his methods is also more to be deplored by modern critics: his habit, rare in its extent and thoroughness, of obliterating long passages of original text before rewriting them. In so doing, he largely destroyed the original character of our oldest surviving manuscript of Macrobius' Commentary on the Somnium Scipionis.

2. For a good survey of techniques of correction in early manuscripts, see W.M. Lindsay in Palaeographia Latina, pt. II (St. Andrews University Publications, 16), 1923, 10-15.

The literary evidence: Lupus and Adalgaudus.

Lupus mentions Macrobius in a letter<sup>(3)</sup> to a certain Adalgaudus.<sup>(4)</sup>

Habeo uero tibi plurimas gratias, quod in Macrobio corrigendo fraternum adhibuisti laborem. Quamquam librum, cuius mihi ex eodem<sup>(5)</sup> [ex endem, Dümmler's ms.P] folium direxisti praeoptarem uidere. Est enim reuera uenerabilis et exactissimae diligentiae. Nec minus tibi gratulor pro commento Boetii...

Neither the date of the letter nor the identity of Adalgaudus is known; the various suggestions lack definite proof (see below, pp. 56-9), so for the moment I shall proceed only on the internal evidence of the letter itself. From it we can infer that Adalgaudus shared Lupus' scholarly interests, and that he was one of those friends whose help was enlisted in his pursuit of classical manuscripts. In the first part of the letter, Lupus answers an enquiry about a point of Latin grammar.<sup>(6)</sup> In the second part, Lupus discusses Adalgaudus' activities with manuscripts: Adalgaudus has laid a double obligation on Lupus, by helping him in some way over an unspecified work of Macrobius, and over a commentum Boetii. However, as Lupus complains, Adalgaudus has not told him utrum liber Tusculanarum nobis esset scriptus... neque quos libros inueneris. Three facts emerge about Adalgaudus' life: he has access to books; he is in a position to have news of a certain Agius; and he has recently had a period of retreat or retirement.

3. Dümmler, pp.19-20, no.8. Levillain, I, pp.106-111, no.21.
4. Dümmler gives the manuscript reading of the name in Lupus' opening greeting as Ad Igdo, with Ad Adalg. as the marginal lemma. Adalgaudus or Adalgardus is presumably the right expansion.
5. ex eodem is possibly tautologous after cuius, but I cannot think of any other reading on the basis of ex endem, and eodem works if the sense is taken as cuius (libri) ex eodem (Macrobio).
6. C.H. Beeson, 'The authorship of 'Quid sit ceroma', 'Classical and mediaeval studies in honor of

Edward Kennard Rand (ed. L.W.Jones)  
New York 1938, p.5 n. 13, notes  
that Lupus, though he cites Priscian,  
Seruius and Juuencus, may well be  
quoting at second hand from a  
grammatical text.

What was Adalgaudus doing with Macrobius? It is difficult to understand the precise meaning of Lupus' elliptical message; it seems to fall into two parts:

- 1) Habeo uero tibi plurimas gratias, quod in Macrobio corrigendo fraternum adhibuisti laborem.

A literal translation of the last clause could be either

a) 'You have applied your brotherly labour in helping me to correct Macrobius'.

or

b) 'You have applied your brotherly labour in correcting Macrobius yourself'.

- ii) Quamquam librum cuius mihi ex eodem folium direxisti, praeoptarem uidere. Est enim reuera uenerabilis et exactissimae diligentiae.

Adalgaudus has sent Lupus a leaf from a copy of Macrobius written with exemplary care and accuracy (uenerabilis can notoriously mean 'worthy of respect' rather than 'old', as we know from the application of the epithet to Bede). Again, Lupus' quamquam clause could be interpreted in two ways:

c) 'I would prefer to have seen the whole book rather than to have received the help which you in fact gave'.

d) 'I would prefer to have seen the whole book rather than just one leaf'.

Sense (c) is certainly correct from the point of view of the syntax: the quamquam clause must go with sentence (i). On the other hand, sense (d) seems the more polite and less forced interpretation, and is at any rate implied in the statement. Combining the two parts of Lupus' message, there seem to be two possible explanations of what Adalgaudus has done:

A. He has simply sent Lupus a leaf from a good copy of Macrobius.

Lupus is grateful for this brotherly act which helps him in correcting the text of Macrobius [sense (a)], but would rather have seen the whole book [sense (c), but also implying (d)].

B. Adalgaudus has done two things. He has corrected Macrobius himself [sense (b)], i.e. presumably corrected Lupus' own copy from the good manuscript to which he had access; secondly, he has sent Lupus one leaf from the good manuscript, and presumably returned Lupus' corrected copy at the same time. Lupus would prefer to have seen the good manuscript with his own eyes rather than having Adalgaudus' readings from it and a single genuine leaf [sense (c), again implying (d) as well].

Explanation A seems to me to be much more likely; B seems excessively complicated, and it makes Lupus' quamquam clause appear remarkably ungrateful after all Adalgaudus' efforts. The position of uidere at the end of the sentence need not imply that its sense is to be stressed ('to see with my own eyes'), for any sensitive Latinist would prefer the clausula praeoptarem uidere to uidere praeoptarem. Explanation A also makes better syntactical sense, and gives better point to Lupus' final statement, Est enim reuera uenerabilis et exactissimae diligentiae. 'Yes, it is indeed a good manuscript, and I wish I could see the whole of it' comes better if your correspondent has sent you just a sample leaf, rather than a sample leaf plus a complete collation. La Penna<sup>(7)</sup> comes to much the same conclusion: 'L'expression fraternum...laborem se réfère-t-elle, avec une exagération de courtoisie, à l'envoi du feuillet détaché?' Lupus' expressed desire to see the whole manuscript makes it likely that the leaf was merely a sample, not one sent to fill a specific gap in Lupus' text.

7. La Penna, 'Le Parisinus Latinus 6370...', p.180.

Lupus and MS.9: a false lead.

MS.9 (Leiden, Voss.Lat.F.12 $\beta$  + F.122 + London, Brit.Lib., Royal 15. B. xii, fols.1-2) contains a complete copy of Cicero's De senectute and fragments of Macrobius' Commentary, written probably at Fleury in the second quarter to middle of the 9th cent. The view has gained currency among modern scholars that one of the correcting hands of the De senectute (my Additional hand(2), see p. 230 ) had entered his readings in MS.9 from another 9th-cent. copy of the De senectute, Paris lat.6332, and that this correcting hand was none other than that of Lupus of Ferrières. Both parts of the theory are wrong, but I feel that since de Meyier has perpetuated it in his catalogue description of Voss.Lat.F.12 $\beta$  (see p. 241 ), albeit with a question-mark, it is necessary to examine the theory in detail.

The connection between Voss.Lat.F.12 $\beta$  and Paris lat.6332 was first proposed by Mommsen in 1863 (see p. 228 ) and was repeated by many scholars, e.g. by É. Chatelain, who says that Voss.Lat.F.12 $\beta$  'a été corrigé au moyen du Paris. 6332, auquel il a, à son tour, prêté des variantes' (see p. 241 ). But this is far too specific; rather, Voss.Lat.F.12 $\beta$  and Paris lat. 6332 are important representatives of two families, and the corrections of both show borrowings from the other textual stream, but not necessarily directly from the other manuscript.<sup>(8)</sup>

There are no close connections in the script of the additional hands in the two manuscripts.

8. G.S. Vogel (see p. 228 ), pp.39-40, observes that Paris lat.6332 has been corrected by at least two hands, and says of these corrections: 'all that can be said is that they are based on a member of the X<sup>2</sup> group [i.e. the group of MS.9], and, although they frequently agree with L [= MS.9], there are also numerous agreements with other manuscripts'. She notes four cases (p.42) where the correcting hand of MS.9 agrees in error with other

manuscripts against Paris lat.6332.  
 Willeumier (see pp.228-9 ) agrees  
 with this in his stemma, p.65.

It was Traube<sup>(9)</sup> who in 1898 first linked the name of Lupus with the manuscript. He includes MS.9 and Paris lat.6332 in a list of manuscripts under the following heading: 'Mit der Schule des Lupus scheinen mir folgende Klassiker-Hss., denen am Rand die Lesarten anderer HSS. beige geschrieben sind, in Beziehung zu stehen'. The two manuscripts are described as 'wechselseitig untereinander verglichen', and Traube seems to be arguing that since the two manuscripts show evidence of the sort of textual activity practised by Lupus, they are to be connected with the school of Lupus — not that they are corrected by Lupus' own hand. Even so I do not think that the mere presence of textual variants added by a correcting hand of s.ix must connect a manuscript with the circle of Lupus.

E.A. Lowe included Voss.Lat.F.12 $\beta$  in 'a list of books known to have been corrected by Lupus', published in 1931.<sup>(10)</sup> However, he must have copied the manuscript's shelf-mark straight from Traube's list without looking at the manuscript itself or any literature about it - for he gives its contents not as 'Cicero', but as 'Caesar',<sup>(11)</sup> and that mistake can be explained from Traube's list. Traube omits to state the contents of Paris lat. 6332 and Voss.Lat.F.12 $\beta$ , but the entry immediately before that is given as 'Caesar in Paris lat.5763'. Lowe also includes Paris lat.6332 in his list of manuscripts corrected by Lupus, but rightly says that it contains 'Cicero' - perhaps he had looked at the manuscripts in Paris. The authority of Lowe in the attribution of corrections in Voss.Lat.F.12 $\beta$  can therefore be dismissed: he has simply allowed a suggestion of Traube to jellify into fact.

von Severus<sup>(12)</sup> took the trouble to obtain photocopies of Voss.Lat.F.12 $\beta$ , and realised that Lowe had got the text wrong; nevertheless, he accepted Lowe's statement that Voss.Lat.F.12 $\beta$  contained corrections in Lupus' hand, seeing in the corrections

of my Additional hand (4) in the Macrobius 'die charakteristischen Textvergleichen mit den unter der Sigle „al“ am Rande aufgeführten Varianten, denen auch die typischen Schriftmerkmale Lupus' eigen sind'. Although he notes that the corrections by my hand (2) in the De senectute lack 'al' signs, he claims these also for Lupus. This palaeographical conclusion is supported by the link with Paris lat.6332, which von Severus, on Lowe's authority, also claims to have belonged to Lupus. (13) But we have already seen that the evidence for a direct link in the corrections of the two manuscripts does not exist; and Paris lat.6332 contains nothing in Lupus' hand. (14)

The connection between Lupus and Voss.Lat.F.12β therefore rests solely on the identification of his hand in the manuscript. I think that von Severus has conflated two separate correcting hands, neither of whom is Lupus. My hand (2) uses 7 = et, which perhaps places him later than s.ix, and hand (4) is an example of the angular script current at Fleury in s.x ex. Mlle. É. Pellegrin, (15) the only recent scholar to have made a systematic survey of the manuscripts attributed to Lupus, agrees that his hand does not appear in MS.9: 'Les variantes marginales précédées de *al*. ne sont pas de la main de Loup, quoi qu'en dise von Severus'.

9. L. Traube, Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti, 2nd ed. by H. Plenkens (Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, Bd.25, Abh.ii), Munich 1910, p.123 (first published 1898).
10. E.A. Lowe, 'Nugae Palaeographicae', Persecution and Liberty. Essays in honor of George Lincoln Burr, New York 1931, 63.
11. The error has been silently corrected in the collected edition, E.A. Lowe, Palaeographical Papers 1907-1965 (ed. L. Bieler), Oxford 1972, vol.I, p.321.

12. (Work cited at p. 241) , pp. 57-8, 102 and pl. II for Voss. Lat. F. 12 $\beta$ , and pp. 58, 65-7 and 103 for Paris lat. 6332.
13. von Severus, pp. 65-7, supports this view by referring to quotations from the two works contained in Paris lat. 6332, Cicero's Tusculan Disputations and De senectute. But the quotations are not nearly large enough to show that they must come from Paris lat. 6332 or from any other specific manuscript.
14. But there is some resemblance in format to the Harl. 2736 group (see MS. 4, pp. 192-4 ): 2 cols. 28 lines, leaf size 232x212mm.
15. É. Pellegrin, 'Les manuscrits de Loup de Ferrières...', Bibliothèque de L'École des Chartes, 115(1957), 14-15. Her verdict on Paris lat. 6332 is 'aucune correction de Loup apparemment'. R. J. Gariépy, 'Lupus of Ferrières: Carolingian Scribe and Text Critic', Mediaeval Studies, 30 (1968), 94, includes Voss. Lat. F. 12 $\beta$  in a list of manuscripts attributed to Lupus at one time or another, but he does not attempt to evaluate them critically.

Lupus' manuscript of Macrobius: MS. 4 (Paris lat. 6370).

Although there is no connection between Lupus and MS. 9, the identification of his hand in additions to MS. 4 does hold good. Before discussing those additions, I shall deal with MS. 4 as it was when it left the scriptorium.

Jan knew that MS. 4 was melioribus certe adnumerandus, that it was 9th-cent., and that it contained the subscription, but for the purposes of his edition he only had access to sample readings taken by Theodor Pressel (I, LXXV, siglum 'P4'). The manuscript

was ignored by F. Eyssenhardt, the first Teubner editor. The honour of being the first to recognise and publish the manuscript, as one of primary importance for the text of Macrobius' Commentary, belongs to A. La Penna, as late as 1950.<sup>(16)</sup> In the absence of an edition by La Penna, the next Teubner editor J. Willis was the first to print a text (1963) in which the readings of MS.4 were taken into consideration throughout. I suspect that a future editor could still gain much from a careful study of the manuscript. In such a study, however, he will have to pay special attention to Lupus' habit of rewriting in erasure; Willis, failing to observe this, achieved an error rate of about 20% in those readings which he specifically attributes to MS.4 (his siglum 'S') in his apparatus criticus.

I present a formal description of considerable length elsewhere (see pp. 160-201); what follows is only a summary.

16. A. La Penna, 'Le Parisinus Latinus 6370 et le texte des Commentarii de Macrobe', Revue de Philologie, 3rd ser., 24 (1950), 177-187.

#### The original manuscript and its ancestry.

MS.4 originally contained Macrobius' Commentary and the Saturnalia, written together as a 'collected edition', but not the text of the Somnium Scipionis itself. Only the first leaf of the Saturnalia is now present, as the final leaf of the Commentary's last quire, but more of the manuscript than we now have survived in the time of Lupus (see below, p. 60). The manuscript was written in the first third of s.ix, in France, in the script region dominated by Tours (i.e. Loire valley). There is no firm evidence for its exact place of origin, but the magnificence of its caroline minuscule, and especially of its square capitals, suggests that it was written at Tours itself (see pp. 192-4). It is the most beautiful, as well as the oldest, of the manuscripts of Macrobius' Commentary.

The combination of Macrobius' two works in a single volume written at one time is *very rare until the 15th cent.* One small piece of evidence

suggests that the two works were combined for the first time either in this copy itself or in its immediate ancestry: on the last leaf of the Commentary, fol.111<sup>v</sup>, and only on that leaf, the scribe has left three small spaces in the middles of lines, omitting a word or two in each case, as follows (the omitted words are those in brackets):

Comm. II.17,16 (Willis 153.26) [instituta]  
 " (Willis 153.29) terrestri [bus et Oceani]  
 " (Willis 153.29-30) armoni [ae superum pandit arcanum]  
 (approx. 10 letter-spaces left blank,  
 followed by 3 letters now erased).

These gaps must have been left because either this scribe or a scribe in the immediate ancestry was unable to read his exemplar. It is significant that it is only at the end of a work that this should occur. There had been no difficulty in reading that exemplar up to now, and it seems likely that it was damaged at this point. Physical damage is far more likely to occur at the end of a volume than in the middle, so the damaged exemplar probably contained only the Commentary, and the Saturnalia was taken from a separate volume. It would seem therefore that MS.4 is not a real exception to the rule established by the overwhelming majority of manuscripts, that the textual histories of the Commentary and the Saturnalia are entirely separate. It is interesting to note that of the few manuscripts which do in fact combine the two works, nearly all come from periods of 'Renaissance' - Carolingian, 12th-cent., and Italian. Omnibus copies of other authors were also being compiled at the great centres in these periods, for example the Ciceronian compilations put together at Corbie in s.ix<sup>3/4</sup> (Florence, Laur., S. Marco 257), and at Corvey in s.xii (Berlin lat.fol.252).

I have found it impossible to trace a close connection between MS.4 and any other manuscript. While not discounting the idea that MS.4 may be the only surviving representative of its textual stream, I fear that this conclusion may simply be the result of

Lupus' corrections, allied with the deficiencies of my method of taking sample passages. The corrections made so thoroughly by Lupus and Heiric have had the effect of smoothing away the textual oddities of the manuscript, leaving very few significant errors of any degree of rarity. Sample passages are not effective when these rare readings, which are so much more useful than common ones, are thinly spread. In the first part of the textual critic's task, when he attempts to trace the relationship between manuscripts before going on to test the validity of individual readings, it is a paradox that errors are far more useful to him than true readings. 'Happy families are all alike; every unhappy family is unhappy in its own way'.

However, we can discover some general information about the ancestry of the original text of MS.4. For a start, the manuscript seems to be a page-for-page transcript of its exemplar; L.W. Jones found that the project had been planned by a director who wrote the first line of most if not all the pages on the blank sheets (see pp. 164-5). That exemplar was certainly in minuscule script, as we can see from the frequent confusions of a, o and u, doubtless caused by the use in the exemplar of alternative forms of minuscule a, α and α, e.g.

Comm. I.3,14 (Willis 11.24) somnium 4 Lupus (in ras.) ] somniam 4a.

Comm. I.5,1 (Willis 14.11) indicium 4U(s.l.) ] indiciom 4a.

Comm. I.17,16 (Willis 69.27) cursus 4U (in ras.) ] cursas 4a.

Comm. I.20,11 (Willis 80.23) maior 4U(i.l.) ] moior 4a.

Comm. II.5,12 (Willis 111.31) aeterno 4U(s.l.,exp.) ] aeterna 4a.

The confusion of minuscule forms is also the likeliest explanation for

Comm. I.15,2 (Willis 61.7) hic 4U ] bic 4a.

Comm. II.1,22 (Willis 98.25) nouenario 4M (exp.,s.l.) ] nouerario 4a.

As with MS.148 (see pp. 18-21), there are signs that there was a copy in MS.4's ancestry which had been influenced by Insular script. MS.4 itself does not contain any examples of Lindsay's Insular symbol par excellence, h for autem, but it gets its autem's

wrong too many times for this to be a coincidence, e.g.

Autem replaced by enim at:

Comm. I.10.3 (Willis 42.13) autem 4 Heiric (s.l., exp.) ] enim 4a.

Autem altogether omitted at:

Comm. I.11,6 (Willis 46.9) autem 4U (s.l.) ] om.4a.

Comm. II.13,11 (Willis 135.1) autem 4 Add.hand (5) (s.l.) ] om.4a.

A misreading of (Insular?) r for long s is suggested by:

Comm. I.6,80 (Willis 33.24) femur 4 Add.hand (5?) (s.l.) ] femus 4a.

Comm. II.1,15 (Willis 97.30) pars 4U (ras., s.l.) ] pas\* 4a.

The separation of words varies from rudimentary division to none at all. The additional hands sometimes correct particularly confusing examples of bad division into words, e.g.

Comm. I.2,15 (Willis 7.4-5) ταγαθω loqui ] tagatholo qui 4a.  
tagotho loqui 4U (corr.).

Comm. I.6,47 (Willis 27.4) illi stelliferae 4 Lupus (?) (corr., del.) ]  
illis tellifaerae 4a.

Examples where false word-division might be beginning to cause corruption are:

Comm. I.14,23 (Willis 60.7) duo lumina 4U (ras.) ] de uolumina 4a.

Comm. I.21,19 (Willis 88.13) uas esset 4 Lupus (?) (s.l., del., exp.) ]  
uases sed 4a (essed is a possible spelling variant for esset).

The somewhat barbarous spelling variants which I have indicated at pp. 166-7, doubtless caused by pronunciation, are further evidence to suggest that MS.4 is not the product of direct transcription by a Carolingian scribe from an ancient exemplar, but the child of more recent minuscule parentage, no doubt from the 8th cent. An example where the spelling variant g for c has caused a substantive error occurs at:

Comm. II.3,2 (Willis 104.7) conficit 4 Lupus (?) (del., s.l.) ]  
configit 4a.

9th-cent. additional hands in MS.4: Lupus and Heiric.

The hand of Lupus of Ferrières was identified in the corrections of MS.4 by C.H. Beeson, the major specialist in Lupus' manuscripts in 1931 (see pp. 168-9). La Penna had certain scruples about the identification, but I agree with the general consensus that Beeson was right. However it is worth bearing in mind the reservation expressed by Mlle. Pellegrin, that the general thesis, the identification of one 9th-cent. hand found in several manuscripts with that of the historical figure Lupus of Ferrières, is 99% rather than 100% proven.

Lupus major addition is the replacement of the middle bifolium of the last surviving quire with one written entirely in his own hand (fols. 108<sup>r</sup>-109<sup>v</sup>). Elsewhere, he shows especial concern for Macrobius' diagrams, and appears to be supervising the work of another hand (my Additional hand (2)) which adds all five of the major Macrobian diagrams (see pp. 174-5) in the spaces usually left by the original scribe. Lupus makes extensive corrections throughout the manuscript, using techniques which reflect his work in other manuscripts, and pays characteristic attention to the correct division of words between the end of one line and the beginning of the next. He adds five marginal headings, but no glosses.

Additional hand 3, an exquisite small caroline hand of the 9th cent., makes additions which exceed those of Lupus in number and variety, but which echo them in technique. This suggests that they are the work of some pupil of Lupus. Mlle. Pellegrin tentatively proposed that the hand might be that of his most famous pupil, Heiric of Auxerre, who studied with him between 859 and 862. I have attempted to confirm this by an exhaustive comparison between hand 3's techniques in MS.4 and those in Vat. lat. 4929 of a hand which Billanovich has identified as Heiric's (see p. 176). The base manuscript for Heiric's script is Melk, Stiftsbibl., 412 (G 32), in which he added marginal entries relating to the major events of his own life. I feel certain that the hand found in all three manuscripts is that of Heiric. The

additions in MS.4 include corrections; textual variants, undoubtedly from at least one other manuscript; and a complete 'marginal index' in the manner of Lupus, in which marginal entries sum up the contents of a passage or draw attention to particularly interesting words (proper names, Greek words, rare or difficult Latin words, and even common Latin words, presumably picked out for their syntactical usage).

If the identification is correct, the discovery is important not only for Macrobian studies but also for the history of classical learning. Heiric's marginal indexes in MS.4 and in Vat.lat.4929, and those of Lupus in his other manuscripts, give us a close insight into the way in which this circle of 9th-cent. scholars milked classical texts for information about particular subjects (e.g. MS.4, fol.59<sup>v</sup> solis mensura) and about Latin grammar. We can even discover the particular words which interested them. Lupus and Heiric were especially assiduous in picking out examples of the word quin, and their concern for the variants rotund-/rutund- and arcesso/accerso indicate an interest in orthography. The addition of a new Heiric manuscript to the canon also increases the chances of identifying his hand in other manuscripts; for example, the much-discussed 9th-cent. corrector of the Codex Aesinas of the minor works of Tacitus, from Hersfeld, may belong at least to the circle of Heiric, for the script is not dissimilar, some of the techniques of addition and correction are the same, and that corrector too was interested in the arcesso/accerso problem (see pp. 200-201).

#### Lupus Adalgaudus, and MS.4.

From the example of the Valerius Maximus, Berne 366, we can argue that Lupus followed the obvious procedure in his attempts to improve the texts of classical works: having found a manuscript of the text, he would add to it corrections and additions from other copies as they turned up. The considerable nature of Lupus'

additions in MS.4 suggests that this was not one of the subsidiary manuscripts which he borrowed from his friends for purposes of collation, but his base manuscript, the one in which he recorded the variants and which must have belonged to Lupus personally or to an institutional library under his control. The implication is that in writing to Adalgaudus it was the deficiencies of this very copy which he was attempting to remedy.

It is a striking coincidence that Adalgaudus sent Lupus a leaf from an excellent manuscript, and that MS.4 should contain one bifolium entirely recopied in Lupus' hand. As La Penna observes, 'on peut penser que Loup, ayant reçu d' Adalgaudus le feuillet du manuscrit qu'il croyait plus correct, l'a recopié et a inséré cette copie à la place des feuillets correspondants dans son propre manuscrit' (p.180 n.1). The likeliest explanation of the coincidence is that the bifolium written by Lupus, fols.108-109, incorporates a transcript of Adalgaudus' leaf. The difficulty is to know exactly where the text from Adalgaudus' leaf begins and ends; for Lupus chose the neatest way for such a job to be done—he will have removed those pages from MS.4 which incorporated the passage of text duplicated by Adalgaudus' leaf (in this case a bifolium) and recopied the passage, but presumably with overlapping passages at the beginning and end, transcribed from the rejected bifolium of MS.4. The last few lines of fol.109<sup>v</sup> show distinct signs that he is adapting a given amount of text to a set space (see pp.169-170).

La Penna goes on to raise the vital question of the source of Lupus' corrections in the rest of the manuscript:

'Loup a-t-il reçu après le manuscrit important qu'il désirait, et corrigé par collation son propre manuscrit? ou bien a-t-il été toujours obligé de corriger de son cru? Voilà des questions auxquelles nous ne sommes pas en mesure de répondre' (p.180).

Unfortunately, the literary evidence ends with Lupus' receipt of Adalgaudus' single leaf: we do not know whether Lupus ever fulfilled his wish to see the rest of the manuscript. We are thrown back on the internal evidence of MS.4. In making his

corrections there, Lupus must have had access to at least one other manuscript containing the full text of the Commentary, not just to a single leaf: omissions of five words each are supplied in the lower margins of fols.22<sup>V</sup> (Comm. I.6,77, Willis 33,10,/Graeci μετέντερον dicunt: tertium, quod/) and 37<sup>F</sup> (Comm. I.13,7, Willis 52.27-28,/ [esse] adpetendam, illam uero quam omnibus/). It is inconceivable that any critic would have had the luck to supply such omissions in the correct sequence out of his head. Signs of compression in Lupus' script when he rewrites passages of two or three lines in erasure also suggest that he may be correcting omissions in the original (e.g. fols.7<sup>V</sup> lines 18-20, 24<sup>F</sup> lines 11-12).

On the other hand, given the presence of this other copy, he adds no very startling corrections or variants from it which can be recognised as such. There are a lot of changes made by Lupus through erasure, but it is quite possible that many may be concerned with changes in lay-out rather than actual alterations in the text. The most dramatic example of this is his rewriting of fol.89<sup>V</sup> to give more space for the addition of the 'map' diagram by Additional hand (2) (see p.170 ). The concern for syllabic division at the ends of lines also falls into this category (see p.174 ). Lupus adds no variant readings in the sense of take-it-or-leave-it alternatives; he fails to supply a very long omission at fol.10<sup>V</sup> (the omitted passage is Comm. I.5,10, Willis 16.17-25, uocatur./[si uero - uocatur.]/ex his, through saut du même au même), nor the small omissions on fol.111<sup>V</sup>, where the original scribe left gaps in his lines. But Additional hands (2) and (3), both associates of Lupus, make substantial additions which must be derived from another copy or copies: hand (2) adds the diagrams, hand (3) (Heiric) supplies many variants and omissions (including those at fols.10<sup>V</sup> and 111<sup>V</sup>).

What additional material was available, then, to Lupus and his pupils? Leaving aside Adalgaudus' leaf, we can distinguish at least two stages of work done on MS.4, that done by Lupus himself, and that done by his pupils. If Dümmler and Levillain are right

in dating the letter to Adalgaudus to between 837 and 841 (the evidence is very shaky, see below, p. 56 ), Lupus was already at work on the text of Macrobius before Heiric was born. My tentative reconstruction of the course of events is as follows: Lupus obtained MS.4 from Tours in the 820s or 830s, only shortly after it was written. He corrected it from another copy, possibly a close relation of MS.4 itself, so that only MS.4's immediate errors of transcription could be remedied. Adalgaudus sent him a leaf from a manuscript of a different tradition, which he recopied into MS.4. At the end of his life, when Heiric was with him between 859 and 862, the ancient manuscript with the subscription arrived, together with the ancient exemplar of Vat. lat. 4929. Lupus transcribed the variants from Julius Paris into his Valerius Maximus, Berne 366, but got Heiric (and ? Additional hand(2)) to transfer the readings of the ancient Macrobius into MS.4. I repeat that this is only a tentative reconstruction; it is weakened by the fact that we cannot certainly attribute the subscription added in MS.4 specifically to the hand of Heiric (see pp. 188-189). But if there is a possibility that Heiric's readings could have been taken directly from the copy of Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, they must be very seriously considered by any future editor.

Could the ancient exemplar have been Adalgaudus' copy ? It is impossible to say. Lupus' replacement leaves, fols. 108-9, potentially transcribed in part from Adalgaudus' copy, contain a few corrections by Heiric, but only very few.

APPENDIX I. Theories about the identity of Adalgaudus.

The date of the letter to Adalgaudus is given by Dümmler (p.19) as 837-841 (after his return from Germany and before his election as abbot). Dümmler's supposition that the letter must have been written before Lupus' abbacy rests merely on the absence of the title abbas in the opening salutation. The flimsiness of this and of Levillain's closer dating (the end of 840 to the beginning of 841) is shown by contrasting Dümmler's argument with the theory produced by Levillain to support his date: that a cryptic sentence at the end of the letter is a reference to Lupus' recent election as abbot.

It seems likely that Adalgaudus can be identified as the person of that name who is mentioned as a close companion and fellow-correspondent of Lupus in a joint letter to a certain Reginb., also unidentified, dated 22 Sept. 837 (Dümmler pp.17-18, no.6, giving the ms. reading of the name as adalg7; Levillain, I p.82 n.1, observes that Lupus must be using a chronological system by which this is our 838). Levillain (p.83 n.4) suggests that the words used by Lupus with regard to Reginb. and Adalg7 may refer to physical rather than to spiritual brotherhood, and that the two were perhaps Lupus' own brothers.<sup>(17)</sup>

17. See also É. Pellegrin, 'Les manuscrits de Loup de Ferrières...', 23 and n.2; and above, p.38 n.1, for the full references to Dümmler and Levillain.

Levillain's claim (I, p.107 n.6) that Adalgaudus was 'un personnage de la région orléanaise' presumably rests on the unsupported identification of the Agius mentioned in Lupus' letter to Adalgaudus with

- a) the Agius mentioned in another letter (Dümmler pp.29-30 no.21, Levillain pp.114-121 no.24) as a relative of the addressee, Jonas bishop of Orléans 822-c.843, and
  - b) the Agius who succeeded Jonas as bishop.
- Sprotte<sup>(18)</sup> merely observes that an Adalardus was abbot of St.

Martin's of Tours 834-844, and an Adalgaudus abbot of Fleury up to 828.

18. F. Sprotte, Biographie des Abtes Seruatus Lupus von Ferrières, Regensburg 1880, p.188.

Dümmler's suggestion that Adalgaudus was canonicum fortasse Turonensem is not supported by any discussion; I suspect that it results from a linking of the commentum Boetii, which Adalgaudus sent to Lupus (as we know from Lupus' letter to him), with the papyrus codex of Boethius' commentary on the Topica of Cicero which Amulricus in armario sancti Martini habet and which Lupus endeavoured to extract from Tours through the help of Orsmar, archbishop of Tours, c. 837-846.<sup>(19)</sup> But the inference that Adalgaudus, who sent him a manuscript with similar contents, was therefore a canon of Tours, is unlikely because in Lupus' letter to Orsmar he expresses his wish to net the Tours Boethius without its owners knowing that he is its ultimate destination! Some support is lent to Dümmler's theory by the appearance of an Adalgaudus and an Adalgodus in the list of the monks of St. Martin's drawn up during the abbacy of Fridugisus (804-834), which occurs in the Libri Confraternitatum Sancti Galli.<sup>(20)</sup> But the appearance of two potential Adalgaudi at St. Martin's alone shows that the name was not uncommon.

19. Dümmler p.24 no.16. Levillain I, pp.214-7 no.53.

20. ed. P. Piper, M.G.H., Berlin 1884, p.13 col. (16) line 14 and p.14 col.(17) line 3; see also the second copy of the list, p.78 col.(238) line 6 and p.78 col.(239) line 2.

I should like to propose another identification, not by any means convincing but attractive in that it concerns a personage of St. Martin's at Tours (in spite of my reservations about Dümmler's evidence) who was connected with another copy of Macrobius' Commentary. This copy was formerly Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, St. Martin's 33, lost between c. 1840 and 1875 and apparently no

longer extant. St. Martin's 33 was identified by Delisle as my MS.6 (Paris, nouv. acq. lat. 454, s.ix $\frac{3}{4}$ , written at Corbie), but at pp. 223-6, 449-56 I present the arguments which suggest that the 18th and 19th-cent. descriptions of St. Martin's 33 are not mere shadows of MS.6, but represent another, lost manuscript, written at St. Martin's of Tours in the first third of the 9th cent. by a scribe called Adalbaldu. I have called this lost manuscript my MS.151. The same Adalbaldu was certainly responsible for a surviving manuscript of the letters of St. Augustine & St. Jerome, etc., now Tours, Bibl. mun., 281 + Paris, nouv. acq. lat. 445 + Paris nouv. acq. lat. 405 (the single leaf in n.a.l.405 which bears Adalbaldu's colophon certainly belongs to the Augustine, not to Adalbaldu's lost Orosius manuscript, as Delisle proposed). Other manuscripts of Tours also bear the name of Adalbaldu, but (like Homer) they may be by some one else of the same name; in the case of the surviving Augustine, the lost Orosius and the lost Macrobius, we can be sure that only one person was involved, because the evidence of Brequigny shows that their colophons were all of the same distinctive design.

If Lupus' correspondent Adalgaudus could be identified with the Tours Adalbaldu, this would open the way to a new interpretation of Lupus' reference to Macrobius in his letter. In MS.4, Lupus already possessed a manuscript written at Tours at much the same time as MS.151 (MS.4 itself was not written by Adalbaldu, for it does not seem to me to be by the same hand as the Augustine manuscript). At pp. 192-6 I show the evidence for Lupus' connections with Tours and the possibility that he derived others of his manuscripts from there. Perhaps Adalgaudus/Adalbaldu sent Lupus a leaf of MS.151, which he himself had transcribed. This would give much more force to Lupus' sentence, est enim reuera uenerabilis et exactissimae diligentiae, for the reference to exactissimae diligentiae would then become a graceful compliment to the accuracy and industry of his correspondent as a scribe. My theory would also give more point to Lupus' query to Adalgaudus utrum liber

Tusculanarum nobis esset scriptus. The contents of MS.151 proclaim it a member of the  $\phi$  family, so its text would have been different enough from that of MS.4 for Lupus to have wished to see the rest of the manuscript, and to be grateful for his correspondent's fraternum laborem.

Attractive though this picture is, I advance it only as a possibility, because it depends on the unsupported assertion that the g of Adlgdo and Adalg. in the manuscript tradition of Lupus' letters is a corruption from the b of Adalbaldu. Moreover, once the possibility of a corruption in the name has been admitted, the St. Gall Libri Confraternitatum produce numerous similar names in the Tours lists: Adalradus, Adrebaldus, Ansoaldus, Audradus, etc. Finally, Lupus' replacement leaves in MS.4 (fols.108, 109) show no particular textual links with members of my  $\phi$  family, a fact which also discourages me from pursuing Sprott's hint of an Adalgaudus abbot of Fleury.

APPENDIX II. Lupus of Ferrières and Macrobius' Saturnalia.

In MS.4, the Commentary was followed by a copy of the Saturnalia. The text of the one leaf of the Saturnalia to survive is remarkably pure: there are a few minor corrections possibly by the scribe but probably by Lupus, but there is in fact only one variant which was not soon corrected: Praef. § 3 (Willis, Sat., p.2 line 8) promiscue] promisce MS.4 (Willis records it in three other manuscripts). This is not enough to allow us to distinguish the descendants of this copy of the Saturnalia. There are three other possible criteria:

- 1) The title, here specially adapted from an omnibus edition of Macrobius: incipit eiusdem Saturnaliorum liber I.
- 2) Lupus' cross-reference at fol.73<sup>r</sup> (see pp.170-171) tells us that there was a Medietates diagram, relevant to Comm. II.2, 15-16, at the end of the Saturnalia.
- 3) If the two works of MS.4 were parted early, we might be able to recognise a descendant of the Saturnalia part by the loss of text caused by the retention of the first leaf of the Saturnalia with the Commentary in MS.4, i.e. of Praef. §§ 1-6 (Willis, Sat., 1.1-2.22)...commi[temus].

That the two works were still together in MS.4 in Lupus' time is shown not only by (2) above but also by his customary interference with word - division on the last word of fol.112<sup>v</sup>; the original scribe wrote commi//, the rest of the word no doubt following on the next leaf; Lupus added the rest of the word at the end, to give commitemus//. I have been unable to make a thorough search of the manuscripts of the Saturnalia, but I have met none of these criteria in any of those which I have seen. The remainder of MS.4 itself seems definitely lost. However, there are interesting pointers to Lupus in two of the surviving manuscripts:

- a) Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss.Lat.Q.2, fols.31-33.

These three leaves in a volume of miscellaneous fragments (see MS.120, p.126), belonging to Alexander (and probably to Paul) Petau,

are fragments from a manuscript of the Saturnalia:

Fol.31<sup>r-v</sup> I.1,4 (Willis, Sat., p.5 line 4)//quae uiros - raro admodum//I.2.11 (Willis 8.1).

Fol.32<sup>r-v</sup> I.4,7 (Willis 13.22)//quoque festi-die pristinae// I.4,23 (Willis 16.19).

Fol.33<sup>r-v</sup> I.9,14 (Willis 38.16)//carminibus deorum— ideo sacrificari//I.10,9 (Willis 41.10).

Bischoff gives its date as before 850, and its provenance as ager Ligeræ fluminis ab latere monasterii Ferrierensis<sup>(21)</sup>

Could this manuscript, from the right area and date, have been connected with Lupus?

21. Bischoff's opinion is quoted in the forthcoming catalogue of the fonds Voss.Lat.Q. by K.A. de Meyier, who very kindly sent me a copy of his description of this manuscript, in typescript. The measurements of the leaves are 235x200 (140-145x155-160)mm., 25 very long lines.

- b) Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, 225. This manuscript<sup>(22)</sup> contains Saturnalia I.12,21 (Willis 57.23)//bonæ deæ - end of Bk.III (first three quires now lost). It is ninth-cent. and of French origin. The script (high e, very frequent  $\overline{N}$  ligature) and additions probably by the scribe (triangular glosses, e.g. fol.16<sup>v</sup>; q, fols.16<sup>v</sup>, 25<sup>r</sup>; nota sign,  $\overline{N}$ , fol.15<sup>r</sup>; omission supplied with ∴ as signe-de-renvoi, fol.33<sup>v</sup>; deletions by diagonal strokes, e.g. fol.24<sup>r</sup>, three lines from bottom) are distantly reminiscent of Heiric, although the hand is not his. This was my immediate impression on seeing a photograph of the manuscript in the edition of N. Marinone.<sup>(23)</sup> Later, I looked at the unpublished description of the manuscript by Mlle. Pellegrin at I.R.H.T.; she identifies a text, added at the end on fol.56<sup>r-v</sup> by a different but probably contemporary hand, as the Quid sit ceroma, which has been discussed by C.H. Beeson<sup>(24)</sup> He showed that the work certainly originated in the circle of Lupus, and was very probably composed by

Lupus himself.

Mlle. Pellegrin observes that the manuscript carries an ex libris of s.x (?) on fol.48<sup>v</sup>, liber Sancti B., which may be that of Fleury; it later belonged to Pierre and Francois Pithou (fol.1<sup>r</sup>).<sup>(25)</sup>

22. It is known to the editors of the Saturnalia as 'M'; see A. La Penna in Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, 22(1953), 226-9, 234, 238-9; J. Willis in Rheinisches Museum, N.F.97 (1954), 287, and 100 (1957), 152-155; Willis' edition, 1963.

23. Turin 1967, pl. facing p.96.

24. Ref. cited above, pp. 40-41, n.6.

25. The manuscript was at one stage bound up with Montpellier 225 bis (Gospels, s.ix-x(?)), which carries a 15th cent. ex libris of the Charterhouse of Notre-Dame de la Prée, near Troyes (fol.1<sup>r</sup>). I suspect (on no grounds other than of probability) that the two manuscripts did not come together until during or after their ownership by the Pithou brothers, and therefore that the Charterhouse has no relevance for the history of the Saturnalia manuscript.

Orléans, Bibl. mun. 162 (139), the manuscript in which Mlle. Pellegrin identified the corrections of Lupus (Bibl. Éc. Chartes, 115 (1957), 23-31), is an example of a manuscript connected with Lupus which passed into the Fleury library (ex libris of s.x).

Unfortunately, it is impossible to link either of these manuscripts definitely with MS.4, as they each lack the beginning of the text. The end of (a) is also lost, and (b) contains no Medietates diagram at the end.

### CHAPTER III.

#### 'Cato de senectute cum Macrobio' - the $\phi$ group.

The three 9th-cent. manuscripts, MSS.5, 6, and 9.

Vatican Reg.lat.1587, fols.65-80 (s.ix) is an important manuscript of Cicero's De senectute, which the editors have designated D. The front fly-leaf bears the following inscription, added in bold capitals probably in the tenth century (fol.65<sup>v</sup>): Cato de senectute cum Macrobio. The promised Macrobius is missing. Only a title and a short introduction to the Commentary on the Somnium Scipionis survive, after the end of the De senectute (fol.80<sup>v</sup>). The lost Macrobius is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris: lat.16677. Script, measurements and quality of parchment are identical, and the matter is clinched by the surviving quire-signatures. I have designated the reconstituted volume my MS.5 (see pp.202-219).<sup>(1)</sup>

1. The text of the Macrobius in Paris lat.16677 was first used by A. La Penna in 1951 (see p. 219). It is one of the six manuscripts used in Willis' edition (siglum 'E').

My discovery that the 9th-cent. Macrobius of Paris lat.16677 was originally preceded by a copy of the De senectute gave significance to what might otherwise have been a coincidence: the combination of these works in two other 9th-cent. manuscripts. The first is my MS. , Paris nouv.acq.lat.454 (see pp.220-227). The second, my MS.9 (see pp.228-242), consists of a complete copy of the De senectute and stray leaves from its complementary Macrobius, Leiden Voss.Lat.F.12 $\beta$  + F.122 + London, Brit. Libr., Royal 15.B. xii, fols.1-2.<sup>(2)</sup> Together, MSS.5, 6 and 9 form a total of half the surviving 9th-cent. manuscripts of Macrobius' Commentary. The two works are also found together in a later manuscript, my MS.2 (Oxford, Bodl., MSS. D'Orville 77 + 95, s.x ex.-xi in., see pp.150-159 and below pp.117-123), but there the unit Cato de senectute cum Macrobio is disguised by the presence of several other works,

and the two which concern us are not consecutive. The combination is also present in at least two, probably four umbrae codicum, lost manuscripts which have left their traces in the catalogues of their libraries (see pp. 68-71). Indeed, it is not surprising to find the two works together in the medieval manuscripts: they form a logical unit, Cicero's treatise on old age and the Commentary of Macrobius which preserves the climax of Cicero's De re publica, the dream of Scipio on the rewards of the righteous after death. Not only is the subject-matter related, but some of the characters in the two dialogues, the De senectute and the De re publica, are the same; the most notable of these is Scipio Aemilianus himself.

2. The connection between the London and Leiden leaves was first noticed by N.R. Ker and published by M.B. Parkes (see p. 239 n. 8). Before correction, the first words of Macrobius' Commentary in MS.9 followed the last of the De senectute on the same line, without a title, an initial or even a break. A further indication that the two works were treated in MS.9 almost as a continuous unit is perhaps provided by the strange title to the De senectute: M. T. A. Tullii Ciceronis Cato maior de senectute. Could the mysterious M. T. A. stand for Macrobius Theodosius Ambrosius? If so the names are not in the usual order (see p. 3). MSS. 5 and 6 have more conventional titles for the De senectute, and breaks between works.

MSS. 5 and 9 have no specific indications of their place of origin or even of their medieval homes. However, it is possible in each case to weave together several arguments, not strong enough individually but very convincing en masse, which indicate that each belonged by the 11th cent. to the great Benedictine abbey and centre of learning, Fleury (Saint-Benoît<sup>A</sup>)-sur-Loire. The two main arguments for MS. 5's provenance (laid out in full at pp. 208-213) are that it is identifiable in a list of manuscripts seen at Fleury

in the 16th cent. by Pierre Daniel, and that a particular 11th-cent hand which adds a distinctive elements diagram in MS.5 is also to be found adding the same diagram in MS.7 (Paris lat.7299, s.xi in.), a manuscript written at Fleury and remaining there throughout the middle ages. I am less happy about the arguments which link MS.9 to Fleury (see pp. 233-236); the most convincing is the appearance in it of a correcting hand which I consider to be of the type used at Fleury in the time of Abbo s.x ex-xi in. (see below, pp. 88-89). A factor common to MSS.5 and 9 is that at some time in the history of both, a need was felt to separate the De senectute from Macrobius' Commentary; the Commentary of MS.9 was discarded, and the parchment of its first available bifolium was cannibalised to form a wrapper for the De senectute. But even if the evidence is considered sufficient to show that MSS.5 and 9 were at Fleury in the 11th cent., it does not automatically follow that they were written there in the 9th. We are left with only the palaeographical evidence, which at any rate does not contradict the possibility of a Fleury origin: Prof. B. Bischoff has indicated the Loire valley area in both cases. He has kindly given me his opinion that MS.9 dates from the second quarter *to middle* of the 9th cent. I suspect that MS.5 is somewhat later.

The origins of MS.6 are more certain. It is in fact one of the base manuscripts on which Bischoff<sup>(3)</sup> has built his masterly delineation of the characteristic script of the Benedictine abbey of Corbie in the middle to third quarter of the 9th cent. It seems to be generally accepted that MS.6, after correction by a contemporary hand or hands, was the manuscript used by Hadoardus for the excerpts from the De senectute which appear in his Ciceronian florilegium, Vatican Reg.lat.1762, fols.148<sup>r</sup>-155<sup>v</sup>. Bischoff has finally established that Hadoardus must have been a 9th-cent. librarian of Corbie.

3. B. Bischoff, Hadoard und die Klassikerhandschriften aus Corbie', Mittelalterliche Studien I, Stuttgart 1966, esp.53-4, 59 (first published in 1961).

The florilegium also includes extensive excerpts from Macrobius' Commentary (fols.107<sup>r-v</sup>, 156<sup>r</sup>-213<sup>v</sup>). The position of the main block of Macrobian excerpts immediately after those from the De senectute is at once significant, and I can in fact confirm that the relationship established between the De senectute of MS.6 and Hadoardus' excerpts also holds good in its main lines for Macrobius' Commentary.

The following readings are not found elsewhere except in MS.6 (before correction), in Hadoardus' excerpts, and (usually) in MS.2, another descendant of MS.6:

Comm.I. 6,2(Willis 18.28) intertextuisse 2,6U (s.l.) ] intertextuixe  
6a, Had.

Comm.I. 6,3(Willis 18.32-19.1) bis bina bis quae sunt octo 2U  
(s.l.) ] bis bina quae sunt octo 2a, 6, Had.

Comm.I. 14,20(Willis 59.9) Critias ] cristasias 2a, 6 105AX(s.l.),  
Had. cricias 2U (s.l.,subl.), 105Aa.

Comm.I. 14,21(Willis 59.17) sunt 2U (s.l.),5 ] om. 2a, 6, Had.

Others occur only in these manuscripts and among the original readings of MS.5:

Comm.I 10,12(Willis 44.1) flagitio 2, 5U (exp.), 14X (exp.,del.) ]  
flagitatio 5a, 6, 14a, Had.

Comm.I.15,7(Willis 62.2) zodiacum 5u (ras) ] zodiaticum 2, 5a,  
6, Had.

But the evidence that really proves the descent of Hadoardus' excerpts from MS.6 and from no other are those readings in which Hadoardus agrees with MS.6 as corrected by a contemporary hand (or hands). Most of these corrections are restorations of 'vulgate' readings, and the agreements with Hadoardus are therefore not significant, but a few are in themselves unique to MS.6 and its allies:

Comm.I.9,5(Willis 40.28) perpeti ut 2U (subl.), 6U (i.l)<sup>(2)</sup> ]  
ut 6a<sup>(1)</sup>. perpeti quam ut 2a, 6U (s.l.)<sup>(3)</sup>, Had.

Comm.I.10,12(Willis 43.33) iecur immortale 2, 5X(s.l)<sup>(3)</sup> ] iecorem ortale 5a,6a.<sup>(1)</sup>  
iecor mortale 6U (exp.,corr.), Had.-(a).iecor inmortale

5X (s.l., exp.)<sup>(2)</sup> iecur inmortale Had., U (s.l.).

Comm. II.13,5 (Willis 133.27-8) igitur aeternum id esse  
quod ipsum se moueat 2U (i.l., m.), 5X (m), 14U (m.) ]  
 om. 2a, 5a, 6a, 14a, 16. igitur aeternum id esse  
quod a se ipso moueatur 6B (m.), Had.

Hadoardus' Macrobian excerpts must therefore be descended from MS.6 itself, not from a twin of MS.6, on the principle outlined at p. 15 that a corrected manuscript because of its very contamination has a unique personality of its own, recognisable in its descendants. I have noticed only one reading from my sample passages in Hadoardus' excerpts where Hadoardus has the correct reading against MS.6:

Comm. I.9,3 (Willis 40.17) leui 2U (s.l., exp.), 5X (s.l., exp.) ]  
leue 2a, 5a, 6.

It would be not unreasonable to ignore this single reading - one swallow does not make a summer. However, it can be explained if we argue that Hadoardus' excerpts were not transcribed directly from MS.6, but through an intermediary. There is another, much stronger piece of evidence to support this. It will be shown later (pp. 117-123) that MS.105B, like MS.2 is a descendant of MS.6. In MS.105B, Macrobius' Commentary is followed by the Somnium Scipionis itself, and then (fol. 63<sup>r-v</sup>)<sup>by</sup> a text headed INCIPIVNT SENTENTIAE PHILOSOPHORVM, a collection of short maxims arranged roughly in alphabetical order, but here reaching only the first maxim under the letter E (see pp. 386-387). This is a rare text; I know of only three other manuscripts, and one of those is Hadoardus' Ciceronian florilegium. In fact, it follows immediately after Hadoardus' Macrobian excerpts, in Vat. Reg. lat. 1762, fols. 224<sup>v</sup>-225<sup>r</sup>. As in MS.105B, the text is defective: Hadoardus includes the maxims for letters A, B, part of C, and the first maxims only for D and F. There is no reason to suppose that this text was ever present in MS.6 (the end of the text there, fol. 81<sup>v</sup>, is followed by an erasure, but of only a few lines; the collation suggests that fol. 81<sup>v</sup> is an extra leaf added by the scribe to the last quire because he had overshot his estimated space). If both MS.105B

and Hadoardus' Macrobian excerpts are direct descendants of MS.6, but share a rare text which was never present there, the most likely solution is that their common ancestor was not MS.6 itself, but a child of that manuscript.

It might be thought that my insertion of an intermediary between MS.6 and Hadoardus' excerpts would have damaging results for Bischoff's reconstruction of the activities of the Corbie scriptorium: it is less safe to build palaeographical conclusions on a parent-child relationship between manuscripts than grandparent-grandchild. But there are many other manuscripts involved, including a number of manuscripts written in the distinctive script and containing works by Corbie authors such as Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus (Bischoff pp.56-7), and now that Bischoff has defined the script the whole picture has that convincing ring of truth about it which makes one wonder why no one had thought of it before. MS.6 was written in this Corbie script of the middle to third quarter of the 9th cent.

Lost manuscripts containing Cicero's De senectute and Macrobius' Commentary on the Somnium Scipionis.

The Corbie library catalogue of c.1200<sup>(4)</sup> includes the following: Item 282, arismetica. Tullius de senectute. Macrobius. Is this an echo of MS.6, or of another manuscript now lost? There is no sign of arismetica in A, and the quire-signatures show that no part of the original manuscript is lost at the beginning. We have therefore three possibilities:

- a) The entry refers to MS.6 at a time when it was bound with an independent volume of arismetica, from which it was later again detached.
- b) Delisle is incorrect in printing the three works as a single item; the arismetica was in fact a separate book, while the Tullius de senectute and Macrobius entries do refer to MS.6.
- c) The entry refers to another manuscript.

There is no evidence to support explanation (a), which seems

inherently improbable; (c) is the explanation which best fits the data, although it leaves us the problem of why MS.6 was not then recorded in the Corbie catalogue. However, we have no evidence about the later history of the manuscript (disregarding Delisle's identification of MS.6 as the Tours manuscript, my MS.151, see below), and it could well have left Corbie before the catalogue was compiled.

4. Vatican Reg.lat.520, fols.2-5, edited by Delisle, Cabinet des Manuscrits, II (1874), 432-440.

I have already mentioned the Tours manuscript (St. Martin's 33) in connection with MS.4 in the chapter on Lupus (see above, pp. 57-59, and pp. 223-6, 449-456 for the descriptions). Various 18th- and 19th-cent. catalogues of the library of St. Martin's at Tours record it, e.g. that made in 1700 and printed in Montfaucon's Bibliotheca bibliothecarum, II, p.1336 col.II C-D:

33 Cicero de Senectute. Ejusdem Somnium Scipionis, excerptum de libro tertio de republica Ciceronis. Item Macrobiani commentarius in Somnium Scipionis, annorum 800 et supra, nempe tempore Caroli Calui. [Punctuation not that of Montfaucon, see p. 223 n.4].

The fullest description of 'MS.151' was that made by the historian Louis-Georges-Oudart Feudrix de Bréquigny (1714-1795) between 1756 and 1759.

The reason for the gap in the later history of MS.6 is that it fell into the hands of the notorious book-thief Guglielmo Libri (1803-1869), who probably carried out a systematic destruction of all MS.6's marks of ownership. It is apparent from the forged ex libris which he added on fol.81<sup>v</sup> (Est Sancti Petri de Perusio. Laus Deo) that he did not acquire the manuscript legitimately. Delisle, who had waged a vigorous campaign against Libri, believed that MS.6 was the lost Tours manuscript. But now Bischoff has shown that MS.6 was written at Corbie and I that the combination of the De senectute and Macrobius is not uncommon among the 9th-cent. manuscripts, the identification begins to lose its compelling quality. There are many manuscripts recorded at Tours

which have still to be accounted for, even after the recovery of Libri's depredations. Once Delisle's identification has been questioned, there are certain small differences between MS.6 and the details recorded about MS.151, of which the most telling is the reference in the 1700 catalogue to the Somnium Scipionis as excerptum de libro tertio de republica Ciceronis. The variant tertio for sexto is not found in MS.6, but has its parallels in a few other manuscripts, including a 12th-cent. gloss in MS.4 (itself written at Tours in s. ix  $\frac{1}{3}$ ) and an excerpt from the Somnium Scipionis in a French manuscript which can probably be dated to the year 855 (Paris lat.5001, fol.28<sup>r</sup>; for details of the arguments, see pp. 223-4). Most satisfying of all, if we deny Delisle's identification we need no longer deny Bréquigny's reference to a colophon of Adalbaldus in a manuscript of Macrobius' Commentary, presumably MS.151. This allows us to date the lost manuscript to the first half of the 9th cent., and to add Tours to Fleury and Corbie in our list of important centres in which the combination of Cicero's De senectute with Macrobius' Commentary was circulating.

It is still possible that the reference in the Corbie library catalogue and MS.151 are mere ghosts of MS.6, but we have references to two further manuscripts which contained this combination and which are not now identifiable among the extant manuscripts. Both occur in the catalogue<sup>(5)</sup> of the library at the Benedictine abbey of St. Peter at Cluny, which was prepared during the reign of abbot Hugo III (1158-1161):

Item 477. Volumen in quo continetur Tullius de senectute, et quiddam de sex etatibus, Beda de temporibus, somnium Simeonis [sic], commentariumque Macrobi in ipsum somnium, et quedam regule abaci.

Item 518. Volumen in quo continetur Tullius de senectute ad Catonem, et commentum Macrobi in somnium Scipionis.

The catalogue entry does not tell us much about item 518, except that its contents were identical to those of MSS.5 and (probably) 9, which differ from MSS.6 and 151 in containing no original text of the Somnium Scipionis itself. The entry for item 477 specifically

mentions a copy of the Somnium, even if the cataloguer wrote the dreamer's name as Simeonis; but the last item, quedam regule abaci, recalls later members of the Fleury group, MSS.10 and 16 (see below, ch. IV, and pp. 245-7, 274-5), in which Macrobius' Commentary is followed by items on the Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus by Gerbert and (MS.10) Heriger of Lobbes.

5. Paris lat.13108, fols.236-249, published by L. Delisle, Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Fonds de Cluni, Paris 1884, 337-373.

The 9th-cent. homes of 'Cato de senectute cum Macrobio.'

The three extant 9th-cent manuscripts of this group, MSS.5, 6 and 9, and the one lost manuscript which we know was 9th-cent., MS.151, come from three great centres of Carolingian France: Tours, Fleury (probably) and Corbie. In his 1975 Lyell lectures on the scripts of Corbie, T.A.M. Bishop drew attention to links between Corbie and Fleury in the case of Caesar's Gallic War. The 5th-cent. uncial manuscript of Livy's third decade, Paris lat.5730 (C.L.A. v, no.562, with late evidence for Corbie ownership) has two extant descendants: Vatican, Reg.lat.762 (C.L.A. i, no.109), made at Tours at the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries, and Florence, Laur., pl.63.20, made at Corbie in the same period as my MS.6 of the De senectute and Macrobius (see Bischoff, Mitt.Stud., I, pp. 54, 58). Two very closely related 9th-cent. manuscripts of Caesar's Gallic War are Paris lat.5763, with early evidence of Fleury ownership, and Vat.lat.3864, fols.1-75, another manuscript written in the Corbie script of s.ix<sup>3/4</sup> (see Bischoff, p.60). The scriptorium of Corbie at the time of Hadoardus, with its fine new style of writing, seems to have been searching out copies of classical authors from the other great libraries of France.

A startling feature of MS.6, the Corbie manuscript, is that it is the only one of the six surviving 9th-cent. manuscripts of

Macrobius' Commentary to contain a text of the Somnium Scipionis itself in the original script, not a later addition (as in MSS.3 and 5). In my article Cato de senectute cum Macrobio... (see *final bibliography*). I stressed the point that since the Somnium was not present in MSS.5 or (probably) 9, it followed that it was not present in the archetype of the group, but was perhaps added locally at Corbie, 'famous as a focus-point for ancient manuscripts and half-forgotten texts'. But I still believed then that MS.6 was to be identified as the lost Tours manuscript, MS.151. If I am now right in thinking that MS.151 is another manuscript, written by Adalbaldu at Tours in the first half of the 9th cent., before MS.6, then the Corbie origin of the earliest extant manuscript of the Somnium loses its significance for the history of that text; for the Tours manuscript, so similar to MS.6 that Delisle identified the two, also contained the Somnium Scipionis.

MSS.5, 6 & 9 : readings and relationships in the text of Macrobius' Commentary.

MS.9 is now represented by only four leaves and one side for the text of the Commentary, and as luck would have it the beginning of the text, which survives in MS.9, is lost in MS.5 (for the details, see pp. 203 and 229 ). But in the passages which do survive in the three manuscripts, variants common to them all before correction crop up very frequently. Here are a few examples from that part of the text represented in MS.9 by the London leaf, Royal 15.B.xii, fols.1-2:

Comm. I.19,14(Willis 75.26) orbe 6U(i.1.)] orbi 5, 6a, 9.

Comm. I.19,21(Willis 77.9) inquit 6U(s.1.)] om. 5, 6a, 9.

Comm. I.19,21(Willis 77.11) nec quicquam 5U(s.1),6U(s.1.,exp.)]  
nequiquam 5a, 6a, 9.

Comm. I.19,21(Willis 77.12) hi 6U(i.1)] om. 5, 6a, 9.

Comm. I.19,23(Willis 77.19) moderantur 5U(s.1.),6U(s.1.)]  
moderatur 5a, 6a, 9.

Comm. I.19,24(Willis 77.25) ista] ipsa 5, 6, 9.

Comm. I.19,25(Willis 77.30) soli 5U(ras.), 6U(exp.)] solis  
5a, 6a, 9.

The three manuscripts therefore share a common ancestor, which I shall call  $\phi$ . The same conclusion has been reached by the editors of the De senectute,<sup>(6)</sup> who place the three manuscripts in their 'Y' family.

6. See, most recently, G.S. Vogel, The major manuscripts of Cicero's De senectute (doctoral thesis, University of Chicago), 1939, and the 3rd edition of P. Wuilleumier, Budé, Paris 1961 (reprinted 1969), 60-67.

It soon becomes apparent that the text of MS.9 contains far more corruptions than MSS.5 or 6. Either the scribe of MS.9 itself or a scribe in its immediate ancestry did not understand the abbreviations of his exemplar, and cannot have been taking in the sense of what he was writing. Quod caused him particular difficulty (in fact it might almost be said that he scarcely got one quod right); quam is his usual substitute, e.g. at Comm. I.19,15 (twice, Willis 76.5 and 8), II.2,6 (100.16), II.2,9 (100.30), II.2,10(101.2), but it also becomes quo at I.1,2(1.7), and at II.2,2(99.26-7) ne quod becomes neque (neq.). The exemplar must have abbreviated quod as q, an Insular symbol which 'does not appear in Continental script except under Insular influence' (Lindsay, p.255) and which could easily be mistaken for the Insular q = quam. Another word which caused trouble was haec: in three places, I.19,15(Willis 76.1), I.19,23(77.20) and I.20,3(78.30), the scribe of MS.9 uses the strange abbreviation hr; this is probably a confusion of the Insular symbols h = haec and hr = autem, for at one place MS.9 actually has autem in full for haec (I.19,23, Willis 77.23). It is possible that the fault lay not in the scribe who expanded the abbreviations in MS.9 but in the scribe earlier in the tradition who wrote out the text using a confused system of Insular symbols, i.e. a continental scribe influenced by Insular script; for if MS.9 is

correctly reproducing the abbreviation of his exemplar in *hr* for haec, that exemplar in turn cannot have been written by a scribe who fully understood the Insular system. Other confusions of abbreviations cannot be attributed to the peculiarities of Insular script, but rather to a general lack of attention with abbreviations which can be confused with others: e.g. the variant idem for id est at I.19,23(77.20), clearly a misexpansion of id ē (cf. the omission of est at I.1,3,Willis 2.5 and I.3,13, Willis 11.14, and the variant e for est at I.19,15,Willis 76.4); and the misexpansion of an abbreviation for prae-as pro- at I.1,3 (2.6, procellentes for praecellentes), I.3,4(9.9, profocari for praefocari) and I.3,16(12.6, procellens for praecellens).

What is the relationship between MSS.5, 6 and 9? MS.9 is not the ancestor of either MS.5 or MS.6, for both those manuscripts get their quod's right at places which are left uncorrected in MS.9. MS.9 is not descended either from MS.5 or MS.6, firstly because palaeographical opinion suggests that it is earlier than the others, secondly because to make it a descendant one would have to presuppose an intermediate copy in which the scribe transformed all the correctly-written quod's of MSS.5 or 6 into pseudo-Insular abbreviations for MS.9 to misexpand; such a theory seems inherently unlikely. A few omissions occurring in MS.6 but not in MS.5 prove that MS.5 is not a direct copy of MS.6:

Comm. I.6,3(Willis 18.32) bis bina bis quae ] bis bina quae 6.

Comm. I.6,3(Willis 19.3) ter 5 ] om. 6.

Comm. I.14,21(Willis 59.17) sunt 5 ] om. 6.

Comm. I.19,17(Willis 76.16) hic 5,9 ] om. 6a. id 6X(s.l.).

Similarly omissions can be found in MS.5 but not in MS.6, to prove that MS.6 is not a direct copy of MS.5:

Comm. I.4,5(Willis 14.2) is 5X(s.l.) ] 6a(sic). om. 5a. et 6X(s.l.,ras.). Clearly the common exemplar of MSS.5 and 6 had something there, but not intelligible.

In writing a single minim, the original scribe of MS.6 was more faithful than the scribe of MS.5.

Comm. I.14,19(Willis 58.29) de anima disputatio in fine sententias 5 corr. by hand (4), s.x ex-xi<sup>1</sup>(s.l.)] de anima sententias 5a. de anima disputationi finis sententiae d[e anima]. sententias 6a. de anima disputationi finis sententiae. sententias 6U (ras.,punct.).

The common ancestor of MSS.5 and 6 probably read de anima sententias, the original reading of MS.5; the original reading of MS.6 suggests that a corrector in an intermediate exemplar has added his own version, including the lost words, and that a *copyist* has written down both the original reading and the correction.

Comm. I.14,24(Willis 60.9) alibi 5 corr. by hand(4)(s.l.)] alli 6. om. 5a.

MSS.5 and 6 agree in true readings against MS.9 when that manuscript is displaying its own particular brand of corruption. Otherwise the original readings of MSS.6 and 9 share many more variants against the 'vulgate' readings of MS.5 than either MSS.5 and 6 do against correct readings in MS.9, or MSS.5 and 9 against MS.6; e.g.:

Comm. I.19.15(Willis 76.1) qua 5, 6U(exp.)] quia 6a,9.

Comm. I.19,19(Willis 76.27) generi 5, 6U(i.l.)] genere 6a, 9.

Comm. I.19,19(Willis 77.1) salutaria euenire 5, 6U(i.l.)] salutarie uenire 6a, 9.

Comm. I.19,20(Willis 77.7-8) quos de 5, 6U(exp.,s.l.)] quod 6a. quam 9. The reading of the common exemplar of MSS.6 and 9 must have been the ambiguous *q*.

Comm. I.19,22(Willis 77.13) loco 5, 6U(exp.,i.l.)] locum 6a, 9.

Comm. I.19,23(Willis 77.19) sint 5, 6U(exp.,s.l.)] sine 6a, 9.

Comm. I.19,23(Willis 77.23) fruimur 5, 6U(s.l.)] fluimur 6a, 9.

Comm. I.20,2(Willis 78.26) luminum 5, 6U(exp.,s.l.)  
numinum 6a,9.

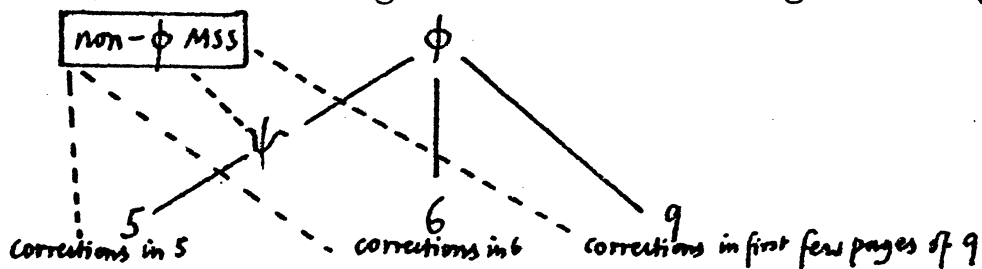
Comm. II.1,16(Willis 98.6) quae 5] qui 6, 9.

In a tradition in which contamination is not present, such a pattern of variants would produce the following stemma (I) :

$\phi$  —  $\epsilon$  — 6  
 5 — 9 —

However, there are reasons for suspecting this: firstly, P. Wuilleumier in his edition of the De senectute, pp.60-67, presents a different pattern for this family of his manuscripts (II):  $\phi$  —  $\epsilon$  — 6  
 9 — 5 — ; secondly, the origins of the manuscripts as proposed above, pp.64-68, suggest the last of the three stemmatic permutations (III):  $\phi$  —  $\epsilon$  (Fleury)  
 6 (Corbie) — 9 — 5.

But is there any point in pursuing stemmatics at all? It is very likely that the group is riddled with contamination. MSS.5 and 6 are corrected throughout by contemporary or near contemporary hands; the same is true for the earlier pages of MS.9, although the two leaves surviving from later in the text are uncorrected. I cannot believe that there was any dividing-line between these surviving manuscripts and the lost exemplars which lay behind them, *by which the* process of contamination took place in the former but not in the latter. Another explanation for the vulgate readings in MS.5 against variants common to MSS.6 and 9 could be that MSS.5, 6 and 9 are all independently descended from  $\phi$ , but that an intermediate exemplar between MS.5 and  $\phi$  was contaminated from a non- $\phi$  source. This would give us the following stemma (IV):



There is another possibility. It is striking that in my list of readings where MSS.6 and 9 contain variants against the 'vulgate' readings of MS.5, the original readings of MS.6 have been corrected to the vulgate readings in all but one case. Could MS.5 be a descendant of the corrected MS.6 after all, in spite of the omissions quoted above (p. 74) ? To explain how those omissions of MS.6 came

to be rectified in MS.5, we should have to argue the presence between MSS.5 and 6 of yet another contaminated intermediary, in which they were put right. The number of processes of contamination necessitated by this theory is becoming unreasonable, and I doubt that it is correct. However, the critic would require a complete collation of both manuscripts before he would be fully equipped to prove or disprove it.

It is easy to become disheartened by the prospect of contamination and by the infinite number of theories which it allows us to put forward, as in Russell's taxi theorem, to explain any given sequence of data. However, I think that stemma (IV), proposed at the end of the penultimate paragraph, is a viable one: it allows us to deduce the readings of  $\phi$ , provided that due caution is taken in remembering the possibility of contamination in MS.5.  $\phi$ 's readings should be identifiable wherever the original readings of two of our three manuscripts agree.\* This means that for most of the text, where MS.9 is lost, the readings of  $\phi$  will be found in those common to both MSS.5 and 6, but that some of the readings now present only in MS.6 will also be those of  $\phi$ , indistinguishable from errors peculiar to MS.6.

I suspect that many of the readings of  $\phi$  will turn out to be useless from the editorial point of view, obvious slips in transcription; but there are also a fair number which make just as good sense as the usually accepted readings. Although Willis used MS.5 in his edition after its discovery by La Penna, no modern editor seems to have noticed that these very early manuscripts of the text form a group. I shall illustrate the potential value of the  $\phi$  group by a single reading: at Comm.I.1,6 (Willis 2.22), Macrobius makes a reference to Plato's Phaedo with the words sic in Phaedone... Since the reference can readily be checked, it is certain that the Phaedo was indeed the work in question. But Phaedone is not the reading of the 'vulgate' manuscripts: the vast majority of medieval manuscripts, including MS.4, give the reading Ph(a)edrone, presumably through a confusion with the Phaedrus. The modern editions restore Phaedone, but

\* Of course, the hypothetical nature of my stemma means that the exclusion of readings based on the two against one concept would be dangerous to apply with mechanical rigour.

without manuscript authority. The manuscripts of the  $\phi$  group preserve Macrobius' true reading, though with eccentric spelling and with the spurious r added by later correctors: fhedone 6a, phoedone 9a.

The subscription and the colophon in  $\phi$ .

In my chapter on the subscription (see pp. 11-13), I pointed out that MSS. 5 and 6, and hence  $\phi$  itself, contained the words emendatum est at the end of Bk. I of the Commentary; the conclusion was that this was an echo of the full subscription of Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, which must have been present in  $\phi$ 's ancestry.  $\phi$  may in fact have been a direct descendant of Aurelius Memmius Symmachus' copy, a further reason for future editors to give careful consideration to its readings.

The abbreviated subscription, emendatum est, at the end of Bk. I was balanced in  $\phi$  by the following poem, which followed the closing title at the end of Bk. II:

De errore emendationis.

Da ueniam, lector, si quid male puncta notabunt,

Vel si mendosum pagina texit opus.

Non mens praua mihi sed fallax offuit error,

† Que non sponte subest ūcula [? mihi cul]pe. †

This colophon had been known and published from MS. 6, fol. 81<sup>v</sup>. (7)  
Its presence in  $\phi$  is confirmed by MS. 5, which contains it on fol. 72<sup>v</sup>; it also occurs in MS. 105B (fol. 61<sup>v</sup>), a descendant of MS. 6 which I discussed in relation to Hadoardus' excerpts (see pp. 67-8, 386-393).

The last line of the poem is corrupt. The versions of the three manuscripts are as follows:

MS. 6. Quae non sponte subest ūcula mihi culpe.

MS. 105B. Que non sponte subest umcula mihi culpae.

MS. 5a. Que non sponte subest ūcula [? mihi cul]pe.

MS. 5, correction by a near-contemporary hand:

Que non sponte subest ucula culpa mihi (abbreviation of ūcula

erased, and the gloss s. relaxa written over ucula culpa). No satisfactory emendation has yet been proposed. Sponte, presumably a textual emendation in MS.105B if I am right in thinking that the manuscript is a descendant of MS.6, would seem to be the source of sonte, but ūcula is more difficult. ūcula would appear to be the reading of  $\phi$ , and MS.105B's umcula is an expansion of that. ungula (coniec̄it de Vries)<sup>(8)</sup> might just make sense of the line: 'this claw of blame does not belong to me of my own accord'. But the metaphor is over-vivid, the scansion is bad, and the non sponte is grammatically awkward when the subject of the sentence is ungula. uincula (coniec̄it Delisle)<sup>(9)</sup> goes better as a metaphor with culpe, but then que non sonte subest has to become a relative clause depending on culpe, and the main clause lacks both a verb and a negative. On the whole, I prefer de Vries' version, que non sponte subest ungula mihi culpe. But it may well be that the line is now very corrupt and that it has even lost a word or two. Prof. Bischoff and Sir Roger Mynors suggested to me independently that the line could have been a hexameter, not a pentameter; this certainly seems likely from the point of view of scansion if culpe at the end of the line is in its correct position.

7. Most recently by K. Strecker in M.G.H.: Poetae, VI, i, Weimar 1951, p.169.

8. S.G. de Vries, Exercitationes palaeographicae in bibliotheca universitatis Lugduno-Batauae, Leiden 1889, p.15 n.1.

9. L. Delisle in Bibliothèque Nationale: Catalogue des manuscrits Libri et Barrois, Paris 1888, p.59.

But what does the poem mean, in relation to the text of Macrobius? The poem does not mention Macrobius, but because of its position at the end of the Commentary and the lack of any contrary evidence we must assume that it was written specifically for a copy of Macrobius. The writer appears to be apologising for any mistakes in his work: they are not deliberate deceptions, the

work of a mens praua, but unintentional results of fallax error. Such a sentiment would be suitable for a scribe to write at the end of a manuscript which he had just completed. But here the title De errore emendationis and the clause si quid male puncta notabunt seem to suggest not simple transcription, but editorial activity. These two elements seem to echo the work of Aurelius Memmius Symmachus with his emendabam uel distinguebam, although it is not likely that the poem is ancient. On the other hand, the line uel si mendosum pagina textit opus would suit the work of a scribe rather than a corrector. Perhaps the poem was composed by a scholar in the 8th or early 9th cent. who had checked and corrected the text of  $\phi$  or an ancestor of  $\phi$ , written out by a scribe working under him. Its implications are somewhat ominous for the possibility of contamination in  $\phi$  itself.

#### Insular ancestry.

In my discussion of the peculiarities of MS.9 I pointed out that the constant misexpansion of abbreviations must be due to the use of Insular symbols in the manuscript's ancestry; the misuse of the Insular symbol *h* for haec rather than for autem suggested that the immediate cause of MS.9's misexpansions was an exemplar written not necessarily by an Insular scribe but by a continental scribe carelessly experimenting with Insular symbols (*see pp. 73-4*).

Was  $\phi$  itself influenced by Insular script, or did the influence creep in between  $\phi$  and MS.9? G.S. Vogel, whose work on the De senectute I mentioned above, p.73 n.6, produces (pp.6-14) strong evidence from her text to show that the common ancestor of MSS.5, 6 and 9 had some characteristics of Insular minuscule—notably many examples of confusion between n, p, r and s (her evidence that the other family of De senectute manuscripts and indeed the archetype of both families also had Insular traits is less convincing). For the Commentary, my sample passages provide far less evidence for Insular influence in the ancestry of MSS.5 and 6 than of MS.9,

but sufficient to show that it was present in  $\phi$ .  $\phi$ 's variant rectoribus for pectoribus at Comm.I.1,5(Willis 2.15), rather attractive from the point of view of the sense, may have arisen from a confusion between Insular p, p, with its open bowl, and r, r, with its long descender and minim-like arm (whichever variant is in fact correct). It is likely that  $\phi$ 's error prespecta for perspecta at Comm.I.19,15(Willis, 76.5-6) was caused by a misexpansion of the Insular symbol for per, p. At Comm.II.16,24 (Willis 150.12) the error re per for semper in MS.5 (the original reading of MS.6 is erased) could have been caused by a confusion of the r, r and the long s, s. I suspect that the many errors in MS.9 may have been caused over several processes of transcription by scribes who were influenced by Insular script and who were particularly bad at writing it and/or making sense of it, as opposed to the more expert scribes in the ancestry of MSS.5 and 6; an example where MS.6 expands  $\phi$ 's q correctly to quod, whereas MS.9 has his usual quam, occurs at Comm.I.19,20(Willis 77.7-8): quos de 5, 6U(exp.,s.l.) and vulgate ] quod 6a quam 9. It seems likely then that  $\phi$  embodied not only Insular abbreviations in its own text, but also words already misexpanded from Insular abbreviations or mistranscribed from words written in Insular script. Of course, I am not implying that  $\phi$  is descended from a book necessarily written in Ireland, but it seems very probable that its ancestry *lay at least* in an Insular centre on the continent.

Excerpts from Macrobius' Commentary, of an earlier date than any extant copy of the full text, survive in a manuscript which belonged to such a centre, but not on this side of the Alps: Bobbio. The excerpts are additions in one section of the famous composite volume of ancient manuscripts, Naples Lat.2 (Vindobon.16).<sup>(10)</sup> The section which concerns us, fols.76-159, is itself composite, made up of two 5th-cent. grammatical manuscripts, fols.76-111, 140-156, 159 (miscellany including Probus, De catholicis = C.L.A. iii.397a) and fols.112-139 (Sacerdos, Artes grammaticae = C.L.A. iii.398). Lowe says that both parts were written 'most likely in

Italy' in 'quarter-uncial' script. The two parts were joined in their present structure by the 8th-cent., when additions were made by a number of Irish hands. These additions include two leaves, (fols.157-8), now pasted together as a bifolium and inserted out of place in the bifolium 156/159, containing excerpts written in Irish minuscule of the 8th cent. from two works of Macrobius, the De differentiis et societatibus Graeci Latinique uerbi and the Commentary on the Somnium Scipionis. Further excerpts from the De differentiis... are added, partly by the same hand, on fol.111<sup>v</sup>, one of the 5th-cent. leaves.

The excerpts from the Commentary are as follows:

1. Fol.158<sup>r</sup>, lines 13-42. Macrobius' passage on dreams (I.3,2-11, Willis 8.18-11.3). A passage from I.3,5-6 is placed out of order at the beginning, so that the text reads Item Macrobius dicit post somnum [sic] nullum sui utilitatem uel significationem relinquit...ita nos defunctis superi habemur. [I.3,2] Omnia enim [sic] quae uidere sibi dormientes uidentur...seu alia sidera uel caelum omnesue terras aliquid somniat innouatum. All the passages which include Greek words are omitted;
2. Fol.158<sup>r</sup>, lines 43-4. A brief note on pregnancy (I.6,17, Willis 21.15-20), Hippocrates refert discretio sexus futuri sic in utero dinoscitur...aut VII aut VIII explicat mensem.
3. Fol.158<sup>r</sup> line 45-158<sup>v</sup>. A passage on the influence of the number seven on the human embryo and child (I.6, 59-71, Willis 29.12-32.2). Hi sunt IIII modi temporum...propter uotorum festinationem maturius//. The text breaks off incomplete at the bottom of the verso, so there may once have been a further leaf or leaves, now lost.

The passage on dreams (item 1) appears in excerpt form in a number of other medieval manuscripts, e.g. in Vatican, Reg.lat.567, fol. 18<sup>r-v</sup> (in a hand of s. ix?)<sup>(11)</sup> and twice among the contemporary glosses of an 11th-cent. German Lucan, London, Brit.Lib., Harl. 2728, fols.29<sup>r</sup> and 87<sup>v</sup>. Although there is no specific evidence, the popularity of the passage suggests that it could have circulated

in excerpt form, like the excerpts on the calendar from the Saturnalia which were being used in the British Isles in the 8th cent. (see above, pp. 32-33 ). But this cannot be said of items 2 and 3, the passages on medical matters; I have met them in no other medieval manuscript. Their unique nature suggests that they were excerpted directly from a full copy of Macrobius' Commentary.

10. See C.L.A. iii, nos. 391-8, and R. Beer, Monumenta Palaeographica Vindobonensia, II, Leipzig 1913, pp. 1-54, pls. 27-38.
11. The manuscript falls into two distinct parts, fols. 1-18 and 19-57. Fol. 18<sup>r-v</sup> appears to be palimpsest; the Macrobian excerpt, written in the margin and belonging to the lower text, is now half-erased. The curious title given in Montfaucon's Bibliotheca bibliothecarum, I 41B no. 1259, Macrobius de Lunae cursu per signum Tonitruale, is caused by a conflation of the heading MACROBIVS by which an 11th-cent. hand has identified the lower text, in the far left top corner of fol. 18<sup>r</sup>, with the titles DE LVNE CVRSV PER SIGNA (col. I) and Incipit tonitruale (col. II) which belong to the non-Macrobian astronomical pieces of the upper text.

Unfortunately, there is no proof that the Naples excerpts were actually written at Bobbio; the evidence rests on the discovery of this section of Naples Lat. 2 at Bobbio in the late 15th cent., combined with the evidence of early Irish activity in the various parts of the manuscript and with the fact of the Irish presence at the monastery which they had founded. No doubt our section of Naples Lat. 2, fols. 76-159, was at Bobbio very early, but it is possible that it was brought there by the Irish after the 8th-cent. additions had been made elsewhere. Lowe describes fols. 157-8 as 'written doubtless at Bobbio' (C.L.A. iii, no. 397b). But Lowe's use of the word 'doubtless' usually implies slight doubt. He seems to hint in his preface on the Bobbio manuscripts (C.L.A. iv,

pp.xx-xxvii) that the 5th-cent. manuscripts to which our excerpts were added may not always have been in Italy, since their rare quarter-uncial script is of the 'type, it would seem, that largely inspired the calligraphy of early Irish minuscule' (p.xxiii). A further doubt arises from Lowe's apparent view that the Irish script of the additions is pure, not of the types developed earlier at Bobbio in which North Italian influences can be seen. There is not enough evidence here for me to claim that there was a full copy of Macrobius' Commentary specifically at Bobbio or specifically in Ireland in the 8th-cent; but any/palaeographical advances in this area may have important consequences for the history of the text of Macrobius' Commentary.

The lost catalogue<sup>(12)</sup> of Bobbio's library, composed between 862 and the closing years of the 9th cent., includes item 615, expositio in somnio Scipionis et Boetii de musica...quas non reperimus... But this is not relevant to our 8th-cent. excerpts, for it appears in the section of the catalogue (nos.590-640) which is devoted to a 9th-cent. donation de libris Petri presbyteri.

12. Found at Bobbio by L.A. Muratori in 1714, and published by him in Antiquitates Italicae III, Milan 1740, 817-824; Becker, cat.no. 32; see also G. Mercati, M. Tulli Ciceronis de re publica libri e codice rescripto Vaticano Latino 5757...Prolegomena (Codices e Vaticanis selecti<sup>23</sup>), Vatican 1934, esp. pp.26-32. Another entry, perhaps referring to mathematical excerpts from Macrobius' Commentary, no.580, appears in the donation de libris Theodori presbyteri (nos.558-589): martyrologium Hieronymi et de arithmetica Macrobbii, Dionisii, Anatolii, Victorii, Bedae, Colmani et epistolae aliorum sapientum [sic] liber I.

A further question to consider is whether or not the excerpts from Macrobius' Commentary and from the De differentiis... were transcribed from a single volume. Since the excerpts from the

two works are not related in content, it is more likely than not that the excerptor, having finished his grammatical excerpts from the De differentiis..., would only have transcribed the excerpts from the Commentary if that work was readily to hand. It is strange that the passage on dreams has been carefully purged of all the Greek works which would have interested a reader of the De differentiis.... If we could link the textual history of the two works, we might be able to form some connection between the activities of the Irish in France and the pre-history of the 9th-cent. French manuscripts of Macrobius' Commentary; for one of the few other manuscripts to contain excerpts from Macrobius' De differentiis... is that relic of the Greek studies of the Irish in France, Laon 444 (fol. 5<sup>r</sup>). But Laon 444 contains no excerpts from the Commentary, and the threads of the argument are becoming thin as gossamer.

A detailed study of the textual character of the early manuscripts of Macrobius' Commentary has led us to deduce Insular characteristics in their ancestry in no less than three cases: MS.148 (see pp. 18-21), MS.4 (see pp. 49-50) and the  $\phi$  group. Billanovich's theory about the early history of the ancient manuscript containing Pomponius Mela etc., to which I have adjoined the path of an ancient copy of the Commentary, also involved links with the Irish, though I was dubious about the details of the arguments (see pp. 30-37). The excerpts from the Commentary in Naples Lat.2 confirm that the text was known to some 8th-cent. scholar who wrote a pure Irish minuscule. Unfortunately I am unable to study the connections between the text of the excerpts and of the full 9th-cent. manuscripts because none of the excerpts falls within my sample passages, and I feel that it is dangerous to base textual conclusions on passages where only a few manuscripts have been collated. It is the chiaroscuro provided by collations of 150 or so other manuscripts which allows me to talk with confidence about 'vulgate' readings. Apart from this, I feel that I have now exhausted the textual possibilities in the pursuit of the Irish. There remains the literary evidence, references to Macrobius by 9th-cent Irish scholars such as Dungal,

who quoted passages on eclipses from Macrobius' Commentary in a letter to Charlemagne of A.D.811.<sup>(13)</sup> But these new vistas are excluded from my brief.

13. Edited by E. Dümmler in M.G.H., Epistolae IV = Karolini aevi II, Berlin 1895, 568-585, from two manuscripts, Berlin (East ) Phill.1784 (Rose no.177), and a lost Rheims manuscript of which the text was recorded by Mabillon. In the ancestry of the Berlin manuscript, Dungal's letter was followed by further astronomical excerpts from Macrobius relating to the diagrams (I.21,3-7; II.5,13-14; II.5,16-21; II.7,1-8,8). But the leaves of the ancestor became disordered, so that the copy in the Berlin manuscript consists of Dungal's letter, with its own quotations from Macrobius, interspersed in a confused manner with further excerpts from Macrobius. A precisely similar state of disorder is to be observed in a manuscript of Dungal's letter not known to Dümmler, London, Brit. Libr., Royal 13.A.xi(s.xi ex-xii in). fols.120<sup>r</sup>-126<sup>v</sup>.

CHAPTER IV.

Later members of the  $\phi$  family: Fleury.

The manuscripts.

Macrobius' Commentary on the Somnium Scipionis is represented by no fewer than seven surviving manuscripts which we can prove belonged in the Middle Ages to the great abbey of Fleury (Saint-Benoît)-sur-Loire. There are still more which possibly belonged to Fleury but for which there is no firm evidence of ownership. Other manuscripts, which contain only the text of the Somnium Scipionis or excerpts from Macrobius' Commentary, can also be shown definitely to have belonged to Fleury.

The seven manuscripts are as follows (arranged by date):

<u>My ms.no.</u>	<u>Shelf-mark.</u>	<u>Date of ms.</u>	<u>Cross-refs.</u>
9.	Leiden, Voss.Lat.F.12 $\beta$ , etc.	s.ix 2/4-med.	Pp. 228-242.
5.	{ Reg.lat.1587, fols.65-80 } + Paris lat.16677.	s.ix.	Pp. 202-219.
16.	{ Paris lat.16678, fols.1-8 } + Paris lat.6620.	s.x ex.-xi in.	Pp. 274-281.
10.	Paris lat.8663.	s.x ex.-xi in.	Pp. 243-256.
7.	Paris lat.7299.	s.xi in.	Description not included.
12.	Paris lat.6365, fols.2-23.	s.xi <sup>1</sup> .	Pp. 257-265.
115.	Orléans, 306(259), pp.1-76.	s.xi <sup>2</sup> -xii.	Description not included.

Evidence for Fleury ownership.

The evidence for Fleury ownership varies from complex tissues of arguments such as those which I mention at pp.64-65 for MSS.5 and 9, to simple and certain identifications in the 1552 library catalogue<sup>(1)</sup> for MSS. nos. 7 (cat.no.253), 12 (cat. no.286) and 115 (no.84), where the accompanying works in each case allow us to be certain of the identifications. Without resorting to palaeographical evidence, we can be certain that MSS.7 and 10 were at Fleury by the 11th cent.: MS.7 contains a calendar to which an 11th-cent. hand added entries relating to feasts celebrated at Fleury,

Translatio corporis Sancti PAVLI Episcopi et confessoris on 10 October (fol.8<sup>r</sup>) and et Sancti ABBONIS Abbatis in addition to the original Bricii episcopi on 13 November (fol.8<sup>v</sup>) (the calendar is part of a section which is separate from and slightly earlier than the Macrobius, but which the Macrobius was designed to accompany from the start); in MS.10, fol.58<sup>v</sup>, a contemporary hand has added two punning lines which play on Fleury's name, beginning Florida floriacum... MS.12, fol.2<sup>r</sup>, contains a copy, added in the 11th-cent., of a letter from the beginning of a mortuary roll in which were announced the deaths of a prior Andreas and two other monks; it is not unreasonable to accept Delisle's identification of the humilis cohors...Benedicti which issued this encyclical as the monks of Fleury, and their prior Andreas as the Andreas of Fleury who composed the Vita Gauzlini and Bks. IV-VII of the Miracula S. Benedicti in the 1040's (but see my reservations at pp. 257-8, 260-1). In the case of MS.16, I was fortunate enough to discover the lost first quire of Paris lat.6620 in Paris lat.16678, fols.1-8, but there is no external evidence in either part to prove Fleury ownership. Nevertheless, the textual evidence suggests very strongly that it was written there, a view which the paleographical evidence does not contradict.

1. Paris nouv.acq.lat.137, fols.9-26 (copy of s.xvii or s.xviii) published by Ch. Guissard in Cat.gén., 8<sup>o</sup> ser., xii, Orléans, 1889, pp.vii-xviii, and by others. Guissard's identifications can be misleading.

MSS.7, 10 and 12 present some similarities in physical appearance: they are of much the same size (*small folio*); and the first initial I of Macrobius, Comm., Bk.I in each of three manuscripts contains the same decorative elements, the stem made up of interlace, with the heads of two birds at the top (however, the stylistic treatment of these features is by no means identical). Above all, they are all written in hands of a type which modern scholars, most notably Mlle. É. Pellegrin,<sup>(2)</sup> are beginning to associate with Fleury at about the time of the monastery's great scholar-abbot, Abbo of Fleury

(d.1004). The identification of this type of script rests mainly on its presence in the earliest manuscripts of Abbo's own works, some of which may have been executed for the author himself (see below, pp. 107-9). The individual characteristics of this script include the half-uncial *a*, prominent ligatures, especially for *ct*, the abbreviation  $\bar{\text{e}}$  for *est*, a very pronounced cedilla on the *e* for *ae*, *ſ*, and sometimes the abbreviation  $\text{'}^{\text{e}}$  rather than  $\bar{\text{e}}$  for *-n* and *-m*, etc. But the greatest characteristic of this type of script is an overall impression of angularity, varying from a delicate sensitivity in the hands of a good scribe to frenetic untidiness in the hands of a bad one. MS.16 is written by hands which show this script in its worst and most exaggerated form.

2. É. Pellegrin, 'Membra disiecta Floriacensia', Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 117(1959), 14-16.

In MS.5, however, Additional hand (4) displays the script at its best, not only in the minuscule but in rustic capitals outstanding for their elegance and fluidity of line. His additions show that he was not only a distinguished scribe but a considerable scholar, who used MS.5 as his base text of Macrobius' Commentary, and transcribed into it material from at least two further manuscripts.

The first of these contained the full subscription, which hand (4) copied with its following title into MS.5; its abbreviations are intelligently expanded, and the word DISTINGVEBAM is correct for the one and only time in the medieval manuscripts (see pp. 10-12).

His second source contained Macrobius' Commentary in the abbreviated form (see below, pp. 90-92 and ch. VI). Another hand of the angular Fleury type made additions to at least the first few leaves of the Commentary in MS.9: a title, and variants often with *at.*, from an exemplar which I can only designate as non -  $\phi$ .

#### Textual relationships of the Fleury group.

The only manuscript not to contain traces of the angular script among those which belonged at some time to Fleury is MS.115,

Orléans 306, pp.1-76. It does not resemble the earlier 11th-cent. manuscripts of Fleury either in its physical appearance or in its Macrobian readings. The earliest formal evidence for its Fleury connections lies in its appearance in the 1552 catalogue, though it is possible that its medieval binding of white leather over wooden boards may provide other clues. Its text is very close to that of my MS.140, Copenhagen, Ny kgl. S.218 4<sup>to</sup>, of which it might be worthwhile to investigate the provenance.

MS.10 is written in the angular sort of script. A large number of my sample passages have vanished with the loss of a quire containing much of Bk.I (11,4—21, 8). However, enough remain to show that the percentage of original readings and contemporary additions which echo those of the  $\phi$  group is very small, and I therefore exclude it from the discussion.

MSS.7, 12 and 16 are all members of the  $\phi$  group; the problem is to see how they relate to the 9th-cent. Fleury representatives of the  $\phi$  group, MSS.5 and 9. One of the major criteria in this task is the interpolation<sup>(3)</sup> from Comm. I.12,1(Willis 47.31-48.5), Et ita lacteus...numquam, which had been added in the margin of MS.5 at I.15,7(Willis 62.2) temperaret./quibus by Additional hand (4).

3. Noticed by A. La Penna, 'Le Parisinus Latinus 6370...', 184.

The interpolation is a characteristic of the abbreviated form of text (see p.127). But before we accept its presence as proof that hand (4) was contaminating MS.5 from a copy of the abbreviated form there is one factor to make us pause. It is also found in a few full manuscripts unconnected with the Fleury group: MS.44 (Vat. lat.1546, s.xi ex., Italian?) and its close relatives MS.34 (Paris lat.8677, s.xv med., Paduan?) and MS.143 (Florence, Ricc., 581, s.xiv ex., Italian); MS.62 (London, Brit.Lib., MS.Harl.2652, s.xii); MS.84 (Milan, Ambrosiana, G.70. Sup., fols.17-64, s.xiii<sup>2</sup>); MS.110 (Basel, F.IV.32, fols.59-97, s.xii<sup>2</sup>). It is also added by a hand of s.xiii or xiv in MS.25 (Paris lat.16680, s.xii<sup>2</sup>-xiii<sup>1</sup>), and by a hand of s.xii<sup>2</sup> which corrected and finished the incomplete copy

of s.xii in., in MS.74 (Florence, Laur., Strozzi 74). Nevertheless, I think it is very likely that the interpolation originated in the abbreviated form, since one can there find a specific reason for its inclusion. At I.15,7, Macrobius refers back to I.12,1 with the words quibus autem partibus zodiacum intersecet, superius iam relatum est. haec de lacteo (Willis 62.2-3). Since I.12,1 falls in a section excluded from the abbreviated form, the abbreviator found it convenient to replace the cross-reference with the earlier passage itself. The words quibus...lacteo occur in none of the pure *manuscripts of the abbreviated form*, but in all those of the full text mentioned above as containing the interpolation. This duplication of the cross-reference and the passage to which it refers proves that the interpolation originated in the abbreviated form. All the full manuscripts containing the interpolation have been contaminated from the abbreviated form; this is a good illustration of the point that when a medieval scholar corrected MS.A from MS.B, he would tend to add the additional passages of B to A, but not to strike out the omissions of B in A.

Returning to MS.5, we can be certain that Additional hand (4) added the interpolation directly from a copy of the abbreviated form, because his additions also include a quantity of other characteristic material, such as an introduction which refers to hoc libro de differentia stellarum et siderum carpsio ex ipsius libris (a reference to the title usually found at the beginning of the opening section of the abbreviated form at I.14,21, Ex libris Macrobiani Ambrosii de differentia stellarum et siderum). The one other manuscript to contain this introduction is a manuscript of the abbreviated form, MS.104 (Clm 6364, written at Freising in s.x<sup>2</sup>; the introduction is in the hand of the original scribe). A manuscript of the abbreviated form which possibly belonged to Fleury is MS.119 (Leiden, Voss.Lat.F.96, fols.71-8, French s.xi, perhaps s.x), though there is no certain evidence: the manuscript is now bound up with others which have Fleury ex libris, but the join cannot be traced back earlier than the 17th cent. At any rate, MS.119 was not the source of hand (4)'s material in MS.5, since

those additions are much closer to the German manuscript, MS.104.

The interpolation is important for determining the relationships of our Fleury group of manuscripts, for it is found written into the original texts before the cross-reference quibus autem partibus... in MSS.12 and 16, and added by a contemporary hand in the margin of the appropriate leaf in MS.7. It might be argued that this is not as significant as it seems, because its occurrence in other unrelated manuscripts shows that the act of contamination from abbreviated form to full text must have occurred on several independent occasions—as might be expected in the case of a relatively long passage. But the text of the interpolation itself includes two variants shared only by MSS.5X, 7X, 12, 16, 104, and one other manuscript in each case:

(from Comm.I.12,1,Willis 47.32) occursu] cursu 5X,7x,12,16,17,104.

(from Comm.I.12,1,Willis 48.4) accessio]104X(i.1) accersio  
5X, 7X, 12, 16, ? 91, 104a.

These variants prove that the source of the interpolation in MSS.5X, 7X, 12 and 16 was a single manuscript of the abbreviated form akin to MS.104, and it is very likely therefore that one act of contamination was responsible for the presence of the interpolation in all these Fleury manuscripts. I hope to produce additional evidence in each case to show that the original act of contamination was performed by Additional hand (4) in MS.5, and that MS.5 is therefore the direct ancestor of MSS.12 and 16, and the source of the additions in MS.7.

#### MSS.12 and 16.

My sample passages reveal no errors in MS.5 after correction by hand (4) which are not also to be found in MS.12 and (in the samples from Bk.I only) MS.16. The following variants are found only in MSS.5, 12 and 16:

Comm.I.6,41(Willis 25.25) sed 2 corr.(s.l.),6X(s.l.)] se 2a,6a.  
et 5, 12, 16.

Comm.I.19,17(Willis 76.16) qui 5X(exp.),6] quia 5a, 12, 16.

To these can be added a reading which appears as a correction in MSS.5 and 7 and as part of the original text in MSS. 12 and 16:

Comm. I.20,9( illis 80.13) defectus argumentum 5a, 6, 7a]  
defectus in argumentum 5X(s.l.), 7X(s.l.), 12, 16.

It is reassuring to find readings which place MSS.12 and 16 on the side of MS.5 in opposition to the other  $\phi$  manuscript, MS.6.

Coupled with the evidence of the interpolation, this is sufficient to show that MSS.12 and 16 are descended from MS.5.

Another convincing scrap of evidence in the case of MS.16 is the occurrence of the letter B written by the original scribe of MS.16 between the words et and Plotinus at I.19,27(Willis 78.15); it was precisely thus that hand 4 in MS.5 indicated the end of one of the omissions of the abbreviated form.

MS.12 is not descended from MS.5 via MS.16, nor is the reverse true. This can be demonstrated from a single reading:

Comm.I.14,19(Willis 58.32) ἐντελέχειαν, Pythagoras et Philolaus]

entelachiam pytagoras epilolaus 5a.

entel<sup>ch</sup>chiam pytagoras: epilolaus 5, after

correction probably in several stages  
 by different hands.

entelachiam pitagoras endelichiam epilolaus 12.

entelechiam phytagoras ephilolaus 16.

The presence of the second attempt at ἐντελέχειαν, endelichiam, in MS.12, but not in MS.16, shows that MS.12 cannot be descended from MS.5 through MS.16; and given MS.5's original reading, its absence in MS.16 shows that MS.16 is not descended from MS.5 through MS.12.

Further peculiarities of MS.16.

The results about MS.16 so far have been based only on sample passages from Bk.I. But in collating one of my sample passages from Bk.II (13,1-6) in MS.16, I was struck by the fact that it is full of misexpansions of abbreviations, making the sense quite unintelligible. Quod becomes quam almost invariably, e.g. at Willis p.133 lines 12, 13, 15, 20 (twice), 24, 29, 30. Haec becomes

autem at II.13,5(Willis 133.31). MS.16 is the only manuscript I have collated to bear such stigmata in this passage. But the errors at once recall the characteristic faults of MS.9, of which the text for this passage does not survive (see pp. 73-4).

The next stage in the investigation was to collate MS.16 in full against MS.9 for those portions of the text which still remain in the older manuscript. The results do not contradict the earlier findings that MS.16 is a descendant of MS.5: MS.16 does not agree very closely with MS.9 for those parts of MS.9 contained in Leiden, Voss.Lat.F.12  $\beta$  (even taking corrections into account) and the London leaf, Royal 15.B.xii, fols.1-2 (Comm.I.1, 1-7; 2,12-4, 2; 19,4-20,3); it is much closer to MS.5. But for Voss.Lat.F.122 (Comm.II. 1, 13-2,11) MS.16 fulfils the conditions required for it to be a direct descendant of MS.9, in that it contains all the errors present in MS.9, with a few more of its own. The common errors include three misinterpretations of quod:

Comm.II.2,2(Willis 99.26-7) ne quod 5, 6] neque 9, 16.

Comm.II.2,6(Willis 100.16) quod 5, 6] quam 9, 16.

Comm.II.2,9(Willis 100.30) quod 5, 6] quam 9, 16.

The conclusion is that MS.16 is a descendant of MS.5 for earlier parts of the text and of MS.9 for later parts. A full collation of both MSS.5 and 16 should reveal precisely where the exemplars were switched. They may have been changed more than once, for MS.16 shows signs of the distribution of quires among different scribes. The normal explanation for this phenomenon is that the exemplar itself was divided up quire by quire and issued to the different scribes to copy into the allotted quires of blank parchment, so that exemplar and copy should coincide, quire for quire. This might be regarded as rather drastic treatment if the exemplar itself was bound, and the use of two exemplars would solve this problem. It will be worth investigating whether the textual pattern fits the theory. The sprawling script of MS.16, with the features of the Fleury style exaggerated to the point of caricature, may suggest that the manuscript was prepared as a rush

job. It was never completed, for it lacks titles and decoration, and the spaces left for the diagrams remain blank. Corrections and later additions are sparse, and the overall impression is that it was the least used of all the Fleury copies of Macrobius' Commentary. This is scarcely surprising, for those parts of the text inherited from MS.9 are corrupt to the point of nonsense.

There is in fact no external evidence that MS.16 was written at or belonged to Fleury. But the combination of its script and its descent from the two 9th-cent. Fleury copies seems to me to be certain proof that it was written in the Fleury scriptorium, probably directly from the two 9th-cent. manuscripts. MS.16 is extremely important from the point of view of the text; by comparing its readings with those of MS.12, we should be able to reconstruct the text of MS.5 for the passage at the beginning (Comm.I.1,1...enuntiauit.//I.1,9, Willis 3.24) where one leaf of MS.5 is lost; and when the passages copied from MS.9 have been isolated — a task which should not be hard, given MS.9's characteristic misexpansion of abbreviations — we shall be enabled to recover more of MS.9's text. Those readings which agree there with MS.6 against MS.5 will be the readings of  $\phi$ .

#### MS.7.

MS.7 is palpably a member of the  $\phi$  family, containing most of the distinctive readings. But, provided we lay aside the possibility of contamination in its ancestry, it is not a descendant of MS.5, MS.6, or MS.9. It is undoubtedly not a descendant of MS.9, for it does not display the innumerable misexpansions of abbreviations which characterise that manuscript; it is impossible that such corruption could have been totally sterilised in an intermediate copy between MSS.9 and 7. I have not recorded any agreements in MS.7 against the following variants which occur in MS.5 and its descendants, MSS.12 and 16 (and often in other manuscripts):

Comm.I.6,2(Willis 18.29) a 2U(s.l.), 6X(i.l.) ] om. 2a, 5, 6a, 12, 14a, 16.

Comm.I.6,3(Willis 18.31) utrimque] utrique 5, 10, 12, 16.

Comm.I.6,41(Willis 25.25) sed 2(s.l.), 6X(s.l.)] et 5, 12, 16.  
se 2a, 6a.

Comm.I.6,42(Willis 26.4) nuncupatur] noncupantur 5, 12, 16.  
nuncupantur 6.

Comm.I.14,20(Willis 59.13) sententia] sententiam 5, 12, 16.

Comm.I.19,18(Willis 76.22) fecit] facit 5, 12, 16.

On the other hand MS.7, like MS.5, does not have the omissions of MS.6 listed on p.74, and it would be audacious to propose a link with the Corbie branch of the  $\phi$  family without very strong reason, given that MS.7 was written at Fleury, the home of other leading members of the  $\phi$  family. An interesting feature is a slight tendency for MS.7 to produce unique, sensible readings at places where was obviously corrupt, e.g.

Comm.I.10,12(Willis 44.1) tormenta conscientiae ?5U (subl.),

12, 16, etc.] tormenta mihi conscientiae 5a 6a.

tormenta malae conscientiae 2, 6B (s.l., exp.), etc.

tormenta iniquae conscientiae 7.

Comm.I.19,17(Willis 76.18-19) uerbum quo hanc definitionem

2U (s.l.), 5X (s.l.), 7X (m., ras., t)] om. 5a, 6a.

ut 7.

It is possible that these are true readings, but far more likely that they are intelligent emendations by some carolingian scholar faced with an incomprehensible reading in a manuscript of the group. The corrupt readings of the older  $\phi$  manuscripts and the fact that MS.7's readings are found nowhere else suggest that they are not genuine.

The chief evidence that I have produced to show that MS.5 was at Fleury in the 11th cent. was that the same 11th-cent. hand (Additional hand (5) in MS.5) had added the same unique elements diagram in both parts (see pp.209-210). Another 11th-cent. hand in MS.7 echoes additions made in MS.5 by its Additional hand (3) (see p.205 for the texts of (a), (b) and (e)), e.g.

a) The gloss on Comm.II.4,11(Willis 109.5, netas et hypatas).

- b) The gloss on Comm.II.4,14(Willis 109.26, Catadupa).
- c) A gloss on Comm.II.11,17(Willis 130.17, Nam), beginning XV<sup>ma</sup> XX  
pars sunt DCCL... The signe-de-renvoi used in both manuscripts  
is the same,  $\xi$ .

The same hand in MS.7 echoes additions made in MS.5 by its Additional  
hand (4), e.g.

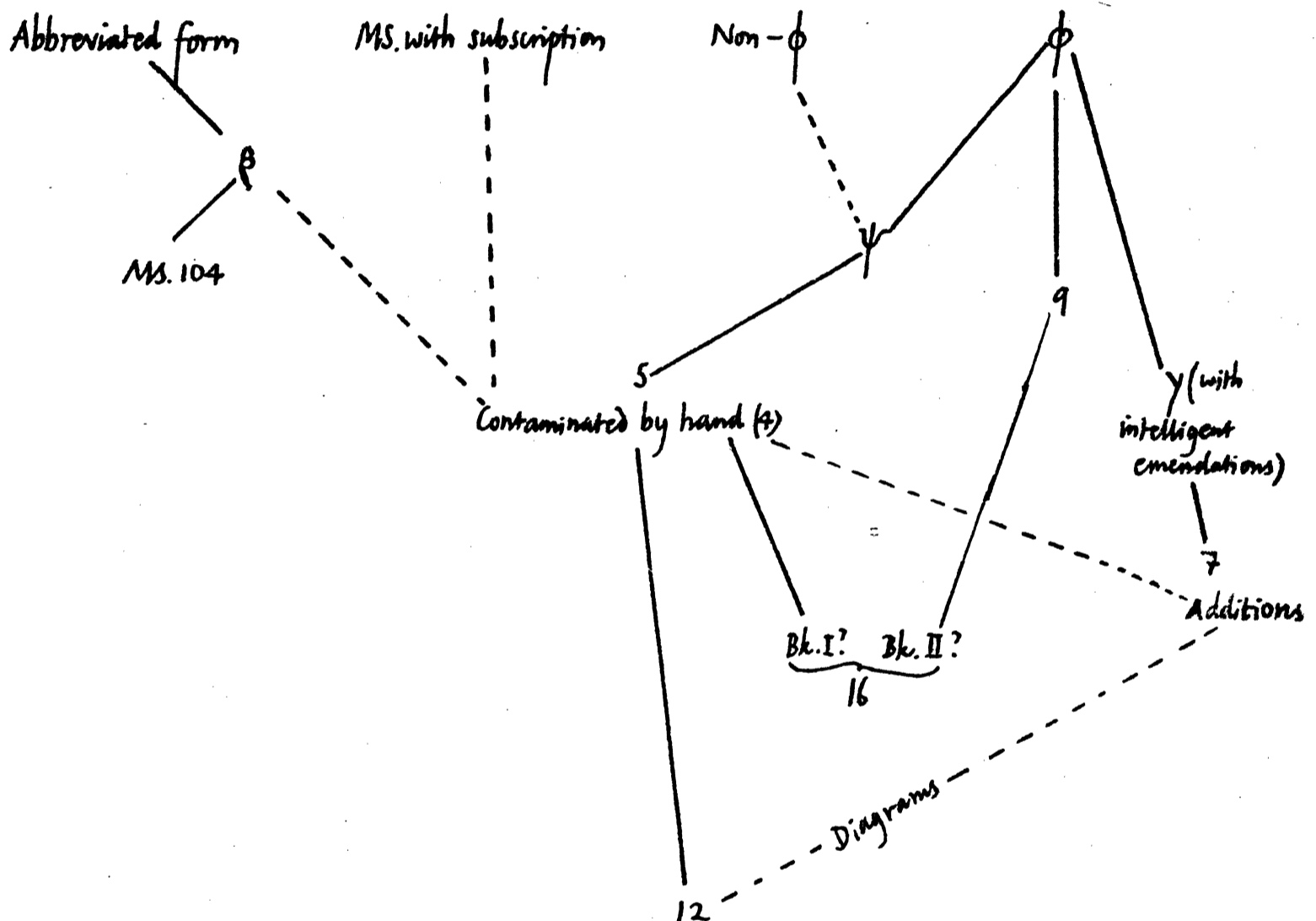
- d) The interpolation at I.12,1, with the characteristic variants,  
see above p. 92, and some other textual variants.
- e) (probably by hand 4 in MS.5). The gloss on I.21,12(Willis 87.10,  
clepsydrae).

Since the shared material seems to be by two hands in MS.5 but by  
one hand in MS.7, it is fair to deduce that MS.7 derives it from  
MS.5, rather than vice-versa or from a shared source.

While MS.7's additions were derived from those of MS.5, MS.7 in  
turn contaminated MS.12, a descendant of MS.5, in another area: the  
diagrams. Two of the five standard Macrobian diagrams are presented  
in MSS.7 and 12 with variants found only in those two manuscripts.  
They are the zodiac diagram found at I.21,4/5, and the ecliptic  
diagram at II.7,6/7. These diagrams appear to be original rather  
than later additions in both manuscripts. I shall not attempt to  
describe the variants in detail; but in the zodiac diagram, for  
example, both manuscripts have the words CCCLXV diebus et VI horis id  
est quadrante diei (die diei in MS.12) written around the circle of  
sun, and in the ecliptic diagram the names of the zodiac signs are  
written along the zodiac line FP. The colour schemes of the two  
diagrams are also found only in these two manuscripts, and the  
diameter of the ecliptic diagram is 87mm. in both. We can be  
certain that the diagrams of MS.12 were copied directly from those  
in MS.7 rather than vice-versa or from a common source, because  
erasures in MS.7 suggests that the designer was working out the  
exact pattern and wording of his diagrams as he went along, whereas  
MS.12's versions are slightly incomplete in comparison with  
those of MS.7. The erasures of MS.7 suggest that the variants in  
these diagrams originated in the Fleury scriptorium rather than

being taken from MS.7's exemplar. In deciding what diagrams to have in MS.12, the scribe or director of the scriptorium chose these new versions rather than those of the source of the text, MS.5.

We may now present the  $\phi$  manuscripts of Fleury in the form of a stemma:



The Somnium Scipionis at Fleury.

So far I have been discussing the text of Macrobius' Commentary at Fleury, rather than that of the Somnium Scipionis itself.

Neither of the two 9th-cent. manuscripts, MSS.5 and 9, now contain a text of the Somnium in the original 9th-cent hand. In MS.5, it is certain that the Somnium was not part of the original make-up of the volume; in spite of a loss of text at the crucial place between the De senectute and Macrobius' Commentary, the collation and quire-signatures prove that only one leaf is lost, and that it contained most of the first chapter of the Commentary - there would have been no room for the Somnium, in that position at any rate. Another leaf, the last one of q. xi, is now lost after the end of the Commentary (after Paris lat.16677, fol.72); but the absence of an original copy of the Somnium, by the time of Abbo at least, is shown by the fact that a leaf was then added (fol.73) containing the beginning of the text of the Somnium by two hands of the angular Fleury type.

In the case of MS.9, the Somnium was never present between the De senectute and the Macrobius; indeed, the Macrobius originally ran on from the De senectute without any break whatsoever. The end of MS.9 is now lost, but there are two considerations which suggest that the Somnium was never present at the end: firstly, the evidence of MS.6, of the lost Tours manuscript, MS.151, and of one of the lost Cluny manuscripts (see above, p.70), shows that when the Somnium Scipionis was present in a fully-fledged member of the  $\phi$  family, i.e. one which contained the De senectute and Macrobius' Commentary, its position was always between the De senectute and Macrobius, not at the end of the Macrobius. Indeed, I suspect that  $\phi$  did contain the Somnium, and in that position, for its presence there gives far greater point to the combination with the De senectute (see pp.63-64). Secondly, no extant Fleury copy of the Somnium betrays any of the characteristic misexpansions of abbreviations which would show that it had passed from  $\phi$  through the distorting influence of MS.9. MS.16, joint descendant of MSS.5 and 9, contains no copy of the Somnium Scipionis at all.

The Somnium survives in the following manuscripts which belonged at some time to Fleury:

Ch. IV. The  $\phi$  group: later Fleury MSS.

<u>My MS.no.</u>	<u>Shelf-mark</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Text present</u>	<u>Cross-refs.</u>
5X	{ Paris lat.16677, fol.73 <sup>r-v</sup> .	s.x <sup>2</sup> or xi <sup>1</sup> .	1,1... <u>afffricanum</u> //3, 3(Willis 157.23).	Pp. 203-4.
10a	{ Paris lat.8663, fol.45 <sup>r-v</sup> .	s.x ex.- xi in.	1,1... <u>parte</u> //6.2 (160.24).	Pp. 245, 251-2.

The original scribe of 10 left the Somnium incomplete; another hand added a little more:

10X	Paris lat.8663, fol.46 <sup>r</sup> .	s.xi.	6.2(160.25)// <u>subnixos</u> ... <u>uiri</u> //7.2(161.18).	Pp. 251-2.
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But he left the text still unfinished.

12.	Paris lat.6365, fols.2 <sup>v</sup> -3 <sup>v</sup> .	s.xi <sup>1</sup> .	Complete.	Pp. 257-265.
29.	Paris, nouv. acq. lat.1611, fols. 56 <sup>r</sup> -57 <sup>r</sup> (rest of MS. is Orléans 267 (223)).	s.x <sup>2</sup> .	Complete (without <u>Comm.</u> )	<i>Description not included.</i>

The following two manuscripts contain no evidence that they belonged to Fleury (their medieval history is unknown), but are placed in the list for the reason stated below:

142	Berlin (East), Phill. 1787 (rest of MS. is Phill.1786).	s.x <sup>2</sup> or xi <sup>1</sup> .	Complete (without <u>Comm.</u> )	Pp. 441-8.
48	Vatican, Reg. lat.1405, fols.12 <sup>r</sup> -22 <sup>r</sup> (rest of MS. is Reg. lat.1207).	s.xi <sup>1</sup> .	Complete (without <u>Comm.</u> )	Pp. 290-295.

MSS.142 and 48 are different in content apart from the Somnium Scipionis. However, they are rather similar in physical appearance: small, fat volumes (MS.142 is very tiny indeed, under 10 cm. in height) with relatively few lines to the page and with quire-signatures in capital letters, A, B, C, etc. They must both have been intended as small handbooks. It seems likely that they were the product of the same scriptorium. MS.29 is much larger; it is a small folio with narrow margins and very long lines, similar in format to three of the Fleury copies of Macrobius' Commentary, MSS.7, 10 and 12. MS.29's Fleury origin, at once suggested by the fact that half of it is still at Orléans, is confirmed by its script, a classic example of the angular type,

and by van de Vyver's identification of a logical treatise in it as a work by Abbo of Fleury.<sup>(4)</sup> I think it is quite possible that both MSS.142 and 48 are products of Fleury; there is little evidence, but the later history of neither manuscript contradicts this solution (MS.48 turns up first in the collection of Paul Petau, MS.142 in the Jesuit college of Clermont in Paris). As well as the Somnium, MS.142 contains 'Boethius' (Marius Victorinus), Liber de definitionibus, and Boethius, Liber de divisione, both to be found in MS.29, and MS.48 has Cicero, Topica, also present in MS.29. The rounded scripts of MSS.48 and 142 are not of the angular type, but it may be that a clearer style was dictated by the small format; the scripts of MS.142 show possible Fleury characteristics in a very angular ct ligature, ct<sup>x</sup>, and the abbreviation -- for est. The tiny format is also to be seen in Oxford, MS.Bodley 38 (s.xi), of which at least part was written in the Orléans area.<sup>(5)</sup>

4. A. van de Vyver, 'Les oeuvres inédites d'Abbon de Fleury', Revue Bénédictine, 47 (1935), 130-137.

5. Survival of Ancient Literature..., no.105.

My reason for including MSS.48 and 142 despite the doubt regarding their origins is that MSS.12, 29, 48 and 142 form a distinct group among the manuscripts of the Somnium Scipionis. The original, incomplete text of the Somnium in MS.10 stands apart from the others, as the manuscript does also for Macrobius' Commentary; it contains none of the distinctive readings of the group. MS.10a in fact presents a good text, with very few variants; my sample passages produce only two which are not also present in our group, optumi for optimi at Somnium 1,2 (Willis 155.10) and extumus for extimus at Somnium 4,1 (Willis 158.26). It might be argued that these are only spelling variants and that MS.10 could be the ancestor of our group: but this is ruled out at once, as the text is incomplete. The 11th-cent. hand, which added a continuation of the Somnium in MS.10 but still did not complete it, is of the same general character as the angular Fleury hand of

the original text; the amount of text added is too small for me to discern its precise relationship with the other manuscripts from my sample passages, but it shares some variants with all or some manuscripts of our group. The same findings and reservations apply to the fragment of the text added by hands of the Fleury type at the end of MS.5.

The following readings are found only in the group which I have defined:

Somnium 3,7(Willis 158.12-16) erat autem...uidebantur ] om.12, 29, 48, 142.

Somnium 3,7(Willis 158.19 ) citima terris ] citima terre et proxima 12, 29, 48a, 142a. citima terris et proxima 48A(s.l. *at* ), 142U (s.l. *t* ). citima proxima et terris 10a and many others. citima et proxima terris 10U (s.l.), unique.

Somnium 6,3(Willis 160.31-2) insula est 142a ] est insula 10X, 12, 17, 29, 48. est insula est 142U(s.l.).

Somnium 6,4(Willis 161.3) num aut ] nam ut 10D, 12, 29, 48, ?142 (ut certainly).

Somnium 8,4(Willis 163.1) esset est et 12, 29, 48, 142.

The following are found in these manuscripts and a few others:

Somnium 6,4(Willis 161.5) quis ] uis 12, 29, 48, 142, etc.

Somnium 8,4(Willis 163.4) renascetur 142a ] nascetur 12, 29, 48, 142U (exp.), etc.

Somnium 9,1(Willis 163.10) a se ipso moneatur 142a ] se ipsum moneat 12, 29, 32, 48, 86, 142U (exp.).

MS.48 is a direct descendant of MS.142, for it contains all the variants of 142 and several more not found in any other members of the group. The following variants clinch the matter:

Somnium 4,2(Willis 158.30) motu atque 142a ] motu aliter atque 48, 142U (s.l.).

The variant was probably thought up by the corrector of MS.142 out of his head; he was worried about this use of atque

meaning 'than', for he adds i(d est) quam above that word as a gloss; the gloss is written as pro quam by the original hand in MS.48.

Somnium 7,5(Willis 161.20) populariter 48A (s.l., with At, 142U (m., with t ). loquelariter 12, 29, 48a, 142a. Both readings are very common, but it is rare to find them together; the scribe of 48 has faithfully transcribed both the readings he found in 142.

Another feature shared by MSS.48 and 142 is an introduction to the Somnium, beginning Incipit somnium Scipionis, quod Macrobius exponens ad Eustachium filium suum duos edidit libros, in quibus subtiliter disseruit de bono senectutis...(my Introduction no.2). It is perhaps the most common of the twenty-two medieval introductions to the Somnium Scipionis and Macrobius' Commentary which I have so far collected; it occurs in at least twelve other manuscripts. MSS.48 and 142 are among the earliest, but MS.10 also contains it (written by one of the original scribes, perhaps as an afterthought, see p.245 ). A point to notice is that neither Scipio in his dream nor Macrobius in his Commentary devotes much attention to a discussion de bono senectutis. Could this introduction have been composed specially for a manuscript containing not only the Somnium Scipionis and Macrobius' Commentary, but also Cicero's de senectute, i.e. a full member of the  $\phi$  family? MS.12 contains another introduction (my no.1), beginning Macrobius oronichretes, hoc est somniorum iudex uel interpres, commentatus est in Scipionis apocalipsi... This is also found in six other manuscripts, but the copy written by the original hand in MS.12 is much the earliest. Introduction no.1 must have been composed by a scholar who had a copy of no.2 in front of him, for his technique was to use no.2 as a nucleus on which to hang additional learned notes about the derivation of Macrobius' names, etc. It is significant that he left out the phrase de bono senectutis.

MSS.12 and 29 are closely related. The following readings are found in these manuscripts but not in MS.142:

Somnium 6,3(Willis 160.32) Atlanticum] Athlanticum 48, 93U  
(exp., i.l.), 97A (s.l., i.l., exp.), 142 and most other  
manuscripts. Adhla \_\_\_ 10X, 12, 29, 93a, ? 97a.

Somnium 7,3(Willis 161.21) astri] austri 12, 29, 134.

Somnium 8,3(Willis 162.27) ipsum] ipse 12, 29.

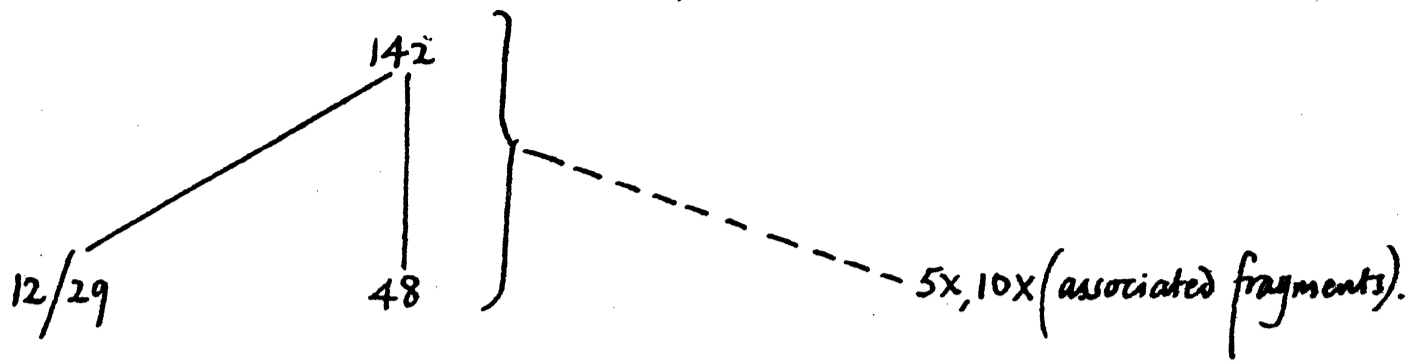
It is possible that MS.29 is a descendant of MS.12, for MS.29 contains a few variants not present in MS.12, while MS.12's only variant not shared by MS.29 is the following:

Somnium 6,2(Willis 160.23) maxime] maximet 12.

It is the sort of obvious slip of the pen which an intelligent scribe could put right. Either MS.29 is a descendant of MS.12 or they are gemelli; a full collation should provide the answer.

What is the relationship between MS.142 and MSS.12/29? Provided that the scribes of MSS.12/29 are allowed to have exercised a choice between corrected and uncorrected variants in MS.142, it may be said that MSS.12/29 contain all the variants of 142 and more of their own. It is usually the readings produced after correction in MS.142 which agree with MSS.12/29. There are two possible theories: either MS.142 is the ancestor of MSS.12/29, or MS.142 has been corrected to accord closely with MSS.12/29 or a related manuscript. The first theory is much the most likely, since some original readings in MS.142 which have not been tampered with are already those of our group, most notably the long omission at Somnium 3,7(Willis 158.12-16); to make the second theory work, one would have to argue double contamination. One might counter this objection by saying that the corrections in MS.142 were simply made by the original scribe checking his work against the original exemplar. However, the original readings of MS.142 before correction are often sensible variants found in other manuscripts, not mere slips of the pen. It would seem, therefore, that MS.142 is the archetype of our group.

My results produce the following stemma for these copies of the Somnium Scipionis:



The person who organised the writing of MS.12 was clearly determined to make his copy as complete as possible, drawing the text of the Commentary from MS.5, the text of the Somnium from MS.142, and new, improved diagrams from MS.7. Given that MS.142 presented him with Introduction no.2, it is *not improbable* that it was he who composed the longer Introduction (no.1), to stand at the start of the Commentary rather than of the Somnium Scipionis. He thus put together a copy that was of considerably more use than plain texts of the Commentary such as MSS.7 and 16. It is very interesting that he should have derived his copy of the Somnium Scipionis from a manuscript in which the Somnium was present as a text independent of the Commentary. Such manuscripts were extremely rare until the second half of the 14th cent., when, perhaps under the influence of Petrarch's work on Ciceronian texts, the text of the Somnium Scipionis became common in volumes of Cicero's collected philosophical works as well as in association with Macrobius' Commentary (I have listed 260 examples of the Somnium Scipionis without the Commentary from the late 14th and 15th centuries, mainly Italian). But these French copies connected with Fleury are almost the only examples from norther Europe<sup>(6)</sup> before the 14th cent. where the Somnium Scipionis circulated apart from the Commentary. An instructive parallel is to be found in my MS.114, Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 735C, fols.1-26 (s.xi in., French, ? Limoges region),<sup>(7)</sup> where the Somnium Scipionis is followed by the titles, incipits and e<sup>x</sup>pl<sup>i</sup>cits only of Macrobius' Commentary; this proves that the immediate source of the Somnium Scipionis in MS.114 was a full copy of the Commentary with the Somnium attached. The rarity of independent texts of the Somnium at this time suggests that the same must be true of MS.142, but I

have not yet been able to discover any close links between MS.142 and any other manuscript except its own derivatives.

6. Two 12th-cent. manuscripts in Beneventan script, containing the Somnium without the Commentary in association with other works of Cicero, suggest that the Somnium was circulating independently of the Commentary in Southern Italy: MS.125 (Florence, Laur., Strozzi 49, Bari type of Beneventan script, s.xii<sup>1</sup>) and MS.126 (Vatic lat.3227, s.xii in., probably written at Monte Cassino).
7. Fully described by P. McGurk, in The National Library of Wales Journal, 18 (1973), pp.197-216 and plates, esp. p.206. The zodiac diagram on fol.4<sup>v</sup> is also to be found in my MS.7, fol. 71<sup>r</sup>; but MS.7 contains only the Commentary, not the Somnium.

Excerpts from Macrobius' Commentary in Fleury manuscripts.

The set of excerpts from Macrobius' Commentary most common in the medieval manuscripts are the three on the size of the earth (I.20, 14-24), on the size of the sun (I.20,25-32) and on the 'world-year' of 15,000 years (II, 11,5-17), which became current in the first half of the 9th cent. in the 'Seven-Book Computus' studied most recently by V.H. King in his work on the astronomical excerpts from Pliny's Natural History (see p.128). King has shown that several computistical manuscripts which derive their material ultimately from his 'Seven-Book Computus' belonged to Fleury. Those which contain the excerpts from Macrobius as well as those from Pliny include Paris nouv.acq.lat.1615 (s.ix<sup>1</sup>, possibly written at Auxerre but with 9th-cent. Fleury ownership marks) and probably London, Harl.2506 (s.x ex.-xi in., written by both French and English scribes, probably at Fleury). The early date at which ~~these~~ excerpts reached their present form and their wide circulation reduce their significance in a discussion of the history of Macrobius' text at Fleury, but it is as well to bear in mind that they were available

at Fleury from the 9th cent. onwards.

The identification of the script-type of Fleury in the time of Abbo rest mainly on its presence in the earliest manuscripts of Abbo's own works, including some manuscripts which may have been executed for the author himself. Extracts from Macrobius' Commentary occur in two of these.

The first is East Berlin, Phill.1833 (Rose 138), analysed in detail by van de Vyver (pp.139, 150-158). It is an arithmetical and computistical miscellany, the major parts of which are works by Abbo himself: his commentary on the Calculus of Victorius of Aquitaine (fols.1<sup>v</sup>-21<sup>v</sup>. I); his Computus, of which the first part (fols.23<sup>r</sup>-39<sup>v</sup>) was composed in 978-982, the second part (fols.40<sup>r</sup>-53<sup>r</sup>) during his reign as abbot of Fleury, 988-1004 (this is the most complete and the most logically organised copy of the text); and the two letters on the cycle of Dionysius Exiguus (fols.56<sup>r</sup>-60<sup>r</sup>), composed in 1003 and 1004. Shorter pieces are transcribed on blanks between the major parts.

The early date of the manuscript, its contents, its distinctively Fleury scripts and its Fleury ex libris (fol.62<sup>r</sup>) together prove that it must have been written at Fleury around the time of Abbo himself. It is written by several scribes, and the major works fall naturally into separate quires, executed by different hands. van de Vyver suggests that the manuscript was built up over a period, in the following sequence:

Ia (quires iv-v). First part of the Computus.

Ib (quires vi-vii). Second part of the Computus.

II (quires i-iii), the commentary on Victorius of Aquitaine.

III (quire viii), the two letters.

From this evidence that the manuscript was made up work by work over a period, van de Vyver formed the natural conclusion that Abbo himself supervised its production in at least pts. I and II. Lesne<sup>(8)</sup> produces evidence from Haymo's life of Abbo to show that Abbo sometimes dictated, and sometimes composed on wax tablets which would no doubt afterwards be transcribed onto parchment

by his scribes.

8. E. Lesne, Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France. I (1938), Les livres, «scriptoria» et bibliothèques..., 134-5.

The Macrobian excerpts fall into two groups, to judge from their script and from their position in the manuscript:

- a) Fols. 36<sup>r</sup> (modified version of Macrobius' zodiac diagram, with added tables for calculating the hour of rising of the zodiac signs, without Macrobian text); 39<sup>v</sup> (Macrobius' rain diagram, with an excerpt from I.22, 11-12); 36<sup>r</sup> (Macrobius' zones diagram with a paraphrase of II.5, 13-14 and II. 7, 4 written inside the diagram itself); 36<sup>r</sup> (Macrobius' ecliptic diagram; text with the previous item); 39<sup>v</sup> (Macrobius' map diagram, amplified, with an excerpt from II.9, 6 and other material). All these are included in a section of scientific diagrams which forms the closing part of the first section of Abbo's Computus. It is noteworthy that Abbo has chosen to include all five of Macrobius' original diagrams. The excerpts show the text of Macrobius in process of digestion by a medieval scholar.

The first section of the Computus seems to have been written by one scribe; his very beautiful and distinctive hand, with rustic capitals of particular elegance, is very similar to that of Additional hand (4) in MS.5. I have not yet been able to make a detailed textual comparison between these excerpts and MS.5. As far as the diagrams are concerned, the Rain diagram has the same form in the excerpt here on fol. 39<sup>v</sup> and in MS.5; but the map on fol. 39<sup>v</sup> cannot be derived from MS.5, for it is scarcely begun in that manuscript.

- b) Fols. 21<sup>v</sup> (Macrobius' zodiac diagram, with a paraphrase of I.21, 3-4); 1<sup>r</sup> (Macrobius' ecliptic diagram, with an excerpt from II.7, 1-6); 1<sup>r</sup> (Macrobius' map diagram, with an excerpt from II.9, 1-7). These excerpts are written by a very small Fleury hand to fill spaces at the beginning and end of Abbo's Commentary on Victorius' Calculus. It is possible that these

excerpts were not derived directly from a full text of Macrobius, since much the same material is to be found in excerpts in other manuscripts, e.g. the excerpts which accompany the letter of Dungal (see above, p. 86 n. 13).

The second Fleury manuscript to contain important excerpts from Macrobius' Commentary is a dismembered volume reunited by Mlle. Pellegrin<sup>(9)</sup>: Leiden, Voss.Lat.F.70.I, fols.1-66 + Orléans 277 (233) + Paris nouv.acq.lat.1630, fols.14-16. It contains a collection of works on logic by Boethius, etc., including a fragment of the syllogistic work, found in MS.29, which van de Vyver attributed to the authorship of Abbo (Orléans 277, pp.74-7). Orléans 277, p.62, contains an historiated initial, with a man's head labelled ABBO. The coincidence of these contents, the angular hands and later history combine to suggest very strongly a Fleury origin, perhaps before the death of Abbo. The continuous excerpts from Macrobius' Commentary are stretched across two parts: Paris nouv.acq.lat.1630, fols.14<sup>v</sup>-16<sup>v</sup> + Leiden, Voss.Lat.F.70. I. fol.51<sup>r</sup>. Unfortunately the script of these excerpts is minute and the surface of the parchment half rubbed away, causing the loss of many letters. I think that most of the text could be worked out through a close scrutiny of the original, but I have not yet had the opportunity to do so. The task is worth doing, for I have not seen this set of excerpts in any other manuscript. The passages chosen for excerpting here include not only some of the astronomical texts used in Abbo's Computus, but texts of greater philosophical content, such as those on the immortality of the soul from the end of Bk. II (on the Leiden leaf). The excerpts end with the following semi-legible title: haec de libro Macrobiani Theodosii (sic) secundo in somnium Scipionis aliquando isdem aliquando mutatis dece [\*\*\*] pta de [\*] uerbis. This manuscript also contains excerpts from Macrobius' Saturnalia (Leiden, Voss.Lat.F.70. I, fol.66<sup>v</sup>; breaks off incomplete).

9. É. Pellegrin, 'Membra disiecta

Floriacensia', Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartres, 117 (1959), 9-16; see also van de Vyver, p.134 and n.2.

Conclusion.

In drawing up my list of manuscripts of the Commentary which belonged to Fleury. I was careful initially to exclude palaeographical arguments. The identification of the angular Fleury script in a manuscript which lacked other indications of provenance would perhaps be insufficient to prove a Fleury origin. However, in the case of MSS.7, 10, 12, and 16, the identification of the Fleury type in the scripts of their main texts, coupled with other evidence for Fleury ownership, is in my view sufficient to show that these manuscripts were actually written at Fleury. The closeness in their dates must be significant; the likeliest explanation for the execution of four copies of the same text in the same period at one scriptorium is that they were required as schoolbooks. The appearance of the angular Fleury script in additions to the 9th-cent. manuscripts, MSS.5 and 6, increases the number of copies in use at Fleury around the time of Abbo to six. In addition, a copy of the Somnium Scipionis by itself was written at Fleury in the same period as part of MS.29, and MSS.48 and 142 are possibly also Fleury manuscripts. Further manuscripts contain excerpts from the Commentary. The total number of manuscripts involved does seem extraordinary. Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that in spite of its membra disiecta, Fleury has on the whole fared well in the survival of its medieval library; other centres may have owned even more copies of Macrobius which through the accidents of time have not survived. For example, the library of Christ Church, Canterbury, in the third quarter of the 12th century possessed eleven copies of Macrobius and two further commentaries on the author.<sup>(10)</sup> Only one of these is known to be still in existence, my MS.68 (London, Inner Temple, Petyt 511.10), a copy of the Somnium Scipionis and Commentary written by the glorious Christ Church scriptorium at the beginning of the 12th cent.

10. See the fragmentary catalogue in Cambridge, U.L., MS. Ii. 3.12, printed by M.R. James, The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, Cambridge 1903, pp.1-12, nos.54-64, 78-9. Most of these copies probably contained the Commentary rather than the Saturnalia (still comparatively rare). The many sets of duplicates listed in the catalogue show that this was a teaching library.

But although Fleury's total may be comparatively large only because of the chances of survival, its manuscripts still show that there must have been a sudden surge of interest in Macrobius' Commentary and in the Somnium Scipionis at around the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries. My results show that Macrobius must have been regarded at Fleury as a major author. It does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the reason for this upsurge was the teaching of Abbo himself, who used the Commentary extensively in the composition of the first part of his Computus in 978-982.

MS.5, the better of the two 9th-cent. Fleury copies of the Commentary, was extensively annotated by Additional hand (4), a corrector who possessed not only a beautiful script but a scholarly urge to improve his text through additions from at least two other copies, as Lupus of Ferrières had done in the 9th cent. MS.5 was the most influential of the Fleury manuscripts of the text: after correction by hand (4), it was transcribed in MS.12 and partly in MS.16, and hand (4)'s additions were transferred to another manuscript already extant, MS.7. It is clear that hand (4) was some one, as Dr. R.W. Hunt would say. The hand which wrote the first part of Abbo's Computus in Berlin, Phill.1833, quires iv-v, is possibly to be identified as hand (4). Given that Abbo used Macrobius' Commentary, that his hand is likely to be one of those present in Phill.1833, that the scriptorium of his abbey would naturally choose a text corrected by the master himself as the exemplar of other copies, that the corrector of MS.5 was a scholar of distinction, is it not likely that MS. 5 was Abbo's

own copy and that hand (4) was Abbo himself?<sup>(11)</sup>

11. But see the sensible comments of Mlle. Pellegrin in Bibl. Éc. Chartes, 117 (1959), pp.15-16; she points out that the angular style is that of a whole scriptorium rather than of one copyist; after listing previous attempts to identify the hand of Abbo in various manuscripts, she ironically concludes 'Or, toutes ces écritures n'ont aucun point de ressemblance!'

CHAPTER V.

The German members of the  $\phi$  family.

The manuscripts.

Four full members of the  $\phi$  family have yet to be discussed. By 'full members,' I mean manuscripts which show such a wealth of  $\phi$  readings in their texts before correction that the possibility that all such readings could have filtered in through contamination in their ancestry becomes too unlikely to be tenable. All four of these remaining  $\phi$  manuscripts were undoubtedly written in Germany. They are:

<u>My MS.no.</u>	<u>Shelf-mark.</u>	<u>Date.</u>	<u>Specific provenance.</u>	<u>Cross-refs.</u>
3.	Cologne, Dombibl., 186.	s.ix.	Cologne <u>ex libris</u> of s.xii(?), fol.120 <sup>r</sup>	Description not included.
2.	Oxford, Bodl., MSS. D'Orville 77+95.	s.x ex. -xi in.	Unknown; southern Germany.	Pp. 150-159.
14.	Paris lat.10195.	s.xi.	Near-contemporary <u>ex libris</u> of Echternach, fol.1 <sup>r</sup> .	Description not included; see p. 12.
105B.	Munich, Clm 6369, fol. 35 <sup>v</sup> line 16-end.	s.xi	Late evidence of Freising provenance.	Pp. 386-393.

MSS.3 and 14.

MSS.3 and 14 are full members of the  $\phi$  group which I have not yet been able to fit into precise relationships with the others of the group. I suspect that the technique of sample passages, though effective in unmasking codices descripti, is less certain when it comes to discerning subtle relationships between cousins. The reason for this is of course contamination, which so endangers the validity of any suppositions involving lost manuscripts. I shall say no more of MS.14 except that (excluding the possibility of contamination on a very extensive scale) it is not a descendant of MS.3; for MS.3 contains a large number of errors, many perhaps its own slips of transcription, which are left uncorrected there, and are not to be found in the later manuscript, MS.14.

I mentioned MS.3 earlier, in my chapter on the manuscripts which contain the subscription. It is one of the group which I there called  $\Pi$ . The three others are:

<u>My MS.no.</u>	<u>Shelf-mark.</u>	<u>Date.</u>	<u>Origin.</u>	<u>Cross-refs.</u>
52.	{ London, Harl.2772, fols. 44-74, + Munich, Clm 23486, fols.1-2. }	s.xi.	German (?).	Pp. 296-303.
122.	Florence, Laur., Conv. Soppr.444.	s.xii.	{ Italian } { (South?) }	Pp. 424-433.
43.	Vatican, Reg.lat.1367.	s.xii.	Italian ?.	Description not included.

MSS.52 and 122 both contain the subscription (see above pp.17-18, 21-22), but MSS.3 and 43 do not. The principal characteristic of the  $\Pi$  group is that a number of Greek words which are written in Latin letters in all the other manuscripts are here written in Greek letters. Examples which fall in my sample passages are:

Comm.I.6,3(Willis 18.30) cybi 5, 6X(i.1.), 7, 12, 14, 16, 148, and others] cubi U(s.1.), and most manuscripts. cibi 6a, 10a, and a few others. KYBI 3, 43, 122a. CVBI 122A(s.1.). KVBI 52.

Comm.I.6,3(Willis 19.4) cybum 7, 12, 14, 16, 148, etc.] cubum most manuscripts, and 122AX(s.1.)<sup>(3)</sup> cibum 5, 6, and six others. KYBON 3, 122a.<sup>(1)</sup> KYBVM 43, 122A(?)<sup>(2)</sup> CVBON 52.

Comm.I.6,42(Willis 26.2) λογιστικόν] logisticon 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, and most other manuscripts. ΛΟΓΙΣΤΙΚΟΝ 3, 52. ΔΔΤΙΣΤΙΡΟΝ 43, 122.

Comm.I.6,42(Willis 26.3) θυρικόν] The manuscripts are evenly divided between thimicon, thymicon (2, 5, 6, 12, 148 etc.), timicon and tymicon, and other variations in Latin letters. ΕΙΜΙΚΟΝ 3, 43, (eimikon in Latin letters). \*ΙΜΙΚΟΝ 52a. ΤΙΜΙΚΟΝ 52X(infrs.). ΘΙΜΙΚΟΝ 122. ΘΥΚΥΣΩ 7.

Comm.I.14,21(Willis 59.23) ἀστὴρ et ἄστρον] aster et astron 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 16, 148, and the great majority of manuscripts. ΔΑΤΕΡ et ΔΑΤΡΟΝ 3, 52, 122. ΔΑΤΕΡΑΤΡΟΝ 43.

Comm. I.14,21 (Willis 59.23)  $\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\rho$ ] aster 2, 5, 6, 12, 16, 148 and nearly all other manuscripts. ACTEP 3, 43, 52, 122.

Comm. I.14,21 (Willis 59.24)  $\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\nu$ ] astron 2, 5, 6, 7, 12, 16, 148 and nearly all the manuscripts. ACTPON 3, 52, 122. ACTRON 43.

Comm. I.19,23 (Willis 77.20)  $\alpha\iota\sigma\theta\eta\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$ ] estheticon 2, 6, 7, etc. The manuscripts present a variety of readings but usually in latin letters. est esthETIKON 3. NCTITIKON 43. HCCTETIKON 122. estheticon 52 (sic).

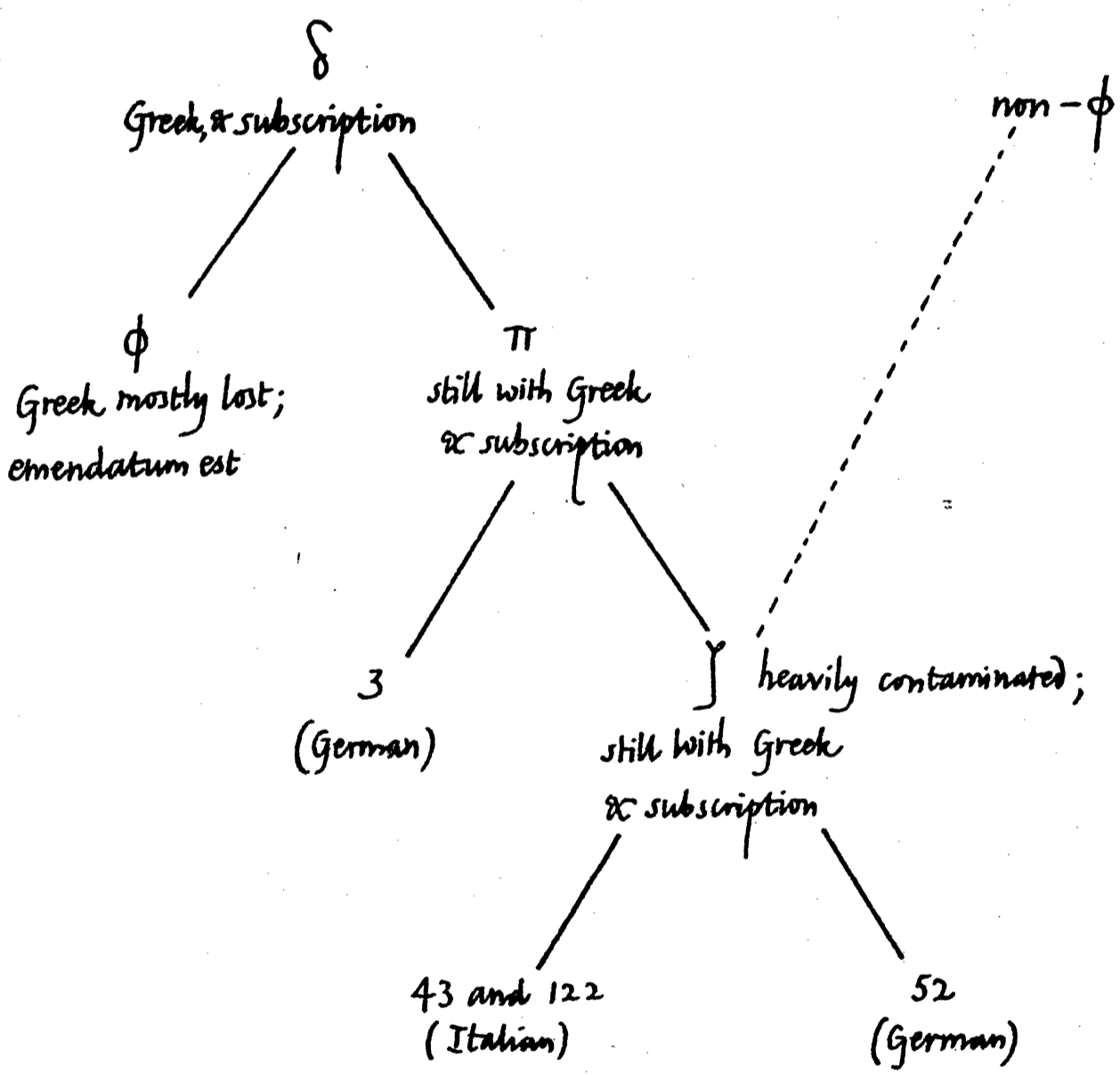
Comm. I.19,23 (Willis 77.21)  $\phi\upsilon\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$ ] phiticon or other spellings, in Latin letters, are found in most manuscripts. EPYTIKON 3, 52A(s.l.) TYTIKON 52a. NITKON 43. HÿTIKON 122.

I suggested at p.22 that such readings in the  $\phi$  group must echo Macrobius' true readings, since it is extremely likely that Macrobius wrote these words in Greek letters and unlikely that medieval scribes in the Latin West would turn Latin letters into Greek letters rather than vice-versa.

A problem is that MS.43, 52, and 122 cannot, like MS.3, be considered full members of the  $\phi$  family. They have a sprinkling of  $\phi$  readings, but for the great majority they show the vulgate readings against the  $\phi$  readings of MS.3. I think it is unlikely that the Greek words would have been transferred by contamination from the  $\phi$  ancestor of MS.3 into the common ancestor of MSS.43, 52 and 122; the readings which travelled through contamination were usually ones that made sense to their medieval readers. The other variants which MS.3 shares with one or other of MSS.43, 52, and 122 tend to be of the insignificant sort, such as those of word order, which would not normally have been transferred except by a very laborious corrector. The conclusion I am reaching is that MSS.43, 52 and 122 descend from a twin of MS.3, another member of the family, but one in which nearly all the  $\phi$  readings vanished through heavy correction from a non- $\phi$  source, and only the Greek

Ch. V. The  $\phi$  group: German MSS.

words and some unimportant variants were left. This did not happen to MS.3, so it is more likely that MSS.43,52 and 122 are descended from a gemellus rather than from MS.3 itself; but once contamination is admitted, it is always possible that they descend from a very heavily contaminated descendant of MS.3. The appearance in MS.7 (see p.114) of an attempt to write  $\Theta\upsilon\pi\kappa\acute{o}\nu$  at Comm. I.6,42 in Greek letters strengthens the likelihood that such words were written in Greek in the ancestry of the  $\phi$  family. We arrive at the following stemma:



The remaining two German manuscripts unlike MSS.3 and 14, can be specifically linked with one of the 9th-cent. French members of the  $\phi$  family.

MSS.2 and 105B

One of the advantages of taking a number of short sample passages throughout the text rather than a single long one is that there is a better chance of detecting manuscripts in which more than one exemplar has been used. As with MS.16, this is the case with MS.105. The manuscript is written by two scribes, and the change of hand occurs at fol.35<sup>v</sup> line 15/16, Comm. I.20,16(Willis 81.24) diametri/longitudo. Scribe A used an exemplar in which a nucleus of the abbreviated form had been completed from another full text (see below, p.126); scribe B used an exemplar of the  $\phi$  group.

An immediate connection with two 9th-cent. French manuscripts of the  $\phi$  group, MSS.5 and 6, is argued by the presence of the verses De errore emendationis at the end of the Commentary on fol.59<sup>v</sup> (see above, pp.78-80). The Somnium Scipionis then follows (fols.60<sup>r</sup>-62<sup>v</sup>), and (fol.63<sup>r-v</sup>) the incomplete text of SENTENTIAE PHILOSOPHORVM. Both these items point more closely to MS.6 than to MS.5: MS.6 contains the Somnium but not MS.5 (it is likely that MS.105B's exemplar had the Somnium at the beginning of the Commentary rather than at the end, and that scribe B transferred it to the end because of the circumstances in which he was completing A's work); MS.6 does not contain the SENTENTIAE PHILOSOPHORVM, but this text occurs in Haroardus' florilegium in a similar state of incompleteness (see above, pp.67-8).

The texts which follow the SENTENTIAE PHILOSOPHORVM in MS.105B (fols.63<sup>v</sup>-65<sup>v</sup>), still in scribe B's hand, are also to be found at the end of the Commentary in MS.2: three short items on musical theory, the Epistula ad Dardanum, de diuersis generibus musicorum (Ps. - Jerome), a group of excerpts from Isidore's Etymologiae, III. xix-xxii, and a modified excerpt from Macrobius, Comm., II. 1, 14-25. MS.2 also has its links with MS.6, for it contains not only the Somnium Scipionis with Macrobius' Commentary and these musical items (MS.D'Orville 77, fols.53<sup>r</sup>-114<sup>v</sup>), but a miscellany of Ciceronian texts which includes the De senectute. G.S. Vogel<sup>(1)</sup> was the first scholar to use MS.2's text of the De senectute, and

her conclusion is that like the excerpts in Hadoardus' florilegium it is a descendant of MS.6 in its corrected form.

1. G.S. Vogel, The major manuscripts of Cicero's de senectute, doctoral thesis, University of Chicago 1939, 46-54.

Dr. Vogel's discovery is extremely valuable, for without it I should not have been able to detect a complete copy of Cato de senectute cum Macrobio embedded in the corpus of other works in MS.2. The make-up of texts in the volume is interesting, and the manuscript falls conveniently into sections by groups of texts, with breaks which coincide with changes of quires, scribes and types of parchment (see my full description, pp. 150-159):

- I. MS.D'Orville 77, fols.1<sup>r</sup>-20<sup>v</sup>. Quires i-iii. Scribe A. Cicero, the speeches before Caesar (Pro Marcello, Pro Ligario, Pro rege Deiotaro).
- II. MS.D'Orville 77, fols.21<sup>r</sup>-47<sup>v</sup>. Quires iv - middle of vii. Scribe B. Cicero, De amicitia and De senectute.
- III. MS.D'Orville 77, fols.48<sup>r</sup>-52<sup>v</sup>. Rest of q.vii. Scribe A. Invectives of Ps. - Cicero and Ps. - Sallust.
- IV. MS.D'Orville 77, fols.53<sup>r</sup>-114<sup>v</sup>. Quires viii-xv. Scribe B. Cicero, Somnium Scipionis, Macrobius' Commentary, and the musical items.
- V. MS.D'Orville 95. Quires xvi-xx. Scribes B, C and D. Hyginus, Astronomica.

The manuscript is the product of a single scriptorium at one period, but it was clearly put together stage by stage. The logical pivot from the point of view of the texts is the Somnium Scipionis with Macrobius' Commentary, for the Somnium seems to have attracted the other works of Cicero, and Macrobius' Commentary, much prized at this period for its astronomical content, has drawn to itself the text of Hyginus. With the knowledge that Cato de senectute cum Macrobio was a unit in the 9th-cent., and that both the De senectute and Somnium + Commentary have close textual liaisons with MS.6 (see below), we can probably assume that initially

sections II (De amicitia and De senectute) and IV (Somnium, etc.) were drawn from a single exemplar by scribe B; scribe A then added Cicero's oratorical material from another source in a separate section at the beginning (I) and on the blank leaves (III) between the De senectute and the Somnium; finally, scribe B and others complemented the astronomical material of Macrobius with a copy of Hyginus. Such conglomerations of related texts tend to be the products of important centres. Unfortunately the precise place of origin for MS.2 is still unknown, in spite of various new facts which have emerged in the course of my work: the re-establishment of MS.D'Orville 95 as a section of MS.D'Orville 77, the identification of part of the lower text in the palimpsest leaves which form the last two quires of the Hyginus, and the finding of a previously untapped source which gives the immediate provenances of nearly all the D'Orville manuscripts.

The presence of the musical items in both MSS.2 and 105B strongly suggests a close connection between their texts of Macrobius and the Somnium Scipionis. It is immediately apparent that neither is a copy of the other: MS.105B cannot be derived from MS.2 because it preserves the verses De errore emendationis and the SENTENTIAE PHILOSOPHORVM, whereas MS.2 does not. MS.2 cannot be a descendant of MS.105B because it has a text of the  $\phi$  group throughout, whereas the  $\phi$  strain only emerges in MS.105 with the change of hand at Comm. I.20,16. They must be gemelli.

MSS.2, 6 and 105 share many  $\phi$  readings; examples of rare variants common to the three manuscripts are:

Comm. I.19,12(Willis 75.15) perferentem 2U(abbr.corr.), 5, 6U (s.l.t), 7X(?)(abbr.corr.), 105Aa<sup>(1)</sup> } preferentem 2a, 6a, 7a, 14, 105A (corr. by hand of pt.B)<sup>(2)</sup>. preferens 105AX (in. ras.)<sup>(3)</sup> This variant was probably caused by some confusion over the Insular variant for per,  $\beta$ .

Somnium 6,1(Willis 160.20) adueros } aduersus 2, 6, 105B corr. (? by orig. hand;sl.). aduersis 105Ba.

Somnium 7,3(Willis 161.21) metiuntur 14a] mentiuntur 2, 6, 14U  
(s.l.), 105B.

Somnium 7,3(Willis 161.26) teneantur 2U(s.l.), 6X(s.l.), 105BU  
(s.l.)] teneatur 2a, 6a, 105Ba.

MS.2 generally shows a strong tendency to agree with MS.6 against MS.5 in the places where those two manuscripts differ, e.g.

Comm. I.6,3(Willis 19.3) est ter nouena 2U(s.l.),5] est nouena 2a, 6.

Comm. I.6,41(Willis 25.25) sed 2(s.l.),6X(s.l.)] se 2a, 6a.  
et 5, 12, 16.

Comm. I.9,3(Willis 40.17) fomite 2(s.l.,exp.), 5, 6U(ras.)]  
fomitet 2a, 6a (these mss. only).

Comm. I.14,21(Willis 59.17) sunt 2(s.l.,exp.),5] om. 2a,  
6, Had.

Comm. I.19,17(Willis 76.16) hic 2U(s.l.),5, 9] om. 2a,  
6a. id 6X(s.l.).

Comm. I.19,18(Willis 76.21) stellis 2(s.l.,exp.)5, 6X  
(i.l.)] stellas 2a, 6a. stell 3.

MS.2 usually agrees with the later reading in places where MS.6 is corrected, e.g.

Somnium 3,6(Willis 158.12) is 2U(s.l.)] \* 6a. om. 2a, 6U (ras.).

Somnium 4,1(Willis 158.28) infixi illi 2U(punct.)] illi infixi  
2a, 6B(s.l.). illi fixi 6a.

Both MS.2 and MS.105B occasionally show a 'vulgate' reading when MS.6 has a variant. In the last example cited, MS.B has the true reading, infixi illi. A similar instance is:

Comm. II.13,3(Willis 133 .20) numquam oritur 2a, ?5a, 6,  
7a, 14, 16] non oritur 2U(s.l.), 5U(i.l.), 7X  
(s.l.,etc.), 105B, and nearly all other manuscripts.

The fact that either reading here could be the true one does not affect the point, since non oritur was definitely the reading of the non- $\phi$  manuscripts. The following examples show MS.2 with the 'vulgate' reading and MS.6 with a variant:

Comm. I.9,4(Willis 40.22) indignata 2, 5 hand (4)(exp.,s.l.),  
Had.(corr.U,s.l., exp.)] indignita 5a, 6U (exp.),  
72, Had:(a). indignitas 6a.

Comm. I.10,12(Willis 43.33) iecur immortale 2, 5X(s.l.)(3)]  
iecorem ortale 5a<sup>(1)</sup> 6a. iecor mortale 6U(punct.,  
exp.), Had:(a). iecor immortale 5 hand (4?)(s.l.,  
exp.)<sup>(2)</sup> iecur inmortale Had. (corr.U, s.l.).

Comm. I.10,12(Willis 44.1) flagitio 2, 5U(exp.), 14U  
(exp.,del)] flagitatio 5, 6, 14a, Had.

Comm. I.14,21(Willis 59.17) et 2, 5 hand (4)(exp.s.l.),  
14U(s.l.), 52,122] ut 3,5a, 6, 14a, and others.

Comm. I.15,1(Willis 61.5) meminit 2, 5U(s.l.,exp.)] meninit  
5a, 6U(in ras.). meninis 6a.

In these few cases, MS.2 does agree with MS.5 against MS.6.

Nevertheless, I am certain that MS.2 is a direct descendant  
of MS.6, a view based on the following reading:

Comm. I.3, 4/5(Willis 13.29) γαλαξίαν. sciendum] galaxian.  
DE CARTAGINE CAELESTI. Sciendum 2.

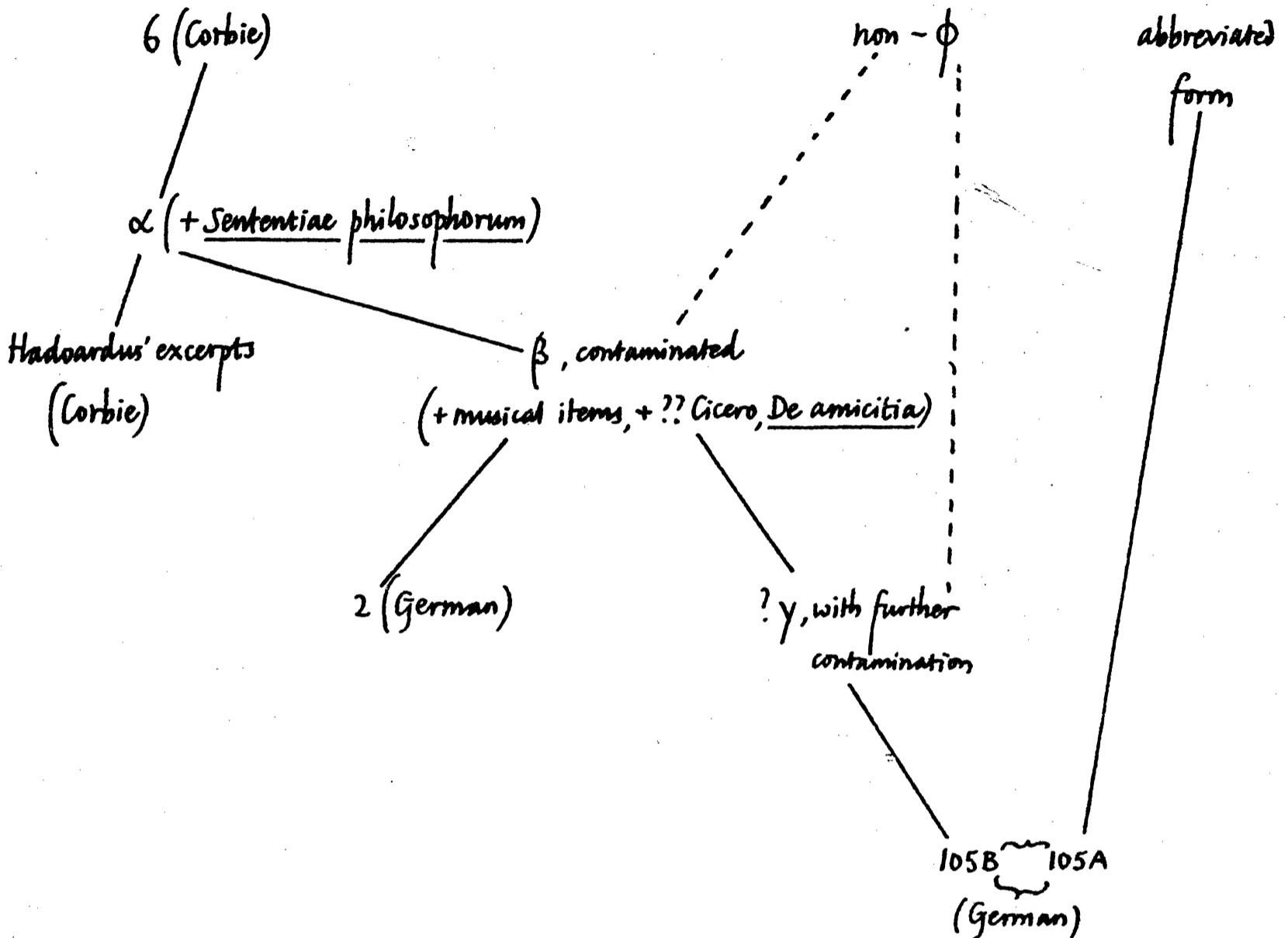
A contemporary hand has marked Glossa above the additional words.  
Sure enough, when we turn to MS.6, we find that a 9th-cent. glossing  
hand has added the title de kartagine celesti in the margin opposite  
the appropriate passage, with a signe-de-renvoi between galaxian  
and Sciendum. In the course of transmission, the heading has been  
transcribed as part of the text, as we find it in MS.2. It follows  
that MS.2 and its gemellus MS.105B (this passage does not survive  
as part of the text written by B there) must be descendants of MS.6.  
There is certainly at least one and probably several intermediate  
copies between MS.6 and these descendants; see, for example, these  
places where MSS.2 and 105B agree in error against MS.6:

Somnium 6,2(Willis 160.24) utraque 2(i.l.)6, 105BU(i.l.)] utroque  
2a, 105Ba.

Somnium 8,2(Willis 162.24) deus 2(s.l.,subl.),6] est 2a, 105B.

During the course of transmission, some contamination must have  
taken place, to account for the instances where MSS.2 and 105B

present true or at least non- $\phi$  readings against MS.6. A possible stemma could therefore be as follows.



It is interesting to speculate exactly when and how Cato de senectute cum Macrobio passed from Corbie to Southern Germany during the period between the third quarter of the 9th cent. and the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries. Corbie's daughter-house of Corvey is perhaps too far to the north, unless our text described an arc in the course of its travels. A parallel is provided by the great collection of Cicero's philosophical works, now Florence, Laur., San Marco 257, which was written at Corbie in the same characteristic script as MS.6 and was also used by Hadoardus in his Ciceronian

florilegium, San Marco 257 bears on its first leaf (fol.1<sup>r</sup>) the inscription Werinharius episcopus dedit Sancte Marie, showing that it had been given by bishop Werinhar of Strasbourg (1001-1029) to his cathedral. It may be significant that the De senectute and the Somnium Scipionis are not among the texts present in San Marco 257. MS.6 is a good deal smaller in format than that manuscript. Nevertheless, could it be possible that MS.6 travelled as a companion volume to San Marco 257? The theory is perhaps supported by the presence in MS.6 of a few additions in a hand which seems to me to be Italian, 15th-cent. (see p.221). San Marco 257 was discovered and brought to Italy by the early humanists, and eventually reached the collection of Niccolò Niccoli<sup>(2)</sup>.

2. For the Corbie script of San Marco 257, see Bischoff's article cited above at p.65n.3. For later history, see B.L. Ullman & P.A. Stadter, The public library of Renaissance Florence... (Medioevo e Umanesimo, 10), Padua 1972, pp.31,66,89,225 no.862, 287 no. M289. P.L. Schmidt in Rheinisches Museum, N.F.109 (1966), 179-81, suggests that San Marco 257 was discovered at Strasbourg by Poggio in 1417.

On the other hand, the theory that MS. 6 itself travelled from Corbie to Germany, rather than a descendant, is contradicted by my stemma; the position in the stemma of Hadoardus' excerpts suggests that this strain of text had already passed through another copy ( $\alpha$ ), before being used by Hadoardus, and hence before leaving Corbie. Even so, there is still room for a connection between San Marco 257 and a descendant of MS. 6.

## CHAPTER VI.

### The abbreviated form of Macrobius' Commentary on the Somnium Scipionis.

Macrobius' Commentary is considerably more diffuse in subject matter than the Somnium Scipionis itself. In commenting on that text, Macrobius allows himself long digressions on subjects which are discussed or mentioned only briefly by Scipio himself: the different sorts of dreams, numerical and musical theory, the cardinal virtues, the nature of the soul, astronomy, geography, to name only the main topics. The reader faced with this large range of topics was naturally more interested in some than in others. The various groups of excerpts current in early manuscripts and in the literary references show that the passages of greatest interest to readers in the 9th to 11th centuries were the astronomical sections. A group of manuscripts contain Macrobius' Commentary in a version which includes the central section, with most of the astronomical material, but omits the more philosophical discussions at the beginning and end. The earliest copy (MS.91) was written in France, perhaps at Auxerre, in the second half of the 9th cent., and the latest (MS.111) in England, probably at Rochester in the first half of the 12th; but most of the other surviving manuscripts were written in southern Germany in the 10th and 11th centuries.

This group of manuscripts was first pointed out in the fine edition of Macrobius by Ludwig von Jan (I, 1848, esp. pp. LXIV-LXVI, LXXIX), but little attention has been paid to his work. For example, J. Willis does not seem to realise that one of his six manuscripts, his D (my MS.1, see below) consists of a nucleus of the abbreviated form in the process of changing back to the full form through contamination in its exemplar and by its own correctors. A champion of the 'edectic' method in establishing texts might argue that the use of an heavily contaminated manuscript only adds to the repertory of potential readings on which to exercise his choice. On the other hand, it is rather wilful, with some 230 medieval

Ch. VI. The abbreviated group.

manuscripts to choose from, to pick on a contaminated specimen of a version in which a medieval editor can be seen to have made radical alterations.

The manuscripts.

<u>My MS.no.</u>	<u>Shelf-mark.</u>	<u>Date.</u>	<u>Origin.</u>	<u>Cross-refs.</u>
Pure manuscripts of the abbreviated form:				
91.	Berne 347, fols. 1 <sup>r</sup> -22 <sup>r</sup> (one of the five parts into which this volume is now divided).	s.ix <sup>2</sup> .	French (?Auxerre).	pp. 337-368, see also pp. 128-139.
119.	Leiden, Voss. Lat. F. 96 fols. 71-78.	s.xi.	French (??Fleury).	Description not included.
90.	Berne 265.	s.xi.	Uncertain (?French; at Metz by s.xii or xiii).	pp. 329-336.
104.	Munich, Clm 6364.	s.x <sup>2</sup> .	German (written at Freising).	pp. 381-5.
106, pt. II α.	Munich, Clm 14436, fols. 34-61.	s.x.	German? (at St. Emmeram's, Regensburg, by s.xv).	pp. 394-416.
107.	Zürich, Car. C. 122.	s.x <sup>2</sup> <sub>1</sub> or xi. <sup>1</sup>	South German or Swiss (at Zürich by s.xv).	pp. 417-423.
98.	Munich, Clm 14353, fols. 94-117, + Munich, Clm 29020, fols. (3-4).	s.x ex. -xi in.	{ Probably German (at St. Emmeram's by s.xi <sup>1</sup> ; ?corrected by or for Hartwic of St. Emmeram).	pp. 369-373.
127	Cologne (Geneva), Fondation Bodmer, 111.	s.x <sup>2</sup> or xi. <sup>1</sup>	South German or Austrian? (at Admont by s.xii).	pp. 434-440.
42.	{ Vatican, Palat. lat. 1577.	s.xi. <sup>1</sup>	{ German (possibly belonged to Lorsch).	pp. 282-9.
111.	London, Royal 12.C. iv, fols. 1-43.	s.xii. <sup>1</sup>	English (probably written at Rochester).	{ Description not included

Manuscripts descended from exemplars where the abbreviated form was filled out by additions from the full form of text:

Ch. VI. The abbreviated group.

- |       |   |          |  |                                  |
|-------|---|----------|--|----------------------------------|
| 1.    | Oxford, Bodl., Auct. T. 2, 27,<br>fols. 1-50.                       | s. x ex. | French ?.  | <i>Description not included.</i> |
| 99.   | Munich, Clm 6362, fols.<br>35-85.                                   | s. xi.   | South German<br>(at Freising by<br>s. xii).              | <i>pp. 374-380.</i>              |
| 105A. | Munich, Clm 6369, fols.<br>1 <sup>r</sup> -35 <sup>v</sup> line 15. | s. xi.   | German (late<br>evidence of<br>Freising owner-<br>ship). | <i>pp. 386-393.</i>              |

The following two manuscripts contain parts of the text not contained in the abbreviated form, and must have been written to accompany manuscripts of that form:

- |                  |   |                       |  |  |
|------------------|---|-----------------------|--|--|
| 106, pt.<br>IIβ. | Munich, Clm 14436, fols.<br>10-33.      | s. xi $\frac{1}{3}$ . | German (written<br>by or for Hartwic<br>of St. Emmeram). | <i>pp. 394-416.</i>                    |
| 120.             | Leiden, Voss. Lat. Q. 2,<br>fols. 3-30. | s. xi.                | Origin unknown.  | <i>{ Description<br/>not included.</i> |

Characteristics of the abbreviated form.

The manuscripts of the uncontaminated group show the following distinctive features:

- i) The text begins at I.14, 21 (Willis 59.13) // Nunc uideamus quae sint haec duo nomina quorum pariter meminit, cum dicit, quae sidera et stellas uocatis... and ends at... ideo autem terrae breuitas tam diligenter adseritur, ut parui pendendum ambitum famae uir fortis intellegat, quam in tam paruo magna esse non poterit. // II.9, 10 (Willis 124.19), followed without a break by the additional clause ut contentus potius conscientiae praemio, gloriam non requirat.
- ii) The text of (i) is followed by an unrelated passage, from the end of Macrobius' discussion of dreams, on the gates of horn and ivory, I.3, 17 (Willis 12.9) // Siquis forte quaerere uult cur porta ex ebore falsis et e cornu ueris sit deputata... ut ad quamuis extremitatem tenuitatis erasum nullo uisu ad ulteriora tendente penetretur. // I.3, 20 (Willis 12.28).

iii) The interpolation of the passage on the zodiac from Comm.I. 12,1(Willis 47.31-48.5)// Et ita lacteus circulus zodiacum obliquae circumflexionis occursum ambiendo complectitur...et fit regressus ad zonae uiam cuius terminos numquam relinquit, inserted at I.15,7(Willis 62.2) after the word temperaret, and replacing Macrobius' cross-reference to that passage, quibus autem partibus zodiacum intersecet, superius iam relatam est. haec de lacteo.

See above, pp. 90-92.

iv) Three large omissions:

- a) I.19,18(Willis 76.19)//notandum...prospera//I.19,19(Willis 76.32).
- b) I.19,23(Willis 77.18)//uitam...existimetur.et//I.19,27(Willis 78.15).
- c) I.20,5(Willis 79.10)//nam...uocauit//I.20,8(Willis 79.32).

These were probably omitted on purpose by the original designer of the abbreviated form; the removal of (b) and (c) at any rate do not cause drastic gaps in the flow of Macrobius' argument.

v) The last words of Bk.I, (22,13, from//ista autem..., Willis 93.28) and the first words of Bk.II are omitted (up to...disputetur// II.1,1, Willis 95.4) .

This removes all Macrobius' references to the ending and beginning of the two books.

The title is given as De musico stellarum modulamine, and the reader who did not know the text would not realise that the transition from Bk.I to Bk. II had taken place.

vi) The titles are in fact distinctive. The opening title at I.14,21(Willis 59.13) is usually given as Ex libris Macrobi Ambrosii de differentia stellarum et siderum. Further titles are added in the course of the text, and are usually found written into the text itself:

Before I.14,24(Willis 60.7)//circi...:De circis et sphaera.

Before I.15,2 (Willis 61.7)//orbis...:De lacteo circulo.

Before I.15,8 (Willis 62.3//decem..., immediately after the interpolation: De decem circulis.

Before I.20,9 (Willis 80.8)//physici...:Item eiusdem Macrobi Ambrosii de solis magnitudine.

Even in the manuscripts which omit these subsidiary titles, there are often larger initials at the appropriate places.

vii) Numerous smaller variants, e.g. the following minor omissions:

Comm.I.19,4(Willis 73.34-74.2)//ideo...recedunt.//

Comm.I.19,20(Willis 77.5-7)//cum sit diuinorum una natura, in medium proferam rationem, apud unum omnino quod sciam lectam//, replaced by the words in medium proferam.

Comm.I.20,8 (Willis 80.7)//quam uerissima praedicatione extulit//.

Many such omissions and variants have an editorial look about them.

viii) The passage on the gates of horn and ivory at the end of the abbreviated form (see (ii), above) is followed by four astronomical excerpts from Pliny's Natural History, Bk.II, with diagrams. These excerpts were published by K. Rück in 1888, and have been studied most recently by V.H. King (see *final bibliography* for the references). King has shown that the excerpts were present in two related miscellanies on computus put together in the first half of the 9th-cent.: a 'Three-Book Computus' composed probably in 810 and probably at Aachen, and a 'Seven-Book Computus' composed between 812 and 840, also perhaps at Aachen. The 'Seven-Book Computus' computus also contained the three excerpts from Macrobius' Commentary mentioned above at pp.106-7. The material contained in these two miscellanies is found in various combinations in many computistical manuscripts from the 9th cent. onwards.

#### MS.91.

The earliest, surviving manuscript to contain the abbreviated form is one of enormous importance for another classical text: Petronius. The Macrobius is the first extant work (an earlier quire is now lost) in a volume which is now split into five pieces: Berne 347 + 357 + 330 + Leiden, Voss.Lat.Q.30, fols.58 and 57 + Paris lat.7665. The oldest extant copy of Petronius' excerpta uulgaria is present in Berne 357, fols.34<sup>v</sup>-41<sup>v</sup>, and the two Leiden leaves (see p. 342 ). Another interesting classical text in the volume

is a group of speeches and letters extracted from the Coniuratio Catilinae and Bellum Iugurthinum of Sallust; this must be descended from a common exemplar with Vat.lat.3864, fols.109-133 (Corbie, s.ix<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>), which contains these excerpts and also unique excerpts from Sallust's last Histories (see pp.345-6 ).

MS.91 was very probably written at Auxerre (see pp.358-364). This at once raises the question of the connection between it and MS.4, the copy of Macrobius annotated by Heiric of Auxerre. MS.91 does contain annotations in a hand of the type we have come to associate with Heiric, but Billanovich has said that it is not that of Heiric himself. There are also reasons for supposing that MS.91 was not the manuscript of Petronius which Heiric used (see pp.360-362 ). Unfortunately, my sample passages for the abbreviated form are not sufficient in extent to tell whether or not MS.91's text of Macrobius was taken from MS.4; there are so few readings in MS.4 left uncorrected by Lupus and Heiric.

I have devoted a long description to MS.91 because I believe that the context of the Macrobius in this particular volume may help to explain the origins of the abbreviated form. My description (see pp.337-368 ) contains the necessary background information for the following discussion, including comparisons with two other manuscripts, Montpellier 306, and Oxford, Bodl., MS.Canon.Class.Lat. 279 + Leiden, Voss.Lat.F.70. I, fols.67-73<sup>(1)</sup>. I shall designate the latter manuscript by the siglum O.

1. Fols.67-73 are now bound up with part of the Fleury volume discussed above at pp.109-110, but there is no reason to suppose any medieval connection. For MS.Canon.Class.Lat.279, see also Survival of Ancient Literature..., no.103.

MS.91 was put together in a single scriptorium at one period. The work was directed by a scholar ('scribe I') whose hand can be seen in the original text of some portions of the volume, and in corrections throughout to the work of the subsidiary scribes. MS.91 retains some physical signs which may allow us to glimpse

how the various items were assembled. In my description of its contents (see pp. 338-350) I have pointed out how various correlations between texts, quires and scribes seem to divide the manuscript into six parts, which were almost certainly not written as a single continuous unit. My tentative reconstruction is as follows:

- i. The original plan was to produce a body of grammatical texts (glossaries and de orthographia) similar to Montpellier 306. For practical purposes of division of time and labour in the scriptorium, the grammatical texts were divided up into groups: items 3 and 6 (Nonius Marcellus, ? in two parts), 7-9 (glossaries), 11-15 and 16-19 (de orthographia, in two groups).

As Usener noticed, pp. 420-421 (see p. 368), the opening title of the Nonius Marcellus, item 3, is significant here: Berne 347, fol. 26<sup>r</sup>, Index earum rerum quae hoc codice continentur. Nonius Marcellus... The same title appears in O. (MS. Canon. Class. Lat. 279, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>), but there it is more appropriate: in O, the Nonius Marcellus is the first work in the volume, but in MS. 91 as it now stands, the Nonius is preceded by other items. The title Index earum... was no doubt to be found in the common ancestor where the Nonius was the first work, as in O. This by itself would account for the presence of the title in MS. 91 despite its now inappropriate position, but it is nevertheless tempting to think that the Nonius Marcellus was originally intended to be the first work in MS. 91 as well.

- ii. After the writing of the grammatical sections, scribe I decided to add two rare texts, the Petronius (item 4) and the Sallust (item 10). The common factors are that both works interrupt the smooth sequence of grammatical works and that each is added at the end of a scribal section, with the next grammatical work beginning in a new quire. The position of the Petronius is very odd: with two smaller works (items 3a and 5), it divides the first part of the Nonius (item 3) from the second (item 6). My guess is that items 3 and 6 were written simultaneously, and were intended to run together;

however, the scribe of item 3 overshot his allotted space and had to begin another quire, thus creating a large amount of vacant space between items 3 and 6; instead of ruining the collation by cutting this away, scribe I used it and an additional quire for the Petronius. The Sallust would simply have been added to fill ~~the~~ empty space at the end of the section of glossaries (items 7-9). Another common factor shared by the Petronius and the Sallust is that their titles are in ink, not in the usual red.

- iii. Astronomical/computistical items were now added in new quires at the beginning and on a blank page at the end: items 1 (Macrobius), 2 (Pliny), and 20 (see pp. 349-350).
- iv Other blank spaces throughout the manuscript were filled up with short additional material, mainly grammatical (items 3a, 5, 7a, 15), in the hand of scribe I.
- v. Finally, the series of quire-signatures was added, doubtless to prepare the book for the binder.

Both the similarities and the differences in make-up between MS.91 and Q are significant. We have seen that Q starts with the Nonius Marcellus, and the Index earum...title is there in the appropriate position. In Q, Bk.IV of Nonius ends in mid-quire at Canon.Class.Lat.279, fol.11<sup>v</sup>.II. The remaining four lines are blank, but the first of these at least shows traces of an erasure, illegible under ultra-violet light; this is the point in MS.91 where the Petronius etc. is inserted. Bk.I begins at fol.12<sup>r</sup>. I with the same title as in MS.91; Item Nonii Marcelli de proprietate sermonum. In Q, then, it was decided to treat the excerpted form of Nonius Marcellus as a single unit (but possibly after some hesitation). Like MS.91, Q was primarily intended as a corpus of grammatical works: the sequence of grammatical works is broken only at fols.28<sup>v</sup>-34<sup>v</sup> where the quiring<sup>(2)</sup> was disturbed by the incorporation of non-grammatical items, including the Pliny excerpts at the end of the Nonius Marcellus section, and right at the end

(Leiden Voss.Lat.F.70. I, fols.70<sup>r</sup>.I-73<sup>v</sup>, Oxford Canon.Class.Lat.279 fols.63<sup>r</sup>-86<sup>v</sup>) where two short pieces of Alcuin are followed by a mutilated copy of Seneca's Letters 1-88. In both manuscripts, therefore, volumes which began as compilations of grammatical texts have been enlivened by their editors with rare and interesting classical *works*.

2. It is difficult to see exactly what has happened, but the quire-signature IV appears at the end of two separate quires, Canon.Class.Lat. 279, fols.25-30 and 35-40.

MS.91, as it stood on completion, could almost be described as a florilegium. Items 2, 3a, 7a, 15 and 20 are short snippets from larger texts, excerpts in the full sense. Other items are not so much excerpts as excerpted forms of full texts, the remaining parts after drastic curtailments by an editor's shears: items 1 (Macrobius), 3 + 6, 4, 10, 12, 17 and 19. It is a fine example of a 9th-cent. 'handbook' of the sort described by E.M. Sanford<sup>(3)</sup>; and one feels that its compiler was more than usually willing to sacrifice the integrity of the texts to his own purposes.

3. E.M. Sanford, 'The Use of Classical Latin Authors in the Libri Manuales', Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 55 (1924), 205. Normally, however, I find the concept rather unhelpful - put any two unconnected texts together and E.M. Sanford will call the result a liber manualis.

The compiler of MS.91 was my scribe I. Did he himself make his excerpts from full texts, or did he merely take over excerpts already crystallized in earlier sources? The Pliny excerpts (item 2) are very common in earlier manuscripts of s.ix, and were certainly derived not from the full text of *Pliny*, but (already in excerpt form) from some earlier collection of computistical texts. The Sallust excerpts (item 10) represent a rare tradition which goes back to a larger collection of Sallustian excerpts in Charlemagne's court library (see pp. 345-6). Yet both these items show peculiarities

not to be found in earlier copies. MS.91 contains the earliest surviving example of a sophisticated graph diagram in Pliny excerpt (d) (Berne 347, fol.24<sup>v</sup>). Excerpts from Sallust's Histories were undoubtedly present in the ancestry of item 10, yet they are omitted in MS.91.

In other cases, items 3 + 6 (Nonius Marcellus), 4 (Petronius), 17 and 19, the excerpted forms found in MS.91 survive only in contemporary or later manuscripts, not in any earlier, but nevertheless there is no hint on the part of their modern editors that MS.91 is the common ancestor of the others;<sup>(4)</sup> it would therefore be rash to claim that these items only reached their present form in MS.91. Yet the lack of significantly earlier extant copies, both of these items and of the alterations noticed above in the Pliny and Sallust excerpts, make one suspect that some of these changes may have taken place only shortly before, and perhaps in the school which produced MS.91<sup>(5)</sup>.

4. In his edition of Nonius Marcellus, 1903, I, p.XXIX n.1, W.M. Lindsay notes that MS.91 'archetypum D<sup>A</sup> fere repraesentare videtur', closer to the archetype of the sub-group than the other two manuscripts, but he does not go so far as to say that the other two are descended from it (see his stemmata, pp.XXX-XXXII).
5. For a possible reconstruction of how, when and where Petronius' Excerpta uulgaria were formed, see K. Müller & W. Ehlers, Petronius. Satyrice, Munich 1965, 416-7.

There is evidence that scribe I could make his own changes in the texts at his disposal. Some of the shorter excerpts (items 3a, 7a, 15i-iii,20) are difficult to find in other manuscripts, and one or two of them at least may have been excerpted directly from their full texts by scribe I himself. We can detect scribe I adding glosses in his own hand to the glossary item 8, mainly written by scribe III. But none of the major texts show physical signs of

large-scale tampering by scribe I, with one exception: the Macrobius. The Macrobius of MS.91 still shows the scars of scribe I's last-minute editorial work. I think that scribe I himself invented the abbreviated form of the text, and that MS.91 is the archetype of that form, later so wide-spread.

The activities of scribe I in controlling and manipulating the work of other scribes is particularly noticeable in the Macrobius, where parts written by scribe I alternate with those written by scribe II. The change-overs here coincide to a remarkable extent with breaks in the text and with peculiarities in the quiring. Scribe II is clearly subordinate to I; although certainly of the same scriptorium, his script is larger, more irregular and less expert than that of I; and whereas scribe I makes a number of corrections in the parts written by scribe II, scribe II never makes corrections in those parts written by I.

In the following chart, the whole of MS.91's section A (Berne 347, fols.1<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>v</sup>, of which the Macrobius forms the largest item) is laid out to illustrate the coincidences between script, text and quiring:

<u>Scribe.</u>	<u>Fols.</u>	<u>Text.</u>	<u>Quire.</u>
I	1 <sup>r</sup> -6 <sup>v</sup> .	Astronomical section: <u>Comm.</u> I.14,21(Willis 59.13)/ <u>Nunc ...dicamus.</u> /I.20,8(Willis 80.8). Title at I.14,21: <u>Ex libris Macrobi Ambr(osii) de differentia stellarum et siderum.</u>	Q.ii <sup>6</sup> . The last few lines of fol.6 <sup>v</sup> are written in smaller script, and the last 1/4 words are put on an additional line: clear signs of a not-quite-successful attempt to fit a given amount of text into the quire.
II	7 <sup>r</sup> -11 <sup>v</sup> .	How to calculate the sizes of the earth and sun, and other astronomical matters: I.20,9(Willis 80.8)/ <u>Physici ...pondera.</u> /I.22,13(Willis 93.28). Title at I.20,9: <u>Item eiusdem Macrobi Ambrosii de solis magnitudine.</u> After I.22,13: Diagram 2, Rain.	The first five leaves of the original quaternion in q.iii.

Ch. VI. The abbreviated group.

<u>Scribe</u>	<u>Fols.</u>	<u>Text.</u>	<u>Quire.</u>
I	12 <sup>r</sup> -16 <sup>v</sup>	Musical theory: II.1,2 (Willis 95.4)/ <u>Quid... auditum.</u> /II.4,15(Willis 109.34). Title at II.1, 2: <u>De musico stellarum modulamine.</u>	An incomplete ternion, lacking its sixth leaf (no loss of text), added after leaf 5 of q.iii. Script of fol.16 <sup>v</sup> . II larger than usual, and its last 14 lines left blank. These leaves must have been written later than the rest of q.iii.
II	17 <sup>r</sup> -21 <sup>v</sup>	World geography: II.5,1 (Willis 110.1)/ <u>Sed... perseuerat.</u> /II.9,7 (Willis 124.1). No title at II.5,1, but 4-line capital. After II.9,7: Diagram 5, Map (unfinished red circle only).	Remaining three leaves of the original quaternion of q.iii, and first two of q.iv. <sup>8</sup> No significant break between these two quires.
I	22 <sup>r</sup> .I.	End of section on world geography: II.9,8 (Willis 124.1) <u>Quod...magna esse non poterit. Ut contentus potius conscientiae praemio, gloriam non requirat.</u> /II.9,10(Willis 124.19, followed by the added clause). Remaining 9 lines of the column left blank.	Q.iv, leaf 3 recto, col.I.
I	22 <sup>r</sup> .II.	Dreams - Vergil's horn and ivory gates: I.3,17(Willis 12.9)/ <u>Siquis forte... penetretur.</u> /I.3,20(Willis 12.28). Remaining 11 lines of the column left blank.	Q.iv, leaf 3 recto, col.II.
I	22 <sup>v</sup> -25 <sup>r</sup>	Pliny excerpts, see p.128.	Q.iv, leaf 3 verso - leaf 6 recto.

<u>Scribe.</u>	<u>Fols.</u>	<u>Text.</u>	<u>Quire.</u>
I (?).	25 <sup>v</sup> .	Blank, except for an unfinished diagram (?), perhaps original.	Q.iv, leaf 6 verso.  Q.iv, leaves 7 and 8 now lost.

The quire-signatures of the regular sequence (see p. 355) II and III, on fols. 6<sup>v</sup> and 19<sup>v</sup>, are written alongside erasures, which the ultra-violet lamp shows were the same quire-signatures, II (definitely) and III (probably); erasures in similar positions, but not susceptible to the lamp, occur on the next rectos, fols. 7<sup>r</sup> and 20<sup>r</sup>. Presumably this has something to do with the change of plan by scribe I, but it is difficult to give a precise reason.

It is immediately apparent from the quiring that the first parts to be written were Macrobius' <sup>passages</sup> de solis magnitudine etc. and on world geography, the work of scribe II in fols. 7<sup>r</sup>-11<sup>v</sup> and 17<sup>r</sup>-21<sup>v</sup>, which originally formed one quaternion and the first two leaves of another. The material contained in these parts form two natural units: the astronomical section which was of the greatest interest to readers working on the computus, and all but the very end of the section on world geography. Together, the two excerpts embody all five of Macrobius' original diagrams, and it may be significant that the second excerpt went up to Diagram 5 and no further (the diagrams were favourite material for other excerptors, see e.g. pp. 107-9).

Later, scribe I decided to join up and enlarge the two excerpts written by scribe II into a single long passage from the middle of Macrobius' Commentary. He did so by adding the earlier passage on astronomy (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-6<sup>v</sup>), the passage on musical theory which falls between scribe II's excerpts (fols. 12<sup>r</sup>-16<sup>v</sup>), and the other pieces at the end (fols. 22<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>v</sup>). The task of fitting given amounts of text in with parts already written, demands considerably greater skill than a simple process of transcription, so instead of

delegating the task the master-scribe performed it himself.

It might at once be objected that the title at fol.7<sup>r</sup> on Comm. I.20,9, Item eiusdem Macrobiani Ambrosii de solis magnitudine, presupposes by its use of the word eiusdem that the earlier passages of Macrobius were present after all. Yet it is quite clear from the cramming on fol.6<sup>v</sup> that fol.7<sup>r</sup> was written first, and the eiusdem can be otherwise explained. Leaving aside the argument that the lost q.i might have contained Macrobian excerpts, we may turn to the 'Seven-Book' excerpts (see p.128), common in computistical manuscripts from s.ix<sup>1</sup> onwards: the first of these, (a), contains Comm.I.20,9-24, with the title Ambrosii Macrobiani Theodosii de mensura et magnitudine terrae et circuli per quem solis iter est; the second, (b), contains the passage immediately after (a), I.20, 25-32, with the title Item eiusdem de mensura et magnitudine solis. The part of MS.91 written by scribe II begins on fol.7<sup>r</sup> in precisely the same place in Macrobius' text as 'Seven-Book' excerpt (a) with a slightly adapted version of the title of excerpt (b). This cannot be a coincidence, and it explains the presence of eiusdem. There is thus a slight inaccuracy in MS.91's title here.

That the abbreviated form of Macrobius was influenced by the 'Seven-Book' excerpts and not vice-versa is suggested by three reasons: the 'Seven-Book' excerpts are found in earlier manuscripts than the abbreviated form; the third 'Seven-Book' excerpt, (c), de mundano anno, from II.11,5-17, is not contained in the abbreviated form; and in the matter of the titles of excerpts (a) and (b) discussed above, the 'Seven-Book' titles are certainly more correct than that in the abbreviated form.

The peculiarities of quiring shown in the chart means that MS.91 has undergone something more radical than the mere division of labour natural to a well-run scriptorium. There has been a change of plan. Two possible reasons may be put forward:

A. Scribe I, the editor, had in front of him a manuscript of the abbreviated text. He decided to abbreviate it further in his

own compilation, and directed scribe II to copy out only the two passages which he then wrote. Later, scribe I changed his mind, and added the remainder of the abbreviated form of Macrobius' text and the Pliny excerpts, in his own hand.

- B. MS.91 is the archetype of the abbreviated form of Macrobius' text. Scribe I had in front of him a complete copy of Macrobius' Commentary and a computistical manuscript containing material from the old 'Seven-Book' computus. He was interested in the astronomical excerpts from Macrobius which he found in the computistical manuscript, and decided to have two of them copied into MS.91 with further material taken from his full text of Macrobius; he therefore ordered scribe II to copy out two continuous passages. Later scribe I decided to incorporate even more of Macrobius' text into MS.91; he added these additional parts with his own hand, and also, at the end, the related Pliny excerpts from his computistical manuscript.

The following factors have led me to suppose that B is the best solution:

- i. B has the virtue of greater simplicity than A.
- ii. MS.91 is the oldest extant manuscript of the abbreviated form, and the only one to display these coincidences between discrete sections of text, scribes and quiring.
- iii. The parts written by scribe II contain no major divergencies from the full text of Macrobius, and could have been written automatically from a full copy by a non-thinking scribe, whereas the parts written by scribe I contain major omissions and interpolations which must have been worked out by a scholar (see the list on pp. 126-128).

My sample passages have not allowed me to test the theory that MS.91 is the archetype of the abbreviated form from the textual evidence — the samples which fall within the text contained in the abbreviated form are not large enough. MS.91 is certainly one of the least corrupt members of the family. But given that the fact of

contamination allows a stemma of whatever shape one likes to be constructed on any set of data, we should perhaps allow my codicological proof to stand or fall alone.

SIGLA (pp. 1-139 in Pt. I, 150-457 in Pt. II).

1.	Oxford, Bodl., Auct. T. 2.27, fols. 1-50.	s. x ex.	126.
2.	Oxford, Bodl., D'Orville 77+95.	s. x ex.-xi in.	63-4, 113, 117-123, 150-159.
3.	Cologne, Dombibl., 186.	s. ix.	18, 72, 113-116.
4.	Paris lat. 6370.	s. ix <sup>1</sup> / <sub>3</sub> .	9-11, 25-62, 69-70, 129, 160-201.
5.	Paris lat. 16677 (+ Reg. lat. 1587, fols. 65-80).	s. ix.	9-14, 39, 63-112, 202-219.
6.	Paris, nouv. acq. lat. 454.	s. ix <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> .	12-13, 39, 58, 63-86, 220-227.
7.	Paris lat. 7299.	s. xi in.	12-13, 65, 87-112, esp. 95-8.
9.	Leiden, Voss. Lat. F. 12β + F. 122 + London, Royal 15. B. xii, fols. 1-2.	s. ix <sup>2</sup> / <sub>4</sub> med.	43-6, 63-112, 228-242.
10.	Paris lat. 8663.	s. x ex.-xi in.	24, 87-90, 100-102, 243-256.
12.	Paris lat. 6365, fols. 2-23.	s. xi <sup>1</sup> .	87-112, esp. 92-3, 100-106; 257-265.
13.	Paris lat. 6371.	s. xi <sup>2</sup> .	8-11, 18-19, 22-28, 266-273.
14.	Paris lat. 10195.	s. xi.	12, 113.
16.	Paris lat. 6620.	s. x ex.-xi in.	12-13, 87-112, esp. 92-5; 274-281.
17.	Paris lat. 11123.	s. xii, ? first <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> .	12-13.
25.	Paris lat. 16680.	s. xii <sup>2</sup> -xiii <sup>1</sup> .	90.
29.	Paris, nouv. acq. lat. 1611 (+Orléans 267(223)).	s. x <sup>2</sup> .	100-106.
34.	Paris lat. 8677.	s. xv med.	90.
42.	Vatican, Palat. lat. 1577.	s. xi <sup>1</sup> .	125, 282-9.
43.	Vatican, Reg. lat. 1367.	s. xii.	114-6.
44.	Vatican, Vat. lat. 1546.	s. xi ex.	90.
47.	Vatican, Vat. lat. 3874.	s. xii.	18-21.
48.	Vatican, Reg. lat. 1207+1405.	s. xi <sup>1</sup> .	100-106, 290-295.
52.	London, Hartl. 2772, fols. 44-74 + Munich, Cbm 23486, fols. 1-2.	s. xi.	8-11, 17-18, 21-2, 114-6, 296-303.
53.	London, Eg. 2976.	s. xii <sup>1</sup> .	9, 14-16, 304-311.
62.	London, Hartl. 2652.	s. xii.	90.
68.	London, Inner Temple, Petyt 511.10.	s. xii in.	18-19.
73.	Florence, Laur., S. Croce 22 Sin. 9.	s. xi.	9-11, 16-17, 312-8.
74.	Florence, Laur., Strozzi 74.	s. xii.	91.

84. Milan, Ambros., G 70. Sup., fols. 17-64.	s. xiii <sup>2</sup> .	90.
89. St. Gall, Stiftsbibl. 65, pp. 1- (153 ter) + Leiden, Voss. Lat. Q. 33, fol. 58.	s. x.	319-328.
90. Berne 265.	s. xi.	125, 329-336.
91. Berne 347 (+ others).	s. ix <sup>2</sup> .	38, 125, 128-139, 337-368.
98. Munich, Clm 14353, fols. 94-117 + Clm 29020, fols. (3-4).	s. xex-xi in.	125, 369-373.
99. Munich, Clm 6362, fols. 35-85.	s. xi.	126, 374-380.
104. Munich, Clm 6364.	s. x <sup>2</sup> .	91-2, 125, 381-5.
105. Munich, Clm 6369.	s. xi.	67, 78-9, 113, 117-123, 126, 386-393.
106. Munich, Clm 14436.	s. x.	125-6, 394-416.
107. Zürich, Car. C. 122.	s. x <sup>2</sup> -xi <sup>1</sup> .	125, 417-423.
110. Basel, F. IV. 32, fols. 59-97.	s. xii <sup>2</sup> .	90.
111. London, Royal 12. C. iv, fols. 1-43.	s. xii <sup>1</sup> .	125.
115. Orléans 306 (259), pp. 1-76.	s. xi <sup>2</sup> -xii.	87, 89-90.
119. Leiden, Voss. Lat. F. 96, fols. 71-8.	s. xi.	91, 125.
120. Leiden, Voss. Lat. Q. 2, fols. 3-30.	s. xi.	126.
122. Florence, Laur., Conv. Soppr. 444.	s. xii.	9-11, 17-18, 21-2, 114-6, 427-433.
127. Coligny (Geneva), Fondation Bodmer, 111.	s. x <sup>2</sup> -xi <sup>1</sup> .	125, 434-440.
140. Copenhagen, Ny kgl. S. 218 4 <sup>to</sup> .	s. xii.	90.
142. Berlin (East), Phill. 1786-7.	s. x <sup>2</sup> -xi <sup>1</sup> .	100-106, 441-8.
143. Florence, Ricc., 581.	s. xiv ex.	90.
147. Troyes 514.	s. xii ex.	18-19.
148. Wrocław, R. 69.	s. xii.	9-11, 16-17, 18-22, 85.
[151. Formerly Tours, Bibl. mun., St. Martin's 33.	s. ix <sup>1</sup> / <sub>3</sub> .	57-59, 69-70, 99, 223-6, 449-456. Lost.]
153. Vat. Lat. 4200.	s. xii <sup>1</sup> .	9-11, 15-16.

Conventions in collation: 4a = 4, before correction. 4u = 4, after correction by a hand which may or may not be that of the scribe. 4x = 4, after correction by a hand which is definitely not that of the scribe.

s.l. = super line. i.l. = in line. ras. = rasura. exp. = deleted by expunction, thus.

del. = deleted. subl. = deleted by underlining. m. = margin.





